2-1-2016

# SHIFTING DREAMS: INTERSECTIONS OF THE RHETORICAL IMAGINATION OF U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY AND THE WRITING PRACTICES OF DREAMERS

Genevieve Garcia de Mueller

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/engl_etds

Part of the English Language and Literature Commons

Genevieve García de Müeller

*Candidate*


English

*Department*

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:

*Approved by the Dissertation Committee*


Dr. Michelle Hall Kells – Chairperson


Dr. Juan Guerra


Dr. Irene Vasquez


Dr. Pisarn Bee Chamcharatsri


Dr. Steve Ben

# SHIFTING DREAMS: INTERSECTIONS OF THE RHETORICAL

# IMAGINATION OF U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY AND THE WRITING

# PRACTICES OF DREAMERS

**by**

**Genevieve García de Müeller**

B.A., Theater, University of New Mexico 2004

M.A., Literature, University of Essex 2006

**DISSERTATION**

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**English**

The University of New Mexico

Albuquerque, New Mexico

**December 15, 2015**

**DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my mijito August Mueller, my purpose for living.  Love

you forever and always. Shine on, ojos azules!

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

When I started this dissertation I wasn't quite sure what the experience was going to be like. This work was hard fought and it could not have been accomplished without the help and support of so many mentors, colleagues, and loved ones.

Thank you first to Michelle Hall Kells my wonderful chair. She encouraged me to focus and stay the course. Without her I wouldn't have had the determination to finish this dissertation. Michelle was vital in shaping this work and I will forever be grateful.

I'd like to thank Todd Ruecker who gave me the best and most detailed feedback. I couldn't have gotten to this point without his mentorship and guidance. Thank you to my dissertation committee: Juan Guerra, Bee Chamcharatsri, Irene Vasquez, and Steve Benz. Your commitment to my work means the world to me.

Thank you to Charles Paine and Scarlett Higgins for serving on my comps committee. That was a major milestone in my program and I appreciate all you help in getting prepared for the exams.

Thank you to my colleagues and other graduate students Christine Garcia and Brian Hendrickson. They truly are the best people and have always been there for me when I needed you to look at my writing or with feedback on an idea. I am honored to be in your company and I wish you well in your career as academics. I cannot wait to see your impact on the field of Rhetoric and Composition.

Thank you to Wanda. She took a chance on me and encouraged me to apply for the program.

When I started at the University of New Mexico, my son August Mueller was eighteen months old, my husband had just recently passed away, and I found myself

transitioning into single motherhood and into a new life as a graduate student. This is all for my son. I wouldn't have a reason to live or write or love without that little boy. Many nights he fell asleep on my lap as I was writing. I will forever be his mama first and a scholar second. He is six years old now and we are preparing for the next big transition as I now move on to a position as an Assistant Professor at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley.

Thank you to my family for helping me through these past few years as I worked to balance my life as a grad student and a mother. Thank you to my mom and dad, Harriet and Leo Garcia, especially for all of the emotional support and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

**TABLES**

# SHIFTING DREAMS: INTERSECTIONS OF THE RHETORICAL IMAGINATION OF U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY AND THE WRITING PRACTICES OF DREAMERS

**by**

**Genevieve García de Müeller**

**BACHELORS OF ARTS, THEATRE**
**MASTERS OF ARTS, LITERATURE**

**DOCTORATE OF PHILOSOPHY, ENGLISH**

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the intersections between the rhetoric of the DREAM Act and the discourse of the migrant activists, specifically DREAMers, affected by the Act's language. Through a hermeneutic approach combining a rhetorical, genre, and critical discourse analysis, I examine how the DREAMers respond to marginalizing textual features of the Act. DREAMers appropriate genres and rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse to combat four problem features of the DREAM Act, namely the criminalizing nature, the erasure of the affected subjects (migrants), the taking away of agency from the affected subjects (migrants), and the propagation of xenophobic racism.

Often fraught with limiting language, the DREAM Act is at once the most comprehensive progressive immigration legislation and a heavily weighted document that further marginalizes migrants through those four problem areas. I employ various frameworks to examine the intersections between the discriminatory rhetoric of the DREAM Act and the discourse of DREAMers affected by the Act's language. Through a polyvocalic approach combining a rhetorical, genre, and critical discourse analysis, I examine how DREAMers respond to marginalizing textual features of the proposed act,

the counter genres DREAMers produce, and the metadiscourse surrounding those genres.

I locate the migrant activist as the foremost expert on immigration policy and as the agent of discursive change. Because the genre-specific voice and style of legislative texts, such as the DREAM Act, construct racial and ethnic identities and reify problematic ideologies, a deep reading of the language used in federal policies can elucidate the manner in which DREAMers respond to how undocumented persons are positioned as potential citizens and students, or how policy shapes activism and in turn how activism shapes policy.

This dissertation informs the way compositionists teach writing to undocumented, multilingual writers, particularly Latina/o student populations whose issues are most reflected in the activism of the DREAMers.  I argue for a critical pedagogy based on migrant activist genres and in the Writing Across Communities (WAC$^2$) model that provides ways for undocumented students to advocate for themselves in writing at their institutions and in their communities. Finally, I call for a shift in Writing Program Administration (WPA) with a focus on issues of race and ethnicity in WPA work. While avoiding the assimilationist tendencies of this appropriation, by using these genres and rhetorical moves as the basis for programmatic shifts, pedagogy, and WAC$^2$ initiatives, the migrant activist WPA may create changes in composition programs to best serve migrant undocumented students and to focus the composition classroom centered on the ideals of translingual, transculturalism, and transnational citizenship.

**PREFACE**

Between going and staying

the day wavers,

in love with its own transparency.

The circular afternoon is now a bay

where the world in stillness rocks.


All is visible and all elusive,

all is near and can't be touched.


Paper, book, pencil, glass,

rest in the shade of their names.


Time throbbing in my temples repeats

the same unchanging syllable of blood.


The light turns the indifferent wall

into a ghostly theater of reflections.


I find myself in the middle of an eye,

watching myself in its blank stare.

The moment scatters. Motionless,

I stay and go: I am a pause.

Entre irse y quedarse las duda el día ,

enamorado de su propia transparencia .

La tarde circular es ya bahía:

donde el mundo quieto vaivén se mece .


Todo es visible y todo es elusivo ,

todo está cerca y no se pueden tocar .


Papel, libro, lápiz, vidrio,

descansar a la sombra de sus nombres .


Tiempo palpitando en mi sien

repite la misma terca sílaba de sangre.


La luz hace del muro indiferente

un espectral teatro de reflejos .


Me encuentro en medio de un ojo ,

me miro en su mirada en blanco .

El momento dispersa . inmóvil ,                    Me quedo y me voy : soy una pausa.

*Between Coming and Going* by Octavio Paz

      Paz, invoking stasis, neither coming nor going, embodies the spirit of the border. I am a coyóte—half white, half Latina.  Barefoot, I ran the alfalfa fields in the South Valley of Albuquerque.  I grew up along the banks of the Rio Grande that carves through the city, flooding at times and nearly barren others.  We moved east out of the valley and closer to the mountains when I was young.  The Sandia Mountains on the east and the valley on the west create a weather system called the Box Effect.  Wind blows west, then south, then east, then north turning 90º sharp in every direction and never escaping the city limits cradling Burqueñas in a fertile basket manufactured through irrigation and a profound sense of hope.  A part of my family settled here from Spain in the 1500s, a part traveled up from México through clandestine journeys, a part came from Germany in the 1800s on rickety boats, and a part is missing, orphaned at a young age and never adopted. Both of my grandfathers were parentless and their histories are lost.

      In the Southwestern United States coyóte is a loaded term.  I have heard it used to mean half-breed and elicits images of a wandering wild animal, never at home, always starving and ravenous. I've always felt conflicted about that use of coyóte because I am a half-breed. The DNA that travels through my blood constantly coding and programming my cells to function in a certain way is a beautiful mixture and so now I embrace it.  As you get closer to the border this term is applied to smugglers who aid in crossing migrants into the U.S. through uninhabitable deserts and so it is much more problematic

and troubling. This struggle with identity, the harsh landscape itself informs this

dissertation.

**CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK**

In June 2014, thirty undocumented migrants arrived at Immaculate Heart of Mary Cathedral in Las Cruces, New Mexico. Las Cruces, the city of crosses, has historically been a safe haven for undocumented migrants and has served as an integral site for the fight for civil rights. The American Civil Liberties Union of New Mexico made Cruces their location for the Regional Center for Border Rights, which focuses on racial profiling, combatting anti-immigration laws, and fighting against civil rights violations. Catholic Charities occupies a tiny office on Main Street with only an 8x11 sheet of computer paper that reads "ayuda de inmigración aquí" as a signal of its presence. Cruces is a place of action, an embodiment of immigrant rights activism, a place where grassroots efforts have created a network of effective immigration civil rights activists that employ various rhetorical writing strategies to shape U.S. immigration policy and work to support the undocumented.

This dissertation informs the way compositionists teach writing to undocumented, multilingual writers, particularly Latina/o student populations whose issues are most reflected in the activism of DREAM Act activists or DREAMers. Often fraught with limiting language, the Development Relief and Education of Alien Minors Act (DREAM) is at once the most comprehensive, progressive immigration legislation that provides a pathway towards citizenship and a heavily weighted document with language that further marginalizes migrants.  I employ various hermeneutic frameworks to examine the intersections between the discriminatory rhetoric of the DREAM Act and the writing of DREAMers affected by the act's language.

Through a polyvocalic approach combining rhetorical, genre, and critical discourse analysis, I examine how DREAMers respond to marginalizing textual features of the proposed act, the counter genres DREAMers produce, and the metadiscourse surrounding those genres. I locate the migrant activist as the foremost expert on immigration policy and as the agent of discursive change. As such, I center my analysis on "the question of agency [as] an attempt to theorize the possibilities of radical, counterhegemonic action, especially in the face of powerful cultural formations" (Zachry 133). Because the genre-specific voice and style of legislative texts, such as the DREAM Act, construct racial and ethnic identities and reify problematic ideologies, a deep reading of the language used in federal policies can elucidate the manner in which DREAMers respond to how undocumented persons are positioned as potential citizens and students, or how policy shapes activism and in turn how activism shapes policy. DREAMers appropriate and transform the genre and rhetorical knowledge of the DREAM Act to construct their civic as well as academic identities.

These migrant activist genres are a response to the four problem areas of the DREAM Act, which are the criminalizing nature, the erasure of the affected subject (the migrant), the positioning of the affected subject as passive agents, and the propagation of xenophobic ideology. The DREAM Act is an extension of the historic marginalization of Mexican migrants in U.S. immigration policy. DREAMers respond to these aspects of the text through writing and genre manipulation. They employ strategies of the dominant discourse, combat the racism implicit in the text, and shape public discourse. Through these writing strategies they aim to gain access to higher education and a pathway to citizenship.

In 2012, there were about 11.2 million undocumented immigrants in the United States, half of which were Mexican nationals who crossed at the tumultuous southern border (Pew). Of this 11.2 million, 20% are of college age and would qualify for education benefits under the DREAM Act, which would allow undocumented students who fit the criteria of the act access to educational funding and create a pathway towards citizenship. Legislative texts, such as the DREAM Act, simultaneously create and respond to public discourse because "as genres change the nature of the activity, the activity also changes genre in a dialectical and dynamic relationship that must occur in order to sustain the activity undertaken" (Jones 52). In this dialectical relationship, public discourse on Mexican migration generates the situation in which policy is written and in turn policy responds to and creates the situation public discourse discusses and racializes immigrants. At the same rate, DREAMers shape policy and public discourse by producing digital texts through appropriated genres and rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse. DREAMers are adept at seeing the interconnectedness of policy, identity, citizenship, and language and through writing they shape these ecologies and spheres of meaning.

U.S. public discourse concerning immigration is often biased and focused on the technical illegality of an undocumented person's residence in country. Undocumented persons are in a constant battle for the right to reside in a country of their social citizenship, a citizenship based on the historicity of their geographical and social location not based on legal documents. As Mark Zachry argues, obtaining, "the knowledge of institutional or organizational practices offers subjects the opportunity for authoritative and agentive practices and relationships…both agency and authority can be constrained

by discursive structures but not completely" (148). DREAMers are examples of when an "agent function or author function (re)produce the practices for the subject to speak with authority and act with a potential for change" (Zachry 148). By fighting for the validity of social citizenship and a path to formal citizenship, DREAMers are at once using the power structures of the dominant discourse and manipulating that structure to fit their needs and aims. The reality of the undocumented person is a life of navigating a convoluted system, through these agentive moments, by becoming experts on immigration policy and the inner workings of the U.S. immigration institution, acquiring the linguistic power of this institution, and reproducing texts as agents of change.

DREAMers generate these spaces for change by assembling in online activist communities. Producing self-agency, in the face of institutional pushback, by responding to and appropriating institutional rhetorical moves, DREAMers construct a new reality and public discourse concerning immigration. Zachry speaks on the kairotic element of this type of repositioning, writing, "rhetors, even conceived as postmodern subjects, move into and out of agentive spaces as the result of the kairotic collocation of multiple relations and conditions. Agency […] is an 'extremely complex configuration of realities' (147). DREAMers are experts at utilizing the kairotic moments generated by U.S. immigration policies and its intersections with public discourse on Mexican migration. They find points of entry in the conversations and legislative work on immigration issues that often center on deterring Mexican migration. DREAMers write texts to navigate through these linguistic points of entry and re-shape the immigration landscape. Through this process DREAMers' written responses to xenophobic policies create new realities that intersect and bypass hegemonic forces aimed at criminalizing migration.

This migrant rhetorical and writing agency has become the new norm and is generating novel linguistic ecologies in academia and particularly in the writing classroom.  When using "an ecological approach to language in society [it] requires an exploration of the relationship of languages to each other and to the society in which these languages exist" (Creese and Martin 1).  An ecological approach addresses the sociopolitical environment in which the language is generated.  In the case of DREAMers, this environment includes a transnational, transcultural, and translinguistic space generated by U.S. immigration policy, university systems, and DREAMer activism. A consideration of the language ecologies must include "the geographical, socio-economic and cultural conditions in which the speakers of a given language exist, as well as the wider linguistic environment" (Creese and Martin 1). Through genre and writing strategies, DREAMers are responding to how the DREAM Act text and public discourse in immigration in the U.S. situates immigrants rhetorically. Through these genres and writing strategies, appropriated from dominant discourses, DREAMers are changing the public immigration debate and the university.

A part of this change includes shifting language demographics in academia. As the linguistic landscape of college campuses shifts, "the interaction and interpenetration of languages and emergent Englishes is not unusual in written communicative contexts, and multilingualism is gradually becoming what Paul Kei Matsuda describes as the new linguistic 'default' ("Myth" 649)" (Ayash 116). It is vital to composition studies to include discussions about how best to serve an ethnolinguistically diverse population because "as writing practitioners and scholars increasingly acknowledge the rapidly accelerating dissemination of linguistic heterogeneity across the nation and worldwide,

more questions arise about the most responsible and adequate way to respond to language difference in teaching and assessment practices" (Ayash 116). This "new" linguistically diverse population is only novel in the U.S because "it's only in the United States, with its "melting pot" tradition, that the expectation for immigrants is that as they learn English they will gradually extinguish their other languages" (Hall 31). This U.S. led privileging of Standard English and assimilation of the linguistically diverse is combatted by migrant activism.

Worldwide, multilingualism is common, and so "if statistically speaking multilinguality is the mainstream, where then does this "subtractive expectation" come from?" (Hall 31). This U.S. phenomenon of a supposedly "emerging" diverse language group begs the questions, "Have we in the composition community really come to terms with the ways in which assumptions of monolingualism—or of multilinguality as a merely transient phenomenon—affect the work we do in our classrooms and in our research?" (Hall 31). Multilingual composition, L2, and other sub-fields of composition have worked to address a heterogeneous multilingual student population but as a discipline rhetoric and composition has yet to adequately self critique its values regarding linguistic diversity.

The emergence of traditional models of Writing Across Curriculum and Writing Across Disciplines has in part worked to help students understand the genres and modes of discourse at the university, but it lacks a critical lens when regarding ethnolinguisitically diverse students. A critical pedagogy in the Writing Across Communities (WAC[2]) model developed by Michelle Hall Kells would address and combat this lack and create a space for the migrant self-generated agency in the writing

classroom. WAC[2] is focused on providing "those who have been historically under served, with the tools they need as citizens in the making- to navigate and negotiate the varied linguistic and cultural circumstances they face in their everyday lives both on and off campus" (Guerra 73). Migrant activists embody this "citizen in the making" population for which WAC[2] is designed.

WAC[2] with a focus on migrant activism generates ways for undocumented students to advocate for themselves in writing at their institutions and in their communities, a way to bridge community and university, and a way to promote student activism on and off campus while facilitating the transference of student rhetorical and discursive skills into an academic setting by creating commonplaces. Genre allows for a commonplace, a location that migrates from community to university and is contingent on situation.

DREAMers use what I call migrant activist genres as ways to combat the criminalization of undocumented students in U.S. immigration policy, as a means of fighting for access to the university, and as a way to shape commonplaces for linguistic transference. This transference is self-generated. DREAMers are already adept at appropriating genres and rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse. They already transfer their writing skills.  What is particularly interesting about this transfer is how DREAMers work against deficit and assimilationist models and in this way DREAMer writing may inform Writing Program Administration (WPA) work, composition, and WAC[2]. Migrant activist genres may be used in a writing program centered on valuing ethnolinguistically diverse populations as a way to facilitate this self transfer and allow for a dialectical relationship to occur between migrant student writing and academic

writing.

In rhetorical studies, "genre works as a common intuitive concept – a sense that features of language aggregate in recognizable patterns, and that these aggregations indicate something important in the uses of language in context" (Stein and Gilttrow 1). It is this intuitive structure recognition embedded in historical, social, and political context that is vital to a rhetorical analysis of genre that privileges the rhetor's situation and contingencies.  Historically, "in rhetorical study of genre and in some CDA studies, genres and discourses have been discovered intuitively, or by reference to a broad conception of function" and in some cases, "claims for the fusion of form and function have been repeated but study of form has not been quantitative, ethnographic and qualitative methods have inquired, to a certain degree, into the phenomenology of the "expectedness" of features" (Stein and Giltrow 3). Generic form manifests out of function, which in turn is a product of the rhetorical situation.

The expectedness of genre features then relies heavily on the location, in time and context, that the text is being produced. Expectedness may arise out of a dialectical relationship the text and text maker have with another text.  In the case of DREAMers, their genres are contingent on U.S. immigration policy, which includes of course the DREAM Act, but also policies that are intersected to the DREAM Act or are the historical foundation. Carolyn Miller's pragmatic take on genre as social action informs this look at intuitive expectedness of features in "recurring socio-historical situation[s], rather than abstract categories" or "from the rhetorical view of the historical contingency of genres, genres expire when the situations expire" (Stein and Giltrow 4).  Thus, the expectedness of genre features is always contingent on the rhetor and the situation to

which the genre responds, which are fluid and constantly shifting. The fluidity of genres, features, and situation, elicits questions of discourse community, which "has been a particularly crucial term, with Swales (1990) generally regarded as the one to establish it as indispensable to any study of genre" (Stein and Giltrow 8). The issue of discourse community "membership—and non-membership[…]focus[es] on novices' language behaviour: their difficulties (or success) in entering the circle of mutual knowledge by which competent users of a genre know the "interlockedness" of style and situation, form and function" (Stein and Giltrow 8). In the case of DREAMers, the discourse community to which they belong is both formed externally by policy such as the DREAM Act and oppressive public discourse that often homogenizes migrant communities, and internally by groups of activists and categorized by national origin, linguistic background, and racial/ethnic divides. The discourse community then is complex and layered.

The public discourse on immigration often focuses on Latina/o communities, which are the center of this dissertation, but the migrant is more than student or linguistic community member. Migrants must acquire access to a new discourse community, in this case the university and legal systems, then they must acquire language and genre to transfer into these public spheres of power.  Studies "have highlighted the tacitness of genre knowledge— its gradual experiential acquisition, and the difficulty of its explicit expression. This appreciation of tacitness may be one reason (in addition to concerns about formalism) for rhetorical theory's unwillingness to say what a genre looks like, i.e. to do what linguistic and pragmatic analyses strive for" (Stein and Giltrow 7). Although, not the historical concern of rhetorical studies, form and function are important to an analysis of language acquisition, so as to map the ways in which genres of power are

reproduced and contexts in which they work. The migrant produces genres as a response to the DREAM Act acquires linguistic power and in turn shapes policy and public opinion. Walter H. Beale's performative-constitutive spectrum allows for an informational text, such as a legislative document like the DREAM Act, to be both declarative and performative, to both describe an activity and produce the meaning of the activity. DREAMers create genres that respond directly to this legislative performative act. The migrant activist gains access to the university and legal systems by using genres as responses to a rhetorical situation generated by U.S. immigration policy and public discourse; therefore, an analysis of the language of the policy serves as a way to historicize and contextualize migrant activist responses by using genre and in turn deconstructing the form and function of migrant activist genres give compositionists the means to facilitate language transfer and acquisition.

Genres can function as a means of transfer since often they "migrate through intertextual routes, colonising situations and producing 'hybrids'" (Stein and Giltrow 8). The hybridity of generic structures situated in contexts allows for intertexuality as most often the texts are shaped to bridge one contingency to another, to find a commonplace. This is even truer in online discourse where the rhetor cannot often determine the context in which the text is encountered. The fluidity of the audience is just as important as the fluidity of the situation. The features and "general characteristic of Internet genres appears to be a greater fluidity and pragmatic openness. There is a constant and fast proliferation of genres—or of forms of communication that are candidates for being a genre" and so with the ever-shifting landscape of the Internet online discourse ebbs and flows in and out of genres (Stein and Giltrow 9. DREAMer online discourse centers on

this pragmatic notion: policy changes, public discourse shifts, and fluid genres respond to these shifts. The discursive strategies and migrant activist genres they use to respond to the rhetorical situation generated by the language of the DREAM Act may be utilized in the composition classroom as a means of facilitating transfer.

**Research questions**

I start by asking three questions: 1. In the tumultuous post-9-11 political landscape of the U.S., how does the DREAM Act's language respond to xenophobic and often racist rhetoric about the intentions of the act? 2. How do DREAM Act activists' writing strategies navigate these rough landscapes? 3. How can the writing practices of the DREAMers inform WPA work, WAC[2], and composition pedagogy?  I first look at the problematic rhetoric of the DREAM Act and then conduct a critical analysis of the writing practices DREAMers use to combat racist ideologies in government policies aiming to show intersections between rhetorical and discourse analysis. Finally, informed by the writing strategies of the DREAMers I construct a type of critical pedagogy in the WAC[2] model to provide undocumented multilingual students the resources and skills necessary to navigate through institutional systems bent on marginalizing them.

Ultimately, Writing Program Administrators, WAC[2], and compositionists must realize that issues of race, ethnicity, and citizenship are connected to linguistic diversity and college composition. DREAMers embody this intersectional look at writing studies and how public discourse affects institutional policies. They work against power structures that are put in place to push them to the margins.  In many ways, WPAs, compositionists, and WAC[2] proponents may learn from migrant activism and the strategies they put in place.

**Significance for Rhetoric, Discourse Studies, and Genre Studies**

In addition to contributing to the field of composition studies, my research will provide insight into how rhetoric, discourse, and genre are interrelated. Researchers often split the umbrella field of Writing Studies into different categories with little, if any, overlap; however, I found it necessary to position my research into the activism of DREAMers by first illustrating how policy generates a very specific rhetorical situation, then how activists respond to this situation through discourse embedded in genres. The intersections of rhetorical, discourse, and genre studies provide a theoretical location at which to place DREAMers and their linguistic migration. Rebecca Ann Dingo and J Blake Scott's work on megarhetorics, or the rhetoric of multinational companies to further their goals of globalization, shows how networks of diverse language users can organize and use various linguistic strategies for one central purpose. They argue, "an examination of development megarhetorics necessarily involves accounting for the circulation across and mutual conditioning of the global and local, and for such rhetorics' dialectical movement of deterritorialization and reterritorialization" (Dingo and Blake 7). Networks of transnational immigration activists work in similar ways: globally across borders and locally within communities.

Immigration activists in the U.S. who are also undocumented have the added layer of being a social citizen but not technically a legal citizen. Their activist language use is both local and global and they are writing to local undocumented persons but as a transnational border-crossing activist. The digital migration of online activism allows for this fluid interpretation of transnational because with "increased telecommunications and computer networks as well as a growing global economy and immigration [it is]

necessary for scholars to examine the flow of ideas, goods, people, and texts across borders (see Levitt and Khagram). This study uses the digital linguistic migration of DREAMers as the central location where rhetoric, discourse, and genre intersect because "for rhetoricians, this flow calls into question the situatedness of texts and the traditional rhetorical relationship of text, speaker, and audience and demonstrates the need to look at how rhetorics circulate" (Dingo 15). Through their activism, DREAMers circulate rhetorics and shape the public discourse and U.S. immigration policy becoming pragmatic public rhetors using institutionalized genres and rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse.

**Historical Context of Topoi, Genre, and the Rhetor**

The history of rhetoric traces the division between public and private language. The Greek polis symbolized a place of political power for the rhetor.  Aristotles' topoi was one way of creating that power over the senate and over the public.  The Greeks divided rhetoric into three types—deliberative, judicial, and epideictic.  The topics or commonplaces, and now genre, as delineated by Aristotle, focused on issues of public concern like the framing of laws, importing and exporting, war, and finance.  To effectively create linguistic power over a public a rhetor must master these topoi and effectively use the specific type of rhetoric to persuade their audience.  If wanting to make a claim in court the rhetor must use judicial rhetoric and find a commonplace that would persuade the senate—if arguing over land the topoi might be finance. Cicero and Quintillian focused on the five canons of invention, style, memory, arrangement, and delivery the topoi of the time had much to do with the morality of the speaker.  They believed that man to be an effective rhetor must be a moral man.  And so seeking truth

and consensus was important. In this section, I outline the trajectory of the rhetor and the intersections between genre theory, rhetoric, and composition.

Topoi, commonplaces, and genre are a means of holding onto political and social power.  They are a way of constituting what knowledge is valid and what knowledge is pushed to the margins.  Knowledge as constructed by institutional forces is articulated through commonplaces.  The university is one such institution and allows for certain kinds of knowledge and marginalizes others.  One way it marginalizes is through its interpretation of race and ethnicity.  The academy, although many times implicitly, is underpinned by whiteness. Migrant undocumented students entering the university change academic commonplaces through their writing strategies and novel genre usage.

In her study of codeswitching, Hall Kells, found that the linguistic skill needed to codeswitch were fundamentally more advanced than that of a monolingual speaking in only one dialect.  Many studies of this kind have been done and yet the idea persists that a linguistically diverse student is somehow remedial or deficient.  We see this in policies guiding multilingual students into remedial courses and basic writing programs.  The academy as a public space of intellectual thought and practice is foundational in this age when a degree is needed to enter any profession.   And so now more than ever is the university also seen as a practical place where skills will be learned that allow the student to function effectively post-college.  This skills based look at the university causes issues when we view language as a commonplace, a topoi to generate meaning.  If one goal of the university is to construct a student that will be effective in the work place then surely the linguistic skill as a commonplace is the most necessary skill.  So how does the

university as an institution of knowledge making and a disseminator of knowledge also function as a place of intellectual freedom with a truly generative nonprescriptive goal?

Michel Foucault helps in part with this problem with his assertion that the function of the individual is to generate meaning. Foucault suggests there is no inherent meaning semantically or syntactically, which allows for multiple meanings of language. And so topoi can be viewed in various ways despite structure.  And although there are commonplaces, like disciplines for examples, they are understood to be social constructs with individual interpretations.

Antonio Gramsci constructs a place that allows for various meanings. With his organic intellectual it gives power to the individual to see the cultural hegemony of the upper class, or in this case the university system, and through an interpretation students can acquire that intellect and transgress that power through intellectual revolution. The role of language as a commonplace in the university is one of gate keeping. This gatekeeping is not just of academic language in writing but as the body as a text, as a performance of race and ethnicity.  One of Beale's separations of texts is the division between instrumental and performative.  An instrumental text is one that describes a policy or an idea, whereas a performative text creates something, it is generative.  In later chapters, I argue that legislative texts like the DREAM Act can be instrumental in intention but performative in nature.  University policies work in similar ways. When describing the kind of multilingual student who needs remedial basic writing courses due to linguistic constraints at once institutes a law and creates, identity, and interpellates an individual.  It describes and constructs a meaning all at once.

Wendy Roth and Jorge Garcia discuss the current state of race relations in the U.S. They problematize issues of race and nationality and show how the performance of a type of race affects much of how one is viewed.  Even choosing how to call one's self or how to identify one's self ethnically creates problems.  The argument between using terms like Hispanic, Mexican, Chicano, or Latino for example points to a much larger concern with how one is viewed publically.  This societal issue is played out on the university as well.

The linguistic identity of the speaker complicates language as topoi.  How can we view language as a commonplace when our language isn't common?  As in Ancient Greece, contemporary scholarship has certain topics and views of knowledge that are acceptable and seen as persuasive.  If we see the academy as underpinned by notions of whiteness and academic language as ultimately white and non-accented, then language as a commonplace marginalizes those of differing linguistic backgrounds.

Michel de Certeau combats this vision of the diminished validity of the private linguistic space by claiming that by studying linguistic practice in everyday life we can view how people subvert the linguistic hierarchy by transgressing the norms of language. We see this with Gee as well who gives power to various kinds of texts and sees language as social and shifting and ever changing.  Juan Guerra and Victor Villanueva studied the practice of their every life and theorized ways that migrant undocumented activists use linguistic and discursive power in the university system.

Although, rhetoricians want to dismantle the binary between public and private, or linguistic power and linguistic problems, they have to see that this exists and is very much a part of the university system. With the rise of open-university policies in the 70s,

colleges were flooded with students from diverse linguistic backgrounds.  Basic composition programs were created to combat the problems these students had and a new field was created to theorize how best to approach pedagogy.  Genre studies, a new way of looking at topoi and commonplaces and a way to make common structures explicit rather than relying on the student to know these structures implicitly, has recently been implemented in many composition programs.   It is the explicitness of these structures, these commonplaces that can be one way to help to break down the division between private and public and allow for linguistic diversity within the university structure.  The more explicit the topoi the commonplace, the more easily accessible the knowledge is and easier it is to acquire that knowledge and make meaning.

Students must maintain their cultural and linguistic identities and yet they are always changed by the university system when they find those commonplaces, interpret them, and in turn use them to navigate the structures.  It is scholars like Guerra and Villanueva, however, that have turned private linguistic lives into a commonplace and in doing so transgressed the linguistic hierarchy and transculturally repositioned themselves in the field of rhetorical studies.

Institutions function epistemically and create meaning as well as construct the tools by which to interpret this meaning.  Since Ancient Greece this meaning making has been governed by ratified speakers who possess the correct 'knowledge', as determined by the institution, and the power to build the interpretive frameworks.  This knowledge and interpretive power then is held by the institution and manifests through policies and guidelines.

In Ancient Greece the ratified speaker was a man of certain wealth, a land owner, who learned how to be an effective rhetor in the polis, the ultimate symbol of public and political power.  Women, slaves, and non-land owning men were restricted to the private spaces of poverty and (re)production.  They labored and created the necessities of life— food, home, children.  The Sophist Protagoras a teacher of rhetorical skills, claimed that 'man is the measure of all things.'  Called a relativist by Plato, Protagoras sought to make man the center of knowledge and although he may in many ways have forwarded an agnostic mission, an anti-institutional rhetoric, at least against the Greek spiritual world, Protagoras reinforced the Greek foundational belief that man is the rhetor, the public speaker, and the powerful maker of meaning.  Isocrates furthered this belief in many ways with his views on phronesis and kairos.  Phronesis a type of innate ability and kairos the skill of timing, were to Isocrates fundamental to an effective rhetor.  And so to the Sophists the ratified speaker was a man with innate ability who could persuade at the right time by using the correct knowledge, as constructed by a public they were only allowed to be a part of, whereas, women and slaves were subjected to the home life, domesticated and removed from the collective truth.

Plato distrusted rhetoric.  He preferred the philosophical dialectic knowledge making of Socrates—the back and forth questioning, striving for an ultimate truth.  He believed that rhetoric, the skill to persuade a senate to murder his mentor as Plato saw it, was simply a way to interpret and disseminate a false truth. The Greeks in many ways saw this ideological truth and knowledge as a way to break from worldly things that blind us.  Our eyes may see but we are still blind whereas the blind man, the seer in myths, can envision the truth. Plato created these interpretive tools, the allegory, the dialectic

argument to seek this truth.  Aristotle, Plato's student, sought to recapture the power of rhetoric through his topics, his commonplaces.  Aristotle's topoi are a means of creating a structure, a taxonomy, of rhetoric to show its value.  In turn it was also a way to interpret a rhetorical acts' effectiveness.  His three types of rhetoric deliberative, judicial, and epideictic, provide a means of framing the purpose of the rhetorical event whereas his topoi -- like finance, war, the farming of laws—were commonplaces to begin the act, to find ways of reaching an audience and persuading them.  When paired, we see that Plato and Aristotle created a ratified speaker as one who seeks truth and may find that truth that knowledge through common topics and public knowledge using frameworks that appealed to Greek citizens.

In Rome, Cicero and Quintillian used the fundamentals of the Greeks to construct the five canons of rhetoric—invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory.  Cicero an d Quintillain , like Plato, believed that the moral man seeks truths, however unlike Plato, they claimed that the moral man was the most effective rhetor.  The moral man could bring the hearer to truth by using the five canons of rhetoric.  Their stasis theory, a way to reach consensus through interpreting the best qualities and actions to take in a rhetorical act, moved Roman rhetoric away from the Greeks.

Since public spaces are constructed by institutionally created knowledge the student can through education learn the interpretive skills to understand this knowledge and disseminate it.  The ratified speaker is one well versed in differing constructions of knowledge and can find commonplaces among them. Louis Althusser by separating institutions into ideological apparatuses—like the media, the church, the family—

again provides a framework to see beyond the metaphors of our time and revolt against these institutional forces.

Meaning making and appropriation of dominant linguistic structures if two-fold: first to understand the genres of the institution and then to interpret the linguistic power held by that institution and structured through the genre. The academy, the university system creates policies that either allow for entrance into an intellectual public sphere or marginalize and push the outsider, the other, away from generative knowledge making.

Institutional forces create oppressive policies that sanction off the other into the private realm.  Paul Riceur claims that history is manufactured by our culture and our society. History then teeters on individual and collective truths.  We cannot trust our memory because it is bound by the culture in which it was constructed.  This kind of thinking helps to give the exigence needed to remap truths and reorganize power structures. If the history of writing is the history of political power, then re-envisioning that history and reclaiming it can give the marginalized entrée into a very public academy and the rhetorical power needed to function.

Norman Fairclough and James Paul Gee, similar to Stanley Fish's interpretive communities, discuss how writers and rhetors might use socially constructed discourse communities to view how and why we make meaning in the things we do.  While, they focused on the social aspects, Barbara Johnstone gave power to the individual and nuanced the idea of discourse community by showing the agency of the speaker through their individual linguistic variation.

I argue then institutions –the university, the public, the private, the home, race/ethnicity, and the political—enforce ideological power by creating the metaphors of

their time, by giving power and meaning to symbols, by ratifying speakers, by

constructing what it means to hold rhetorical power, and then finally by creating the

interpretive tools needed to function effectively within that institution.  Rhetoric and

discourse analysis then may be used to interpret institutional policy by first understanding

who is allowed to speak (the ratified speaker) and then how that speaker creates

knowledge (through genres), and the meaning of what they are saying (textual analysis of

writing practices).

**Research Approach and Design**

This dissertation is designed so as to respond to the absence of theory in praxis.

Migrant activists are the embodiment of translingualism, transcultural citizenship, and

transcultural respositioning and make a particularly interesting case study for how all

three concepts work in action. To show this action, however, I have to first situate the

new migrant activist in the historical, social, and political context in which they work.  In

Chapter 2, I illustrate the often-contentious U.S. immigration policy towards Mexico

starting with the Bracero Work Program in the 1940s and ending with the DREAM Act.

Nowhere is this contention more apparent than in the discourse surrounding the creation

and subsequent revisions of the DREAM Act, a document that generates much of the U.S.

public discourse of race and citizenship. Throughout the last seventy-years, U.S.

immigration policy has shifted to focus directly on criminalizing migration from Mexico,

militarizing the southern border with Mexico, and racializing migrants. This chapter

situates the current public debate on immigration and generates the rhetorical situation

DREAMers must work actively against.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the new migrant civil rights movement centered on

DREAMers and it's implications to WPA work, composition, and proponents of WAC[2].

DREAMers account for 20% of the undocumented population and yet they are a

powerful vocal group of networked activists who have in the past fourteen years been

able to push major immigration reform.  DREAMers are primarily college bound

undocumented students who have been in America at least since fifteen years old, most

for much longer.  To apply for the DREAM Act, when passed, students must not be over

31 years-old and must attend a two- or four-year college or enlist in the military. I

complicate the idea of the migrant activist by looking at the conservative and often

myopic nature of the DREAMer movement, which often ignores issues of

intersectionality. Historically marginalized groups such as lesbian, gay bisexual, and

trangender (LGBT), incarcerated, mentally ill, mentally handicapped, and persons with

HIV/AIDS.  Due to the specificity of the DREAM Act and the stipulations and criteria it

has, a large portion of the undocumented will not gain access to citizenship through the

act. Despite these problems with the DREAM Act and the DREAMer movement,

DREAMers are the section of the migrant activist movement that most directly affects the

work of WPAs, compositionists, and WAC2 proponents.

In Chapter 4, I show how in the past thirteen years, since the original act was

introduced in 2001, the Development Relief and Education of Alien Minors (DREAM)

Act has incurred massive revisions in the hopes of getting it passed in congress by adding

provisions such as requiring biographic data and a good moral standing from

participants.  Over that thirteen-year period, the questions underlying the Act changed

from ones of access to education to strategies of surveillance, modifying behavior, and

discipline of undocumented students.  I pay particular attention to how the revisions have increasingly targeted Latino populations, criminalizing migrants, and further marginalizing entire communities. The history of the DREAM Act is fraught with a tension between granting and denying undocumented students access to education and funding, which is often embedded in racist notions of who is and who is not a deserving citizen. This embedded notion has also historically been a major issue in academia with its often-problematic representations and perceptions of students and scholars of color, especially in relation to linguistic diversity and citizenship status.  I see the DREAM Act in part a response to this problem.  Proponents of the act say it will promote diversity in colleges and promise that it will be a viable pathway towards citizenship for the millions of undocumented students of color who are often denied access to education based on the very complicated issue of who deserves to be a citizen.  Although the DREAM Act is right now the most valid legislation on comprehensive immigration reform, it may be problematic because the language used in the act is often heavily biased and loaded and at some points criminalizes undocumented persons with such provisions as the need for biographic data and the stipulation that all persons must be of a good moral standing. The DREAM Act has shifted the topography of immigration issues in the U.S. since its creation in 2001.

Citizenship and education have become attainable objects through the merit of the individual but this institutional document is becoming increasingly divisive, as is some of the activism pushing its legalization. Using Beale's work on instrumental-performative rhetoric and Elena Semino's work on voice and deixis, I examine how the rhetorical moves and genre-specific voice and style of legislative texts, such as the DREAM Act,

construct racial and ethnic identities and reify xenophobic ideologies. If linguistically diverse populations, like undocumented DREAMers, are to acquire a power through language then first they must be able to see how that language functions.  Hannah Arendt claims that spaces can be divided into private and public.  The private space is for the laborer, and non-citizen.  It is where production of the necessities is done. The public space is for the worker and the citizen with both political and social power. These spaces are a division between private language and public language as well. The outsider is subjected to private linguistic spaces where they are allowed to speak their mother tongue whereas in public to have any kind of discursive strength the individual must acquire the linguistic power of the hegemony. U.S. immigration policy, and specifically the DREAM Act, works as both a way to include undocumented persons in public life as students and citizens and to sanction undocumented persons into a private life as criminal and alien.

DREAMers combat marginalizing language in the Act and in the discourse surrounding immigration through very specific discursive strategies, including first hand testimony or as Cornel West would call it "bearing witness," that both shift the debate on immigration and construct the identities of immigrants.  Although there have been studies on the DREAM Act (see Whaley 2013, Ruiz, Gallardo, and Delgado-Romero 2013) and DREAMers (Valdez, Valentine and Padilla 2013, Reyna, Dobria, and Wetherall 2013) "studies of immigration…often examine how actors are represented, in addition to other focuses such as what arguments are made about them or what topics they are connected with" (Lamb 335) however, these studies rarely examine how immigration activists' language shapes and is shaped by government policy.  The studies often center on what is done to immigrants rather than position immigrants and activists as agents of change and

authorities on immigration. I use the intersections of critical discourse analysis, rhetorical studies, and genre studies not as a "'triangulation of data" but "rather…to complement, to 'fill out', data which one theory by itself cannot produce" (Kress 240). Using the frameworks of Jürgen Habermas, Norman Fairclough, and Eleanor Lamb I analyze the discourse of DREAM Act activists in online community settings illustrating their discursive strategies as they disseminate very complicated information from legislative texts to a specific population are shaped by and shapes government policies on immigration, while also aiding in undocumented student transfer into higher education.

   In Chapter 5, I argue that DREAMers serve students and position them as authorities on immigration and rhetorical transition from one discourse community to another and by studying how the discursive practices of DREAMers provide undocumented multilingual students the resources and skills necessary for transition, I illustrate how WPAs, compositionists, and WAC$^2$ proponents may learn from DREAMers and be able to apply these practices in the writing classroom. Working from Vanessa Kraemer Sohan's concept of "relocalized listening" or "ways of reading-writing-thinking that highlight the need of language users to relocalize established conventions in light of users' spatiotemporal contexts" I construct a way of incorporating DREAMer discourse and activist genres into the composition classroom. The goals of relocalized listening include: 1. "Avoiding the tendency to oversimplify and objictify the concepts of "language," "discourse," and "practice," especially as they relate to our definitions of "conventions," "standards," and "traditions"; 2. Understanding difference as the standard or the norm, rather than as the alternative, the exceptional, or the abnormal; 3. Viewing repetition as a site for difference and meaning-making in language; and 4. Adopting an

approach to agency that acknowledges the individual writer's ability to produce and change language in his or her everyday local practice" (Sohan 193). As composition instructors it should be our goal to provide a space that at once recognizes these goals and allows for students to work beyond them. DREAMers often work in institutionalized genres in novel and activist ways to combat racist and xenophobic rhetoric. Writing Program Administrators and writing instructors can use these same strategies when combating university policies that work in similar ways, especially ones written in response to a government policy like the DREAM Act. The activism of DREAMers may be used as a model when bridging the community with the university. Furthermore, these novel approaches to genres can be used in the comp classroom to provide the means necessary for undocumented DREAMers to transfer their rhetorical and discursive agency created in activist forums to an academic context. I conclude how by intersecting rhetorical studies, critical discourse analysis, genre studies, critical race theory, and WPA work, university writing programs may begin to offer migrant undocumented students a safe space to enter academia: a zone that is a confluence between latinidad and the university.

I examine the intersections between the rhetoric of the DREAM Act and the writing practices of DREAM Act activists (DREAMers) and focus on how DREAMers successfully combat the problematic language of the DREAM Act and further immigrant rights advocacy in the U.S. I first trace the historical trajectory of the last seventy years of U.S. immigration policy concerning Mexico leading up to the DREAM Act. Implementing Walter Beale's instrumental-performative rhetorical framework analysis, I problematize the rhetoric of the DREAM Act pointing to specific instances of

performative language. I then use Halliday's ideational/interpersonal linguistic structure to show how DREAMers' use writing strategies to combat racist ideologies in government policies. Finally, informed by the writing strategies of the DREAMers I construct a type of critical pedagogy, which aims to provide undocumented multilingual students the resources and skills necessary to navigate through institutional systems bent on marginalizing them. Through this process I am also calling for an interrogation of WPA work, composition studies, and WAC2 in regards to race, ethnicity, and citizenship issues many migrant student activists face. A part of this interrogation includes looking at how WAC2 in many ways responds to the myopic traditional models of writing programs that often function as gatekeeping systems to keep out ethnolinguisitically diverse students.  In this next chapter, I look at how U.S. immigration policy has shifted over the past seventy years with a clear focus on deterring and criminalizing Mexican migration.

**CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY OF A SHIFTING US**

**IMMIGRATION POLICY TOWARDS MEXICO**

Through their organizing activities and leadership, DREAM Act activists become immigration law and immigration processing experts. Immigration activists are not solely the receptors of discourse but also compositionsts who are best equipped to develop strategies to assist undocumented students in their efforts to access rights and navigate academia. Looking at legislative texts and how they impact public discourse is relevant to rhetoricians, WPAs, compositionists, and critical race theory scholars, and genre studies because the writing students do off campus helps to shape how they write on campus. For undocumented students this off campus writing is situated in the debate on U.S. immigration, which is often divided and contentious, "with a particular emphasis on Latina/o…immigrants [as] poor, uneducated, and undesirable people who will place a disproportionate burden on resources, such as health care, that U.S. citizens can ill afford" (Ruiz et al 150).  Nowhere is this contention more apparent than in the discourse surrounding the creation and subsequent revisions of the DREAM Act, a document that engenders the values of the U.S. in regards to race, ethnicity, and citizenship status. Along with this narrative of immigrant burden, border security in response to 9/11 is frequently used in discussions on U.S. domestic and foreign policy.  However, the marginalization of Latina/os came long before September 11, 2001.

Karma R. Chávez argues, "Militarization of the US-Mexico border has not occurred in response to the War on Terror; instead, it has been in the US government's plan at least since the Reagan administration" (49). The U.S. government has a troubling history in creating policy for its southern border. To understand how Mexican

immigration functions today we have to work through the last 70 years of immigration policy in the United States.

**Bracero to Reagan**

Starting with Public Law 78, also known as the Bracero Work Program, in 1942 the U.S. has regulated Mexican migrant workers and laborers in often marginalizing and problematic ways.  As the Bracero Program History Archive states, this program "grew out of a series of bi-lateral agreements between Mexico and the United States that allowed millions of Mexican men to come to the United States to work on short-term, primarily agricultural labor contracts. From 1942 to 1964, 4.6 million contracts were signed, with many individuals returning several times on different contracts, making it the largest U.S. contract labor program."  Although regaled as a success and in many ways a progressive policy on immigration at the time, although be it primarily focused on economic benefit, because of the lack of regulations and oversight at the local level, the Bracero Work Program often led to the mistreatment of Mexican migrants particularly when it came to labor laws and housing. Farmers were reluctant to give fair wages to Mexican migrants and without much government oversight or public pressure there was a disparity between farm wages and factory wages and as such the "average farm worker earnings in California rose 41 percent, from $0.85 an hour in 1950 to $1.20 in 1960, while average factory worker earnings rose 63 percent, from $1.60 in 1950 to $2.60 in 1960" (*Braceros*). By 1954, over 309,000 contracts had been granted to Mexican migrants at which point the U.S. government began a repatriation program they called "Operation Wetback" that lead to the deportation of over "1.3 million Mexicans, who

were mostly undocumented but also legal temporary migrants and U.S. citizens of

Mexican descent" (Mize and Swords 25).

In the 1960s, heightened criticism of the Bracero Program from civil right's

activists such as Hector P. Garcia, led John F. Kennedy to "tighten wage and housing

standards, thus increasing the cost of hiring Bracero workers and reducing the number

employed" (*Braceros*). Finally in 1963, Congress voted to shut the program down and it

ended in 1964. In 1965, the Farm Production Economics Division of the Economic

Research Service released the report "Termination Of The Bracero Program: Some

Effects On Farm Labor And Migrant Housing Needs" in which Robert C. McElroy and

Earle E. Gavett stated, "To farmworkers, termination of the program and the resulting

increase in grower competition for domestic workers mean increased employment

opportunities and improved working conditions" (1).  They also noted that, "Public

officials are faced with developing programs to provide maximum employment

opportunities for domestic supplemental workers and at the same time helping growers

meet their peak seasonal labor needs" and so although the U.S. knew ending the program

might take away much needed labor to the farmers at peak season, they saw benefit in

that it would increase competition for domestic farm workers and make farmers improve

working conditions since U.S. citizens would be working the farms ("Termination" 1).

There was a major lack in local U.S. citizen farm works and so U.S. citizen migrant

workers were needed to replace Mexican migrants.  The report also states, "If the

replacements are to be migrants, they will require housing; housing used by the braceros

that they would replace was primarily designed for single workers and therefore is not

usable by domestic migrant families without conversion. Thus, the extent to which

migrant families can be recruited for this work may be limited by the available housing" ("Termination" 15). The Bracero Work Program provided economic benefit to Mexican migrant farmworkers for over twenty years. Workers could migrate to the U.S. to work on farms for the season and then return home to Mexico to be with their families. This closing report reveals some problems with working conditions while Mexicans were in country. First, the housing was built for "single men" and used primarily by foreign migrants. The housing was seen as unfit for domestic migrant farmers with the assumption that domestic migrants would bring their families along with them. This at once is an admittance of poor housing conditions and that there was a concerted effort to separate Mexican men from their families in order to stop full immigration into the U.S. It was also very apparent that farmers were never pressured to ensure proper working conditions or fair wages.

The 1960s to the 1970s were a time social progress with César Chávez, along with Dolores Huerta and many others, lead the United Farm Workers into unionization and actively pushed along U.S. policy towards Mexicans. With his rhetorical prowess, Chávez was able to lead boycotts and marches that produced fairer wages and working conditions for Mexican migrants. César's rhetorical strategies included the goals to "educate workers on the value of unions, show members of other unions the plight of farm workers and ask for their help in organizing the United Farm Workers union, and inform the general public about the importance of farm worker unions while appealing for financial and moral assistance in building and maintaining his labor organization" (Chavez, Jensen, and Hammerback 3). With one goal in mind, the upholding of migrant civil rights, César and Huerta worked with laborers and unions at the grassroots level

while García often favored policy work with the U.S. government. Issues of race and ehtnicity "embedded in the discourse of U.S. citizenship laws, national narrative of social mobility, and the material conditions of white privilege set the "limits of legal imagination" for García's civil rights campaign" (Hall Kells 115). García's work highlighted often complication notions of race and citizenship.

Although discontented with the stipulation that reduced Mexican immigration, in 1976 President Gerald R. Ford signed the Immigration Act into law.  Ford correctly, "anticipat[ed] that this would only increase the illegal entry of Mexican immigrants. He promised to submit legislation that would increase the legal immigration quota by January of the following year, but was unable to do so before President Jimmy Carter took office" (*Latino America*).  In August of 1977, President Jimmy Carter proposed legislation to raise the immigration quota for Mexican immigrants and grant legalization to the undocumented immigrants already living in the country. Congress denied Carter's proposal and instead worked on a study that compiled data about Mexican immigrants in the country with the goal of gaining the public support to deter further Mexican migration and deport undocumented Mexicans.  When Carter was not re-elected, this report was given to President Ronald Reagan in 1981 and based on his interpretation he subsequently proposed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1982. The bill had three main parts: employer sanctions, border security, and citizenship (see Table 1). Never before had it been explicitly illegal to hire undocumented workers.  The sanctions placed on U.S. employers made it difficult for many Mexican migrants to find work in the U.S. Although a part of the act did lead to the legalization of 3 million undocumented migrants, the added border security and the increased militarization of the

border created the tumultuous immigration policy landscape for next thirty years. U.S.

immigration policy in the following years often focused solely on Mexican immigrants.

| Employer Sanctions | Border Security | Legalization of Undocumented Immigrants |
|---|---|---|
| Made it illegal to knowingly hire undocumented immigrants, continue to employ undocumented immigrants or to hire employees without properly checking their identity and employment eligibility. | Specified a 50 percent increase in Border Patrol staffing along the Mexican border. | Created two groups of eligible applicants. The first included those who had lived continuously in the United States since before Jan. 1, 1982, and who met other criteria. This group accounted for roughly 1.7 million applications for legalization. The second group, Special Agricultural Workers, was made up of people who could show that they had worked 60 or more days in seasonal agricultural between May 1985 and May 1986. This group ended up totaling 1.3 million, far exceeding the |

| | | original estimate of 250,000. |
|---|---|---|

Table 1 IRCA Stipulations (*Latino America*)

With the passage of IRCA in 1986, Reagan effectively tied citizenship to the U.S. economy, which has shifted the way this country views immigrants entering to work for the past thirty years. Prior to Reagan's legislation, being an immigrant pragmatically indexed a person's country of birth as other than the U.S. but with mostly open borders to the south Mexicans were able to work undocumented without legal issues.  Although as stated they did experience heightened racism, especially in Texas. With IRCA, Reagan indefinitely tied citizenship to employability. Reagan made citizenship a capitalist ideal—something that had to be attained as part of the mythos of the American dream. The problem with this binary—immigrant laborer poverty or American businessman riches—is that the U.S. economy relies heavily on Mexico. As most studies prove, "for more than a century, the U.S. economy has grown increasingly intertwined with the Mexican economy, and increasingly reliant upon workers from Mexico" (Ewing 2). However, the paradox remains that the, " U.S. immigration laws of the past quarter-century have tended to impose more legal limits on immigration from Mexico. As this contradiction between immigration law and economic reality illustrates, the contours of the U.S. immigration system are often shaped more by public fears and anxieties than by sound public policy" (Ewing 2). As such, the last thirty years of U.S. immigration policy has had a disproportionate focus on deterring and criminalizing Mexican migration.  In fact, since about the mid-1990s, most of the border security measures have solely focused on the southern border, ignoring most of the Canadian border.

**Border Security, 9-11, and Mexican Migration**

Mexican immigration issues were more complicated throughout the 1990s. With the passage of IRCA and he North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) the Mexican economy was strained to such a point that Mexicans saw no other path to economic security but to cross the U.S. border and work illegally. With employer sanctions instituted by IRCA, this was the first time when non-U.S. citizens who worked in the U.S. were at a danger of immediate deportation. With this surge in border crossings, the Immigration and Naturalization Services' (INS's) "four-phase 'Southwest Border Strategy,' implemented post-NAFTA in 1994, strategically planned to militarize the US-Mexico border in order to allegedly deter clandestine crossings" (Chávez 49). NAFTA "has […] led to a relaxation of worker safety standards and protections; spurred the rapid growth of low wage factories along the border; exacerbated environmental degradation, human health issues and crime; and contributed to a depressed Mexican labor market that has increased the rate of Mexican migration to the United States (Romero 42-44)" (DeChaine 7). In fact, "to Mexico's small rural farmers, NAFTA has been a death sentence" (Mize and Swords 195). With decreased tariffs, the U.S. corn exports to Mexico "has increased eighteen fold" creating a crisis for Mexican farmers and all but obliterating the Mexican economy (Mize and Swords 195).

Due to this crisis created by U.S. led free trade policies, border crossings increased rapidly as Mexicans looked north for economic freedom. With the influx of Mexican migrants, the U.S.-Mexico border became a combative landscape wrought with racial tension and military tactics. U.S. immigration policies continued to focus solely on

Mexican migration and worked further to criminalize the migrant. The passage of the

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act in 1996:

> Created new grounds for inadmissibility to, and removal from, the United States,
>
> by expanding the definition of what constitutes an "aggravated felony" for
>
> immigration purposes. The law applied this new definition retroactively to include
>
> even non-violent offenses committed long before passage of the law; required the
>
> mandatory detention of non-U.S. citizens who were newly defined as "aggravated
>
> felons"; created an "expedited removal" process to speed the deportation of
>
> immigrants without a formal hearing; established three-and ten-year bars to re-
>
> entry for immigrants unlawfully present in the United States; and ramped up
>
> border enforcement (Ewing 6)

Despite all facts and logic again the notion, the post 9-11 Mexican/U.S. border became

associated with eminent terrorist attacks.  They were zones of possible infiltration.

Although there has never been a documented account of a terrorist cell crossing into the

U.S. through the Mexican border, the problem of Mexican immigration was tied to this

notion and the border closed further, with new and ever increasing strategies to block

Mexican migration.  The events of 9-11 were used as a way to secure funds for the

further militarization of the Mexican/U.S. border and policies were put into place to

deputize borer agents and supply them with military grade weaponry.

One such tactic was Operation Gatekeeper, a part of the Southwest Border

Strategy, which "sought to funnel migration out of the metropolitan areas and into

desolate areas like the Arizona desert as a means of deterring crossers" (Chavez 53). The

success of the "funnel effect," as termed by the University of Arizona Binational

Migration Institute, was contingent on the impending danger of the desolate desert and the inevitable deaths of border crossers. It was assumed that this would be enough of a deterrent for migrants but as opposed to stopping Mexican migration it only increased the deaths on the border.

Before its implementation "23 [migrant] deaths were reported in 1994" as they crossed the border, whereas in 2007, after increased border patrol in urban areas pushed border-crossing traffic into the dangerous Sonoran, "827 [migrant] deaths were reported" (Chavez 54). With a 3495% increase of migrant deaths in a 13-year span, essentially, the U.S. government has determined that deaths of Mexican migrants is a kind of acceptable collateral damage in the 'war' against illegal immigration. The funnel effect did little to deter crossings and instead merely made these clandestine journeys deadly and migrants more susceptible to criminal smugglers determined to capitalize on the desperation of border crossers. With the most recent 2014 crisis on the Mexican border, involving around 57,000 refugee children from Central America, there is a renewed public interest in U.S. policy concerning immigration.  President Obama asked for emergency funding to address the humanitarian crisis.  Reports on the proposal suggest, "The funds include $1.1 billion for Immigration and Customs Enforcement, $433 million to Customs and Border Protection, $64 million for the Department of Justice, $300 million to the State Department and $1.8 billion to the Department of Health and Human Services" (NBC). This request for humanitarian aid and the way this crisis is being framed in the mainstream media points to a shift in the public discourse surrounding immigration.

The need for immigration reform in the U.S., especially concerning Mexican migrants, is quickly becoming incredibly necessary.  It is estimated that, "approximately

65,000 undocumented students graduate from high school each year (Passel, 2003; Passel

and Cohn, 2011)" (Schmid 697). These students were born in another country but often

crossed over as infants or very young children and as such have been inculcated into

American culture and education. In this unique space, "they belong to the 1.5 generation

[and] because of barriers to their continued education past high school, including poverty

(almost 40 percent of undocumented families live in poverty) they are excluded from

legal employment and often discouraged from attending college (Immigration Policy

Center, 2011)" (Schmid 697).  The DREAM Act was initially proposed to help

undocumented students bear the burden of college tuition while also providing a pathway

to citizenship for persons who were raised in the U.S. and by all respects are U.S.

citizens.

**The DREAM Act**

Citizenship to many undocumented persons is a liminal space. Constantly living

one way but legally being another situates the undocumented resident in a constantly

shifting identity. In his editorial for the New York Times "My Life as an Undocumented

Immigrant" Jose Antonio Vargas writes, "Over the past 14 years, I've graduated from

high school and college and built a career as a journalist, interviewing some of the most

famous people in the country. On the surface, I've created a good life. I've lived the

American DREAM. But I am still an undocumented immigrant. And that means living a

different kind of reality. It means going about my day in fear of being found out." It's this

fear that laces the undocumented persons' experience in America, and so although the

U.S. is in many ways their home, they are constantly proving their citizenship in other

ways to cover the fact they do not have documentation. Socially they are U.S. citizens,

and have been for many years, but legally they lack any documents to prove it and due to

Reagan's passage of IRCA in 1986, for the first time in American history it was illegal to

hire a non-citizen.  With increased conservative immigration policies towards Mexico

and militarized border control the American myth of meritocracy, a Republican,

conservative and neo-liberal ideal, was suddenly unattainable to immigrants from the

south.

The problem of citizenship remains then a product of a myopic and biased public

opinion that focuses on the legality of citizenship rather than defining it by social terms.

Problematizing this issue further are the constantly shifting legal definitions of

citizenship. As part of the post-Civil War Reconstructionist era politics and as a way to

protect newly freed African Americans' rights as citizens the 14th Amendment was added

to the U.S. Constitution. In Section 1, it contends that, "All persons born or naturalized in

the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States

and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall

abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State

deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to

any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." With this, citizenship

became a birthright and all persons born on U.S. soil were considered U.S. citizens.

Birthright citizenship, although a Republican ideal, is counter intuitively opposed and

racialized by conservatives bent on marginalizing immigrant communities.  During the

ratification of NAFTA and the U.S. Southwest Border Strategy of the 1990s,

"congressional consideration of limiting birthright citizenship emerge[d] from a

combination of the renewed availability of consensual citizenship and a racialization of

the Mexican migrant as female, dependent, and hyper-reproductive" (Jacobson 646).

Essentially, proposals to shift from birthright citizenship to consensual citizenship, a type

of citizenship that "emerg[es] from the approval of current members to admit new

members" came clearly from a xenophobic, misogynist, and racist notion that Mexican

immigrants were "female, dependent, and hyper-reproductive" and therefore a drain on

the U.S. economy and social services (Jacobson 646). The problem with the binary

birthright/consenual citizenship is that the concept of citizenship cannot be reduced to

birthplace but also cannot be contingent on unanimous social acceptance since so often

citizenship is embedded in racist ideology. The U.S. media and public often consider

citizenship as a legal definable term but "citizenship is not just a matter of formal legal

status; it is a matter of belonging, which requires recognition by other members of the

community. Community members participate in drawing the boundaries of citizenship

and defining who is entitled to civil, political, and social rights by granting or

withholding recognition" (Glenn 3).

To do away with birthright citizenship would be detrimental to any persons who

do not fit U.S. normative standards, however, ignoring that social consensual citizenship

exists denies the fact that undocumented persons live as U.S. citizens despite their

technically illegal status. During the rampant proposals to abolish birthright citizenship

many were concerned about "globalization, invasion, and security, [and so] consent in

this period bec[a]me connected with loyalty to the nation and the choices of the

individual prospective member" (Jacobson 646).  Consensual citizenship, "switche[d]

from society's choice to admit members, to the individual choice to join a given people.

Grounded in notions of individualism and liberty" (Jacobson 646). Since most,

"consensualist versions of citizenship have a long republican history supporting the idea of a community's need for homogeneity in order to maintain a functioning republic (Schuck and Smith 1985: 28), a racial ontology combined with a consensual notion of citizenship leads to inequalitarian claims to restrict birthright citizenship" (Jacobson 647). In the past thirty years, since IRCA was passed, Mexican immigration has been limited, and citizenship has been connected to employment and thus that 'racial ontology' has been embedded in racist notions of Mexican migrants. For many politicians, supported by faulty and racist public opinion, the question remained, "Are lazy, uneducated, and burdensome Mexicans deserving of U.S. citizenship?"

This racial ontology was evident in the 1995 congressional hearings on birthright citizenship. Invoking a kind of anecdotal ethos, "Representative Bilbray from California [..] opened his remarks by stating, 'this issue is of great significance to me as someone who grew up along the Mexican border dealing with the consequences of an open border' (Societal 1995: 23)" suggesting that first, open borders are a problem and second, the problem stems from Mexican migration (Jacobson 648).  Many witnesses during this hearing framed their testimony in a similar way. "Mr. Beilson, in his statement, provided evidence that citizenship is a motive for illegal migration by citing a survey of 'new Hispanic mothers in California's border hospitals' (Societal 1995: 35)" however, "The immigrant was unraced in the abstract, but became Mexican in any testimony that used evidence, anecdotal or statistical, or even in witnesses' hypothetical situations" (Jacobson 648). Although most of the data used neglected to cite nationality or race, the problem immigrant was continually 'raced' as Mexican, and these statements "went unremarked because they seemed simply to be commenting on a natural truth about the population of

immigrants, or problem immigrants" (Jacobson 649). The most egregious offense was when, "The Chair of the congressional Asian Pacific Caucus asked to serve as a witness" and "when explaining why she was denied the right to testify, the chair reported being told the issue was about 'Mexicans having children or babies in this country,' not Asians (Societal 1995: 19)" (Jacobson 649). There were three racist assumptions that underpinned the testimony and spurred the proposal to end birthright citizenship: 1. "The Mexican immigrant was understood as lacking the American work ethic" 2. "Much of the information presented concerns the use of services, specifically reproductive health care, by the undocumented […] and also as evidence that services are a magnet for the undocumented" 3. "Proponents then connected this to birthright citizenship by discussing the increased access to services resulting from a parent having an American citizen child" (Jacobson 649).

Fortunately, the proposal did not pass and the 14th Amendment was not revised. Doing so would have created a "social exclusion [or] the demise of citizenship and the promise of universal and equal citizenship" (Schmid 701).   In the U.S., because so often, "there is a tension between universal inclusion and particularistic exclusion" there is a distinct differentiation between three aspects of citizenship as outlined in Table 2 (Schmid 701).  The major differences between formal citizenship and social citizenship are the benefits that come from birthright or naturalized citizenship status, namely, the theoretical protection of the state. With U.S. citizenship, persons are protected from marginalization by the constitutional rights and civil rights. In practice, of course, these protections do not always protect the most vulnerable populations but in theory citizenship provides security from discrimination and the benefit of social services.

| Aspect 1 | Aspect 2 | Aspect 3 |
|----------|----------|----------|
| Formal state membership and rule of access to it | Formal capacities and immunities with formal state membership | Identity or behavior aspects of individuals and conceiving as members of collectivity, classically the nation |

Table 2: Aspects of Citizenship (Schmid 703)

For undocumented students this formal inclusion as opposed to social inclusion becomes more problematic. Dimensions of citizenship identity and the perception of undocumented students as members of collectivity often clash with formal membership and immunities. Although "Mexico has continuously subsidized the growth of the U.S. economy by exporting entire generations of workers to the northing […] the legacy of the Mexican contribution is both ignored and distorted in order to demy Mexican immigrants' historic connection to the land and their right to legitimately participate in the U.S. political system as citizens" (Chacón and Davis 191). Despite this constant U.S. push against Mexican participation in immigration policy towards Mexico, activists have consistently organized against marginalization. Migration has increased, is more complicated, and multidimensional, which has caused legislation to be proposed to solve new issues including the right to and access to education.

The Immigration Policy Center outlines the history of the DREAM Act as follows. A few weeks before September 11th, on August 1st of 2001, the Student Adjustment Act, now called the Development Relief and Education of Alien Minors Act (DREAM), was presented in the U.S. Senate by Dick Durbin and Orrin Hatch. On Sept 1, 2007, Durbin

filed to place the DREAM Act as an amendment to the 2008 Department of Defense Authorization Bill, but lack certain requirements in the bill prevented it from moving forward. Although re-introduced a few more times, Republicans continued to block its passage.

By November 2012, twelve states had passed their own versions of the DREAM Act. Most deal with issues regarding in state tuition prices and financial aid. States that have passed their own versions of the DREAM Act include Texas, California, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Kansas, New Mexico, New York, Washington, Wisconsin, and Utah. None of the state DREAM Acts include a pathway towards citizenship. From 2001-2012 the DREAM Act went through several revisions and redrafts. In September of 2010, the DREAM Act, along with the repeal of Don't Ask Don't Tell (DADT), was included in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal-Year 2011. Senate republicans effectively filibustered the passage of the bill.  In December 2010, the House passed the bill but again it did not advance to the senate.  In May 2011, Sen. Harry Reid reintroduced the DREAM Act in its current incarnation. In the past fourteen years, since the original act was introduced, the DREAM Act has incurred massive revisions in the hopes of getting it passed in congress by adding provisions such as requiring biographic and biometric data and a good moral standing from participants.  Over that fourteen-year period, the questions underlining the Act changed from ones of access to education to strategies of surveillance, modifying behavior, and discipline of undocumented students.

The "continued focus on Latina/o immigrants in our immigration debates has led to the development of negative attitudes, driven by fear, which has increased the racism

and discrimination faced by many Latina/o immigrants" (Ruiz et al 152).  Although often

problematic, the discourse surrounding the DREAM Act, which is often Mexican-centric

and focuses on the increased inflow of Mexican migrants, is embedded in a very real

situation.

In August 2012 the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) reported that, "according to

MPI's analysis of Current Population Survey (CPS) data from the U.S. Census Bureau

and U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, as many as 1.76 million unauthorized immigrants

under age 31 who were brought to the United States as children are, or could become,

potential beneficiaries of the deferred action initiative."  Deferred Action for Childhood

Arrivals (DACA), is an executive order proposed and signed by President Barack Obama

in 2012 that allowed for 'prosecutorial discretion.'  With increased migration, "the logic

of Obama's policy of "prosecutorial discretion" is to allow immigration enforcement

officials to focus their resources on those who have committed crimes, rather than

deporting young people who actively participate in society and were brought as children

to the USA by their parents" (Schmid 697).  DACA offers temporary protection from

deportation and allows the individual to work and or attend college.  To qualify, an

undocumented person must meet the following requirements in Table 3. These five

requirements account for about 20% of the population of undocumented persons in the

U.S. and have a focus on allowing migrants who arrived in the U.S. as children to pursue

a college degree or join the military. The focus of DACA prevents about 80% of the

undocumented population to fall under the protection and be safe from deportation.  To

account for this, President Obama enacted Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and

Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) in February 2015.  The program is not accepting

applications at this time because a federal district court in Texas has issued a stop order

until states can file a lawsuit against DAPA (Immigration Law Center).  Most of the

undocumented person in the U.S. are here under tenuous circumstances, unsure of their

future, and in constant fear of deportation.

| Requirement 1 | Came to the USA under the age of 16 |
|---|---|
| Requirement 2 | Has continuously resided in the USA for at least five years prior to 15 June 2012 is currently in school |
| Requirement 3 | Has graduated from high school, has obtained a general education development (GED certificate), or is an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed forces of the USA |
| Requirement 4 | Has not been convicted of a felony offense, a significant misdemeanor offenses multiple misdemeanor offenses or otherwise poses a threat to national security or public safety |
| Requirement 5 | Not above the age of thirty |

Table 3- DACA Requirements (Schmid 698).

Since this is an executive order, President Obama could not on his own create a pathway

to citizenship and so DACA does many of the things the DREAM Act would do short of

offering citizenship to undocumented students. Since "attempts to expand rights, even for individuals who were brought young to the USA and have attended American schools have been blocked at the federal level" DACA provides a pragmatic way for persons who are by all respects acting as citizens in the U.S. to participate in society; however, the problem remains that even though, "DACA offers short-term amnesty and temporary relief from deportation […] undocumented individuals have no clear path to resident alien status (possession of a green card) or citizenship" (Schmid 701).

Because of "the lack of federal progress […] states [are] offer[ing] their own solutions, which are contradictory, conflicting and open to many interpretations. Even the most generous DREAM Act in Texas and California do not open the possibility for conditional permanent residency for students who complete college" (Schmid 701).  The ultimate goal for all DREAM Act proposals should ultimately be full entrance into U.S. society including citizenship. Again, although these efforts target childhood arrivals and would, if passed, allow for citizenship and access to higher education, this immigration reform only accounts for 20% of the undocumented population. In later chapters, I discuss the problematic nature of the DREAM Act language, who DREAMers are and who they are not, and the multilayered heterogenous aspect of migrant activists. In this next section, I focus on how DREAMers are navigating the university and how their mere presence changes the academy.

**DREAMers and the Academy**

Since the history of the DREAM Act is fraught with a tension between granting and denying undocumented students of color access to education and funding it is important to historicize the representation and perception of students of color and 'illegal

aliens' in academia.  In his article "On the Rhetoric and Precedents of Racism," Victor

Villenueva argues:

> Maybe the relatively low numbers of people of color on our campuses or in our
>
> journals-or the high numbers at community colleges with disproportionately few
>
> of color among the faculty-reinforce racist conceptions. The disproportionately
>
> few people of color in front of the classrooms or in our publications, given the
>
> ubiquity of the bootstrap mentality, reifies the conception that people of color
>
> don't do better because they don't try harder, that most are content to feed off the
>
> State (650)

Written in 1999, "On the Rhetoric" illustrates valid concerns of many people of color

entering academia.  Conflicting identity structures, the frameworks we use to construct

who we are through our interpretations of race, ethnicity, or gender, play a large role in

the problems students of color and undocumented students have when navigating the

culture of the academy. Many undocumented students have the belief that their cultural

and ethnic identities clash with the perceived homogenous and mostly white middle or

upper class culture of academia (McCarthy 1995).  The 'bootstrap mentality' Villanueva

is referring to is the American system of meritocracy --*you get what you earn* (Alon and

Tienda 2007, Brennan and Naidoo 2008).  What this belief fails to address are the

institutionalized racist ideologies that prohibit many marginalized people from

succeeding in this 'merit' based system, no matter how hard people of color or

undocumented students 'pull up their bootstraps.' What makes this more difficult is the

tentative space undocumented students occupy in the educational system.

The U.S. has many issues with education that go beyond access for undocumented students but provide context for how and why these issues arise. At the national level, "there is no federal right to education, and education is not discussed in the U.S. Constitution. In this regard, the United States diverges from the international community; for example, the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the European Union Declaration of Rights both assert that education is a fundamental right" (Glenn 10).  Lacking a constitutional right to education for U.S. citizens as a whole greatly impedes arguments for the educational rights of undocumented students.  Only North Carolina has it stipulated in their state constitution that education is a right. Many other states have policies that the government must provide free public education but technically no one has the right to that education. Through precedence people have argued for the right and access to education but again it is not a constitutional law and so "absent a federal right to education, the social citizenship right to education at the state level is mixed, in flux over time, and indeed contradictory from one state to the next" (Glenn 12).  This has, "severely limited what Marshall (1950) calls social citizenship (access to education and social services) past compulsory education" due to "states hav[ing] widely varied interpretations of the educational rights of undocumented students and higher education" (Schmid 697).

Besides these legal issues, for many undocumented students difficulties arise economically, socially, and culturally. Because "there is no universal right to pay instate tuition at institutions of public colleges and universities or even attend higher education for undocumented students," undocumented students are situated as not worthy of education and are always in contentious scenarios when trying to enter academia (Schmid

697).  To combat this some states have policies that allow undocumented students to pay in-state tuition. In two of these states, "Texas and New Mexico, undocumented students are also eligible for state financial assistance. Studies show that offering in-state tuition makes a considerable difference: in states with such provisions, one and a half times more non-citizen Latinos enroll in college than do similar students in states without such provisions" (Glenn 11).  Even in states that have had in-state tuition for undocumented students the political climate is contentious.

In 2002, Mirla Lopez, a migrant from Tampico, Mexico, entered University of Texas Austin as part of the first wave of undocumented students to receive in-state tuition in Texas. She graduated in 2006 and is currently an education activist and community organizer in Houston.  This past legislative session she joined a group of immigrant rights activists to protest and lobby against a bill that would repeal in-state tuition for migrants ("Texas: DREAMers").  Without in-state tuition many undocumented students, like Mirla, wouldn't be able to attend college. The bill did not pass but this consistent pushback from anti-immigration lobbyists and politicians continues to place roadblocks for comprehensive immigration reform and access to higher education for undocumented students. Immigration activists like Mirla-students who have to fight for space on university campuses.—continue to be the force beyond progressive immigration reform. The paradox remains then: undocumented students living as citizens and participating productively in society are not granted the same rights and access as U.S. citizens. This occurs on the federal, state, and institutional level.

Many students of color view the institution of academia as unfairly biased against people of color and undocumented students.  Some refuse to seek change believing they

do not have a right to nor the skills to create such a change.  Lin et al. argue, "[faculty] women of color are frequently expected to sacrifice for the larger good, and when they protest against being treated unfairly, they are frequently accused of being unreasonable or emotional, and thus they are pushed to the margins and silenced" (Lin et al 498). Lin et al. are specifically discussing faculty women of color being denied tenure, denied publication opportunities, and denied any real authority in academic departments, but their assessment of institutional challenges and roadblocks due to racial tensions, impede all people of color including students when trying to protest unequal practices in academia and especially immigrant students of color.  DREAMers have made some major steps toward progressive political and legal change.

One case study involves the court case Plyer v Doe in which a "significant federal ruling […] extend[ed] the right to a K–12 education to undocumented immigrant youth. In 1982, the Supreme Court heard the case of Plyler v. Doe, "which was brought by a student challenging a Texas statute that allowed local school districts to deny enrollment to children who had not been legally admitted to the United States" (Glenn 11).  The undocumented child won the case against the state and "Justice William J. Brennan, writing for the five-justice majority, reiterated that 'education is not a 'fundamental right' under the U.S. Constitution,' however, the ruling also stated that "undocumented immigrant children are ''persons'' and thus covered by the 14th Amendment's provision of equal protection for all persons" (Glenn 11).  With this 1982 case the precedent was set that "undocumented students could not be excluded from public school unless it could clearly be demonstrated that their exclusion served some necessary public good, which Texas failed to show," thus establishing that "immigrants, including undocumented

immigrants, are entitled to public elementary and secondary education. The Plyler

decision left undecided the right of access to higher education, but it led to a critical mass

of undocumented high school graduates who wanted to continue their education" (Glenn

11).  The Texas precedent is now used in cases across the country to fight for

undocumented student access to education. Racist and marginalizing policies like the

exclusion of undocumented students are often framed as for the public good, to combat

terrorism and illegal immigration, and as a way of upholding the standards of public

education. The explicit nature of racist policies is easy to combat, however this is not

always the situation.

The problem is that often this racial tension is so implicit and subtle that

proclaiming racism may prove to be a difficult task.  As Thomas West argues we,

live in a world where we are exposed to increasingly complex experiences and

representations concerning cultural differences, we need to push for increasingly

subtle, complex, and honest ways of talking about these representations and

experiences. If we as instructors dedicated to fighting racism are to do this, then

we need to insist through our theories and our pedagogies that racial and cultural

identities are more complex than the descriptions "racist" and "nonracist"

suggest," primarily because, "racist" has become inadequate to describe the

increasingly subtle and complex forms of agency concerning racial oppression in

the United States today (West 219)

It is in the analysis of the intricate subtleties of language where rhetorical studies

intersects and furthers critical race theory.  Villanueva's work in "On the Rhetoric,"

illustrated that a shift in the cultural and ethnic landscape of academia would promote

change in institutionalized racist ideologies.  Villanueva asserts that by having more people of color at universities and published in academic journals, West's concept of the implicit racist mentalities will shift within the academy, and students of color and undocumented students will be more likely to enter universities and have positive experiences with race issues, thereby providing the space and accessibility for more people of color to enter academic fields.  Rhetorical studies can offer a linguistic and discursive entrance into the academy for undocumented students creating frameworks to interpret subtle and implicit racism in policies, creating linguistic and discursive strategies to combat this implicit and subtle racism, and creating ways to support linguistic and discursive agency in undocumented students

The identity index '''undocumented,'' as well as the even more derogatory term ''illegal,'' is a relatively recent construction applied to Latino and other non-European origin immigrants residing within the United States without official papers," and so since activists are positioned as criminal by virtue of their mainstream public identity shifting terms and manipulating the discourse on immigration is difficult to begin with (Glenn 9).  The undocumented student identity is much more complicated than that.  In fact, "undocumented childhood arrivals belong to the 1.5 immigrant generation. Knowing no other country than the USA, they challenge the dichotomy between illegal and legal citizens. Sociological theory of citizenship has largely neglected this group although both in practice and theory it plays a very important role in the future of the USA and its ability to integrate a very large population of undocumented immigrants" (Schmid 704).  The space they occupy is and their fight for civil rights is varied, complex, subtle, and multifaceted.

Although there have been studies on the DREAM Act (see Whaley 2013, Ruiz,Gallardo, and Delgado-Romero 2013) and DREAMers (Valdez, Valentine and Padilla 2013, Reyna, Dobria, and Wetherall 2013) "studies of immigration…often examine how actors are represented, in addition to other focuses such as what arguments are made about them or what topics they are connected with" (Lamb 335) however, these studies rarely examine how immigration activists' language shapes and is shaped by government policy.

The studies often center on what is done to immigrants rather than position immigrants and activists as agents of change and authorities on immigration.  As West argues, "We need theories and pedagogies which account for how we might unintentionally internalize and intentionally counter hegemonic forces at the same time, theories and pedagogies which account for the internal tensions which are created when hegemonic forces intersect individual wills and desires" such as the internal and implicit hegemonic force behind legislative texts and their affects on the individual wills and desires of immigrant students. Immigration activists and DREAMers combat marginalizing language in the act and in the discourse surrounding immigration and citizenship through very specific writing strategies that shift the debate on immigration, construct positive and varied identities of immigrants, and define citizenship in complex meaningful ways. In the next chapter, I discuss this new migrant civil rights movement and how this affects WPA work, composition, and WAC[2] models.

**CHAPTER 3: THE NEW MIGRANT CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, ACTIVIST WPA, AND WAC[2]**

The fight for immigrant rights is often situated in problematic U.S. immigration policy that affects much of the public discourse surrounding migrant identities. Migrants respond to this negative portrayal in U.S. legal documents through the use of appropriated genres and rhetorical strategies, which will be outlined in later chapters. As stated in the previous chapter, DREAMers who qualify for DACA and the DREAM Act compose about 20% of the total undocumented population in the U.S. According to the Pew Research Center, "Mexicans make up about half of all unauthorized immigrants (52%)" with about "5.9 million Mexican unauthorized immigrants living in the U.S." With the majority of undocumented persons being Mexican and the historic racism against Mexicans in the U.S., the racialization of undocumented persons, or the way they are perceived racially, causes the public to treat undocumented persons as a homogenous group.

In actuality, undocumented persons, and DREAMers, are a diverse population with varying goals. In this chapter, I first discuss the current white culture of WPA work, then trace out the identity of the DREAMer and Counter-DREAMer migrant civil right's activists, then look at the current condition of Latinos in higher education, with a particular look at undocumented migrants, interrogate definitions of the current incarnation of the "activist" Writing Program Administrator (WPA), and finally present a new model of activism that is centered on the new migrant civil rights movement and the writing practices of migrant activists. The writing strategies of migrant activists may inform the activist minded WPA in creating writing programs.

**WPA and People of Color- A Troubling History**

In the spring of 2011, the Council of Writing Program Administration (CWPA) Journal published an article by Collin Lamont Craig and Staci Maree Perryman-Clark titled "Troubling the Boundaries: (De)Constructing WPA Identities at the Intersections of Race and Gender" in which they wrote, "As first time attendees of one of the CWPA conferences, we noticed the limited representation of people of color, and we were left to wonder why. When and where do we enter this conversation and how might we be more visibly represented in CWPA?" (38). CWPA has been historically white. I myself have spoken to several of my colleagues of color about CWPA and many have stated that they "Do not attend that conference because there aren't any people of color." This lack of people of color at the CWPA conference reveals much about power structures within WPA work.

Representation of scholars of color in academia, primarily in Rhetoric and Composition, affects the way race and ethnicity is perceived in academia, in fact, "institutional structures in the academy have particular investitures around identity that align relations of power to representation" (Craig and Perryman-Clark 39). With this in mind, during the 2014 Council of Writing Program Administration Conference in Normal, IL, I proposed the formation of a People of Color Caucus (CWPA-POCC) to the executive board. The board unanimously voted to endorse the POCC and gave it their full support. The POCC focuses on the efforts and concerns of scholars of color working with fundamentally different and disparate experiences of people of color in academia.  To increase representation of academics, graduate students, TAs, Writing Directors, and lecturers, people of color should be mentored into academia and see a precedent for their

right to be a scholar--to see their work valued and to be in conversations with vetted

tenured faculty.  The People of Color Caucus will be a vital component to an ongoing

conversation on inclusion and mentorship of scholars of color in CWPA.  It will actively

work to increase representation of people color into the CWPA and into academia at all

levels. The POCC will also function as one avenue for the CWPA to advocate for

scholars of color against marginalizing environments. Writing Program Administrators

(WPA) of color have to carve out a space for their scholarship in academia. Whereas

what some may consider "mainstream" scholarship finds a home in a welcoming

environment, scholars of color theorizing race and ethnicity find themselves combatting

racist narratives that push out critical scholarship.

When writing about students of color, or acts of institutional racism, or

multilingual composition, or World Englishes, scholars are asked, "How will this

increase student retention?" The obvious answer to this is because creating an

environment on campus that takes the intersections of race and writing into consideration

honors our students' linguistic histories and identities. People who feel honored and

respected stay the course and graduate.

This chapter discusses immigrant Latinos in America who are often marginalized

by university policies and pedagogy, including WPA policies.  There is a considerable

lack of scholarship on WPA work intersected with race and ethnicity. Although the

demographic of the composition classroom is varied linguistically and culturally, WPA

has primarily been concerned with responding to issues of retention without

consideration for race, ethnicity, and citizenship. In a recent CWPA conference, when

confronted with the lack of publications in the CWPA Journal on race and ethnicity one

of the editors responded with "We publish what we get." As noted, many scholars of color have a visceral reaction to the CWPA and its overwhelming whiteness and as such the CWPA should be focused on actively pursuing work from scholars of color as a path towards inclusion.

If the path for scholars of color in WPA work is contentious and hard fought, the path for the undocumented students of color is particularly tumultuous and often first year composition, especially in university where it is a core requirement, is structured in such a way that it works as a kind of gatekeeper preventing undocumented students from staying in school and graduating. If WPAs are to create an inclusive environment for multilingual migrant undocumented students of color, then first WPA work must be interrogated, examined, and relocated in an activist context aimed at advocating for migrant student rights.

**Who is the DREAMer?**

Migrant activists are heterogeneous, multifaceted, multinational, and working towards differing ends. The word DREAMer is too often used as a homogenizing term, especially in mainstream media outlets and by politicians with singular goals. The websites and resources I analyzed above all focus on the "DREAM" of higher education, access to educational funding, and U.S. citizenship. The truth is that not all DREAMers fit this neo-liberal or conservative identity of the American DREAM.  In many ways, these resources reflect a small portion of the migrants who are fighting for their right to live in the place of their social citizenship. Writing for HuffPost Latino Voices, Jonathon Perez says that the word DREAMer "was coined by a white legislator in an attempt to create sympathy for some undocumented youth. In turn, the only people who were

allowed to be media spokespeople were youth either in college or on track to be. They were the ones chosen to represent us in Congress." Perez continues, "It became more and more apparent that if left in the hands of "advocates," our humanity would be defined by a piece of legislation, one that they could use for their own agenda while also doing what "advocates" do best: make concessions to the state. As our movement evolved so too did the DREAMer. DREAMer became synonymous for "non-threatening" and "cute" in the eyes of the system." Perez points to a very clear criticism of the DREAMer movement: the overwhelming metaphor of the white, cisgendered, straight, American DREAM. Perez specifically critiques "the expectation [..]to complete a four-year degree in communities where the system historically has been set up for just a few to succeed" and argues that, "in order to create a space in the movement for undocumented youth, we need to accept all that an undocumented person was, is, and could be. This means fighting for everyone, regardless of their past, regardless of their mistakes or misfortunes." Currently, "more than 400,000 undocumented immigrants are […] being held in immigration detention centers. More than 2.5 million men, women and children are locked up in jails, prisons and juvenile detention centers" ("Forced Out").

About 80% of the undocumented migrants in the U.S. either do not qualify for the DREAM Act due to the requirements outlined in the previous chapter, or belong to a historically marginalized section of the population including but not limited to disabled, LGBTQ, incarcerated, or aged out. Historically marginalized populations rarely have advocacy in the mainstream political movement. Counter- DREAMer activist Jose Guadalupe Herrera Soto was "sent to jail for an aggravated felony after driving without a license [and] spent three months in Cook County jail after he refused a deal to plead

guilty for six months of jail" ("Forced Out").  In *Queer Migration Politics,* Karma R.

Chavez traces counter-DREAMer activists, like Herrera Soto, who work against the

normalizing metaphor of the migrant DREAMer. As Chavez writes, "queer and queer-

minded migrants who initiated the coming out strategy within the migrant youth

movement seem to have understood that effective coming out required, if not citizenship,

a certain amount of privilege in the eyes of the nation-state" (110). The coming out as

undocumented strategy works as a way to prove exceptionalism, as in the student

achiever, and therefore proving social citizenship through proof of worth by working

other privileges to their advantage (straight, light skinned, achiever). Queer activism,

however, acknowledges that the "state does not protect citizens" who are historically

marginalized; for example, AIDS patients, queer, poor, homeless, drug using, non-gender

conforming, sex-working, and people of color (Chavez 110). Ultimately, "no matter how

deserving DREAMers may be, their inclusion will be […] contingent because of US

racism, xenophobia, and capitalism" (Chavez111). This is particularly apparent in the

language of U.S. immigration policies towards Mexico as seen in my analysis of the

DREAM Act in a later chapter and previous policies from the past seventy years. Despite

this reality migrants face, the DREAM Act is the only current legislation that works

towards citizenship, a goal that arguably would help a certain amount of migrants to have

some political and social stability. The DREAMer narrative, although problematic, is

specifically important to academia and composition courses, as it is designed to gain

access to university campuses and educational funding. The 20% who do qualify for the

DREAM Act are a vocal and powerful activist network working towards educational

rights and legal citizenship.

**The New Migrant Civil Right's Movement**

Proponents of the DREAM Act say it will promote diversity in colleges and promise that it will be a viable pathway towards citizenship for the millions of undocumented students of color. Although the DREAM Act is right now the most valid legislation on comprehensive immigration reform, it is problematic because the language used in the act is often heavily biased and loaded and carries the weight of racist ideologies xenophobic in nature. As Glenn states, this debate raises questions like, Should undocumented students who are academically qualified be admitted to public universities in their states on the same terms as citizens and legal residents?; If so, should they be charged tuition as in-state students or as foreign students?; Should they be eligible for financial aid from the state? What about federal aid, Pell grants, and student loans? And so, "to address these questions, we need to examine the multiple levels at which educational rights are constituted and contested in the United States" (Glenn 10). Part of the contestation was outlined in chapter one. Since there is no constitutional right of education for U.S. citizens, educational rights for undocumented migrants was a hard fought battle.

This new migrant civil right's movement is embedded in the notion that citizenship is a way for a nation state to uphold inequality. Immigration policy in the U.S. is used to "perpetuate a privileged lifestyle at the expense of foreigners" and so is often written favoring economic benefit over social well being (Isbister 85). In his discussion of various arguments for open borders David Ibister suggests that, "it is difficult to find an ethical justification for the United States to restrict entry across its borders" (87)

The privilege found in U.S. citizenship is a sort of protection (with a limit) against injustice, access to resources, and a promise of a possible (albeit not probable) future with economic security, if not social or political security as Karma R. Chavez pointed to in her critique of exceptionalist strategies in migrant activism. The political harboring of privilege is a uniquely Western, if not primarily American, practice. It is this "protection of privilege that is so damaging, ethically, to the country's immigration laws" (Ibister 88). To put it bluntly, "the purpose and effect of U.S. immigration controls are to maintain a state of inequality in the world between the haves and have nots" (Ibister 88). This intentional disparity is constructed in three ways: U.S. militarized foreign policy, free-trade that favors U.S. interests, and highly militarized border control. The U.S. government capitalizes on the public "fear that unrestricted entry would lead to a major influx of people, that the newcomers would compete for scarce resources and jobs in the U.S. and that they would drive down the standard of living of residents" (Ibister 88)

An open border policy in the U.S. would in effect allow for the creation of ethical ways to combat this disparity. If adopted, "an ethics-driven notion of an open border with Mexico [would take into account the] cultural, sociological, and economic history between the United States and Mexico" (Ong Hing 143). In which case immigration policy would be less concerned with preventing migration and rather it would honor the natural migration that has occurred over the past few hundred years between the U.S. and Mexico. This history of migration has forever altered the ethnic landscape of the Southwest and to contest this natural progression seems counter intuitive. The precedence for this kind if open border system is integral to the whole notion of globalization. The problem with globalization is that it is a migration of economy and ideas only, it lacks a

dialectical relationship with marginalized communities, and it has colonialist roots. But the open borders ideal is still a major component of globalization, in fact, "migration without borders is consistent to globalization and free trade.  Borders were once used to stop capital, goods, and people, but after free-trade movements, borders now just stop people" (Ong Hing 145). Allowing for capital and goods of the privileged to freely cross borders but stopping and blocking human migration generates a desperate disparity of the lower class and highlights systemic racism in immigration policy. The oft cited conservative argument against open borders is that a policy that allowed for free human migration is in direct opposition to a nation state's sovereignty to govern its borders and protect its birthright citizens from security threats; however, "open borders is not a challenge to a nation's sovereign authority to restrict immigration" in fact "one advantage to a more open system in the post-9/11 era is that resources would be freed up and more attention could be paid to true dangers to public safety and national security" (Ong Hing 147).

In the past seventy years or so, the U.S. has focused much of its immigration policy on deterring Mexican migration, as outlined previously. The last time amnesty for undocumented Mexican migrants was attained was in 1986 when Reagan passed IRCA but this came at a price—namely the illegalization of migrant undocumented work in the U.S. and the militarization of the southern border. Since Reagan, it has been much more difficult to push for amnesty and citizenship for Mexican migrants.  In fact, pushing for "amnesty-in the form of immediate legalization and a path to citizenship for the undocumented workforce—represents a threat to capital, since it would give immigrant workers leverage to form unions and use their collective power without fear of

retribution" (Chacón and Davis 289).  President Obama made a pragmatic bi-partisan solution by announcing the executive order DACA, which stopped deportations for the same population that would qualify for the federal DREAM Act. Even with its problem language and lack of comprehensive coverage the DREAM Act is still the most viable legislation currently making it's way through congress. The new migrant civil right's movement "must resist any compromising logic that legitimizes criminalization of the undocumented, or border militarization" and "must reject the logic of border enforcement" (Chacón and Davis 289).  Ideally, immigration reformists should do two things:  revise the DREAM Act's language in order to avoid further criminalization of undocumented persons and border militarization and until that is done then this text will only add to the marginalization and racist attitudes towards Mexicans in the U.S; and second, "if we are to solve the challenge of undocumented Mexican immigration, heavy investment in Mexico's infrastructure and economy must be made" (Ong Hing 159). Migrant activists, both DREAMers and Counter-DREAMers, are moving towards those goals. As stated above, DREAMers are the vocal majority in the mainstream debate on immigration.  They are the chosen representatives of a much more varied migrant activist movement and they are the population writing instructors will have in their classrooms if and when the DREAM Act passes.

**Latinos in Higher Education**

Latinos, and especially migrant Mexicans, face a multitude of obstacles in pursuing the goal of higher education.  The political, social, and economic hindrances undocumented Latino migrants confront are often embedded in racist and xenophobic public policies, as shown with my previous analysis of the DREAM Act. According to

the Lumina Foundation report *Camino a La Universidad*, in the United States out of 100

Latino students 48 drop out of high school, 52 graduate high school but out of that only

31 go to college, and only 10 of those students graduate college (2). Furthermore,

citizenship status "increases the number of reported institutional obstacles to gaining a

higher education. For example, students born in Mexico reported more institutional

obstacles than those born in the United States. Students who wrote in English reported

more institutional resources than those writing in Spanish" (*Camino* 3).

In line with the institutional problems Latinos already face, "English-language

learners (ELLs) are often tracked or segregated, and they can feel that they must choose

between a "gringo" identity and a Chicano identity. They associate "acting white" with

good behavior in school. Most choose to assimilate but are ambivalent about their

decision" (*Camino* 3). Since linguistic identity is so integral to ethnic and racial identities

ELLs often feel divided between learning English and gaining access to the university but

feeling 'whitewashed" and maintaining their ethnic markers and social capital in their

home communities.

In many cases, "academic achievement may be negatively influenced by many

poverty-related risk factors, including:

| Mother | Environment | Childhood Conditions |
|---|---|---|
| Having a mother who dropped out of high school | Being raised by a single parent | Having been born with low birth weight |
| Having a mother who is unemployed or works a low-prestige job | Having three or more siblings | Having few children's books |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Having a mother who is depressed | Being physically punished frequently | |
| Having been born to a teenage mother | Living in an unsafe neighborhood | |

Table 4: Academic Achievement Risk Factors  (Camino 3)

Added to these social and economic difficulties, the aesthetics of university campuses may affect Latinos and as such "higher education institutions may be alienating to Latino students because of their physical, social and learning environments. The physical environment encompasses architectural and design features premised on a White aesthetic model. The social environment is often centered on the campus's predominantly White population. The learning environment refers to the knowledge valued by the university, which is primarily Euro-centric" (Camino 4).  Undocumented migrant students find it important to change the physical space, to add instances of Latinidad on a mostly white campus.  Ultimately, "for Latino college students, individual effort is important for transforming hostile university environments. Daily practices include the use of symbols (posters, flags, music, etc.) to transform the physical space; use of Latino scholarship to transform the epistemological world; and the creation of Latino social networks to transform the social space. The presence of Latino faculty and staff and their institutional offices provides Latino students with safe social zones where they can comfortably be themselves" (Camino 12).

Besides the physical space, the social ecology of the university is vital to the Latino student experience. Of course, "discriminatory behaviors directed toward Latino students can be thought of as "institutional abuses" that hinder educational attainment.

These behaviors include displaying discouragement and lack of support, providing

inaccurate information or insufficient knowledge, withholding critical information, and

limiting access to opportunities for college" (Camino 4).

The Lumina report, although from a politically conservative organization, gives

insights into how Latinos, undocumented or citizens, view college, their identities, and

their educational pursuits. The U.S. Department of Education gathers statistics on degrees

conferred every ten years.  The numbers are broken down in terms of race, ethnicity, and

gender.  Table 5 illustrates the disparity between degrees earned by Whites and those

earned by Hispanics.

| Whites | 1998-1999 (%) | 2008-2009 (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Associates | 73.1 | 66.4 |
| Bachelors | 75.6 | 71.5 |
| Masters | 71.2 | 64.6 |
| First Professional | 74.9 | 71.1 |
| Doctoral | 63.2 | 58.6 |

| Hispanics | 1998-1999 (%) | 2008-2009 (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Associates | 8.7 | 12.4 |
| Bachelors | 5.8 | 8.1 |
| Masters | 4.1 | 6.0 |
| First Professional | 4.9 | 5.5 |
| Doctoral | 3.0 | 3.8 |

Table 5 – U.S. Department of Education Data from 2011

Though the .8% rise in number of degrees conferred to Hispanics from 1998-1999 to

2008-2009 is promising progress, the extreme difference in degrees conferred to Whites

(58.6%) to those conferred to Hispanics (3.8%) by the year 2009 is troubling.

The American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education's Policy Brief Series

concluded that, "Latinos are far more likely to begin postsecondary education in

community colleges, and in fact roughly 51% are concentrated in this sector. Yet it is

well documented that few manage to successfully complete the transition from a two- to a

four-year college or university" (Nuñoz and Elizondo 1). Added to the fact that Latinos

make up a large portion of the community college population, "the majority (68%) of

Latino community college students are first-generation college students, and one-third

(33%) are first-generation immigrants" (Núñez et al., 2011). Not only are Latinos first

generation college students but many are undocumented.  Because of this they have three

possible difficulties with the college experience: 1." may have limited knowledge about

the process of choosing academic coursework to applying to transfer"; 2. "may have

difficulties finding institutional personnel whom they can trust and who can guide them

in these areas (Bensimon & Dowd, 2009; Hagedorn, 2010)"; and 3. "may find the

community college to be an alienating environment when the organizational culture is not

responsive to Latino concerns (Jaffe, 2007; Millward, Starkey, & Starkey, 2007)" (Nuñoz

and Elizondo 4). To combat these difficulties in not only transferring from the

community college into the four year university but also to create a pathway to the

baccalaureate for Latinos, "early and sustained interventions such as bridge programs,

learning communities and research programs are needed" (Nuñoz and Elizondo 10).

Coupled with this faculty must actively support Latino students, particularly

undocumented students as their tenuous citizenship position often leads to further

marginalization.  As guardians of first year composition, WPAs work closely with these

types of college readiness programs, primarily with learning communities, bridge

programs, and WAC[2] initiatives but as stated earlier, rarely does WPA scholarly work

intersect with race and ethnicity; therefore, since WPAs occupy a space of power

linguistically, culturally, and institutionally this position should be examined as a

possible place for migrant undocumented student rights advocacy.

**The WPA as an Activist for Migrant Undocumented Students**

The Department of Education reports that from 1976 to 2011, students of color

went from 16% of the population of college students to 41%. With increased enrollment

of students of color in universities--graduate and undergraduate--the racial, ethnic, and

linguistic diversity of the composition classroom is ever growing. Despite these

enrollment increases, the US Census Bureau reported for the year 2014 that minoritized

groups with doctorates comprised only .09% of the total. The salience of ethnic and racial

diversity issues in WPA work, combined with a growing visibility and vocal presence of

people of color in the WPA positions, allows for a focus on issues confronting

minoritized groups in the public sector and on college campuses. As stated previously,

with the passage of DACA and the possible passage of the DREAM Act 11.2 million

undocumented students would gain access to higher education.

Latino students, both U.S. citizens and undocumented, confirmed that, "framing

educational pursuits as ways students can fight discrimination, enhance ethnic pride and

assist their communities when they return with college degrees can make college more

attractive" (*Camino* 3). Latino groups fighting for access to higher education, including

undocumented persons from Mexico, have stated that college should assist student with activist goals and facilitate a college experience bent on supporting the larger discourse community. Discourse is always social, always contextual, and always contingent and our individual and social identities are shaped by the way we use language— written and oral—and as such then our racial and ethnic markers are implicitly intertwined with how we write. Much has been written on the identity of the student in relation to the identity of the professor but mostly from the angle of how a diverse student population affects pedagogy (Davila 2011, Blau 2003, hooks, 1994). The lacunae is with studies looking at how the identity of the teacher becomes a symbol of the limits and expectations of academia; but how might we use the research on student/teacher identity relations and pedagogy as a means of framing how students perceive the culture of academia and its relationship to racial, ethnic, and citizenship identities?

Many have used a critical pedagogical approach as a response to the increasing multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-socio-economic status classroom and the problems that may arise when this diverse landscape creates a conflicted space (Freire 1970, Giroux 1981,1996, hooks 1994, among many others). There have been proponents that a diverse classroom does not automatically create a divisive classroom. This is not to say that diversity in the classroom is seen as a negative, but rather that many scholars see the diverse classroom as a political space (Bizzell 1992), a space students must learn to navigate and teachers must learn to critically engage.

Jane Black traces her own personal path towards self-indentifying her cultural background. She identifies as a white female from the *South* and sketches the many political and racial problems this cultural position gives her.  Black then moves to show

the correlation between this self-identity and her role in the classroom.  There have been

many articles on how the 'whiteness' of a teacher may affect the way they perceive

students of color, however, what has yet to be fully researched is whether or how a self-

identified person of color may affect student perception of the teacher. Michelle Bailiff

complicates a critical and cultural pedagogical approach to composition theory when she

asserts that self-identification, as in a person declaring their identity through speech or

performance, on the part of the teacher may marginalize students and give students an

unbalanced perception of roles in the classroom. Bailiff argues, "Although the

pedagogies positing an ethics of ethos and/or pathos, which have been embraced by

compositionists, are generated by an understandable desire to constitute the marginalized

as subjects and agents, they are still predicated upon a metaphysical impulse: to make

ourselves present to (and thus faithful to our representations of) ourselves" (88). She

claims that self-identification alone is a somewhat selfish act and without looking into the

position of identity in critical a way, this self-identification may create a limited teacher-

generated discourse in the classroom and "until the parameters and boundaries of that

discourse are displaced, any talk of liberation and emancipation is a farce at best and an

insidious act of violence at worst" (88). Bailiff's assertions complicate Villanueva's

'bootstrap mentality" in that even under the 'best' circumstances with a teacher wanting

to self-disclose identity without a critical framework within which to discuss identity

politics how can their be a 'liberation' for the student?  By merely 'seeing' a person of

color in the classroom does a student of color feel liberated? Or by never seeing a person

of color in a position of power at universities does a student of color feel limited?

When race and ethnicity are obvious aesthetic markers of the identity of a teacher, as in the color or the cultural performance of the teacher, then students may make correlations between the culture of academia and the racial identity of teachers. Because of the increasing percentage of the population now self-identifying as multi-racial, the phrase "person of color" becomes problematic. Natalie Masouka asserts the "contemporary rise in multiracial self-identification provokes a number of questions about the significance that this racial identity may hold for American politics" and "multiracial identities may influence individual public opinion" (Masouka 253). Along with political complications, multi-racial identities complicate the view of the identity of the teacher in the classroom. With discourse analysis we understand that "the ways people talk about themselves have to do with the particular selves they are creating and expressing in narrative" (Johnstone ix), therefore, the ways in which teachers self-identify as a person of color or a multi-racial person of color presents a specific identity to students. This racial and ethnic identity may then affect the way students perceive the performance of a culture in academia and the limits and expectations of cultural identity in the academy and essentializing and reductive representation may manifest. These cultural and ethnic representations are, as Stuart Hall argues, signifying practices that become systems of thought and come to construct meaning. It is via the personal narrative, embedded in our study, that resistance and complexity emerge.

To relate this to WPA work, writing programs need to consider programmatic and departmental level changes to serve diverse populations in a more attentive and responsible manner and ask questions like how writing programs can better align administrative philosophy with practice. It is time to theorize pragmatic ways to address

shifting racial and ethnic demographics that are so heavily linked to migrant issues. And

so three questions remain: 1. What kinds of systemic and institutional changes would

help writing programs adapt? 2. Which administrative approaches or strategies affirm

racial and ethnic diversity? 3. How could dominant groups better support those from

minoritized populations so they have opportunities to define and shape inclusive policies

and practices?

In Linda Adler-Kassner's seminal work *The Activist WPA,* she outlines the ways,

in which WPAs are doing this kind of work in the sphere of composition studies,

> While there are differences between interest-, values-, and issue-based approaches
>
> to organizing, they are all rooted in the progressive pragmatic jeremiad (and, in
>
> many ways, in the work of Saul Alinsky [e.g., Sen 2003, xliv]). All invest
>
> enormous faith in the power of individuals to cultivate creative intelligence; all try
>
> to facilitate dialogue and action with the intent of making change; all believe that
>
> these processes of dialogue-facilitating and change-making, and the changes that
>
> result from the processes, will ultimately move the nation closer to the
>
> achievement of a just democracy. All also (implicitly or explicitly) address some
>
> of the shortcomings of progressive pragmatism addressed by West and others, like
>
> the lack of immediate attention to material conditions such as class, race, and
>
> gender (Sen 2003, xlv– xlvii)" (124)

Adler-Kassner points to the issue particular to this research, the lack of attention to issues

of race and ethnicity in composition studies and specifically in WPA research. Cornel

West's prophetic pragmatism, which is heavily reliant on metaphors of religion and faith,

supports this kind of work with race in the comp classroom; however, when applied most

research stops short of linking comp issues with race and ethnic issues except in the deficit model. Prophetic pragmatism is "predicated on three elements": 1. Profound faith in and advocacy for the power of individuals to make a difference and improve democracy, balanced with acknowledgement that both these efforts and the democracy is situated in and shot through with differences in power (West 227); 2. The importance of processes intended to forward the possibility of "human progress" that acknowledge and attempt to address profound differences in power among citizens, coupled with "the human impossibility of paradise" (West 229); 3. And an acknowledgement that process is predicated on the adaptation of old and new traditions to "promote innovation and resistance for the aims of enhancing individuality and promoting democracy" (230)" (Adler Kassner 174).  WPA can benefit from embedding such models into programmatic and pedagogical systems.

Prophetic pragmatism is embedded in the notion that minoritized groups can and must advocate for themselves and their voices matter most when discussing issues of marginalization. WPAs who work with migrant populations need to make pragmantic solutions based on local regional needs and informed by migrant students, scholars of color, migrant scholars, and scholars of linguistically diverse backgrounds. WPAs with an activist focus could possibly consider the following categories as outlined in Table 6 when making programmatic changes. The questions that correlate are generative questions that work towards solutions on how to think about these aspects of writing programs when intersecting them with diversity. In later chapters, I discuss how an important component of diversity is the dialectical relationship ethnolinguistically diverse populations have on academia and academic writing. In many ways, diversifying writing

programs has historically either been superficial in aim with a sole focus on including

diverse literature in the canon, hiring a diverse professor of color without providing the

kind of support or mentorship to combat the issues that comes along with being the only

person of color in a predominantly white department, or diversity in the deficit or

assimilationist models. Diversity, especially ethnolinguistic diversity, changes the

academy and in writing programs it changes writing. In later chapters, I show how

migrant activist writing does both.  While migrant activists appropriate genres and

rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse they work against assimilation in many ways

and instead manipulate the discourse and change it for their activist aims. This could be

used as a model of civic engagement and as a way to interrogate current traditional WPs

and the kinds of language tasks WPAs, compositionists and WAC[2] proponents ask

students to do.

| Heuristic When Considering Diversity in WPA Work | |
|---|---|
| **Categories** | **Questions** |
| **Assessment** | How can writing programs (WPs) theorize specific advocacy for programs that serve migrant populations? How can WPs reconsider outcomes to account for increasing numbers of multilingual migrant students? What should writing programs take into consideration when determining criteria for undocumented migrant student success? |
| **Hiring/Staffing Practices** | How can WPAs promote inclusion in staffing, training, and ongoing professional development practices? What can the field do to attract more diversity into WPA roles and specifically WPAs who understand the implicit needs of undocumented migrant students? |

| Institutional | What kind of systemic changes need to happen in writing programs? What kind of micro-aggressions do WPAs of color, specifically Latino/as and those who work with migrant populations, experience and how does that map onto the institutional racism of the campuses they inhabit? |
|---|---|
| Mentorship | How can we ensure adequate mentoring of graduate and junior WPAs of color who are multilingual, migrants, and/or undocumented, and want to and have experience working with undocumented student? How might programs address this issue at a certain stage of the pipeline? |
| Outcomes | How might outcomes be better met or altered in a way that ensure Writing Programs are acknowledging the importance of racial and ethnic minorities and migrant undocumented students? |
| Pedagogy/Teacher Training | What curricular changes can be made within writing programs that do not account for the growing diversity of students and scholars of color with specific attention to areas with a large population of undocumented multilingual migrant students of color? |
| Representation | What affordances might programs have with a WPA of color or a multilingual undocumented migrant WPA? |

Table 6 Heuristic When Discussing Diversity in WPA Work

Using this heuristic when completing programmatic shifts that address

undocumented migrant student populations, and including migrant populations in the

discussion of these questions, would perhaps facilitate open dialogue and contextualize

local needs in the comp classroom. Scholar, teacher, and administrator performances of

cultures, races, and ethnicities are often illustrative of the limits and expectations of

persons of color in academia. Where white WPAs may have more freedom to bring their

politics and differences into their pedagogy and curriculum decision-making, WPAs of

color who fill these roles have to practice their politics and identity in a more judicious

way. These limits and expectations have definitively impacted student perception of the

role of culture, race, and ethnicity in the academy. Walter Benn Michaels explains,

> Our race identifies the culture to which we have a right, a right that may
>
> be violated or defended, repudiated or recovered. Race transforms people
>
> who learn to do what we do into the thieves of our culture and people who
>
> teach us to do what they do into the destroyers of our culture; it makes
>
> assimilation into a kind of betrayal and the refusal to assimilate into a
>
> form of heroism (685).

Michaels' assertions problematize the issue of culture and ethnicity in academia.  If the

student perceives their culture, race, or ethnicity as being assimilated or destroyed by

academia, as was stated in the Lumina Foundation report, then their experiences in a

post-secondary program may be affected. Since student's perceptions of academia come

mostly from their interactions with professors, who are published academic authors, then

how the professor enact their racial/ethnic identity may largely affect how students

perceive race and ethnicity and citizenship in academia and specifically in the comp

classroom. A WPA intent on making migrant undocumented student voices central to

programmatic planning is Adler-Kassner's *Activist WPA* in action.

## WAC[2] and the Migrant Activist WPA

In 2004 when Michelle Hall Kells joined the faculty at the University of New

Mexico, she began to theorize a model of Writing Across Communities that focused on

"literacy education programs that foreground the values of community and sustainability enhance students' initiation into a complex ecology of human relationships" (Hall Kells 89).  Writing Across Communities (WAC[2]) was the fruition of her student centered and contextually contingent intellectual work on bridging the university and the community. WAC[2] is "an advocacy initiative promoting conditions in our educational system that encourage learning, authorship, and connections to multiple contexts. The distinguishing feature of the Writing Across Communities model is our integrated focus on student diversity and the overall cultural ecology of our regional environment" (Hall Kells 89) WAC[2] extends "from a cultural ecology approach" that "can help to frame new conversations about the dimensions of communicative competence or what Bawarshi calls 'rhetorical ecosystems'" (Hall Kells 90). A Migrant WAC[2] model, would not only focus on student diversity and the cultural ecology of the region but would also consider the transcultural, translinguistic, and migratory identities of the undocumented student. As Juan Guerra notes:

> The notion of transcultural citizenship provides a more effective way for educators to remind our students—especially students from historically marginalized communities—that they can and should make use of the prior knowledge and experiences they have accumulated and the rhetorical agility they have developed in the course of negotiating their way across the various communities of practice to which they currently belong, have belonged in the past, and will belong in the future" (299).

Undocumented students embody the concept of transcultural citizenship on multiple levels: as students fighting for access to university space, as translingual students

advocating for language rights, and as rhetorically keen activists who appropriate and employ genres of power in the new migrant civil rights movement.

Ellen Cushman asserts that composition teachers have a responsibility to act as "agents of social change," to empower their students, and provide the space and resources for students to become active citizens. Cushman argues that literacy and language initiatives should be framed as a means of promoting and encouraging students to become civically focused.  She also illustrates how comp teachers can use their resources and literacy skills as tools of political engagement. The most important argument Cushman makes is the acknowledgement that to be literate is a right and a luxury.  To be able to participate in literate actions means to have the luxury of time and the resources for literacy skill building.  The major contributions composition teachers may give to a community or a classroom is the space and resources students need to engage in literacy practices. WAC[2] functions as a way to provide these resources and value the differing ethnolinguistic strategies.

Linda Flower defines "rhetoric of engagement" as "the art of making a difference through inquiry deliberation, and literate action in the name of equality and social justice" (75).  She emphasizes the importance of community members developing problem-solving skills in order to maintain agency and control over community initiatives.  Community members should determine the problems in their community and collaborate in intercultural exchanges in order to address these issues.  The skills needed to reflect on these exchanges may be developed through writing programs.  Community members must, however, have the power to take action on their own terms. In regards to the university, migrant undocumented students engage in community literacy practices

that shape their use of genre and rhetorical moves.

Keith Gilyard argues that students bring background knowledge to the classroom.  Student's rhetorical strategies are informed by their identities, which according to Gilyard, may be used in the composition classroom as the foundation for student writing.  If students are to take agency over their work then they must own the assignments they asked to complete. Gilyard's focus with this pedagogical strategy is to encourage students to work toward social justice.  For students to care about social issues, however, they must find personal connections.  Therefore, the intersections Gilyard creates with rhetoric, composition, and identity politics create the structure for a classroom focused on social problems and civic action.

Donald Lazere is suggests that comp courses are service courses in the sense that comp classes teach skills that serve other academic disciplines, which implies that composition lacks content.  There are plenty of problems with this view of composition.  It places comp studies at the lower end of the hierarchy of academia.  Although Lazere prescribes to this line of problematic thinking, he does argue that the skills students learn are a value to their role as citizens and therefore vital to a lifelong position as an active member of society and politics.  Therefore, composition courses provide students with strategies needed to be civically engaged.

Elenore Long argues that academic institutions should create partnerships with local communities so that academia can begin to should how vital it is to society.  The goal of these partnerships should be to encourage community literacy initiatives. This argument is not revolutionary but what is important about Long's argument is that the ownness of the initiatives is on the community.  The community decides which problems

must be addressed and academics are there to provide resources and strategies to the community to work toward resolving these issues.

As stated earlier, a vocal majority in the undocumented student movement is the DREAMer. One way to include the voices of DREAMers when considering the comp classroom is to look at DREAMer discourse and how it responds to the larger context of the immigration debate in the U.S.  In these next few chapters, I position the DREAM Act as a performative text because it generates an identity of the undocumented person in the public discourse to which DREAMers respond in writing through appropriating the genres and rhetorical moves of those in power. The migrant activist genres are a response to the four problem areas of the DREAM act, which are the criminalizing nature, the erasure of the affected subjects, the taking away of agency of the affected subjects, and the propagation of xenophobic ideology. A WAC[2] "approach […] foregrounds the dimensions of cultural and sociolinguistic diversity in university-wide writing instruction" (Hall Kells 90). In later chapters, I discuss how a migrant WAC[2] approach considers dimensions of transculturalism and transsociolinguistic diversity on and off campus.

**CHAPTER 4: HERMENEUTIC APPROACHES AND ACTIVIST REPONSES TO**

**THE DREAM ACT**

DREAMers respond to the problematic nature of the DREAM Act, the racialized

status of undocumented DREAMers, and the implicit racism through writing strategies.

In the last chapter, I looked at this new migrant civil rights movement, its

interconnectedness to academia, and particularly to composition studies, WAC[2], and

WPA work. In this chapter, I show the specific problematic areas of the DREAM Act text

and then point to how DREAMers respond to these issues through writing. To do this I

look at the performativity of the DREAM Act and the ways in which is creates the

identities of migrants in public discourse and in policies. As shown, historically Mexican

migrants have been marginalized in U.S. immigration policy with its disproportionate

focus on deterring Mexican migration and crossings from the southern border. Since

IRCA passed, this marginalization is extended to employer sanctions and the

illegalization of undocumented workers. The DREAM Act is an extension of the last

thirty years of U.S. policy towards Mexico and in many ways furthers the narrative

against Mexican migration.

The DREAM Act generates the identity of the migrants in public discourse. It

positions the migrant undocumented person as criminal, it erases of the migrant from the

text by creating an emotional distance, it takes away the agency of the migrant and

centers them as a passive agent, and it propagates a xenophobic ideology present in many

U.S. immigration policies when concerning Mexican migration. In later chapters, I show

how DREAMer responses to these features of the text affect composition studies.

While in office, President Obama was able to enact the executive order Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) and stop deportations for most who qualify under the DREAM Act.  He also attempted to halt deportations for family members of those who applied for DACA. In the most recent presidential campaign of 2016, there are an alarming number of candidates, both republican and democrat, who are divided when it comes to immigration. Although not a viable candidate for public office, Donald Trump, who is vying for the republican nomination for president, embodies the troubling racist rhetoric often seen in pop culture and public discourse.  He has stated publicly that he believes that undocumented Mexican nationals residing in the U.S. are "rapists and murderers." When he appeared on MSNBC's Morning Joe talk show to speak on his immigration plan he stated:

> Well, the first thing we do is take the bad ones — of which there are, unfortunately, quite a few. We take the bad ones and get 'em the hell out. We get 'em out. We give 'em back to Mexico, or we make sure they stay — or where they come from. Because they don't all come from Mexico. They come from other places. They use that border but they come from other places. We get 'em out and get 'em out fast. And we get 'em out permanently. That's a big thing.

Trump is alluding to several myths proven false by a decade of research at the Mexican border. There is a public assumption fueled by a post-9-11fear that the southern border is porous and that terrorist cells cross over.  There has never been any significant proof of this but the myth endures. Trump is also taking the position that migrants are criminals. He is asserting that there are a large amount of "bad ones," meaning criminal migrants, and that his policies would target migrants and deport them. Trump continued:

I'm a very big believer in merit system. I have to tell you ... some of these people

have been here, they've done a good job. You know, in some cases, sadly, they've

been living under the shadows, etc., etc. We have to do something. So whether it's

merit or whether it's whatever, but I'm a believer in the merit system. If

somebody's been outstanding, we try and work something out. But before we do

anything, we have to secure the border because the border is like having no border

(MSNBC).

Whether he knows it or not, Trump is referencing the very strong migrant activist created

metaphor of "coming out of the shadows." Activist networks like United We Dream have

organized national coming out days for undocumented students where hundreds of

migrants walk in protests, lead rallies, and lobby congress for immigration reform.

Despite his racist rhetoric, Trump is using the migrant activist language to speak about

the "good" kind of immigrant. The overwhelming focus on deterring Mexican migration

for the past seventy-years has created the kind of racist public discourse Trump is using

that solely centers on criminalizing Mexican migration and militarizing the border.

Institutional texts, like the DREAM Act, propagate this racist ideology through rhetorical

moves that produce the identity of the migrant.

**Texts as the Foundation to Power Within Institutions**

The American dream is a myth conceived by generations of open borders,

capitalism, representative democracy, and the metaphorical melting pot. It is a

eurocentric construction embedded in the imagery of boats full of people from the

homeland docking at Ellis Island and entering the U.S. to work hard and make something

out of very little. It's a European dream as much as it is an American one but the

immigrants have changed.  No longer do we see a mass exodus from the very thriving

European Union.  Migrants move across the invisible southern U.S. border into what was

once Aztlán—California, Tejas, Nuevo Mexíco, and Arizona. With this shift in migration,

the border in no longer a welcoming site with placards declaring Emma Lazarus'

soothing sonnet, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to

breathe free." Migrants see armed guards with military grade weaponry and legislation

telling them U.S. police have the right to search their bodies without warrants or due

process. But they travel through treacherous land and create new myths, new hopeful

DREAMscapes as they combat U.S. institutions and racist ideologies.

Institutions like the U.S. government compose documents entrenched in the

cultural, political, and social environment. Due to the U.S. immigration laws, as outlined

in previous chapters, the undocumented are so often sanctioned to a private secretive life,

but through activism undocumented students create an entrance into the public with

educational rights and full legal citizenship. To do this, the migrant activists struggle is

four-fold, first to understand which institution, which ideological apparatus they are

bound by, and then to interpret the power held by the institution, appropriate institutional

genres and rhetorical strategies, and finally to generate self agency and change.

Because of public discourse framing undocumented persons as 'criminal illegal

aliens,' U.S. institutional forces have created oppressive policies that sanction off the

undocumented into the private realm, as seen in previous chapters.  History is

manufactured by our culture and our society. U.S. immigration history then teeters on

individual and collective truths, some imaginary, revisionist, and loaded with racist

assumptions. We cannot trust our memory because it is bound by the culture in which it

was constructed. Hans-Georg Gadamer states that interpretive power lies in intersectional meanings:

> It sounds at first like a sensible hermeneutical rule—and is generally recognized as such—that nothing should be put into a text that the writer or the reader could not have intended. But this rule can be applied only in extreme cases. For texts do not ask to be understood as a living expression of the subjectivity of their writers. This then cannot define the limits of a text's meaning. However, it is not only limiting a text's meaning to the "actual" thoughts of the author that is questionable. Even if one tries to determine the meaning of a text objectively by regarding it as a contemporary document and in relation to its original reader, as was Schleiermacher's basic procedure, one does not get beyond an accidental delimitation (396)

There may be no inherent meaning in texts but we view the text as individuals with histories and symbolic meanings attached to knowledge. We use our socially constructed discourse communities to view how and why we make meaning in the things we do.

Institutions enforce ideological power by creating the metaphors of their time, by giving power and meaning to symbols, by ratifying speakers, by constructing what it means to hold rhetorical power, and then finally by creating the interpretive tools needed to function effectively within that institution.  Rhetoric and discourse analysis then may be used to interpret institutional policy by understanding who is allowed to speak (the ratified speaker) how that speaker creates knowledge (metaphors, policies, guidelines), and the meaning of what they are saying (textual analysis of discursive practices).

Institutions as ideological apparatuses construct meaning and the tools by which to interpret this meaning. Ratified speakers who possess the 'correct' knowledge, as determined by the institution and the power to build the interpretive frameworks, govern meaning making. The institution manifesting this through policies and guidelines hold this knowledge and interpretive power. Those who have been sanctioned by the institution then in turn either teach others how to use these interpretative tools to find 'truth' or block this teaching from the Other, the marginalized, the outsider whose discursive practices and knowledge making are different and foreign. Like any institution, congress creates documents that matter, legislation with crucial implications. As shown in previous chapters, that legislation is often embedded in racist notions of citizenship and migration.

**The DREAM Act as Performative Rhetoric**

The DREAM Act has shifted the topography of immigration issues in the U.S. since its creation in 2001. Citizenship and education have become attainable objects through the merit of the individual but this institutional document is problematic. Basing citizenship on merit is an issue in and of itself, considering the DREAM Act only accounts for 20% of the undocumented population and often excludes historically marginalized groups as stated earlier. In this section, I examine how the rhetorical moves and genre-specific voice and style of legislative texts, such as the DREAM Act, construct racial and ethnic identities and reify problematic ideologies. A deep reading of the language used elucidates the manner in which DREAMers respond in writing to how undocumented persons are positioned as potential citizens and students.

Walter Beale argues "the aims of discourse and the motive of rhetoric constitute methods of 'arresting' experience through language [and that] this system relates to human constructions of reality in general" (9).  The reality constructed by policies written by lawmakers, generate values and judgments on racial and ethnic identities, which affect the way undocumented students perceive the limits and expectations of cultural identity and how to 'legally' perform their culture in the U.S. Or as Habermas says, "language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power" (259).  "Discourses […] can be seen as constituting non-discursive and discursive social practices and, at the same time, as being constituted by them" (Wodak 66) and as such politicians are creating policy texts, which are constituted by their experiences and constitute the experiences of undocumented persons. Beale defines instrumental texts, or policy texts, as "the kind[s] of discourse, whose primary aim is the governance guidance, control, or execution of human activities" (94).  The DREAM Act of course is essentially instrumental due to its functional aim to describe a policy and set of procedures but not only is the rhetoric informative and descriptive it enacts and creates a political, legal, and social reality and therefore lies on Beale's constative and performative continuum.  A constative utterance is one which "says, reports, or describes", whereas a performative utterance "is a part of the doing of an action which…would not normally be described as or just as 'saying something'" (Beale 92). The performativity of the act affects the subjected migrant by generating the identity of legal formal citizenship, morality, and agentive power. As outlined below, the act works to further criminalize the Mexican migrant and exclude migrants from discourse.

Performative utterances then call something into being and are generative.  Performative texts may embody a 'language-as-reference' and a 'language-as-action" (Beale 93) which "reinforces the values of a particular community" (Beale 115) therefore, the rhetorical construction of the DREAM Act as simultaneously an instrumental and performative text diverges from its intended functional aim and affects undocumented persons through its generative power. As an instrumental performative text the DREAM Act, constructs racial and ethnic identities and notions of citizenship, which, as argued in the last chapter, compositionists must respond to when considering the needs of students affected by these constructs.

In response to racist notions of people of color and immigrants, the DREAM Act has undergone troubling revisions. The difficulty with describing policy as 'racist' or adhering to a 'racist ideology' is that the aim of the discourse may not be explicitly to enact racism.  This issue arises because racism is such a difficult and loaded term and has historically been hard to articulate beyond immediate obvious acts.  As Villanueva argues, "racism continues to be among the most compelling problems we face. Part of the reason why this is so is because we're still unclear about what we're dealing with, so we must thereby be unclear about how to deal with it" (648).  Anti-immigration lobbyists "have capitalized on the public's misunderstanding of and lack of knowledge about immigrants to satisfy their need for a scapegoat and a quick-fix solution" that "appeal[s] to people's racial fears and division" (Sachs 147). The xenophobic and racist public attitudes towards immigrants, Mexicans in particular, are reflected in official U.S. policies, as noted earlier, which is apparent when switching the focus of analysis of legislative texts from 'an aim' to 'a performance,' from looking at what a text intends to do, or what the authors

intentions were, to a more pragmatic analysis of what the text does that highlights the marginalizing effects (Beale 116).

**History and Revisions of the DREAM Act**

A version of the Development, Relief, and Education of Alien Minors Act (DREAM Act) was first presented to the U.S. congress fourteen years ago under the name Student Adjustment Act of 2001. The version presented to the House by Representative Chris Cannon amended the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA1996) and allowed access to higher education for undocumented students. It amended the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) and gave the authority to the Attorney General to stop deportations for any undocumented student who was eligible and provided access to federal funding for education (see Appendix A). The effect of the text creates a way for students with 'illegal' immigrant status to avoid deportation, obtain funding for education, and become U.S. citizens.

When describing subject-predicate dialectical relationships Beale writes, "along the constative/performative axis […] there is a movement from description to classification—from identifying discrete identities to grouping those entities into categories and subcategories" (68). The first and most obvious performative element of the text is the use of "alien" as the label for undocumented persons. The connotation of the word "alien" moves the text from a description of the affected subject to a classification. Table 7 shows the relationship between active verbs and nouns in this version of the act (see Appendix A for full version of the text). The relationship between the active verbs and nouns used shows a specific aim of the text that focuses on taking away the agency of the undocumented and give power to the governing bodies.

| Active Verb | Noun |
|---|---|
| Amends | The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 |
| Repeals | The provision prohibiting an unlawful alien's eligibility for higher education benefits |
| Amends | The Immigration and Nationality Act |
| Directs | The Attorney General to cancel the removal of, and adjust to permanent resident status |
| Makes | Such aliens eligible for Federal and State higher education assistance |

Table 7 – Active Verb/Noun Correlation in the Student Readjustment Act 2001

With active verbs such as "amends," "repeals," linked to IIRIRA 1996, "directs" linked to the Attorney, and "makes" linked to alien (immigrant) it seems this version of the act was written more as a way to revise IIRIRA 1996 rather than to generate a value or create a power.  This text is mostly instrumental, concerning itself with the 'control' and 'guidance' of how to amend the previous immigration acts in order to allow students to stay in the U.S., limit deportations of undocumented persons, and provide financial aid to undocumented students pursuing higher education. The language controls a human activity (deportation/non-deporation), directs a procedure (how to obtain educational funding), and describes a potential citizen (qualifying years of U.S. residency) in very

pragmatic and concrete ways. The actions taken by aliens (immigrants) towards

citizenship are explained in definitive terms.

This version was amended and renamed the Development, Relief, and Education

for Alien Minors Act, or the DREAM Act, and sponsored by Senator Orrin Hatch when it

was presented to the senate in 2001. The version of this document shifts the position of

power and uses different language to describe undocumented students. The senate version

of the DREAM Act 2001 amended the IIRIRA1996, gave access to higher education, and

access to federal funding. The document also gave power to the Attorney General to stop

deportations of undocumented students if they fit six requirements:  "(1) has attained the

age of 12 prior to enactment of this Act; (2) files an application before reaching the age

of 21; (3) has earned a high school or equivalent diploma; (4) has been physically present

in the United States for at least five years immediately preceding the date of enactment of

this Act (with certain exceptions) (5) is a person of good moral character; and (6) is not

inadmissible or deportable under specified criminal or security grounds of the

Immigration and Nationality Act." (see Appendix A for full version).

In this version, there is a shift in the type of active verbs used and how they

connect the subject to the predicate.  The emphasis is now on giving power to the

Attorney General to do actions that either grant or deny rights the "alien," the

undocumented person. This version, which is similar to the original version in terms of

outcome again describes a set of guidelines, which govern how an 'illegal' alien may be

eligible for education funding and may be protected from deportation; however, there are

two important provisions added to this text that shift the affect from purely instrumental

to performative: first, the stipulation that an illegal immigrant must be "a person of good

moral character" and second the authority given to the Attorney General.  The line "a person of good moral character" problematizes this text and changes the affect.  As opposed to being merely descriptive and constative as the other guidelines are (i.e. must be over 12, must have filed out an application by 21, must have achieved a high school diploma etc) the provision 'good moral character' is performative because it enacts a certain value system of the U.S. focus on the 'morality' of immigrants and the construction of them as criminals, it shifts the dialectical relationship of subject-predicate from description to classification.  Performative rhetoric often "performs public acts of […] declaration […] in connection with the functions and values of public institutions" (Beale 141). The act is the performing the values of the public institution of the U.S. government upon the affected subject of the undocumented person and is criminalizing in nature.  It takes away the agency of the affected subjects by making the Attorney General the owner of 'good moral character' and the undocumented person the receiver of it.

By creating an environment where immigrants are expected to act 'morally' and yet never defining the term 'moral,' this text performs and generates a value, becomes language-as-action, and creates a set of criteria wherein immigrants must adhere to abstract moral codes. It works under the assumption that morality must be given to and forced upon criminal, illegal immigrants in order for them to be accepted as citizens. This performative indexing of Mexicans as "illegal" or default "without morality" is not unprecedented.  As Leo R. Chavez writes, "restrictions on immigration and citizenship have always been about how we imagine who we are as a people and who we wish to include as part of the nation" (23). The illegality of a person is not an inherent status but is "conferred by the state and […] becomes written upon the bodies of migrants

themselves because illegality is both produced and experienced" (Chavez 25).  In later

chapters, I will illustrate how DREAMers and migrant activists push against the

criminalizing nature of the act. DREAMers re-write their bodies and position their self as

citizens already in powerful rhetorically situated roles.

The Act generates U.S. values in respect to immigrants and uses specific active

verbs that interpellate an identity upon the various subjects. The text gives authority to

the Attorney General charging the Attorney with the morality of undocumented persons

by stating this act, "Authorizes the Attorney General to cancel the removal of, and adjust

to permanent resident status, an alien who […] is a person with good moral character."

With such active words as "authorizes," "directs," and "prohibits" associated to the

Attorney and "permits' and "prohibits" associated to the alien the act engenders the

identity of each subject—Attorney and alien—and declares the relationship between

subjects—Attorney (active agent) and alien (passive agent). Since the " success of

performative utterance is less dependent upon its truth or reference value than upon

validating conditions within the communicative situation itself, particularly the

relationships of status between interlocutors" it is the purpose of the act as a performative

text to clarify the relationship between Attorney and immigrant than to clearly define

values, such as good moral character (Beale 143).

The definition of good morality then is left as an implicit indefinable value of a

U.S. citizen and something the Attorney is directed to define (by default and through

policy), uphold (by determining if an immigrant has it), and ensure that alien immigrants

possess (by deciding whether or not they are citizens). Table 8 outlines this relationship

between active verbs and nouns.

| Active Verb | Noun |
|---|---|
| Authorizes | The Attorney General to cancel the removal of, and adjust to permanent resident status, an alien |
| Authorizes | The Attorney General to take similar steps with respect to an alien who… |
| Directs | The Attorney General to establish a procedure permitting an alien |
| Provides | (1) Expedited application processing without additional fees; and (2) confidentiality of applicant information |
| Permits | An alien to work |
| Repeals | The denial of an unlawful alien's eligibility for higher education |
| Prohibits | The removal of an alien |

Table 8 – Active verbs/nouns correlation in DREAM Act 2001

To further complicate this relationship "performative rhetoric tends to be the special property of a political or intellectual elite" and as such the alien/immigrant/undocumented person is forbidden to define and interpellate their own identity through this genre of performative legislative text (Beale 143).  Immigrants become passive agents who must adhere to the requirements and act certain ways but cannot determine their actions nor do they have ownership of the definitions of these actions. Furthermore, to conflate the lack good moral character and criminalization of the

migrant, subjects the immigrant to two notions: first, the good moral character is correlated with never having been incarcerated, and second, that good moral character is always connected to the U.S. citizen.

This instrumental-performative divide becomes increasingly problematic in the current incarnation of the act. The DREAM Act 2011 gives power to the Secretary of Homeland Security to stop the deportation of undocumented persons who fit seven criteria: (1) entered the United States on or before his or her 15th birthday and has been present in the United States for five years preceding this Act's enactment; (2) is a person of good moral character; (3) is not inadmissible under specified grounds of the Immigration and Nationality Act; (4) has not participated in the persecution of any person on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion; (5) has not been convicted of certain offenses under federal or state law; (6) has been admitted to an institution of higher education (IHE) in the United States or has earned a high school diploma or general education development certificate in the United States; and (7) was age 35 or younger on the date of this Act's enactment." Again, the emphasis is on giving the governing body, in this case the Secretary of Homeland Security, the power to either grant or deny rights to the alien. Added stipulations create less of a chance the migrant will receive rights and places more power to the Secretary to determine if the migrant is worthy of citizenship. The act also added the stipulation that the undocumented person must submit biometric data including blood, fingerprints, and a full background check. Migrants must also undergo a medical exam and sign up for military selective service (see Appendix A for full text). The "alien" must prove worthy of citizenship in several different ways now: first there is an assumption of criminality of

the migrant until proven innocent and so therefore a lack of due process, second, the

migrant must be willing to go to war for the country, and third, there is an assumption the

migrant carries a disease until proven innocent by requiring a medical examination.  The

conditionality of the "alien's" status of residency is linked to the gathering of this data.

There are other notable changes in this version, primarily that the governing body

is now the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) with the Secretary of DHS replacing

most of the authority previously given to the Attorney General. There is also the added

stipulation that residency is conditional for six years if the migrant "ceases to be a person

of good moral character," suggesting that morality in the migrant is temporary at best. In

later chapters, I discuss how DREAMers combat this criminalization, take back agency,

and specifically, appropriate the genres and rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse to

push back on the racist language of the act. Table 9 outlines the relationship between the

active verbs and nouns in this version of the act.

| Active Verb | Noun |
| --- | --- |
| Authorizes | The Secretary of Homeland Security (DHS) to cancel the removal of, and adjust to the status of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence on a conditional basis, an alien who |
| Authorizes | The Secretary to waive specified grounds of inadmissibility |
| Requires | An alien…1) earning a high school diploma or general education |

| | development certificate in the United States, or (2) the effective date of related final regulations |
|---|---|
| Requires | 1) An alien submit biometric and biographic data, and (2) the Secretary has completed security and law enforcement background checks. |
| Requires | an alien (1) register under the Military Selective Service Act if so required, and (2) undergo a medical examination |
| Prohibits | the Secretary or the Attorney General (DOJ) from removing an alien |
| Terminates | such status if the alien: (1) ceases to be a person of good moral character or becomes inadmissible under specified grounds, or (2) did not receive an honorable military discharge |
| Authorizes | the Secretary to remove the conditional basis of an alien's permanent resident status |

Table 9 Active verbs/nouns correlation in DREAM Act 2011

Similar to previous drafts this act links active verbs like "authorizes" to the Secretary and

"requires" and "terminates" to the alien (immigrant). Besides the change in the governing

body to DHS this version also has further and more intrusive requirements on the alien

(immigrant).  Aliens (immigrants) must now submit biometric data, submit to a

background check, and submit to a medical examination.  These three stipulations again

generate a U.S. value of immigration, namely immigrants are criminal, suspect, and

diseased. What is notable in this section is lack of the affected subject. The act erases the

affected subject the migrant, in favor of discuses the collected samples.  Even though the

blood and fingerprints are coming from the affected subject, the act places the subject as

the Secretary of Homeland Security and the direct object as the samples, thereby

completely erasing the migrant from the text.

　　　With the added stipulations of background checks and biometric data the text

further constructs the immigrant as 'alien' and 'criminal' (see excerpt of this section in

Appendix A). Assumptions are placed on the undocumented person and the text forms a

paradigm of immigrant as criminal, which manifests in public discourse of immigration

issues. Historically, illegality is "socially, culturally, and politically constructed" and " as

people move across ever porous national boundaries, their status is determined by

policies in those nation-states" (Chavez 25). With highly performative policies such as

the DREAM Act, in its various incarnations this instrumental text transitions into an

instrumental deliberative text. The two categories differ in three ways.  Instrumental

deliberative texts: have institutional context, are performative and highly controversial

with much surrounding debate, and are rigid and formal adhering to specific institutional

procedures.

　　　The DREAM Act carries the features of an instrumental deliberative text: it's

situated in the legislative context, it performs an act on undocumented migrants and

responds to highly xenophobic racist public discourse, and is strictly rigid in its

legislative formality. The third part, formality of features, is embedded in legislative

voice. The voice of the text is linked directly to structure and to intent and context. In

later chapters, I show how the performativity of the DREAM Act us directly responded to

by DREAMers. In this next part, I first outline some issues revolving around voice, then

specifically discuss the whiteness of power, and finally deconstruct the idea of voice

within legislative text.

**Legislative Voice and White Ideology**

As Mladen Dolar argues the 'ruling' voice is declared so by a heavily social and

political gesture in a linguistic struggle wrought by class divisions. Lacking in this

discussion are the implications of the standardization of voice on issues of race and

ethnicity. Notions of linguistic hierarchies and power even in instrumental texts

constantly underpin the construct of voice. In this section, I use the DREAM Act to

analyze how voice is constructed in legislative documents that are supposedly non-

voiced. Although this image of the non-voiced legal text creates a perception of being

objective, I recognize that legal documents are not voiceless and determine the features of

a legislative voice, how legislators construct that voice, and the social and political

implications of that voice.

Although complicated and hard to define, legislative voice is another component

of the language of the DREAM Act.  How legislators construct that voice further reveals

the social and political implications of the Act. Underpinning this voice is a white

ideology, identity, and privilege fully rooted in legislative texts.  It is vital to first show

how legislative texts have a white voice and then to extrapolate the issues that arise from

this. Although I have shown above that this is not the case it is often assumed that legislative texts are primarily instrumental and therefore lack a voice and style embedded in a complex human identity.  It is also assumed since these documents lack voice then legislation is colorblind and lacks bias. In fact, the current push towards a post-racism concept of colorblindness in mainstream media further complicates the idea of a biased voice in legislation as so often is the case public discourse affects the way legislation is written. David Roediger writes,

> The idea that laws, social practices, and the personal opinions of whites in the
> United States are now "colorblind," and the corollary that antiracism is therefore
> irrational, counterproductive, or even itself racist, also undergird much of the
> "race is over" argument. As powell notes, conservatives have increasingly
> become the leading advocates of "colorblindness." They argue "that since we
> have learned that race is an illusion, rather than a scientific fact, we should drop
> racial categories altogether. . . [and that] only those who are either racist or badly
> mis- informed would insist that we continue to utilize these pernicious
> categories." As Neil Gotanda's riveting work shows, the legal ideology of
> colorblindness has often also entailed blindness to "white racial domination"
> where constitutional law is concerned (12)

In the current conservative political climate it is often ignored that legal texts have implications to race issues.  I aim to illustrate the effects of this text on U.S. notions of race and ethnicity, therefore I first showed how the text, although intended to be purely instrumental, acts as a performative text and brings about the existence of a meaning outside of the text. The next step is to show signs of a human mind with a specific

ideology and identity at work in the text and with a cognitive ability to create meaning

beyond the text and to show signs of a certain voice and style of the genre of legislative

texts, which is informed by this ideology and identity, I show how the DREAM Act

works more than a mere function of instrumental non-biased non-voiced legislation.

As Dolar writes, "It is not that our vocabulary is scanty and its deficiency should

be remedied: faced with the voice words structurally fail" (13).  Voice cannot be

articulated through language and yet is implicitly connected with linguistic meaning—

voice aims to mean something and yet is wordless in that meaning or "the voice is

endowed with profundity: by not meaning anything it appears to mean more than mere

words, it becomes the bearer of some unfathomable originary meaning, which,

supposedly got lost with language" (Dolar 31).  The problem with this definition of voice

is that it is limited to speech acts and spoken discourse.  Voice here means the intonation

and cadence of a speaker's physical voice.  The place of the tongue when saying a word

or where the speaker puts the accent would in this case determine 'voice.'  When looking

at voice in writing, however, we must determine these extralinguistic features without the

benefit of hearing the writer's physical voice.  And so although Dolar contends that voice,

"is what does not contribute to making sense…the non-linguistic, the extralinguistic

element which enables speech phenomena, but cannot itself be discerned by linguistics"

(15) may work, although debatable, in spoken discourse, it greatly limits analysis in

written text.  I do argue, however, that there are extralinguistic features in written texts

that contribute to the construction of voice.  Perhaps these features would be a writer's

syntax, mode of argument, critical thought process, and implicit (or maybe explicit)

ideology and ethnic/racial/class background.  These features, connected to a writer's

identity, would add an 'accent," in this case implicit ideology, to a written text and mark the text with a distinctive voice.

Accented or marked texts and voice of course have implications beyond meaning making within a given text.  As Dolar argues, "The ruling norm is but an accent that has been declared a non-accent in a gesture which always carries heavy social and political connotations" (21).  And so the question is what is an accent and what is accentless?   If "the official language is deeply wrought by the class division [and] there is a constant linguistic class struggle" (Dolar 21), and I would add racial and ethnic struggle, then the voice or accent in a text points to a specific identity of the author which affects reader response to a text and is always underpinned by notions of linguistic hierarchies and power.

Currently, "there is little scholarship, though, that looks at the ways that particular language features do or do not signal specific identities—or said another way, there is little composition scholarship that considers indexicality" (Davila 182).  This lack or gap in the research on indexicality seems to be due in part by the problems asserted by Dolar—namely, the extralinguistic function of voice in spoken text and the difficulty of classifying these features in written texts.   Although there is a lack in research on indexicality in written texts readers seem to index writers based on certain textual features.  As suggested by Davila, Matsuda and Tardy, "readers do look for clues about writers' identities—whether or not they are established scholars or students (do they know the conventions?), their race (are there any linguistic markers?), their gender (what is the tone?), their nationality (are there indicators of English being the second language?), and so on" (Davila 182) which means "that people rely on various language practices,

language features, or languages in general to determine or create identity, to assign various characteristics to people and social groups, and to mark group membership" (Davila 183).

This brings us back to the problems Dolar asserts about language hierarchies, power, and the social and political implications of voice and accent.  If readers index writers, what are the criteria or features for this indexing, how is the writer's identity constructed by the reader, and what would be considered an accent?  I would assert that an accentless text by most readers, and Davila's research seems to support this, would be one with features that index the writer as a White and middle/upper class native English speaker.  Whiteness functions as "an ideology of privilege and neutrality that actively creates continued White dominance, drawing on and reinforcing historical and structural inequality while denying its existence and/or power" (Davila 184).  The accentless text, or the White text, then reinforces the language hierarchy while actively creating the criteria for the 'accent' by solidifying what is not an accent.  It works in the negative then, as in, the marked features that are not present determine what is standard and accentless and therefore index the writer as White—or standard, accentless, authoritarian etc.

To problematize this, the reader response to a text is not only affected by their interpretation or indexing of the writer but also by the reader's own background and identity.  As Tardy writes, "given the apparent influence of readers' own backgrounds and the circumstances of text reception (e.g., what the reader knows about the writer beyond the text), then, textual analysis of voice appears to be necessary but not sufficient. Research also needs to consider how such textual features work in coordination with other aspects of the reading context" (92).  In the case of DREAMers, the other aspects

include the performativity of the DREAM Act and the public discourse surrounding the migrant identity. The DREAMer must contend with the act aiming to take away agency, to position the migrant as criminal, to erase the migrant from the text, and to make it difficult for 80% of undocumented persons to adhere to the criteria of the text. The social, racial, and ethnic implications of the text create the rhetorical context DREAMers must read the act.

Social theories of language show that texts are constructed for certain purposes and that voice and style are integrated into these purposes or "the meanings of texts, which are approaches to reality" and thus the purposes are to construct meaning (Beale 164). In terms of structure, social theory concludes that, "though the number of possible enunciations within a discursive formation could be great, they nonetheless remain limited. This is due to the fact that discourses, and the meanings which they make possible are not fixed at the level of the general structure of language (langue) but in institutionalized 'fields of discursive events' (Foucault, 1992: 27)" (Lopez 7). This limited structure, based in unlimited possible situations and contexts, creates problems with defining voice and style in legislation since in functional texts they are simply utilities by which the writer achieves the function and not intended as a creative or generative expression.  The discursive event is fixed in a rigid formal structure but boundless in context. In functional, or instrumental, texts the writer must rely upon standardized formats and features of a genre in order to achieve the function and so style and voice can be seen as features of the genre, not the writer.  Although voice and style are used to achieve a specific practical purpose and therefore are more standard amongst functional texts, voice and style may still reflect a certain ideology or identity of the writer, and

definitely an identity or ideology of the context in which it is written.  This ideology and identity have social and political implications. Using a social theory of language or, "one which attempts to explain linguistic structure and linguistic phenomena, by reference to the notion that language plays a certain part in our lives that it is required to serve certain universal types of demands" (Halliday 57) legislative genre can be deconstructed in terms of structure, especially concerning voice and style, while also allowing for fluidity within the genre contingent on its specific social purpose.

There are certain features of a text and issues surrounding that text that determine the concept of voice. I define voice as the extralinguistic component of a text including but not limited to features such as textual (syntax, diction, tone, punctuation, etc), contextual (political and social situation), and what I am calling extratexual (identity of the writer, whether the reader is privy to this beforehand or not) (Adams and Curzan 32). With these three features legislative texts, construct racial and ethnic identities in institutional policies (textual), affect the view of race and ethnicity in institutions (contextual), and propagate a specific identity of the dominant white ruling voice (extratextual)

To unveil these three tiers of voice the concept of deixis is useful in that it offers entrance into the text through points of human references, thereby pointing to a possible ideology not bound by the formal rigid structure. Beyond the personal (I, you), spatial (here, there), and temporal (now, then), deixis may also "include references to portions of a text or utterance from the current point in the ongoing text or talk (discourse deixis), references to the rank or social status of other people from the speaker's/writer's own position in a family, institution, or society (social deixis), and the use of expressions such

as "this" and "that" to express emotional distance (empathetic deixis) (see also Lyons;

Fillmore; Levinson; Rauh )" (Semino 422).   Deixis then shows evidence of a writer

referencing and positioning their voice.  By parsing out the references, the specific

ideology and identity of the voice can be determined.

The first tier is social deixis, which works on the textual level. Social deixis

references social rank and determines the relationship between subjects. This is evident in

the DREAM Act when it, "Authorizes the Secretary to cancel the removal of, and adjust

to permanent resident status of an alien."  By positioning the Secretary, the noun of the

sentence, as an authority over the heavily loaded and biased term alien, the object of the

sentence, the act constructs racial and ethnic identities by referencing rank and hierarchy.

The alien as foreign and criminal must be subjugated to the power of the Secretary (see

full text in appendix A.) This positioning occurs repeatedly throughout the text in often

further problematic ways. It works not only as a way to subjugate the affected subject, the

DREAMer migrant, but also as a way to erase the affected subject from the text entirely

and focus instead on giving power to the Attorney General and in the case of the most

recent incarnation to give power to the Secretary of Homeland Security. The goal then of

the writers of the text is to take power from the affected subject, the migrant, and place

power into the hands of the U.S. government officials. Although the public aim of this

text is to grant citizenship to undocumented migrants, with the deconstruction of voice it

is apparent that in many ways the text is aimed to deny rather than grant.

This is true of many U.S. immigration policies from the last seventy years, as

outlined in previous chapters. The DREAM Act works in similar ways to the Bracero

Program in that the onus of morality is on the migrant and the U.S. officials are some

how exempt from acting in moral ways for security or economic reasons. The power is explicitly given to the U.S. to determine what is a citizen and all historical context is stripped from the text.

The second tier is discourse deixis, which works on the contextual level. Discourse deixis, or intertextuality, references the historical, political, and social context that informs the current text.  This is evident in the DREAM Act when it, "amends the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to repeal the denial of an unlawful alien's eligibility for higher education benefits based on State residence unless a U.S. national is similarly eligible without regard to such State residence." This excerpt (see full text in appendix A) references a historical text (IIRIRA 1996), a political reality (the struggle for education rights), and a social reality (the preference for U.S. nationals). These references affect the view of race and ethnicity in institutions by positioning undocumented students in combative situations and within policy that was written specifically to marginalize Mexican migrants, as outline earlier. The historical reality is that the past thirty years since IRCA, most of the U.S. immigration policy has been centered and focused on blocking Mexican migration and indexing Mexican migrants as illegal and criminal. When Reagan linked citizenship to the right to work in the U.S. he ultimately created employer sanctions that gave power to U.S. economic structures and denied the historical reality that the U.S. economy is intricately tied to and reliant on Mexican labor. The DREAM Act furthers this denial of historical realities by referencing and relying on documents that were written as a way to specifically deter Mexican migration. The text amends sections of IIRIRA, IRCA, and other U.S. immigration policy in such a way as to support the xenophobic nature and

create a text that focuses on a merit based immigration policy. The DREAM Act upholds the rhetoric of border security, denies 80% of the undocumented population the right to citizenship, links citizenship to the ability to attain a college degree or fight in the military, and supports the Reagan ideal of a U.S. centric morality. DREAMers respond to these problems of the text through genres and rhetorical strategies.

The third tier is empathetic deixis, which works on the extratextual level. Empathetic deixis distances the writer from the content of the text by using such words as *this* and *that*. The word *that* is used twenty-seven times and *this* is used forty-six times in the DREAM Act 2011:

> The Secretary may not grant permanent resident status on a conditional basis to an alien under this section unless the alien submits biometric and biographic data, in accordance with procedures established by the Secretary. The Secretary shall utilize biometric, biographic, and other data *that* the Secretary determines is appropriate" "to conduct security and law enforcement background checks of an alien seeking permanent resident status on a conditional basis under this section; and to determine whether there is any criminal, national security, or other factor that would render the alien ineligible for such status.

The emotional distancing created in the act between the subjects—Secretary (ruling voice) and alien (immigrant of color)—propagates a specific identity of the dominant white ruling voice as the authoritarian. A possible revision to the sentence "The Secretary shall utilize biometric, biographic, and other data that the Secretary determines is appropriate" to include the human subjects and refer to the passive agents would be "The Secretary shall determine what is appropriate and utilize the undocumented person's

biometric, biographic, and other data." By using the word "that" the text is erasing the

person the text is affecting, the undocumented person, and distancing the undocumented

person from the action. Although the data collected is from a person the data is controlled

by the Secretary and stripped away from any human connection.

| Frequency | Collocate |
|-----------|-----------|
| 4 | determines that |
| 3 | date that |
| 3 | demonstrates that |
| 2 | data that |
| 2 | evidence that |
| 2 | period that |
| 1 | act that |
| 1 | as that |
| 1 | entity, that |
| 1 | establish that |
| 1 | factor that |

| 1 | secretary that |
|---|---|
| 1 | so that |
| 1 | under that |

Table 10 Frequency of That and Collocate

Table 10 shows the most common words found next to the word *that.* The

majority of the words found next to *that* are active verbs illustrating performative actions

are done in the act while also maintaining emotional distance to subjects and securing

social rank between subjects.

| **Frequency** | **Collocate** |
|---|---|
| 30 | This act |
| 11 | This section |
| 4 | This subsection |

Table 11 Frequency of This and collocate

Table 11 shows the most common words found next to the word *this*.  The emotional

distance found here is not in active verbs but in nouns describing the active agent.  The

human writers are absent in the pronouns and nouns of the text.  Rather, the active agent

is always the text itself. By intentionally eliminating all human pronouns, the writers of

the legislative text give power to the text itself and maintain emotional distance from the

human subjects they affect (see full text in appendix A.).  By erasing the human subjects

the text is affecting, the DREAM Act works as a way to dehumanize migrants.

If "language use is […] constitutive in both conventional, socially reproductive ways, and creative, socially transformative ways, with the emphasis upon the one or the other in particular cases depending upon their social circumstances (e.g. whether they are generated within, broadly, stable and rigid, or flexible and open, power relations)" then all language sustains a certain power hierarchy (Fairclough 134).  The DREAM Act constitutes the relationship between the U.S. and undocumented persons. It creates a hierarchy wherein the text as an active agent promotes the Secretary as the authority and the undocumented person as the subjugated alien and passive object. Furthermore, there are instances of human voice through deixis—discourse, social, and empathetic—and deliberate exclusions of human nouns and pronouns that describe the writers. The DREAM Act as an instrumental-performative text with a specific white ruling voice sustains the hierarchy of the white class to subjugate the undocumented person of color by taking out the person the text affects and performing a type of "colorblindness" which as Roediger says, "has often also entailed blindness to "white racial domination" where constitutional law is concerned" (12). U.S. immigration policy for the past thirty years has been solely focused on racializing the migrant as Mexican, stopping migration from Mexico.  Any performance of colorblindness hides this fact and engages in white privilege. Despite these problems, the DREAM Act is still the only valid legislation that will provide undocumented persons a pathway to citizenship. DREAMers are well aware of the limits and racist notions in the Act and use discursive strategies to navigate this tumultuous and important document. Before I show how DREAMers combat this language, in the next section I look at who DREAMers are, how they fit into the migrant civil right's movement, and how writing programs and Writing Program Administrators

(WPA) might respond to migrant activism on college campuses.

**Genres and Writing Practices of Migrant Activists**

Migrant activist genres are a response to the four problem areas of the DREAM act, which are the criminalizing nature, the erasure of the affected subjects, the taking away of agency of the affected subjects, and the propagation of xenophobic ideology. Below I show how DREAMers appropriated the genres and rhetorical strategies of the dominant discourse through a deep reading of the DREAM Act, critically engaging with the DREAM Act text, and responding to very specific problem areas of the text.

Cornel West's prophetic pragmatism calls us to bear witness to our constructed truths, our meaningful diverse utterances, and our deeply embedded identities. People of color feel wronged in visceral and aesthetic ways that are difficult to articulate to persons who have never experienced the subtleties of racism, which is often implicit, quiet, and muted. As a Latina, I navigate this muted racist landscape physically, emotionally, and linguistically as I shift through academic and public spheres. There is power in this shifting, this fluidity, and this ability to occupy various spaces. It is important to acknowledge the linguistic and discursive power of marginalized communities like the undocumented and to position activists as scholars, experts, and community leaders on civil rights and immigration issues. DREAMers are outsiders to legislation but adept at acquiring insider knowledge and working within oppressive structures. They have made strides in comprehensive immigration policy and are a prime example of how to connect the organic intellectual to the academy.

As shown previously, the race and the identity of the undocumented person are constructed and criminalized in the DREAM Act. DREAM Act activists react to these

racist constructions and use strategies to combat this system intent on marginalizing them. They respond to problematic textual features of the DREAM Act by producing counter texts and controlling the metadiscourse surrounding those texts. DREAMers assemble on the Internet, combat a criminalized identity with personal narratives of "good moral character," and lobby for legislation, make new conditions, create new provisions, and make compromises that still adhere to a central goal. Through these strategies they create ways to help undocumented students transfer into the university in three ways,

- Assemble support →Discursive Transfer

- Combat criminal narratives → Rhetorical Transfer

- Create pragmatic ways to navigate the university →Educational Transfer

It is vital to illustrate the link and intersections between the rhetoric and voice of the DREAM Act and the discourse of DREAM Act activists.  In this section, using DREAMers websites and online resources as my primary texts, I conduct a critical discourse analysis, informed by social language theory, focusing on how DREAMers respond to the rhetoric surrounding the immigration debate.

In Eleanor Lamb's analysis of UK immigration policy from 1968-2009 she asks, "how far [UK] immigrant organisations were able to challenge marginalising representations of migrants and refugees"(339).  To achieve this she first lays out a three-tier system of analysis: 1. "Investigation into the socio-political context of each time period, with a particular focus on factors, which appear salient to the legislation, including changing approaches to migrants and refugees, 'race' and immigration control, and events leading up to the passage of the legislation; 2. Mapping (a) the different kinds of organisations in

'civil society' which were active on race and immigration in each time period, and (b) the

genres which one case-study organisation was able to access in each time period; 3. Text-

level analysis: using text annotation to identify references to different groups of

represented social actors, setting out these references in tables, and using the tables to lay

out speakers' representations in categories of analysis developed from research

questions" (Lamb 339).

Although Lamb sees the importance of social and historical context of

immigration legislation, attitudes on race and ethnicity in particular, her analysis focuses

on tiers "(2) and (3) as containing novel ways to approach analysis: the maps of different

genres and the categories of analysis developed from the research questions" (339).

What is lacking in this analysis then is how the immigrant activists and organizations

combated the ways the UK legislation constructed racial and ethnic identities. In previous

chapters, I traced the historical trajectory of U.S. immigration policy leading up to the

DREAM Act and focusing on racist and xenophobic ideology that informed the text, then

I conducted a rhetorical and voice analysis showing how this ideology manifested in the

text itself and is embedded in the genre of legislative texts. I now apply Lamb's second

and third tiers of critical discourse analysis, buttressing it with Fairclough's and

Halliday's social theory of language, to reveal the active agents in the DREAMer

movement and analyze the discursive practices of the DREAMers indexing how they

navigate through a system bent on marginalizing them.  I map out the genres DREAMers

use and illustrate how DREAMer discourse and writing practices shapes and is shaped by

the rhetoric surrounding the debate on US immigration policy and specifically the

DREAM Act.

**Analysis of Migrant Resources**

This section is very much an extension on Lamb's work using US immigration policy and DREAMer writing to discuss the writing practices of activists in their response to racist rhetoric in legislative documents.  An analysis of immigration activists must contain the social forces they are navigating since "viewing language use as social practice implies, first, that it is a mode of action (Austin, 1962; Levinson, 1983) and, second, that it is always a socially and historically situated mode of action, in a dialectical relationship with other facets of 'the social' (its 'social context')-it is socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping, or constitutive" (Fairclough 134).  As such, the current public debate and incarnations of legislative documents cannot be ignored. As shown, the DREAM Act, constructs racial and ethnic identities in institutional policies, affects the view of race and ethnicity in institutions, and propagates a specific identity of the dominant white ruling voice.

If linguistically diverse populations, like undocumented DREAMers, are to acquire a power through language then first they must be able to see how that language functions.  Hannah Arendt claims that spaces can be divided into private and public.  The private space is for the laborer, the woman, and non-citizen.  It is where production of the necessities is done.  The public space is for the man, the worker, and the citizen with both political and social power.   These spaces are a division between private language and public language as well.  The outsider is subjected to private linguistic spaces where they are allowed to speak their mother tongue whereas in public to have any kind of discursive strength the individual must acquire the linguistic power of the hegemony.  This binary is of course problematic but we cannot deny that there is a linguistic hierarchy and that

there are powers at work to push linguistically diverse populations out of the public and into the private.  U.S. immigration policy, and specifically the DREAM Act, works as both a way to include undocumented persons in public life as students and citizens and to sanction undocumented persons into a private life as criminal and alien.

DREAMers have fought hard for public linguistic and discursive power. Undocumented students "have not allowed their lack of formal franchisement to deter them from acting in the political realm. They have organized to lobby legislatures, educate the public about pending legislation, and publicize their political opinions" (Glenn 14).  By forcefully entering the rhetorical polis as activists and writers, DREAMers have been "key players in successful efforts to persuade state legislatures to pass in-state tuition laws in Texas, California, and Illinois" (Glenn 14). The binary noncitizen-private and citizen-public is problematized by "the very existence and day-to-day experiences of undocumented college students [and] disturbs the coherence of the legal–illegal dichotomy that anchors immigration policy. This dichotomy, as we have seen, harnesses the dominant trope of criminality to dehumanize immigrants" (Glenn 16). By disturbing this dichotomy, DREAMers carve out a space in the discussion on immigration rights.

There are several DREAMer organizations with the goal to combat the criminalization of immigrants and create resources to aid in an immigrant's path to citizenship via the DREAM Act. For this analysis, I have chosen seven websites created to support DREAMers—The DREAM Portal, The DREAM US, NCLR Blog, Immigration Equality, Immigrant Youth Justice League, FL DREAM/Sueño, and United We DREAM.

The DREAM Portal (see Appendix B) supplies concise information about the legislative process. Its focus is to help lobby for immigration reform and specifically to provide resources to undocumented students in their activist goals, give current daily information on the DREAM Act and immigration policy, advocate for undocumented students, and provide a space, a forum, for DREAMers to discuss their circumstances.

The DREAM US (see Appendix B) is a scholarship website that focuses on providing education funding for DREAMers. The website posts personal narratives of DREAMers, solicits funding and donations, and gives resources for undocumented students to aid in their way through college.

FL DREAM/Sueño is a website aimed at helping students receive DACA, navigate university life, and support students with funding options.  This site is primarily concerned with supporting the student in transferring into college and graduating. It gives guides on how to fund college but also how to work the university system as an undocumented student.

United We DREAM (UWD) is an activist website.  As the largest youth led immigration rights network, UWD works similar to the DREAM Portal.  UWD fights for the passage of the DREAM Act, it provides resources to DREAMers for activist purposes, and gives a space for DREAMers to share personal struggles and seek help.

The National Council of La Raza Blog (NCLR) was created as a way to highlight the ongoing narratives of immigrants navigating U.S. immigration policy. It mainly focuses on students trying to apply for DACA or already in the DACA program.

Immigration Equality is an activist website centered on strategizing ways to effect legislation. It's focus is providing resources for an activist network of youth led organizing and protesting anti-immigration lobbyists,

Finally, the Immigrant Youth Justice League provides a list of scholarships for undocumented students categorized by national, state, and city funding initiatives. This website is focused on providing financial resources to students and helping migrant students to navigate the university financial realm.

The second and third tiers of Lamb's framework function as ways to map these organizations and parse out the various genres used in support of their goal. Michael Halliday outlined three functions of language, the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual (Halliday 57-59).  In the ideational "the speaker or writer embodies in language his experience of the phenomena of the real world; and this includes his experience of the internal world of his consciousness: his reactions, cognitions, and perceptions, and also his linguistic acts of speaking and understanding" (Halliday 58).  In the interpersonal the speaker or writer is "using language as the means into his own intrusion into the speech event" (Halliday 58). And finally, in the textual "language makes links with itself and with the situation and discourse becomes possible because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one" (Halliday 59).  The explicit goals of the discursive strategies of the DREAMers are two-fold: First, to reveal the experiences of undocumented students (ideational) and second, to insert into a speech act, namely the discourse surrounding U.S. immigration (interpersonal. Through textual strategies grounded in specific digital genres, DREAMers shift into the public realm by synthesizing and interpreting legislative documents and combatting racist ideologies, and

disseminating knowledge to a community of linguistically and socially diverse undocumented students.

By using language in the ideational function or the "the expression of certain fundamental logical relations such as are encoded in language in the form of coordination, apposition, modification, and the like" (Halliday 58) DREAMers constitute diverse experiences, their internal logics and their external actions. This serves to combat the constructed race and ethnic identities that manifest in the rhetoric of the DREAM Act. By using the interpersonal function, or that which "subsumes both the expressive and the conative" (Halliday 59) DREAMers insert their discourse into the immigration debate. If human "personality is dependent on interaction, which is in turn mediated through language the 'interpersonal' function in language is both interactional and personal. There is, in other words, a component of language, which serves at one and the same time to express both the inner and the outer surfaces of the individual as a single undifferentiated area of meaning potential that is personal in the broadest sense" (Halliday 59).  The interpersonal function allows the DREAMers to enter the speech act in interactional ways, with dialectical functions. DREAMers primarily use this linguistic function to respond to racist, xenophobic, and criminalizing language in the DREAM Act and in public discourse surrounding immigration.

| Genre (Text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Narrative (written texts) | Combat criminalization | Ideational | Rhetorical |
| Narrative (documentary | Assemble support, combat | Ideational, interpersonal | Discursive and Rhetorical |

| video) | criminalization | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Calls to Congress | Assemble support | Interpersonal | Discursive |
| Calls for funding (reasons to donate) | Pragmatic ways to navigate the university | Ideational | Educational |
| Calls for scholarships (reasons to apply) | Pragmatic ways to navigate the university | Interpersonal | Education |
| Synthesized statistics (Charts, summaries, and info graphics) | Assemble support | Ideational | Rhetorical |
| Guides to College | Pragmatic ways to navigate the university | Interpersonal | Educational |

Table 12 – Writing Practices of the DREAMers

In Table 12, using a rhetorical studies lens that sees "as a common intuitive concept – a sense that features of language aggregate in recognizable patterns, and that these aggregations indicate something important in the uses of language in context" I have outlined four genres commonly used by DREAM Act activist websites- narratives, calls, synthesis, and guides (Stein and Giltrow 1).  These genres were taken from the seven websites outlined above. The digital resources act as text and as speech acts. They at once embody the specific genre features a text would and create a dialectical

intextual relationship with U.S. immigration policy and public discourse surrounding views in migrants. Specifically, it is clear that the DREAMer movement is primarily Mexican migrant led, which is of course is a direct response to the overwhelming U.S. focus on deterring and criminalizing Mexican migration for the last seventy years. These resources and genres are available in English and Spanish and each source is a direct response to a specific problem feature of the DREAM Act.

Genres are essentially a commonplace or a point at which language aggregates in pattern and form "and the forms that genres take matter. In an action-based theory of genre, returning form to genre study will require reconfiguring form as rhetorically, socially, and culturally contextualized" (Stein and Giltrow 28). DREAMer genres, or what I call migrant activist genres (MAGs), are action oriented.  MAGs respond to the performativity of the DREAM Act text, a text that generates the Mexican immigrant identity, and the rhetorical situation created by the text, a contentious and often combative anti-immigration landscape. In this case, the form "and substance comprise the action that genre creates. The fusion of form, substance, and situation creates the generic action that people […] practice. All three elements—form, substance, and situation—contribute to writers' and readers' knowledge of genres; all three elements shape genres" (Stein and Giltrow 30). Thus, the MAGs are action genres that do activist work.

Migrant activists, specifically DREAMers, use the genres of narratives, calls, synthesis, and guides to respond to the problem areas of the DREAM Act text. I define *narratives* as personal stories that reveal the experiences of DREAMers. *Calls* are genres that ask or command an audience to take an action. A *synthesis* is a concise compilation of facts and data taken from outside sources, usually government agencies, and aligned

with or synthesized to DREAMer goals. *Guides* are documents that explain a procedure and help with a process the undocumented students must take.

If "in the wider context, language is required to serve in the establishment and maintenance in all human relationships; it is the means whereby social groups are integrated and the individual is identified and reinforced" (Halliday 59) then using language towards this function is a means to express the private while entering the public. Below I discuss how the DREAMers use a genre, the purpose or strategy behind the genre, the grammatical function of the genre, and finally the type of transfer this fosters in undocumented students, namely the way the student can use the genre to transfer from the private into the public.

**Migrant Narratives**

Narratives are used as a way to express the personal (internal logic and external action) aspects of the DREAMers life.  They are used to counter criminalizing narratives in U.S. immigration policy, to assemble support from the community and to aid in the rhetorical transfer of undocumented students.

On the the DREAM.us donation page, they have posted a short documentary personal narrative about a DREAMer titled "Macy's Story, Our Story." By using a multimodal narrative genre, the DREAM Portal creates a very different identity of the DREAMer than that constructed in legislative documents. Below is the description of the DREAM US scholarship and the introduction for the narrative documentary,

> TheDREAM.US is a new multimillion dollar National Scholarship Fund for
>
> DREAMers, created to help immigrant youth who've received DACA achieve
>
> their American DREAM through the completion of a college education.

(DREAM.us) More than a scholarship, it's about helping young people achieve

their American DREAM (DREAM.us)

The title of the narrative documentary itself uses parallelism and modification to invoke a

sense of community. Macy's story is *our* story. In the description, the fund is explained

as a successful "multimillion"-dollar project. It focuses on immigrant youth who have

already *achieved* DACA, and it modifies their DREAM as *American*. This directly

combats the narrative of the criminal, unsuccessful, alien undocumented student as

described in the DREAM Act. The invocation of the myth of the American dream, the

underlining metaphor of the DREAMer movement, is a cue that the video is

appropriating the rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse in an aim to prove a kind of

citizenship on the part of the undocumented students. Many take issue with this

appropriating stating that by using assimilationist metaphors, DREAMers are upholding

the dominant discourse rather than combatting it. In the larger public debate on U.S.

immigration, this may be true. It is certainly a problematizing act of genre use and

metaphorical manipulation. How ever problematic the writing strategies may be,

DREAMers are adept at using the dominant discourse to combat the xenophobic nature

of the dominant discourse espouses.  DREAMers have appropriated the use of the

narrative to control the definition of citizenship and good moral character.

In another section of the website the DREAM US has compiled a series of written

narratives.  Below are narratives about Paola Pardo and Dianeli Mendez.

Paola, who is now 21, came to Miami from Colombia when she was 7, when her

mother left her marriage and they both came to the U.S. At first they thought they

could get an official status. But Sept. 11, 2001, disrupted immigration

applications (DREAM US)

Dianeli wants to tell other students, "Don't be afraid. When I was in high school, I

didn't have my documents, so it felt like many doors were closed. I didn't even do

the SAT or the ACT because I thought, 'I'm not going to be able to go to college.'

Now I know that there are people who believe that we – the DREAMers – will be

someone. (DREAM US)

In these narratives, the DREAM US uses allusion (Sept 11), nouns (DREAMers,

documents), and active verbs (disrupted) to illustrate the difficulties immigrants have in

navigating the U.S. policy, to construct the immigrant as fully American, and to enter the

public discussion on immigration rights while also controlling the discourse.

| Genre (Text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Narrative (written texts) | Combat criminalization | Ideational | Rhetorical |
| Narrative (documentary video) | Assemble support, combat criminalization | Ideational, interpersonal | Discursive and Rhetorical |

Table 13 Function of DREAMer Narratives

These narratives are both ideational and interpersonal.  They both invoke the personal

private experiences of the DREAMers (afraid, someone, children) while entering the very

problematic and ongoing discussion in the public realm (Sept. 11, documents, disrupted).

These narratives aid in the discursive and rhetorical transfer of students into the

university. They give a way to use private rhetoric and discursive strategies to shift the public rhetoric on immigration issues.

The series "Hanging in the Balance" on the NCLR Blog details narratives of undocumented persons dealing with DACA.  In the post titled "The Tale of Two Latinas," the stories of Carla Mena and Karla Salgado are reported.

> Despite their tenuous status in their adopted country, the young women's commitment to their community remains strong. In recent months, Karla was appointed by Raleigh's mayor as the youngest member of the Downtown Plan Advisory Committee. Carla is also giving back to her community and was recently selected to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Wake Health Services. Both girls also volunteer on the Youth Council at El Pueblo, Inc., an NCLR Affiliate…the two women have made a positive impact in their communities. Their teachers, employers, and classmates all support administrative action that will allow these young women to continue their contributions. Since Congress has failed to do its job, we need to stand up for our community and urge President Obama to provide relief to aspiring Americans like Karla. These young women are our future; we must give them a future (NCLR Blog)

The narrative again shows a sense of civic responsibility, an important aspect of citizenship. As Schmid outlined, the third aspect of citizenship includes the social "identity or behavior aspects of individuals and conceiving as members of collectivity, classically the nation." The DREAM Act text functions as a way to exclude the undocumented migrant and conceptualizing the migrant as "alien" and "criminal" and

without "good moral character." The DREAMer narrative works against that rhetoric and composes the migrant as a social citizen, along Schmid's definition, and a person who adds to the collective nation. In Table 14 , the genre, strategy, function, and type of transfer is outlined.

| Genre (Text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Narrative (written texts) | Combat criminalization | Ideational | Rhetorical |
| Narrative (documentary video) | Assemble support, combat criminalization | Ideational, interpersonal | Discursive and Rhetorical |

Table 14 Function of DREAMer Narratives

The narrative is both ideational and interpersonal invoking the personal private experiences of the DREAMers (tenuous status, adopted country, positive impact, commitment to community) while entering the very problematic and ongoing discussion in the public realm (Congress has failed, urge President Obama to provide relief). These narratives aid in the discursive and rhetorical transfer of students into the university. They give a way to use private rhetoric and discursive strategies to shift the public rhetoric on immigration issues.  By focusing and shifting the discussion to include "our community" and a failed U.S. immigration structure it makes the private public and the transfer to the academy evident and a natural progression.

**Migrant Calls**

The genre of calls is used to solicit support from the community and to aid in undocumented student activism.  Calls can be a way to ask for donations or resource

support from the community or it can be a command for undocumented students to actively participate in helping the DREAM Act to pass. Table 15 outlines the type of calls and their functions.

The call to the community to ask for congressional support is a way to give discursive and rhetorical power to undocumented students. By focusing on 'targets' as areas of support and giving strategies for activism undocumented students gain the discursive strategies to needed to enter the public discourse.  The three types of calls are: to congress/community, for funding, and for scholarships.  These calls focus on the three areas of the DREAM Act that work to exclude undocumented students from entering the university. First, the call to congress aims to gather legislative support and have influence in how the U.S. immigration legislation is written.  The calls to community help to find allies and influence how DREAMers are perceived in the public. The calls for donations work against the difficulty in the lack of federal funding for undocumented students. The calls for scholarships give agency to the undocumented student, which is taken away through the DREAM Act.

| Genre (text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Calls to Congress/Community | Assemble support | Interpersonal/ideational | Discursive /Rhetorical |
| Calls for funding (reasons to donate) | Pragmatic ways to navigate the university | Ideational/Interpesonal | Educational/rhetorical |
| Calls for scholarships | Pragmatic | Ideational/Interpersonal | Educational/rhetorical |

| (reasons to apply) | ways to navigate the university | | |
|---|---|---|---|

Table 15 Function of DREAMer Calls

DREAM Portal has a process for soliciting support. The process is separated into three steps, 1. Select the Target, 2. Research the Target and 3. Share findings. DREAM Portal uses nouns (the target) and active verbs (select, research, and share) to outline a pragmatic approach to activism.  The United We DREAM website outlines their program titled Education Not Deportation (END).  The description is as follows:

> The Education Not Deportation (END) Program was started in 2010 by
>
> United We DREAM to stop the deportation of DREAMers and their
>
> families by highlighting their stories and galvanizing support from the
>
> community. When we expose the moral crisis around immigrants facing
>
> imminent deportation we create a state of urgency to push for and win
>
> administrative relief for families and achieve policy changes to end the
>
> pain in our communities. By continuing the lift up the ways our broken
>
> immigration system separates families, we can also put pressure President
>
> Obama to take bold executive action to stop senseless deportations and
>
> grant affirmative administrative relief to the undocumented community.
>
> #WeCantWait (United We DREAM)

END is a call to the community to help stop deportations. They use the Twitter hashtag #WeCantWait to raise rhetorical awareness and outline the process to end deportations. By using modifiers (moral crisis, imminent, broken, senseless) UWD directly counters

the rhetoric of the DREAM Act.  The moral crisis is no longer about the morality of DREAMers but rather it describes the U.S. policy that allows "senseless deportations" and the separation of families. This rhetorical power functions first as an ideational expression of the struggle of undocumented students and then as an interpersonal means of entering the conversation on immigration and again controlling the public discourse.

The DREAM US has a call for funding where they posted an endorsement letter signed by politicians, prominent activists, and even famous Hollywood actors. The letter reads as follows:

> We are individuals from the education, business, political and non-profit sectors who believe in the American DREAM. We have come together to announce our support for TheDREAM.US, a national movement providing college scholarships to thousands of highly motivated DREAMers who cannot access federal financial aid to fund a college education.  As civic leaders, we need to support these undocumented immigrant students in getting a college education that will help prepare them to be our future civic and business leaders and professionals. TheDREAM.US is doing just that, and we are proud to lend them our support. (DREAM US)

DREAM US again uses nouns (individuals, education, business, political, non-profit, civic leaders) and modifiers (national, highly motivated) as strategies to situate the immigration debate on helping undocumented students achieve their goals rather than blocking their progress. Its ideational function allows for an educational and rhetorical transfer into the public.

The final call is a request for applications. The DREAM US page describes the purpose of their scholarship as follows,

> Our Scholars are selected by DREAMers and people from DREAMer-supportive organizations based on their academic achievement and motivation to succeed. Our Scholars commit to their own academic achievement and to help build a National Community of DREAMer Scholars, which provides peer-to-peer support and mentoring to each other and future DREAMer Scholars. Don't forget to share this information with friends and family! (DREAM US)

Again DREAM US uses nouns (Scholars, DREAMers, community) and modifiers (supportive, academic, national) to construct the identity of the DREAMer. Calls are used to solicit support. Their ideational and interpersonal functions allow the undocumented student to transfer with educational and rhetorical skills and to able to enter the public with funding, with identities as scholars, and with the means necessary to combat criminalizing narratives.

On the Immigration Equality website they have a call to get the vote out and determine which congress members are pro-immigration rights.  This process is separated into three steps: 1. Research a congressional voting record, 2. Determine who best to vote for, and 3. Share the info with other voters. Immigration Equality first presents and interactive system to determine the voting record of your congressperson.  Next, they have a call to voters to share the information and create a critical mass of voters.

The Immigrant Youth Justice League provides a list of scholarships for undocumented students categorized by national, state, and city funding initiatives. Included in this list is a call to students to help create for funding options. IYJL states,

> Remember that there are just not enough scholarships for all undocumented youth who want to go to school, which is why we are fighting for the opening of more opportunities, and for a change in the laws. Don't be afraid to challenge your school or scholarship institutions if they are not supporting undocumented students. Both as an ally and as an undocumented student you have the right to fight for inclusion and resources. Perhaps you can start an undocumented student organization at school, or start by meeting with teachers and counselors and share these resources with them, and encourage them to make institutional changes. (IYJL)

They then show ways to get involved in IYJL and provide resources to start activist campaigns. Immigration Equality's call to the community to seek congressional support and urge U.S. citizens to vote is a way to give discursive and rhetorical power to undocumented students. By focusing on voters as 'targets' and areas of support and giving strategies for activism to undocumented students they gain the discursive strategies to needed to enter the public discourse.  On a similar note, IYJL's call for scholarships and call to action to seek financial options while providing ways for undocumented students to engage the community empowers students with the rhetorical and discursive activist power.  Through the genre of calls, these sites support agency in undocumented students.  This tactic combines the interpersonal and ideational functions of language. The interpersonal calls to action using personal experiences as a source of

ethos to urge voters to seek congressional help and as an ideational call by which the

DREAMers are entering a speech event.

| Genre (text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Calls to Congress/Community | Assemble support | Interpersonal/ideational | Discursive /Rhetorical |
| Calls for funding (reasons to donate) | Pragmatic ways to navigate the university | Ideational/Interpesonal | Educational/rhetorical |
| Calls for scholarships (reasons to apply) | Pragmatic ways to navigate the university | Ideational/Interpersonal | Educational/rhetorical |

Table 16 Function of DREAMer Calls

As noted in Table 16, the various types of calls aim to facilitate transfer and help students

to enter the public conversation on immigration. Calls function as a way to directly

combat the silencing nature of the DREAM Act.  The DREAM Act erases the affected

subjects, the undocumented migrants, and through the appropriation of the genre of calls,

migrant activists take back their agency and directly oppose their erasure. Migrant

activists use the dominant discourse to infiltrate the legislative process by directly

contacting congress members and garnering their support. Calls also work as ways to

gather economic support for educational pursuits. There are both calls for donations and

calls for scholarships to encourage students to find pragmatic ways to fund college.

**Migrant Synthesis**

DREAMers use synthesis to combat the criminalizing aspect of the DREAM Act and the overwhelming negative view of Mexican migration. DREAMers interpret data and official documents, compile the information, synthesize it with migrant activist goals, and then easily disseminate this information to the community.

The information is usually taken from an outside source and then put into visual graphic form. Data graphics taken from the DREAM Portal website (see appendix B) are a combination of U.S. government data and migrant goals.   The data shows the progress the website has made in contacting the congressional targets, mapping organizations that help with lobbying to immigration reform, identifying allies, and researching best tactics. By using the ideational function of language, expressing the inner logic through coordination, and through the use clear visual aids and a synthesis of data (number of members, number of targets) with DREAM Portal goals (target congress, use tactics), the DREAM Act Portal is able to effectively argue for progress and express the concerns of the undocumented student.

| Genre (text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Synthesized statistics (Charts, summaries, and infographics) | Assemble support | Ideational | Rhetorical |

Table 17 Function of DREAMer Synthesis

Table 17 outlines the aim and function of synthesis. As shown previously, with the added stipulations of background checks and biometric data the DREAM Act text constructs the

immigrant as 'alien' and 'criminal.'   Assumptions are placed on the undocumented

person and the text forms a paradigm of immigrant as criminal, which manifests in public

discourse of immigration issues. The DREAM Portal describes the DREAM Act as

follows:

> Over three million students graduate from U.S. high schools every year.
> Most get the opportunity to test their DREAMs and live their American
> story. However, a group of approximately 65,000 youth do not get this
> opportunity; they are smeared with an inherited title, an illegal immigrant.
> These youth have lived in the United States for most of their lives and
> want nothing more than to be recognized for what they are, Americans.
> The DREAM Act is a bipartisan legislation – pioneered by Sen. Orin
> Hatch [R-UT] and Sen. Richard Durbin [D-IL] – that can solve this
> hemorrhaging injustice in our society. Under the rigorous provisions of the
> DREAM Act, qualifying undocumented youth would be eligible for a 6
> year long conditional path to citizenship that requires completion of a
> college degree or two years of military service.

By using nouns (DREAMs, youth, provisions), active verbs (smeared, pioneered), and

modifiers (American inherited title, illegal, bipartisan) DREAM Portal again is directly

countering the rhetoric in the DREAM Act that criminalizes undocumented students.

DREAM Portal summarizes the act and synthesizes it with it's own goals and ideals.

This synthesis uses the interpersonal function as a way to enter the speech event

of immigration discourse and provides the rhetorical transfer necessary to enter the

university and gain citizenship status. By aligning the goals of migrant activists and U.S. legislation, DREAMers control the discourse surrounding the debate on immigration.

The synthesis is particularly interesting in that the DREAMers are not only appropriating a genre but also taking the data and rhetoric of the U.S. government and intertwining it with migrant activist goals. By ding this, DREAMers are using pragmatic and problematizing strategies to appeal to the dominant discourse on immigration issues. There is an audience awareness here that takes into consideration the dominant white ideology of congressional texts, accepts the racialized status of undocumented migrants, yet still is propagating migrant issues and pushing for a pathway towards citizenship.

**Migrant Guides**

Guides are used to aid in student transfer into the university system, to help fund undocumented student education, and to give ways of understanding processes. Migrant guides are focused on the kinds of issues undocumented students have and what sorts of issues undocumented students may face when trying to first enter college and then attain a college degree. Guides are especially problematic in that they may in a sense be tools for assimilation. At once they show explicitly the resources and tools of a white dominant structure in the university and also in many ways ask the undocumented to adhere to these structures.

Table 18 outlines guides used in the Journey to College page on the FL DREAM/Sueño website (see appendix B).  FL DREAM uses active verbs (locate, identify, research, see, make, and know) to easily outline the processes undocumented students must take to successfully enter college and complete a degree.

| Genre (Text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|

| Guides to College | Pragmatic ways to navigate the university | Interpersonal | Educational |
|---|---|---|---|

Table 18 Function of DREAMer Guides

With these active verbs, FL DREAM utilizes the interpersonal function as a way to enter the discourse in a university setting.  This feature provides undocumented students the skills to transfer educationally and rhetorically into the university as they aim to show explicitly how the university system runs and how to navigate it.

Table 19 is part one of the IYJL guide to DACA. This part of the guide has three sections: history of DACA, outline of who qualifies for DACA, and a link to the application page.  Part one summarizes complicated legislative language into easily understood guidelines. Part two of the guide includes resources for DREAMers that help them to understand the application process and to successfully complete the application. This section is specifically helpful as it outlines how to navigate the application process.

The DACA guide provides undocumented students the skills to transfer into an educational setting and the rhetorical skills to gain agency in the immigration process. Another important guide created by IYJL is their Undocumented Student Guide to College that outlines how to both apply for the recently passed Illinois DREAM Act and/or DACA and then how to prepare for college. There are several steps outlined. Most of these steps give pragmatic solutions for undocumented students.

| Step 1 | Talk to your high school counselor |
|---|---|
| Step 2 | Take college prep courses |

| | |
|---|---|
| Step 3 | Study for standardized tests |
| Step 4 | Get involved! (Community and school) |
| Step 5 | Research schools and universities |
| Step 6 | Reach out to teachers |
| Step 7 | Consider the type of college you want to attend |
| Step 8 | Work hard in school |

Table 19 IYJL Guide

This guide to getting into college and succeeding once there provides explicit help in accessing the educational tools needed for undocumented students to successfully complete a higher education degree. The subtle shift from interpersonal functions of language like seeking help and to ideational functions of language like getting involved and researching schools supports student transfer.

| Genre (Text) | Strategy | Function | Type of Transfer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Guides to College | Pragmatic ways to navigate the | Interpersonal / ideational | Educational |

| | university | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Guides to applying for DACA | Pragmatic strategies for successfully receiving DACA | Interpersonal/ideational | Educational |

Table 20 Functions of IYJL Guides

What these guides ignore is the institutional racism undocumented students will experience on campus as they try to work towards graduation. In some ways, the guides give students agency and the explicit steps to work towards entrance into the university and attainment of the baccalaureate.  In other ways, the guides ask the students to assimilate to a primarily white dominant structure.

Ultimately, by looking at how these websites serve students and by positioning DREAMers as authorities on immigration and rhetorical transition from one discourse community to another and by studying how the discursive practices of DREAMers provide undocumented multilingual students the resources and skills necessary for transition, compositionists may learn from DREAMers and be able to apply these practices in the writing classroom. We can use these same strategies when combating university policies that work in similar ways, especially ones written in response to a government policy like the DREAM Act. DREAM Act activists may be used as a model when bridging the community with the university; however, the WPA and WAC[2] must work against assimilation while also working to help migrant students in composition, value their experience as activists with rich and diverse linguistic strategies, and make programmatic changes that support language diversity.

What is most interesting about DREAMer appropriation dominant genres and rhetorical moves are the ways in which DREAMers combat the often-racist ideology embedded in U.S. immigration policy and the public discourse surrounding migrant identities. The composition classroom works as a way to practice these rhetorical and writing skills. DREAMers are already adept at positioning their writing in a very specific rhetorical situation.  Since the DREAMer goal is to gain access to the university and graduate, composition studies may provide the means by which DREAMers use their rhetorical skills to transfer into an academic setting.

**Chapter 5: Implications and Pedagogy of the Migrant Activist WPA and WAC$^2$**

In the last chapter, I discussed the performative nature of the DREAM Act, the ways in which DREAMers respond to the racist rhetoric of the act, and the genres and writing practices of DREAMers. Compositionists, WPAs, and WAC$^2$ proponents are positioned well to advocate for migrant undocumented students and provide the means by which migrants might transfer their rhetorical knowledge into an academic setting. As noted previously, migrant activists, particularly DREAMers, have generated pragmatic ways to advocate for migrant rights by appropriating the genres and rhetorical moves of the dominant institution. To combat criminalizing and xenophobic rhetoric, DREAMers use personal narratives that depict migrants of "good moral character." To stop the erasure of varied migrant identities and to enter the conversation on immigration, DREAMers use calls and synthesis. To create self-agency and find ways to navigate the university and immigration law, DREAMers use guides.

While avoiding the assimilationist tendencies of this appropriation, by using these genres and rhetorical moves as the basis for programmatic shifts, pedagogy, and WAC$^2$ initiatives, the migrant activist WPA may create changes in composition programs to best serve migrant undocumented students and to focus the composition classroom centered on the ideals of translingual, transculturalism, and transnational citizenship. These changes will cause necessary self-interrogation in WPA work, composition studies, and WAC2 that focuses on the intersections between administering writing programs and race, ethnicity, linguistic diversity, and citizenship. The migrant activist is at the center of this interrogation and may provide ways in which the WPA can implement diversity goals without subjugating ethnolinguistically diverse students to an assimilationist agenda.

**Historical Significance of Critical Pedagogy**

Since about the 1970s, the field of composition has been concerned with the increase of basic writers in college writing courses.  The pressing narrative is usually underlined by the open admissions policy instituted by many state and land grant universities during this time and the influx of multilingual writers due to an increase in immigration and overall demographic shifts in the United States.  Basic writing as a sub-field of composition has many intersections with other areas such as multilingual writing (L2) and world Englishes.  The L2 field in many ways owes plenty of its pedagogical theories from basic writing (Lamos 2011), even if choices were made in response to or in reaction to a lack in basic writing classrooms.   The university system creates policies that either allow for entrance into an intellectual public space or marginalize and push the outsider, the other, away from creating meaning.  Knowledge as constructed by institutional forces is articulated through commonplaces.  The university allows for certain kinds of knowledge and marginalizes others.  One way it marginalizes is through its interpretation of race and ethnicity.

The academy, and particularly composition and WPA work, although many times implicitly, are underpinned by whiteness.  Academic language as a commonplace is problematic in that the language of the university setting often favors a white, supposedly non-accented language and so students of a diverse linguistic background find trouble in navigating the university and entering into the academy. There is much scholarship on multilingual composition pedagogy and much has been said about what is considered to be the tipping point or demographic shift in the university.  Although this term is problematic, the tipping point refers to the point in time when the demographic of the

university will comprise of a majority of multilingual students.  Embedded in this concept is often the view that composition studies must be ready when this tipping point occurs and that this tipping point will be mostly comprised of Spanish speaking students from Latin America.  As noted in previous chapters, the DREAM Act has a similar context due mainly to the fact that DREAM Act activists, at least publically, are primarily Latinos, that half of the undocumented population is Mexican, and that in government policy and public discourse the undocumented person is racialized.

Understanding the rhetoric and voice of institutional policies, like the DREAM Act, the racist discourse surrounding that policy, and how activists respond to that discourse will ultimately help the activist minded WPA to make programmatic changes that adapt to the shifting landscape of composition classrooms and create pedagogy, course outcomes, and assessments that fit the needs of and are informed by students. Critical pedagogy informed by the discursive practices of the DREAMers in response to racist legislation would provide undocumented students the skills necessary to advocate for themselves in writing and to help them navigate through academia.

The idea persists that a linguistically diverse undocumented migrant student is somehow remedial or deficient.  We see this in policies guiding multilingual students into remedial courses and basic writing programs.  The academy as a public space of intellectual thought and practice is foundational when a degree is needed to enter any profession.   And so now more than ever is the university also seen as a practical place where skills will be learned that allow the student to function effectively post-college.  If one goal of the university is to construct a student that will be effective in the work place then surely the linguistic, rhetorical, and discursive skills are the most necessary.

**The Borders of the University and Community**

Gloria Anzaldua states that as a Mestiza she has no home, no country.  She lives on borders and crosses boundaries.  I see these borders and boundaries as linguistic roadblocks in the university.  There are language spaces that currently the undocumented has difficulty entering.  The role of language in the university is one of gate keeping. This gatekeeping is not just of academic language in writing but as the body as a text, as a performance of race and ethnicity. As shown previously, Beale defines an instrumental text as one that describes a policy or an idea and a performative text as something that creates action and is generative.  I argued that texts like the DREAM Act are instrumental in intention but performative in nature. In a similar way, a university policy and pedagogy that describes multilingual students as remedial and basic writers due to linguistic constraints at once institutes a law (instrumental) and creates and interpellates an individual (performative).  It describes and constructs a meaning all at once.

This self-reflection of composition and WPA work is rare. For so long the questions were, "Why is it that so many compositionists insist on the rhetorically complex composition of "selves" until it involves critical and emotional issues like racism? And why the reluctance in these cases to explore the internal contradictions that living in a racist culture may create within us?" (West 216).  It was this tension and reluctance that led to theories on Whiteness and its hold on construction of the Other.  As Thomas West argues:

> By continually exteriorizing critiques of race relations, we foreclose questions
> about how we might be connected to and positioned in social structures of
> oppression and domination before we can even ask them. If we are to effectively

combat racism and other oppressive forces, we should first rigorously examine

and honestly challenge how we may have internalized (and may continue to

internalize) their logics and practices. How can we ever know how we are

complicitous with structures of domination if we never have the courage to ask

ourselves? (216)

These "racist internal logics and practices" are reflected in the texts produced by

institutions such as legislative documents and university policies and pedagogy.  By

creating a framework by which to interpret these subtle oppressive moves in the texts, the

often implicit internalized structures of domination, then shifts can be made to avoid such

structures and to navigate around them—rhetorical work that DREAMers are adept at.

        This issue is even more salient to the field of basic writing since in many cases

basic writers are indexed as not having access to the type of knowledge required to

achieve success in writing, not only in the composition courses but across the disciplines.

Mina Shaughnessay explains that basic writers make many errors since they lack the skill

to invoke an academic tone and to use many academic grammatical and syntactical

structures.  Along these lines David Bartholomae argues that students are inventing the

university as they try to mimic academic discourses.  And so although Shaughnessay is

concerned with structures and forms and Bartholomae addresses mainly how academics

write and what we value in our discourse community, both sees academic writing as

embedded in a culture, structurally and discursively. Academia then creates

knowledge(s), collective truth(s), which is then expected to be mediated through

language by an individual using structures and values supposedly 'inherent' to the

culture.  Mike Rose sees language and writing, as a way for individuals to learn and so

process not product is most important as the student writes in order to learn these

structures and truths.  Much like Peter Elbow, Rose sees students as not lacking in

intelligence but lacking in the skill to illustrate that intelligence, that knowledge, in

academic writing.  Elbow places the student at the center of their work.

All knowledge is mediated through the language of the student.  Language is both

social and individual and so learning structures and having insider views into knowledge

is important to the success of the student writer.  This is very much in line with the

traditional models of Writing Across the Curriculum (see Smith 1984), which aims to

make the genres and moves of the university transparent and explicit for students.  The

way that students interpret knowledge and how knowledge is informed by their personal

identity and home discourse communities is just as valuable as what occurs in academic

writing. As shown previously, migrant activist writing combats very complex U.S.

immigration policy.  By fighting for access to the university through writing

Bruce Horner and Min Zahn Lu, very much in line with the importance of the

student, write about the impact of the declaration of the Student's Right to Their Own

Language.  Horner and Lu argue that although this statement's intent was to show the

importance of student home discourses, embedded in this statement is the underlining

notion that other varieties of English, other than Standard American English (SAE), are

foreign and Other.  That SAE is still very much the dominant discourse in academia and

that many see our role as teachers to ensure students acquire this language.  They point to

the hierarchical nature of language and the prevailing notion of monolingualism in the

form of native SAE speakers as still preferable in composition.  This is where I see

intersections between basic writing, multilingual writing, and world Englishes.  Paul

Matsuda argues that although much of basic writing pedagogy is used by teachers who have multilingual writers in their classroom, multilinguals are absent in the scholarship. Catherine Prendergast argues that issues concerning multiliunguals although not explicitly discussed are embedded in basic writing work, that often scholars discussing BW issues are also discussing multilinguals. Jacqueline Jones Royster sees race and ethnicity as underpinning BW scholarship because many assumptions about BW writers involve indexing them by race, ethnicity, and a linguistically diverse background. Royster shows how BW has unfairly been associated with students of color although historically this is unfounded. In fact, Gail Schuck sees this as a systemic problem and argues that racist structures are often entrenched in institutional policies regarding composition programs.

Many scholars take a Freireian approach to the compositionist's role, that they are there to enlighten our students to oppressive structures and give them the skills to achieve a critical conscious. Patricia Bizzell argues that critical pedagogy allows for students to acquire the kind of knowledge needed to navigate the university and oppressive cultural systems. After acquisition of this critical consciousness students can then, as bell hooks says, transgress these structures. James Berlin sees the composition course as informed by rhetorical studies as a way for students to be active citizens in a democracy. Cornel West with his prophetic pragmatism has been used as a means to achieve this active participation.

I see the role of composition teacher as both a person who provides a path to the collective critical "truths" the university favors, a kind of knowledge many students including multilinguals have never been given access to, and to give students the space to

practice their rhetorical skills of interpretation, mediation, and dissemination of that knowledge. This comes in many forms, through the explicit teaching of academic and 'real world" genres and through discussions of what constitutes valid research in certain academic fields and what is considered valid argumentation in politics and society. The goal then of these discussions on knowledge and structure and truth is not to commit to one form but to analyze various forms and talk about them explicitly and how to use them to achieve goals.

Another discussion on basic writing is its connection to multilingual writing. Is the goal of basic writing teachers with many multilingual students to ensure that they acquire Standard American English (SAE)? With the increase in immigration and the shifts in demographics in the US there are many students who may have been born US citizens (or came here shortly after birth) and have lived here ever since but who are considered to be Generation 1.5 multilingual speakers. Their parents' do not speak SAE and they may have never been taught or spoke SAE as a child either at home or in school. Ana Marie Preto-Bay uses the term 'tipping point' to refer to the demographic shift the US is seeing and its connection to the linguistic diversity of our students. At some point, there will be more multilingual non-native SAE speakers in college composition programs. Although 'tipping point' is a problematic term in that in invokes a sense of fear, it adequately explains this phenomena in that there really is nothing that can be done about this shift. With the recent push towards a valid pathway to citizenship and comprehensive immigration reform, including proposals like the DREAM Act, which would allow nondocumented students to take out loans and apply for scholarships, the demographic shift will be even faster than first believed.

In the US, there are 11.2 million people who currently fit the requirements for the DREAM Act. Most scholars believe that these numbers are vastly under estimated since it is very hard to determine how many undocumented persons there are in America. What is important to note here is that there will be a major shift in the population of students if policies like the DREAM Act are passed, which seems very likely.  These students will be non-native SAE speakers, speakers of varieties of world Englishes including Spanglish and other dialects/creoles/pidgens, and they will be underprepared for college composition according to current standards and institutional policies placing SAE as the dominant discourse.  Although we may want to look at all languages as being equal we cannot ignore the fact that there is a language hierarchy and that we would be doing our students a major disservice if we did not explicitly teach the historically dominant discourse of SAE.  The question then is how do we create curriculum that adequately serves this population while allowing for language diversity?

Service-learning courses are created for several purposes.  First, because research shows that when students are engaged in interactive ways of learning they maintain knowledge beyond the classroom setting (Thomsen  2006, Harris, 2009); second, because we want to teach students that the material covered in class is relevant in the 'real world' (Steljies, 2008); and finally, because perhaps we want to affect the world outside of our course because we are passionate about a social justice issue or there is a practical problem that needs to be addressed in our community (Garman,1995, Steljies, 2008, Lee, 2009) .  We want our students to play the part of the engaged critically thinking learner, practical problem solver, and civically active citizen; however, students may not view their identity in these terms.  Courses have historically ignored how the student

participants view their relationship to the community they serve and how the community views their relationship to the student.  This study asks: how do students and community members situate identity while committing and receiving a service and how does the context of the service component affect student writing?

Many service-learning courses entail students entering local marginalized communities and tutoring its members in the hopes of encouraging various forms of literacy. Although teachers may have the best intentions in mind, students enter alien communities, serve the 'needy,' and become 'saviors' to the illiterate "therefore the tutor generally remains the possessor of an expert knowledge of literacy that cannot be entirely transformed and contextualized through the tutor-tutee relationship" (Schutz and Gere 134).  The model of tutor-tutee SL programs has persisted despite the inherent socio-political problems that arise when predominately middle class individualist students, who believe in American meritocracy, 'help' those who are less successful (Shutz and Gere 1998, Welch 2002).   Students may believe that the less fortunate are 'needy' for a reason. Herzberg explains since students believe that, "of course those who are smartest, most talented, and work hardest rise to the top" it is hard for them "to understand the social nature of experience and to accept the idea of structural injustice" (Herzberg 65).  The purpose of a service-learning composition course is to "provide a venue for students to connect with the situated complexities of issues and communities outside the classroom"(Shutz and Gere 134) and to explore those issues through academic and nonacademic writing.  The ideal effect is that students will care about social issues and create writing with meaning. Although this service is valuable, as it is presented now in the classroom, the tutor-tutee model seems to impede these purposes.

A major defect in the current structure of the tutor-tutee model may be that the programs originate from instructors rather than the students themselves.  The class then becomes the teacher's project manifested through the students.  In a service-learning composition class students must learn that their writing has an impact in the community; however, when these projects are teacher centered it results in isolating student-writing purposes even further and reinforces the flawed assertions students have about underprivileged populations. Welch argues that the socio-economic, cultural, and political problems that occur in subject-object, or the current tutor-tutee model, in service-learning programs may be avoided if students go into the community with the intent of a subject-subject relationship (Welch 2002).

Welch sets up the binary subject-object relationship and states that students (anthropologists) may go into a community (strange land) viewing its members (natives) in one of two ways: absolute identification (even though I am privileged we are all the same in the end) or absolute differentiation (because of my privilege we are complete opposites and who am I to 'empower' them).  Although these views shift the relationship slightly they both conform to the subject-object view and reinforce the impossibility of change.  Absolute identification seemingly negates the subject/object relations and yet in its denial of any difference it never allows questions about oppressive structures in play and therefore still objectifies the "others."  Absolute differentiation creates a further gap between subject/object relations and in its cynicism obstructs change.  Welch turns to Benjamin's and Klein's feminist object-relations work to construct a subject/subject service learning program where "a mutuality…allows for and presumes separateness" (255).

According to Herzberg, "Linda Adler- Kassner arouses us to yet another voluntarist danger: that of presuming that there is a serving class and a served class, tracing these class distinctions into our own classrooms, and deciding which students should engage in service learning according to their degree of success in school-a distinction that anyway generally reflects social class" (Herzberg 555). Service-learning should instead "contribute to "organic" education, helping students to learn academic discourse while analyzing the reasons for their prior exclusion from it" (Herzberg 556).  Determinist pedagogical strategies impede the original purposes of service-learning. To create the subject-subject relationship model we must first understand how students view their role in the service-learning classroom and allow students to define this role, determine their own engagement with the service, and reflect critically on it.

**DREAMer Writing Practices and the Composition Classroom**

Since the DREAM Act's rhetoric and genre generates the values of the U.S. in regards to race, ethnicity, and citizenship status it is an important factor in the way compositionists will respond to increasing multilingual student populations and their writing needs. Therefore, understanding how the DREAM Act affects university policies and pedagogy and how the discursive practices of the DREAMers may inform pedagogy will ultimately help compositionists to adapt to the changing landscape of writing classrooms. Undocumented students are often prevented from entering the public polis of the academy and citizenship. Although we want to dismantle the binary between public and private, or linguistic power and linguistic problems, we have to see that this exists and is very much a part of the university system. Genre studies may help as a way to

make common public structures undocumented students need to navigate the system explicit rather than relying on the student to know these structures implicitly.  It is the explicitness of these structures, these commonplaces that can be one way to help to break down the division between private and public and allow for linguistic diversity within the university structure.  The more explicit the topoi, the commonplace, the genre the more easily accessible the knowledge is and easier it is to acquire that knowledge and make meaning. Two major issues that affect student acquisition of SAE: 1.How students analyze and navigate the rhetorical situation in which they are placed; and 2. How they acquire and appropriate the rhetorical and linguistic moves, grammars, and structures needed to discourse effectively?

These two factors are problematized by the inconsistent contexts in which students learn Standard Academic English.  As Catherine E. Snow and Paola Uccelli argue, "It seems clear that control over academic language is a requirement for success with challenging literacy tasks, such as reading textbooks or writing research papers and literature reviews. As early as the middle-elementary grades, students are expected to learn new information from content area texts, so failure to understand the academic language of those texts can be a serious obstacle in their accessing information" (112).  If we are to agree that this is a basic requirement for success in the academy then we cannot deny that multilingual writers, writers of color with 'accented' voices in texts, and any student with a diverse linguistic background is at a major disadvantage when trying to acquire SAE and that this disadvantage affects how they navigate academia.  To complicate this further, Snow and Uccelli point out, there is much debate on the definition and boundaries of Standard Academic English, so although we require students

to access and apply Standard Academic English across content areas the structures of this type of discourse are not solidly defined.  The fluidity and incongruous nature of Standard Academic English compounds the problems students face when trying to access and apply it.  Not only is Standard Academic English defined differently amongst content areas but written Standard Academic English may differ from oral Standard Academic English and so students who are proficient discoursing in Standard Academic English verbally may still find it difficult to write in Standard Academic English, again due to difficulties in positioning their writing within the conventions of the rhetorical situation they are placed and issues in transferring skills. As Curzan and Adams argue, "there has never been a successful academy to govern the English language" (32), therefore, even basic Standard English (SE) varies from context to context which complicates the acquisition of SAE since SE is the most similar dialect to SAE. Although there are similarities, there are also major difference between Standard English and Standard Academic English.

Curzan and Adams argue, "Standard English could be generally described as the "prestige social dialect" in the wider speech community – that is, the dialect that most speakers assume isn't a dialect and the one they accept as authoritative, for whatever social reason" (36).  I use Scarcella's working definition of Standard Academic English as quoted by Snow and Ucelli, "a variety or register of English used in professional books and characterized by the linguistic features associated with academic disciplines" (p. 9 )" (112).  This definition outlines the contexts and venues SAE is applied.  Whereas SE is employed in oral and written discourse in mainstream society, SAE is confined to the annals of academic journals, courses, and other university and scholarly

settings.  Academics must realize, although many do not, that the conventions of our academic discourse communities are fluid, ever changing, contingent, and confined to academic contexts and that we may seem to adhere to a 'standard', however, this standard is constantly shifting.  Therefore, student difficulty emerges from the indefinable nature of SAE and its limited use in everyday life.  Although Standard English may have prestige in a broader social context, Standard Academic English differs from Standard English and students may still have difficulty transferring skills.  It is this difference that I am most concerned by and which students may find most confusing and frustrating.  Their dialect, or rather lack of dialect, may have social prestige outside of the academy and yet would not position the student in the same social standing in academia, especially in written contexts.  Students have trouble seeing the difference in these dialects, which affects their transfer of skills and their ability to navigate academia.  The problem may also lie in the inability of students to effectively analyze the academic rhetorical situation and self-represent accordingly, and so although students may have a grasp of certain higher linguistic skills they cannot employ these appropriately or transfer them into an academic setting which is foreign to them.  To combat this problem, Snow and Ucelli call for instruction in a metasociallinguistic awareness and articulate this as an "assum[ption] that students kn[o]w the importance of linguistically managing self-representation but lack a full understanding of the cues signaling the appropriate representation for academic settings" (129).  I would argue that this metasociallinguistic awareness stems from the skill to appropriately analyze the situation for the academic writing.  This ability is not inherent for native speakers and writers of SE much less for multilingual writers.

It can be argued that Standard English, although different, is the closest dialect to Standard Academic English, and so students proficient in SE are more likely to acquire SAE easier than a student not proficient in SE.  This complicates the issues multilingual writers face when trying to acquire and apply SAE.  If even native SE speakers cannot effectively discourse in SAE, a similar dialect, then multilingual writers not fluent in oral or written SE will have much more difficulty transferring linguistic skills and applying the appropriate rhetorical moves in their compositions.

Not only might migrant undocumented students have difficulty with appropriating and acquiring the rhetorical and linguistic moves for a particular academic field, genre, and context, but students also may have an issue with certain grammatical errors that impede and obstruct clarity in their compositions and their employment of Standard Academic English.  Of course the major issues with this problem are the lack of concretely defining what constitutes an error in grammar and understanding why students make them.  Lunsford and Lunsford outline these problems in their article "Mistakes Are a Fact of Life": A National Comparative Study" and call for "a more nuanced and context-based definition of error" (801).  Lunsford and Lunsford note that in the past twenty years or so, the type of errors student make have shifted with the academic genres students are asked to write.  This again provides evidence to the fact that student error is contingent and related to the academic situation in which they are placed, thus, it would seem that explicit instruction in academic genres would at least partially combat student error.

We can draw several conclusions from studies on error, multilingual writers, and issues with context based definitions of SE and SAE.  First, although Standard English

and Standard Academic English are closely related dialects they also differ in many ways and are constantly changing, which adds to the difficulty of student acquisition. Second, this difficulty is pronounced in non-native speakers and writers of SE trying to acquire SAE. Third, students have difficulty in navigating the conventions of SAE across disciplines and may be fluent in one area while still lacking skills another. And finally, oral fluency is closely related to written fluency of SE and SAE respectively but this fluency might not be transferrable, or rather, even if a student is fluent in oral and in written SE this does not mean they will be fluent in oral and written SAE which again complicates non-native speakers of SE and their acquisition of SAE.

As shown, there has been much research on non-native English writer's acquisition of SE and SAE. Tangential to this research, but rarely intersected, are studies on critical pedagogy and issues of race and ethnicity. Embedded in all of these studies on basic writing, multilingual writing, and linguistic diversity is the notion that language hierarchies exist, students bring a set of rhetorical and discursive skills that either give them or prevent them from attaining positions of linguistic power, and finally citizenship status, race, ethnicity, and composition are forever connected implicitly. It should be the role of the comp instructor and WPA to make these connections explicit.

**The Case for Critical Pedagogy Based on a DREAMer Writing**

Composition courses should have students speak and write in critical and articulate ways, to view their identity as writers situated in a broad and varied context, and to see the act of composing as a response to a problem. When I say critical I mean students should think about their choices and reflect on the effectiveness of each rhetorical move they make in a text they compose. The orator or composer must have a

clear exigence for their rhetorical act and it must respond to an audience and the audience must feel compelled to the take further action.  Composition then is a dialectic between orator/composer and audience/ reader. It is important for students to understand the constraints (genre/form) and possibilities (varied meanings/novelty) in composition so that they might become agents of change in their world.  Students should understand the outcomes of courses as framed by rhetoric, composition, and genre studies.  Students should believe they can achieve the outcomes of a course even if they do not master them by the end of a semester and they should feel they are a vital component to classes. Student should understand how to shift fluidly across the composition landscape and constantly negotiate and re-imagine ways to use language and make rhetorical moves. Courses should help them to practice the rhetorical skills needed to effectively navigate through college, the public sphere, and eventually their career choice.  Composition courses are spaces defined by the students- who they are, where they come from and the histories they bring to the classroom. A linguistically diverse undocumented student entering a university structured to uphold Standard American English and specific problematic definitions of race, ethnicity, and citizenship status, is already seen as being at a deficit.  The deficit model, however, is intrinsically flawed.  It ignores the undocumented students' inherent rhetorical knowledge, varied discursive practices, and important genres.  In previous chapters, I looked at the discourse of and the four genres used by DREAMers in this section I will illustrate how compositionists may use these strategies in the classroom to create a critical pedagogy that teaches writing to undocumented, multilingual writers. I show how by using DREAMer discourse and genre

it provides ways for undocumented students to advocate for themselves in writing at their institutions, in their communities, and in public activist spheres.

As outlined in previous chapters, DREAMers use genres such as narratives, calls, synthesis, and guides to accomplish the following goals:

- Assemble support →Discursive Transfer

- Combat criminal narratives → Rhetorical Transfer

- Create pragmatic ways to navigate the university →Educational Transfer

DREAMers are combatting criminalizing narratives and navigating difficult legislation in effective ways. The often difficult process includes appropriating genres and rhetorical moves of power of the dominant discourse and having a vast and varied online presence, DREAMers are able to interpret documents and data, synthesize it with their goals, build support systems, provide spaces for personal narratives, and provide resources for activism.  Websites are built to help DREAMers function and as a way to support students in a discursive, educational, and rhetorical transition into higher education. Through discursive strategies grounded in these specific digital genres, DREAMers shift into the public realm by synthesizing and interpreting legislative documents, combatting racist ideologies, and disseminating knowledge to a community of linguistically and socially diverse undocumented students.

Through these strategies, DREAMers critically engage with the DREAM Act text and they understand the impact of the text on a community.  They interpret, summarize/synthesize, and disseminate knowledge to a very specific audience. By shifting their rhetorical strategies anticipating various contexts, anticipating various audiences, and anticipating various outcomes, DREAMers gain a greater understanding

of the complexity of issues related to language, power & identity within their own communities.

Compositionists may use DREAMer discourse to foster initiatives for acting as responsible agents of change.  Espenshade and Calhoun analyzed the reasons why some Americans have liberal views of immigration while others were more conservative in their opinion.  They determined that the more educated the person was the more likely they were to be accepting of immigrants who were trying to mainstream into U.S. society and argue that "signs of successful acculturation that are particularly important in the United States context are learning English and acquiring upward economic mobility to reduce anxieties that migrants will overtax the welfare system or otherwise become a drain on public treasuries" (211). DREAMer discourse directly combats this perception and undocumented students specifically work against this racist notion. Through their websites DREAMers have formed an alternative and digital literacy initiatives.  They disseminate knowledge and teach pragmatic discursive and rhetorical strategies to negotiate texts.

By teaching these activist genres embedded so deeply in the undocumented student experience in the university system and in the public realm, undocumented students may transfer their already flourishing rhetorical and discursive skills and reflect on their own academic literacy practices. The genres and the discursive practices outlined previously are prevalent in DREAMers writing practices and undocumented students are well versed in how to use these formats. To provide a space for this transfer into the academy via these genres and discursive practices creates the opportunity for

undocumented students to take agency over their pathway in the university, their pathway towards citizenship, and their rhetorical power as activists.

The question will always remain, at what point does the person with a different linguistic background, the scholar of color, the undocumented student, feel as if they are losing their linguistic and cultural identity by accepting the ascribed power of an institution such as the university? And how can this power be transgressed without completely losing it?  That is the ultimate struggle of people of color, undocumented students, and the linguistically diverse.  It is important to undocumented student migrants to must maintain their cultural and linguistic identities and yet they are always changed by the university system when they find those commonplaces, interpret them, and in turn use them to navigate the structures. Intersections between rhetorical studies, discourse studies, and composition can create an academic environment that allows students to take their private linguistic lives into a commonplace, a genre, a discursive landscape and in doing so transgress the linguistic hierarchy and, as Guerra suggests, transculturally reposition themselves into the academy and into the public realm. Transcultural repositioning is "a notion grounded in the idea that members of historically excluded groups are in a position to cultivate adaptive strategies that help them move across cultural boundaries by negotiating new and different contexts and communicative conventions (Kells, 2007, p. 101; see also Guerra, 2004, 2007)" (Guerra 299). In this view of transition, the dominant structure is not privileged but rather it's placed as a position the student may move across to for specific rhetorical purposes.

A critical undocumented migrant pedagogy would include a central focus on transculturalism and transligualism, a miultifaceted approach to migrant student

discourses focused on transference by use of migrant genres, and an acceptance of the

relocalization of linguistic skills in migrant student writing when they "mobiliz[e]

linguistic resources" (Sohan 203). Sohan suggests this mobilization of language skills is a

way for translingual students to chose their strongest linguistic skills and utilize them as a

means of meaning making. This often manifests in what comp instructors consider error,

code-meshing, or code switching depending on the framework the instructor is using. To

respond to this relocalized writing, comp instructors may employ what Sohan terms as

relocalized listening, which "asks teachers to think of reading, writing, and revision

differently—as alinear, dynamic, interconnected processes that attend to the movement of

meanings within and beyond texts and contexts" ( Sohan193). Using this method would

align with a critical translingual migrant pedagogy, "since working to understand the

ways individual readers and writers relocalize their reading and writing practices

emphasizes the agency of readers/writers as the producers/transformers of the language

conventions they repeat in the process of listening: relocalized listening treats language

not as preformed but as actively shaped and reshaped in both form and meaning every

time a writer relocalizes it (employs it in contexts for which it has not been traditionally

used)" (Sohan 193). Using this approach to include and respond to migrant student texts

"enables students to become agents over their own language practices throughout (and

after) their academic careers as they write across a variety of contexts and disciplines"

(Sohan 194). Guerra and Hall Kell's work on transcultural repositioning and WAC[2]

supports the practice of relocalized listening. As the student is relocalizing their linguistic

skills and repositioning their rhetorical moves, comp instructors must relocalize their

listening and reading, because this task "asks that we as teachers revise our pedagogy so

that it more actively and dialogically responds to and engages with the multiple, competing, conflicting cultural influences on our students' relocalization of conventions (including form and meaning) in their writing" (Sohan 194). The use of migrant activist genres may facilitate this relocalizing of linguistic skills and support transfer into an academic context.

**Aligning Migrant Activist Goals and Writing Outcomes**

Using a WAC$^2$ model, requires the WPA and compositionists to self-reflect on their goals as administrators and instructors of writing. As stated previously, this sort of self-reflection in the academy is rare and particularly absent in WPA work when involving race and ethnicity issues.  As shown, the migrant undocumented student is often racialized due to U.S. immigration policy and public discourse on immigration issues. Since DREAMers account for the majority of the undocumented population that WPAs and composition instructors will serve then their activist writing tactics are of specific importance.  WAC in the traditional model "seeks to make visible the codes, genres, media, and purposes of the knowledge-making systems of the university to novice writers" however "historically WAC has not been called upon to interrogate the additional knowledge-making systems and discourses students seek to acquire" (Hall Kells 93). As such, "traditional WAC approaches replicate and reaffirm dominant discourses by socializing new writers into established systems" (Hall Kells 93).  The DREAMers are particularly adept at appropriating dominant discourses.  At times this appropriation leans towards assimilation, especially in the case of guides. As the migrant activist WPA employs WAC$^2$ "as a cultural ecology approach" they make the focus on composition to "seek to cultivate critical awareness of the ways that literacy practices are

shaped by ever-shifting sets of economic, political, social, cultural, and linguistic factors," and as shown previously, DREAMers are already adept at the ever-shifting literacy practices since they have to appropriate genres and rhetorical moves to gain access to the university in the first place (Hall Kells 93).

In 2011, the Council of Writing Program Administration created the Framework for Success in Postsecondary Writing, a combination of habits of mind and writing practices. The writing practices are strategies and applications writers use to produce academic writing. As shown earlier, the CWPA is a historically white organization and as such this framework is embedded in the dominant discourse and writing practices of academia. I take the position that despite these problems with the framework, they serve as a way to show the kind of transcultural repositioning students make and to give practical application to the theoretical look at the genre and rhetorical skills migrant activists possess.

In this section, I outline ways writing teachers might employ a migrant translingual critical pedagogy and use migrant activist genres as a means of showing students how they already use these writing practices and then encouraging students to think critically how they may transfer these skills into academic writing. This works in the WAC$^2$ model as it supports the notion that student writing off campus requires intricate and complex rhetorical and genre use. I chose the CWPA Framework as one way to assess these practices in students but ultimately migrant activist genres must be aligned with local programmatic outcomes to foster the transfer of rhetorical skills.

In Steve Lamos work *Interests and Opportunities: Race, Racism, and University Writing Instruction in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, he delineates between eras of

convergence when a "certain amount of racially egalitarian change" occurred and eras of divergence when "such change was thwarted" (8). The constant between the two eras was an appeal to uphold Standard English and a narrative of deficit. In this study, I have worked against that model of deficit, instead in favor of a model that honors student's right to their own language, considers language in context, and acknowledges the rhetorical, discursive, and genre skills students already have. This last chapter focuses on how to use those skills as a basis for transfer by utilizing migrant activist genres in the composition classroom, working in the WAC[2], and privileging transcultural citizenship and repositioning as the focus.

The genres and the discursive practices outlined in previous chapters are prevalent in DREAMers discourse and writing practices and undocumented students are well versed in how to use these formats. To provide a space for transfer into the academy via these genres and discursive practices creates the opportunity for undocumented students to take agency over their pathway in the university, their pathway towards citizenship, and their rhetorical power as activists. What is most interesting about DREAMer appropriation of dominant linguistic structures is way they succeed and sometimes fail to avoid assimilation. The strategies DREAMers use to avoid assimilation while still discoursing in dominant structures and combatting racism can inform compositionists and models on how to create writing programs that truly value ethnolinguistic diversity. The times when DREAMers chose to assimilate, as in the case of their use of guides, provides points of critique and a basis of critical engagement with discussions of language hierarchies and power.

Before I outline how writing instructors might use migrant activists genres in alignment with the CWPA Framework for Success and in a WAC[2] model, I will first unpack the four practices and illustrate how DREAMers are currently engaging in these literacy practices in the community. I acknowledge that showing how diverse populations align with mainstream white dominant language structures, logics, and rhetorics may seem assimilationist; however, I contend that by doing this I am illustrating how DREAMers use the dominant discourse to combat racism in turn are changing that discourse and shaping it in new and interesting ways. I aim to show the dialectical relationship DREAMers have with dominant structures.

**History of the Framework for Success and Writing Practices**

The CWPA Framework was developed in collaboration with the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), and the National Writing Project (NWP). The Framework is described on the CWPA website:

> The concept of "college readiness" is increasingly important in discussions about students' preparation for postsecondary education.

> This Framework describes the rhetorical and twenty-first-century skills as well as habits of mind and experiences that are critical for college success. Based in current research in writing and writing pedagogy, the Framework was written and reviewed by two- and four-year college and high school writing faculty nationwide and is endorsed by the Council of Writing Program Administrators, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the National Writing Project.

Based on current research in writing and paired with an annotated bibliography, the

Framework outlines five highly successful "college ready" writing practices: 1.rhetorical

knowledge; 2. critical thinking, reading, and composing; 3. Composing process; 4.

Knowledge of conventions; and 5. Composing in multiple environments. In the next

section, I show how migrant activist writing and genre already employs these writing

practices, I then give a specific example of migrant activist composition and align it with

these outcomes.  There has been much work on transcultural repositioning and

citizenship but we have yet to show this work in practice with specific uses of

transcultural writing. With this section, my aim is to use theory in praxis.

**Rhetorical Knowledge**

The first writing practice is rhetorical knowledge.  The Framework defines this as

*"* the ability to analyze contexts and audiences and then to act on that analysis in

comprehending and creating texts.  Rhetorical knowledge is the basis of composing.

Writers develop rhetorical knowledge by negotiating purpose, audience, context, and

conventions as they compose a variety of texts for different situations." The Framework

also suggests that by the end of first year composition, students should be able to attain

the outcomes in Table 21.

| Rhetorical Knowledge Outcomes |
| --- |
| Learn and use key rhetorical concepts through analyzing and composing a variety of texts |
| Gain experience reading and composing in several genres to understand how genre conventions shape and are shaped by readers' and writers' practices and purpose |
| Develop facility in responding to a variety of situations and contexts calling for purposeful shifts in voice, tone, level of formality, design, medium, and/or structure |

| Understand and use a variety of technologies to address a range of audiences |
| Match the capacities of different environments (e.g., print and electronic) to varying rhetorical situation |

Table 21 Rhetorical Knowledge Outcomes

DREAMers are already adept at understanding the rhetorical situation created by the DREAM Act and DACA, two documents that allow and deny access to public spaces and the university to undocumented students. In my analysis of DREAMer discourse, I outlined the DREAMer ability to respond directly to accusations of criminal behavior through narratives that humanize and contextualize DREAMer experiences. It is apparent that through a close reading of the DREAM Act text, DREAMers are aware of the problematic language and the racist public discourse generated through it. DREAMers already have the skills required to not only understand the rhetorical situation but to respond to it and shape it. Through the explicit use of narratives, in text form and in multimodal forms, DREAMers have been able to shape the dominant public discourse surrounding immigration.  Several states have already passed state versions of the DREAM Act that do many of the things the federal would do short of providing a path towards citizenship. DREAMers have won battles for state licenses, in-state tuition, and of course the executive order DACA, which has been the most important piece of immigration reform in the past thirty years since IRCA.

**Critical Thinking, Reading, and Composing**

The second writing practice is *Critical Thinking* defined by the Framework as "the ability to analyze, synthesize, interpret, and evaluate ideas, information, situations, and texts. When writers think critically about the materials they use—whether print texts,

photographs, data sets, videos, or other materials—they separate assertion from evidence, evaluate sources and evidence, recognize and evaluate underlying assumptions, read across texts for connections and patterns, identify and evaluate chains of reasoning, and compose appropriately qualified and developed claims and generalizations. These practices are foundational for advanced academic writing." The possible outcomes for students are in Table 22.

| Critical Thinking, Reading, and Composing Outcomes |
|---|
| Use composing and reading for inquiry, learning, critical thinking, and communicating in various rhetorical contexts |
| Locate and evaluate (for credibility, sufficiency, accuracy, timeliness, bias and so on) primary and secondary research materials, including journal articles and essays, books, scholarly and professionally established and maintained databases or archives, and informal electronic networks and internet sources |
| Use strategies—such as interpretation, synthesis, response, critique, and design/redesign—to compose texts that integrate the writer's ideas with those from appropriate sources |

Table 22

Perhaps more than any of the other writing practices, Critical Thinking is abundantly apparent in the migrant activist genres of the DREAMers. DREAMers have conducted a deep reading of the DREAM Act, looking specifically at how the text marginalizes and criminalizes the migrant population. They use calls and synthesis to align their goals, namely educational access and citizenship, to that of the mainstream public ideals of what a citizen is and who deserves education. DREAMers gather various texts, besides the

DREAM Act, to support their claims that undocumented migrants honor the very

American ideal of "good moral standing." They perpetuate and embody the myth of the

American DREAM and focus on disseminating very complex information to a very

linguistically diverse population.

**Composing Processes**

The third writing practice is *Composing Proceses*. The Framework explains this

by saying, "writers use multiple strategies, or *composing processes,* to conceptualize,

develop, and finalize projects.  Composing processes are seldom linear: a writer may

research a topic before drafting, then conduct additional research while revising or after

consulting a colleague. Composing processes are also flexible: successful writers can

adapt their composing processes to different contexts and occasions." Possible outcomes

for freshman writing suggested by the Framework are,

As stated in the Lumina report, Latino students, including migrant undocumented

students, want to understand how the college experience may help them in their

community. The outcomes outlined under the writing practice *Composing Processes* (in

Table 23)*,* focus on the social aspect of writing. With their activism, the DREAMer is an

expert in community engagement and social writing.

| Composing Processes Outcomes |
|---|
| Develop a writing project through multiple drafts |
| Develop flexible strategies for reading, drafting, reviewing, collaborating, revising, rewriting, rereading, and editing |
| Use composing processes and tools as a means to discover and reconsider ideas |
| Experience the collaborative and social aspects of writing processes |

| |
|---|
| Learn to give and to act on productive feedback to works in progress |
| Adapt composing processes for a variety of technologies and modalities |
| Reflect on the development of composing practices and how those practices influence their work |

Table 23

**Knowledge of Conventions**

The fourth writing practice is the use of *Conventions*, which the Framework says "are the formal rules and informal guidelines that define genres, and in so doing, shape readers' and writers' perceptions of correctness or appropriateness. Most obviously, conventions govern such things as mechanics, usage, spelling, and citation practices. But they also influence content, style, organization, graphics, and document design." The Framework suggests possible outcomes in Table 24.

| **Knowledge of Conventions Outcomes** |
|---|
| Develop knowledge of linguistic structures, including grammar, punctuation, and spelling, through practice in composing and revising |
| Understand why genre conventions for structure, paragraphing, tone, and mechanics vary |
| Gain experience negotiating variations in genre conventions |
| Learn common formats and/or design features for different kinds of texts |
| Explore the concepts of intellectual property (such as fair use and copyright) that motivate documentation conventions |
| Practice applying citation conventions systematically in their own work |

Table 24

As outlined above, DREAMers use various genres, namely narratives, calls, guides, and synthesis to react to the rhetoric of the DREAM Act, to respond to public xenophobia, and to shape policy. They write in diverse contexts and constantly summarize complex information that they then disseminate to a diverse linguistic population.

**Composing in Multiple Environments**

The final writing practice is *Composing in Multiple Environments,* which "refers to the ability to create writing using everything from traditional pen and paper to electronic technologies. All forms of writing involve technologies, whether pen and paper, word processor, video recorder, or webpage." The Framework suggests the following outcomes in Table 25.

| **Composing in Multiple Environments** |
|---|
| analyze print and electronic texts to determine how technologies affect reading and writing processes; |
| select, evaluate, and use information and ideas from electronic sources responsibly in their own documents (whether by citation, hotlink, commentary, or other means); |
| use technology strategically and with a clear purpose that enhances the writing for the audience; |
| analyze situations where print and electronic texts are used, examining why and how people have chosen to compose using different technologies; and |
| analyze electronic texts (their own and others') to explore and develop criteria for assessing the texts. |

Table 25

DREAMers primarily assemble online. Their uses of digital formats and resources have generated a certain level of expertise in online writing and rhetorical strategy. In the following section, I take a sample migrant DREAMer narrative and align it with the CWPA Frawework. Again, the purpose for this is to show how migrant activist employ the strategies privileged by the dominant discourse but in novel and activist ways. DREAMers have appropriated the genres and rhetorical strategies of the dominant discourse to combat the criminalizing nature of the U.S. public opinion on immigrations and U.S. legislative text.

**Migrant Activist Genre- DREAMer Narrative**

On the United We DREAM (UWD) YouTube channel, activists post videos of DREAMers confronting lawmakers, demonstrating at state capitals and in Washington D.C., and documentaries, or as I call them DREAMer Narratives, about undocumented persons. Celso Mireles', an active participant in the migrant civil right's movement, posted the following "About Me" on his website, "I have been a digital activist since 2009 when I became active in the undocumented youth movement for immigrant rights. Ever since then, I believe that solid digital tools can help us make the change we want." On March 11th, 2013, he posted a video on the UWD YouTube Channel titled "My Mom the DREAMer: an #11MillionDREAMs Story" in which he interviews his mother about her DREAMs, what she finds difficult about being undocumented, and her hopes for her son.
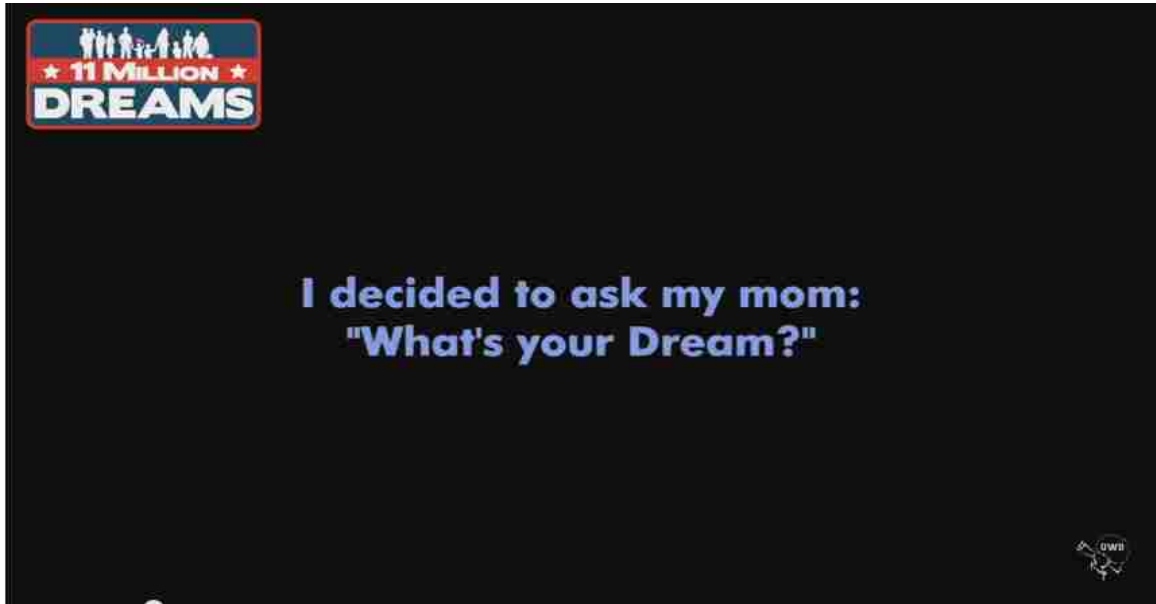
Image 1



Image 2

Image 3

The video, screenshots above and linked below, is structurally and rhetorically an example of a migrant activist genre, specifically, a DREAMer narrative. As defined in previously, a migrant DREAMer narrative responds directly to the racist language in the DREAM Act that identifies the DREAMer as criminal, of low moral character, and unworthy of citizenship. By using the myth of the American DREAM as its central theme and motherhood as its guiding metaphor, Mireles effectively combats the rhetoric the DREAM Act text generates. Mireles interviews his mother and asks her a series of questions each leading to the argument that Mireles and his mother are good hardworking family oriented people. The mother sits in front of several rosaries, invoking a religious context to the video. The narrative exemplifies both of Halliday's ideational and interpersonal discourse—it reveals a diverse DREAMer experience and it works as a way to enter a speech act, namely the immigration debate.

In terms of the CWPA Framework for Success, Mireles work aligns with all five suggested writing practices as outlined in Table 26.

| Rhetorical Knowledge | The videos is situated in the context of the immigration debate with a deep understanding of how the DREAM Act text marginalizes<br><br>Mireles synthesizes the11 million undocumented statistic and titles this video 11 DREAMs<br><br>Undocumented persons are framed as having DREAMs and not as a burden |
|---|---|
| Critical Thinking, Reading, and Composing | The video responds directly to concerns of anti-immigration lobbyists showing a deep reading of the DREAM Act and a critical analysis of audience<br><br>The video shows an undocumented person with 'good moral character' |
| Processes | Mireles shows he is utilizing the process of reading and reacting<br><br>Mireles also shows he is editing for story |

| Knowledge of Conventions | The videos demonstrates how narratives work |
| | The videos is an example of how to invoke pathos |
| Composing in Multiple Environments | As a digital activist, Mireles preferred medium is video and he is adept at producing this digital genre |

Table 26

## A DREAMer Based Course on the Rhetorics of Civic Engagement

In a course that utilizes migrant activist genres students will develop their own writing identities as emerging scholars by considering how language, power, and identity influence how we read (are shaped by) and write (shape) our communities. By actively, collaboratively, and critically engaging with course readings, community-based research, and the writing process itself through the study of migrant activist genres, students will practice and reflect upon the moves made by successful writers, gain a greater understanding of the complexity of issues related to language, power and identity within their own communities, and explore the strategies of community activists, namely DREAMers and Counter-DREAMers, for acting as responsible agents of change. As a community engagement model students can study the immigrant rights movement of DREAM Act activists.

The course could explore the intersections between discourse studies and rhetorical analysis (See example sequences in Appendices A and B).  Students could be

asked to consider how language diversity issues are affected by socially constructed hierarchies of language and how analyzing the strategies migrant civil rights activists may help to construct community projects that will help marginalized populations, or the students' own communities, to navigate through these oppressive structures. The focus and purpose for the course would be for students to not only understand the complexity of language diversity issues in their community but also to create pragmatic strategies for dealing with those issues.

Students might analyze this DREAMer critical engagement and appropriate the rhetorical skills of the DREAMers as a way to engage critically in the community. In the classroom, I would first look at four provisions of the DREAM Act that complicate immigration issues and shift this text from instrumental to performative by creating a criminal view of undocumented immigrants: 1. the requirement that undocumented residents wanting to participate must maintain good moral character; 2.The requirement that undocumented residents wanting to participate must submit biographic and biometric data; 3. The requirement that undocumented residents wanting to participate must submit to a background check; and 4. The requirement that undocumented residents wanting to participate must be authorized by Homeland Security.

Undocumented students have to self-identity as, under the language of the Act, "illegal aliens" and report to Homeland Security.  Although, very problematic for obvious reasons, these provisions, are a very real and unwavering aspect of the act, and despite them, the DREAM Act is the most sustainable and attainable pathway toward citizenship and a conceivable way for undocumented students to obtain funding for post secondary education. How do DREAM Act activists navigate this rough political and social

landscape?   How do they maneuver around negative government portrayal of undocumented residents? How do they work through a system bent on marginalizing them?

There are three pragmatic strategies: 1. When the U.S. blocks public assembly, DREAMers assemble on the Internet.  They control the visuals, control the rhetoric, and interpretation and provide quick and easy resources 2. When the U.S. legislative texts create a criminal profile, DREAMers combat it with personal stories of triumph and "good moral character." These manifest in narratives, both text and multimodal.  They show audience awareness and push immigrants into the public. 3. When the U.S. writes impossible legislation, DREAMers re-write it, they make new conditions, create new provisions, and make compromises that still adhere to a central goal. DACA is an example of this. The questions thought: What are the skills enacted that are linked to metatsociallinguistic awareness?

During this analysis, students see that DREAMers do two things do two things: critically engage with the text and shift rhetorical strategies as seen in Table 27. The analysis then focuses on how DREAMer writing strategies effectively address a very specific rhetorical situation and use language to generate change.  This is useful a WAC[2] based composition classroom as it values the experiences of migrant student activists and offers a model of critical engagement in the community. Using this framework provides the means for transfer into an academic setting but more importantly it allows for a honing of skills off campus where students are civically engaged in social citizenship. Migrant students bring to campus a set of specific linguistic and writing skills used to fight for access to the university and combat racist legislation.

| Critically engage with text | Shift rhetorical strategies |
|---|---|
| • Understanding the impact of a text on a community <br><br> • Summarize/synthesize <br><br> • Disseminate knowledge | • Anticipate various contexts <br><br> • Anticipate various audiences <br><br> • Anticipate various outcomes |

Table 27 DREAMer Strategies

A composition course focusing on migrant activist genres, community-based learning, and transcultural repositioning may facilitate students' critical acquisition of standard academic English but more importantly it may offer moments of critical exchange and a dialectical relationship with power structures. I emphasize critical acquisition because I want students to understand explicitly that this acquisition of SAE must be contextual and contingent on a specific rhetorical situation, much like DREAMer discourse.  Students must be explicitly aware of the moves they are making when discoursing in academia and must understand how they are transferring rhetorical skills learned in their home discourses to their academic writing.  Community engagement and community based learning are some ways of achieving the goal of cultivating critical literacy in student writers and facilitating the acquisition of SAE.  In this next section, I outlined one migrant activist model of critical engagement that utlizes community critical literacy. Analyzing strategies used by community activists is one way of encouraging students to engage critically in their own communities. I presented one way to address these issues in the classroom by using the DREAMers and their work with the DREAM Act. Analyzing

how community activists critically engage with a community helps students to create the criteria for self-assessment. Metasociallinguistic awareness that helps students transfer skills they use in the community to their academic work and vice versa.

In this section, I showed how the writing practices of DREAMers already align with the dominant discourse according to the CWPA Framework.  I see this as a politicized move. Freshman writing is often a gatekeeper, a way to prevent linguistically and culturally diverse students from entering the academy. Those who cannot, or will not assimilate, into the dominant discourse of Standard American English, are left at the margins or worse, pushed out completely. To show how DREAMer activist writing is complex, intricately aware of the rhetorical situation created by the DREAM Act and other U.S. legislation, and fits into the CWPA Framework illustrates how DREAMers have appropriated and manipulated genres and rhetorical strategies of the dominant discourse to infiltrate the university with the use of writing strategies. A few questions remain when considering how best to enact a $WAC^2$ model based on migrant activism: How do we as educators prevent assimilationist pedagogy, support and promote linguistic diversity, and value the rhetorical skills migrant activist students already possess? The public discourse surrounding immigration positions migrants, especially Latino migrants, in a deficit model. WPAs could learn much from how migrant activists employ rhetorical writing strategies to combat criminalizing narratives while also avoiding assimilationist rhetoric. The true composition program that values diversity also values diverse logics and rhetroics.  In this next section, I move beyond structures of dominant discourse and traditional WPA models and work towards a migrant activist model of $WAC^2$ and composition.

**Implications and Beyond**

On July 23, 2015 the headline on the front page of the Albuquerque Journal reads, "Tracking 'Shadows' in New Mexico's Bootheel." It's a special edition of the paper focusing on Border Patrol in the southern most tip of New Mexico in what is called the bootheel, a small part of the state line that touches the Mexican border. There are two articles under this headline: "Illegal immigration, drug smuggling both up" and "Rugged terrain, isolation challenge for shorthanded Border Patrol." The language of the articles is what is expected of a historically conservative newspaper. The authors criminalize migrants, they focus on the need for border security, and they aim to stop migration from the Mexican border.

Three years after President Obama enacted DACA and fourteen years after the DREAM Act was presented in congress and still the fight to decriminalize migration and stop deportations persists. This debate is public, it's complicated, and it's slowly encroaching into every aspect of the political realm. The presidential candidates for 2016 are expected to make their immigration agendas clear. Migrant activists, particularly DREAMers, in many ways have won the battle to enter the public realm and voice their concerns but the war for immigration rights is not over.

Policies written by lawmakers create and reflect values and judgments on racial and ethnic identities, which affect the way people of color perceive the limits and expectations of cultural identity and how to 'legally' perform their identity in the U.S. As shown, the DREAM Act is not only instrumental, not only describes, but in fact is performative in that it enacts, establishes the modes of, elicits participation, and generates the values of the U.S. in regards to race, ethnicity, and citizenship status.

The DREAM Act has four distinct problems: the criminalizing nature, the erasure of the affected subject, the position of the affected subject as passive agent, and the propagation of racist xenophobic ideology. DREAMers engage with the DREAM Act text in critical ways and enact genre and rhetorical strategies to combat these distinct problem areas. Focusing on migrant activist writing in a composition classroom cultivates the metasociallinguistic awareness and the discursive skills to navigate academia. In her article on the emerging WAC$^2$ program at the University of New Mexico (UNM), Hall Kells writes, "We reason that if the first-year composition sequence is a critical point of entry into academic discourse and writing across the disciplines, then a WAC-enhanced first-year sequence should be a central feature of our new WAC initiative" (91).  When creating WAC$^2$ at UNM, Hall Kells had to critically engage with various stakeholders and balance conversations on traditional freshman year outcomes, traditional WPA models, the goals of writing across the university, and the very specific needs of the region. Hall Kells writes:

> WAC is a ganglion of conversations that links to an ever-expanding range of practices and intellectual pursuits: computer-mediated writing instruction, service learning, writing-intensive courses, first-year writing seminars, technical and professional writing, interdisciplinary learning communities, writing centers, ESL and bilingual education, and many more. The process of critical self-reflection is not a once-and-for-all enterprise; we need to engage faculty, graduate teaching assistants, undergraduates, administrators, and community members in the conversation all along the way (91)

I have worked with WAC$^2$ for the past five years of my life at UNM.  I have experienced

and observed the constant struggles and negotiations WAC$^2$ proponents must navigate

through. Those negotiations and struggles are what make WAC$^2$ viable and student

centered because the focus is on how, where, and why students write. WAC$^2$ privileges

all forms of writing students engage in and aspects of their life on and off campus. The

core values of WAC$^2$ are that students must learn to write: "*Appropriately* (with an

awareness of different conventions); *Productively* (to achieve their desired aims);

*Ethically* (to remain attuned to the communities they serve); *Critically* (to learn to engage

in inquiry and discovery), and *Responsively* (to negotiate the tensions caused by the

exercise of authority in their spheres of belonging)" (Hall Kells 103). Migrant activists,

particularly DREAMers engage in all four writing practices WAC$^2$ promotes. They use

genres appropriately towards a desired aim.  They ethically produce texts based on

critically engaging and responding to those in positions of power.

    As WAC$^2$ moves into it's next phase at UNM, "arguably the biggest challenge

WAC$^2$ proponents face at this juncture is deciding whether to sustain their

insurgent/social movement indefinitely, or make a push to institutionalize WAC$^2$ and

integrate it into UNM's very DNA" (Guerra 83). What started as an insurgency at UNM

has slowly moved into an institutionalized force, at the behest of many due to funding

restrictions, and with some compromises but the central goal of WAC$^2$ is the same:

linguistically diverse student populations must be better served.

    WAC$^2$ started as a local UNM initiative that has sought to shift the power

dynamics of freshman compositon and value the translinguistic, transcultural, and

transcitizenship identities of UNM students. WAC$^2$ is always contingent on regional

needs and addresses local concerns while valuing the need for a global critique and civic

engagement. As Hall Kells writes:

> "Writing Across Communities" model in particular—emerges whenever we transgress the ethnocentric biases that permeate every field and discourse community, including Composition Studies, itself. The greatest resistance I have encountered in conversations about ethnolinguistic and textual (or genre) diversity seems to come from compositionists intent on protecting the primacy of essayist literacies in the academy. Recognizing that students need to write for and to audiences other than insider experts in English Studies not only destabilizes how we teach first-year college students but challenges how we teach graduate teaching assistants charged with introducing novice writers to academic discourse. The prospects of both endeavors are daunting for any WAC program, but are especially problematic for an initiative that seeks to interrogate what Christopher Thaiss identifies as the first principles of WAC (92).

Acknowledging here the difficult task of instituting a WAC[2] composition program, Hall Kells calls into question the traditional model of WAC and calls for an interrogation of those traditional models and principles of WAC.  I would further this call for interrogation and suggest that all WPA work must be interrogated and questioned in regards to race and ethnicity issues, migrant undocumented student needs, and the way WPA works as a gatekeeper to exclude and deny linguistically diverse students access to the university or seeks to assimilate linguistically diverse students into the dominant discourse.  I would argue that the intentional appropriation of the dominant discourse by DREAMers elucidates how linguistically diverse populations manipulate genres and

rhetorical moves to enter the dominant discourse and yet still combats assimilation. Victor Villanueva writes on the traditional model of WAC:

> I'm a skeptic when it comes to writing across the curriculum. I have no problems with the WAC idea of literacy across the disciplines or even of sharing the responsibility of literacy instruction (as outlined by McLeod and others), and I long ago accepted writing as epistemological, as a way of knowing. But for just as long I've accepted writing and the teaching of writing as inherently political. And WAC, it seems to me, has tended to be assimilationist, assimilation being a political state of mind more repressive than mere accommodation we begin by having students invent the university, perhaps, then move on to having students invent the disciplines. This isn't the politic I'd prefer. We in composition studies might assume a closer connection between language and epistemology, but 'writing to learn' doesn't go far enough doesn't historicize our conceptions of language and knowing, keeps us tied to a Platonic mind-set (Villanueva 166)

Mapping the ways migrant activists write to teach—as in write to combat and shape racist U.S. immigration policy and change public discourse surrounding the immigration debate— alters the WAC assimilation aims and embodies the WAC[2] ideals. The underlying ideals of Writing Across Communities assert that: "Students arrive already embedded in complex discourse communities; membership in different discourse communities is a dynamic (ever expanding and receding) process, as students shift among the communities to which they already belong and those to which they seek to belong; students bring discursive resources and literacy practices that are variably conditioned by the cultural and intellectual communities of the academy; agency in

language does not begin and should not end in the college classroom; WAC, writing programs, and writing centers should serve as advocates of literacy and language awareness for speakers of English as well as members of other ethnolinguistic communities present on and around campus; teachers in WAC programs, writing classrooms, and writing centers serve an important role as cultural mediators between the academy, students, students' homes, and their target academic and professional discourse communities" (Hall Kells 103). Migrant students embody the aims and principles of WAC[2]. Migrant students come from complex ethnolinguistically diverse discourse communities, bring discourse and writing practices, they serve as advocates of literacy and language within their communities and on campus, and they work as cultural mediators for their communities on and off campus. Migrant activists problematizes the WAC[2] model by being proficient at employing these ideals off campus in their communities and on campus through the appropriation of genres and rhetorical moves of the dominant discourse.

In his interrogation of traditional WAC Villanueva writes that many of the WAC models focus too heavily on a missionary focus. The WPA is not a savior to minoritized ethnolinguistically diverse students, rather the migrant activist WPA engaging in a WAC[2] model aims to provide resources for migrant undocumented students to hone the rhetorical skills they bring into the classroom, critically engage with student writing in all aspects of their lives including academic writing, and allow for spaces where ethnolinguistically diverse migrant students may shape the dominant discourse in interesting and important ways. Villanueva writes:

If we are to proffer our understanding of the value of cross and interdisciplinary

literacy, we have an obligation to proffer the social dimensions of our research.

Theory, and discussion as well. And we have the obligation to learn from those to

whom we pass on our knowledge of the teaching of writing. If WAC is no longer

(or perhaps never was) missionary in its method, then we should be engaging the

other minds across the disciplines who also face the students we face. We should

enter into a dialogue across the disciplines so as better to understand the social

processes that could relegate such a large number to the trouble heap: the poor

and the racial or ethnic majority. All of us can use the tools at our disposal to

circumvent reproducing a school system that has traditionally failed to educate the

woman, the poor, or the person of color at the same rate of efficiency as others.

Time for the third stage (Villanueva 170)

Through its valuing of ethnolinguistic diversity, student centered pedagogy, and aims to

bridge the university and the community in linguistically novel ways, $WAC^2$ in many

ways is this third stage Villanueva is calling for. A migrant activist centered $WAC^2$ is a

fourth stage.

The goal here isn't to merely use the genres in the composition classroom but to

allow the use of migrant activist genres to subsume the pedagogy and focus the classroom

on how these genres change academic and dominant discourses.  In his call for the

CWPA to self reflect on diversity, Jonathan Alexander writes, "Appreciation isn't

analysis. Tolerance isn't critique. Adding a reading by a lesbian or a black man or an

Asian woman might be nice, but doing so doesn't examine the very real discourses that

might tempt one to make such an inclusion in the first place, much less understand how

doing so fails to address substantively the discourses of bigotry and "othering" that circulate so widely in our culture. It fails in so many ways to address the lived and felt experience of walking around, knowing that others think of you as less than." I would argue that including texts by diverse authors is a political move but not a big enough one. Alexander is right in saying that "appreciation isn't analysis" but he falls short when he denies the power of representation and precedence for people of color in the classroom, in texts and as instructors.

For too long the WPA and compositionist worked to only add diversity to the canon, to the anthologies students used, as opposed to adding diversity to the logics and rhetorics students employ to combat racism and valuing the diverse rhetorical and discursive skills students already possess. The heuristic outlined in Table 6 gives a few questions WPAs may ask when determining what constitutes diversity in a writing program, but it's still just questions and posturing. Migrant activist work intersected with WPA work is a fruitful way to include various ways of knowing, diverse epistemologies, and strategies of appropriating dominant discourse while avoiding assimilation.

The task to interrogate WPA work, WAC work, and composition studies through the lens of race and ethnicity is daunting and requires more than a look at the lack of representation of minoritized groups, although that is an important task as well.  If the values and principles of WPA work change then the assessment strategies, the outcomes, and the definitions of academic discourse must too. After their racist experiences at a CWPA conference that included someone calling them the "WPA's bitches" and denying Craig entrance into dinner due to his black maleness, Craig and Perryman wrote, "as folks of color who have grown too accustomed to reactive rather that proactive responses

to racial insensitivity, we wonder if WPA as a sub-discipline in composition and rhetoric is doing enough in addressing issues that reveal how our disciplinary relations are also mediated by cultural differences" (Craig and Perryman-Clark 53). The CWPA-POCC is in part a response to this call for self-reflection in WPA work—especially the reactive nature to WPA work in regards to issues of diversity—and this dissertation is an extension of that. Besides looking at the programs WPAs institute and the values WPAs have in regards to language use, Standard American English, academic writing, and ethnolinguistic diversity, WPAs must also consider the kinds of responses they have when faced with problems concerning diversity. Reactive strategies to issues of diversity and racism might deal with how to navigate around the issue avoiding the discussion of diversity and opting for a rhetoric centered on the universality of problems.  In a sense, ignoring the race problem by ignoring differing race experiences and instead homogenizing WPA work. These reactions happen too often and don't account for the fact that "it is crucial that those in rhetorical and cultural studies who are concerned with interrogating the construction of social identity and formation of structures of social inequality continue to focus on difference precisely because humans have defined and continue to define one another by their differences" (West 32). Ignoring difference leads to colorblind racist attempts at pretending race does not matter when even though race is social constructed in human interactions it is a very real concept. Because of the gatekeeping aspect of composition and the privileging of the dominant discourse, writing programs are often a place where race matters a great deal and the stakes are high. Clifford L. Moore and Paul M. Retish's study investigates the relationship between an examiner's race and their evaluation of the IQs of black children.  Their findings suggest

that white examiners had a tendency to give the black children a lower score on Verbal, Performance, and Full-Scale IQ tests compared to the black examiners.  There is a distinct correlation between the race of an evaluator (peer reviewer for an academic journal, a teacher, or a even a tenure board) and the person being evaluated.  Moore and Retish have evidence to the fact that race may be a factor in evaluation processes. Their study gives is a basis for the claim that one reason for people of color being underrepresented in academia is institutionalized racism.  This in turn affects the way students perceive academia and in particular writing programs.

Ruth Spack argues,  "While the subject positions of students-their different histories, especially as they relate to privilege and power-have been the focus of liberatory pedagogies, postmodern educators such as Weiler now emphasize the need to make conscious the subject positions of teachers as well: [T]eachers are not abstract; they are women or men of particular races, classes ,ages, abilities, and so on. The teacher will be seen and heard by students not as an abstraction, but as a particular person with a certain defined history and relationship to the world (Weiler 454)" (Spack 11). In many ways the students are affected by the identity of the writing instructor and the values they bring into the classroom.

In Bruce McComiskey's *Gorgias and the New Sophistic Rhetoric*, he argues for a neosophistic approach to what he terms "the World Village."  McComiskey is calling for tactics and strategies that appropriate sophistic rhetorical moves in order to combat and navigate a divisive world which separates people into races, classes, socio economic statuses, genders and so on. McComiskey's neosophistic approach supports the argument that the rhetoric of the DREAM Act enacts various portrayals of race and ethnicity.

Migrant student activists structure a pragmatic neosophistic approach to navigating past these portrayals, shape policy, and garner public support for the act.

In *Composition*, Gilyard effectively outlines West's tenets of prophetic pragmatism and applies them to a composition classroom.   Gilyard's method integrates theory into practice as a means of creating rhetorical tools and strategies. Gilyard's appropriation of West's theory of pragmatism as a pedagogical tool in the composition classroom, provides a structure in which to create practical rhetorical skills from theoretical models in writing programs.

As Craig writes, "I became interested in WPA work because I believed that a writing program was more than just a place that housed required first-year writing courses. For me the WPA could be a conscious community builder" (Craig and Perryman Clark 46). WPAs of color are particularly adept at looking at the possibilities for community building within writing programs. This proclivity towards community building is due to the pragmatic strategies WPAs of color generate to find support systems and mentorship opportunities. The migrant activist WPA as community builder works on the WAC[2] foundation of the interconnectedness of the university and community. Looking at WPA works in relation to race, ethnicity, translingualism, and transcultural citizenship, produces the kind of interconnectedness Craig is calling for when he writes, "situating intersectionality in WPA scholarship builds on existing conversations that acknowledge how WPAs learn how to navigate and negotiate their multiple identities for institutional agency and program building" (Craig and Perryman-Clark 39). Craig and Perryman are discussing how WPAs, specifically WPAs of color, navigate their identities in their work as writing program builders. I am calling for an

interrogation of how all identities, student and WPA, shape writing programs and how writing programs shape identities.

In some cases this is a negotiation of identity and a compromise of values for pragmatic reasons. Thomas West writes:

Understanding negotiation as strict compromise or as navigation, as the smoothing over of tensions rather than the exploration and interrogation of them, needs to be supplemented and/or replaced by a model of critical negotiation, a strategy that highlights not only the (re)formation of meaning and subjectivity during moments of social and political interaction but one that also takes into account the role and effect of emotion during these moments (West 15).

I turn again to Sohan's concept of relocalized listening and it's implicit connection to WAC$^2$ models of composition programs. The migrant activist WPA seeks to not only engage with the ethnolinguistically diverse migrant population and work towards transference of skills but to fully accept the fact that migrant activists are adept at appropriating the dominant discourse, using it as a way to combat racism, and manipulating it and shaping it to their needs.

The migrant activist student uses language for powerful political ends, enters the academy, and changes it. The migrant activist student sees their "self as situated within a discipline and within the world, confronting racism head on as well as other situations that distance women, the poor, and others from the dominant discourse and its racialized and gendered assumptions" (Villanueva 172). WAC$^2$ is beyond multiculturalism and its aesthetic surface level empty acts of "tolerance" and "appreciation" of various cultures and identities. It also works against a deficit model by showing that not only does migrant

activist writing practices intentionally and critically appropriates the dominant discourse they also work against assimilation.  Ultimately, the migrant activist WPA works at the intersections of migrant activist work, DREAMer writing practices, and DREAMer transfer into the university, while acknowledging and valuing the ways in which translingualism and transcultural citizenship generate novel ways for migrant students to reposition their linguistic skills into an academic setting while shifting the linguistic landscape of the university.

**APPENDIX A- DREAM Act Text**

1.  Student Adjustment Act of 2001:  Amends the Illegal Immigration Reform and
    Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to repeal the provision prohibiting an unlawful
    alien's eligibility for higher education benefits based on State residence unless a U.S.
    national is similarly eligible without regard to such State residence. Amends the
    Immigration and Nationality Act to direct the Attorney General to cancel the removal
    of, and adjust to permanent resident status, certain (inadmissible or deportable) alien
    middle or secondary students with qualifying years of U.S. residency. Makes such
    aliens eligible for Federal and State higher education assistance during the pendency
    of their application for cancellation of removal.

2.  Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act or the DREAM Act -
    Amends the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 to
    repeal the denial of an unlawful alien's eligibility for higher education benefits based
    on State residence unless a U.S. national is similarly eligible without regard to such
    State residence. (Sec. 3) Authorizes the Attorney General to cancel the removal of,
    and adjust to permanent resident status, an alien who: (1) has attained the age of 12
    prior to enactment of this Act; (2) files an application before reaching the age of 21;
    (3) has earned a high school or equivalent diploma; (4) has been physically present in
    the United States for at least five years immediately preceding the date of enactment
    of this Act (with certain exceptions); (5) is a person of good moral character; and (6)
    is not inadmissible or deportable under specified criminal or security grounds of the
    Immigration and Nationality Act. Authorizes the Attorney General to take similar
    steps with respect to an alien who: (1) would have met such requirements during the

four-year period immediately preceding the enactment of this Act; and (2) is enrolled in, or has graduated from, an institution of higher education. Directs the Attorney General to establish a procedure permitting an alien to apply for cancellation and adjustment without being placed in removal proceedings (in addition to cancellation and adjustment availability in removal proceedings). Provides for: (1) expedited application processing without additional fees; and (2) confidentiality of applicant information. Prohibits the removal of an alien who has not yet received a high school diploma or equivalent but has a reasonable opportunity of meeting the requirements under this Act. Permits such an alien to work. (Sec. 4) Directs the Attorney General to report annually on the number, status, and disposition of applications under this Act.

3. Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act of 2011 or DREAM Act of 2011 - **Authorizes** the Secretary of Homeland Security (DHS) to cancel the removal of, and adjust to the status of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence on a conditional basis, an alien who: (1) entered the United States on or before his or her 15th birthday and has been present in the United States for five years preceding this Act's enactment; (2) is a person of good moral character; (3) is not inadmissible under specified grounds of the Immigration and Nationality Act; (4) has not participated in the persecution of any person on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion; (5) has not been convicted of certain offenses under federal or state law; (6) has been admitted to an institution of higher education (IHE) in the United States or has earned a high school diploma or general education development certificate in the United States; and (7) was age 35 or younger on the date of this Act's enactment. **Authorizes** the Secretary to waive specified

grounds of inadmissibility for humanitarian, family unity, or public interest purposes. **Requires** an alien to apply for cancellation of removal and conditional permanent resident status within one year after the later of: (1) earning a high school diploma or general education development certificate in the United States, or (2) the effective date of related final regulations. **Requires** prior to the granting of conditional permanent resident status that: (1) an alien submit biometric and biographic data, and (2) the Secretary has completed security and law enforcement background checks. **Requires** an alien applying for conditional permanent resident status to: (1) register under the Military Selective Service Act if so required, and (2) undergo a medical examination. **Prohibits** the Secretary or the Attorney General (DOJ) from removing an alien with a pending application who establishes prima facie eligibility for cancellation of removal and conditional permanent resident status. **Directs** the Attorney General to stay the removal proceedings of an alien who: (1) meets the requirements (other than that pertaining to secondary school diploma or post-secondary school) for cancellation of removal and conditional adjustment, and (2) is at least five years of age and enrolled full-time in a primary or secondary school. **Establishes** a six-year period of conditional permanent resident status. **Terminates** such status if the alien: (1) ceases to be a person of good moral character or becomes inadmissible under specified grounds, or (2) did not receive an honorable military discharge. **Authorizes** the Secretary to remove the conditional basis of an alien's permanent resident status if the alien: (1) has demonstrated good moral character; (2) is not inadmissible under specified grounds; (3) has not abandoned U.S. residency; (4) has earned an IHE degree (or has completed at least two years in a bachelor's or

higher degree program) in the United States, or has served in the Armed Forces for at least two years ( and if discharged, was honorably discharged); and (5) has provided a list of each secondary school attended in the United States.

4. An excerpt of the DREAM Act 2011 Section 3 Conditional Permanent Resident For Certain Long-Term Residents Who Entered The United States As Children, which reads as follows( note the active verbs in bold/emphasis mine):

(3) SUBMISSION OF BIOMETRIC AND BIOGRAPHIC DATA- The Secretary **may not grant** permanent resident status on a conditional basis to an alien under this section unless the alien **submits** biometric and biographic data, in accordance with procedures **established by the Secretary**. The Secretary shall **provide** an alternative procedure for applicants who are unable to provide such biometric or biographic data because of a physical impairment.

(4) BACKGROUND CHECKS-

(A) REQUIREMENT FOR BACKGROUND CHECKS- The Secretary shall **utilize** biometric, biographic, and other data that the Secretary determines is appropriate--

(i) to **conduct** security and law enforcement background checks of an alien seeking permanent resident status on a conditional basis under this section; and

(ii) to **determine** whether there is any criminal,

national security, or other factor that would render

the alien ineligible for such status.

(B) COMPLETION OF BACKGROUND CHECKS- The security

and law enforcement background checks required by

subparagraph (A) for an alien shall be completed, to the

satisfaction of the Secretary, prior to the date the Secretary

grants permanent resident status on a conditional basis to

the alien.

**APPENDIX B: IMAGES**

Posted on **September 24, 2014** by nclrblog

## Hanging in the Balance: A Tale of Two Latinas



Hanging in the balance:
**STORIES OF ASPIRING AMERICANS**



### Welcome!

TheDream.US is a new multimillion dollar National Scholarship Fund for DREAMers, created to help immigrant youth who've received DACA achieve their American Dream through the completion of a college education.

**Donate**

*More than a scholarship, it's about helping young people achieve their American Dream.*

### Marcy's Story, Our Story

## CONTRIBUTE TO OUR PROGRESS

By Nick - 90 AP
Last edited: 17 Feb 2010 - 6:33pm

**1** SELECT YOUR TARGET

### Sen. Roland Burris (D-IL)
Democrat - Illinois District
choose another

**2** RESEARCH YOUR TARGET'S POSITION ON THE DREAM ACT

*Some links to get you started. Get more help.*

**Primary sources**

Direct contact
Congressional record
Official Website

**Other sources**

Google "sen Roland Burris dream act"
Google "sen Roland Burris immigration reform"
Google News "sen Roland Burris dream act"
Google News "sen Roland Burris immigration reform"

GovTrack Sen. Roland Burris (D-IL)
OpenSecrets.org Sen. Roland Burris (D-IL)

**3** SHARE YOUR FINDINGS

You have to log in to submit your findings.

IMMIGRATION**EQUALITY** ACTION FUND

Alabama   Alaska   Arizona   California

Colorado   Delaware   Florida   Georgia

**LGBT Immigration Congressional Scorecard**
Upcoming Congressional candidates' voting records on the issues that matter to you.

# LGBT Immigration Congressional Scorecard

## Candidates' records on immigration & LGBT issues

A lot is at stake on **Election Day – Tuesday, November 4th**. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and HIV-positive immigrants and their families need Congress to lead on asylum, detention, and deportation policies.

Immigration Equality Action Fund graded 40 candidates from A to F in an easy, at-a-glance scorecard. Grades were based on candidates' voting records, stances, and statements on **immigration** and **LGBT issues**.

**Click a state and a candidate's photo below** to view the positions of current candidates. Find your state and **share** with voters you know.

For LGBT immigrants, asylum can be life-saving, deportation can be a death sentence, and detention can be a nightmare. We need leaders who share our values on these issues and will push for humane, comprehensive immigration reform.

For too many of our friends, family, colleagues, and neighbors, casting a vote on November 4th is not yet a possibility. The rest of us must **get out and vote!**

## DAP AT A GLANCE (CLICK TO ZOOM IN)

| YOUR GOALS | YOUR COMMUNITY | YOUR ALLIES | YOUR TARGETS | YOUR TACTICS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **85** of target **15** Organizations mapped | 74,754 members 778 recently active posted 414,187 replies in 60,926 threads  **Join us** | Ongoing survey needed. We will approach this need like we approach targeting legislators - by working together with you. | **4** legislators need research  **Take action now** 208 support the bill 115 oppose the bill 213 others show me the list | Tactics are a way to make each target feel the power of our group. We have some work to do before we can pull this off - for best results, focus on our short term goals. |
| **100/100** Senators researched | | | | |
| **432/436** Representatives researched | Map us | | | |

Home    Today    Advocacy    Forum                login   register    **Donate**

DAP
218|60

THEY NEED YOU!
Your zip code: [          ] **Find a group**

**RESOURCES**

○ Do I qualify?
▸ In-state tuition
○ FAQ
▸ Ways to legalize
○ Feedback
○ Contact us

**JOIN OUR LIST**

Zip code: *
[          ]

E-mail: *
[          ]

[ Join ]

**NATIONAL CALENDAR OF EVENTS**

◄   **Septemb**   ►

## WELCOME TO THE DREAM ACT PORTAL

**The DREAM Act**

Over three million students graduate from U.S. high schools every year. Most get the opportunity to test their dreams and live their American story. However, a group of approximately 65,000 youth do not get this opportunity; they are smeared with an inherited title, an illegal immigrant. These youth have lived in the United States for most of their lives and want nothing more than to be recognized for what they are, Americans.

The DREAM Act is a bipartisan legislation – pioneered by Sen. Orin Hatch [R-UT] and Sen. Richard Durbin [D-IL] – that can solve this hemorrhaging injustice in our society. Under the rigorous provisions of the DREAM Act, qualifying undocumented youth would be eligible for a 6 year long conditional path to citizenship that requires completion of a college degree or two years of military service.

▪ When will the DREAM Act pass?
▪ Do I qualify?

**And Your Community**

The Portal is home to the largest community of undocumented youth in the United States. Our community has matured together for the past half-decade. Today we focus on progressing the national DREAM Act movement and increasing the pressure on our U.S. Congress to bring the DREAM Act to a vote. Only this vote will break our tired shackles and put us equal to our peers. You can help.

**Volunteer online – minutes at a time**

## Journey to College

So you either are about to finish High school or already did, and you are figuring out what comes next. How do I get into college and what do I study? These are very important questions and the answers get very complicated because you are undocumented. The following information is some advice that was gathered after speaking to different DREAMers or immigrant youth that were in your same shoes.

## Research before you show up on college campus

1. Locate colleges in your area that allow undocumented students to attend

2. Identify a few degrees that you are interested in pursuing

3. Research how much would it cost to attend, between tuition and book, etc.

4. See what Private Scholarships or Institutional Funds are available

5. Make a list of questions you have before going

6. Know who to talk to:

# DEFERRED ACTION FOR CHILDHOOD ARRIVALS

On June 15 2012 President Obama and the Department of Homeland Security announced a new process for undocumented people who arrived to the United States as children to access limited benefits, including a work permit and a driver's license. The policy, called Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), also provides relief from deportation for qualified individuals as an "act of prosecutorial discretion." Please note that it would have to be renewed every two years, and that you are still undocumented, as according to the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) this "does not grant legal status."

### Who Qualifies for DACA?

1. Under the age of 31 as of June 15, 2012;
2. Came to the United States before reaching your 16th birthday;
3. Have continuously resided in the United States since June 15, 2007, up to the present time;
4. Were physically present in the United States on June 15, 2012, and at the time of making your request for consideration of deferred action with USCIS;
5. Entered without inspection (undocumented) before June 15, 2012, or your lawful immigration status (visa) expired as of June 15, 2012;
6. Are currently in school, have graduated or obtained a certificate of completion from high school, have obtained a general education development (GED) certificate, or are an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed Forces of the United States; and
7. Have not been convicted of a felony, significant misdemeanor, three or more other misdemeanors, and do not otherwise pose a threat to national security or public safety.

For a complete break-down of the categories, visit the USCIS page for DACA applicants.

## Important Resources

If you are considering applying for deferred action, we encourage you to take a look at these resources, which will provide you with more information and support in the process:

- DreamerJustice.org: A self-assessment tool from the National Immigrant Justice Center (NIJC) to check whether you are DACA eligible.
- Dreamer Resource Hub: Another resources from NIJC with further information about DACA and other DREAM Act-related stories.
- Deferred Action Resources from Educators for Fair Consideration: Includes basic information on DACA, FAQ, evidence documentation, and a link to "Long-Term Immigration Remedies Every DREAMer Should Know About."

- What documents do you need to be eligible for deferred action? A resource from DreamActivist.Org.
- 10 things you should know before applying to DACA. Another resource from DreamActivist.org
- Life After DACA: Obtaining your Social Security Number, transferring your credit history, and rescinding your ITIN. Labor Council for Latin American Advancement

**APPENDIX C: Possible Sequence**

**Course Sequences: Major Writing Assignments & Topical Readings**

**Note:** Weekly topical readings will consist of brief excerpts from chapters on composition theory, civil rights, and activism, and related articles from scholarly publications. The below theorists are examples of potential topical readings, some of which might change as this course evolves during preparation. All readings selections will be made with a particular emphasis on appropriateness to course level and outcomes.

**Sequence 1** (Weeks 1-5): Discursive Practices in a Community

- Major Writing Assignment: Discourse Analysis of a Community (5 pages)
    - This first assignment will have students conducting a discourse analysis of a civil rights event. Students will choose a primary text and employ a discourse analysis framework in order to map patterns of discourse.  For example, students may choose to attend a talk on immigrant rights and then using discourse studies analyze the discursive practices of the activists at the event.
- Assigned Readings:
    - Related Theory: Barbara Johnstone, James Paul Gee, Paul Matsuda, and selected chapters in *Writing About Writing*
- Students will observe and analyze discursive practices in a community.

**Sequence 2** (Weeks 6-9): The Rhetoric of Civil Rights

- Major Writing Assignment: Rhetorical Analysis of Scholarly Articles (Literature Review) (5 pages)
  - The second assignment will have students read scholarly articles on civil rights, immigration, and race/ethnicity in America. Students will begin to think about community projects on civil rights.  They will use this assignment as a literature review of theory that will eventually be the framework for the projects they create.
- Assigned Readings:
  - Related Theory: Terry Eagleton, Kenneth Burke, Wayne Booth, Gloria Anzaldua, Cherrie Morage, Victor Villanueva, Juan Guerra, and selected chapters in *Writing About Writing*

**Sequence 3** (Weeks 10-14): Intersections Between Discourse and Rhetorical Analysis

- Major Writing Assignment: Argumentative Research Paper (10 pages)
  - This last assignment will have students argue for the effectiveness of certain discursive and rhetorical practices of civil rights activists.
  - Assigned Readings: Self directed research and selected chapters in *Writing About Writing*

**Multimodal Project Presentations** (Weeks 15-16)

  o During these presentations students will present their research and propose a civil
    rights community project.  Students will have the option to present this research in
    any visual way.  It can be as simple as a PowerPoint or something more
    complicated like a short documentary. Students must also a write a reflective
    memo analyzing and explaining their choices.

<div align="center">

**Rhetorical Analysis and Profile**

</div>

**Civil Rights Profile Research Topic Pitch Memo**

**Rhetorical Situation:** With this assignment you haven to pitch the civil rights topic you
intend to use for the rest of the semester. So, you'll have to pitch your idea in a
convincing manner. Here is what you should include in your memo:

**Introduction** (should include the following):

  • A short statement introducing your topic

  • A description of why your topic is timely;

**Possible Inquiry Topics** (should include following):

  • A description of the angle you intend to discuss

  • A summary of the essential information you need to gather

- A description of the kind of work that you think needs to be done in the ABQ community

**Conclusion** (should include the following):

- A closing statement describing how you will conduct your research.  This assignment should be written in the memo format.  The memo's heading should simulate the following:

MEMORANDUM (type this word at the top of the document in all capital letters)

DATE: (Date memo is sent)

TO: Recipient's Name, Job Title.

FROM: (Your First and Last Name) (Initial by hand after your printed name)

SUBJECT: (Subject of the Memo--should be specific and appropriate for your rhetorical situation--not "SWA3")

**NOTES ON CONTENT AND FORMAT** Do not simply answer the questions in each section—construct coherent paragraphs within each section. Be sure you provide transitional expressions between sections and topic sentences for each paragraph.

- Make sure the memo is left aligned (no paragraph indentions).

- Single space the memo.

- Double space between each section.

- Type the document in 12pt, Times New Roman font.

**Short Writing Assignment 4 Rubric: Profile Pitch Memo (SWA4)**

| Points Possible | Points Earned | |
|---|---|---|
| 35 | | **Content:** The memo content adequately responds to the bulleted list of items in the SWA3 prompt. |
| 20 | | **Organization**: Each required section is clearly delineated. The content of each section is organized in a logical manner and paragraphs are framed by appropriate topic sentences. |
| 20 | | **Style:** The writer considers the audience (your chosen magazine editor) and purpose (to pitch your profile) by using vocabulary and tone appropriate to the situation. |
| 15 | | **Surface Features**: The memo is free of distracting errors of grammar, spelling, and punctuation, and uses economical style |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | (doesn't repeat itself or use unnecessary words). |
| 10 | | **Format:** The memo adheres to memo format (heading, spacing, font, page layout). |

**Short Writing Assignment:  Presentation on a Civil Rights Speech**

**Objective:**  Give a PowerPoint presentation (summary, rhetorical situation, logos, ethos, pathos) conducting a rhetorical analysis of a speech.

You are **not** summarizing the speech; you are analyzing the contribution of elements to the overall goal of he speaker.

Use specific examples of elements of the speech, including quotes, and clearly demonstrate their importance to the speech.

- *Topic*
- *Angle*
- *Purpose*
- *Audience*
- *Context*
- *Logos*

- *Ethos*

- *Pathos*

**Major Writing Assignment**

**Rhetorical Analysis Essay and Rubric**

**Objective:** To compose a rhetorical analysis essay of a speech and to profile an important civil rights leader.

**Assignment**: Compose a 1,500 word rhetorical analysis of a civil rights speech.

**Guidelines for the essay:**

    **Describe:**

        Biography of the speaker

        Historical context of the speech

        Exigence

    **Explain** the rhetorical situation of the speech:

        Topic

        Angle

        Audience

        Purpose

        Context

**Evaluate** and **argue** how effective the politic speech was and how important the speaker is historically.

Rubric

| | A+ A A- | B+ B B- | C+ C C- | D+ D D- |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ideas and Content** <br> • Did the student follow the prompt? <br> • Did the student develop a complete picture of their recommendation and provide strong evidence for their decision? <br> • Was there a clear purpose to the rhetorical | • Demonstrates a good understanding of prompt and creatively answers it. <br> • Creates a complete picture of what the author is recommending with strong examples. <br> • Reader clearly understands the author's purpose. | • Demonstrates a good understanding of prompt. <br> • Gives a good description of the recommendation and provides some specific examples. <br> • Reader understands the author's purpose. | • Demonstrates understanding of prompt. <br> • Provided some recommendation and evidence. <br> • Reader has an idea of the author's purpose. | • Did not answer the prompt. <br> • Did not give a summary of the scenes and did not provide evidence. <br> • Reader doesn't understand the purpose of the rhetorical analysis. |

| analysis? | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **<u>Organization</u>**<br><br>• Was the rhetorical analysis easy to follow?<br><br>• Did each idea flow logically into the next?<br><br>• Was there any point the audience got lost? | • Readers easily follow organization of the rhetorical analysis.<br><br>• Thoughtful ideas flow logically together, with good transitions between the arguments.<br><br>• Audience follows from beginning to end. | • Readers could follow the organization of the rhetorical analysis.<br><br>• Most ideas flowed logically together.<br><br>• The audience followed the flow of the rhetorical analysi. | • Reader could usually follow organization of rhetorical analysis.<br><br>• Some ideas flowed logically into each other.<br><br>• The audience may have been lost in few places. | • The rhetorical analysis was difficult to follow.<br><br>• The order of the ideas did not make sense; many "unsafe lane changes."<br><br>• The audience asked themselves, "Where is this going?" |
| **<u>Sentence</u>**<br><br>**<u>Structure</u>**<br><br>• Do the sentences flow together | • Easy transition from one sentence to the next.<br><br>• Sentences show | • Transition between sentences is usually very good. | • Sentence flow is choppy, but importance is visible.<br><br>• Many | • The reader has to guess what the writer is saying or |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| logically?<br><br>• Were sentences consistently too long, too short, too simple, or too confusing? | author's understanding of the purposes of sentence length and complexity. | • Sentences vary in length and complexity. | sentences follow pattern, with some variety. | which point is most important.<br><br>• Sentences were all the same length or confusing. |
| **Voice and Word Choice**<br><br>• Did the student show an awareness of their audience (the director and his staff)?<br><br>• Did they show rather than tell?<br><br>• Was the tone appropriate to the subject matter? | • Student clearly writes to a specific audience.<br><br>• Student used creative and engaging language to argue for their recommendation.<br><br>• Tone and word choice thoughtfully match subject matter and purpose. | • Student had a good idea of audience and demonstrated awareness.<br><br>• Engaging language used throughout.<br><br>• Tone and word choice appropriate to subject matter and purpose. | • Student had an audience, but demonstrated it poorly.<br><br>• The student uses some descriptive language.<br><br>• Tone and word choice mostly appropriate to topic and purpose. | • The student did not have or did not demonstrate an audience.<br><br>• The student told, rather than showed.<br><br>• The tone or word choice was inappropriate for the subject matter or purpose. |

| Mechanics | • Writer | • Writer shows a | • The writer | • Writer does |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| • Does the writer show a grasp of formal English writing? | demonstrates excellent understanding of formal writing. | grasp of English writing. | sometimes demonstrates formal English writing. | not demonstrate an awareness of writing formal |
| • Are there misspellings or inaccurate use of a word? | • Few to no errors | • Some errors | • Many errors. | English. |
| • Are there punctuation errors? | | | | • The number of errors detract from the author's message. |

**APPENDIX D: Possible Sequence**

*SEQUENCE 1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ESSAY*

*Short Writing Assignment*

Go to a campus resource—The Women's Resource Center, LGBTQ Resource Center, La

Raza, or African American Student Center— and do either a (1) "passive" observations;

(2) "participant observation" in a setting in which you are familiar (as long as you are not

compromising confidentiality and privacy of others); or (3) "shadowing" someone in

their routine practices for 45-1 hour (this requires permission from the person you want to

follow—this is a way of "seeing the world through someone's eyes"; by quietly

following someone as he/she carries out the work as normally done).

Observe for at least 45 minutes (for an hour if you can; for absolute minimum of 30

minutes) taking notes. In other words, you will write field notes while observing.

Describe as much as you can about the setting.  Jot down your observations on the spot,

then write up longer versions immediately afterward.

You should spend at least twice as long writing up field notes as you did observing,

perhaps longer.  You will be surprised at the amount of detail you can record in one hour!

Your field notes should be at least 2-3 typed pages and should include your name; the

type of setting and the date and time of your observations; why you chose this setting; a

rough map and detailed description of the setting (a verbal "snapshot"); a description of what you saw; and finally, your interpretations of what you saw.  The description should be who, what, when, where -- and perhaps why, although be careful about too detailed explanations of motivations.  Conclude with a brief interpretation about at least one organizing principle of the setting. What patterns do you see? What deviations from the general order to you see? Are some people acting differently or being treated differently than others?

**Format:**

- 2-3 pages

- 12 pt. Times New Roman font, 1" margins, double-spaced

- MLA format

**RUBRIC**

| Points | Elements |
|--------|----------|
| 25 | **Content:** The essay content and structure adheres to all the requirements given in the description.  The analysis section is fully developed and addresses the strengths/weaknesses of arguments and their commonalities/differences.  The synthesis section provides a new and complex perspective based on the reading of the sources analyzed and points to the ways in which this perspective will be useful in the writer's analysis of his/her film. |

| 15 | **Organization:** All content is organized logically and coherently. The introduction effectively previews the analysis and synthesis and includes a strong thesis statement.  Paragraphs are complete and demonstrate smooth transitions between main ideas. |
| 5 | **Surface Features:** The review is free of distracting errors in punctuation, grammar, and spelling, and uses economical style without repetition. |
| 5 | **Format:** The paper follows the appropriate format (font, spacing, page layout) and length guidelines as specified in the instructions. |

**_Short Writing Assignment- Synthesis_**

The *synthesis* section of your essay should:

- Present your unique perspective on the issues addressed in your sources

- Indicate which points from the arguments made in your sources you agree/disagree with – in other words, position your own perspective in relation to those presented in the sources

- Point to how these sources, and your synthesis of them, will help to guide your analysis of the theory

**Format:**

- 2-3 pages

- 12 pt. Times New Roman font, 1" margins, double-spaced

- MLA format

**RUBRIC**

| Points | Elements |
|--------|----------|
| 25 | **Content:** The essay content and structure adheres to all the requirements given in the description.  The analysis section is fully developed and addresses the strengths/weaknesses of arguments and their commonalities/differences.  The synthesis section provides a new and complex perspective based on the reading of the sources analyzed and points to the ways in which this perspective will be useful in the writer's analysis of his/her film. |
| 15 | **Organization:** All content is organized logically and coherently. The introduction effectively previews the analysis and synthesis and includes a strong thesis statement.  Paragraphs are complete and demonstrate smooth transitions between main ideas. |
| 5 | **Surface Features:** The review is free of distracting errors in punctuation, grammar, and spelling, and uses economical style without repetition. |

| 5 | **Format:** The paper follows the appropriate format (font, spacing, page layout) and length guidelines as specified in the instructions. |
|---|---|

*Major Writing Assignment – Analysis and Synthesis Essay*

- o Major Writing Assignment: Discourse Analysis of a Community (5 pages)
  - o This first assignment will have students conducting a discourse analysis of a civil rights event. Students will choose a primary text and employ a discourse analysis framework in order to map patterns of discourse.  For example, students may choose to attend a talk on immigrant rights and then using discourse studies analyze the discursive practices of the activists at the event.
- o Assigned Readings:
  - o Related Theory: Barbara Johnstone, James Paul Gee, Paul Matsuda, and selected chapters in *Writing About Writing*
- o Students will observe and analyze discursive practices in a community.

**Description:**

For this assignment, you will be analyzing and synthesizing secondary sources related to discourse theory and applying them to a civil rights event.  Your essay will address the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments presented in the sources, compare and

contrast these arguments, and provide a synthesis in which you develop your own

perspective based on your reading of the sources.

The sources must be from the assigned readings in this course.

**Requirements:**

Your essay should:

- Analyze and synthesize exactly 3 (no more, no less) sources

- Use only scholarly sources (academic journal articles or books/book chapters)

- Use sources related to the topic you are analyzing in one of the ways listed in the

  description

- Cite your sources properly using MLA format

- Include a works cited, listing all 3 sources you use, in MLA format

The *analysis* section of your essay should:

- Analyze the strengths and/or weaknesses of the arguments presented in your

  sources

- Analyze the commonalities and differences between the arguments presented in

  your sources

- Focus on the *content* of the argument made in your sources, *not* on the rhetorical

  strategies used (tone, language, etc.)

The *synthesis* section of your essay should:

- Present your unique perspective on the issues addressed in your sources

- Indicate which points from the arguments made in your sources you agree/disagree with – in other words, position your own perspective in relation to those presented in the sources

- Use this framework to analyze the civil rights event.

**Format:**

- 3-5 pages

- 12 pt. Times New Roman font, 1" margins, double-spaced

- MLA format

**Grading Rubric**

| Points | Elements |
| --- | --- |
| 75 | **Content:** The essay content and structure adheres to all the requirements given in the description.  The analysis section is fully developed and addresses the strengths/weaknesses of arguments and their commonalities/differences.  The synthesis section provides a new and complex perspective based on the reading of the sources analyzed and points to the ways in which this perspective will be useful in the writer's analysis of his/her film. |
| 45 | **Organization:** All content is organized logically and coherently. The introduction effectively previews the analysis and synthesis and includes a strong thesis statement.  Paragraphs are complete and demonstrate smooth |

| | |
|---|---|
| | transitions between main ideas. |
| 15 | **Surface Features:** The review is free of distracting errors in punctuation, grammar, and spelling, and uses economical style without repetition. |
| 15 | **Format:** The paper follows the appropriate format (font, spacing, page layout) and length guidelines as specified in the instructions. |

Works Cited

Adler-Kassner, Linda. Activist WPA : Changing Stories about Writing and Writers. Logan, UT, USA: Utah State University Press, 2008.

Alexander, Jonathan. "Literacy and diversity: a provocation." *Writing Program Administration* 33.1-2 (2009): *Expanded Academic ASAP*. Web. 27 July 2015.

Arizona State University Latino America Online Archives. Web. 29 September 2014.

AEHE. "Latinos in Higher Education: Creating Conditions for Student Success." *J-B ASHE Higher Education Report Series* (AEHE), Volume 181 : Aehe 39:1. Somerset, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Ayash, Nancy Bou. "U.S. Translingualism Through A Cross-National And Cross-Linguistic Lens." *Reworking English In Rhetoric And Composition : Global Interrogations, Local Interventions*. Ed. Horner, Bruce, and Karen Kopelson. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2014

Baillif, Michelle. "Seducing Composition: A Challenge to Identity-Disclosing Pedagogies". Rhetoric Review, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Autumn, 1997)

Black, Jane M. "Cultural Identity: An Individual Search". College Composition and Communication, Vol. 25, No. 5 (Dec., 1974)

"Braceros: History, Compensation - Migration Dialogue." *Braceros: History, Compensation - Rural Migration News | Migration Dialogue*. UC Davis, Apr. 2006.

Brennan John and Rajani Naidoo. "Higher Education and the Achievement (And/or Prevention) of Equity and Social Justice." *Higher Education*. Vol. 56, No. 3 (Sep., 2008)

Burgess, A., & R. Ivanic, "Writing and being written: Issues of identity across
timescales". *Written Communication*, 27, (2010) 228-255.

Chacón, Justin Akers and Mike Davis. *No One is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State
Violence on the U.S. –Mexico Border.* Chicago: Haymarket Books 2006

Chavez, Karma R. "Border Interventions: The need to shift from of rhetoric of security to
a rhetoric of militarization." *Border Rhetorics.* Ed. Robert DeChaine. University
of Alabama Press. August 2012

Chavez, Karma R. *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional
Possibilities.* University of Illinois Press: 2003. Print

Chavez, Cesar, Richard J. Jensen, and John C. Hammerback. *The Words Of Cesar
Chavez.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002. *eBook Community
College Collection (EBSCOhost)*. Web. 7 July 2015.

Craig, Collin Lamont and Staci Maree Perryman-Clark. "Troubling the Boundaries:
(De)Constructing WPA  Identities at the Intersections of Race and Gender"
*WPA:Writing Program Administration.* Volume 34, Number 2, Spring 2011

Creese, Angela, and Peter W. Martin. *Multilingual Classroom Ecologies : Inter-
Relationships, Interactions, And Ideologies*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual
Matters, 2003.

Curzan, Anne and Michael Adams.  *How English Works: A Linguistic Introduction.*
Longman; 3 edition (February 5, 2011)

Cushman, Ellen. "The Rhetorician as an Agent of Social Change" *College Composition
and Communication*. Vol. 47, No. 1 (Feb., 1996)

Davila, Bethany. "Indexicality and "Standard" Edited American English : Examining the
    Link Between Conceptions of Standardness and Perceived Authorial Identity."
    *Written Communication.* 2012 29: 180

DeChaine, Robert D. "Introduction for Rhetorical Border Studies" *Border Rhetorics.* Ed.
    Robert DeChaine. University of Alabama Press. August 2012

Dingo, Rebecca Ann, J. Blake Scott, and Muse Project. *The Megarhetorics Of Global
    Development*. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012

Dolar, Mladen. *A Voice and Nothing More (Short Circuits)*. The MIT Press (February 3,
    2006)

"The DREAM Act" Immigration Policy Center. May 18, 2011

English, Fiona. *Student Writing And Genre : Reconfiguring Academic Knowledge*.
    London: Continuum, 2011. *eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)*. Web. 9
    July 2015.

Espenshade, Thomas J. and Charles A. Calhoun. "An Analysis of Public Opinion toward
    Undocumented Immigration". *Population Research and Policy Review*, Vol. 12,
    No. 3 (1993)

Ewing, Walter E. *Opportunity And Exclusion: A Brief History Of U.S. Immigration
    Policy*. Immigration Policy Center, April 2012

Fairclough, Norman. "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public
    Discourse: The Universities." *Discourse and Society*, 24:4.

Flower, Linda. *Community Literacy and the Rhetoric of Public Engagement* Southern
    Illinois University Press (July 24, 2008)

"Forced Out Immigration and Incarceration Event at UIC." *ChicagoTalks*. N.p., 07 Apr.

　　2012.

Freire, Paolo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Continuum; 30th Anniversary edition

　　(September 1, 2000)

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. *Truth and method.* Bloomsbury Academic; 2 Revised edition

　　(December 7, 2004)

Gilyard, Keith. "Literacy, Identity, Imagination, Flight." *College Composition and*

*Communication*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Dec., 2000)

Glenn, E.N. (2010), "Constructing citizenship: exclusion, subordination, and resistance"

　　*American Sociological Review*, Vol. 76

Guerra, Juan. *Close to Home: Oral and Literate Practices in a Transnational Mexicano*

　　*Community*. Teachers College Press (October 1, 1998). Print

Guerra, Juan. "Cultivating Transcultural Citizenship: A Writing Across Communities

　　Model." *Language Arts* 85.4 (2008). Print.

Guerra, J.C. "Enacting Institutional Change: The Work of Literacy Insurgents in the

　　Academy and Beyond." *JAC -AMES-* 34.1/2 (2014). Print.

Hall, Jonathon. "Multilinguality is the Mainstream." *Reworking English In Rhetoric And*

　　*Composition : Global Interrogations, Local Interventions*. Ed. Horner, Bruce, and

　　Karen Kopelson. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2014

Hall Kells, Michelle. *Hector P. Garcia: Everyday Rhetoric and the Mexican Civil Rights*

　　*Movement.*  Southern Illinois University Press; 1st edition (December 18,

　　2006)

Halliday, MAK. "Linguistic Function and Literary Style: An inquiry into the language of

      Williming Golding's The Inheritors." Stylistics Reader. Ed Jean Jacques Weber

Immigration Law Center. "The Obama Administrations DAPA and Extended DACA

      Programs."

Isbister, John. "Are Immigration Controls Ethical? *Immigration: A Civil Rights Issue for*

      *the Americas*. Ed Suzanne Jonas. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (November

      1, 1998)

Jacobson, Robin. "Characterizing Consent: Race, Citizenship, and the New

      Restrictionists." *Political Research Quarterly* 2006 59: 645

Jones, Natasha. "Mediation, Motives, and Goals: Identifying the Networked Nature of

      Contemporary Activism." Dissertation. 2013

Lamb, Eleanor C. "Power and resistance: New methods for analysis across genres in

      critical discourse analysis." *Discourse Society*. 2013 24: 334

Lamos, Steve. *Interests and Opportunities: Race, Racism, and University Writing*

      *Instruction in the Post-Civil Rights Era.* University of Pittsburgh Press; 1 edition

      (September 28, 2011)

Lazere, Donald. "Teaching the Political Conflicts: A Rhetorical Schema." *College*

      *Composition and Communication*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (May, 1992)

Lin, Angel, Rachel Grant, Ryuko Kubota, Suhanthie Motha, Gertrude Tinker Sachs,

      Stephanie Vandrick, Shelley Wong. "Women Faculty of Color in TESOL:

      Theorizing Our Lived Experiences". TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 38, No. 3, Gender

      and Language Education (Autumn, 2004)

Long, Elenore. *Community Literacy and the Rhetoric of Local Publics*, by. West

    Lafayette: Parlor Press (2008)

López, José. *Society And Its Metaphors : Language, Social Theory And Social Structure*.

    London: Continuum, 2003. *eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)*. Web. 7

    July 2015.

Lunsford, Andrea A. and Karen J. Lunsford. "Mistakes Are a Fact of Life": A National

    Comparative Study." *College Composition and Communication*. 59:4 / JUNE

    2008

Núñez, A.-M., Sparks, J., & Hernández, E. "Latino access to community colleges and

    Hispanic-Serving Institutions." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*. 2011

Manuel Krogstad, Jens, and Jeffrey S. Passel. "5 Facts about Illegal Immigration in the

    U.S." *Pew Research Center RSS*. Pew, 18 Nov. 2014. Web.

Masuoka, Natalie. "Political Attitudes and Ideologies of Multiracial Americans: The

    Implications of Mixed Race in the United States." Political Research Quarterly,

    Vol. 61, No. 2 (Jun., 2008)

McElroy, Robert C. and Earle E. Gavett. "Termination of the bracero program : some

    effects farm labor and migrant housing needs."  no.77(1965). Farm Production

    Economics Division of the Economic Research Service. 1965

Michaels, Walter Benn. "Race into Culture: A Critical Genealogy of Cultural Identity"

    Critical Inquiry, Vol. 18, No. 4, Identities (Summer, 1992)

Mize, Ronald L. and Alicia C.S. Swords. *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Program*

    *to NAFTA*. Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press 2011

Moore, Clifford L. and Paul M. Retish. "Effect of the Examiner's Race on Black

    Children's Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence IQ."

    *Developmental Psychology* 1974, Vol. 10, No. 5


Ong Hing, Bill. *Ethical Borders: NAFTA, Globalization, and Mexican Migration*.

    Temple University Press 2010.

Perez, Jonathan. "Challenging the "DREAMer" Narrative." *The Huffington Post*.

    TheHuffingtonPost.com, n.d.

Roediger, David. *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*

    University of California Press; First Edition edition (November 1, 2003)

Sachs, Lowell. "Treacherous Waters Turbulent Times; Navigating the Recent Sea

    Change in U.S. Immigration Policy and Attitudes." *Immigration a Civil Rights*

    *Issue for The Americas*. Ed Susanne Jonas and Suzie Dod Thomas. Scholarly

    Resources Inc 1999

Semino, Elena. *Language and World Creation in Poems and Other Texts*. July 18, 1997

Schmid Carol L., (2013),"Undocumented childhood immigrants, the DREAM Act and

    Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals in the USA", International Journal of

    Sociology and Social Policy, Vol. 33 Iss 11/12

Snow, C. E., & Uccelli, P. (2009). The challenge of academic language. In Olson, D. R.,

    & N. Torrance (Eds.), The Cambridge Handbook of Literacy (pp. 112-133).

    Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Barbara L. *Writing Across the Curriculum*. Washington, D.C: American

    Association for Higher Education, 1984. Print.

Sohan, Vanessa Kraemer. "Relocalized Listening: Responding To All Student Texts

From A Transligual Starting Point." *Reworking English In Rhetoric And*

*Composition : Global Interrogations, Local Interventions*. Ed. Horner, Bruce, and

Karen Kopelson. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2014

Spack, Ruth. "The (In) Visibility of the Person(al) in Academe." *College English*, Vol.

59, No. 1 (Jan., 1997)

Stein, Dieter, and Janet Giltrow. *Genres In The Internet : Issues In The Theory Of Genre*.

Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub. Co, 2009

Tardy, Christine M. "Voice Construction, Assessment, and Extra-Textual Identity."

*Research in the Teaching of English* 47.1 (Aug 2012): 64-99

"Texas: DREAMers And Supporters Descend On Austin To Lobby Legislators."

*Breitbart*. N.p., 06 Apr. 2015

Vargas, Jose Antonio. "My Life as an Undocumented Immigrant." *The New York Times*.

The New York Times, 25 June 2011.

Villanueva, Victor. "On the Rhetoric and Precedents of Racism." College Composition

and Communication, Vol. 50, No. 4, A Usable Past: CCC at 50: Part2 (Jun., 1999)

"Why Consider Me for Your Digital Strategy Needs?" *Celso Mireles*. N.p., n.d.

Zachry, Mark, and Thralls, Charlotte, eds. Baywood's Technical Communications Series :

Communicative Practices in Workplaces and the Professions  : Cultural

Perspectives on the Regulation of Discourse and Organizations. Amityville, NY,

USA: Baywood Publishing Company, Inc., 2007