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Our Side of the Fence: Investigating the New Nativism in the United States

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ABSTRACT

Our Side of the Fence: Investigating the New Nativism in the United States

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This study examines the new nativism movement in the United States. Specifically I look at groups who have formed in Arizona to combat illegal crossings over the U.S.-Mexico border. The new nativism arises from the perceived inability of the government to secure the border from illegal crossing. I draw on community policing and vigilante literatures to determine whether these groups could be considered a neighborhood watch or vigilante group. Using a sequential mixed method design, I conduct semi-structured interviews and engage in participate observation in the Sonoran desert with the Arizona Border Defenders, to identify how these groups label their actions. In addition to the qualitative methods, I employ a survey to group members to gauge the commonality between their views and the general public. Having gained a limited sample, I use t-tests to determine a significant difference between their means and use descriptive statistics to bolster the explanations provided from the interviews and participant observations. These groups respond to the threat of undocumented immigrants and their potential harm to the U.S. society. Their response is neither wholly vigilante nor neighborhood watch. I discover two main types of members, the wholly vigilante and the hybrid identity. I provide a critical assessment of the views group members hold to determine three main

categories; mistaken beliefs, exaggerated truths, and genuine concerns. I propose we look at these groups as important contributors to border security and to look past previous vigilante labels to expand our knowledge about these groups.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Mass immigration to the United States began in the early 1800s and has continued in waves for over 200 years. Throughout history, groups have been created and voiced concerns about immigrant integration and assimilation, political infiltration of new immigrant groups, and a growing need for an American identity. The focus of this dissertation is on the current nativist movement in the United States, with a special emphasis on organized groups that adhere to a nativist ideology and hold negative views toward foreigners. The current movement is fragmented and for clarity in this dissertation I use the term Border and Immigration Protection groups (BIPs) to denote these groups. The major focus of these groups tends to be on illegal immigration and the plight of undocumented migrants within the U.S. Immigration reform has been discussed extensively over the past decade, particularly after the events that unfolded on September 11, 2001. The desire to see the United States as a place where individuals can come and live the American dream is not one held by all Americans. The varying opinions in these debates regarding legal and non-legal immigration has led to complex discussions regarding the United States' immigration and border policies and the future of undocumented immigrants and their families residing here.

Objectives of this Study

This dissertation offers a rare examination of members in some of the most publically identified nativist groups in the United States. The objectives of this study are three-fold.

First, I offer a more complete picture of the BIPs organization and its current members. I will expand the knowledge of this group based on its field activity in

southern Arizona and through the opinions of active members in Arizona and those living in other states. I will provide a demographic description of members affiliated with the BIPs and provide a national comparison of how these members differ in their immigration beliefs from a random sample of the United States population.

Second, I draw from the research on neighborhood watch and vigilante history in the United States to answer important questions about the identity of the BIPs organization. Most importantly, I hope to reveal how members of the organization identify along a community policing spectrum that ranges from neighborhood watch to homeland security border patrol.

And third, I seek answers to important questions about the context of these groups and how they respond to a perceived threat (i.e. the inclusion of non-citizens in the United States). My study aims to show how members differ in their responses to a perceived threat and whether a collective identity exists to guide their behaviors and actions.

In an era of heightened political dialogue about immigration policies, the social effects of a growing undocumented immigrant population, and border patrol regulations, this research offers a glimpse into the minds of individuals who share the strongest nativist opinions and whose membership in Border and Immigration Protectionist groups make them the most visible targets of social research. My research contributes to what little we know about these nativist organizations and the men and women who participate in them. Guided by the history of nativism in this country, I uncover how members in BIPs navigate a careful line between the ideas and actions of community policing and those of vigilante movements.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter One outlines the two main bodies of literature that guide this research (see Figure 1.1). The first substantive theoretical approach I focus on is the ideas and actions of community policing. Chapter Two provides an extensive discussion of the history, ideas, and actions of civilian involvement in policing in the U.S. Understanding the nature of a policing-citizen relationship and the development of the neighborhood watch through community involvement is central to understanding how the BIPs frame their advocacy regarding immigration. The chapter ends with a brief look at how homeland security policing coincides with community policing. The second substantive theoretical framework I focus on is the ideas and actions of the vigilante movement. Chapter Three examines how vigilante ideas and actions are rooted in labeling activities as extralegal or outside of the law and are often ripe for violence. The use of violence in American history is no secret, and the settling of the west is filled with stories about shoot-outs, train robberies, lynchings, and pioneer justice. The allure of lawlessness and the idea of western justice is prevalent in the BIPs way of approaching immigration reform and patrolling of the southern border.

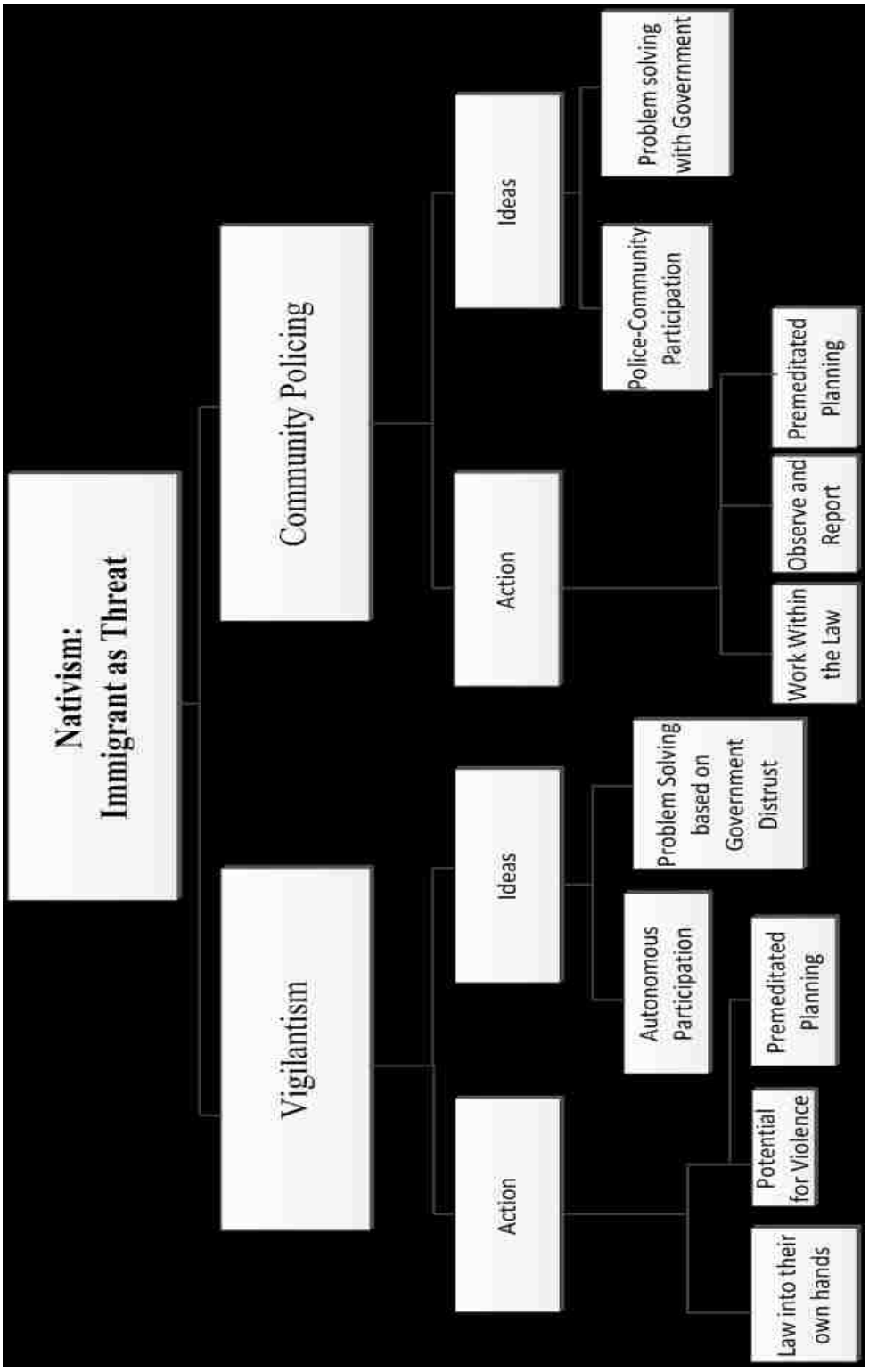

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Diagram Outlining Literature Pathways for Exploring the BIPs

Chapter Four outlines the historical creation of the southern border, the major eras of mass immigration into the U.S., and an overview of past and present nativist groups in American society. A historical overview of the major cycles of immigration along with the corresponding legislation that either restricted or opened the U.S. to outsiders is additionally significant considering that much of the immigration legislation throughout the mid 1800s through the mid 1900s was rife with restrictionist policy. This type of policy is what motivates the BIPs and provides context to the resurgence of nativist groups. Chapter Five details the data and methods I use for this dissertation. I offer a compelling argument for the mixed-methods design I use and then discuss the qualitative and quantitative methods respectively. I conclude with a discussion of the difficulties I faced while trying to collect my data. Chapters Six and Seven are both a discussion of my results and divided into the two primary themes that emerged from my research. Chapter Six focuses on the BIPs views that immigrants are a threat to a more stable America. In this chapter I present data from both the members of BIPs and from a sample of the general public to highlight the strong nativist opinions of BIP members. The qualitative interview data supports the idea that BIP group members share very strong nativist ideologies. Chapter Seven presents the results of how BIPs transfer their ideas into action and respond to the threats they discuss. The formation of their groups follows a neighborhood watch model, yet deviate from it as well. This chapter discusses how the actions of the group place them in a unique hybrid model that includes some actions from neighborhood watch and some actions from vigilantism.

A concluding chapter summarizes the primary goals of this dissertation, offers a critical assessment of the group members, discusses the limitations of my research, and offers suggestions for future directions of research.

CHAPTER 2

POLICING AND COMMUNITY

This chapter begins with an outline on the role of citizens within policing, beginning with a historical look at the roots of policing, followed by a history on the development of policing in the U.S. as it relates to the community and individual. A functionalist perspective of policing divides society into a majority of good law-abiding people and a minority of law breakers and sees the function of the police to protect the majority from a criminal minority (Robinson, Scaglion, and Olivero 1994). Policing itself can have a multitude of definitions, depending on how inclusive one wants. For the purpose of this research, policing is defined as "the self-conscious process whereby societies designate and authorize people to create public safety" (Bayley and Shearing 1996:586). The definition includes civilian initiated acts, such as neighborhood watch and state sanctioned formal police forces to maintain peace and preserving order.

Citizens and the Creation of Formal Police in England

Understanding the role citizens have historically played in the policing profession is important in considering what the role of the citizen is according to the police force. The following section will lay out a historical view of policing, with specific attention to the role of the citizen in each era of policing and how these changes affect the contemporaneous role of the citizen.

The earliest recorded policing dates to the 10th Century and was based on a hue and cry system; if citizens saw wrongdoing being conducted, they alerted others and the entire citizenry took action (Wadman and Allison 2004). The kin model followed, in which neighbors were obligated to assist fellow neighbors in distress. The Normans

transformed this system into the "Frankpledge" system, "where all male freeholders were obligated to participate in protective groups known as 'tithings'" (Wadman and Allison 2004:2). The system was set up hierarchically with 10 men constituting a tithing, and who were responsible for their community or neighborhood; then under the leadership of a constable, ten tithings constituted a hundred. A shire–under the command of an appointed reeve or sheriff–is fashioned by ten hundreds (Wadman and Allison 2004). This system worked well in rural areas and small villages, but proved inadequate for the challenges of more complex urban centers.

The watchmen system was put in place in the 1600s. Similar in nature to the shire system, one or several townspeople were tasked with watching the town, people, and their belongings (Wadman and Allison 2004). There was a night watch and a day constabulary, and their mission was to deter others from committing crimes or misdeeds. With no formal hierarchy, those living in the local area often delivered justice. The general population did not believe a formal police force would know what was good for the greatest number and this created hostility between citizens (Critchley 1972). The watchmen system was not successful because of conflict between civil liberties of citizens and power of authorities to maintain law and order. The belief that a civilized enlightened people should be able to police themselves and not need to pass this over to a centralized authority (Wadman and Allison 2004).

The most common type of police force instituted—before the formal creation of policing–was for officers to conduct security type operations. Typically, this work shared little information between private citizens, so larger social problems were not being addressed because connections were unable to be made (Richardson 1974). The ruling

classes were reluctant to organize a police force for fear that their slaves would turn on them—due to perceived protection from the police—and they would lose liberty and freedoms. Even though England had no formal police organization, since the middle of the eighteenth century the country was in fact a policed society:

> The policed society is unique in that central power exercises potentially violent supervision over the population by bureaucratic means widely diffused throughout civil society in small and discretionary operations that are capable of rapid concentration. (Silver, 1974:16)

The creation of the Metropolitan Police Act (1829) institutionalized the police force, forcing the shape of policing to change and the involvement of citizens with it.

The police in England and the United States evolved differently, affecting the relationship between the police and the public they protect. English police were not armed, whereas American police would not patrol without a weapon. American police believed their safety was in jeopardy on the frontier and because of urban violence (Richardson 1974). American police chose to elect police heads rather than appoint them and generally separate police from politics. The goal was to have an autonomous police force. Most American towns and cities self-policed until the elite classes decided a more formal force was required. The American force was modeled after the English tradition—resulting from the Metropolitan Police Act—of a salaried, bureaucratic, uniformed police force. Beginning with the basics of the English model, American policing diverged as the challenges of the new country presented themselves (Richardson 1974).

Early Policing in the U.S.

Historically, the evolution of policing has witnessed numerous transformations, with many being rooted in response to local and regional social problems. The increase in immigration drew larger numbers of migrants to the shores of the United States. The

diverse groups arriving posed problems due to the differences between the groups. Starting in the eastern United States and moving west, the evolution of policing is characterized in four major waves: policing the cities of the east, frontier policing, new reform policing, and community policing.

Ideas about policing evolved as colonizers began arriving to the United States. The style of policing in place when early colonizers began their voyage to the new lands in the 1600s shaped the way policing developed in the U.S. As each successive wave of immigrants arrived they brought new ideas and innovations to the policing system (Wadman and Allison 2004). England continued to influence the colonizers ways of living. Even after the revolution, the evolution of police mimicked the English models, which are apparent in the similar policing patterns found in the city and in the countryside of the colonies. Although not based on a colonial model of policing, the type of policing in the U.S. has some of the same traditions found in England (Wadman and Allison 2004). Early policing in the U.S. was based on a simple watchmen system and varied within different regions of the U.S. and unincorporated areas—such as the West. The way order was kept depended on the area; for instance, in cities, organized and voluntary men acted as the watchmen for a particular area and banded together when needed.

Early colonists had to deal with more than urban affairs. As more settlers came, the expansion outside of cities brought continual conflict with Native Americans (Wadman and Allison 2004). Beyond potential combatants on land, coastal ports had to be watched for possible attacks from the French and other unfriendly nations. In addition, Britain was sending many of its convicts to the 'New World' instead of dealing with them in

England, so the colonists had to contend with this new population. The most notable crimes in the colony of New York were acts of personal violence. Between 1691 and 1776, approximately 22% of all accusations and convictions resulted from assault, rape, attempted murder and other violent acts (Wadman and Allison 2004).

Richardson notes "as cities grew in size and complexity, their problems of maintaining order and coping with crime and vice also intensified" which lead to a much needed change in the night watch system and unpaid constables (Richardson 1974:5). The early constable was not a job men were clamoring to acquire because of the low prestige, risk of verbal and physical abuse from citizens, and the pay structure which was based largely on service (Richardson 1974; Wadman and Allison 2004). Many men would sooner pay the fine of rejecting the appointment than become a constable; in essence stating that the job is not worth the pay. Fees collected through private service and rewards were the basis for their compensation, so their time was mostly spent reclaiming stolen property rather than preventing or detecting crime. Although a high constable supervised, the primary purpose was to earn their own fees. Crime does not pay well so people wanting to reclaim property or gain payment for a wrong done to them was not a lucrative venture (Richardson 1974). With no permanent force established, officers could be let go with each change in elections and party—therefore only being appointed for a specific term (Richardson 1974).

The 18th and 19th century saw disorder, mayhem, social and economic changes. Some men complained about prostitution, brawling and robbery. Violence was an issue in early cities throughout the colonization process and was more common than some may think (Greenberg 1974; Richardson 1974; Wadman and Allison 2004). Beginning in the 1830s,

many social and economic changes spurred rising crime and disorder and immigration. These changes created many tensions and diversions, including those between whites and blacks, the Irish and the native born, Protestants and Catholics, and beer drinkers and prohibitionists (Richardson 1974). Violence increased and citizens are unable to contain the level of disorder.

Increased immigration led to rising crime and is a primary reason for the creation of urban police forces in the mid-1800s. The major duties of urban police are to maintain order, prevent and detect crime when possible, and regulate public morality. The duty of private citizens is to detect crime for individuals to remedy. The Metropolitan Police Act 1829 establishes Sir Robert Peel's force in London (Walker 1980). The New York City police force established in 1845 is based on the London model. (Wadman and Allison 2004). Rapid population growth in the cities drove the need for an organized police force. Problems associated with immigration increased the need for public order and safety as chaos led to increased crime and disorder (Wadman and Allison 2004). Local government control characterized early forms of policing in the U.S. This control is based on laws created in that jurisdiction, resulting in a decentralized civilian force focused on crime, welfare, and administrative duties (Mawby 1990). The establishment of police forces did not solve the social problems of the day.

The southern U.S. developed more elaborate policing arrangements to deal with specific problems. The creation of citizen groups or a posse to take the law into their hands and dispense their own style of justice was common. These groups were formed to deal with and help regulate large slave populations, where white masters were afraid of an uprising and the need to secure their investment from running away. Some groups that

made this style of justice popular include the South Carolina Regulators movement[1] of 1767-1769 (Walker 1980). Groups such as these were seen at first as a blessing to the perceived lawlessness, but then were viewed as vigilantes who passed their version of justice off as official even if the public did not agree with their decisions. Many of the arrangements that existed were community oriented, based on the needs of the particular area. Militia groups were created to protect their areas from potential criminals and government interference with their rights and freedoms (Wadman and Allison 2004).

As the United States grew, so too did the need and want for settlers to find their own place. Immigrants moved west to avoid the cities and carve out their place in the new world. The federal government initiated expansion with each acquisition of land, making way for the settling of the western United States. Policing these new territories would require new tactics as the challenges they face are different from those in the eastern United States.

Policing the Frontier Lands of the Western U.S.

An overview of frontier policing and the nature and role of the police in the developing western front of the U.S. is followed with an outline on the technology police use in the reform era and how this distanced the police from the community. The discussion then leads to community policing and the need for community involvement to increase the functioning of the police. The chapter is concluded with a look at the newest era of policing, homeland security, and the extent to which this era will co-exist and/or replace community policing.

Settlers to the western United States brought with them ideas of law enforcement and found little organization when they began to settle. As they settled and became citizens

[1] The South Carolina Regulators will be covered in greater depth in the next chapter.

they had to police themselves. Many settlers came across already established communities and worked with them to establish order (Wadman and Allison 2004). Encounters with indigenous populations created a different way of viewing law and order. Native Americans had different ways of enforcing unwritten laws or broken norms. They focused on rehabilitation over punishment, and used social isolation as one tool for punishing an individual. Since many Native American tribes are nomadic, the use of buildings for justice was not functional (Wadman and Allison 2004). Prior to any policing structure in place, settlers had to react to crime often ignoring the causes of crime and violence. Crimes were varied ranging from theft and prostitution to rape, assault and murder (Wadman and Allison 2004). Much of the violence was over land, resources, or minerals. For example, cattle ranchers and sheep herders often fought over grazing land and access to water. Miners fought over claim to gold and this fight was often times with mining companies. A need for some kind of policing was evident in many stories of disorder and crime.

Policing the west had a very similar trajectory as policing in eastern cities. As the cattle drives and gold rush drove more people to the west, this migration also brought gambling, alcohol, and prostitution (Richardson 1974). Violence was synonymous with the American west, including inter-personal, state-sponsored, and racial violence. This violence was "vital to the conquest of the West and … was central to [the] subordination and exploitation of the area" (Alderfeldt 2011:28). The violence can be said to play out struggles between good and evil, just and unjust, moral and immoral. The policing of the wild west was left to citizens until the incorporation expanded, and the need for an established law enforcement arm was created–for example the Texas Rangers, the New

Mexico Territorial Mounted Police, and the Arizona Rangers (Alderfeldt 2011; Graybill 2007; Hornung 2005). The west was ripe for vigilantism, but as the west became more settled, the level of police bureaucratization increased.

Private security agencies were created in the west due to a lack of law and order. The west was a place for innovation and opportunity for settlers and business minded individuals. Two of these men are Henry Wells and William Fargo, founders of American Express and later Wells Fargo. A secure transport was needed for the gold and silver being mined in addition to paychecks for the workers. The armored stagecoach was symbolic of this need, and Wells and Fargo provided a service of heavily armed stage coaches and employed their own force to go after those who dared to rob them (Wadman and Allison 2004). In 1855, another innovator named Allan Pinkerton saw a need for security on the rail lines. He offered the services of his agency for private contract and inter-state service, the first of its kind in American history. As railroads spread, so too did his business.

Political conflict ensued—especially after the civil war–focusing on disagreements over slavery, state's rights, and economic policies. Beyond politics, the western police officer had to contend with thieves, murderers, miscreants of all sorts, in addition to protecting settlers from Native Americans and others with unclear intentions. The mythology of the west—created through the 'six-shooter'—is one of legend and many 20th century television shows play up the role of the six shooting sheriff taking care of business in Dodge City or other western towns (Alderfeldt 2011). This mythology was driven home with stories from end-of-the-line railroad towns, such as Dodge City and Abilene, as being excessively violent with shoot-outs and bar fights. In contrast to the

myth, cattle towns had an average of one and half murders per year at the peak and no one town reported more than five murders in any one year (Wadman and Allison 2004). Murder in the west was usually attributed to excessive drinking. The now infamous 30 second gunfight at the O.K. Corral between the Earp brothers and the McLaury brothers and Billy Clanton serves as a lasting example of how the mythology of the west can be immortalized for decades (Roth and Olson 2001).

Reform Era of Policing in the U.S.

As policing evolved and populations expanded west, technological advances freed up police time to focus on other crime related issues. These advances began in 1881 and included such tools as the automobile, two-way radio, and telephone (White 2007). Vollmer's professional model of policing included crime laboratories, fingerprinting, handwriting analysis, and the polygraph machine, without which many police forces today would have evolved differently. The increased use of technology best defines the reform era—as this time period is known. The two-way radio allowed for officers to be further from their watch towers and the extended use of the patrol car has allowed for more territory to be covered in a shorter period of time (Vollmer 1933). The expansion of suburbs was another reason for the increased use of the patrol car (Walker 1980). Technology has fostered a different type of interaction between law enforcement and those they police. Being in a patrol car elicits a distanced type of interaction with residents than an officer on foot (Smith 1940). Being in a car was largely reactive in nature—responding to crimes that have been reported—rather than preventing crimes from occurring in the first place. The increased use of technology has allowed the beat officer

to no longer be isolated since they can now have constant contact and accountability with headquarters wherever their beat may take them (Vollmer 1933).

Specialized academies opened and focused on the efficient training of officers, with educational programs and also the ability to update other officers of the latest developments in law enforcement techniques. The training also led to a change in the structure of the department—one that is militarized focusing on strategy, tactics, logistics and communications instead of just simply foot patrols and crime fighting in the broadest sense (Vollmer 1933). This era was also about redefining who and what the police were and what label would be attached to them (Timmerman 1929). During this time police were conceptualized as crime fighters or controllers of crime, rather than preventive patrols. The definition, measurement, and classification of crime would change the way the police would interact with the general public (Timmerman 1929). The move—from a watchmen system to a car-response system—is the defining nature of the reform era, focusing on the police as the gatekeepers to crime, law, and order.

Modern policing can be characterized as being public, specialized and professional. These major characteristics have helped police evolve into an organization that is focused on the sustained presence of police due to creating crime through law and order (Mawby 1990). Many cities usually had too few policemen, with more pressure for local self-governing of the force, resulting in too many duties being cast upon the officer. Agencies try to parse out what a police officer is and what their duties and responsibilities are to be (President's Commission 1967) and realizing the citizen needs to be more prominent to prevent crime.

Era of Community Policing

The community policing era is best described as a return to the roots of policing. The distancing of the police-citizen relationship was the catalyst for repairing the connection between the public and the police. Although developed primarily in the United States, the philosophy of community policing can be attributed to Sir Robert Peel's points outlining the main purpose of police forces (Roberg and Kuykendall 1993). These points focus on many of the virtues now expounded in the rhetoric of community policing. They include the duty of the police is to prevent crime and disorder; their power is based on public approval; public respect and approval means a greater willingness to cooperate; demonstrating service to the law, police seek and preserve public favor; maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the tradition that 'police are the public and the public are the police'; and the test of police efficiency is the absence of crime and disorder (Miller and Hess 2007). The relevant point is that the police are, in fact, the public and the public are the police. With police-community relations low due to the distance the patrol car created, a return to a simpler style of policing was needed. Community policing was born from this idea, a return to a partnership of sorts between the police and the public to deter and prevent crime from occurring. This change in philosophy was to be preventative and reduce the need for a reactionary police force.

The idea of community policing can be conceptualized in different ways. Common elements and ideas associated with what constitutes community policing is needed because no one centralized definition exists. Many researchers see community policing as a philosophy and a strategy (Chappell and Gibson 2009; Friedmann 1992; Jackson 2006; Trojanowicz, Kappeler, Gaines, and Bucqueroux 1998) with varied elements that

exemplify community policing. They include problem solving or crime prevention using proactive policing methods, community involvement, decentralized organizational structure, partnerships within the community, information gathering, and order maintenance (Bullock 2010; Friedmann and Cannon 2007; Kelling and Coles 1996; Kelling and Moore 1988; Oliver 2006; Skogan and Hartnett 1997; Skolnick and Bayley 1988; Sparrow 1988; Trojanowicz et al 1998). These elements combine to create an environment that involves the community in the crime puzzle, executed through the use of activities, such as neighborhood watch (Miller and Hess 2007; Wilson 2006).

The community policing literature provides a definition for the role the community should play. Four common roles for the community to aid in the execution of community police include acting as the eyes and ears of the police, to be a cheerleader and show public support for the police, take a supportive role, either monetary or volunteering, and to be a statement maker (Oliver 1998). This final role includes finding areas of society that need improvement and taking action to solve the issue. One example of this process is the movement of women called 'Take Back the Night' in larger cities and college campuses. The movement embraces the speaking out against the isolation of victimization and draws attention for the fight for change regarding women's safety (Russo 2001). One can argue the BIPs are statement makers, noting a distinct need for increased enforcement of immigration laws, both on the border in communities across the United States.

As community policing evolved, police-community relations literature advanced as well. Community policing is focused on solving problems, whereas police-community relations' goal is to change attitudes (Jackson 2006). Having regular contact with citizens

helps detect problems but may not change attitudes because the purpose of the line officer is to collect information to pass along to other officers. Focusing on how the community can aid in the prevention of crime is key to solving potential problems before they balloon into more serious issues (Jackson 2006).

Civilians can aid law enforcement in one of two ways (Kenney 1987), (1) either through passive action, such as disseminating crime-prevention information, or (2) taking part in mobile foot patrols around their community acting as a deterrent or through active action. These strategies have been the tradition of policing throughout history; the civilian is responsible for the policing of their community. Before traditional policing was formed, civilians took on the role of the protector of society.

Community Policing in the form of Neighborhood Watch

A common active role of citizens is to patrol or watch their neighborhoods for suspicious activity and report this to the police. Neighborhood watch is the most well known program that "involves citizens coming together in relatively small groups to share information about local crime problems, exchange crime prevention tips, and make plans for engaging in surveillance of the neighborhood and crime-reporting activities" (Rosenbaum 1986:104). Neighborhood watch is based on two theoretical principles, informal social control and opportunity reduction. Social control is defined as "the use of rewards or punishments to insure that members of a group–such as a family, organization, neighborhood, or society–will obey the group's rules or norms" (Greenberg, Rohe, and Williams 1985:4). The citizens of an area enforce norms, behaviors, and create social bonds enacting informal controls (Dubow and Emmons 1981; Jacobs 1961; Rosenbaum, Lewis, and Grant 1985; Rosenbaum 1986). To reduce

opportunities for crime, there has to be some kind of surveillance (Jacobs 1961; Rosenbaum 1986). The increased surveillance can cause citizens to report suspicious and initial observations to the police regardless of their validity (Pepinsky 1989). Surveillance depends largely on the environment one lives in. Creating spaces for natural observation is the goal of reducing opportunity, not only being the eyes on the street, but being able to survey public areas naturally (Jacobs 1961; Rosenbaum 1987, 1988). The more natural the surveillance the less opportunity available because offenders in the neighborhood know there are people watching.

The overarching goal of neighborhood watch is to reduce crime and the fear of crime. Neighborhood watch programs are difficult to implement on a large scale and are not easily sustained (Rosenbaum 1986). The effort put forth of a few citizens cannot be translated to the larger community. Disappointed neighbors may see the lack of progress and accomplishment as justification to terminate watch programs that seem ineffective (Rosenbaum 1986). Frustrations can occur when the problem is being defined. When members of the watch group have varying definitions of the problem, this problem may lead to ineffective management and members branching out to form their own groups (Podolefsky and DuBow 1981; Rosenbaum 1986).

The watch program has two main objectives; surveillance and target hardening (Rosenbaum 1986). Reducing potential targets for offenders in an area partaking in neighborhood watch will inevitably reduce criminal activity. Increased surveillance may motivate some citizens to become more vigilant. Being increasingly vigilant leads to target hardening, which leads to reduced activity. Applying these tactics to the border region may mean increasing the presence of groups to monitor the activity of drug

smuggling and migrant entry in the United States. One disadvantage of these tactics is displacement of the problem. Instead of solving a problem, the actions of the group simply move the problem to another location, hence creating a problem for another neighborhood (Gabor 1981; Rosenbaum 1986). These preventative efforts encourage offenders to "relocate the site of their activities… select[ing] different targets within the original site; …alter[ing] the tactics used of the time of their violations; or …engage[ing] in different forms of criminality" (Gabor 1981:391).

The key outcome of neighborhood watch is crime prevention. However, crime prevention can be classified into three types:

> 1) personal protection behaviors, intended to protect oneself from victimization; 2) household protection behaviors, intended to protect one's property (and person's residing in one's home) by seeking to prevent illegal entry; and 3) neighborhood protection behaviors, intended to protect a specific geographic area (e.g., residential block) and to prevent criminal activity in that territory. (Rosenbaum 1988:329)

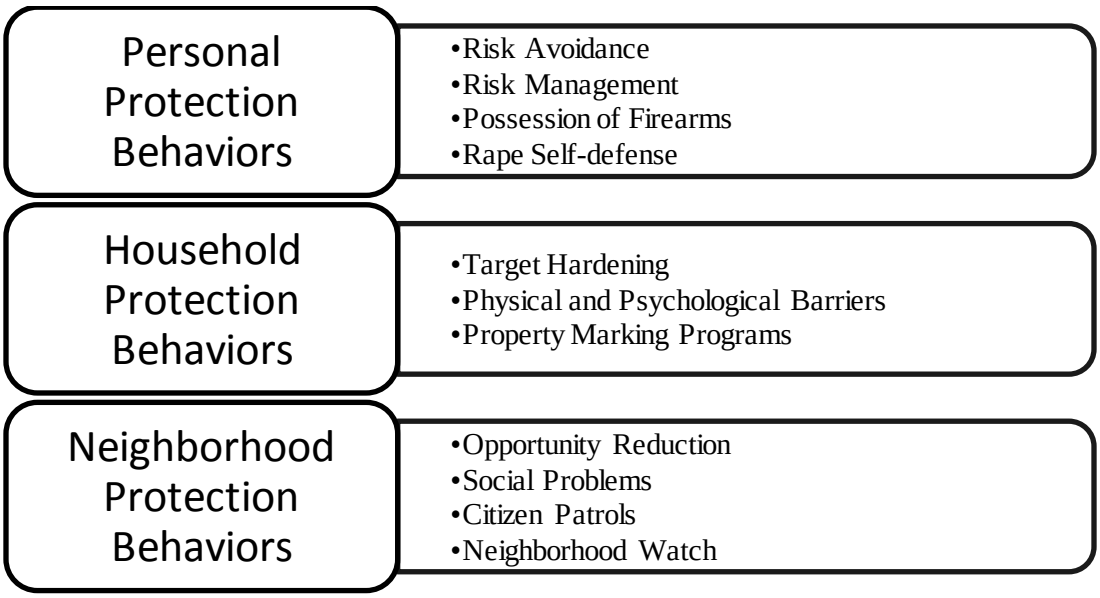

Figure 2.1: Crime Prevention Classification (Rosenbaum 1988)

The final type–protection of neighborhood–is the primary concern of this dissertation. The purpose is to prevent and detect elements of criminal or illegal activity. What a neighborhood means in an urban area is quite different from that of a rural area.

The idea of neighborhood watch is ideal in an urban setting where the concept of neighborhood is clearly defined. A neighborhood is defined as census tracts or block groups (Button 2008; Kulis et al 2007; Morenoff et al 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush 1999; Yabiku et al 2007), as a subsection of a larger community (Park 1916), or as "a collection of both people and institutions occupying a spatially defined area influenced by ecological, cultural, and sometimes political forces" (Park 1916 as cited in Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002:445). Most studies on neighborhoods rely on the Census Bureau or other types of administrative bodies (i.e., school districts) to define geographical boundaries (Sampson et al 2002). With no clearly defined boundaries, the idea of neighborhood watch in a desert setting can become more ambiguous.

Using the protective strategies listed above, a focus on the neighborhood collective action puts the BIPs and their operations into context. The neighborhood protective behaviors "are collective attempts to prevent crime and disorder in a geographically defined residential area, such as a block or neighborhood" (Rosenbaum 1988:347). Local volunteers are the likely participants because they have a vested interest in the prevention of crime from occurring. Much of the group's effort is based on opportunity reduction approaches including surveillance, crime reporting, and target-hardening activities to deter or control crime in specific settings (Rosenbaum 1988). Participation in watch activities like these have been modest and are not empirically tested as to their effectiveness (Rosenbaum 1988).

The passivity of watch has lead to the creation of citizen patrols for those who are looking for a more aggressive approach to surveillance. These patrols have their roots in American society prior to the development of formalized policing. These early patrols were seen as vigilantes, taking the law into their own hands to protect property or country (DuBow and Emmons 1981; Rosenbaum 1988). Patrols are created when a need is noted, such as along the U.S.-Mexico border region. Ranchers along the border created a citizen patrol group called the American Border Patrol to help detect the presence of undocumented migrants crossing the border surreptitiously (Miller and Hess 2007). Other groups such as these are active not only along the U.S.-Mexico border but in other U.S. states.

The role of the citizen in policing as it applies to the border can be more tenuous. The U.S.-Mexico border is 2,000 miles long and would be virtually impossible to be patrolled only with government officers. How much involvement citizens should have in the protection and prevention of crime, or in this case, in the prevention of persons crossing the border without legal cause is one of the main focuses of this research. If the civilian border patrols were given power or able to share power, the blurring of the citizen role with the police/official role may be difficult to differentiate.

Homeland Security Policing

The newest era to emerge focuses on the creation of homeland security developed from the current focus on terrorism and domestic security culminated from the events of September 11, 2001. Several commonalities exist between community policing and homeland security such as: information gathering, cooperation between agencies, partnerships with the community, using both proactive and reactive measures, and with

goals to prevent crime and terror and enhance public safety (Friedmann and Cannon, 2007; Oliver 2006). Although this newest era of policing is developing, many do not believe a paradigm shift is occurring. The scale each paradigm performs is different; a national focus for homeland security and a local focus for community policing. The creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the division of Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) falls under the purview of the DHS and is split into three branches, United States Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Customs and Border Protection (CBP), who are the enforcers in the border regions, both north and south. The paradigm of homeland security policing, as it is related to immigration, is focusing mainly on CBP with some emphasis on ICE and the internal policing of aliens who are not in the country legally.

This dissertation addresses unanswered questions about a group of individuals who collectively identify themselves with community policing efforts. The community policing paradigm focuses on the prevention and detection of migrants who may be in the country illegally. The homeland security paradigm focuses on larger efforts to secure the border from entry surreptitiously. My research aims to further interrogate how the BIPs identify themselves within the community policing spectrum and whether they are able to take a more political identification under a paradigm of homeland security and border protection. While both the community policing and homeland security paradigms offer opposing agendas, it is quite possible that BIPs members identify with both, or may use situational identities

CHAPTER 3

VIGILANTISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The Border and Immigration Protection groups (BIPs), along with members of similar groups, have often been referred to as "vigilantes" trying to protect their territories without the aid of law enforcement. Yet the history of vigilantism is wrought with many discourses. When one envisions vigilantes, images of violence and threats may come to mind. The formation of the American frontier was fraught with incidences of vigilantism and was seen as the transition from little to no law and order to the institutionalization of law and order. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a history of the formation of vigilante groups in the United States. Vigilantism is an American concept with the ideals of filling in the gap when government is unable to fulfill its duties. Knowing how vigilante groups are formed, their purpose, and their brevity will aid in the determination of whether BIPs are vigilante or a concerned neighborhood watch group.

The chapter begins with the creation and Americanization of the term vigilante and vigilantism followed with a brief outline of the major groups. A discussion of defining vigilantism in the current era follows. An outline of the current state of vigilante research notes how vigilantism has moved from the local and national to now being used in other countries. The chapter is concluded with a recent example–the Guardian Angels–once seen as a vigilante group now included in mainstream society.

Defining Vigilantism

Citizens have always acted in lieu of official agents when they viewed these agencies as deficient or not doing their job to the community's standards. According to Calman (2002), a definition of a vigilante group is "an armed private group that has taken the law

into its own hands or that has the announced potential of doing so" (1). She notes on several occasions throughout history that vigilante groups have taken it upon themselves to act as the police or military during times these agencies were viewed as inadequate. Vigilante group's use of deadly force is not uncommon throughout history. Having a sufficiently broad definition of vigilantism allows the incorporation of many different groups with many different motivations (Kenney 1987). In its classic sense vigilantism refers to "organized, extralegal movements which take the law in their own hands" (Kenney 1987:15).

From a previous analysis of the literature on vigilantism, Johnston (1996) found two main types of approaches to vigilantism. The first type is comprised of media reports, adopting a sensationalist style of analysis, and the second is academic discussions that can be as varied as the people studying the concept. Although still problematic, the academic discourse tends to be more rigorous, yet Johnston (1996) attempts to specify the use of the term vigilantism using six key elements. These elements are 1) planning, premeditation, and organization; 2) private voluntary agency; 3) autonomous citizenship; 4) the use or threatened use of force; 5) reaction to crime and social deviance; and 6) personal and collective security. Given this grouping of elements, Johnston is clearly trying to remove the sensationalism the media brings with respect to the way vigilante activity is traditionally portrayed. The following definition attempts to combine most of these elements:

> A social movement giving rise to premeditated acts of force-or threatened force-by autonomous citizens. It arises as a reaction to the transgression of institutionalized norms by individual or groups-or to their potential or imputed transgression. Such acts are focused upon crime control and/or social control and aim to offer assurances (or 'guarantees') of security both to participants and to other members of a given established order. (Johnston 1996:232)

The use of the definition for a vigilante is ever changing; matching what is being studied more than a common definition (Abrahams 2008). Vigilante "occupies an awkward borderland between law and illegality, and the veil of secrecy that cloaks much vigilante activity also provides cover for deception, so that it is by no means always what it seems or claims to be" (Abrahams 2008:422). Abrahams (1998) sees vigilantes as a substitute for the state, to pursue order even for a short period of time. The state will brand their endeavors as illegitimate, and respond with a use of force and their own dispensing of justice. He also cautions against the use of any definition of vigilantism because "specific qualities of vigilantism also create problems for its definition" (7). He describes vigilantism not as a thing unto itself, but rather a thing in relation to the phenomenon being used to label it. The need to apply the label of vigilante will be more powerful in relation to the act rather than a definition that is applied generically.

Abrahams (2008) offers a definition based on the ideal types of Max Weber. A number of different types of vigilantes are possible, helping us to make sense of any shifts that occur. Abrahams (2008) defines vigilante or vigilantism as "an organized attempt by a group of ordinary citizens to enforce norms and maintain law and order on behalf of their communities, often by resort to violence, in the perceived absence of effective state action through the police and courts" (423). He also points out that vigilantism cannot exist on its own, but rather on the edges of state power. Vigilante groups tend to be "more critical of the state's actual performance than of the state itself" (423).

Historical Roots of Vigilantism

The modern ideal of the vigilante is drawn from the American tradition of settling the frontier lands. Vigilantism is a uniquely American phenomenon; the British found the idea distasteful because of its ill-fit with British style law and order (Brown 1975; Johnston 1992). The term vigilantism stems from the Latin *vigil* meaning to "[be] aware or observant" (Kenney 1987:15). The phenomenon arises because of two main factors; the public peace is being jeopardized and the criminal justice system–in some form–is failing to deal with crime and disorder (Johnston 1992). Simply put, "if there is a widespread feeling that the state is no longer holding up its end of the bargain, then people will start 'taking the law into their own hands'–which is where it was in the first place" (Tucker 1985:27). Many vigilante actions would not occur without some struggle. The vigilante relationship is "made obvious the continuing, and never-ending, struggle between forces of freedom and of privilege" (Culberson 1990:84). The usage in the United States has been far more active.

The simplistic notion of an untamed, wild west and "the mythology of Western individuality, the historic right to bear arms and the whole image of the frontier become mingled and confused in the Wild West insuring that it remains a live issue and a highly emotive subject" (Alderfeldt 2011: 29). Many of the social issues of the day had a violent under or overtone. Historically, everyday American life included violence or the threat of violence. The prevalence of vigilantism increased, and many times the violence manifested as riots. These riots were a way to relieve societal stressors that represent major tensions such as ethnic hatreds, religious animosities, class tensions, economic grievances, political struggles, and moral opposition to drinking, gambling, and

prostitution (Culberson 1990). The rise of vigilantism depends on political moods, "periods of social concern, social anomie from rapid territorial expansion, and lack of consolidated political values within a government structure of institutions" (Culberson 1990:78). During the period of 1860 to 1880, the United States saw the most vigilante activity than any other time in its history. The Ku Klux Klan increased its use of lynching as a form of social control with a high of 1,111 lynchings in the decade of 1890 to 1899 (Culberson 1990).

The prevalence of vigilantism arose in the U.S. because of "the absence of effective law and order in a frontier region" (Brown 1975:22). "No group of people in the United States has ever succeeded in imposing its will on other groups for any significant length of time without the support of law" (Dahl 1961:246). The previous quote illustrates why vigilante actions tended to be short and seemingly sporadic. Vigilantism in the U.S. began to decline after 1889 and continued declining with the settling of the west and the institutionalization of governmental agencies and the stabilization of American life.

The terminology used to describe different groups and uprisings of vigilante movements is varied. "Regulators" were the first term used generally to describe vigilante movements (Brown 1969). This reference to regulators took hold because of the first major vigilante movement, the South Carolina Regulators, and fell into disuse in the late 19th century. In addition to South Carolina, other states used the term regulator to denote a vigilante movement including, Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, Iowa, Texas, Kentucky, California, Florida, Georgia and Wyoming. A vigilance committee or committee of vigilance was a reference to the organization of vigilantes, as in the San Francisco Vigilance Committee. In addition to San Francisco, the following states also

used the term vigilance committee to indicate an organized vigilante movement: Mississippi, Louisiana, Idaho, Washington, Colorado, Montana, Missouri, Indiana, Wyoming and Texas. Historians discussing this phenomenon use the term "Vigilante" because it is more generic to describe the above two different terms and will be used to define vigilantism in the United States unless otherwise specified (Brown 1969).

The birth of the South Carolina Regulators (1767-1769), herein referred to as the Regulators, marks the birth/start of a long tradition of vigilante movements. The Regulators were created because of a lack of effective law enforcement in the backwoods of South Carolina (Brown 1975; Calman 2002; Kenney 1987; Walker 1980). A committee consisting of concerned citizens set about purging South Carolina of known and suspected criminals. The Regulators' duties as self-prescribed include trying, convicting, and executing individuals, administering whippings, and order others to leave the area. In 1768, the Regulators were the only effective government authority in the backwoods of South Carolina. Nearer the end of the Regulators reign, the Moderators were formed to check the activities of the Regulators because their actions far exceeded their original doctrine of law and order. Shortly thereafter, the Regulator movement disbanded and the growth of vigilante justice in the United States was born. The Regulators set precedent and carried through to other settlers across the Appalachian Mountains toward the Pacific and was the model for dealing with disorder (Brown 1969).

Differences in the creation of vigilante actively in the eastern and western areas of the United States are distinct. Eastern vigilantism was a response to horse thieves, counterfeiters, and those "ne'er-do-well white people" (Brown 1969:160). In the west, movements arose to deal "with disorder in mining camps, cattle towns, and the open

ranges" (Brown 1969:160). Vigilante movements were largely local well into the 19th century when four major waves of vigilantism are notable. The first occurred in the early 1830s, from 1830-1835 focusing on the southern states lead by Captain Slick trying to maintain peace and control horse thieves, prevent gamblers from being attacked, and counterfeiters. The second wave came in the early 1840s and was a response to the shift in outlaw elements that was caused in the first wave. The third wave 1857-1859 inspired the vigilance committee of San Francisco to form publicly. The final wave of vigilantism occurred immediately after the civil war, 1866-1871, and dealt largely with post war lawlessness. Vigilante activity after this wave was few, and some contend the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and the lynching of individuals can be considered in the tradition of vigilantism.

The making of myths and legends evolves from vigilantism in the west. Movements were created to control interests in precious and valuable metals, to catch and prosecute horse and cattle thieves, and to protect communities from local Native American tribes. The west produced more instances of instant vigilantism–"a local consensus in favor of immediate vigilante action without any of the traditional formalities" (Brown 1969:166). These cases of instant vigilantism exist side by side with the more formal organized vigilantism of the day. Formalized law enforcement agencies were not in place during the time of instant vigilantism, since the decline of western vigilantism occurs when a more formalized policing system is put in place (Brown 1975).

Beyond the regional differences of vigilante movements, all areas of the U.S. saw an increase in one specific movement–the anti-horse thieves. This movement focused on thieves, of horses in particular, but also was concerned with theft of cattle. They did not

take the law into their own hands though, "instead they restricted themselves to the detection and pursuit of culprits whom, after capture, they dutifully turned over to the local law enforcement officers" (Brown 1969:191). These movements began to fade away as the increased use of trains and the invention of the automobile made the chase pointless.

The story of the vigilante movement is repeated at least 326 times, with many of the movements not being recorded (Brown 1975; Kenney 1987; Walker 1980). These movements were short, mostly violent outbursts until a more established law and order could be devised. As the American frontier advanced across the country, vigilante organizations have been created to deal with issues relating to law and order (Brown 1975; Walker 1980). The elite requested law and order issues and the control over law and order represented their values and preferences (Brown 1975).

Two main characteristics distinguish vigilante movements from lynch mobs, their formation as a regular organization and their existence for a definite period of time, regardless of how short it was (Brown 1969). Their memberships were usually small, only a few movements ever surpassed 1,000 members. These movements were in sparsely populated areas so there is a good chance the entire population participated in the movement. Many times they were organized in a command or military fashion and whipping and expulsion were the preferred punishments, but some movements evolved to killing as time wore on. The larger movements also proved to be more deadly than many of the smaller movements (Brown 1969).

Members of society, with much to protect or gain from vigilantism, created these groups. Social conservatives, who desired order and stability in newly settled areas,

typically dominated vigilante movements (Brown 1975). Many of the leaders, creators, and perpetrators of vigilante groups were from the elite classes imposing their will and sense of community on the greater society (Walker 1980). Many prominent men were pictured with the movement. They included senators, congressmen, Governors, lawyers, capitalists, and Presidents (Brown 1975; Calman 2002). The purpose of vigilante groups was to maintain the social order and/or enforce a moral standard; this standard being from the ruling classes with much to protect (Calman 2002). The ruling classes set to protect the privilege and the status quo of the ruling classes as important for the advancement of capitalism and developing a law abiding citizenry (Calman 2002). Vigilantism essentially upholds the status quo and helps to maintain a favored position among the political and economic classes.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the social structure of the United States can be said to contain three distinct levels. The upper level consisted of leading men and their families, including business men, professionals, farmers, and the local elite. Many creators of the vigilante movements originated from this level of class. The middle level included those men of average means, farmers, craftsmen, tradesmen, and less eminent professionals, forming the core of the community and some of the hardest working men. The lower level included the honest poor and those who were marginal or alienated from the rest of the community. "The lower people were not outlaws but often tended to lawlessness and identified more with the outlaw element than the law-abiding members of the community' (Brown 1969:168). The lower classes tended to be the threat vigilante movements were responding to (Brown 1975). The movements were generally set up so:

> The vigilante leaders were drawn from the upper level of the community. The middle level supplied the rank-and-file. The lower people and outlaws represented

> the main threat to the reconstruction of the community and were the main targets of the vigilantes. (Brown 1969:168)

One of the longest and well organized vigilante movements in the United States is the San Francisco Vigilance Committee, herein referred to as the Committee. Created in 1856 as a response to a growing hostility among the urban populations, this signaled a change from the old to the new vigilantism. The establishment of the Committee helped create a favorable view of vigilantes in the 19th Century (Brown 1975; Jolly 2004; Kenney 1987). The turning point was a shift from a rural focus to urban problems and solutions. San Francisco is an ethnically diverse city with tolerance and good will, but an underlying hostility is felt. "San Francisco was a seething cauldron of social, ethnic, religious, and political tensions in an era of booming growth" (Brown 1975:135). At its peak, membership was estimated at 6,000-8,000 persons. San Francisco's leading merchant's headed the organization and focused on business interests. The composition of the membership were young men in the 20s and 30s, virtually every ethnic group was represented, every American state, and country of Europe. Their occupations consisted of city merchants, tradesmen, craftsmen and their employees (Brown 1975). The Committee ceased to be needed after an important election in the fall 1856, and fell into history (Jolly 2004).

Ideological viewpoints were the main propellant of the vigilante movement in the United States. This ideology contains three main elements. The first is the argument that vigilance provided the foundation for vigilante movements and these movements reinforced the vigilance doctrine (Brown 1969). The tautological argument indicates the fragility of the movement itself, because without the doctrine no movement would exist, and without a movement, no doctrine would need to exist. The second is the philosophy

of vigilantism. Self-preservation, right of revolution and popular sovereignty create this philosophy (Brown 1969). Finally, the economic rationale of vigilantism seems to be putting some interests before others—as noted above—many of the leaders or supporters of vigilante movements are leading merchants or people with power.

Vigilantism can be viewed as being socially constructive or socially destructive (Brown 1969). If a movement is constructive, the organization will form to deal with a problem of disorder and disband when the problem has been addressed. This type of movement creates increased social stability and community consensus. The destructive model encourages strong opposition and usually results in a vigilante war of sorts. Anarchy is a common result and civil conflict is increased which may decrease the support for the movement (Brown 1969). Vigilante movements appear in 2 types of situations:

> 1) where the regular system of law and order was absent or ineffective, and (2) where the regular system was functioning satisfactorily. The first case found vigilantism filling a void. The second case revealed vigilantism functioning as an extralegal structure of justice that paralleled the regular system. (Brown 1969:188)

The reasoning or motivation behind the creation of the movement—being destructive or constructive—can change the overall purpose of the movement. One typology of vigilantism notes three distinct categories; the crime control vigilantism, social group control vigilantism, and regime control vigilantism. For the purpose of this dissertation, crime control vigilantism is of most concern. The major premise of this typology focuses on private citizens organizing to bring forth change in an area they believe the government is ineffectual or not doing their job (Rosenbaum and Sederberg 1974). "Such acts harm private persons or property" (p. 548) and is most often associated with

vigilante activity. The crime control typology is full of American examples of private groups taking on roles established government organizations should be doing.

An evaluation of American vigilantism reveals the changing nature of movements. Neovigilantism grew out of the civil war and emerging urban, industrial, racially and ethnically diverse America (Brown 1969). The focus was on the urban rather than the rural areas. The chief victims of this movement were Catholics, Jews, immigrants, Negroes, laboring men and labor leaders, political radicals, and proponents of civil liberties (Brown 1969). The targets of these new movements foreshadow nativist groups to appear in the United States, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Current State of Vigilante Research

A brief look at how vigilantism and vigilante movements are being studied today will help to situate the literature and terminology. Many of the studies do not use vigilante and vigilantism in an historical context but rather use the group's actions and redefine these actions as vigilantism. Much of the current research comes from international sources, such as Ghana, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Latin America and those studies situated in the United States use the idea of vigilante in a much different way.

International research compares vigilantism to the worth of local law enforcement. In Ghana, research focuses on police use of force and citizen vigilante violence (Tankebe 2011). The first assumption is that all vigilante actions are violent, and second that police use of force can be considered vigilante as well. Among police officers, those who have a high support for police use of force also have a higher support for vigilante violence. In a previous study, Tankebe (2009) polled the public in Ghana and found that when the police were not seen as trustworthy, people increased their support for vigilantism. This

finding indicates a relationship between the police not able to do their job, and in a true vigilante sense, the public picks up the slack for the police.

The following two studies focus on the idea that vigilantes are more trouble than they are worth because citizens do not see vigilantism as an effective tool (Kowalewski 1990). When citizens do use perceived vigilante actions—such as taking care of local policing issues—this response is seen as a cultural ideal of cooperation, mutual support, and mutual self-help (Barker 2006). The actions may not be seen as vigilante, but rather as everyday life ensuring the continued peace in the community.

In Latin America, the focus is on private security in shaping many countries (Ungar 2007). Using case studies from four countries, Honduras, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Argentina, Ungar (2007) illustrates what happens when you have a weak state and high crime. Honduras, for example, has seen private security flourish and has allowed both legal and illegal groups to take advantage of their weak government and tough criminal policy. The illegal groups include MS 13 and Barrio 18, violent gangs with criminal intentions. In Venezuela, private security increased and with the election of Hugo Chavez saw the legitimization through legal channels, tolerated as an extra-legal paramilitary "network used to maintain control and identify government opponents" (Ungar 2007:29). Bolivia sees the use of the police for private use and the use of public funds for private exploits. Vigilantes are filling the void of the police when needed. Finally, in Argentina private security has increased because of the increase in crime and the weaker decentralized government (Ungar 2007).

In addition to the international research, vigilante research in the U.S. focuses on capital punishment and revenge. Tripp, Bies, and Aquino (2007) use the term to describe

potential revenge motivated aggression in the workplace. Their vigilante model of justice does not fit with the historical meanings of vigilantism, and fits more with reaction to victimization. The focus of vigilante research on revenge motivated offenses misses the true meaning of taking the law into their own hands. An additional study uses the idea of a vigilante tradition to try and predict support for the death penalty. Messner, Baumer and Rosenfeld (2006) attempt to construct a model to test for support using lynching data from 1882 to 1968 to define a tradition of vigilantism as a variable significant in predicting support for capital punishment between black and whites in the southern states. As I previously presented, much of the vigilantism in the southeastern United States began to dissipate in the mid-1800s, although lynchings did increase in the latter part of the 19th century. They find no association between a vigilante tradition and support for capital punishment. They did however see an interaction effect between southern whites and their support for the death penalty, which could suggest an effect from the legacy of vigilante activity in the south.

The Guardian Angels: An Example of a Vigilante Group in the United States

Rising crime in the New York City subway was the catalyst for the creation of a once termed vigilante group–now legitimate movement–the Guardian Angels, herein referred to as the Angels. In 1979, the Angels took shape in New York City in response to elevated levels of violence on the city's subway system (Kenney 1987). Curtis Sliwa—a 25 year-old high school drop-out—started patrolling the subways of New York City as "The Magnificent Thirteen Subway Safety Patrol". By being present he declared their purpose was to deter crimes during peak riding hours and prevent crime making the subways safer (Edelman 1981; Kenney 1986; Klein *et al* 1989). The Angels developed a

strict code of conduct when out on patrol, stating they are not to be under the influence of drugs or alcohol, nor are they allowed carrying weapons (Pennell *et al* 1989). Each Angel is searched prior to their patrol ensuring no weapons are present. Angels always patrolled in groups, as it was thought that one Angel is vulnerable but a group of Angels acts as a deterrent against those who want to inflict harm on the group (Pennell *et al* 1989).

The impact the Angels had on crime is significant. According to a controlled study (Pennell *et al* 1989) property crime reduced 25% over six months in an area patrolled by the Angels. The study's control area had a 15% drop in crime. The Angels presence deterred crime, and when they patrolled, there was a significant decrease in the number of reported crimes. Overall, the Angels reduced crime (Kenney 1986; Ostrowe and DiBiase 1983; Pennell *et al* 1989), but a tenuous relationship with the police continued.

Accepted by the public as a social control response, the Angels are viewed as a non-state policing source. Hence crime control should rely on a multitude of sources instead of one state regulated professional model (Ziegenhagen and Brosnan 1991). The Angels' relationship with law enforcement, as presented in previous studies, show patrol officers are less likely to think the Angels help law enforcement—whereas administrators tend to look at the deterrence effect of the group and see them as an advantage for law enforcement (Edelman 1981). The public attitude toward the Angels and law enforcement is summed up in one study "those who fear victimization and have been victimized do not necessarily reject state policing but they are somewhat more receptive to supplementary forms of non-state policing than those who are not fearful and have not been victimized" (Ziegenhagen and Brosnan 1991:254). The public viewed the ideal relationship as a partnership between the Angels and law enforcement.

The Angels have become less prominent in the media since the early 1990s. Crime in the U.S. peaks in the early 1990s and has steadily declined throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, being stable since then (FBI 2008) which may explain the declining need for the Angels. There are still many active Angel chapters in the U.S. and abroad, but they are not as prominently stated in the media as they once were (guardianangels.com 2012).

Conclusion

The history of vigilantism in the United States is important in the context of the present because so much of our respect for law and order was forged from the acts of the vigilante movements of the past. One may argue that "the most important result of vigilantism has not been its social-stabilizing effect but the subtle way in which it persistently undermined our respect for law by its repeated insistence that there are times when we may choose to obey the law or not" (Brown 1969:201). Allowing members of society to choose which laws should be upheld or not is a slippery slope. When groups form to take on the responsibility of government agencies, this too can have a deleterious effect on society and how citizens view law and order—specifically who is responsible for implementing such justice.

CHAPTER 4

IMMIGRATION, NATIVISM, AND THE SOUTHWEST BORDER REGION

Groups protest illegal immigration to spur change and help institute new regulations. The issues and arguments current groups use are found in past nativist groups. Mass immigration in the 1800s created a hostile environment for incoming migrants, such as we are seeing today. This chapter is designed to provide the needed background information on the creation of the U.S.-Mexico border and current issues preventing or pushing people from crossing the border. A brief history of immigration to the United States and the legislation restricting immigration is followed with a definition and discussion about nativism, where it came from and who some of the previous groups were. Understanding current explanations and reasons behind the up-rise in nativist groups leads into a final discussion about the current state of nativist groups in the U.S.

History of the creation of the U.S.-Mexico Border

A border is first and foremost a social construction through taking and redistricting land masses. Borders are cyclical, turbulent and ambivalent (Johnson 2007), and are needed and exist in a specific place and time (Staudt and Spener 1998; Zuniga 1998). The idea of a border is tied in with the concept of nation. "The U.S.-Mexico border constitute[s] [a] unique place with histories that are distinct from the histories of their respective nation-states" (Zuniga 1998). How and when the border is discussed will shape the conversation. The border prior to 1850 was different than the border after 1850. The meanings of borders change depending upon the government in power and the particular happenings of the time, place, and culture (Johnson 2007). The significance of the U.S.-Mexico border has changed over time without changing locations or moving the

border. The border is in constant flux and is continually under stress from socio-political and cultural stressors.

The U.S.-Mexico border was created through many events. In 1836, much of the southwest, including California, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Texas, were part of Mexico. The transformation of the southwest begins with Texas claiming independence, followed shortly with annexation in 1846 from the United States. The annexation precipitated the U.S.-Mexican war of 1846-48 that ended in U.S victory (Henderson 2011). The treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo outlined the details for the end of the war with the United States paying Mexico $15 million for more than half its territory including California, Utah, Nevada, and most of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and a sliver of Wyoming. The U.S. persuaded Mexico in 1853 to relinquish 30,000 square miles for a railroad creating the current shape of the 2000 mile U.S.-Mexico border (Henderson 2011).

The main purpose of the U.S-Mexico border is to delineate two sovereign states, including the laws and the people who want these enforced or changed. The U.S. southern border is particularly unique because it is the only border to separate two economically disparate countries (Lorey 1999; Morales and Tamayo-Sanchez 1992). The flow of migrants will always go from the lesser developed country to the greater developed country. There is "no other border in the world [that] exhibits the same inequality of power, economics and the human condition as does the US/Mexico border" (Bhimji 2009:111). The boundary takes on a different role when people, goods and services begin to cross (Bacon 2004). The role of the border creates an environment of fear in addition to the fear created as a result of immigrants entering the U.S.

The movement of people was fluid across the southern border prior to 1920. Labor could move freely from Mexico into the United States and back again without much trouble. World War I and the red scare changed the mindset of Americans and the meaning they gave to borders. In 1924, the Border Patrol was created making the U.S.-Mexico border an actuality with real life consequences (Massey 2006). The Bracero Program of the 1950s did not satisfy the demand for labor, so growers solicited workers outside of the program and illegal migration steadily rose afterward. One such operation–Operation Wetback–was designed to round up undocumented Mexicans and send them home. The availability of Bracero visas increased again and illegal migration decreased as a prominent political issue. The Bracero program ended in 1964 because it was seen as exploitative and the rise of illegal migration continued (Henderson 2011; Massey 2006).

Major eras of immigration

The ebbs and flows of immigrants into the United States create an interesting pattern for the emergence of nativist groups, legislation and policy, and a change in the origins of immigrants. Understanding these patterns is important to placing the current context of debates and issues of immigration into perspective. Policy and legislation is cyclical and based largely on the fluctuation in the U.S. economy and "perceived social evils of the day" (Johnson 2007: 45). The following section is intended to outline the major eras of immigration, the origins of immigrants, and legislation in each era that either restricted or unrestricted immigration into the United States.

Depending on the source, mass immigration into the United States can be divided into several different eras or cycles. LeMay (2006) outlines five distinct cycles that encapsulate the changing nature of mass immigration to the United States. Prior to the

beginning of mass immigration, settlers to the newly formed United States of America were content with the small number of immigrants arriving yearly. The first recorded census in 1790 reports a population of 3.9 million, with half of these persons being of English or Welsh decent. Another 20 percent are African slaves and the remaining 30 percent are made up of Irish, Scottish, Germans and Dutch (Jones 1992; Wepman 2002). The first signs of restriction appeared in the Alien and Seditions Acts of 1798 that consisted of four acts establishing stricter residency requirements for citizenship, three years notice of intent to seek naturalization status, and laid the foundation for the 14th amendment (Powell 2007; Wepman 2002). By 1800, the U.S. population was 5.3 million, with 20 percent being African slaves.

The first era of mass immigration is the open door cycle, beginning in 1820 and ending around 1880 (LeMay 2006). Immigrant origins commenced being recorded in 1820 and begin the seemingly unrestricted immigration from Europe. Immigration slowly increased from a low in the 1820s of 152,000 to a high in the 1870s of 2.8 million, with a total of over 10 million immigrants entering the United States during this cycle. The potato famine beginning in 1845 saw the dramatic increase of Irish immigrants, and the poor farming conditions in Germany saw these populations increase as well. The 1850 census reports the U.S. population as 23.1 million; and at the end of this cycle in 1880, the U.S. population doubles to 50.2 million (Jones 1992; United States Census Bureau 2012a; Wepman 2002). During this cycle, the U.S. territory increased due to the Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, bringing the southwest into U.S. possession and allowing for the westward expansion. During this cycle, the 14th amendment allowed for birthright citizenship and a rise in nativism, an anger or fear of

foreigners increased resulting in the creation of the "Know Nothing Party"[2] (Powell 2007). The Civil War affected immigration slightly and incentives were offered to those who chose to fight for the Union army. These incentives included citizenship and money (Wepman 2002).

Table 4.1: Major Eras of Immigration, Time Period, Immigrants Entering the U.S., and Major Highlights

Name	Time Covered	Immigrants Entering U.S.	Major Highlights
Open Door Cycle	1820-1880	10,189,429	14th Amendment passed. Rise in Nativism. Civil War offered incentives to fight
Door Ajar Cycle	1881-1920	23,465,374	Shift in sending countries to eastern and southern Europe. Ellis and Angel Island open. Chinese Exclusion Act as well as other largely restrictionist legislation. Bureau of Immigraiton established. Literacy test implemented and later repealed.
Pet Door Cycle	1920-1960	8,186,158	Further restrctions enacted. National Origins Act establish quotas based on 1890 census. Further prohibition for citizenship to Chinese, Japanese, and other Asians. Alien registration now required. McCarran-Walter Act instills family reunification as primary immigration objective
Dutch Door Cycle	1960-1990	15,153,053	Hart-Cellar Act radically changes immigration. Quotas are removed. Increases immigration from Asia and Latin America. Refugee Act to help displaced persons from conflicted areas. IRCA legalizes the status of over 3 million immigrants.
Storm Door Cycle	1990-present	21,117,453	More immigrants than any other time are entering the United States. 1996 legislation focuses on the Southern border region. USA PATRIOT ACT passes. Students and scholars are tracked. Department of Homeland Security gains control over the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

[2] The Know-Nothing Party will be described in greater detail under the section "Brief History of Nativist Groups in the U.S.

The Facilitating Act of 1864 legalized the importation of contract laborers, indentured labor, for a period of 12 months in exchange for their passage fee. This act was later repealed in 1868 (Powell 2007; Wepman 2002).

The second era of immigration is the "door ajar" cycle beginning in 1880 and ending around 1920 and consists of the 'new immigration' (Jones 1992; LeMay 2006; Wepman 2002). During this cycle, the new immigration is the shift in sending countries from western and northern Europe to eastern and southern Europe, specifically Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The early 1900s saw the greatest number of immigrants arriving, 8.8 million persons, while throughout the entire cycle, 23.4 million new immigrants arrived in the United States. The population of the United States in 1880 was 50 million, and at the end of this era—1920—the population more than doubled to 106 million (United States Census Bureau 2012a).

Ellis Island officially opened in 1892 on the east coast and was able to process 5,000 immigrants a day. Angel Island opened in 1904 in San Francisco Bay to process the Asian immigrants arriving on the west coast. This cycle was rife with restriction based legislation beginning with the first race based restriction, the Chinese Exclusion Act, 1882. This act prohibited all Chinese labor for 10 years and greatly restricted other Asian persons from entry until being repealed in 1945 (Feagin 1997; Wepman 2002). Additionally, the Alien Contract Labor Law of 1885 restricted organized labor from importing large numbers of unskilled workers (Wepman 2002) and further tightened restrictions in 1887 and 1888. The Immigration Acts of 1891, 1907, and 1917 first establish the Bureau of Immigration, the forerunner to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. In 1907, the head tax is increased and in 1917 the literacy test is

finally approved in Congress (Goldin 1994; Wepman 2002). The literacy test had been demanded since the 1880s but was consistently rejected or vetoed. The ability to restrict access to the U.S. based on class was another device used to limit the number of people who entered—in the case of the literacy act—if you cannot read, you are not worthy of entrance (Goldin 1994). After it passed, reports surfaced indicating its ineffectiveness. In 1922 only 1249 people were refused entry because of the failure to pass the literacy test. An additional 10,743 were permitted entry—even though they could not read and write—from an estimated 309,000 that were administered the literacy test. The difficulty is in the administration of the test because there were not enough translators. The law did not do as intended and the literacy test was eventually removed (Powell 2007; Wepman 2002).

Between 1920 and 1960, the United States admitted only 8.1 million immigrants, essentially closing the door on immigration (Wepman 2002). This cycle, known as the "pet door", greatly restricts immigration and enacts legislation to see it restricted until the 1960s (Feagin 1997; Jones 1992; LeMay 2006). At the beginning of this era, 1920, the population of the U.S. was 106 million; the population at the end, 1960, was 180 million (United States Census Bureau 2012a). The restrictions began with the National Origins Act of 1921, otherwise known as the Johnson-Reed Act, focusing on establishing quotas based on the 1890 census. The purpose of the restrictions was to ensure the assimilation of immigrants. The formula to establish the quotas is based on no more than 2 percent of the population of each nation of origin counted in the 1890 census (Powell 2007; Wepman 2002). This act further prohibited those not eligible for citizenship, including Japanese, Chinese and other Asians. The policy reflects nativist ideals even if these groups had declined. The Great Depression halted immigration to its lowest point in a

century and would not see numbers increase greatly for at least 30 years. The Alien Registration Act of 1940 required all non-naturalized aliens over the age of 14 to register with the government (Feagin 1997; Jones 1992; Wepman 2002). During this period, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was moved from the Treasury Department to the Department of Justice. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 attempts to deal with the millions of people displaced after World War II, including thousands of Jews across Europe (Powell 2007). The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act, preserved the quota system, instilled family reunification as a primary objective of immigration, and continued to heavily favor northern and western Europe, with these areas receiving 85 percent of the quota allotment (Powell 2007; Wepman 2002).

The Hart-Celler Act of 1965, known as Immigration and Nationality Act, is an amendment to the McCarran-Walter Act and will change the course of U.S. immigration and concludes the era of restriction. The cycle, known as the "Dutch door", begins in the 1960s, specifically with the passing of the Hart-Celler Act and ending around 1990 (LeMay 2006). The era saw the U.S. population begin with 179 million, and at the end, 1990, the U.S. population is 249 million (United States Census Bureau 2012a). The Dutch door cycle saw the end of the quota system, emphasizing family reunification and establishing a scale of preference with seven layers (Powell 2007; Wepman 2002). At the top are unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens, followed with the spouses and unmarried adult children of U.S. permanent resident aliens. Professionals, scientist and artists, married children of U.S. citizens, siblings of U.S. citizens over 21 years, skilled and unskilled workers in areas that are needed and at the bottom are those who have fled

a communist country or the middle east (LeMay 2006; Powell 2007; Wepman 2002). The passing of the Hart-Celler Act enabled increases in Asian and Latin American immigration, particularly from Mexico. With the many conflicts happening around the world, the need to clarify the United State's refugee policy culminated in the Refugee Act of 1980. The Cold War brought new pressures to the immigration system with an increase in refugees. The final act of this cycle is the precursor to many arguments for comprehensive immigration reform, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). This act legalized the status of over 3 million immigrants, many from Mexico, and can be seen as the catalyst for the current nativist movement. Even though the act was designed to stop or slow down illegal entry, the act saw an increase in illegal crossings a year after IRCA was passed (LeMay 2006).

The passing of IRCA leads into the current era, the "storm door" cycle, aptly named to reflect the perception of 'fortress America' protecting herself against an often hostile world and an increasingly dangerous war on terror (LeMay 2006). The decade of the 1990s saw more immigrants than any other decade with 12 million, and the 2000s saw 14 million immigrants enter into the United States. These large increases reflect both the legal and illegal entry of immigrants into the U.S. (Camarota 2010). Many of the unauthorized entries were from Asia and other Hispanic countries. The beginning of this era, 1990, the U.S. population was 249 million and in 2010, the U.S. population was counted at 309 million (United States Census Bureau 2012a; 2012b). The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) focused much of its attention on the southern border region. The act called for the doubling of border patrol agents from 5,000 to 10,000, a new fence in many areas along the U.S.-Mexico

border, and new detention cells for migrants apprehended at or near the border (LeMay 2006; Powell 2007; Wepman 2011). The intention is to curb illegal immigration and provide tougher penalties for document fraud and alien smuggling. In addition, the streamlining of detention and deportation hearings will restrict appeals and allow for a faster deportation and less time in detention. September 11, 2001 changed how the U.S. government and its people viewed immigration and the climate of fear increased. The passing of the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism, known simply as the USA PATRIOT ACT, passed swiftly in October 2001. The act provided for greater surveillance of aliens inside the U.S. specifically focusing on aliens with non-immigrant visas. The Student Exchange and Visitor Information System (SEVIS) helped track students on visas and required a 20 day waiting period for men 16-45 from predominantly Muslim countries to wait for their visa. The Department of Homeland Security was founded in 2002 gaining control over the Immigration and Naturalization Service (LeMay 2006; Powell 2007; Wepman 2002). In 2006, the Secure Fence Act passed authorizing a double layered fence on the U.S.-Mexico border (Henderson 2011).

Defining Nativism

Ethnocentrism, expressed as a belief in one's dominance over other cultures, took on the name nativism in the 1830s and 1840s as negative attitudes toward newcomers increased (Feagin 1997). Nativism has been a fixture in American life since mass immigration began in the 1800s. As more strangers arrived in the United States, many native born citizens or previous immigrants became anxious at the growing number of strangers entering their country and saw these individuals as unassimilable or rejecting

Americanization. Nativism represents an unsettled debate about "American identity" and what this concept entails (Jaret 1999), and is thus defined as "a deep-seated American antipathy towards internal 'foreign' groups of various kinds–cultural, national, religious, racial–which has erupted periodically into intensive efforts to safeguard America from such perceived 'threats'" (Leonard and Parmet 1971:6). Nativism is an umbrella term sometimes seen as the negative side of nationalism (Fry 2007; Katerberg 1995). They consider "people with different cultural identities and political traditions threats to democratic society who must be assimilated or barred from entry" (Katerberg 1995:496). The idea is an 'ism' and therefore "refers to a set of attitudes, a state of mind" (Higham 1958:148) where they were "against much and for little" (Knobel 1996:xix). This state of mind or attitude refers to the Western European as good and all other immigrants as bad, regardless of where they may originate. Nativism:

> Displays all the terrors that beset his own sensibility. It is an ideology: a rigid system of ideas, manipulated by propagandists seeking power, irrationally blaming some external group for the major ills of society. It mobilizes prejudices, feeds on stereotypes, radiates hysteria, and provokes our outrage against ethnic injustice (Higham 1958:149).

Nativism can be used as a "vehicle for a wide variety of individuals, including sincere patriots, social reformers, bigots, and opportunists, who exploited fear, wittingly or not" (Leonard and Parmet 1971:8) to protect the seemingly fragile state of Americanism. This protection extends into the political, protecting the process or system from newcomers and their different ways of doing, being, and believing. Much of the early nativism focused on anti-Catholicism (Bennett 1988; Billington 1952; Billington 1959; Feagin 1997; Higham 1988; Knobel 1996; Leonard and Parmet 1971; Spickard 2007). An increase in mixed or negative feelings about non-Protestant immigrants coming to the

U.S. increased fears of Catholics because of the desire for the assimilation via Anglicization (Feagin 1997). Exclusion, restriction or discouragement did not seem to work, so the next best idea is to Anglify the incoming immigrant populations. Who the label "American" rightfully embraced and whether immigrants can fully be accepted under the label American was questioned (Jaret 1999). Group dominance can help define who belongs and who does not. Those arriving first get to set the rules for those coming later (Higham 1958). These early arrivers became the land owners, the men who controlled the sources of power, who offered jobs to those coming later.

Nativist rhetoric historically uses three main themes. The first, nationality, is considered to be collective and political. Secondly, independence, which is personal and third, organization, that can aid or block the achievement of either nationality or independence (Knobel 1996). Nativists viewed nationality as an issue of individual independence and organized to pursue it. "An American was one who subscribed to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and who committed himself to uphold the Constitution of the United States" (Knobel 1996:4). Nativism was against a particular creed. Those who were not white Anlgo-Saxon Protestant with a main focus on Catholics, non-white, and radicals who could upset the political process (Kraut 1982).

Charities, churches, political parties and aid societies assist with immigrant integration while other groups "slam[ed] America's golden door" in their faces (Kraut 1982). The nativist group's purpose is to protect native born workers' jobs and lessen the competition. How the group is defined within greater society determines who is worthy of help. Euro-Americans have defined non-Europeans over four centuries "as sub-human

'others', as non-citizens without rights or as citizens with only limited rights" (Feagin 1997:16).

The increase in racialized nativism began in the 18th century when the white race emerged as a constructed group, and as the dominant group (Feagin 1997; Jaret 1999; Spickard 2007). The Anglo-Saxon race was going to be dominant in the U.S. Business welcomed new immigrants, but Americans at all levels became opposed to them, partly because of the perceived competition. The rhetoric of racist nativism saw increases in the discussion of the 'mongrelization' of the Nordic race based on the spread of racial eugenics, or the perceived subordination of certain races over others. Stereotypes and caricatures permeated the media regarding Italian Catholics and Eastern European Jews (Feagin 1997).

Brief history of nativist groups in the U.S

Organized groups started to emerge in American history beginning in the late 1700s, with a great amount of activity during the mid 1800s with the rise in immigration to the United States (Feagin 1997). The uncivilized savage, cultural, and racial inferiority were common themes in the United States and England (Feagin 1997). Nativist tactics were to manipulate behind anonymity with organizational names like The American Protective Association (APA), The Immigration Restriction League (The League), and The Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Their members rarely had faces, just a presence (Kraut 1982). The APA was founded in Clinton, Iowa in 1887 and was devoted to ferreting out Catholic conspiracies. They faded away in the mid-1890s but left behind a reputation for violence and exaggerated fears (Kraut 1982). The League was founded in Boston in 1894 and set

out to limit immigration to the U.S. and lobbied for a literacy test to weed out those with "dubious background and limited capabilities" (Kraut 1982:163).

The best known nativist group still active is the Ku Klux Klan. The originations of the Klan began in the south during reconstruction as a way to maintain law and order among the slave classes (Walker 1980). They began losing strength and were reinvigorated during World War I. Their focus turned to Catholics and Jews as subversives and called for an end to open immigration (Feagin 1997; Kraut 1982). The preferred method of demonstration was public rather than political manipulation and lobbying. Their standard attire—still a symbol of their ideology and practices—is a white robe with hood in-order to burn crosses and commit the occasional act of violence—such as a public flogging—with anonymity(Kraut 1982).

The Know-Nothing Party

The emergence of a party focused on the restriction and limitation of immigrants came at the demise of the Whigs in the 1840s and saw the know-nothings come into political power in the 1950s (Holt 1973; Leonard and Parmet 1971) and was largely thought of as the party that was "a crusade that was apparently against much and for little" (Knobel 1996: xix). The name of the party, Know-Nothings, came about from the answer many members gave to questions: "I know nothing" (Leonard and Parmet 1971). One major cause for the creation of the Know Nothing party was the "sharp increase in the political participation of foreigners after 1851" (Holt 1973:323). The Know Nothing Party was the fastest growing political party between 1853 and 1856 with hundreds of thousands joining the party to see transformations in immigration to the United States. The focus was to rebel against the political system and to make known anti-Catholic

sentiments. Protestantism was synonymous with Americanism, and the only acceptable thing for immigrants to do was assimilate to an American way of living (Leonard and Parmet 1971). Immigrants were seen as the main obstacle to national unity. To provide a sense of what a know-nothing stood for:

> The know-nothing was a man who opposed not Romanism, but political Romanism; who insisted that all church property of every sect should be taxed; and that no foreigner under any name,—bishop, pastor, rector, priest,—appointed by any foreign ecclesiastical authority, should have control of any property, church, or school in the United States; who demanded that no foreigner should hold office; that there should be a common-school system on strictly American principles; that no citizen of foreign birth should ever enjoy all the rights of those who were native-born; and that even children of foreigners born on the soil should not have full rights unless trained and educated in the common schools (McMaster 1894:534).

The rise of the know-nothings was in response to Catholic conspiracy theories revolving around the notion of "No Popery" (Holt 1973; Leonard and Parmet 1971). The movement consisted of the laboring and middle classes who saw immigrants as a threat to the economic system. Anti-Catholicism turned many middle and working class voters against the Democrats and toward the know-nothings. The movement was most effective at a local level but lost momentum when anti-slavery advocacy took over as the main focus in the United States (Leonard and Parmet1971). On a national level, the newly formed Republican Party engulfed the supporters of the know-nothings (Holt 1973).

Historical Use of the Term Minutemen

The existence of the Minutemen was first conceived in Massachusetts during the mid-seventeenth century. As early as 1645, men were selected from the militia ranks to be dressed and ready within half an hour of being warned. The event that made their name popular was in 1775 when Paul Revere called on men to spread news about British troops

coming and was able to thwart the British military attempt to secure Massachusetts (Gross 1976; Wills 1999). From these noble beginnings, where the men were to be ready at a minute's notice to save America, the Minutemen fell into disuse after the American Revolution and did not appear again until the 1960s under Robert DePugh.

DePugh wanted Minutemen to be ready to fight against communism (Hamilton 1996). The group was a patriotic organization dedicated to stopping the enemies within the United States who sought to advance communism (Hamilton 1996; Sargent 1995). The group was diverse and took up guerilla warfare to fight communists. This incarnation of the Minutemen was associated with various white supremacy groups (Sargent 1995). There were two other brief periods of Minutemen activity: in 1925, the KKK started a chapter which folded in 1926 and again in 1992 when a flyer was distributed with the Minutemen name but no organization was formally developed (George and Wilcox 1992, 1996; Hamilton 1996).

The Southern Border Region

A distinct build up along the southern border through many border initiatives defined the 1990s. Operation Hold the Line in Texas in 1993 began the current focus on the region. The purpose of Hold the Line was to prevent or stop migrants from crossing, and worked in the short term but could not sustain in the long run (Navarro 2009). Operation Gatekeeper saw the fortification and sealing of the border between San Ysidro and Tijuana. Preventing illegal crossing through deterrence and the "construction of a Berlin-type iron curtain, deployment of more U.S. border Patrol officers, placement of electronics monitoring equipment, utilization of helicopters and ultimately aircraft for surveillance, and the use of U.S. military and National Guard forces in a supportive role

in border enforcement" (Navarro 2009:129). The perceived success of Operation Gatekeeper resulted in the movement of migration in-land to cross through the unforgiving Sonoran Desert.

In 1996, President Clinton passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIA) that included the provision to hire additional Border Patrol agents to cover the borders. The assignment of these officers is unequal in how they are dispersed. Only 4 percent of all Border Patrol officers are stationed on the U.S.-Canada border, 2 percent assigned to other ports, and the remaining 94 percent stationed along the U.S.-Mexico border (Navarro 2009). The seeming inequity in the distribution of Border Patrol officers may cause alarm for some, but as noted earlier, the U.S.-Mexico border is unique because the border is separating two differently developed nations.

An important factor to note about the southern U.S. border region is that it is:

> One of the most dynamic border zones in the world. Once viewed as merely a buffer area far from the mainstream of either nation, this border has been in the spotlight of attention and the focal point as both countries assess a number of defining issues, including border trade, immigration, drugs, security, explosive urban growth, and water rights. Annually setting records in urban growth and commercial trade, the border area, which runs 1951 miles from south of San Diego on the Pacific to Boca Chica at the mouth of the Rio Grande on the Gulf of Mexico, is a blend of two nations. (Adams 2006:41-42)

Current issues in the border region

The Southern border is portrayed as a place of danger (Chavez 2008). The media relays stories of drug dealers and immigrants crossing the border on a daily basis portraying the area as one that should be feared as opposed to a place of exchange for goods and services. The characterization and labeling between the migrants who cross the

northern and southern border is different. The difference creates a focus on the southern border region focusing on race relations and economics.

A major factor precipitating the movement of people out of Mexico was the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993. The purpose of NAFTA was to create jobs and stimulate the economy. The main focus is on the movement of capital rather than the movement of labor (Organista 2007). The focus on U.S. style mechanization of many industries has changed the fabric of the Mexican economy. Maquiladoras—just south of the U.S. border—feminized the labor force and excluded men from these jobs. Also, "while NAFTA has significantly increased trade for both countries, it has also displaced hundreds of thousands of workers in both urban and rural Mexico" (Organista 2007:195). Immigrant rights groups blame NAFTA for the continued economic struggle in Mexico, even though Mexico's economy has struggled since the 1970s (Cabrera and Glavac 2010). "However the free trade agreement has probably contributed to making a bad situation worse rather than better" (Levine 2006:105) leading to the migration "problem" that currently exists. The unauthorized migration of people from Mexico into the U.S. can be attributed to the U.S. allowing goods, not people to cross the border. NAFTA's inability to stop the migrant exodus north prompted the militarization of the border. With the seeming destruction of the Mexican economy, many saw little choice but to move north into the U.S. (Navarro 2009). Having restriction-based immigration policies "cannot coexist with NAFTA-styled free trade without creating an undocumented migration bridge" (Organista 2007:195).

The increasing desire for many to come to the U.S. leads to an inability to closely monitor the border region. Increased costs of a border wall drive up security costs. The slack is being taken up with sometimes armed civilians to 'take up the job the government is unable to do.' I am examining this group—BIPs—based primarily in the Southwestern United States.

Nativism and Movements

Immigrants gained prominence as a threat following the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. The target of this event falls on the shoulders of Middle Eastern men. The events of 9/11 further increased fears of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and porous borders anyone can cross. The racialized environment created from these events and the demographic shift in the United States focuses on those crossing the Southern border into the U.S. (Navarro 2009). The people who cross the southern border are used as a scapegoat to attract attention to the problem of illegal border crossing and the potential for a terrorist to cross undetected.

The demographic shift was a result of the Hart-Celler Act of 1965 that precipitated the 'browning of America'. Immigrants of color took advantage of the relaxed immigration laws and the U.S. population grew 20 percent between 1970 and 1990, and the Asian and Latino populations grew 385 percent and 141 percent, respectively (Feagin 1997; Ma 1995) prompting many Americans to join nativist groups. Between 1980 and 1990, the Latino population grew 53 percent, making it the largest growing minority population in the U.S. The increase represented both legal and undocumented Latino immigrants. President Reagan in the 1980s began the rhetoric of a flood or invasion from "communist repression to our south" (Massey 2006:3) focusing the attention of the nation

and of those concerned with protecting the nation to the U.S.-Mexico border and those who cross it as potential threats to national security. The immigrant as a threat was further instilled in the nations psyche as an "alien invasion" when a Border Patrol video of migrants flooding over the border and onto Interstate 5 near San Ysidro was released to the media (Massey 2006).

Immigrant threat can be divided into four main categories. These include threats to the political order, to the economic system, to the social and cultural components of the "American way of life" and to the natural environment (Jaret 1999). As immigrants arrive who are different from the mainstream, their influence may alter the political realm, especially as the immigrant group's numbers increase (Feagin 1997; Holt 1973; Jaret 1999; Muller 1997). Numerous commentators discuss how immigrants can be a threat to the economic way of life, taking jobs from native born Americans, not paying taxes, using public services or taking advantage of these services, and sending money to their homeland to help support their families (Brimelow 1995; Chomsky 2007; Feagin 1997; Gilchrist and Corsi 2006; Jaret 1999; Mercer 2009; Muller 1997). Economic anxiety may be present more in ethnic prejudice because of wage stagnation and poor job opportunities; not because immigrants are taking jobs, but rather that employers are focusing on cheaper labor to increase profits (Jaret 1999). Assimilation is expected of new immigrants and when they do not assimilate, they can be seen as a threat to the way of life Americans have made for themselves over the years. This includes speaking English, celebrating "American" holidays, becoming full members of American society (Feagin 1997; Jaret 1999; Muller 1997). Finally, immigrants as a threat to the natural environment can be viewed in a couple different ways. The first is through population

studies and how birth rates tend to be higher for immigrant groups than native born populations (Dye 2010). Overpopulation is a serious issue that is frequently cited as a concern because society does not have the resources to accommodate the numbers (Beck 1996). The second concern is the impact on the environment from border enforcement and border crossing (Beck 1996) including trash and destruction of the natural environment.

The events of 9/11 further defined the border in terms of national security (Massey 2006). The border policies that were created and implemented have had some negative consequences. Illegal entry has not declined but the death rate of migrants trying to cross has tripled. The tripling of the death rate is a consequence of pushing migrants into "the Devil's Highway"— the Sonora Desert. With the increased cost for migrants to cross the border has resulted in a reduced number of migrants who return home, due to the cost and risk involved in crossing. In the early 1980s, 45 percent returned, whereas in 2006 only 25 percent returned to their native land (Massey 2006) thus resulting in an increased number of undocumented migrants in the U.S. Navarro (2009) believes Minutemen and related groups are "ideologically …nativist militias [who are] xenophobic, nativist, and racist, especially toward Mexicanos" (194). The use of specific language helps to negate or to make their ideology less threatening to the masses and allows the message to be spread to those who may not consider themselves nativist, xenophobic, racist, or otherwise against a particular group of people (Doty 2007; King 2007; Sohoni 2006).

Current BIPs' arguments are similar to those used in previous eras of mass immigration. The main similarities include the idea that immigrants bring undesirable traits to the United States, the use of a language other than English is not acceptable

(Feagin 1997; Jaret 1999), immigrants have a below average intelligence, those of European stock are good whereas those from other areas are undesirable or bad, and finally an increase in violence and hate crimes against minority immigrant groups (Jaret 1999). Their differences lie in the dominance of illegal immigration as a main focus—discriminatory laws being more subtle than previous explicitly stated laws and practices—and new attitudes regarding a recovery period for immigration such as the decades after 1920 (Jaret 1999). "Much of the inflammatory rhetoric about immigrants and job competition, crime, welfare, and the angry charge that the United States 'has lost control of its borders' attacks and blames illegal immigrants" (Jaret 1999:16) illustrates how undocumented migrants can become the scapegoat for many of the dysfunctions of American society. The racist or race based rhetoric has virtually disappeared as overt speech but has instead been replaced as other underlying methods of implying race based arguments for exclusion (Jaret 1999).

Current nativist groups

Civilians patrolling the border are not a new phenomenon and have occurred since the border line/region was created. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that the call to the border expanded to include regular citizens. These efforts help to create a spectacle that would eventually cause others to take note and move their organization to the border to protect the Southern border (Doty 2007). Many nativist groups portray Mexicans as swarthy, impoverished hordes trying to take over the United States (Henderson 2011). They characterize many who cross the southern border as Mexican or refer to them as "OTM" or other than Mexican (Bonner 2005) and should be feared for their potential dangerousness. There are many different nativist groups and one can say the current

nativist fervor began with two main nationally oriented groups, the Minutemen Project (MP) and the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps (MCDC)

The MP and MCDC use the name and symbol of the revolutionary Minuteman, to symbolize their readiness to fend off attackers, in this case immigrants trying to cross the U.S. border. Jim Gilchrist and Chris Simcox catalyzed the current BIPs movement with their national call to arms along the Arizona border to fend off undocumented immigration in 2005 (Doty 2007; Gilchrist and Corsi 2006; Hayworth 2006). Simcox created his own group of border defenders, eventually settling on the name Minutemen Civil Defense Corps. This group originated from Simcox's first journey to the border region shortly after the events of 9/11. He walked and camped in the desert of Arizona and saw a number of individuals cross the border outside of the legal ports of entry and felt something needed to be done to protect the United States from another possible terrorist attack (Doty 2007). He settled in Tombstone, AZ, bought the local newspaper, and began a militia based group to defend against the "invasion" along the border. This group morphed into the current MCDC that are affiliated in name only to the other BIPs across the U.S. This organization went national and had followers in every state. The demands of the organization were too great for the founders and it began dissolution in October 2010 (Interview with Carmen Mercer 2011).

The emergence of the BIPs movement has produced several types of organizations that span all groups within society. The larger Jim Gilchrist Minutemen Project is an umbrella for other organizations, but there are dozens of organizations that do not want to be affiliated with this group or with Gilchrist. Regardless of whom the other groups are affiliated with, their message is essentially the same. BPIs try to engage citizens to

become angry at the lack of policing to secure the borders and protect American citizens (Gilchrist and Corsi 2006). Controlling who disperses their message to the greater public and how it is dispersed can minimize associations with racism and bigotry. The internet is a medium that many groups are using to get their message to the masses without imposing on others (King 2007; Reid and Chen 2007; Sohoni 2006).

Gilchrist's and Simcox's organizations are organized differently, with Simcox being more proactive and overall involved in the primary mission of border security. Gilchrist tends to be the figurehead, giving speeches and speaking out nationally, more than being active in the patrolling of the border regions. The paramilitary nature of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corp may be judged as militia like and provide an unfavorable climate for the average American. The numbers for both organizations fluctuate between 6,000 and 200,000 paying members (Navarro 2009), and this membership is not under the direct control of either Simcox or Gilchrist, which may result in a message not in sync with the organization's overall ideology. Simcox's group spawned many local groups who were once chapters of the MCDC, and have taken up the cause locally leaving room for other organizations to focus on lobbying at a national level.

The major focus of the BIPs is to patrol the U.S. border and ensure the safety of its citizens. Making their presence known on the border they have solidified their place in the minds of the people that they are against undocumented migrants crossing the southern border (Navarro 2009). If they do not physically patrol the border region, informing people of the issues and problems is the second task. Patrolling the borders is tasked to the Border Patrol and not citizens leading to BIPs being associated as a vigilante group. They want to secure the border and will use "draconian measures that

would ensure the end of all undocumented migration and the permanent fortification of America's borders" if necessary (Walsh 2008:20). BIPs are portrayed in the media as a vigilante group, and the purpose of this dissertation is to investigate how members of these groups see themselves and how different they are from average Americans. How others portray and discuss BIPs ultimately affects how members relate to the labels others have put on their group.

Research focuses a little on the variety of groups currently active around the nation regarding illegal immigration. As fast as one group emerges it seems to disappear or take on a different name. BIPs are coming and going as are the organizations they support. A simple Google search reveals the variety of groups organized on the internet opposing illegal immigration. Groups with names such as Americans Against Illegal Immigration, Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), American Patrol Report, Arizona Border Defenders, and many others share a similar mission or ideology even though they use different names.

CHAPTER 5

DATA AND METHODS

I use the term Border and Immigration Protection groups (BIPs) to denote any organization that advocates a nativist ideology. When I refer to a specific group—such as the Minutemen Civil Defense Corp—I will use the specific group's name. I will use BIPs for general discussion and clarity. As described in the previous chapter, nativist groups adhere to a particular ideology of Americanism and view the foreigner as "other". I chose the term Border and Immigration Protection groups (BIPs) because current manifestations of nativist ideologies are mainstreamed under the direction of the charged term Minutemen and using a more inclusive term aids in greater objectivity. Some media outlets, academics, and activists call these groups anti-illegal immigration or anti-immigrant, denoting their stance against a particular subject (Chavez 2008; Doty 2007; Navarro 2009). The members themselves label their movement as pro-legal immigration and pro-enforcement. Jim Gilchrist, founder of the Minuteman Project stated: "we advocate the enforcement of immigration laws. We are not anti-immigrant. We are not against having an immigration policy." To be true to their viewpoint I refer to these groups as pro-enforcement (VanMannen 1988).

Rationale for Mixed Methods

This study utilizes original data collection using a sequential mixed method design (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). The design is meant to aid in accomplishing triangulation, allowing for an in-depth understanding of the topic being studied. I chose to employ a multi-phase, multi-method data collection for two main reasons. First, we know very little about members of the BIPs movement. Much of what is known tends to

be framed from a few encounters or news stories, based on website content, media portrayals, and rhetorical histories. To achieve a well-rounded understanding of BIPs, a more in-depth understanding of these members is warranted. I use semi-structured interviews guided with a grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2005) to collect detailed information from nine members of the BIPs movement. In addition to semi-structured interviews, I conducted participant observation in the field on several occasions, speaking with members informally while participating with the groups. Second, in order to offer a comparison between members of the BIPs organization and non-members, I employed a survey design to reach members of the organization nationwide. Previous studies have suggested BIPs are ideologically different from the general population, but there is no empirical evidence to support this claim (Navarro 2009). Therefore, I utilize questions from the General Social Survey, a survey of the general population of Americans, to offer a more quantitative picture of members of BIPs and how their ideologies compare to the general population.

I first made contact with the Minutemen Civil Defense Corp (MCDC) office in April 2010. Upon speaking with Carmen Mercer, then CEO of the MCDC, I informed her of my intent to study the MCDC and that I would like to have access to the group's email list to distribute a survey. She asked for a more in-depth description of the study and once furnished with this she was willing to participate. Prior to my first trip to Arizona, Carmen informed me, via an email exchange that the MCDC was dissolving. I made my intentions known that I still wanted to interview her with regard to the creation and current status of the MCDC and make contact with active members she recommends. I asked Carmen to pass on my information to members she thought would be willing to

talk about their involvement with the organization. In addition to contacting active members of BIPs in Arizona, I also contacted Jim Gilchrist, the founder of the Minuteman Project (MMP). Using these two umbrella groups as a starting point I created a plan to interview both leaders as well as any members they contacted on my behalf.

I received approval from the UNLV Institutional Review Board office and made arrangements to travel to Tombstone, Arizona to meet with Carmen Mercer, CEO of the MCDC, and other members of BIPs. I made a total of three trips to Tucson, AZ to conduct my interviews. During my last two trips, I also used participant observation at a ranch 40 miles southwest of Tucson during an Arizona Border Defenders exercise, called missions. These missions consisted of teams of search and rescue members trekking into the desert to look for movement or new activity on trails they know migrants use. In addition to tracking new movement, teams also replace batteries and memory cards in the many game cameras placed throughout the desert that detect movement when members are not present.

Upon completion of the interviews and observations, I use BIPs' organizational websites to provide additional data. Based on the emergent themes I uncovered from my in-depth interviews, I created the survey questionnaire to be distributed to all persons affiliated with BIPs. The survey was launched in November 2011, with follow-up emails sent to the organizations that released the link to their membership.

Phase One: Interviews, Participant Observation, and Web-site Analysis

The purpose of the first phase is to understand the group as a whole and their ideological way of thinking. Previous knowledge of these groups prior to interviews was through the literature I read and the content on their websites. The interviews were

carried out prior to the participant observation, except for the interview with Jim Gilchrist, which I conducted after my first observation trip. First, I describe the interviews and participants, then provide a detailed description of the participatory action of phase one, followed with an explanation regarding the use of the organization websites. I transcribed the interviews with Microsoft Word and analyzed them to find commonalities and useful information for analysis. I was interested in the views, beliefs, feelings, assumptions and ideologies of the members, more than just gathering facts and describing acts. See Appendix A for a copy of the interview protocol.

Interviews

In-depth interviews were the best method to obtain the information needed to properly assess the BIPs. I used a semi-structured format to allow the respondents to tell their stories. I wanted information and details regarding the creation and dissolution of the MCDC, the involvement of other members of BIPs and their experiences. Using in-depth interviews allowed me to talk to the members and have them tell their stories to learn about their experiences and ideologies (Lofland, Lofland, Anderson, and Snow 2004).

This phase of data collection used a non-probability sampling technique. I employed a snowball sample to allow each respondent to recommend another member to interview. I ended with a sample size of nine because no new referrals were received. The members I interviewed were not diverse: all appeared to be white. Six were men and three were women. One of the women was not a member of the BIPs but was the ranch owner where many of the missions and watches are conducted. Two of the interviewees, Carmen Mercer and Jim Gilchrist, were founding members of the national organizations.

The interviews lasted on average 45 minutes and took place at a location convenient for the respondent, including restaurants, office meeting rooms, places of business, and a hotel lobby.

Respondents

The following table (5.1) and description is meant to provide a brief outline of the participants for the qualitative phase of this study. Many of the observation participants had military or police backgrounds, and those who did not specify, I left the information blank to avoid making assumptions about the participants.

Carmen Mercer, CEO Minutemen Civil Defense Corps (MCDC). Began with the organization in 2002 with Chris Simcox and continues as the contact person for the organization. She is located in Tombstone, AZ, where she is a business owner and activist against illegal immigration. She gave permission to use her real name for this research.

Jim Gilchrist, CEO of The Minuteman Project. Began the organization in 2004 and teamed up with Chris Simcox in 2005 for the "call to the border" event that pushed this movement onto the national stage. He has previous military experience and is a retired accountant living in Irvine, CA. He gave permission to use his real name for this research.

Table 5.1: A Brief Description of Interview and Observation Participants

	Call Sign	Affiliation	Role	Military or Police Experience
Interview Participants				
Carmen Mercer		MCDC	founder	No
Jim Gilchrist		MMP	founder	Yes
Sally		AZBD	executive	No
Fred	Maverick	AZBD	Search and	Yes
Steve	Goose	AZBD	Search and	No
Carl	Ice	MCDC/AZB	member	
Stan		MCDC	member	Yes
Bud		MCDC	member	Yes
Mrs. Farmer		none	Ranch owner	
Observation Participants				
	Spuds	AZBD	member	Yes
	Squish	AZBD	member	
	Rambo	AZBD	member	Yes
	Peanut	AZBD	member	
	Panther	AZBD	member	Yes
	Vulture	AZBD	member	
	Letterman	AZBD	member	Yes
	Kovak	AZBD	member	Yes
	T-Rex	AZBD	member	
	Shaw	AZBD	member	
	Zapper	AZBD	member	Yes

The respondents below have been given pseudonyms by request and the following descriptions are generic to avoid identifying features. They fear retaliation from drug cartel members and requested the use of pseudonyms. I have provided their "call sign[3]" when necessary and will use these in later chapters. The use of a call sign allows individuals to protect their identity while they patrol in the desert. The participants know

[3] The call sign has been changed to protect the identity of the individual.

there are individuals who monitor activity in the desert and to ensure their safety, using call signs make it more difficult to determine who an individual is.

Sally, is a director for the Arizona Border Defenders (AZBD). She used to belong to the MCDC and, when the national organization dissolved, she co-founded the AZBD. She is a grandmother and very passionate about her involvement with the organization.

Bud is a retired military man who currently resides in Phoenix. He has been involved with the organization for many years and became active because he saw his country being "invaded by illegals" and felt he had to do something.

Stan is a retired military man who currently resides in Phoenix. He has only been involved a few years and is determined to see the day when the border is secured.

Carl, aka Ice, is a business owner in Tucson and has been involved since the MCDC days. He believes it is his duty as an American to be involved in this movement and sees himself as important in the fight against illegal entry.

Fred, aka Maverick, retired from the Navy and is now a consultant. He has lived and worked in many Latin American countries and is fluent in Spanish. He is involved with the Search and Rescue team and enjoys going into the desert to track movement.

Steve, aka Goose, is the youngest member of the AZBD I spoke with and was my main contact for field missions. He has been involved for the past two years and also updates the website and controls the listserv for the AZBD.

Mrs. Farmer is the wife of the ranch owner where MCDC and later the AZBD conduct field missions. She has been on the ranch since 1975 and has witnessed the changing nature of the border region.

In addition to my formal interviews, I had the chance to talk with several members in the field. The members introduced themselves to me using their names and call signs, some only giving their call sign as their name, and I refer to them by their call sign throughout the analysis. The call signs are interesting because they can describe more about a member, such as Spuds. The other members I had conversations with include: Squish, Rambo, Peanut, Panther, Vulture, Letterman, Kovak, T-Rex, Shaw, and Zapper.

Participant Observation

In addition to interviews, I conducted three days of fieldwork in the Sonora desert—in southeast Arizona—on a total of six "missions" with the Arizona Border Defender's Search and Rescue Team. The missions were conducted about 35 miles north of the U.S.-Mexico border; the Baboquivari Mountains were to the west, State Route 86 created the northern boundary and Sasabe Road, SR 286, was to the east. To understand the terminology I used to describe these missions or musters, the Arizona Border Defender's website (2012) described the two types of border watch operations as:

> **Border Watch Musters:** The AZ Border Defenders Border Watch Musters are conducted in areas with a large amount of illegal border crossings. Our mission is to observe and report illegal aliens and drug smugglers to the Border Patrol.
>
> Due to the decreased amount of illegal border crossings in the Tucson sector we do not currently have any Border Watch Musters scheduled. If our Search and Rescue Teams find a hot spot or overall traffic increases we will schedule a muster.
>
> **Search and Rescue Operations:** Search And Rescue Teams conduct reconnaissance, border observation, hidden camera, and Search and Rescue missions weekly. These operations are currently being conducted all throughout the Tucson sector.

The first mission was to place two more game cameras in the desert and replace the memory card and batteries in the existing cameras. The cameras were painted in desert

camouflage and were motion sensor to capture movement over the course of two weeks. The Search and Rescue Team (SART) led the mission of reconnaissance and routine maintenance of equipment. The purpose of the cameras was to determine the routes migrants take through the desert. The team posted the videos of migrants and drug smugglers on YouTube and passed the information to the Border Patrol.

The second through sixth missions were conducted over two days during a muster, focused more on tracking migrant activity than replacing batteries and memory cards. The first of these missions was a drive into the desert to place an additional camera. The second was a drive through the desert on roads to determine if there was migrant traffic. The third mission of the day was a drive into the desert and a short walk conducted to see if there was any migrant movement. The fourth mission was at night to set up in an ambush formation to catch undocumented migrants. The final mission was on Saturday morning and consisted of an approximate four mile hike through the Brawley wash following migrant tracks to determine where they lead. While on these missions, I had many informal discussions with my guides who were also members of the AZBD. We discussed immigration, politics, and other social issues, and their involvement. I was open about my disposition and reiterated the desire to understand their ways of thinking about immigration and immigrants; doing so did not seem to hinder their discussions with me.

The qualitative data focuses on three emergent themes: immigrant as threat, responding to the threat using a watch system, and being labeled a vigilante organization. The immigrant as a threat to the American way of life is defined through economic, health, cultural, criminal, and population rhetoric. The nativist ideology focuses on the

harm immigrants will and are doing to the economy, environment, and the idea of being an American. Placing the undocumented immigrant as a group of people who may bring undesirable traits to the United States is the main focus of this rhetoric. "They take our jobs", "They don't pay taxes", "They cannot speak English", and many other opinions help to define undocumented immigrants as a group that create a threat to the American way of life. The language these groups use denote otherness which aids in the definition of threat. The terminology for undocumented immigrants included "illegal immigrant" "illegal alien" "illegals" and "IA's".

Forming a neighborhood watch group is predicated on the development of a potential threat. BIPs have manifested the threat in the form of the undocumented immigrant. Without a threat to respond to, there is no need for a watch. Portraying the Border Patrol and Immigration and Customs Enforcement having failed to do their jobs or in need of assistance in performing their jobs is the purpose of the neighborhood watch. The neighborhood watch theme uses the literature on neighborhood watch in urban settings led or endorsed through local law enforcement.

Analysis of Organization Websites

Another area of qualitative data collection was to critically analyze the websites of the organizations I had contact with (see Appendix D). The analysis provides supplementary evidence of the themes discovered during my fieldwork. Table 5.2 offers a description of some of the data on the websites I used to further explore the themes. Although there are dozens of organizations that identify as BIPs on the internet, I chose to focus on the four organizations with which I had contact to maintain consistency and clarity. Many of the groups' websites have similar articles and information, but each of

the four chosen websites is comprehensive and offers much data to supplement the analysis.

I viewed links within each group's website pertaining to one of three themes; threat, neighborhood watch, and vigilantism. If the content positioned the immigrant as a threat, based on the previous analysis from the interviews and observations, I looked for specific examples. I examined how the group constructed their organization to be a watch group. The CAIR website did not add data to this theme as they are mainly internet based and do not conduct any border operations. How the group legitimized their objective is the focus for the final theme vigilantism. The AZBD is an active border watch group, the MCDC was an active watch group, the MMP is affiliated with the Campo Minutemen (now the SoCal Patriots) and CAIR is an online group with no ties to border operations or events outside of their website activity and information. All the websites use language such as "illegal alien", "illegal immigrant", or simply "illegals" to further denote the group as a threat.

All four groups use similar language when talking about the potential for the immigrant to cause some harm or pose a threat to the American way of life. They see their job as a way to protect the United States, or lending a hand to the government that is not doing the job they should be doing. The three groups, who participate in border operations, find ways to legitimize their activities, either through constitutional backing or noting how they are law abiding groups, working within the law to make aware the issue of illegal immigration.

Table 5.2: An Outline of the Themes from Participating Groups' Websites

	AZBD	MCDC	MMP	CAIR
Threat	videos of migrants Stories posted on their main page with topics such as terrorists, drugs, criminals	mission: to secure the border from unauthorized entry. In the about us section they speak of the migrant as criminal, terrorist, drug smuggler. A photo of the shirt worn by Chris Simcox says "Protect our Border, Language, and Culture"	The recommended reading link provides a list of books that outline the fears society should associate with immigrants.	Their concern is with population growth and invasion. Their quick facts highlight main areas such as growth, schools, traffic, water, economics, drugs, hospitals, anchor babies, prisons, and the environment
Neighborhood Watch	They are a non profit volunteer border watch organization. Use the U.S. Constitution Article 1 Section 8 Clause 15 to justify what they are doing. "To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;"	They are a National Citizens Neighborhood Watch Group -- securing the American Border	Affiliated with the SoCal Patriots (formerly San Diego Minutemen) who do border patrols to detect and prevent undocumented migrants from crossing into the United States.	
Vigilante	The recognition that Arizona is proposing to fund militia groups to patrol the southern border region.	In their pledge they state: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty..and so I will stand watch on America's borders and in her sovereign interest until relieved from duty by my fellow countrymen."	A news story about funding militias in AZ. They reject the label of vigilante by standing outwardly they operate within the law to support the enforcement of laws.	

Grounded Theory Approach

Grounded theory is the "discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 2). Theory is linked to the data and therefore is more difficult to refute because the theory is generated from the analysis of the data collected. Grounded theory has been redeveloped over the years to accommodate the critiques. Charmaz develops a constructivist grounded theory:

> celebrates [how] firsthand knowledge of empirical worlds, takes a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism, and offers accessible methods for taking qualitative research into the 21st century. Constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings (Charmaz 2000: 510).

Grounded theory is useful "for fact-finding descriptive studies as well as more conceptually developed theoretical statements" (Charmaz 1995: 36). By studying what respondents say and do will aid in the understanding of the taken-for-granted concerns and meanings respondents produce. The inductive nature of grounded theory allows for openness and flexibility ending with exhaustion of the filed due to following leads with respondents and reviewing the literature. A "fundamental premise of grounded theory is to let the key issues emerge rather than to force them into preconceived categories" (Charmaz 1995:47). I had read articles and other materials prior to entering the field so I was familiar with the organization. I suspended my beliefs about the group as best as I can allow their story to emerge, or at least my interpretation of their story. I did go in wanting to investigate the vigilante aspect, to understand how they viewed their organizations mission.

The purpose of using grounded theory approach for this research is to first understand the group I am studying. During my initial interviews, I discovered there were two main avenues of thought. The first had to do with undocumented immigrants being a group of people who are threatening the American way of life. The second set of thoughts surrounded their activities as being legitimate, neighborhood watch, and illegitimate, or vigilante. As they told their stories, these two avenues guided the questions I asked and directed me to particular words they use to describe a threat or activity. As I interviewed members both formally and informally while participating in their missions, the data seemed to fall into these two major areas. The threat theme seemed to be the most important aspect in the groups' identity because it was the basis of their ideological

standpoint. This importance on threat prompted me to think about how I could measure threat on a larger scale.

Phase Two: Survey

Based on the emergent themes I uncovered during my interviews, field work, and through the content analysis of the websites, I use two sources of survey data to supplement the qualitative data. The first is the creation and deployment of a survey to members in BIPs. The second data source is the General Social Survey (GSS) to which I am able to use a sample of the general American population to make comparisons to members in the BIP organizations through the BIP survey. The immigration questions focused on the previously discussed issue of the immigrant as threat, specifically economics, crime, culture, and jobs. Questions about other social issues are asked to determine if differences exist between the groups.

The creation of the survey phase came directly from the interviews and participant observation. The major theme of immigrants as threat seemed to be the crux of the groups' ideology and therefore I wanted to investigate how deep this theme was engrained in members' ways of thinking. The General Social Survey asked questions in their 2004 cycle on immigration, specifically regarding issues of crime, the economy, aid from the government and other subjects participants also broached. In addition to the main immigration questions, the GSS also asks the question about numbers of immigrants in the United States every cycle, allowing for a longitudinal look at immigration. Using these questions as a base to develop the survey would allow for comparison between the general population and BIPs population.

The BIPs Survey

Conducting an online survey was the best method to reach a larger sample of the membership of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) and Jim Gilchrist's Minutemen Project (MMP). The University of Nevada, Las Vegas' Office of Information Technology provided the use of an internet based survey instrument. I created a web-based survey consisting of questions from the General Social Survey focusing on immigration and other social issues (See Appendix B).

Using a member listserv to distribute the survey allowed me to reach members who are not present in Arizona and allowed for a timely and inexpensive collection of data from an entire group. The survey was sent through the gatekeepers of the listserv, Jim Gilchrist (MMP) and Carmen Mercer (MCDC), to registered members.

The survey was only to be released to these two organizations but when the survey was ready for deployment both Carmen and Jim were reluctant to send the survey to their members. At this time, I pursued alternative ways to distribute my survey to various organizations. I performed Google searches to find organizations whose main concern was illegal immigration, and made sure to include the Arizona Border Defenders because of a previous connection with their organization. From my search I sent out query emails with the live link of the survey to 43 different groups (see Appendix C) to ask if they would be willing to distribute the survey to their members via their listserv. A few groups I contacted responded to me, letting me know they would not send it out. Many of the groups did not respond to my request. Of those that did respond, they added additional information they thought I should know:

> Perhaps you mean well - perhaps you don't. We do not have need for data - we have need for mass deportation (Close Borders Group).

> The Texas Border Volunteers are not willing to provide feedback as a category of people in contrast to the general population. We have some issues with the survey itself, and employ our mailing list only for purposes agreed to with our volunteers. We are a very sociologically, religiously, and politically diverse group and and [sic] can only be categorized by our mission statement.
>
> I will send this on, but I cannot guarantee that they will do, will let you know. Theses [sic] questions you are asking have nothing to do with Minuteman concerns and truly the answers do not show you that Minutemen [sic] are no different from average Americans. Our Minutemen are different from active average Americans since we did take a stance against our Government and the average American citizen does not. (Carmen Mercer)

I crafted an additional survey for the gatekeeper of the Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (CAIR)—the only group to send out my survey. Throughout the email exchange, he suggested a few changes that needed to be made to send the survey to the membership. These additions included terminology clarification and questions regarding the environment. The additional questions will not be used in the analysis because they were only asked of this group and have no value for the study. I made these small changes to the survey so I could increase my response. These questions dealt with environmental issues and increased immigration. The total number of respondents is made up of members of CAIR and of some of the gatekeepers of the other organizations to which the survey was sent.

The response rate for the survey is unknown because the number of potential respondents on each of the member listservs is unknown. The goal was to receive enough responses in order to assess general characteristics about the group when compared to the general population. In total, 70 respondents completed surveys to use for analysis and comparison with the larger population of GSS respondents. Due to the small sample size,

I will not use inferential statistics and any findings I discuss are not generalizable to the greater BIPs population.

The General Social Survey (GSS)

The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago conducts the GSS survey biannually—since 1994—by to provide public opinion data on the adult American population. The GSS uses a probability sampling technique to ensure coverage and a statistically representative sample. Including the 2010 survey, there were 28 survey questions asking many of the same questions allowing for a longitudinal analysis of opinions. The sample sizes for each of the years used in the current study are 2004 (n=2812), 2006 (n=4510), 2008 (n=2023), and 2010 (n=2044).

Dependent Variables

The main dependent variable, the GSS question LETIN1, "Do you think the number of immigrants to America nowadays should be." Respondents can answer 'increased a lot' (1), 'increased a little', 'remain the same', 'reduced a little', or 'reduced a lot' (5). The mean score for the GSS respondents is 3.68, indicating some reduction, and the BIPs responded as 4.86, indicating immigration needs to be reduced a lot. This is the only immigration question asked across all four years and is the best indicator regarding trends in immigration restriction to the U.S. Additional dependent variables using the 2004 GSS (see Appendix B) focus on the various potential threats immigrants may create. Each of the following variables are measured on a five point Likert scale, with 1 equating 'strongly agree' and 5 indicating 'strongly disagree'. When asked if "children born in America of parents who are not citizens should have the right to become American citizens" (kidshere), the general population scored 2.15 indicating they agree with

birthright citizenship whereas the BIPs' mean is 4.52, indicating a strong disagreement with birthright citizenship. When asked if "America should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants" (excldimm), the general population scored 2.12 indicating they agree with excluding undocumented immigrants, in line with the BIPs' mean of 1.23, indicating a strong agreeability with exclusion. I ran t-tests on all dependent variables from both samples and found the difference between means are statistically different (p=<.001).

Table 5.3 Means of All Dependent Variables*

	GSS	**BIPs**
Number of Immigrants in the U.S.	3.68	4.86
Birthright Citizenship	2.15	4.52
Immigrants Increase Crime	3.17	1.73
Immigrants are good for Economy	2.77	3.70
Immigrants take Jobs	2.84	1.48
Immigrants improve Society	2.54	3.55
Government Should Exclude Illegal Immigrants	2.12	1.23
Government Spends too Much on Immigrants	2.53	1.34
Legal Immigrants have same Rights	3.06	3.88
xenophobia index**	11.8	18.3

* t-tests significant on all variables at p=<.001

** Index ranges from 0 to 24, low xenophobia to high xenophobia

The following six variables are also used in the construction of a xenophobia index specifying a fear of immigrants and what potential threats they may contain. When asked if "Immigrants increase crime" (immcrime), the GSS mean is 3.17 and the BIPs is 1.73: "Immigrants are generally good for America's economy" (immameco), the GSS mean is 2.77 and the BIPs is 3.7: "Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in the

United States" (immjobs), the GSS mean is 2.84 and the BIPs mean is 1.48: "Immigrants improve American society by bringing in new ideas and cultures" (immimp), the GSS mean is 2.54 and the BIPs mean is 3.55: "Government spends too much money assisting immigrants" (immcosts), the GSS mean is 2.53 and the BIPs mean is 1.34: and finally "Legal immigrants to America who are not citizens should have the same rights as American citizens" (immrghts), the GSS mean is 3.06 and the BIPs mean is 3.88. For the xenophobia index, I re-coded all variable answers to 0 for 'strongly agree' and 4 for 'strongly disagree'. I reverse coded three variables; immigrants take jobs away, government spends too much on immigrants, and immigrants increase crime, to reflect an index where a higher number indicates a higher level of xenophobia. The final index has a range of 0, indicating no xenophobia, to 24, indicating a high level of xenophobia. The general public has a mean score of 11.8, indicating a medium or mid-level of xenophobia. The BIPs mean is 18.3, indicating a higher level of xenophobia. The xenophobia index is meant to aid in the measurement of threat immigrants may pose to the American way of life.

Independent Variables

The main independent variables used in the analysis are education and political affiliation, through their party identification and their liberal-conservative ideals. Education was re-coded into three categories, High School or less, some college, and College degree or higher. Political affiliation was re-coded from the original variable with seven categories to one of three categories: Democrat, Independent, and Republican. The liberal-conservative variable was re-coded from the original seven categories into three: Liberal, Moderate, and Conservative.

The overall comparability of the GSS years are similar, differences appear when comparing the GSS years to the BIPs sample. Table 5.3 outlines the major differences in the demographic variables for the four GSS years and the BIPs sample. The main contrasts between the BIPs and the GSS highlight how the BIPs are overly Republican, Conservative, predominantly white and male, and are more educated. Their religion is comparable with more identifying agnostic/atheist or none. The BIPs are married and divorced more when compared to the GSS. The major differences illustrate where relationships may exist.

Table 5.4: Comparability of Respondents GSS and BIPs Results

	2010	BIPs
Political Party affiliation		
Democrat	48.6	11.1
Independent	18.2	29.6
Republican	33.2	59.3
Liberal or Conservative		
Liberal	28.7	11.7
Moderate	37.8	23.3
Conservative	33.5	65.0
Race		
White	75.7	95.3
Black	15.0	0.0
Native American	1.0	4.7
Asian	3.3	0.0
Hispanic	4.3	0.0
Religious Preference		
Protestant	47.6	50.9
Catholic	23.6	11.3
Jewish	1.8	0.0
None	17.8	22.6
Atheist/Agnostic	0.0	15.1
Other	9.2	0.0
Highest Degree		
HS or less	63.9	23.8
Some college	7.1	15.9
College Degree or higher	29.0	60.3
	N=2044	N=70

Conclusion

In conducting this research many organization members were willing to talk in person, but when asked similar questions through a survey, the organizations seemed to hesitate. Conversations with Jim Gilchrist reveal that he sees the value in the data, but one of his executive members did not want to use the listserv for the purpose of distributing the survey. I also talked to Jim Gilchrist about putting the link for the survey on their website so likeminded individuals could participate. Even though there was no cost to their organization, they would not help me distribute my survey. Upon speaking with Carmen Mercer, she did not think this survey would be worthwhile and that members of the MCDC are in fact different from the general population because they are activists and not average Americans. She agreed to pass the survey on to the keeper of the MCDC listserv and allow them to determine its worth, but without an endorsement from Carmen Mercer, I was not optimistic about the outcome.

CHAPTER 6

SETTING UP THE PROBLEM: IMMIGRANT AS THREAT

The subject of this chapter focuses on how BIPs portray immigrants as a group to fear. BIPs portray immigrants as a threat that non-immigrants should fear. BIPs maintain that immigrants should be feared because they use resources, do not assimilate, are different from the 'native stock', and increase crime.

Group threat theory offers a framework for analyzing how and why groups frame immigrants as a threat. Herbert Blumer began discussing the idea of group position as it relates to prejudice by saying that one's feelings toward another group has more to do with their sense of group position rather than individual feelings (Blumer 1958). Threat begins in the realm of prejudice, creating a sense of entitlement to such items as land, jobs, business, memberships, and positions of prestige. The premise can be stated that "the remaining feeling to race prejudice is a fear or apprehension that the subordinate racial group is threatening, or will threaten, the position of the dominant group" (Blumer 1958:4). As the minority group increases in size, their potential economic or political threat increases leading to prejudice among those in the dominant group (Blalock 1967). The threat can be "material, in terms of perceived challenges to one's well-being, or symbolic, in terms of social identity" (Esses, Dvoidio, Jackson, and Armstrong 2001:390). The threat can pose a dilemma in that if the group is not successful they are a burden to the state, whereas if the immigrant is successful they may be seen as a threat to the social and political order. The dominant group may base their view of immigrants as a threat based on how immigrants are viewed in society.

In this chapter I use threat theory to guide how BIPs perceive and respond to immigrants. Defining the problem in terms of threat is the clearest way to understand what BIPs are responding to. Defining the problem in this context clearly outlines the major arguments BIPs use to dismiss undocumented immigrants and to advocate for their removal from the United States.

Expanding threat theory I use dimensions commonly found among right-wing groups, such as BIPs. Crothers (2003) outlines the work of Berlet and Lyons (2000) introducing producerism, demonization and scapegoating, conspiracism, and apocalyptic narratives and millennial visions. Each of these dimensions can incorporate issues BIPs are concerned about. Producerism focuses on those who are contributing members of society versus those who appear as lecherous. Those who contribute are good while others are not. Demonization and scapegoating focus on othering a specific group and blame this group for many social problems. The 'other' is dehumanized to enable the labeling group the chance to not treat the 'other' as fully human. Conspiracism "elevates the scapegoat to the role of an organized plotter engaged in systematic acts of evil to deny rights and freedoms to the 'good' people in society" (Crothers 2003:42). The final dimension, apocalyptic narratives and millennial visions, does not fully fit BIPs. Although apocalypse is not their vision, an end to U.S. supremacy and autonomy is a consequence of unchecked illegal immigration.

The mission statement of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps (MCDC) offers initial evidence for how the group perceives threat dues to illegal immigration.

> "**To see the borders and coastal boundaries of the United States secured against the unlawful and unauthorized entry of all individuals, contraband, and**

foreign military. We will employ all means of civil protest, demonstration, and political lobbying to accomplish this goal" (Website: http://www.minutemanhq.com/).

Here, MCDC claims that a primary threat involves the unlawful and unauthorized entry of individuals and these entrants are the threat bringing with them disease, want for a better life, need for social services, want for a family life, and further degradation of the environment.

To better understand the position of the BIPs on immigration related issues, I will present throughout this chapter survey data comparing the BIPs responses to the general population. I will offer a comparison on the issues from respondent's answers from the General Social Survey (GSS). The overall impression of immigration in the United States is to reduce immigration, with 54.8% of the general population believing this is good for the country. On the other hand 95.6% of BIPs feel immigration should be reduced. In addition, 33.6% of the general public believes immigration should remain the same, whereas only 2.3% of BIPs feel this way.

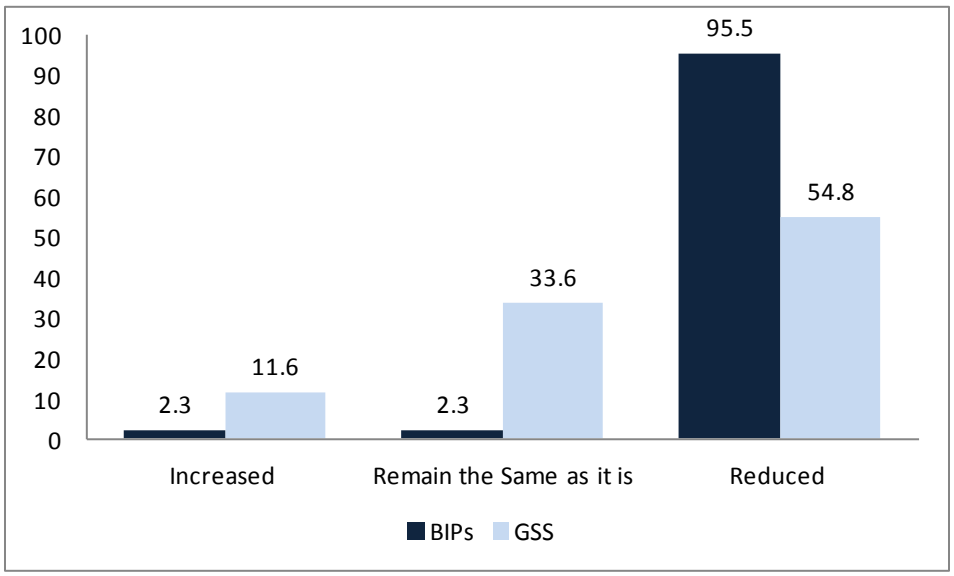

Figure 6.1: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "Do you think the number of immigrants to America nowadays should be…"

Conspiracism

Conspiracism defined is "a particular narrative form of scapegoating that frames the enemy as part of a vast insidious plot against the common good, while it valorizes the scapegoater as a hero for sounding the alarm" (Berlet and Lyons 2000: 9). In the case of BIPs, the undocumented migrant poses a threat to the common good by illegally entering the U.S. to colonize and/or increase their numbers. The BIPs are sounding the alarm to inform the general public about the potential threat undocumented immigrants may pose.

The following section uses the notion of conspiracism to analyze responses from the BIPs. The first threat is of colonization and the use of "anchor babies" to achieve this. The second threat focuses how BIPs associate the border threat with a fear of invasion. BIPs also claim that an under-secured southern border with Mexico portends an increased risk of terrorist activity. The final threat focuses on the ability for the immigrant to cross

the southern border. The focus on this physical locale is important to understand how so many migrants can make their way to the U.S.

Colonization and "Anchor Babies"

Scholars suggest the focus on the southern border defines these nativist groups as racist or as being racist nativists (Chavez 2008, Navarro 2009). The Arizona Border Defenders (AZBD) volunteers to watch the border and concentrate their efforts on detecting and reporting migrants crossing illegally across the U.S.-Mexico border. As Jim Gilchrist (MMP) claims, "The porous southern border with Mexico is the most vulnerable of both borders to illegal entry into the United States" (Gilchrist 2008:416). Gilchrist sums up the fears of the southern border by stating how the "region is a loosely guarded, lawless wasteland, an open invitation to enter at will for illegal aliens, fugitives, terrorists, and criminal cartel members who want to avoid detection" (p. 417). He goes on further to defend why the Canadian border does not need the same attention.

> The Minuteman Project affirms the constructions of deterrent barriers along the U.S./Mexico border. It does not recommend such a drastic step for securing the Canadian border. Although the unprotected U.S./Canadian border certainly allows for illegal entry in the U.S., its breach is much less significant compared to the overwhelming numbers using the U.S./Mexico border as an illegal conduit into the United States. Resources should first be applied to secure the nation's largest breach, the southern border. (p. 427)

The implication of focusing on one border over the other is the claim of racism or favoritism. The profiling of individuals based on skin color or region of origin can affect solutions. Fred (AZBD) says

> I can't give you examples, I have never seen, I mean most everyone I have encountered are Hispanic crossing the border so I think that is a fact, it is sort of like profiling in law enforcement, in the sense that if you are a police officer you know what a bad guy looks like, generally, from experience, and that is who you

> are going to concentrate on versus the old lady walking down the street, now I am not up on the northern border, I don't know I assume there is a higher chance of terrorists getting in who, maybe middle eastern or not. You know I think that would be the focus. I don't think it has anything to do with the color of skin in other words, if it was a bunch of Europeans coming across the border for the same reasons I think it's the same issue, regardless of the color of skin.

Jim (MMP) continues this profiling theme stating:

> Eventually as we move into the future, which I see the largest threat of illegal immigration coming from Mexico and Central America. Now some might say that is profiling, yeah I guess, but it is also the truth, 80-85% of the people in the U.S. illegally are from Mexico and Central America, if you can't accept that you are downright stupid.

The focus on the southern border is replete with reports of the numbers of migrants clandestinely crossing the border. Knowing how many people are coming into the United States daily, monthly, and yearly, aids in the theme of invasion. The Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform (CAIR) reports that:

> The America-Mexico border is 1,940 miles long. Averages of 10,000 illegal aliens cross the border every day - over 3 million per year. One third will be caught and many will try again. About half of those remaining will become permanent U.S. residents (3,500 per day).

Gilchrist (2008) supports CAIR's assertion by stating "at the current rate of invasion, by the year 2025, only 17 years hence, the Minuteman Project estimates that there will be more illegal aliens occupying U.S. territory than there will be citizen voters" (421)

The fear associated with a large number of migrants crossing the border illegally is commonly expressed by the following thoughts:

> I would see hundreds of people there and not know who they were and think they were tourists and being picked up by a tourist bus…the groups were much bigger of one or two hundred much bigger than they are today (Carmen: MCDC)

> basically, that we'll have a flood of people coming into the United States. (Bud: MCDC)

The analogy of a flood of immigrants was told to me in an analogy of a flood in your house. If your basement is flooded the first thing you will do is find the source of the leak and fix it before you start removing the water. If you remove the water without fixing the leak it is a pointless exercise. The analogy applies to the border the same way. If you deport undocumented migrants without further securing the border, the problem will never be fully fixed. BIPs use the analogy of a flood because of the overall damage this may cause to society, such as a flood of water can do to any area.

> there are a lot more Hispanics here then there used to be. Obviously, they are just coming here and staying most of them...that's the first thing we have to do before anything else because they are going to keep doing it, I mean there are more people coming in every day I could take you out there this morning and show you a fresh group that went by. Within the last few hours. That is out here. (Carl: MCDC)

Focusing on the southern border and particularly the race of the individuals crossing the southern border puts BIPS in a situation where they can be called racist because they focus on Hispanics, mainly Mexican. The race of undocumented migrants is as diverse as American society. Focusing solely on Hispanic migrants misses all other groups who are here. The focus on border security aids with the focus on Hispanics because they are the largest group crossing the southern border. Even though their focus is on all undocumented migrants in the United States, the myopic focus on the southern border may say otherwise.

> we got a group of 6, group of 10, group of whatever, I thought this is crazy and I couldn't believe it, and walking in front of me was a group of people coming up and this was all within a time span of a few hours and this was back in 2006 when there was a lot of illegal immigration going on. (Fred: AZBD)

> I think the 12 million figure is way low. It is almost three times that, it is certainly over 20 million, I would I use the figure of about 30-33 million illegal aliens currently occupying our territory. To come up with the figure of 12 million well who is counting that, to come up with a number of 30-33 million to me is a more rational and more reliable. Well how is that? Relying on Border Patrol estimates, they only apprehend 1 out of 4 or 1 out of 5 and in some places, like in TX, only one out of 10 illegal aliens coming into the US. If they apprehended, 1 ¼ million in the past year, that means there are 4 to 5 times that many got through, 4 to 5 million essentially got through without apprehension to have that happen year after year, well some people to say there are 60-70 million illegal aliens, I don't think it's that high, but I think it is roughly around 30 million and that is how I arrive at that figure. (Jim: MMP)

The actual number of undocumented migrants in the U.S. is unknown. Estimates are the only way to come up with numbers. The numbers groups use to determine the estimated amount of undocumented migrants will greatly affect the final number. According to one study, 28 percent of all immigrants are here illegally (Camarota 2012). Roughly half of those migrants here illegally are from Mexico and Central America. An additional third are from South America. Knowing a large number of undocumented migrants are from Central and South America leads one to recognize why BIPs focus on the southern border and Hispanics. This does not mean by focusing solely on Hispanics illegal immigration will be greatly reduced.

> sure enough we saw 10 illegal aliens trying to hide from us, they saw us and started running, and we started to follow them and radioed it back that we had seen some and that is ok we will call the Border Patrol. (Steve: AZBD)

BIPs leaders express fear that as illegal immigrant numbers increase, so does the likelihood that those immigrants will colonize the U.S. Gilchrist (2008) claims that "some Americans see this [installing Mexican consulates in the U.S.] as a precursor to the colonization of the United States of America by Mexico, an incremental part of what

appears to be an unlimited exodus of the impoverished and criminal elements of Mexican and also Central American populations into the United States" (p.422). In addition, the concept of an 'anchor baby' reifies the threat of colonization. The American Heritage Dictionary recently added several terms, including anchor baby. CAIR's website defines an anchor baby as "a child born to illegal alien parents within the borders of the United States. The child is born as an American citizen and under the 1965 immigration Act, can be used to facilitate citizenship for the immediate - and ultimately the extended - family." Giovagnoli contends the term is derogatory and offensive to both mother and child and called for the American Heritage Dictionary to change the definition. An 'anchor baby' was originally defined as "a child born to a noncitizen mother in a country that grants automatic citizenship to children born on its soil, especially such a child born to parents seeking to secure eventual citizenship for themselves and often other members of the family" (Preston 2011:1). Kleinedler, executive editor of the dictionary, contends that to "define [terms] objectively without taking sides and just presenting what it is" is the purpose of the dictionary (Giovagnoli 2011:2). Miller reports how members of organizations such as the Center for Immigration Studies and Americans for Legal Immigration believe the "pro-illegal immigrant groups are telling people how they can talk" and does not think the term should be labeled offensive.

Birthright citizenship is written into the constitution and a majority, 75.6% of the general public agrees that children born in the United States should be given citizenship. BIPs however strongly believe (88.6%) that children of non-citizen parents should not be granted automatic citizenship just because they happen to be born on U.S. soil.

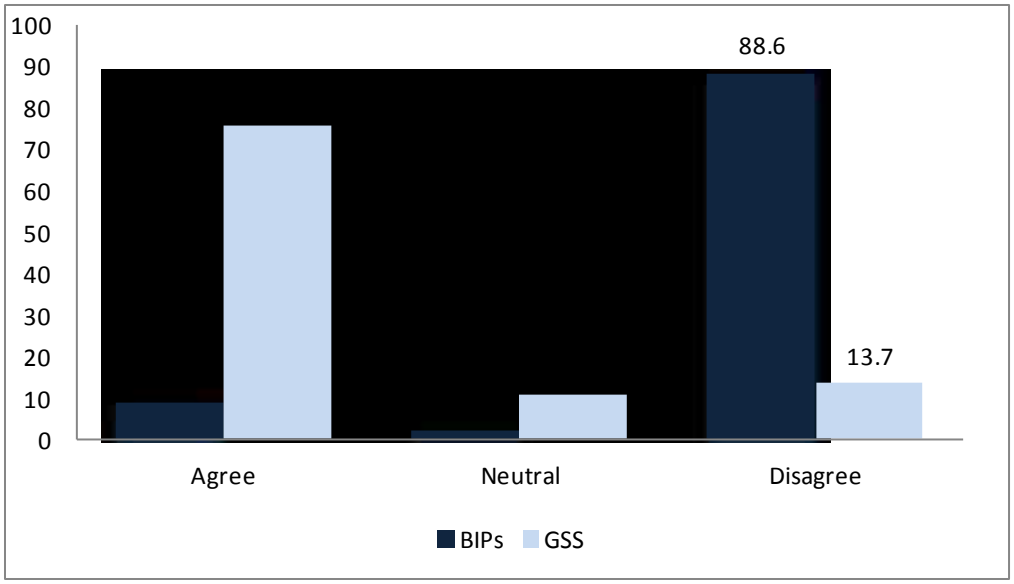

Figure 6.2: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "Children born in America of parents who are not citizens should have the right to become American citizens."

Birthright citizenship – in particular the 14th Amendment—is an issue many BIPs members feel is misinterpreted. Their belief that "children who are born here of parents of illegal aliens really do not fall under the United States jurisdiction of the law so they are not legal citizens. That is what people forget, and this is why it is important that we change the 14th amendment, because they are truly not citizens. In order for you to become a citizen one parent has to be a legal citizen that is the law here in the United States, so being a child of two illegal aliens does not make them an automatic citizen, and that is what people don't think about." (Carmen: MCDC).

Invasion and Terrorism

"Anchor babies" have also been used by some BIPs to refer to them as "terror babies" who are born in the U.S., granted citizenship, and taken back to their home country to grow up hating the United States to return one day with full citizenship and attack the country within (Navarette 2010). The fear of another terrorist attack is on the minds of

many Americans since 9/11. The porous southern border increases the fear of terrorist's ability to easily enter the United States. Fred (AZBD) states a common sentiment about the ability to "drive a truck across, with basically a nuclear weapon or a WMD, there is no, the Border Patrol cannot stop this, it happens all the time."

The fear of a terrorist attack is further illustrated by the following thoughts regarding terrorism in Mexico and along the southern border:

> WMD … if the border is so porous why aren't we addressing that. I don't have the answers I only have, but it is a problem you know the borders so porous, it is not only illegal immigration, as far as people getting jobs, illegal activity plus destroys us, WMD or terrorism. (Fred: AZBD)

> They are being trained; there is a small town down there where the Taliban are being asked to be trained so they can come across the border as Mexicans, with the Mexican group. So they will be transported and that's how they are gaining access to our country…This is the avenue and then now the greater danger of having open borders is the Taliban and those groups who wish to do us harm and bringing in dirty bombs and things and we know that some of this has been found. When we were out in the desert, we find prayer rugs, we find all sorts of Muslim paraphernalia, and we found Korans. (Sally: AZBD)

The events of 9/11 and the resulting wars have made Americans aware of the potential threat to the safety in the U.S. Unfortunately, the focus is on individuals of Middle-Eastern decent and the under-secured border of the south makes it easier for potential terrorists to gain access to the U.S. The potential development of weapons of mass destruction so close to the United States prompts the fear of invasion and destruction. As Sally points out, they have found religious paraphernalia leading them to believe Muslims have crossed illegally into the U.S. spurring further the threat of another terrorist attack in the U.S. By securing the southern border and making it a national security priority, may prevent a future attack from terrorists crossing the southern border.

> There are an estimated 9 to 11 million illegals in the U.S., double the 1994 level. A quarter-million illegal aliens from the Middle-east currently live in the U.S, and a growing number are entering via the Mexican border. (CAIR website)

> the 9/11 attacks was successful was that people could infiltrate into the United States undetected, and part of that was because, their visas had expired and so they were here illegally, other hijackers were here illegally, if I recall, I think most of them had visas and they were expired, essentially it went to the lack of enforcement of the laws and of course. (Jim: MMP)

Acknowledging racial stereotypes with regard to terrorists can elicit a label of racist from others in society. Not all terrorists are Middle-Eastern and focusing solely on the southern border will not stop all activity from occurring. Understanding this is a risk is one thing, but to elevate fear based on a few examples, perpetuates the demonization of an entire race of people. Knowing that terrorists can be documented and undocumented does not seem to matter too many members when they make statements based entirely on the events of 9/11. How they know that a growing number of Middle-Eastern migrants are crossing the southern border remains to be verified. As it stands now, it is in the realm of conspiracy and speculation.

Securing the Border

The increased threat of invasion and terrorist attacks reifies the call to secure the border. If ever a rallying cry could be used for these groups, "Secure the border" would be at the top of that list. The perceived need to secure the border to effectively deal with illegal immigration in the United States allows for many different viewpoints.

> We need to secure the border. If you don't, you can't push em back this way when they're coming in back here.(Stan: MCDC)
> there were two illegals in there and he said, they really looked bad, and they'd spent eleven days walking a hundred and twenty miles to get to the Phoenix area, and they spent three days once they were here looking for work, and they couldn't find any, so they had gone into this grocery store and begged for something to eat,

> and they were asking for somebody to get the border patrol to take them back so they could go home.(Bud: MCDC)

> "only 10 days into the scheduled month-long operation, the multi-ethnic Minuteman Project completely shut down the illegal alien invasion and drug smuggling activities along the entire 23-mile stretch of the U.S./Mexico border in Arizona's San Pedro River Valley." (Jim (MMP):415-6)

> I am doing something to help protect my country(Steve: AZBD)

Some believe more migrants are attempting to illegally enter the U.S. in anticipation of another amnesty, such as that given in 1986. Carmen (MCDC) states "The Coyote Senators have already made the invasion crisis worse, as waves of new indigents wash across our frontier in anticipation of Democrat-promised amnesty!" (Website letter). Along with the anticipation of amnesty, there are others who believe migrants will outnumber citizen voters, changing the political landscape.

> At that point, maybe by the year 2030 or 2040 we could easily have more people here who used to be illegal aliens or still are because of the inflow, the drastic, the incentive is going to be in your face, come over here and we will take care of you, that is going to be the word that is passed down, there are going to be more people here illegally than there will be legal citizen voters. (Jim: MMP)

These fears are also ignited by the rights immigrants receive. Stan (MCDC) says "once illegals step one inch across the border, they have the same constitutional rights as you and I have." This claim is exaggerated because undocumented migrants do not have the same rights. They cannot vote, they are deportable, and they are treated faintly as full humans with the inalienable rights of equality, justice, and fairness. The notion that all who crosses any border into the U.S. receives the same constitutional rights is trying to pander and create fear that a citizen's rights are no better because undocumented

migrants have the same rights. These are the types of statements that lead to conspiracies and demonization BIPs rely on to bolster support from society.

BIPs believe illegal immigration is reaching a critical stage and believe the government should be doing more to aid in the removal of and prevention of undocumented immigrants from entering the United States. The issue of exclusion is also an issue the general public believes to be important. Approximately 96% of BIPs and 74% of the general public believe the government should take stronger measures to exclude undocumented immigrants. The potential threat of an "invasion" if the government does not act is apparent in the desire for government to secure and prevent undocumented persons from entering the country.

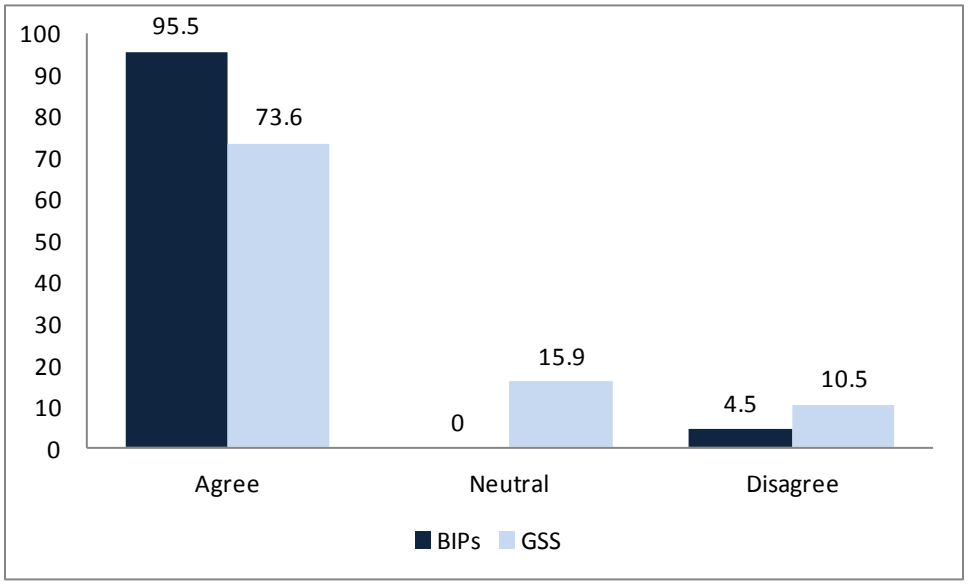

Table 6.3: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "America should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants."

Demonization and Scapegoating

Demonization contains a set of processes to adequately create a sense of inferiority aimed at a particular group or groups (Berlet and Lyons 2000). The first stage is marginalization, placing a group of people "outside the circle of wholesome mainstream society through political propaganda and age-old prejudice" (Berlet and Lyons 2000: 7). Marginalization creates an 'us versus them' dynamic forcing one group to become the object of scapegoating for the "good" group. The next step is objectification or dehumanization, whereby groups "negatively [label] a person or group of people so they become perceived more as objects than as real people" (Berlet and Lyons 2000:7). The dehumanization leads to scapegoating which is a "social process whereby the hostility and grievances of an angry, frustrated group are directed away from the real causes of a social problem onto a target group demonized as malevolent wrongdoers" (Berlet and Lyons 2000: 8). Scapegoats rarely have the power to fight the group labeling them as the problem. In this case, BIPs have focused their anger on undocumented migrants as the source for many social problems in the U.S. instead of focusing on other potential causes or influences.

The following section will analyze how undocumented migrants are seen as the cause of many social problems. I start by talking about the rights undocumented immigrants may have, followed by an analysis on the effects of crime and drugs, specifically those committed by undocumented migrants. Lax security raises the threat of crime, especially the illegal drug trade in the border region. With many minority migrants coming across the border, the potential threat to the stability of the political and economic foundations of the U.S. may be in jeopardy.

The potential economic threat of immigrants consists of several components. One issue is the taxing nature of migrants using a system they do not pay into. This may include education and social services—such as welfare, and the use of health services by the uninsured migrants. The overuse of services by immigrants strains the American economic system to a point where hospitals, schools are closed or stretched to limits, and "worthy" Americans are turned away because the undocumented migrant has used up the resources. Not only do BIPs interpret migrants a potential economic threat, they also pose a disease threat, potentially harming millions of Americans with diseases they bring across the border with them. The diseases they have strain the healthcare system and turn need away from "worthy" others.

Finally, BIPs see immigrants as an environmental threat. The threat can be approached from two angles. The first is the actual devastation to the desert from individuals traveling through and leaving behind their refuse. The second threat is seen through a population studies approach that speaks to the sustainability of the American food systems ability to house more people. I present the threats this way to provide an overview of the major issues BIPs bring forth and use as justification for their existence.

Rights of Immigrants

BIPs focus on undocumented immigrants, but also address the rights of legal immigrants. When asked if legal immigrants to the United States should have the same rights as citizens, 75% of BIPs disagree, whereas 45.9% of the general public disagrees. BIPs want immigrants to come to the country legally, but are not willing to afford them the same rights as citizens. Restricting rights of non-citizens is another way to portray a large group of people as a threat. If full rights are granted to non-citizens, there is

opportunity to subvert the economic and political systems by overtaking political elections, lobbying for changes to specific laws, making it easier for others to come to the U.S., and becoming a majority in many state legislatures. As addressed earlier, non-citizens do not have all the same rights as citizens and may never have the same rights. There are certain inalienable rights that are granted to all individuals, but being a citizen offers far more rights than being an undocumented non-citizen.

Still others see the difference in migrants today as opposed to previous migrants. Mrs. Farmer recalls in:

> The late 90s they were very demanding they were very, they were pushing you, I want to go to Phoenix, well it's a long walk and no you take me there, and so then we started writing the Border Patrol name on the refrigerator we could call immediately it just really became a problem and we were seeing increases in the big parties going through where they cut fences or tied them up and tied them down or open the gate and then of course the last person going through doesn't know to close them.

This change in immigrants has prompted fears in other areas of immigration concern.

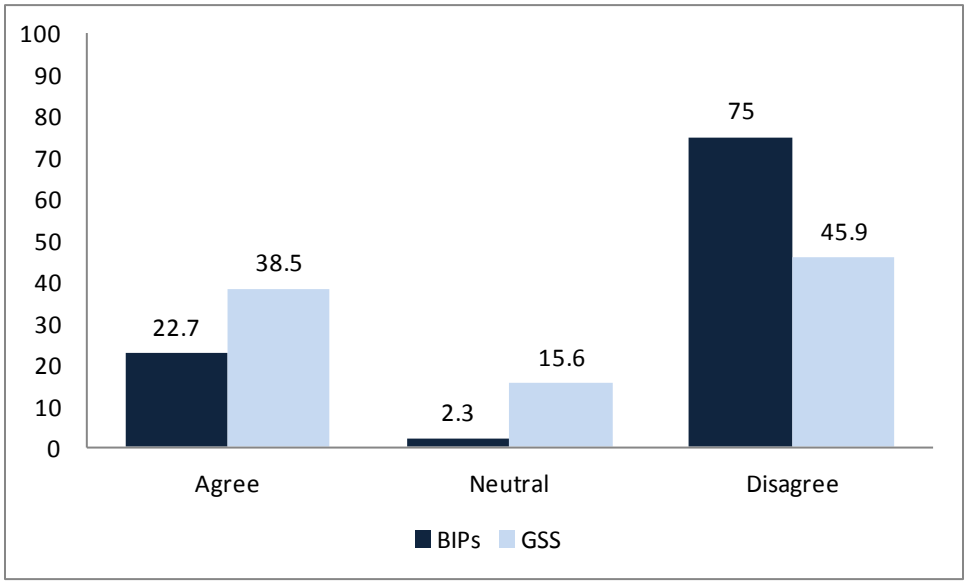

Figure 6.4: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "Legal immigrants to America who are not citizens should have the same rights as American citizens."

Crime and Drugs

The most often stated reason to fear immigrants coming across the southern border has to do with crime and drugs. The southern border region "is a very dangerous area (Jim: MMP) and Steve (AZBD) is not sure "if it is the most dangerous part of America, but it is definitely not the safest. It is probably damn close to the most dangerous place." The violence in the border region can be a cause for concern. The use of stories, anecdotes, and misleading statistics can increase the concern and make migrants crossing the border seem more dangerous than they are. Carl (MCDC) recounts a conversation he had with some "old folks out here on these Minutemen lines that were 70 - 80 years old and these illegals walk up and they give them water and stuff like that and I have to correct them about not doing that because you can't get to close to them because they may knock you down take your car or whatever because you are in the middle of no-where." In addition, Gilchrist (MMP) says that on "Each day an average of 25 U.S. citizens and legal residents are killed by illegal aliens by manslaughter (i.e., drunk driving) or homicide (i.e., shooting, stabbing, beating, strangulation, etc.), for a recurring annual total of 9,125 deaths" (422).

To first counter these statistics, it should be noted where the numbers came from. According to the reference given by Gilchrist, Representative Steve King of Iowa has figures stated in a memo released from his office stating 12 citizens would die from "murderous illegal aliens every day" and another 13 Americans would die by "uninsured drunk driving illegals." It should be noted here these statistics are not official because the police do not collect immigration status of offenders. Further, these estimates are based on faulty premises, such as those offenses committed while driving. According to

wnd.com, a study was commissioned by AAA and found that 20 percent of accidents were caused by someone without a valid license. This does not mean the driver was undocumented, just simply they do not have a valid license. Statistics such as these lead others to believe—such as Sally—that she does not "want to wait until they were knocking on my door or breaking in my house or attacking my family"

Besides the fear of migrants randomly attacking U.S. residents is the fear of armed migrants in the southern border region. Fred (AZBD) recalls that:

> in May we got a group of four illegals no five illegals carrying AK47s, this is 35 miles north of the border, they chased them, they got 2 out of 5, they got 4 AK47s, all of them had fresh cold water like it came out of the refrigerator, not too long before, they were walking south, and Border Patrol said they were what they call a rip crew, they were out there to find other groups of illegals and steal them from the coyote and take them up to their own safe house and ransom them off to their families up here, I mean this is right where you are going. This is right out of Tucson.

In addition to Fred's account, Sally (AZBD) talks about the restriction placed on people to go to campsites in the southern Arizona desert:

> Because of the drug dealers going in there and making it dangerous. We had people in a tent who were terrified had these big trucks, big SUV's come in and they all had M15s or AK47s they were peeking out their tent, they were terrified, they had their children in their tent. They never came to the tent, thank God, it scared these people and they packed up and were out of there but no one can go down there, but now we have warning signs, of course you know that, they put warning signs to warn Americans to not go in those areas, and what is that? Is this a sovereign country or not, because you can't go in an area because you might be shot dead or your throat slit and they are using now, this is what they are doing in Mexico, all the violence down there, you think the Taliban is not influencing this, now the car bombs, slitting throats, finding heads on posts, all over Mexico. Two towns, 10 heads on pikes.

Accounts such as these help fuel the fear of migrants as dangerous, even though many of the accounts are speaking of a criminal element that appears to be taking advantage of the situation in the border region.

What makes this area of the United States the most dangerous region is a combination of drugs and criminals crossing the southern border. Many view the act of crossing as a criminal act itself because the migrant entered the United States illegally. According to the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 outlines in Section 105 the civic penalties for illegal entry, not criminal penalties. The view regarding the act of entry as a crime is illustrated by Jim (MMP) stating "Enough is enough, either we are a nation of laws or we are not." Sally (AZBD) adds to this sentiment by saying:

> They not only broke the rule by coming across the border, but they, things that people seem to forget is that they broke the rules they are using fake id's. And that fake id is somebody else's who had their identity stolen… Letting them break into your house and that's what they are doing, they are breaking into our house and people are not taking it, I can't believe we don't have half the country saying this is a terrible thing, but we become too complacent.

Beyond the issue of the migrant being a criminal for simply crossing the border without proper authorization, there are other criminals crossing the border. An accurate number of how many border crossers have criminal records is difficult to assess because these numbers are based on estimates and largely accounts for those caught after the fact. To compare this number to the factual illegal border crossing numbers is again difficult because they are not based on actual persons caught but rather on estimates. Stan says "but they turn loose a lot of criminals that I, they just lost track of 'em and turn 'em loose

and back on the street, if they were convicted killers, murderers, rapists, and they just put 'em back, they don't deport 'em, they put 'em back on the streets." Sally (AZBD) says:

> the side-effects of illegal immigration are horrendous, these people are not just coming here to work, that is the saddest part, majority of these people, they arrested 17 and out of the 17 14 of those had criminal records for rape and incest and all sorts of other things. You assume because it is a group of people coming across and they are human cargo not drug cargo that those people are you know somehow innocent, just people coming for a better life.

There are several accounts of members recalling stories about migrants who have committed crimes while in the United States. These stories seem to apply to all undocumented immigrants. Stan says "they couldn't keep the illegals from breaking into their home; they couldn't even go in town and go to the grocery store." He is referring to the ranch owners who have opened their ranch to the Arizona Border Defenders. Mrs. Farmer also recounts how they always need to have someone present on the ranch when they leave to prevent theft. Carl (MCDC) states "But the crime is bad, you can watch our news here" and is implying that much of this crime is attributable to the immigrants crossing over the southern border. He continues to point out that "there is 355 kidnappings a year" that are immigrant related. Sally (AZBD) speaks about a particular incident about a man escorting a set of 9 year old twin girls posing as their godfather when it "turned out that man was not the godfather he had actually kidnapped them and was actually taking them for the sex trade in the U.S." Sally (AZBD) recounts three more examples of why there needs to be vigilance regarding the types of immigrants coming into the United States.

- they had so many illegals there that all sorts of problems they were having, they were having rapes and break ins, no its happening everywhere, everyone is seeing it, it is just that we're more exposed here because of this is the avenue that they are coming through.

- an illegal who was drinking and he had already been deported 2 or 3 times so there has got to be enforcement of our laws.
- one of them took off running and the other two got caught, there were three of them they were stealing from the store. I mean they are hurting businesses

Fred (AZBD) offers a positive side to what they are doing in the desert. He says that "one person that gets sent back possibly won't come back up, maybe could be saving somebody from getting murdered, raped." But Fred (AZBD) and Carl (MCDC) both have concerns about gang activity and the prevalence of gang violence in the United States. Some of the supposed activity is speculation—as Carl (MCDC) states "I think it was 2 days ago there was a stabbing that killed somebody and it was gang related probably they are saying. I mean that's how bad it is here. And then everyday in Phoenix there is a kidnapping I don't know if you heard that statistic." Fred (AZBD) speaks about the people he has encountered saying:

> I was realizing that a lot of these people are criminal, gang members that were kicked out, deported and coming back and it has become more evident that the groups we're finding where you have got these guys you can tell are gang bangers, dirt bag, they speak English, street English, tattoos all over, bad attitudes, and you know I realized that a lot of people as the economy went down, they couldn't find work they got into crime.

Some of the gang violence both Fred and Carl speak about can be credited to the various drug cartels that use the southern border as a way to move their product into the United States. Carmen (MCDC) makes it clear that "this is not about the migrant worker coming across anymore I mean you know as well as I do that the drug cartel have taken over that area you know and the way they're coming in that has nothing to do with finding a good job in life anymore or finding a better life anymore." Sally (AZBD) knows the cartels are there and human smugglers but:

> we weren't having to deal there were drugs, we did light up drugs and drug runners and they would drop their drugs and take off so they would come in and get the drugs but think about we are doing this 2 mile long line, it is a drop in the bucket, it was really basically not enough and we weren't doing it often enough to have an effect, what happened was that they became, the drug runners and the cartels, became understanding that what happens.

Carl (MCDC) remembers why "we started carrying arms here because of the bandits and stuff. They are out there robbing the other drugs and the load coming in. work for another drug cartel." Steve (AZBD) does not "want the cartel showing up at my house" to possibly inflict harm. He is recounting the fear he has if his identity becomes known to the cartel. Many of the members I spoke with on desert missions also stated their fear if their identity became known to the cartels. The use of call signs is one way to protect them from the danger they see emanating from potential cartel violence. Stan (MCDC) tells a story about "three guys [who] intercepted a group of drug deals about six - seven weeks ago, one of 'em lay down and surrendered, the others ran." The reality is they do come in contact with drug smugglers, but not one of the members I spoke with ever recalled a time they had to discharge their weapon.

The media reports on illegal immigration and the potential for the criminal alien stereotype. However, this strategy does not seem to fool the general public. When asked if immigrants increase crime, 80% of BIPs agree, whereas only 30.3% of the general public agrees. Approximately 41% of the general public does not believe immigrants increase crime. Various explanations can be given for this difference, but portraying the immigrant as a threat includes the notion that immigrants increase crime in some way.

Criminal drug activity is a special concern for BIPs. The prevalence of drug activity on the southern border has garnered national attention. Many of the news stories posted

on the Arizona Border Defender's (AZBD) website have to do with drugs and the violence that ensues from drug cartels. The posting of these stories further instills the dangerousness of the region. Along with news stories, the AZBD website includes videos divided into drug smugglers and migrants. Of the 69 videos posted on their website, 33 are of drug smuggling in the southern Arizona region. There are also many images—like the pictures I took during one of my fieldwork assignments—of the debris left behind by drug smugglers.

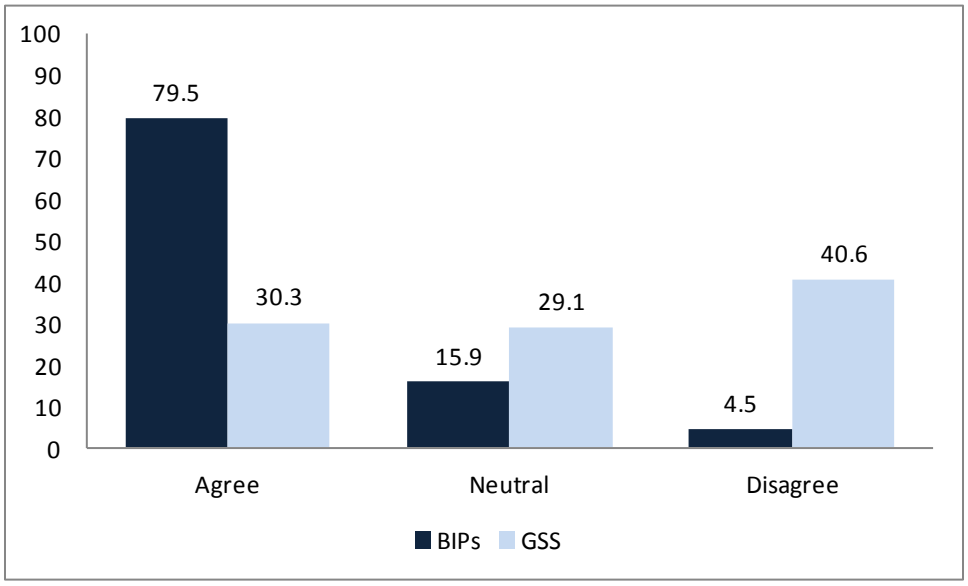

Figure 6.5: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "Immigrants increase crime rates."

In an earlier interview, Stan (MCDC) explained how "They use those [bicycles] to haul drugs in the desert, they don't ride 'em, they just load 'em up with a couple hundred pounds of drugs and push 'em through the desert." Bud (MCDC) informed me that

> whenever we find one [bicycle] we bring 'em in and so they used to every year or maybe twice a year, they would gather 'em all up and take them down to local churches in town here and they would auction them off for the kids. Well they

> found out that most of 'em were being bought by people who were taking them back to Mexico and they would use them over.

In addition to bicycles in the desert, Bud—referring to a photo he showed me—says "that's a black ski mask, the kind the drug smugglers wear" acknowledging the other debris left in the desert by drug smugglers.

A main reason cited for conducting missions in the desert is to:

> Report drug runners to the Border Patrol and they are able to get them. You never know who is coming through, I mean most of the people are fairly harmless there are others who are definitely not, so you never really know the full extent of what you are able to accomplish, sometimes you might you are not accomplishing something but you may have broken up a pick up, it is kind of hard to know what you accomplish sometimes (Steve: AZBD).

Figure 6.6: Discarded bicycle left in the Brawley Wash in southern Arizona. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

Fred's (AZBD) frustration both at illegal immigrant criminals and what he perceives as an ineffective judicial system, because "the people who get caught get sent back…

[Fred's neighbor] defends illegals who are the drug runner, they [the government] won't prosecute anyone who is carrying under 100 pounds of marijuana, the illegals will be sent back and they cross again." The frustration is also apparent when Steve recounts a:

> couple different rollovers near my house, the freeway coming through the railing, drugs all over the freeway, the Minutemen had helped break up a drop off pick up point from my house, only about 2 miles from my house, I had no idea that kind of stuff was going on near my house but it was.

Finally, drugs are prevalent in the desert but Fred (AZBD) says "there is the other piece of the illegal activity, which always takes place, drugs always come across, but the other piece, the war on terror, and you are going to die for that, why aren't we looking at our southern border." Carl (MCDC) also points out that the media "has picked up on the drugs scenario deal, but I still encountered more illegal people than drugs."

Undocumented Immigrants as Economic Threat

Beyond physical harm migrants may impose, many talk about the financial or economic impact illegal immigration has on the United States. Jim (MMP) sums up the intricate nature regarding the economics of illegal immigration:

> Just get to the US and you qualify for all these benefit programs at the tax payers' expense. And yes some take a job that puts a low skilled American out of work, putting that American in the rank of the impoverished. Along with an immigrant who is in the rank of the impoverished who just had three babies in the last 2 or three years with tax payers paying for it, and welfare subsidies and education and this becomes too much of a burden for us to handle, and I think we are seeing this now with the number of states declaring bankruptcy. This is an economic phenomenon we have not seen.

Jobs. The first of these is jobs, and the relative ease of losing a job to an undocumented migrant. Carmen (MCDC) recounts a story told to her about a man who "lost his job through illegal immigration and through illegals." Many pro-enforcement groups use the

rhetoric of migrants taking jobs away from citizens or legal residents. Stan (MCDC) understands that "the migrants that come north, well are here to do the jobs that Americans just won't do." Jim (MMP) counters this by saying that

> The cost of a pound of vegetables may be a few cents less for a consumer due to their harvesting by a cheaply paid laborer who receives no benefits. But, that nickel savings pales in comparison to the additional tax assessments levied on consumers to pay for education, sheltering, feeding, medication, and various other social programs to sustain the illegal alien worker and his or her family members (Gilchrist 2008:417).

Bud (MCDC) states a common story heard from migrants that they:

> Just came to get better jobs and that's really why probably ninety percent of 'em come, and then they'll say, well I've got kids to feed or something. Well, the people that I see that we stop, they're not undernourished, I mean these people eat good, they have to be in great shape, truthfully, I don't think I could make the walk, especially in the summertime, from the border up to the highway.

More BIPs (93.2%) than the general public (45.6%) believe that immigrants take jobs away from citizens; BIPs members often expressed concern as a business owner or as a worker that immigrants are cheaper than citizen labor and they are priced out of contracts or positions. For example, Carl (MCDC) is a construction contractor who cannot be as competitive in pricing the jobs he puts a bid in for because he wants to use labor that is legally entitled to work in the U.S. Since he uses legal labor, his costs are increased, whereas another contractor using undocumented labor is able to decrease their costs because they do not have to pay as much for their workers.

Steve (AZBD) recognizes that "some of them don't intend on becoming citizens or anything like that, they're just here to get as much money as they can" but he thinks this situation can be remedied if the migrants would "fix [their] country… you know it is easier to go to another one especially when it's right next door." If the migrant does not

want to fix their home country, Stan (MCDC) believes that the U.S. should "punish the companies that hire" undocumented immigrants. Many members of these pro-enforcement groups believe the employers are going to take advantage of cheap labor as long as it is available.

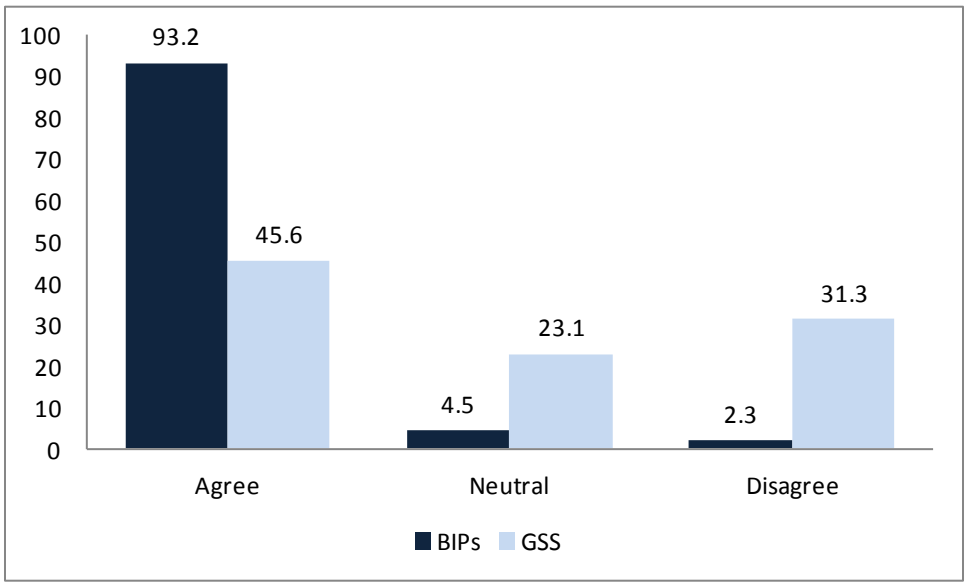

Figure 6.7: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in the United States."

It is believed by BIPs that to build a strong economy you need an educated and skilled workforce. Sally (AZBD) states that "We don't bring in the brightest and the best, we are bringing in Somalis, who don't want to acclimate who do the same thing, stay in their own little enclaves." This type of rhetoric may lead critics to call these groups racist, pointing to the generalized statement that all Somalis are not bright. Jim (MMP) says:

> There is no new positive impact on the U.S. economy due to the importation into our economy of unlimited numbers of unskilled and low-wage laborers. Albeit very profitable for the persons or businesses exploiting the illegal alien worker, the overall costs to the U.S. taxpayer and the legal labor force far outweigh the benefits to the businesses engaged in that practice (Gilchrist 2008:417)

BIPs also discuss the overall financial burden to the American taxpayer due to illegal immigration. The burden can be unpaid income taxes, social services, incarceration, welfare, and social security. Fred (AZBD) was surprised that "all these people coming over here and I didn't realize it the false id issue, they could get on social security." Sally (AZBD) is angered that undocumented immigrants have "No driver's license, they don't pay insurance, and you know how many hit and runs we have down here, illegals hit and run." Members of the Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform report that "Taxpayers pay a half-billion dollars per year incarcerating illegal alien criminals."

Government spending on immigrants, with no differentiation between undocumented and legal, reveals how 93.2% of BIPs believe government spends too much on immigrants. Approximately 52% of the general public also believes the government spends too much. Empowering communities of immigrants by offering assistance may lead to the strengthening of the community which in turn becomes a threat to the majority, or citizens.

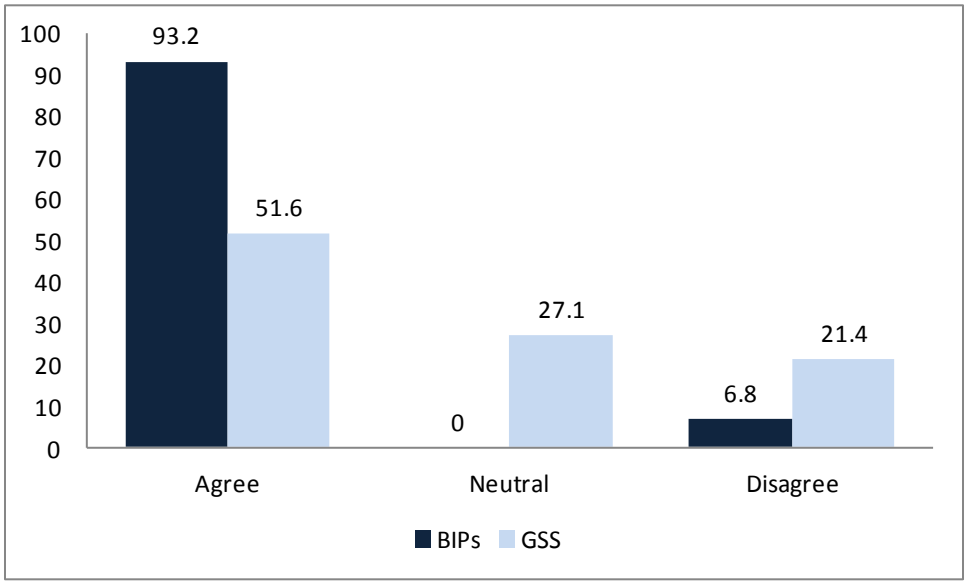

Figure 6.8: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "Government spends too much money assisting immigrants."

Jim (MMP) sums up the overall burden by saying:

> We can't just open up and say anyone who doesn't have a prison record or a criminal record come on in to the US, well there are 3 ½ billion people in the world who are impoverished out of almost 7 billion population, to have a policy, a no border policy, no LE policy for immigration would invite 3 ½ billion people to come here and just go on welfare have your child care, put it on the taxpayers, you don't need any skills you just come here and you live off the initiated tax base and work force which is simply a recipe for demise.

Jim (MMP) points out potential benefits if we stop or greatly reduce illegal immigration saying that:

> The cost of a pound of vegetables may be a few cents less for a consumer due to their harvesting by a cheaply paid laborer who receives no benefits. But, that nickel savings pales in comparison to the additional tax assessments levied on consumers to pay for education, sheltering, feeding, medication, and various other social programs to sustain the illegal alien worker and his or her family members (Gilchrist 2008:417)

An additional burden to the taxpayer is on the education system. Sally (AZBD) explains how the

> schools are over run, …because they don't force the learning of language like they used to do, I mean people, you look at old legal immigrants which in three months, it was forced English and they learned it in 3 months, now they teach in Spanish and they get out of high school and they still don't understand English, so they change… By the third grade they should be reading, but no they are not reading until the 6th grade if they are lucky to be reading at all. Because they are held back… I had to show a birth certificate. Why don't they?

Healthcare. An often cited reason by BIPs to halt immigration or at least to curb illegal immigration is to take the strain off the health care system. Hospitals are overrun and can no longer handle the citizen population's needs because of the increase in undocumented persons using the facilities. Sally (AZBD) tells about how Tucson used to have three

trauma centers but "they all had to close down because of the illegal problem and so we have one left, that is the only one that can afford to do it, everything is funneled there." The closing of trauma centers may have serious implications as she suggested with the shooting of Representative Gabriel Giffords (Sally AZBD), and the need for more trauma centers. There are still others who believe migrants will cross the border with medical conditions in order to receive American style health care. Fred (AZBD):

> Remember[s] … one time in particular we were one mile north of the border or less north of Nogales and this guy comes walking out walks up he just crossed the fence, and says I'm having a heart attack, so they called the ambulance and the fire department came in and took him to the hospital, and basically he walked across the border for free medical care. Because he probably couldn't get it in Nogales because of the quality, and I kept thinking about the costs, the medical costs, the illegal id's, the benefits people are getting or could get, etc I thought man this is really wrong.

The potential over use of the American health care system is argued by others citing "Illegal aliens have cost billions of taxpayer-funded dollars for medical services. Dozens of hospitals in Texas, New Mexico Arizona, and California, have been forced to close or face bankruptcy because of federally-mandated programs requiring free emergency room services to illegal aliens" (CAIR Website). Fred adds "right now with the bad economy you know, free medical, potentially free medical you know all the benefits they get off the taxpayers up here working for nothing other than crossing illegally, I think that is where the problem is now, or should be, that should be one of the issues."

One argument made with regard to the demise of the healthcare system is that migrants are bringing with them diseases "that aren't native to the United States, like there's tropical diseases and stuff like that, we see a lot of resistance to tuberculosis now in California" (Bud: MCDC). Sally (AZBD) speaks to the general lack of information the

general public has with regard to the prevalence of disease and what this may mean for the future of the United States.

> But then the worst of all this and this is what we are seeing a recurrence of now is disease, because if you come through legally you're examined, you're found, if you have some horrendous disease they are not going to let you immigrate to this country. Measles is back they said it is reaching epidemic proportions again; syphilis is back big time, huge. Tuberculosis and the new walking TB which is a viral TB that is not able to be treated. All of these things, we're, they're up here, we don't know what they have, their little children sitting in the kindergarten class you know how kids are, they exchange things, they put things in their mouth, and that little child next to them may have a severe disease, and they say right now in Mexico City, there is an intestinal parasite they cannot they don't know what it is, in 50,000 people last year, that was in 2009, 50,000 people died from this intestinal parasite. They can't identify it. So those things are being brought into the country unbeknownst to us. And now there is a recurrence of whopping cough, all the childhood diseases we thought we had, polio is back, that we thought we had conquered are back.

Sally (AZBD) continues that "There are too many things to do with the illegal aspects, not only like I said the disease all things illegals bring." She discussed how some migrants may prepare

> your food at Taco Bell [and] has TB … they are [also] in the regular restaurants and anywhere you go unless you don't eat out you stay home and eat, which is maybe a better way, I mean you are travelling you stop at a place and they learned, they do not this is the other thing you go into the bathroom where the Mexicans [are], because in Mexico you do not have a sewer system, so they always put the toilet paper in the garbage most of the time it is just thrown on the floor, so this filth, they haven't been socially brought up with cleanliness, they don't wash their hands, they throw their toilet paper, their diapers, go up to the Grand Canyon pull into a rest stop, diapers laying all over the ground. This is something that this day and age we shouldn't be dealing with but it's a sad sad situation that there are too many issues and if they wanted to come they should come they should attempt to come legally.

The creation of this image of the uncivilized "Mexican" may actually hurt their lobbying and education as more people realize this type of information is false.

Bud (MCDC) illustrates how disease may be a real concern for ranchers. "The ranchers don't want diseased Mexican cattle to mingle with the American cattle because they will spread foot and mouth disease and all." Although there are few documented cases of American cattle being infected by Mexican cattle it continues the analogy that Mexico is bad and the United States is good.

The health of the American economic system is dependent on many factors, including immigrant labor and their monetary contributions to society. When asked if immigrants are generally good for America's economy, 61.4% of BIPs disagree, whereas 39.5% of the general public agrees that immigrants are good. Immigrants contribute by purchasing goods and services, as well as consuming public services. The myth that immigrants do not pay taxes yet use resources such as healthcare, welfare, and public schools, is another way to keep the threat alive regarding immigrants and the economic prosperity of the United States.

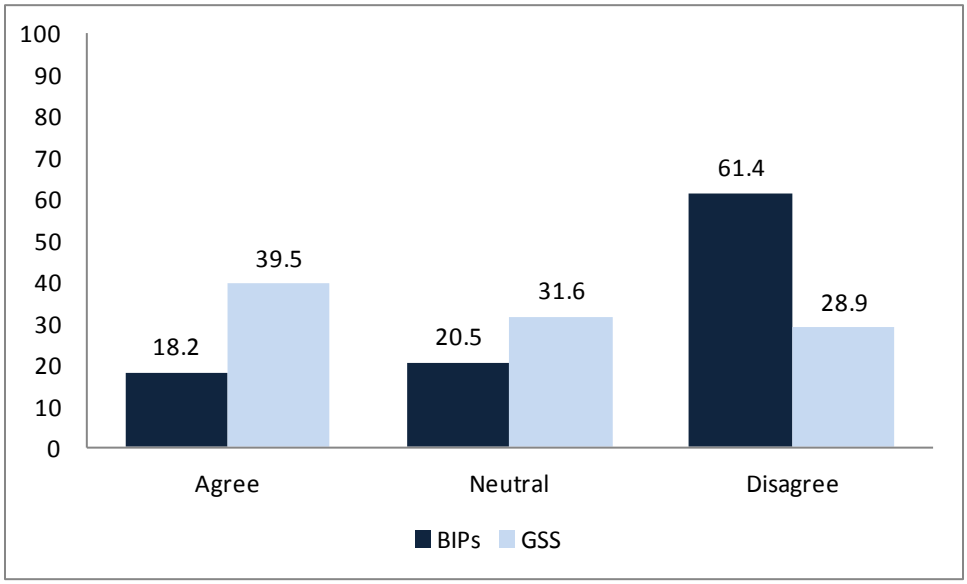

Figure 6.9: BIPs and GSS respondent's answers to question "Immigrants are generally good for America's economy."

Environmental Threats

The final threat, according to pro-enforcement groups, concerns the environment. Carmen (MCDC) says "the whole nature was really destroyed which was sad and you could actually follow the path of the illegals where they would just have their droppings, you could follow them with their water bottles and everything so we did that and then but we didn't have national attention." Bud (MCDC) simply says "It's litter. There's the bicycles" and explains how this effects the natural environment. Sally (AZBD) wants to know "Where is the nature conservatory" when "we went out and picked up, you know those big dumpsters, we picked up 4 of those full to the top and we didn't even make a dent. There are drop off sights that are this deep (she uses her hand to note about 3 ½ feet from the ground) and a mile big like a football field." Sally suggested we should "Make them stay here for 30 days and work before we send them back. Make them clean up the trash in the desert." The lay-up sites I came across were small, (See Figures 6.10 and 6.11) but Sally (AZBD) says:

> "If I took you out to some of these drop sights, you would be absolutely shocked to death because the debris is so bad all over the desert, and I mean these are in areas that are conservation areas that they are coming through. So I mean it is serious, we are not talking just a little bit of stuff, let's make them do something before they go back, let's make them clean up the mess. We could send out crews of these people to clean up and say you are going to stay for 30, and that would make it less likely for them to come back if they knew they would get caught they would spend 30 days cleaning up trash."

The lay-up sites are full of clothing, jackets, water bottles, personal hygiene products, and blankets.

Figure 6.10: Discarded backpacks located on a ridge overlooking the Brawly Wash in southern Arizona. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

Figure 6.11: Discarded backpacks, various clothing, and personal hygiene items located on a ridge overlooking the Brawly Wash in southern Arizona. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

Jim (MMP) talks about the "Scattered piles of non-biodegradable trash litter the land on both sides of the international border: plastic jugs and glass bottles, clothing, backpacks, tires, rusted cans, and the skeletal remains of stripped vehicles long ago abandoned. The border is a public dump for hundreds of millions of pounds of rubbish discarded by the needless exodus of migrants coming north" (Essay: 417). The cost to the physical environment and animals is great and action is needed to prevent this from occurring. On one of my fieldwork trips, I came across a large number of plastic bottles—documented in Figures 6.12 and 6.13—that illustrate the type and amount of litter present in the desert. The trash is only removed by those who choose to go out and clean it up.

Figure 6.12: Discarded water jugs located on a ridge overlooking the Brawly Wash in southern Arizona. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

Figure 6.13: Discarded water jugs located on a ridge overlooking the Brawly Wash in southern Arizona. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

Sally (AZBD) says:

> we find fake ids, … we have a pile a box where they dropped it out of their bags or something like that when they come in, we pick up the backpacks and you know what they do is hand them a backpack and they are supposed to change when they get to where they are going, they have pickups, when you see, you drive along these rural roads, you will see backpacks hanging on the fence, that means I am here come pick me up.

Throughout the desert you can come across smaller sites with only one backpack, or one pair of shoes, aluminum cans, Zapper cans, bottles that once had electrolyte fluids, and other trash migrants had consumed on their journey through the Sonora Desert (See Figure 6.14).

The threat immigrants pose needs a response. Regardless how untrue or unfounded some of the claims BIPs make; there are other claims that have legitimacy and may pose a real threat to the U.S. How BIPs choose to use the information they receive to change

the minds of residents of the U.S. greatly depend on how BIPs respond to these threats. The purpose of this chapter was to set up how these groups think about immigration and immigrants to better understand the responses BIPs have deemed appropriate.

Figure 6.14: Discarded clothing in southern Sonora Desert in Arizona. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

CHAPTER 7

RESPONDING TO THE THREAT

According to BIPs, the "illegal immigrant" is someone to be feared because of what they may bring to the United States—be it disease, environmental challenges, economic challenges, cultural differences, or crime. The following is an analysis of the responses these groups believe are needed to correct the wrong that has been committed. I first present the three missions I engaged in with the Arizona Border Defenders (AZBD). This will allow the reader to form a basis for the material presented afterward. The material following the mission write-ups focuses on the key question of this research; are BIPs vigilante or concerned citizens aiding law enforcement? Analyzing their actions and their ideas, the distinction becomes blurred and the role BIPs play may be more complex than a simple label of vigilante will encompass.

Viewing the actions of BIPs through the previous militia movements, one notes similarities through their use of demonization and scapegoating and conspiracism, as set up in the previous chapter. Using tactics such as these and the moniker "doing the job the government is not doing" sets up the analysis to compare and contrast the current nativist movement with prior militia organization. Are the tactics used by BIPs in the desert and urban regions designed to inform the public or to create an environment fearing immigrants crossing the southern border?

The first mission I present is a simple trek into the desert to replace camera batteries and memory cards. The second mission I present is an ambush formation at night in the Sonora desert. The third mission takes you through the Brawley wash in southern Arizona as we track migrant movement. These are the three main types of missions the

Arizona Border Defenders typically engage in. Following the presentation of the missions, I present how members view and discuss how they see their organization as a neighborhood watch type group. I follow with an analysis of their potential vigilante actions. The purpose of this analysis is to allow the formation of an opinion of BIPs and to decide if they are vigilante or helpful citizens aiding the government with their job.

The previous chapter set up the threat BIPs are responding to. In particular, this chapter is going to focus on the threat of invasion, drugs, law and order, and the environment. These threats are the focus of the missions they conduct and the intelligence they gather and forward to the Border Patrol. The invasion threat is based on the exodus of migrants crossing the southern border, the main area BIPs focus on, regardless of the migrant's national origin.

Mission #1

On a clear March morning, I sit in my car at 6:35 a.m. at the ranch waiting for my contact to arrive so we can go on our mission. I hear a truck coming up the driveway and recognize it as Goose's. He is soon followed by Rambo, Vulture, Squish, and Peanut. From the other direction a black suburban emerges from the desert area and Maverick joins the group. He informs Goose that he has seen activity and has been out patrolling since about 4 a.m. The team is wearing desert colored fatigues, beige hiking boots and hats. Some team members have on water backpacks, to ensure proper hydration. They are all carrying automatic rifles. Most are also carrying a sidearm. The team is prepared for any type of situation that may present itself. We are meeting here to embark on a mission that will last a couple hours.

The objective of this mission is to visit three cameras currently positioned to capture migrant activity and change the memory cards and batteries. There are an additional two cameras to be placed in areas where migrant activity has been noted. The cameras they are placing are game cameras, motion activated, and camouflaged in desert colors to avoid detection. The infra-red light is covered up so any shots acquired at night will not show, as well as to help keep the cameras locations a secret.

We drive into the desert for about 8 miles, down sandy roads that are well traveled. The road is sand and gravel, feeling like a rollercoaster in some areas due to the small hills we are driving over. I can tell the road is well traveled by the wear patterns and packed nature of the sandy road. Looking out the window I see desert landscape, including cactus of all sizes, trees, desert brush and sand. The sides of the road are soft white sand, and as we are driving we are watching the sides of the road for footprints or other disturbances in the area. I am riding with Maverick and Vulture. We park in a cleared area surrounded by trees and set off on foot. We hike in about one mile, which takes about 30 minutes, and Goose returns to the vehicle because his boots have caused blisters and he cannot continue. At this point we continue to the first camera location. The guides use GPS to locate the camera and make sure we do not get lost. Everything around me looks the same; the trees, the bushes, the terrain looks like all the rest and I fear I could easily lose my way if I stray from my guides. The only difference I see is when I look on the horizon. To the north, south, and east is desert. To the west of us is the Baboquivari mountain range. On top of the mountain range is a white observatory, a stark contrast to the browns of the desert and mountainside. On the other side of the mountain range is the Tohono O'odham Indian Reservation. I am told by my guides that the passes

in the mountain range are where drug smugglers and migrants pass into this part of the desert. Crossing into the reservation allows the migrant somewhat safe passage across the border. But this route is a more tenuous trek to reach an area where they can be picked up for passage on to Tucson or Phoenix.

When we arrive at the first camera, Maverick positions his team to ensure visibility of the location. I am beside Maverick as he attempts to change the video card and batteries. He mixes up the new memory card with the old and I suggest using my camera to determine which the old card is and which is the new. I insert one of the cards into my camera and we find there are several videos that have been taken. These videos will be analyzed later on a laptop. We complete the change and move on to the next camera. During the hike we wait in one area as two team members go off to place a new camera. Our rest stop is sheltered by a tree but we can still maintain sight with the area around us. Maverick is constantly vigilant to ensure the safety of his team. We wait for them to return and then continue on with the same system for the next two cameras. When all the memory cards are replaced we venture further toward the mountain range and find a location for the second new camera to be placed. The team decides on a location in a wash bed—since they know many migrants use the washes to hike north. They find a location and test out whether the camera will work there. A few adjustments are made to surrounding branches and tall grasses to ensure they will not obstruct the camera's view or needlessly trigger the camera if there is a wind. When the camera is ready we are all told to move away from the camera line of sight so we do not trigger the camera. After it is placed we begin the approximate one and half mile hike back to the vehicles.

Because there were not as many hills and a smoother terrain, the hike back seemed easier than the hike in. When we stop for a minute it is hard not to take in the seclusion of the area. Everywhere you look, the trees look the same, the cactus look the same, and it is daunting to think of a person crossing in the desert and feeling so small when faced with such an expansive terrain. My thoughts also include images of people not making it—giving their life to try for a better one in the United States. At that moment I feel a sense of panic rise up, and then I remember I have guides who know this desert very well. I cannot imagine how desperate one would need to be in order to make the trip through this "Devil's Highway."

Mission #2

It is 5:30 p.m. on a Friday afternoon and we are preparing to leave on the night mission planned for that evening. There are three teams, ours being the largest with six people, and the other two consisting of four each, spread out throughout the desert. My team leader is Letterman and we are accompanied by two new members who are interested in what the Arizona Border Defenders do. The two new couple are husband and wife, and own a ranch in southern Arizona. The other two teams are headed by Ice and Maverick. They head off in a different direction. There is a second vehicle with us, with two other members who are instructed by Letterman to head further into the desert. He tells them that we will all meet back at our location around 10 p.m.

Letterman continues to drive about five more minutes into the desert and arrive at a clearing that is the chosen spot for this mission. As we are losing daylight fast, we are instructed as to where we will set up. I am on Letterman's left, approximately 70 feet away. The couple, who I call Laverne and Charlie, is on Letterman's right, spread out to

produce a semi-circle. They call this semi-circle formation the "ambush". This formation is intended to catch all migrants who exit the desert in this particular area.

The supplies I have with me for the night are a backpack with water and snacks, a folding blue camping chair, my notebook, a pen, and clothing that proved inefficient to keep me warm. I set up my chair in front of a small tree so my silhouette would not be easily seen by migrants (see Figure 7.1). Before it gets too dark, I walk around my surroundings so I know what is there. I am now ready for the darkness to begin—or so I thought—because no one can prepare you for what was to come. As I sit in total silence, the full moon rises behind me. The light cast by the full moon is so bright it is like a sunrise in the desert. The amount of moonlight is perfect for travelers to be able to navigate through the pitch dark desert. As I sit and think about what I would do if migrants came into the formation, I cannot help but hear the complete silence that is the desert. I sit and look up at the stars and cannot believe the clarity of the sky and how many stars there really are. I try and figure out the various constellations and realize city life has taken away my ability to find celestial drawings. I see a blinking light far above me and realize it is an airplane—maybe off to Texas, or Mexico, or some other location that is not dark and desolate like where I am sitting. I have so many thoughts, I almost drive myself crazy thinking about everything and nothing all at once.

Figure 7.1: My place in the desert for the night mission. Picture taken by Candace Griffith, October 14, 2011.

Off in the distance I hear noises. What can those be, I wonder. Is it a jack rabbit; or maybe a migrant finding his or her way to a better life? Then I hear it, the sound I never want to hear in a desert—coyotes. Not the human smuggling kind, but the animal kind. They start yelling at each other and I can tell they are spread out around me. I think, are they asking each other how they would eat me? Maybe roasted with a side of rabbit. I think about what would happen if they did approach me and what would I do. I also hear an owl in the distance and think what it must be like to be an owl. And then the coyotes start howling again and I am drawn back to the reality that I am in the middle of the Sonora desert with coyotes very close by. I think they are probably more scared of me than I am of them, but how can I be sure. They sound so close, how much longer is this mission going to last? Will I make it out alive? I have my hand on my backpack ready, to run if necessary. I am also thinking that I can use my backpack as a weapon and that may

save me for a moment until Letterman is able to help me. I am also freezing, trying to figure out ways to keep myself warm. I am hyperaware of every movement in the desert. Every noise could be a danger I have not anticipated. What else lives in the desert that I should be concerned about? Finally after three and half long hours, Letterman informs us that we can pack it up and head back to camp. I have never been happier to get into a vehicle. Not only is there heat, but there is also safety.

On our way back I ask Letterman about the noises in the desert. He says the coyotes would not bother us, but that because we had heard so much animal noise in the desert, it was clear there were no migrants moving that night. He says if you can hear the desert, there are no people moving around. When people are moving, there is a silence, as if nothing is living in the desert. When we return to base camp, I thank my guide, get in my car and drive back to Tucson, thankful I was not a coyote's meal that night. I am also thankful to be returning to a warm shower and bed. I have never known a silence as thick as the one I had just experienced that night.

Mission #3

It is 8:30 on a clear October Saturday morning and I am meeting at the ranch for a morning mission to scout the Brawley wash for migrant activity. I meet my three guides, Goose, Zapper, and Shaw at the ranch as well as one other researcher from UC, Berkeley. Another researcher from Clark University meets us at the parking point by the Brawley wash. The guides are dressed in desert fatigues, beige in color, with automatic rifles, side arms, snake guards, and hiking boots. We get to the wash around 9:30 and the temperature is already 80 degrees. I have plenty of water—so I think—and snacks to munch on throughout the day. We are going to hike approximately 3 miles, ending at

state route 86 (the Ajo Highway). The intention of this mission is to follow migrant activity as far as needed. At various points throughout the mission, the team leader—Goose—evaluates our position and determines whether we should continue on or end it there. We end our mission at the bridge just west of Three Points, AZ.

As we descend down into the wash, the reality of the mission sinks in. We will be walking through sand, both hard and soft, for this mission. The sun is beating down on us already and I know this is going to be a hike I will remember for a while. Once in the wash we see the activity that has been reported by others (see Figure 7.2). It appears that several people have walked this route. We discover not much further up the wash that this activity is quite recent—because the weather in the days prior to our trip has been in the high 90s low 100s—and there are fresh tracks in the sand. Goose explains how he knows these are recent; he points to them and says "the moisture still in the sand left by the large indented footprints." Goose notes that we may come across individuals because of the freshness of these tracks.

Figure 7.2: Footprints found when we descend into the Brawley Wash. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

We find a place for a rest in the shade and marvel at how much cooler the shade is. The sun is intense and there is not a cloud in the sky. We have only been hiking for about 30 minutes when we seek shade to cool down. We drink some water to help cool ourselves down and remove our backpacks. I am drenched in sweat and we still have so much further to go. I have a small snack of nuts and dried fruit and sit around and talk with the researchers and our guides. After about 20 minutes we pack up again and begin walking through the wash. At times it is difficult to walk in the sand, and I keep thinking, why am I doing this? Several times I want to quit, but then I think, I have come this far. I cannot turn back now. The sand is difficult for us all to walk in and we decide to hike up the side of the wash and walk on solid ground. We are now walking through brush and

trees and although the ground is firmer, the terrain is still harsh and the sun is continually beating down.

We get to a spot where migrants have obviously been and we investigate the surroundings and what has been left behind. We are above the wash in an area with tree cover to prevent sunshine and bushes that form cave-like rooms, where it is obvious migrants use these for sleeping and resting. There are backpacks—some brand new and some that have been there for a while—and there are empty drink containers, personal hygiene products, and discarded food containers. As we move along we come across another site that has a couple dozen backpacks, and dozens of used water containers. Along with the backpacks and water containers there are several different clothing items scattered throughout. The guides talk about the amount of trash and state that no one is responsible to clean these areas. The group used to come out and clean and would generate so much garbage they needed multiple dumpsters to haul away the trash. They speak about their frustrations regarding the trash left behind because they realize nothing is going to be done about it.

I see a jacket over there and some shirts and blankets over here. I wonder how someone is walking around if their shoes are here. There is no smell in the air, but the trash left behind makes me wonder what could happen to the wildlife in the area. We investigate some of the items that are left behind (see Figure 7.3), and as I move in to reach for an item Zapper snaps at me to not touch anything unless you are wearing gloves because I do not know what type of disease these migrants may be carrying. I use my feet to move the items around for fear of being reprimanded again. A few minutes later though, Shaw reaches for some women's garments left behind without any regard for

potential diseases that may be on these items. The juxtaposition of the two different reactions to similar objects tells me that the diseases threat may be more hype than reality.

Figure 7.3: Fresh items found during the hike in the Brawley Wash. Picture taken by Candace Griffith on October 15, 2011.

We get to the end of the wash but we are trapped in a sense. The only way back to the wash floor is through a very steep incline with rocks and dirt. We decide we have to go down in order to meet our ride who is on their way to pick us up. We slowly and cautiously make our way to the bottom of the wash and determine we will have to crawl under another fence in the dirt to get to the other side where our ride will pick us up. The fence is barbed wire and the ground is black dirt, and I think to myself, how do I get under this fence without emerging looking dirty and filled with dirt. We look for an area of the fence that will be easy for us to pass through and crawl under the fence, helping those behind us, holding their weapons or the fence. I find it ironic that we have to endure

similar obstacles as those we are tracking, yet we have the privilege of being legally allowed to emerge from the desert in this fashion. As we emerge from the desert, the sight of cars on the highway makes me thankful to be back in the civilized world. Our ride shows up but there is not enough room for us all so I, one researcher, and one of the guides, Zapper, stay behind and wait for Vulture to return. We realize we cannot stay in the open because the sun is beating down hard on us. More significantly, we are visible from the highway and do not want the Border Patrol to be called because Zapper is armed with an automatic rifle. We look around the area and determine we can take shade under a large bush close to the highway. As we approach, the area does not look very comforting. There are twigs and thistles that need to be cleared so we can sit down. When we sit, Zapper tells us about his past, how he served in the military, about his family and his son. As he is telling us about his story, myself and the other researcher are picking burrs and other sharp natural objects out of our shoes and socks. We have removed our shoes and are working on making them more comfortable for walking.

We wait over 30 minutes in the hot dry desert for our air conditioned ride to reappear. When our ride finally does arrive we drive back to the wash to do a cursory look for the researchers' camera she dropped. We are hoping it is near the beginning of our hike. As we descend, once again, into the wash, visions of walking through the sand one more time bring back memories of being tired, and having sand in my shoes. I go ahead of the group, around the bend, and see an object in the distance that looks out of place. It looks like a camera case. Sure enough, as I approach, like a fish out of water is the camera we came to look for. I was thankful it was close to where we began. Having retrieved the camera we head back to the car and proceed to the base camp. When we return there are a

few members sitting in the shade having a bite to eat. We sit around for about 45 minutes and talk about issues, such as the election, how to effectively solve the immigration issue, and how their group is unlike other pro-enforcement or anti-immigrant groups. One member made the statement that the United States pays $7 billion a year to educate "the children of illegal aliens" and I call him out on the statistic, making a light-hearted comment that the United States does not pay that much for education period, let alone to educate a specific small group of children. The conversations also included a common sentiment I have heard before about self-deportation. If the government cuts off social services to undocumented migrants, they will leave the United States and return to their respective countries because there is no help for them here in the U.S. As I leave the group to head back into Tucson to clean up before the next mission, I walk to my vehicle with another researcher and she comments on how natural I speak with them, even though they know I hold different views. I thank her for the comment and wish her well on her research.

Side note

As I drive back to the ranch on Saturday afternoon, I anticipate the excitement of another night mission. I hope I am able to see an interaction but I am still grateful for the experience. I drive into the staging area and see Letterman, Spuds, Panther and one other member sitting around talking. I approach the group and begin talking with them. I ask for clarification on one of their call signs and at this moment Spuds asks if he can speak with me over there, and he points to an area away from the group. I get up and walk with him thinking, have I done something wrong, why does he want to talk to me about away from the group. We stop about 40 feet away from the others and he tells me in an

unemotive way that he will not be taking us out tonight. He thought I and another researcher were going to be coming out, but it was only me. He then continues with a justification as to why by saying that if Goose wants to take us out and show us what they do that is his thing, but I [Spuds] will not be partaking in that. He goes on to say he does not want to take me out because I do not have history. By this I take to mean that I am not an active member of the group, I do not subscribe to their ideological viewpoint, and that I am essentially an outsider. He also informs me that he does not feel comfortable taking me out in the desert because I am not armed, even though I have been out on several missions without incident. I try and take in what has taken place and realize that they want to go out and play soldier in the desert and I do not figure in to their games. Knowing I may be an informant if anything happened to go wrong, they decide to exclude me from this mission. I thank him for telling me and that I respect his decision, but inside I am angry. I say my goodbyes to the others and thank them for everything they have done for me and I get in my car and drive away. As I am driving, I am thinking, what they talked about after I left earlier. I left the camp earlier that day around 1:30 p.m. and planned on returning for the night mission. I am frustrated because earlier in the day, before I left, I said see you later, and Spuds responded by saying we will be going out around 5 p.m. so be back around 4. Had I known they had reservations, I would have talked it out then, and saved myself a trip back to the ranch. I think that the others must have talked to him and influenced his decision to not take me. I am also frustrated because the drive is 45 minutes each way to and from Tucson. I think to myself, thankfully I went on the night mission last night so I can at least report what that entails. I

continue thinking all the way back to Tucson; I have found my vigilantes, those who do not want outside eyes prying into their world.

Neighborhood Watch

BIPs were designed by the founders—Chris Simcox and Carmen Mercer—of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps, to be an extension of the Border Patrol. This sentiment is echoed several times by different members by such thoughts as "We're just an extension of them as a volunteer group but we have a lot of respect for the border patrol" (Stan: MCDC) or Sally (AZBD) saying:

> we were trying to give them assistance, that is all we ever wanted to do, we don't make arrests, we don't stop people, we don't encounter them, we never want to put our people in, all this time and in the 10 years since the Minutemen started there has never been an incident, with any of our people getting injured.

Many members share the sentiment of Fred (AZBD) who thinks that "most of the people I have met are very patriotic in a sense that they want law and order in the country." He sees those who are actively working or gathering knowledge about the issue as patriots, who, if given the opportunity, would like to see laws enforced.

One of the important facets of neighborhood watch is the partnership with law enforcement. In the case of BIPs, the law enforcement body is the Border Patrol. When they decide where they are going for their mission, the team leader calls into the Border Patrol to give them their position and to inform the Border Patrol that they are in the desert. Stan (MCDC) says:

> we tell the border patrol where we're goin'. We don't go out there and then they get surprised that we're out there. We let 'em know where we're goin' and how long we're gonna be there and so it's they, we don't work independently of them. We're just an extension of theirs. A volunteer group extension.

The idea that BIPs are simply an extension of the Border Patrol, in a volunteer capacity, runs counter to the official statement by the Border Patrol. This partnership is largely one-sided as the official position of the Border Patrol is:

> Customs and Border Protection (CBP), United States Border Patrol does not endorse or support any private group or organization from taking matters into their own hands as it could have disastrous personal and public safety consequences. The Border Patrol strongly encourages concerned citizens to call the U.S. Border Patrol and/or local law enforcement authorities if they witness or suspect illegal activity. Securing our nation's borders can be dangerous. Interdicting narcotics and deterring and apprehending individuals illegally entering the United States requires highly-trained, law enforcement personnel.

The group believes they are helping the Border Patrol and are strict in their mission. They see what they are doing as "more or less a neighborhood watch, where you are observing and reporting" (Fred: AZBD). The mission has expanded to include "training instead of the old days where you sat in the car and just reported; now we can get out on foot and go to other areas." Taking a more proactive approach to preventing and detecting movement in the desert can be seen as vigilante, since there is a law enforcement body tasked to do this job.

Fred (AZBD) continues explaining what their search and rescue group does:

> Then during the day or night we can sit at strategic points and observe and if we see a group call them in to the Border Patrol. And a lot of times the groups will walk on, they will run, some of them are so tired or sick or thirsty or cold that they will stop and we will stay with them until the Border Patrol gets there.

Along with Fred—one of the more active members of the search and rescue team—Steve (AZBD) reiterates that "all we do is sit there, observe and report what we see kind of like neighborhood watch org, they just report crime or whatever. You know that's pretty much what we do." Steve also points out that "we will also help anyone who is in

distress, is lost, been left behind, don't have any water or food and they are injured we help them." Steve believes reporting to the Border Patrol is important and their team "will stay with them [migrants] until the Border Patrol arrives. They might get up and run because we cannot detain them, we might follow them that way we can continue to report their position to Border Patrol, but you know that is what we do."

BIPs however do not inform the Border Patrol of the location of their cameras in the desert. BIPs will hand over any video they capture of migrants or drug smugglers through the desert and a general location of the area, but not the exact coordinates. Fred (AZBD) discusses how they choose where to put the cameras to survey. He says:

> there are some you know for the trails we put the cameras out and take them down. Other ones we go out and scout for trends of how they are travelling, what will happen is Border Patrol works areas for a month or two months, so it will divert the traffic and we will go out and look at where the traffic is going.

The teams are always scouting for new locations, especially when the cameras are not catching any movement. Sally (AZBD) touts the success of the cameras and the ability to keep their members safer by saying

> the cameras were doing phenomenal work where we didn't actually have to have personnel out there and yet cause we knew there were people out there, they send them on a different trail because their intel they were starting to use all the things we were using, the GPS, they were using the cell phones, they were using all of the technology, the thermals that type of thing, they were using those things as well, they up to dated their people, we have to be smarter than them, we can't just continue to be stagnant and continue to do the same old same old, that is when we split off from MCDC.

Members see what they are doing as helping the Border Patrol detect migrant activity in places the Border Patrol may not have the man power to watch. Sally (AZBD) informs us that Border Patrol stay on the main roads or well-traveled roads but "back on these

little small trails, they can't get up into those, they don't have enough personnel to watch those little trails that are coming through it because they change periodically and then you can set Border Patrol there and they [migrants] would just move to another trail." Detecting the movement of migrants in the desert is the purpose of both BIPs and the Border Patrol. Sally describes how BIPs missions come to be: "we're finding out that we have people saying if you call us and let us know so we can set up cameras so we can set up cameras to find out where the activity is."

In addition to the operations in the Sonora Desert, the Arizona Border Defenders—specifically—also operate urban operations. These operations are set up for people who are unable—because of physical ability—to go into the desert. Their targets in the Tucson region are watching for suspicious activity relating to drugs, human smuggling, or overall illegal activity. They will watch schools, local stores, and neighborhoods. Jim (MMP) says it is "The neighborhood watch, preventing burglars and drug dealers from trading and taking over their community." The presence of drugs, it seems, also means the presence of undocumented migrants. My interview with Sally (AZBD) had her recount many of the different urban operations and how they justify these activities.

Sally says "we right now know that the dollar store are checkpoints for cartel" because "we've noticed the one on the south side there are these meetings going on in the parking lots, for some reason we don't know why it's the dollar store but I've noticed too that one down here on [the] speedway, closed each side, nice location, nice neighborhood, not in the back alley not hidden they are right out in the open." They believe they are cartel because they have seen "three vehicles parked behind a building

and they are all looking at maps and they were all dressed similarly." There is a great fear of the cartel, and as Sally further points out

> the cartel…live in and they rent because they have the money all this drug money, they are living in these homes renting homes, renting homes up in the foothills, they are living in the real so no one suspects you know that you have got this big drug home up there, but these cartel members typically dress in black suits, the women are just covered in gold and jewelry, you could pick them up so easy, sometimes people are going to the grocery store in their jeans and you would think they would try to not look but they have in a position to stand up to be who they are and they're all jockeying for the big guy that's what they are doing.

She also cautions that "we have to be very careful, these are urban ops that is in the city what we know is going on" because the cartel could easily harm them in some way.

In addition to watching for drugs and people smugglers, Sally reports that:

> we have several people who are watching schools, license plates from Sonora dropping their children off. Right now we have got several schools that are being watched because there is regular Sonoran plates dropping kids off. And technically if they go over 6 months they haven't changed their license, that is probable cause that we can give to the Border Patrol because we want to be sure they have reason to pull them over other than the fact they have a Sonoran plate we're not going to just you know willy nilly attack people; there are people here with visas and they drive the Sonora plates because they can.

These urban ops are similar in nature to those conducted by neighborhood watch groups. The focus for BIPs is largely the activity of supposed undocumented immigrants. How different they are from those groups formed in a specified neighborhood may only be geographical, because BIPs focus on a larger neighborhood structure.

Vigilant or Vigilantes?

The responses taken by BIPs can be interpreted by some as vigilante in nature. Referring back to the definition of vigilantism, Abrahams (2008) defines vigilante action as "an organized attempt by a group of ordinary citizens to enforce norms and maintain

law and order on behalf of their communities, often by resort to violence, in the perceived absence of effective state action through the police and courts" (423). This definition captures the spirit with which many of the members view what they are doing.

When asked whether they see their group as vigilante, Jim Gilchrist (MMP) offers his take on the definition of vigilantes.

> Well there are two definitions of vigilantes, if you go to Webster's or Merriam Webster's dictionary the first definition is I believe is an angelic one, a do-gooder, to me the vigilante who goes out and picks up all the trash from the curb because the city doesn't sweep the streets, who randomly opens doors for people, carrying their groceries in both arms out of the store there is your angelic vigilante. Now that is the type of vigilantism the Minuteman Project is engaged in if you want to refer to us as vigilantes, thank you for the compliment. That being said, people who use an activist movement to veil sinister intentions or motives they make the second definition of vigilante. Sinister people from the dark side of the community.

Protecting this label seems to be the norm and preferred way of viewing their groups. Steve (AZBD) explains that "we just report what we see to law enforcement, if they do something about it great, if they don't well they don't."

A common reaction is to lump all of these groups together. However they are labeled determines how society will view them. When groups behave in a manner that is racist or violent, this action may create a false impression for others. Those fighting "the good fight" try to deter or distance themselves from these groups. As Jim Gilchrist says:

> I got the Mountain Minutemen, run by Robert Corpse, I got that taken off the border. That is the group that put out the video "How to Kill a Mexican", showing someone it is a parody, but it looked real. He also claimed he was a trainer for people wanting to go to the border and do observation he said it was a training film, what you shot a Mexican immigrant coming across the border and bury his body in the desert and pile rocks on it.

This perspective leads into a perceived nature of vigilantism in the eyes of the general public and reflects actions BIPs have taken. The public has made judgments on these groups based on many factors. Their actions are the first to draw attention to the vigilante label. Their actions seem to be above the law because they are doing a job that has been tasked to a law enforcement body. Neighborhood watch was designed to help police prevent and deter crime from occurring, and may not include actively seeking violators. This active seeking of the migrant or drug smuggler, while dressed in pseudo-military clothing, being armed, and conducting missions in the desert is one aspect in the public's view of their actions as vigilante. Unlike the Guardian Angels, BIPs do not seem to have as much community support as the Angels did. There are many people who believe BIPs are fighting a just cause, but many more see their actions as racist and potentially violent.

All members I talked with do not think their mission is vigilante in nature. Stan (MCDC) says that he does not "go out looking for illegals coming north to give them food and water, I go out looking to stop them coming north, and if they're thirsty and hungry I always carry extra water and extra food with me, I don't deprive them of it, I will always take care of them." Sally (AZBD) approaches the label of vigilante differently. She says:

> yeah we are vigil and that means we are constantly vigilant, we don't want to be you know passive, we don't want to sit back and say oh my oh my it's a terrible thing, we want to take the assertive action, it doesn't mean we confront these people cause we don't, we don't ever put any body in danger.

She sees what they are doing as positive thing following the law and simply aiding the Border Patrol in the apprehension of undocumented migrants or drug smugglers. She contends that "we are just ordinary citizens who have had enough. That is what we are and we just want to say if our government won't step up and do it then we are the people,

we are the government, the people are the government," and if that is viewed as vigilantism then it is what it is.

What happens is that members make statements such as:

> of course we haven't killed any Mexicans yet, we haven't killed any south Americans yet, we haven't shot anybody yet we have not even pulled out guns yet against anybody because we have very very strict rules when people carry guns and most of the people have a CCW [concealed carry weapon] license and they have to go through a course so we are very very adamant about everything being followed by the law. (Carmen: MCDC)

This type of statement can move some to believe that if given the opportunity, someone could be killed in the desert. This type of sentiment does not help the group's image of not being vigilante.

The idea someone might be killed in the desert or while surveying a situation brings up the issue of being armed. Steve (AZBD) says "we will all be armed for our protection... now we carry rifle and body armor at times, we didn't used to" but as the potential violence in the border region escalated BIPs feel they are safer if they are armed. Carmen (MCDC) clarifies that "we were carrying weapons, Arizona is an open carry state, and we also quite aware that this was not an undangerous commitment we were doing." She continues by justifying carrying weapons by stating "they [the Border Patrol] realized we were only spotting and reporting, that we were the eyes and the ears of the Border Patrol."

Much about the issue of vigilante action is the protection of society from those who have broken the law—in this case immigration law. Jim Gilchrist (MMP) sums this opinion up by stating

> If we are going to start pandering to those who have broken our laws and we are going to start selectively enforcing the laws well that means we all have carte

> blanche to apparently what laws we are going to respect and which laws we are going to disrespect and how dare you try and enforce the law against me, you are not enforcing the law against him or her, but you want to enforce another law against me.

There are many who believe vigilantes would not need to exist if the government were doing their job. Steve (AZBD) says if "the government or whoever is supposed to do their job" were doing it, our group would not need to exist in the capacity of desert patrols. He continues by saying BIPs do not "go that far at all. Nowhere near." He is referring to extralegal violence that is often associated with vigilante activity.

Carmen (MCDC) refers to "the president himself [telling] us to be vigilant and report any suspicious activity. You just leave the e or the a out of the vigilante and you have vigilant it is not a bad word." Carmen sees their mission as noble and should be respected because they are bringing to light a wrong they fell needs to be righted. The labels others put on the group have consequences, not only in how they view their own group, but also how others view their group. Carmen is a business owner and she knows that she has:

> lost a few customers, you know with Mexican heritage that simply thought we were vigilantes and Mexican haters and didn't understand that I also gained a lot of people and then of course we had those people who would come up to Chris and I and would say to him, we support you but we cannot come up in the open we have to do it silently and that to me is the greatest sorry, I mean if you believe in something stand up and let it be known, that is the way I was raised and that is what I expect of everyone else.

Are BIPs Concerned Citizens or Vigilantes?

Prior to this research, there has been little empirical focus on BIPs as anything more than vigilantes trying to protect the border by enforcing immigration laws without being law enforcement officers. Much of the literature focuses on the negative attitudes that BIPs have toward undocumented immigrants and their families and the seemingly

lawless ways that they try to enforce border security on their own grounds. In many ways, previous research and media representations have depicted members of these groups as vigilantes (Chacon and Davis 2006; Navarro 2009). Yet, my research has shown the qualities of the organizations and their members are more extensive than vigilantism. Using a neighborhood watch perspective, my findings indicate BIPs show many attributes of urban neighborhood watch groups and share qualities of a community policing perspective. In essence, my results suggest that members of BIP groups represent a hybrid identity between vigilantism and community policing.

Can BIPs be both vigilante and concerned citizens operating under a community policing strategy? Figure 7.1 highlights the extensive nature of the relationship between vigilantism and community policing among the organizations I studied. My results indicate that these two perspectives are not mutually exclusive, but rather speak to different actions and ideas. I have identified 5 pathways that represent the actions and ideas of BIPs and show the crossover relationships between the different identities.

The first pathway (A) offers a complete vigilante package as BIPs recognize that they "take the law into their own hands" and prefer to "work autonomously" while doing so. Since they believe they are doing a job that the government will not do, they essentially take the law into their own hands by engaging in missions to enforce border security. As a result, their actions are not supported or endorsed by law enforcement and the BIPs understand they are working autonomously. As such, this is the only pathway that exhibits wholly vigilante action and ideas.

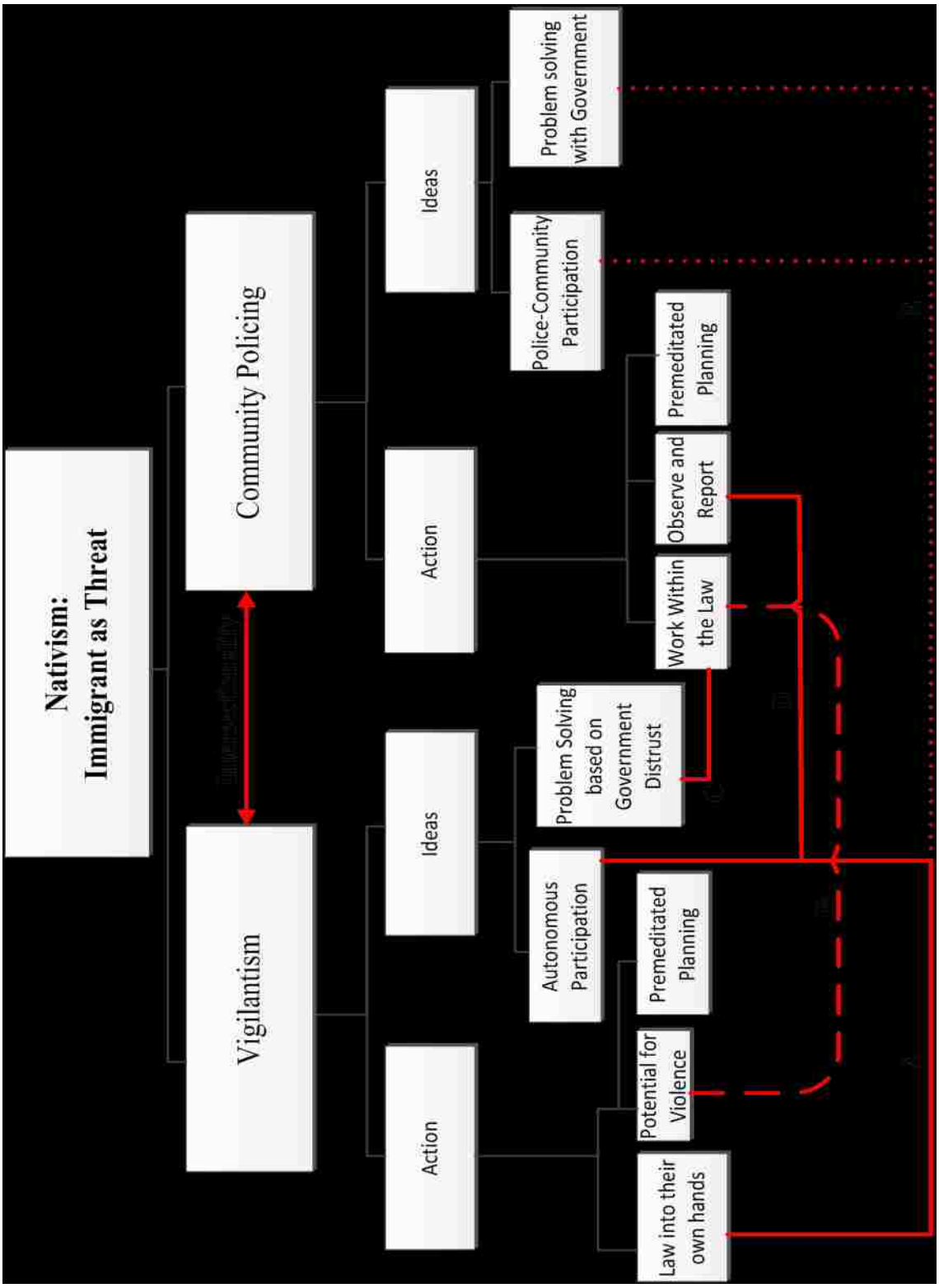

Figure 7.4: Conceptual Diagram and Intersectional Results of Vigilantism and Community Policing Ideas

The second pathway (B) is the action of "the potential for violence" and "working within the law." BIPs work within the legal structures of society. They adhere to gun laws, report their locations, and are trained search and rescuers. However, these qualities also lend themselves to the potential for violence, which is seen through their physical arming of weapons and aggressive tactics. As more aggressive tactics are used on the southern border and more news stories about BIPs gone rogue surface, the vigilante label emerges and the stigma increases. Examples of these tactics include military style operations in the desert, openly carrying weapons (even though Arizona is an open carry state) dressing in camouflage, and undertaking missions to detect movement of migrants.

In the desert, they arm themselves because they may encounter drug dealers, mules, and coyotes (human guides) that may also be armed and aggressive to protect their mission. While the BIPs are operating within the law to carry weapons, the situation becomes ripe for vigilante action if the weapons are used in ways to apprehend or harm migrants. While the members I studied have not needed to use their weapons, they understand that the actions of other less-lawful members may cause their group to acquire a vigilante label. The third pathway (C) identifies how BIPs ideas are "problem solving based on the distrust of the government" but their actions "work within the law." They see their work as doing the job government will not do. They have built fences; have fundraised to create more border security; have utilized tactics to stir emotions within the general public to step forth and make the government do their job to secure the border from unauthorized entry. Their vigilante ideas about government distrust are not matched with vigilante action, but instead matched with community policing action.

The fourth pathway (D) emphasizes the actions BIPs members engage in that mimic urban neighborhood watch tactics. This pathway includes vigilante ideas in the form of "autonomous participation" and community policing action by "observing and reporting" on their border missions. The uses of neighborhood watch tactics to deter migrants from crossing include several examples. One of the primary methods used by the Arizona Border Defenders to observe and report includes placing game cameras in strategic locations throughout the desert. The group uses the camera footage to illustrate to the general population the extent of the problem in the area they have placed the cameras. They show drug smuggling and migrant movement approximately 35 miles north of the U.S.-Mexico border. In addition, when the Arizona Border Defenders organize missions in the desert, they call the Tucson sector border patrol office to report their activity in the desert. They report their activity for two reasons, one to ensure the border patrol know they are there in case they are also executing operations, and to ensure the Border Patrol will be able to respond if the group discovers migrants crossing in the desert. Just as concerned neighborhood watch residents observe and report to local police agencies, BIPs action is similar, yet occurring more autonomously.

Pathway E emphasizes their desire to follow the ideas of community policing in their requests to "have police-community participation" and to be included in "government problem solving." However, the nature of their group and their autonomous work ethic has restricted this pathway from actualizing. Citizens watch groups have a long history of working with law enforcement to improve neighborhood safety and quality of life. BIPs' ideas speak to the desire to have a relationship with the Border Patrol and to have a contributing voice in border problem solving, much like the relationship between a

neighborhood watch group and the local police agency. However, the Border Patrol does not endorse civilian involvement in the border region and will not work together with BIP organizations.

The 5 pathways that emerged from my research offer a compelling case for understanding BIPs across a continuum of both vigilante and community policing actions and ideas. The evidence points to a hybrid (or fragmented) identity that uses vigilante action and ideas in concurrence with community policing actions and ideas. At the root of the fragmentation is that government based police agencies such as the U.S. Border Patrol and the Department of Homeland Security do not endorse civilian border patrol. Until a legitimized working partnership between these agencies and BIPs are created, members of the BIP organizations will be forced to maintain some vigilante ideas and actions. While my findings are based on a small group of dedicated members in the Arizona region of the United States, I contend that these members share both vigilante and community policing identities. They are concerned citizens patrolling their border neighborhood (similar to urban neighborhood watch groups) while still adhering to some classic vigilante ideas and actions.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Throughout this dissertation, I have constructed a more complete picture of BIPs, how they present themselves, and how they differ from the general population. Since mass immigration began to the United States, groups have been intent on forwarding an agenda, putting country first and believing the only way to be a true patriot is to stand up against those who are different. Although these characteristics are present in this group, there are other features that set them apart from the general population. One of these is their political leaning, Republican with a strong focus on Libertarianism. Another aspect differentiating BIPs from the general population is their race, consisting largely of white males.

This dissertation seeks to bridge the gap in the academic literature regarding nativist groups. By furthering the knowledge on these groups, society is better able to adapt and counter their arguments in a more informed manner. Understanding the role nativist groups occupy will further advance the discussion regarding changes in American society. As history shows, the first popular nativist groups helped spawn the Republican Party, and some may argue the new nativism may have had some hand in the development of the Tea Party and current immigration policies in the Republican Party.

As mentioned in the literature, nativist sentiments rise and fall with the flowing tides of immigration into the U.S. The current manifestation of BIPs is a direct result of the influx of undocumented immigrants and their perceived threat to society. The arguments they use are not new and can be found in nativist propaganda from the 1840s. Knowing their intentions can improve the discourse about immigration and the potential for reform.

The major themes emerging from this dissertation are the immigrant as a threat and the legitimatization of nativist groups in society. The themes help to frame and shape the group by focusing on their message, revolving around a potential threat that needs to be neutralized and how to better prevent undocumented immigrants from gaining entry into the United States. The data collected present BIPs in a truthful way without labeling them as society has. Using their words leaves the reader to judge for themselves whether these groups are vigilante because they conduct missions in the desert or are legitimate by conducting observations in an urban setting. Their message can be divisive, but their rhetoric is consistent between groups which may allow for all nativist groups to be grouped under one umbrella term. The problem lies in groups that perform border operations. The groups I had involvement with made sure to act within the laws so as not to incite others to label their actions and movement as vigilante.

The final objective of this dissertation is to focus the discussion on the neighborhood watch and vigilante literature. These two areas are studied separately, but have the potential to explain more when used together. As stated previously, one can be a concerned citizen and a vigilante. The belief in arming oneself for protection can be seen as a precipitation to future acts. The ability to act in a certain way, given the tools one has, is the key to the connection and overlap between neighborhood watch studies and vigilantism.

Critical Assessment of BIPs Ideological Views

Throughout my research, it became very clear that many of the statements used by BIPs to reinforce and support their own nativist ideologies were either blatantly false or bordering as untrue facts. While I did not question their statements and their belief

systems, I documented many of the "myths" that emerged and offer a critical assessment of them here. The first myth aligns closely with conspiracism ideologies. Many of the BIPs use the term "invading migrants" and sometimes refer to "terrorism" in their discussions of the open border and the ability to easily enter the United States through the southern border. The BIPs believe that if the U.S. does not further militarize the southern border; prevent, detain, and deport all unauthorized crossing migrants; their numbers will increase to a point where they become a majority share of the population. The focus on the southern border racializes this myth, putting a label of racist nativist on these groups. Another aspect of this myth is the ability for terrorists to move easily into the United States due to weak restrictions in the southern border. While there is no credible source to substantiate this idea, many of the BIPs spoke about rumors that Al-Qaeda has a training camp in Mexico with easy access to cross the southern border when the time is right.

This opportunity to cross the border ties in with the invasion rhetoric and focuses on the Reconquista movement, which assumes the reconquering of the land that was given to the U.S. in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Since the land was acquired after the Mexican-American War, many BIPs members believe the invading migrants are here to take over their land, and eventually the entire United States. There is no credible source to verify this movement exists, other than speculation and a few signs and placards from protests of Chicano groups.

A second unsubstantiated myth perpetuated by BIPs and used in their nativist dialogue centers around the notion of an "anchor baby". This myth assumes women give birth to children in the U.S. to anchor themselves in the country. Having a citizen child allegedly gives access to social services and ultimately citizenship. While this myth is

also unfounded, there is a more widespread public following of this ideology. Rep. Steve King is introducing the "Birthright Citizenship Act of 2013" because he feels "the current practice of extending U.S. citizenship to hundreds of thousands of 'anchor babies' must end because it creates a magnet for illegal immigration into our country. Now is the time to ensure that the laws in this country do not encourage law breaking" (Foley 2013:1). In addition to undocumented women giving birth, there are now fears that birth tourism is growing and will produce U.S. citizens from women who are not citizens (Stallings 2012). A public debate on this topic claims the term "anchor baby" is derogatory and dehumanizing to the children of immigrants and their families (Giovagnoli 2011), and is largely included in the category of ethnic slur (Diaz 2013) further adding to the criteria of conspiracy and demonization.

Third, many of the BIPs often claim that migrants and citizens enjoy equal rights in the United States. Their discussion of this issue often exaggerates this idea and further alienates the migrant group the claim is targeting. While it is true that migrants receive some rights in the United States, they do not have equal rights as citizens. An example of rights they share with citizens have to do with due process in the justice system, being treated fairly, access to an attorney, and other basic inalienable rights. Citizens on the other hand have the right to vote, the right to bring family members here, run for federal office, and if the citizen is naturally born in the U.S. can run for President. No immigrant or naturalized citizen can be President of the United States.

A fourth popular claim BIPs make is the crime nexus and the migrant as criminal and engaging in criminal activity in the United States. While there are certainly examples of migrant criminals entering the United States illegally across the southern border, there is

no verifiable data that can accurately show how often (or how little) this actually occurs. The criminal justice system does not keep track of offenders' immigration status. Some BIPs members also use crossing the border as a criminal act, whereas in fact it is a civil offense. The initial act of crossing the border for many members is enough to construct the migrant as "illegal", whereas others look at gang members, drug smugglers, cartel members, and other individuals who choose to conduct themselves in a non-legal manner. The problem with assigning the moniker of criminal to migrants is that it does not take into account the number of citizens who also commit crime. Since the criminal justice system does not collect immigration status it is difficult to know for sure what share of the criminal population is undocumented. By using stories of undocumented migrants committing crimes and generalizing to the whole group aids in the production of fear toward entire migrant groups.

A fifth topic of controversy that BIPs commonly exaggerate is the idea that migrants present a serious economic threat to the U.S. economy. While the economic strains of a large undocumented population are real and raise legitimate policy concerns, it is unfair to place the country's economic burden on the shoulders of the migrant populations. Many of the BIPs claim that undocumented migrants are taking valuable resources (i.e. jobs, healthcare, school and educational resources) away from citizens. The reality is that the U.S. economy faces many problems that both citizens and migrants contribute to. And lastly, the sixth topic that is often used by BIPs to further the negative image of migrants is the environmental harm that increased migration will cause to the world. While many of these concerns are legitimate, BIP members sensationalize the problem to promote their nativist ideologies. The physical migration process of border crossing

involves environmental threats from continuous desert trekking paths and the disturbance to the local environment. Remnants of the migration process are often left behind on the pathways and include trash (water bottles, trash bags, clothing items, food containers, etc.). There is also destruction of trees and other plant life by Border Patrol and BIPs moving through the desert which pose additional environmental threats. In addition, the ability to feed and provide for new migrants in the U.S. is a concern as well. There are many estimates regarding the carrying capacity of the United States. Some groups, such as the Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform, believe we have already exceeded the capacity, which they put around 200 million (CAIR Website 2012). If this is true, there are serious implications to not having enough resources to care for the population. The use of videos, such as that distributed through Numbers USA, further distort the argument regarding how many people the U.S. can sustain. While the BIPs concerns of overpopulation are legitimate, their sensationalism of the topic and their sole focus on undocumented migrants as the problem is rather disingenuous.

Overall, questioning the information one receives from BIPs will help determine if the information is untrue, exaggerated, or a genuine concern that should be taken seriously. Locating truthful information to determine the validity of a claim can be difficult, especially when a source is an elected official, such as Representative Steve King. The purpose behind the creation of distorted facts and figures may divert attention from real issues. Dealing with immigration reform is a complex matter that is harmed by the release and focus of mistaken fact and exaggerated truths. This distortion creates an environment ripe for fear mongering that BIPs use to increase involvement, but a potential backlash is the alienating nature of crying wolf when one is not there. Knowing

what liberties can be taken with which information is crucial to successfully altering the way the general population thinks about immigration issues in the United States. The power in these facts or mistaken beliefs lies in the believability and applicability to everyday life. If a claim is too outlandish, people may reject it as conspiratorial. If there is a grain of plausibility, the likelihood of accepting the claim as a truth, increases. The key to successfully conveying the message is to find the right balance between fabrication and exaggeration that the general public will believe.

Positive View of Immigrants

Amidst the negative rhetoric focused on immigrants, many members made a point to discuss the positive attributes immigrants contribute to society. The juxtaposition to threat is the rhetoric that immigrants are good, at least some of them are. At least "certain" immigrants that is. Sally (AZBD) says:

> we love immigrants, immigrants are not a problem, immigrants are probably the best people they come here and they are so thrilled to be here they actually improve our society, because they come from areas, but they came legally and when they came here they were so thrilled to have the opportunity not to be oppressed as they were from wherever they came from.

There is the qualifier—as Steve (AZBD) puts it—that he has "no problem with people who come here legally." Members see worth in some immigrants, while others are a burden to the system. Sally states clearly that she "think[s] if we wanted to really improve our country, we should be bringing in the best and the brightest, I mean there are people with engineering degrees who can't get into this country." The worth some immigrants have over others is an important distinction when one considers the response to the threat. "Good" immigrants are not going to be crossing borders without proper authorization, so

groups must take action against the "bad" immigrants who are crossing borders without permission.

Future Research on Border and Immigration Protection Groups

BIPs are a complex group of individuals with no one national message other than curbing and stopping the flow of undocumented migrants across the border. The groups who are active focus on many different issues, such as population issues, border fence activism, patrolling neighborhoods or deserts trying to actively deter migrants, lobbying for legislative change, and others who focus on all of the above issues. The ability to focus on one issue further divides the momentum needed for national activism and dissemination of one voice with a clear message. Although many of these groups have a clear message "Secure the Border", what this slogan means to different groups changes. Does it involve a physical border fence, militarizing the border further, changing immigration laws that would prevent the need for immigrants to cross illegally? Further research can detect nuances within groups to hone in on the specific motivations and understandings of different groups.

Further research will help to fill in the gaps I noted. Finding innovative ways to distribute a survey to these groups will aid in a more complete understanding of the nature of these groups. To not pursue further research into the unique nature of the pro-enforcement immigration group would be a travesty to the academic literature on current nativist groups in society.

Research Limitations

There are a few limitations to my dissertation. The first is the dissolution of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps, which was to be one of the foci as they were the first

major development in the new nativist movement. The dissolution of the national umbrella organization caused a greater fragmentation of the movement as previous members found new smaller groups to become active with. The fragmentation causes difficulty in studying a group that is no longer under a single ideological umbrella, instead branching into several different manifestations of similar rhetoric. The fragmentation further restricts the ability to generalize about the greater movement since difference is great depending on which organization one is focusing on. There are similarities among the groups, but each may focus on a different geographical area, with a different focus, and be tied to other groups such as white supremacy or militia movements.

A second limitation is the lack of participation in the nativist survey. With the dissolution of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps, and the lack of participation from the Jim Gilchrist Minuteman Project, I was left to contact several dozen other pro-enforcement groups and was successful in getting one group to send out the survey while all other groups declined with comment or simply did not respond to my request. The lack of involvement left me with a smaller number and finding alternate ways to increase the sample size would aid in the comparison to the general population.

A third limitation to my dissertation is not having access to all members of the group. On missions in the Sonora desert, some members were clearly not comfortable with my presence and this lead to my non-involvement in some missions. Most members were willing to talk to me, while others took a more hostile approach or simply ignored me and my requests. Understanding these members would have allowed a more rounded analysis of members of this group. Overall, the limitations did not prevent the collection of rich

data that adds to the discussion about pro-enforcement groups and the members who participate.

A fourth limitation involves the lack of interviews with people outside of the organization, such as Border Patrol agents and the general public. I chose not to include any interviews with outside individuals at this time because I did not have the time or resources to conduct these additional interviews. The opinions of outside individuals would add a comparative element allowing for a greater understanding of the role BIPs have in the lives of Border Patrol agents and the general public.

A fifth limitation is concerns the analysis of the data collected. Delving further into the websites and the other media accounts and representations of BIPs would add another layer for further understanding of BIPs.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

General/Demographic Information

How long have you been a member of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corp (MCDC)?
How did you first hear about the MCDC?
What made you want to become a member of the Minutemen?
What is it about the MCDC that interested you in joining?
How would you describe the MCDC to people who have not heard of you before?
Did you have a history of political activism before joining the MCDC?
What was your main goal in joining the MCDC?
Are there any specific past life experiences, or things about your background (where you grew up, where you currently live) that you think have impacted your decision to become involved with the MCDC?
With regard to your political activism, are there any incidents that have been rewarding?
Have there been incidents that have been frustrating?

Organization (MCDC)

What is the structure of the MCDC?
What type of people would say typify the membership?
What kind of networks have you developed as a result of your involvement?
How do you see your organization being viewed on the national level?
How do you view the MCDC?
How you think non-members perceive the MCDC?
What do you perceive is the effectiveness of the MCDC in combating undocumented immigration?
Do you accept the label of vigilante that many people, including a past President has attached to your organization?

Immigration

What do you perceive the problem to be with respect to immigration?
What are the possible solutions to this perceived problem?
How could these solutions be put into practice?
Do you think taxpayers would pay for more border defense? What about immigration enforcement?
What do you think the role of the Federal Government is in immigration?
What are your thoughts about the current government policy on the border?
What are your thoughts about the role of the media with respect to immigration and how they portray the problem?
Do you think the media is helpful? How so?
Do you think the media hurts the MCDC's case regarding immigration? How so?
What impact do you think AZ SB1070 has on immigration?
Do you think other states may also join the fight against undocumented persons in the same way?
What are your thoughts on the pro-illegal immigration movement?

APPENDIX B

Survey of Minutemen Organization Members

Thoughts on Immigration

There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in the United States. (By "immigrant" I mean people who come to settle in the U.S.)

1. Do you think the number of immigrants to America nowadays should be... (LETIN1)

   Increased a lot
   Increased a little
   Remain the same as it is
   Reduced a little, or
   Reduced a lot
   Don't know
   Refused

2. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
Children born in America of parents who are not citizens should have the right to become American citizens.					
Children born abroad should have the right to become American citizens if at least one of their parents is an American citizen.					
Legal immigrants to America who are not citizens should have the same rights as American citizens.					
Immigrants increase crime rates					
Immigrants are generally good for America's economy.					
Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in the United States.					
Immigrants improve American society by bringing in new ideas and cultures					
America should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants.					
Government spends too much money assisting immigrants					

3. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is…

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important
To have been born in the U.S.			
To be able to speak English			
To be Christian			

Social Issues

4. What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion? (RELIG)

Protestant
Catholic
Jewish
None
Other (specify religion and/or church denomination)
Don't know
Refused

5. To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person? Are you . . .(RELPERSN)

Very Religious
Moderately Religious
Slightly Religious
Not Religious at all
Don't know
Refused

6. How often do you attend religious services? (ATTEND)

Less than once a year
Once a year
Several times a year
Once a month
2-3 times a month
Nearly every week
More than once a week
Don't know
Refused

7. The United States Supreme Court has ruled that no state or local government may require the reading of the Lord's Prayer or Bible verses in public schools. What are your views on this --do you approve or disapprove of the court ruling? (PRAYER)

Approve
Disapprove
No opinion
Don't know
Refused

8. Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion:

	Yes	No	Don't Know
If the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy?			
If she became pregnant as a result of rape?			
If the woman wants it for any reason?			

9. Do you think a person has the right to end his/her own life if this person has an incurable disease? (SUICIDE1)

Yes
No
Don't Know
Refused

10. Homosexual couples have the right to marry one another. (MARHOMO)

Strongly Agree
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
Don't know
Refused

11. Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder? (CAPPUN)

Favor
Oppose
Don't know
Refused

12. Which of these statements comes closest to your feelings about pornography laws? (PORNLAW)

    There should be laws against the distribution of pornography, whatever the age, or
    There should be laws against the distribution of pornography to persons under 18, or
    There should be no laws forbidding the distribution of pornography
    Don't know
    Refused

13. Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal, or not? (GRASS)

    Should
    Should not
    No opinion
    Don't know
    Refused

14. Do you happen to have in your home (IF HOUSE: or garage) any guns or revolvers? (OWNGUN)

    Yes
    No
    Don't know
    Refused

15. Would you favor or oppose a law which would require a person to obtain a police permit before he or she could buy a gun? (GUNLAW)

    Favor
    Oppose
    Don't know
    Refused

16. As far as the people running this institution are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

	A great deal of confidence	Only some confidence	Hardly any confidence at all	Don't know
Congress				
Executive branch of the federal government				
Military				

17. Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favors.(WRKWAYUP)

    Agree Strongly
    Agree Somewhat
    Disagree Somewhat
    Disagree Strongly
    Don't know
    Refused

18. Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it discriminates against whites. What about your opinion -- are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? (AFFRMACT)

Strongly support preference
Support preference
Oppose preference
Strongly oppose preference
Don't know
No answer

19. Some people think that (Blacks/Negroes/African-Americans) have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to help improve their living standards. Others believe that the government should not be giving special treatment to (Blacks/Negroes/African-Americans). (HELPBLK)

(Five point scale)

Government help blacks
Agree with both
No special treatment
Don't know
No answer

20.

Situation 1

John Windsor is from Canada and is in the United States on an F-1 student visa to pursue a PhD in nuclear physics. After 2 years of study, John drops out of school but likes the U.S. and does not want to leave, so he decides to stay with friends. His status as an F-1 student expires and he does not renew it, thus remaining in the country illegally. John speaks perfect English. Five years pass and John has a successful consulting business, new wife who is a citizen, a baby, and owns a house in a nice suburb. John has never broken any other laws besides the immigration law and is a well regarded member of his community.

Situation 2

John Windsor is from Canada and needs to go the United States because his mother, who is in the U.S. legally, is terminally ill and needs help with her household. Not having the proper paperwork to be able to enter the U.S. legally, John finds a remote location to cross into the U.S. from Canada. A friend is waiting on the other side to take John to his family. After the crisis subsides, John decides to stay in the U.S. permanently even though he does not have the legal paperwork to do so. John speaks perfect English. Five years pass and John is still in the United States and has created a new life here. He has a wife who is a citizen, two children, owns a house in a nice suburb, and owns a small business. John has never broken any other laws besides the immigration law, and is a well regarded member of his community.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
They acted dishonestly for having broken the immigration laws of the United States	○	○	○	○	○
They should be deported from the United States	○	○	○	○	○

Rather than deporting them, they should be given the opportunity to obtain a green card while remaining in the United States	○	○	○	○	○

Demographic Indicators

21. Please indicate which state you currently reside in: _____

22. How many years have you resided in [state]:_____

23. Some household income categories are listed below. Please choose a category which represents the total combined income before taxes for all the people in your household in 2010.

    $20,000 and under
    $20,001-40,000
    $40,001-60,000
    $60,001-80,000
    $80,001-100,000
    Greater than $100,001

24. What year were you born? _____

25. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (DEGREE)

    Less than high school, no diploma
    High school diploma (including GED)
    Associate/Junior College
    Bachelor's Degree
    Graduate or Professional Degree

26. Which of the following best describes your current employment or labor force status? (Choose only one) (WRKSTAT)

    Work full time
    Work part time
    With a job, but not at work because of temporary illness, vacation, strike
    Unemployed, laid off, looking for work
    In School
    Keeping House
    Retired
    Other

27. What is your current marital status? (MARITAL)

Married
Never Married
Divorced
Widow
Separated
Living with a partner but not married

28. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what? (PRTYPREF)

Republican
Democrat
Independent
Other (specify)
No preference

29. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal--point 1--to extremely conservative--point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (POLVIEWS)

Extremely Liberal
Liberal
Slightly Liberal
Moderate, middle of the road
Slightly Conservative
Conservative
Extremely Conservative
Don't know
Refused

30. Do you consider yourself to be Spanish/Hispanic/Latino?

No, not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino
Yes, Mexican
Yes, Puerto Rican
Yes, El Salvadorian
Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino

31. With which racial group do you identify yourself?

White/Anglo
African American
Asian or Asian American
American Indian or Native American
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

32. Are you… (SEX)

Male
Female

Involvement with Minutemen Organizations

33. Which organization have you ever been affiliated with? (check all that apply)

Minutemen Civil Defense Corp
The Minuteman Project
Other: (Please specify):_____
None

34. Do you belong to a local chapter of any of the above organizations?

Yes
No
If so, what state? _____

35. How many years have you been involved with these organizations? _____

36. What is your current role in the organization you spend the most time with?

Executive member
Team leader
Trainer
Member
Associate
Technology advisor
Other (please specify):_____

37. What would you say is your primary reason for getting involved with this organization?

_____
_____
_____

38. The researchers for whom your organization has sent out the above survey are interested in learning about any additional thoughts that members like you would like to share about your affiliation with this group, how you got involved, how you feel about the issues your organization deals with (illegal immigration, law enforcement, civilian initiative) or any other comments you would like to make.

_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX C

List of organizations to which the survey query was sent.

1. 9/11 Families for a secure America

2. Americans for Legal Immigration - ALIPAC
3. Americans for Immigration Control – AIC
4. Americans for Immigration Reform - AIR
5. American Immigration Control Foundation
6. American Patrol
7. Arizona Border Defenders

8. Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform
9. California Coalition for Immigration Reform - CCIR
10. Californians for Population Stabilization
11. Carrying Capacity Network
12. Citizens Council on Illegal Immigration (UT)
13. Conservatives USA
14. Concerned Citizens and Friends of Illegal Immigration Law Enforcement - CCFIILE
15. Citizens for immigration Law Enforcement
16. Chicago Minutemen
17. Close Borders Group

18. Dustin Inman Society

19. End Illegal Immigration

20. Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR)
    Floridians for Immigration Enforcement

21. Immigration Reform Coalition of Texas
22. Immigration Reform for Oklahoma Now
23. Indiana Federation for Immigration Reform and Enforcement

24. Limits to growth

25. Minnesotans Seeking Immigration Reform
26. Minutemen Corps of California
27. Mothers against Illegal Amnesty

28. New Yorkers for Immigration Control and Enforcement
29. North Carolina Listen: An Immigration Reform Organization
30. Numbers USA

31. Oregonians for Immigration Reform

32. Pennsylvanians for Immigration Control and Enforcement
33. Pro-English
34. Protect our Borders

35. Texas Border Volunteers
36. Texans for Immigration Reduction and Enforcement
37. Texas Minutemen

38. United Patriots of America
39. U.S. English
40. Utahns for Immigration Reform and Enforcement

41. Washingtonians for Immigration Reform
42. Wehirealiens.com
43. Weneedafence.com

APPENDIX D

Websites of the main groups I use in my dissertation

The Minutemen Civil Defense Corps.
http://www.minutemanhq.com/hq/

The Minuteman Project
http://www.minutemanproject.com/

Arizona Border Defenders
www.azborderdefenders.org

The Colorado Alliance for Immigration Reform
http://www.cairco.org/

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