

Rebellious Conservatives: Social Movements in Defense of Privilege

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

The first decade of the 21st century in the United States has seen the emergence of a number of protest movements based upon politically conservative ideas, including opposition to affirmative action, undocumented migration, and national health care, among others. Conservative social movement organizations like the Minutemen and the Tea Party have had enormous influence over American politics and society. Conservative movements such as these present challenges to existing ways of thinking about social movements. Most social movement research has centered on so-called progressive movements, like the Civil Rights Movement, which are assumed to be organized by an oppressed population fighting for rights they have been denied historically. However, conservative movements do not appear to involve an oppressed population fighting for rights denied to them. It seems that actually the reverse may be true: conservative protesters tend to be members of privileged populations in contrast to oppressed. But if conservative protesters tend to be privileged instead of oppressed, why then are they protesting? What are their goals?

To fully answer these questions, we must look beyond existing social movement theory. The purpose of my research is to extend social movement theory, particularly Rory McVeigh's theory of power devaluation by using Blumer's theory of racial group position and Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital to explore the motivations of conservative movements and how they construct movement ideologies. This research explores the goals and ideology of two conservative movements, the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement. To examine these

movements, I first performed an ethnographic content analysis of over 1000 articles and posts from movement organization web pages. Second, I conducted nearly fifty semi-structured interviews with movement leaders and participants. Finally, I examined over twenty hours of speeches given at rallies and protest events.

Consistent with McVeigh's power devaluation theory and Blumer's theory of group position, I found that these conservative activists are motivated by perceived threats to privileges claimed as proprietary rights by their movement groups. Anti-illegal immigration groups perceive threats to existing privileges associated with employment, social services, citizenship, and cultural issues such as language, while anti-abortion groups cite threats to American morality. Furthermore, these groups make proprietary claims to these privileges based upon restrictive identity formations. While anti-illegal immigration activists identify as "American," they constrain who qualifies as an American based upon factors such as language spoken, cultural behaviors, and citizenship of parents. Similarly, anti-abortion/pro-life activists identify as "Christian," but exclude many who would be identified as Christian in the broader population based upon criteria including opposition to abortion and sexual preference. They also claim American is a Christian nation. Following Blumer's group position theory, I also analyzed those individuals from which these groups feel threatened: migrants crossing the border without documentation and women who get abortions. I found that conservative activists portrayed these individuals in terms of perpetrators and victims, providing only mixed support for group position. Finally, I examined the goals of anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life organizations specifically looking at non-

policy-oriented goals. Anti-abortion/pro-life organizations emphasize changing American culture as much or, in many cases, more than changing laws. While most anti-illegal immigration organizations stress education as a goal, whether this is for the purposes of policy change or cultural change is unclear.

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"The time has come for us as proud American citizens to unite and claim what is rightfully ours!" - Voice of the People USA (June 2010)

"Unfortunately, Christianity in America has become so feminized, weak, and limp-wristed that these lies (abortion, homosexuality, and Islam) have come to prevail in a nation that was established and made great on the manly bedrock of biblical Christianity." - Operation Save America (February 2009)

1. Introduction and Literature Review

The first decade of the 21st century in the United States has seen the emergence of a number of protest movements based upon politically conservative ideas, including opposition to affirmative action (Winter 2003), undocumented migration (Stein 2010; Warner 2009), and national health care (Downes 2010; Dreher 2006), among others (Zeleny 2009). Students in colleges across the country have staged anti-affirmative action bake sales (Dietrich 2009). Members of the Minuteman Project and similar organizations have patrolled for "illegals" crossing the Mexican border, and Americans at state capitols from California to South Carolina rallied for greater border enforcement and against proposals of amnesty for undocumented migrants (Dove 2010; Vina, Nunez-Neto, and Weir 2006; WIS-TV 2010; Miranda 2011; Bomnin 2010). Outrage over Obama's health care legislation gave impetus to the Tea Party, whose state and national protest rallies against big government have swept the country, leaving numerous political casualties in its wake (Bacon 2010).

Many of these movements have had a substantial impact on American politics and society. Five years after the anti-illegal immigration activities of the Minuteman Project brought national media attention to the issue of undocumented migration, Arizona passed a highly restrictive anti-immigration law in April of 2010 (Archibold 2010), and similar bills have been proposed in as many as 37 other states, including Texas and California (Castillo 2011; Vogel 2011; Miller 2010). The Tea Party has been highly influential in national, state, and local politics. Political candidates endorsed or favored by the Tea Party won more than 30 seats in the 2010 congressional elections (Jacobson 2011; Zernike 2010; Fox News 2010).

Conservative movements such as these present challenges to existing ways of thinking about social movements. Most social movement research has centered on so-called progressive movements, like the Civil Rights Movement (Blee 2007; Pichardo 1997; Jasper 1997). These movements are assumed to be organized by an oppressed population fighting for rights they have been denied historically (McAdam 1982). However, conservative movements do not appear to involve an oppressed population fighting for rights denied to them. It seems that actually the reverse may be true: conservative protesters are, on average, privileged populations in contrast to oppressed. For instance, polls of Tea Party supporters show them to be overwhelmingly white and possessing higher average incomes and higher levels of education than most Americans (Montopoli 2010). But if we do not consider conservative protesters to be oppressed, why are they protesting? What are their goals?

To fully answer these questions, we must look beyond existing social movement theory. The purpose of my research is to extend social movement theory, particularly Rory McVeigh's (2009) theory of power devaluation by using Blumer's (1958) theory of racial group position and Bourdieu's (1990, 2001a) conceptualization of capital to explore the motivations of conservative movements and how they construct movement ideologies. I build upon McVeigh's theory of right-wing movements, which he defines as acting to "preserve, restore, or expand rights and privileges" (McVeigh 2009: 38). However, I contend that the question of privilege as a goal of conservative movements must be investigated empirically. I abstractly apply the elements of Blumer's theory of racial group position to any potential situation in which a group may be attempting to maintain or restore privileges, and I use Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital to determine precisely what privileges, if any, are being claimed by conservative movements and for what purpose. To further development of theory that is applicable to conservative movements in general, I examine two conservative social movements: the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement.

1.1 Defining Conservative Social Movements

1.1.1 Social Movements

In this project I am exclusively concerned with social movements, which are distinct from other kinds of movements, including political movements. I follow the traditional definition of social movements: repeated public displays of collective action by people acting outside of officially sanctioned channels to bring about social change (Tilly 1999). Social movements are distinguished from political movements, therefore,

by using means other than institutionalized political channels to pursue their goals. This does not mean that social movements do not also attempt to act through official channels, but that social movements will always include some activities that occur in a non-institutional setting. This key distinction is generally agreed upon within the literature even though it has been characterized in slightly different ways, including non-official channels (Tilly 1999), non-institutional action (Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004), "innovative collective action" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001), nonconventional tactics (Almeida 2008), and dramatic action (Reed 2005).

1.1.2 Conservative Social Movements

I define conservative social movements as social movements that advance goals consistent with American conservatism. The traditional definition of political conservatism involves wanting to preserve what exists, the *status quo*, or to bring back what has existed, the *status quo ante* (Quinton 1995; Heywood 2007; Lo 1982). Traditionalist conservatives in the United States lean heavily towards the maintenance of existing cultural and moral order (Klatch 1987, 1994). However, this definition is insufficient to describe the full range of conservative thought and activity in contemporary America. What is popularly known as "conservative" in America today is actually a combination of traditionalist conservatism and what is referred to as "the Right" (Quinton 1995). While traditionalist conservatives generally seek to preserve existing political, social, and cultural orientations, those of the Right actually seek change based upon libertarian ideals (Heywood 2007). The core idea of libertarianism is to maximize individual rights, including *laissez-faire* ideals of economics and a desire for as

small a government as possible (Heywood 2007). While scholars emphasize the separation between the formal definition of political conservatism and the libertarian ideals of the Right, as a practical matter traditionalist conservatives and libertarians have long been political allies both in American and Europe (Quinton 1995; Klatch 1994). Therefore, I propose the following definition: conservatism includes ideas belonging to both traditionalist conservatives, who work to preserve the existing social, often moral, order or to return society to a preexisting order, as well as the ideas of libertarian conservatism, which seek to maximize individual liberty, with an emphasis on *laissez-faire* economic policies.

It is also important to distinguish mainstream conservative movements, such as the Tea Party, from extremist or far right movements, like the Ku Klux Klan. This is an important distinction, as movements that fall into these categories have the potential to differ dramatically from each other, most notably in terms of tactics (with extremist and far right groups generally engaging in violent and/or terrorist tactics) but also potentially in terms of membership and goals. I generally follow the definitions given by Blee and Creasap (2010), who distinguish conservative and right-wing movements as follows: conservative movements are movements that support certain conservative causes, including patriotism, free enterprise, capitalism, and/or the traditional moral order and do not frequently use violence as a tactic, while right-wing movements are movements that focus directly on race and/or ethnicity or use violence as a primary tactic. While I do not limit the definition of conservative movement to the specific list of traits given by Blee and Creasap, I agree with their division between conservative and right-wing movements

based on their use of violence. My research is specifically concerned with mainstream conservative movements that do not sanction violent activities.

1.2 The American Conservative Political Movement and Right-Wing Populism

The cases of widespread conservative protest that have sprung up in the first decade of the 21st century did not arise in a vacuum. Long before the Tea Party rallied on the steps of the nation's capital and the Minutemen patrolled the U.S.-Mexico border, a conservative political movement had been ongoing for decades, providing many of the arguments and justifications used by later conservative protest groups. Some trace the contemporary American conservative movement back to as early as the 1920s and '30s, developing in reaction to the turmoil following World War I and the New Deal (Lichtman 2008; Phillips-Fein 2009), while others place the emergence of contemporary American conservatism in the period following World War II (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2004; Schoenwald 2001). The American conservative movement waxed and waned over the years, but reemerged in strength during the 1970s in response to Great Society liberalism and the perceived failures of conservatism on Nixon's watch (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2004). It was around this time that the conservative movement formed its strong bond with the Republican Party, committing resources to improving its political standing (Hodgson 2004; Brennan 1995). In addition, numerous conservative think tanks were founded, such as the Heritage Foundation, which provided ideological support for conservatives through nominally scientific reports on economic, foreign policy, and other matters (Edwards 1997; Abelson 2002; Feulner 2000).

While most modern conservatives, including most notably the Tea Party, vigorously espouse the ideals of free enterprise, there are those who argue that these ideals are not part of the core of American conservatism (Lichtman 2008; Henrie 2004). Indeed, studies of conservatism in general point out that the ideals of free enterprise are more libertarian in nature and distinct from traditional conservative values rooted in maintenance of the status quo (Heywood 2007; Barnett 2004). For example, there are numerous instances in which conservatives have violated the libertarian ideals of free markets by supporting subsidies for businesses and creating regulations to favor certain businesses or industries over others (Micklethwait and Wooldridge 2004). Similarly, while conservatives traditionally backed states rights on issues such as race and education, they have aggressively asserted that the federal government has authority over states on issues such as abortion, drug use, and gay marriage (Paltrow 2002; Norrander and Wilcox 1999; Smith 2001). While this has at times led to conflicts among traditionalist conservatives and more libertarian-leaning rightists, the core of traditionalist conservatism has generally been pro-capitalism. Consequently, both traditionalist conservatism and libertarian conservatism have maintained a strong alliance over the years (Lichtman 2008; Hoover 1987). This is not to say that conservatism can be equated with libertarianism. While there are many overlaps in conservatism with libertarianism in terms of economic policies, libertarian social policies which stress maximum individual freedom are largely incompatible with traditionalist conservatism, particularly on issues such as drug use (Lichtman 2008).

One particularly important segment of conservatism is the category of social conservatives, particularly in terms of the influence of the Religious Right, which emerged in the 1970s through organizations such as the Moral Majority, the Religious Roundtable, and the Christian Voice (Durham 2000; Himmelstein 1990). Rooted in the restoration of what is characterized as the loss of traditional moral values, the Religious Right has portrayed America to be in a state of moral decay due to its denial of God (Himmelstein 1990). The Religious Right has been instrumental in the policy debates on several social issues in the U.S., including abortion, gay rights, and school prayer (Heineman 1998).

Developing in tandem with mainstream American political conservatism were what some have termed "right-wing" groups. These groups have consisted of a combination of political advocacy groups such as the John Birch Association and the Liberty Lobby as well as extremist social movement groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and various "patriot militia" organizations (Durham 2007; Berlet and Lyons 2000). Some of the key tenets of these right-wing groups include the idea of producerism (the championing of the so-called producers in society, namely middle- and working-class individuals, over the interests of unproductive elites and other subordinate groups, such as the unemployed), scapegoating (redirecting grievances towards a target group, often oppressed or marginalized), conspiracism (asserting that there is a vast conspiracy that threatens the common good), and apocalyptic narratives (framing events in terms of righteous struggle against an evil that threatens to destroy the nation, the world, or one's way of life) (Berlet and Lyons 2000; Bhatia 2003; Zeskind 2009).

It is from this *mélange* of traditionalist conservatism, economic libertarianism, and far right organizations that contemporary conservative movements have emerged. Drawing upon different tenets from each of these traditions, these movements have had enormous influence on mainstream politics and policy, both nationally and locally.

1.3 Case Movements

In order for my findings to be generalizable to conservative movements overall, I chose to examine two different conservative movements, the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement. I chose these particular conservative movements because they are focused on major topics in conservative politics, have differing histories, constituencies, and timelines, and they are still involved in active protest and other non-institutional activities at both the local and national levels.

1.3.1 Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life Movement

The anti-abortion/pro-life movement is one of the largest contemporary conservative movements and has been ongoing in its current form for nearly forty years. Historically, abortion has been a political controversy since at least the late 19th century when anti-abortion statutes began to appear, provoked in part by concerns about women's health and the dangers of the abortion methods then available (Tribe 1992). Indeed, physicians were one of the primary forces working for the abolishment of abortion in an effort to "encourage the standardization and professionalization of medical practice" (Risen and Thomas 1998: 8). At the same time, however, some anti-abortion/pro-life advocates characterized the threat of abortion in racial terms, perceiving threat from

growing immigrant populations in the face of increasing numbers of abortions by white, native born Americans (Beisel and Kay 2004; Risen and Thomas 1998).

The latest wave of large-scale anti-abortion/pro-life mobilization began shortly before the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion (Jacoby 1998; Munson 2008). The earliest anti-abortion/pro-life activism, spearheaded by Catholics, actually started prior to the Roe v. Wade decision in response to abortion reform measures in various states (Doan 2007). Unsurprisingly, the passage of Roe v. Wade launched more centralized, national anti-abortion protest activity, again largely organized by the Catholic Church (Doan 2007). Early anti-abortion/pro-life groups characterized abortion in terms of the violation of the right to life and concentrated on influencing public policy to defend the rights of the unborn (Mason 2002a; Staggenborg 1991; Tribe 1992). As the movement matured, groups began to emerge that addressed not only the issue of abortion but related issues as well, including war, euthanasia, and capital punishment (Blanchard 1994; Petchesky 1984; Risen and Thomas 1998).

By the end of the 1970s, a shift occurred within the movement brought on by an influx of Protestant fundamentalists (Blanchard 1994). Rather than argue against abortion in terms of liberal ideas of equality, that a fetus has an equal right to life as a person, they emphasized equality of life in terms of the divine, that life is sacred (Doan 2007; Mason 2002a). This had the effect of shifting the framing of opposition to abortion away from ideas of liberalism to religious fundamentalism, which warned that abortion would cause the wrath of God to fall on America for allowing abortion to occur (Mason 2002a, 2002b). Abortion came to be compared to the Holocaust, and terms like genocide,

baby killing, and culture of death came to be used to describe abortion and its impact on American culture (Doan 2007; Kaplan 1995). Graphic images and videos showing aborted fetuses came into use at this time as well (Press and Cole 1995; Henshaw 1995; Luker 1986). The inundation of conservative fundamentalists caused conflicts within the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, as the Catholic Church did not necessarily take a conservative stance on other social issues such as capital punishment (Tribe 1992; Grant 1991).

The mid-1980s saw the emergence of what would become the most well known tactic of the anti-abortion/pro-life movement: so-called "rescues" (Grant 1991; Ginsburg 1998). Operation Rescue, founded in 1988, spearheaded a national campaign of rescues of fetuses at risk for abortion, in which protesters would block access to abortion clinics (Ginsburg 1998; Risen and Thomas 1998). Between 1988 and 1990, Operation Rescue was successful in temporarily shutting down clinics in various cities across the nation (Risen and Thomas 1998). However, they faced increasing legal pressures, financial difficulties, negative media coverage of altercations between anti-abortion and pro-choice protesters at clinics, and even denouncement from religious leaders (Johnson 1999; Risen and Thomas 1998). The killing blow came in 1994 with the passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, which dramatically increased the liability for those blocking access to clinics (Johnson 1999). Contemporary anti-abortion/pro-life groups that have engaged in protest activity include Operation Rescue/Operation Save America, the American Coalition of Life Activists, and Right to Life (Hull and Hoffer 2001; Jacoby 1998). Anti-abortion/pro-life protesters today, while most do not blockade

clinics, still attempt to dissuade women entering from having abortions and engage in protest tactics such as rallies, picketing, sidewalk counseling, and vigils (Doan 2007).

1.3.2 Anti-Illegal Immigration Movement

Immigration has been a point of contention in American politics since even before the founding of the nation (Nevins 2010). Indeed, Benjamin Franklin articulated concerns about German immigrants to what were at the time the English colonies using arguments that echo many concerns about (primarily Latino) immigrants today: "Few of their children in the country learn English... The Signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages... Unless the stream of their importation could be turned they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will not be able to preserve our language, and even our government will become precarious" (quoted in Davis 2007). While anti-illegal immigration activism is not new, it has increased dramatically in the past fifteen years or so. This rise has been attributed to various factors, including increasing numbers of undocumented migrants (Vina, Nunez-Neto, and Weir 2006), changes in attitudes regarding national security following the terrorist attacks of 9/11 (Doty 2007), and border patrol operations that shifted the major locations for illegal border crossings to states, such as Arizona, that previously had little experience with undocumented migrants (Cabrera and Glavac 2010).

Some of the earliest activity related to the most recent wave of organized anti-immigrant activism are the activities of Ranch Rescue, a Texas-based organization that began in 2000 and, at its height, had chapters across four states (Doty 2001, 2007; Laufer 2004). Similar to the later tactics of the Minutemen, they conducted patrols of the

Mexican border, but the group disbanded in 2003 following the arrest of two volunteers for detaining and beating an undocumented migrant (Doty 2007).

The most well-known contemporary anti-illegal immigration group, the Minutemen, began in the fall of 2002, when Chris Simcox called for a "citizens border patrol militia" in Arizona (Hayden 2010; Laufner 2004). Around the same time, Glenn Spencer, a former resident of California who had organized citizen groups there in response to undocumented migration, formed the American Border Patrol in Arizona. His goal was to use video to document migrants crossing the border as well as "patrolling" the border with an unmanned aircraft (Doty 2007; Laufer 2004). In 2004, Jim Gilchrist, another anti-illegal immigration activist in California had the idea for a similar "project" to secure the southern border. He called his group the "Minuteman Project" (Gaynor 2009). Gilchrist joined forces with Simcox shortly thereafter and soon gained national attention (Caberea and Glavac 2010). The Minutemen made a national call for supporters to participate in civilian patrols of the Mexican border, and conducted their first patrol in Arizona in 2005 (Chavez 2008). Fractures soon appeared in the newly formed Minuteman Project, and Simcox and Gilchrist parted ways, with Gilchrist retaining the "Minuteman Project" name while Simcox named his group the "Minuteman Civil Defense Corps" (Dove 2010).

The primary activity of the Minutemen was conducting civilian patrols of the U.S.-Mexico border to identify and report to law enforcement instances of undocumented migrants crossing into the United States. This tactic is not a new one. The Ku Klux Klan conducted a Klan Border Watch in 1977 at San Ysidro, California (Gaynor 2009). Other

isolated incidents of border watches or patrols occurred in the 1980s and early 1990s, primarily along the San Diego border, which was then a major crossing point for undocumented migrants (Vina, Nunez-Neto , and Weir, 2006). The first patrols by the Minutemen occurred in 2005 along the Arizona border. They operated according to a set of rules meant to keep their actions within the strict letter of the law. They would only report migrants to the border patrol. They would avoid direct contact with migrants and not arrest or detain anyone. Carrying weapons was allowed, but only for the purposes of self-defense (Gaynor 2009).

While much of the focus on contemporary anti-illegal immigration movement, both in the media and scholarship, has centered on groups like the Minutemen and their activities on the border, there are other state and local anti-illegal immigration groups active across the nation (Buchanan and Holthouse 2005), particularly in areas which only recently have experienced a large influx of Latino migrants, such as the South (Durand, Massey, and Capoferro 2005; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003). Indeed, approximately 300 anti-immigrant groups have formed since 2005 (Hayden 2010). These groups, which are often not officially associated with the Minutemen or other national groups, stage their own activities, such as policing day-laborer sites frequented by undocumented migrants, as well as more traditional protest activities, such as rallies and protests at state capitals (Chacon and Davis 2006).

1.4 Organization of Dissertation

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework for this research. It summarizes the major theoretical approaches to conservative movements in the field of social movements

and explains the assumptions and limitations of the various theoretical approaches. It then describes Blumer's theory of group position and Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital and explains how, by integrating aspects of each, we can correct some of the problems that arise when applying existing social movement theory to conservative social movements.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology of this research study, including justification for the selection of case movements, the primary sources of data, and methods of analysis. The chapter discusses the benefits of conducting a qualitative analysis of movement ideology and describes how I operationalize concepts from Blumer and Bourdieu and apply them to a qualitative content analysis of both movement web pages and interviews.

In Chapter 4, I describe how both movements construct their movement identities and for what purpose. I explain how these movements take existing identities in the broader culture, "American" by the anti-illegal immigration movement and "Christian" by the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, and re-define them to apply to a much smaller category of people for the purposes of restricting access to particular privileges. I also discuss how the redefinition and assertion of these identities constitutes an attempt to regain lost symbolic capital associated with these identities.

Chapter 5 describes how both movements make claims of privilege and how these movements perceive threats to these privileges. I illustrate how the movements make claims to particular areas of privilege in terms of economic, social, and cultural capital, and how these claims are related to the circumscribed identities described in the previous

chapter. I also show how these movements perceive these privileges to be under threat and the perceived consequences of this threat.

In Chapter 6, I describe how both movements characterize those from which they feel threat, whom I term "agents of threat." I show how conservative activists ascribe both positive and negative traits to these agents, and how these positive and negative attributions are both explained in such a way to work towards the ultimate goals of the movements.

Chapter 7 describes how the movements frame their goals, particularly in terms of non-policy-oriented goals. I show how the anti-illegal immigration movement, although it stresses educating the public, is working primarily towards policy change, while the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, in contrast, stresses cultural change as much or, in many cases, more than policy change.

Finally, chapter 8 summarizes my empirical findings and explores the utility of Blumer's group position and Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital for explaining conservative social movements. I discuss the potential applications of this framework to other conservative movements, particularly the Tea Party. I also consider other potential avenues for future research, such as an examination of those movement organizations that did not seem to be driven by a desire to maintain or restore privilege. I conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the future of conservative movements in America and their potential impact on American politics and social life.

2. Theory

Several prominent scholars have lamented the lack of study given to conservative movements within the field of social movements (Blee 2007; Pichardo 1997; Jasper 1997). This neglect comes as little surprise given that existing social movement theories were developed for the purpose of explaining progressive movements. However, there are potential problems when trying to apply these theories to conservative movements because conservative movements differ dramatically from progressive movements in terms of membership, motivations, tactics, and goals. Those few scholars who study conservative movements have attempted to rectify these issues (e.g. McVeigh 2009). However, they have generally approached these movements from an almost purely structural standpoint, in the vein of traditional structural social movement theories such as political process theory (McAdam 1982). This leaves a significant gap in the literature examining the ideology of conservative movements, including aspects such as identity formation and framing of motivations and goals. To this end, it is necessary to look beyond social movement theory and its focus on progressive movements to explain these conservative movements. Specifically, I turn to Blumer's (1958) theory of group position in order to directly address questions of privilege as a potential motivation of conservative movements and Bourdieu's (1990, 2001a) conceptualization of capital to further explore the concept of privilege.

In this chapter, I review the dominant contemporary theories within the field of social movements, including structural and culturalist theories. I examine the assumptions inherent in these theories as they relate to progressive movements and the

potential challenges to these assumptions that are posed by conservative movements. I then explain how Blumer's (1958) theory of group position can help us to directly address the question of motivations of conservative activists, and how Bourdieu's (1990, 2001a) conceptualization of capital allows us to decompose the issue of privilege to determine precisely how these movements conceive of these privileges and perceived threats to them.

2.1 Social Movement Theory

2.1.1 Political Process Theory

Arguably the dominant structural theory of social movements today is political process theory. Developed by Doug McAdam in the 1980s through an analysis of the Civil Rights Movement, it draws upon previous theoretical traditions, most notably resource mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977; Tilly 1978; Gamson 1975) and contentious politics (Eisenger 1973; Tilly 1978), to provide a comprehensive theoretical framework to explain social movement formation. McAdam combined aspects of previous social movement approaches to form the three basic elements necessary for a movement to emerge and succeed: indigenous organizational strength, cognitive liberation, and political opportunity (McAdam 1982). Indigenous organizational strength refers to the idea that a movement must have the appropriate organizational resources to be able to take advantage of political opportunities and succeed as a movement. McAdam's concept of "cognitive liberation" defines the ideological prerequisites necessary for movement emergence. In McAdam's words,

"people must collectively define their situations as unjust and subject to change through group action" (1982: 51).

McAdam's primary contribution to social movement theory, however, came in the integration of the concept of political opportunity. This refers to the tendency for movements to emerge during times of somewhat open political opportunities, when the government is at least partially amenable to reform that is aligned with the goals of a particular movement organization. There are two general conceptions regarding how movements respond to political opportunity. The first is the linear model, which states that movements tend to arise and be successful as political opportunities expand (McAdam 1982, 1996; Costain 1992). The second is the curvilinear model, which states that protest tends to arise when political opportunities are partially, but not completely, open (Tilly 1995; Eisenger 1973; Meyer and Minkoff 1994; Tarrow 1998; Jenkins, Jacobs, and Agnone, 2003; Krisei, Koopmans, Duyvendak, and Giugni 1995). This latter model predicts that individuals will not engage in social movement activity that involves higher risk and effort than institutional political action if political change may be achieved through institutional activity. Therefore, movements will tend to emerge at a particular level of political opportunity: when the government is not completely closed to movement demands but also is not very open to such demands. When the government is very open to particular demands, individuals will tend to eschew the non-institutional tactics of social movements in favor of conventional methods of political influence. Additionally, Tarrow (1998) states that movements strategically wait for cues from the government and larger society, underlying the importance of the subjective perception of

government openness to movement emergence as opposed to purely objective conditions of political opportunity.

Tilly (1978) proposed a more holistic model of contentious politics in the form of his polity model. In this model, the polity consists of the government and members of the polity, those who have routine and low-cost access to government resources. Outside of the polity are challengers, organizations that do not have the easy access to government resources. Both members and challengers are termed contenders, since they constantly compete for access to government resources. In this model, progressive organizations correspond to contenders, those outsiders excluded from the insider realms of political power who are attempting to make their voices heard. Challengers respond to opportunity, those openings that may allow them access to government resources, while members respond to threat, the fear that they will lose the easy access to government resources they now enjoy. Because political process theory was developed around progressive movements (specifically the Civil Rights Movement) and concentrated on political opportunity, the idea of political threat was left aside.

While political process theory, particularly the concept of political opportunity, has been applied successfully to explain many progressive movements (McAdam 1982; Amenta and Zylan 1991; Suh 2001; Ramos 2008), conservative movements provide some unique challenges to the assumptions and tenets of political process theory. Political process theory (and, indeed, social movement theory generally) assumes that social movements are progressive in nature. That is, an oppressed population, which has been denied rights historically, seeks to change society to secure these rights. According to

political process theory, these groups must gather resources, develop an ideological framework that defines their situation as unjust and able to be remedied through protest, and wait for the political situation to create opportunities for protest to be successful. When these three things happen, social movements emerge and at least have a chance to be successful in instigating social change, primarily through change in policy.

In the case of conservative movements, however, we cannot make the assumption that these groups engaging in protest are oppressed populations. It seems that actually the reverse may be true: that conservative protesters are, on average, privileged populations as opposed to oppressed. For instance, polls of Tea Party supporters show them to be overwhelmingly white, possessing higher average incomes and higher levels of education than most Americans (Montopoli 2010). If this is the case, then many of the tenets of political process theory cannot logically apply. How can cognitive liberation come about if there is no longstanding oppression? How can one define one's problems as being caused by the existing social structure if the existing social structure has historically provided advantages to these groups? On the one hand, if one accepts the curvilinear model of political opportunity, why then would conservative movements such as the Minutemen have emerged in the early 2000s when conservatives dominated the national government? On the other hand, if one accepts the linear model of political opportunity, the emergence of the Minutemen would make sense. But why, then, did we not see the greater amounts of conservative protest during, for instance, the Reagan era, when conservatives also dominated national politics?

It appears, then, that political process theory alone cannot explain conservative movements due to the assumptions inherent within the theory: that movements are progressive in nature. Unlike, for example, blacks during the Civil Rights movement or women during the Women's Movement, these conservatives do not appear to suffer from long-standing grievances. Instead, it is the opposite. If anything, these groups possess long-standing privileges in terms of race, class, or other categories. Even though conservative movements do articulate grievances in their arguments, these grievances appear to be related to particular events, not long-standing oppression (McVeigh 2009). This situation actually harkens back to earlier theories of social movements, specifically strain theory, which treated social movements as reactions to disruptions in what was otherwise assumed to be a stable society (Kornhauser 1959; Lang and Lang 1961; Lipset 1963). This view, which generally treated social movements as irrational uprisings against an otherwise healthy society, was repudiated by later theorists, including resource mobilization theorists, who asserted that protest was not simply a reaction to particular incidents but rather to long-standing oppression (Wilson 1973; Jenkins and Perrow 1977; McAdam 1982).

One can think about the issues of grievances and long-standing oppression in terms of the existing status quo and the desire to either preserve or change a situation. For progressive movements, the status quo is defined by long-standing oppression. This is an undesirable situation; consequently, progressive movements seek to change society in order to change this status quo. For conservative movements, in contrast, the status quo is perceived in terms of privilege. This is a desirable situation, so why would

conservatives protest? The answer can be found by looking back to the origins of political opportunity, specifically Tilly's polity model (Tilly 1978) and his concept of threat. Put in terms of Tilly's polity model, progressive movements are comprised of challengers who lack regular access to government resources. Challengers protest to gain access, seeking political opportunities to do so. Conservative movements, however, appear closer to members in Tilly's model. They have better access to government resources through sympathetic politicians, but they turn to protest when access to those resources are threatened. Tilly termed such movements "reactive movements," which seek to restore political or economic resources they have lost (Tilly 1978).

While most of the literature that emerged from Tilly's polity model focused on the concept of political opportunity, some scholars have noted the importance of threat (Meyer 1993; Cunningham and Phillips 2007; Anahita 2006; Berlet and Vysotsky 2006). Van Dyke and Soule (2002) found that economic threat explained the emergence of patriot and militia groups in the United States. It is important to note, however, that such "reactive movements" need not necessarily be conservative. Meyer (1990, 1993) found that the nuclear freeze movement in the early 1980s was motivated by perceived threat from the nuclear policies of the Reagan administration. Almeida (2003) argues that activism can emerge in authoritarian settings in which individuals and groups perceive threat from the government to their existing rights and privileges. And Reese et al. (2005) argues that levels of mobilization against welfare privatization were influenced at least in part by perceived threat to welfare benefits.

2.1.2 Conservative Social Movement Theory

While conservative social movements have traditionally been understudied within the field of social movements, this is not to say that conservative movements have been ignored. Indeed, there is a body of research on extremist far-right movements, such as the Ku Klux Klan (Blee 2007; Klandermans and Mayer 2009; Pred 2000; Ezekiel 1995; Koopmans and Olzak 2004). Studies have concentrated on the role of threat in motivating extremist activism (Cunningham and Phillips 2007; Anahita 2006; Berlet and Vysotsky 2006), the potential disconnect between public ideologies and private motivations (Linden and Klandermans 2007; Kimmel 2007), the importance of emotions in mobilization among far right groups (Virchow 2007), and the development of internal movement cultures (Sehgal 2007; Varga 2008; Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk 2006). However, as this research concentrates specifically on right-wing movements (as defined in the introductory chapter), it is unclear how relevant findings from this research are when applied to more mainstream conservative movements, such as the pro-life movement, the anti-illegal immigration movement, or the Tea Party.

There have been a few approaches that specifically examined more mainstream conservative movements, although these approaches have generally been disconnected from the dominant discourse in social movement theory, such as political process theory. Much early research on conservative movements focused mainly on moral reform movements, describing these movements as being purely symbolic in orientation. The status defense approach, for example, explained conservative mobilization as being rooted in the desire of the participants to preserve or restore their social status (Gusfield

1963; Zurcher & Kirkpatrick 1976). Another similar approach contended that conservative movements emerge due to cultural conflict, where the motivation behind such movements is not the maintenance of status or prestige, but a response to perceived threats to particular cultural values (Page & Clelland 1978; Wood & Hughes 1984; Clarke 1987). These approaches have been criticized for treating the movements as fundamentally irrational and ignoring possible material bases for mobilization (Beisel 1997; McVeigh 2001).

Other scholars have approached conservative movements as countermovements, characterizing conservative protest as arising in opposition to specific progressive movements (Pichardo 1995; Dixon 2008). For example, Meyer and Staggenborg (1996) examined the concept of threat specifically in the context of countermovements, finding that countermovements emerge in response to progressive movements whose goals threaten the established interests of the countermovement activists. Such research specifically examines the interplay of oppositional conservative movements within the context of the progressive movement to which they are opposed. While the interactions of movements and countermovements are certainly important aspects of social movement activity and need to be considered, examining conservative movements solely through the lens of countermovements fundamentally treats conservative movements as purely reactionary organizations, emerging only in response to progressive movements. This approach may obscure independent reasons for conservative movement emergence unrelated to a particular progressive movement.

More recently, Rory McVeigh (2009), responding to the problems with applying existing social movement theory to conservative movements, created a structural social movement theory to explain conservative movements. McVeigh developed this theory, Power Devaluation Theory, through an examination of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. While the Klan today is an extremist movement group isolated on the fringes of society, the Klan in the 1920s was a more conventional movement organization. Denying charges of racism and instead calling themselves a "white pride" organization, they founded chapters in all 48 states, with membership numbering in the hundreds of thousands (Wade 1987). Much like the Tea Party today, they were heavily involved not only in protest activity, but also in mainstream politics, actively endorsing candidates for political office (Chalmers 1951). Thus, power devaluation theory was developed through an examination of what was, at the time, a mainstream conservative social movement.

McVeigh argues that what he terms right-wing movements come about due to a process of power devaluation, in which a relatively advantaged social group seeks to preserve or restore its rights and privileges. McVeigh divides power into three categories: economic, political, and status-based. This approach addresses the criticisms of the status defense approach by integrating the issues of economics and politics with status-based approaches. McVeigh conceptualizes these privileges as operating in markets where economic, political, and status-based power serve as currency. Each of these privileges can be exchanged for another; for example, "economic power can be used to gain more political power and is often valuable in maintaining social esteem" (McVeigh 2009: 42). When the power of certain groups, such as white, native-born

Protestant Americans (in the case of the Klan), becomes devalued, conservative protest emerges. For example, if immigrants enter an area, the increased size of the potential labor pool can devalue the power of native-born workers in that area by reducing their bargaining power due to the increased labor supply.

While power devaluation theory directly addresses many of the problems that political process theory poses for conservative movements, it, like political process theory, concentrates primarily on structural factors, namely economic and political power devaluation, while giving little attention to status-based power devaluation. We need to consider additional factors, such as movement ideology and framing, to produce a truly comprehensive look at conservative movements. Therefore, we must consider not only the structuralist theories of social movements, but also the more culturalist theories, including theories of framing and identity formation, as well.

2.1.3 Culturalist Social Movement Theory

A common criticism of political process theory is that it concentrates almost solely on structural factors while neglecting cultural and ideological factors involved in movement emergence and success (Benford and Snow 2000). In response to these criticisms, scholars in the mid-1980s began to directly examine and address the cultural and ideological aspects of movements, creating a body of literature that Jasper (1997) terms “cultural approaches” to social movements. These approaches include framing theory (Benford & Snow 2000; Snow & Benford 1988; Snow, et al. 1986), new social movement theory (Pichardo 1997; Buechler 1995; Cohen 1985; Kriesi et al. 1995; Joppke 1993), and broader cultural theories (Gamson 1992; Jasper 1997).

Framing refers to the process by which movements construct meanings, which results in a set of collective action frames that interpret and assign meaning to events for the purpose of garnering support for their causes (Snow 2004). Gamson (1992) and Jasper (1997) build upon the framing paradigm but emphasize the necessity of examining frames within their cultural context to truly understand their impact on a movement. Much work on framing deals with micro-mobilization, that is, how frames are used to recruit people into a movement (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; Gerhards 1992; White 1999; Young 2010). However, other scholars place emphasis not only on how frames and ideology, including identity formation, function to recruit participants, but also on the ways in which movements can use frames and identities strategically for the purpose of bringing about social change (Gamson 1992; Jasper 1997; Bernstein 1997).

Traditionally frames produced and used by movement organizations have been broadly categorized by the purposes they serve. Snow and Benford (1988) refer to core framing tasks, which are necessary to define a problem, define a solution, and motivate people to act. These include the following processes: diagnostic framing, identifying a problem; prognostic framing, defining a particular solution to that problem that can be brought about through a social movement; and motivational framing, describing why people should engage in protest activity to bring about change. Other scholars, such as Gamson (1992), have used different categorizations of framing tasks. Gamson defines three collective action frames: agency, injustice, and identity. Agency frames are similar to motivational frames in that they describe how activists have the power to bring about

social change through protest. Injustice frames are how movements define their situations as unfair and in need of remediation. They invoke strong feelings of “righteous anger” and moral outrage for the purpose of spurring individuals to action (Gamson 1992: 32). Jasper defines a concept of “moral shock” as “an unexpected event or piece of information [that] raises such a sense of outrage in a person [that] she becomes inclined towards political action” (Jasper 1997: 106).

Identity frames are used to define a collective identity of movement participants, fostering a sense of solidarity and efficacy. Gamson emphasizes that collective action frames by their very nature are adversarial. This means that the formulation of an identity frame, the definition of a “we,” necessarily involves formulation of an adversarial group, a “they.” Such identity formulation can also engender emotional responses. In their study of the transgender movement, Schrock, Holden, and Reid (2004: 76) note specifically how the assertion of a transgender identity fostered pride and self-efficacy as well as “righteous indignation by painting oppressors as immoral.”

Identity formation played a much larger role in the development of what is commonly referred to in social movement discourse as new social movement theory. The concept of "new social movements" is highly fragmented in the literature, alternatively referred to as a theory, paradigm, and mere description (Pichardo 1997; Buechler 1995; Cohen 1985). However, from this fragmented literature, two key components of new social movements can be distilled: a focus on identity formation and the pursuit of goals outside of policy change.

Identity building is a fundamental, though not necessarily explicit, goal of new social movements. Johnston, Larana, and Gusfield (1994) place the origins of new social movements in the loss of identities that has occurred in post-industrial society. As traditional identities have been lost, new or previously weak identities have been emphasized in their place. Kauffman (1990) specifically states that these new identities are previously non-politicized identities. That is, in contrast to movements like the Civil Rights Movement which had "black" as its core identity and arose from political concerns of European colonization, new social movements, such as the environmental movement and the peace movement, have created new identities that were previously not political. New social movements essentially exist to create and defend these new identities, although this is often not the explicitly stated goal of these movements. Following this logic, movements can continue to exist even when the chances of success are slim to none. Indeed, Jasper (1997: 15) states that the "central satisfaction of protest is the opportunity to articulate, elaborate, alter, or affirm one's moral sensibilities, principles, and allegiances."

This idea that some movements exist not primarily for creating social change but merely for the purpose of expression has led to the bifurcation of social movements into two types: instrumental, or strategy-oriented, movements and expressive, or identity-oriented, movements (Touraine 1981; Kriesi et al. 1995). Bernstein (1997), however, argues that identity formation can have multiple goals, from helping in recruitment to actually attempting to change the definitions of identities in the broader culture. She identifies three dimensions of identity formation: identity as empowerment, identity as

strategy, and identity as goal. Identity as empowerment essentially refers to the micro-mobilization functions of identity formation, in which an identity is created for the purpose of recruiting and motivating movement participants. Identity as goal states, “activists may challenge stigmatized identities, seek recognition for new identities, or deconstruct restrictive social categories as goals of collective action” (Bernstein 1997: 537). Finally, identity as strategy describes how identity may be used strategically as a form of collective action. Bernstein describes two ways in which identities can be used strategically: identity as critique involves directly challenging the values or practices of the dominant culture, while identity as education embraces the norms and values of the dominant culture but challenges the perception of the identity in question by arguing that it conforms to existing cultural values.

However, like political process theory, Bernstein incorporates implicit assumptions about progressive movements into her categorizations of identity formation. For example, in describing identity as goal, she mentions “stigmatized identities,” “new identities,” and “restrictive social categories.” Each of these implies a subordinated or oppressed minority population, either stigmatized, unrecognized, or otherwise restricted in their social life. The implicit goal of these movements is to lift these restrictions or force recognition of new identities. Furthermore, in her conceptualization of identity for critique and identity for education, she specifically describes them in terms of how they interact with the “dominant” culture. Identity for critique criticizes the dominant culture, while identity for education does not directly critique the norms and values of the dominant culture but does challenge the perceptions of the dominant culture as they relate

to the identity in question. Again, this assumes that the activists who put forth these identity claims are not members of the dominant culture. Instead, they stand outside, either criticizing the dominant culture directly or embracing the values of the dominant culture and criticizing the perceptions of the dominant culture in order to say, in essence, “we’re just like you.” These assumptions of subordinate status on the part of movement groups present potential problems when we attempt to apply these categories to conservative movements whose members in many ways are members of the dominant culture in terms of race, ethnicity, language, religion, class, and other factors.

New social movement theory also emphasizes that new social movements are not necessarily focused on government redress. In contrast to seeking particular rights from the government, new social movements focus on broad cultural change or change in mass opinion (Jasper 1997). Indeed, some theorists state that new social movements are generally antagonistic towards the government (Joppke 1993). This is consistent with Bernstein’s (1997) assertion of identity change as a potential goal of social movements as well. Indeed, recent scholars (Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Taylor 2010) have argued for the need to look beyond the state in terms of the potential methods by which a social movement may bring about social change. Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) propose what they termed a multi-institutional framework for examining social movements, which takes movements out of the political arena and into the realm of other social institutions. Specifically, they, like new social movement theorists, state that social change need not be focused solely on changing government policy, but on changing the

broader culture as well. Hence, we can talk about contending for power in the cultural arena in addition to contending for political power.

2.2 *Beyond Social Movement Theory*

2.2.1 Group Position Theory

As discussed above, existing social movement theory has a difficult time accounting for conservative movements because of implicit assumptions related to its focus on progressive movements. McVeigh's (2009) power devaluation theory provides the most comprehensive theoretical framework for examining conservative movements to date, but it has some flaws. McVeigh's theoretical framework applies to "right-wing movements," which he defines as "a social movement that acts on behalf of relatively advantaged groups with the goal of preserving, restoring, and expanding the rights and privileges of its members and constituents" (McVeigh 2009: 32). I contend, however, that we cannot assume that conservative movements generally are necessarily attempting to preserve, restore, or expand their privileges. This is more properly an empirical question.

In order to address the question of the motivations of conservative movements, we must look beyond social movement theory to find a theoretical framework that will allow us to address the question: Is a particular conservative movement motivated by a desire to maintain or restore privileges? To answer this question, I turn to race theory, specifically Blumer's (1958) theory of group position. Blumer theorized that racial prejudice was not a matter of self-interest or some other individual psychological trait, but based in the preservation of group privilege. Specifically, he stated that members of

the dominant racial group would define themselves in contrast to the subordinate racial group as a method of justifying the privileges and advantages granted to the dominant race. Racial prejudice, then, is a mechanism by which members of the racial group seek to maintain their racial privilege. Blumer defined four traits that made up group position. First, a feeling that the subordinate group was inherently inferior; second, a feeling that the subordinate group is intrinsically different and alien; third, a "feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage"; and fourth, "a fear and suspicion that the subordinate race harbors designs on the prerogatives of the dominant race" (Blumer 1958: 4).

Although first articulated in 1958, group position theory was generally neglected until its revival in the 1980s by scholars such as Lawrence Bobo (1988). Since that time, the basic theory has been extended and expanded to cover a wider range of groups as well as to address situations outside the original conception of race. Bobo and Hutchings (1996) extend group position theory to apply to interracial contexts outside the original dominant-subordinate pairing defined by Blumer. Using the concept of racial alienation, they examined feelings of group position as they exist between members of different races: the more a racial group feels alienated, the more likely it is to feel threatened by another racial group. Similarly, King and Weiner (2007), in an examination of anti-Semitism among blacks, extends group position theory to groups that are not in direct conflict. They argue that resentment among groups can occur due to linked histories and relative success. Specifically, they state, "When decades of collaboration between groups

are followed by unequal political and economic gains by the respective groups, then resentment can occur" (King and Weiner 2007: 68).

In a 1999 article, Bobo added a socioeconomic dimension to group position. Bobo asserts that the degree of group conflict will depend on "meaningful interests." Specifically, he uses the term "social domain" to explain that people will feel most threatened by other races when they are competing for the same resources. In contrast, Perry (2007) emphasizes that group position need not be based just on material interests, but on threats to identity. In his conception, a threat to group position comes not just from threats to material resources, but threats to the social position of whites and the dominant social identity that has been cultivated around whiteness. Bernstein (2004; Bernstein, Kostelac, and Gaarder 2003) expands group position beyond its original racial conception to explain homophobia, extending Blumer's logic beyond mere dominant and subordinate racial groups to a more generalized notion of dominant and subordinate groupings. Similarly, Dixon (2010) uses group position in an examination of opposition to the enlargement of the European Union, arguing that group position rooted in a sense of "European-ness" is evidenced in the opposition to the inclusion of post-Communist countries such as Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, and Turkey.

Consistent with the above studies that have expanded group position beyond its original racial conceptualization, I contend that group position can be abstracted to apply to any situation in which a group may be attempting to maintain privileges. Therefore, we can use Blumer's four elements of group position as empirical criteria to determine if a movement is attempting to maintain or restore group privileges. If a conservative

movement group is indeed attempting to maintain or restore privileges, we should see evidence of proprietary claims to areas of privilege, a fear that these privileges are being threatened (consistent with Tilly's (1978) polity model), and negative characterizations of those that the group feels are threatening their privileges, portraying them as inferior and inherently different. However, since the basis for particular privileges may not be obvious, one must identify what privileges a group is attempting to maintain and what identities said group is using to justify these privileges, be it race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, or other identities. By looking for evidence of proprietary claims to areas of privilege and advantage, we can determine what privileges (if any) a group is attempting to maintain or restore and can identify what identities are being used to justify access to these privileges. I refer to these identities, created or appropriated to justify privileges as "identities of privilege." Similarly, I identify those groups from which conservative movement organizations perceive threat to look for evidence of portrayals of those groups which, following Blumer, should be portrayed as inferior and inherently different. I refer to these groups from which conservative movements perceive threat as "agents of threat."

While this project focuses on the question of whether conservative movements work towards the maintenance of privilege and if so how, there are questions of what constitutes an unjust privilege and what constitutes a just privilege. For instance, we as a society generally view any privileges gained purely by virtue of race to be patently unjust, while other privileges, for example those gained by virtue of merit, are usually considered just. In this project, I do not attempt to evaluate whether the claims of

privilege being made by movement organizations are just or unjust, nor do I judge the appropriateness of their perceptions. My goal is to present the privilege claims of these movement groups at face value, usually in their own words. Furthermore, I do not evaluate the accuracy of the various statements made by movement organizations or individuals. The importance of these statements for this study is in how these statements reflect the perceptions of movement participants, not in how accurate they may be.

2.2.2 Bourdieu's Conceptualization of Capital

Using group position theory, we are able to determine if a conservative movement group is attempting to maintain or restore privilege. But the question becomes then: What is privilege? I define privilege as an advantage isolated to a particular group of people to which that group feels entitled. This is consistent with the concept of racial privilege in group position (Blumer 1958): advantages possessed by the dominant group (whites) to which they feel entitled by virtue of their identity as whites. However, in abstracting group position to apply to any situation of privilege, we need a more detailed way to examine privilege. I turn to Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital as a way to systematically categorize and examine privilege. In this way, one can describe advantages in terms of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. When certain groups feel entitled to these advantages and try to isolate access to them, these advantages become privileges. This is consistent with Blumer's (1958) criteria for group position, including the idea of proprietary right, i.e., the feeling of entitlement to particular areas of advantage that are isolated to members of the group.

McVeigh's concept of a power market is very similar to Bourdieu's (1990, 2001a) concept of capital. Indeed, Bourdieu conceptualizes power as capital, describing capital as a "social relation of power" (Bourdieu 1989: 375). Bourdieu expanded the idea of capital to encompass four different types: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Bourdieu 2001a). Economic capital is the classical definition of capital, involving money and material wealth. Cultural capital consists of learned behaviors and traits that are culturally valued, including education (Kraaykamp and van Eijck 2010; Dmitrieva 1996; Anheier, Gerhardt, and Romo 1995). Social capital consists of advantages gained by virtue of social connections (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Lin 2001; Dasgupta and Serageldin 2000; Lesser 2000), including advantages via politics and social position (Eyal, Szelenyi, and Townsley 1998). Symbolic capital consists of prestige based upon social recognition, such as recognition of race or gender (Bourdieu 1991, 2001b).

As in McVeigh's market model, each of the capitals may be exchanged for another type of capital under certain conditions (Bourdieu 1990). Indeed, McVeigh seems to equate status-based power with capital. He states that status-based power consists of "certain behaviors, traits, cultural knowledge, and tastes" (McVeigh 2009: 41) and that status is "reflected in both cultural and social capital" (McVeigh 2009: 42). However, in his analysis of Klan activities, McVeigh only examines cultural capital, and then only in a single instance involving education. I argue that the concept of status-based power is better examined through the concept of privilege by decomposing the concept of privilege into cultural, social, and symbolic capital. In so doing, it decomposes status-based power into three well-studied and understood concepts: cultural,

social, and symbolic capital. At the same time, we can still examine the concepts of economic and political power through economic capital and social capital, respectively (Schyns and Koop 2009). Furthermore, while McVeigh specifically names cultural and social capital in his concept of status-based power, I contend that symbolic capital, particularly as it is embodied in particular identities, is vital to understanding conservative movements through their identities of privilege. That is, not only do these movements create or appropriate certain identities to justify access to privileges based on economic, cultural, and social capital, but there is also symbolic capital associated with the identities themselves. Moreover, this symbolic capital, itself, is often used to gain access to other economic, cultural, or social advantages.

Several studies have noted the importance of symbolic capital associated with identity. Hintzen (1997) examines the symbolic capital associated with Afro-Creole nationalism in the West Indies. Opponents of the colonial order created a nationalist ideology and identity which became a “symbolic condition of power” and allowed those individuals from the educated middle-class who were able to assume a nationalist identity to take power (Hintzen 1997: 51). Philips (2004) shows how skin color functions as symbolic capital in marriage in South India, where women with fair skin fare better in dowry negotiations, in some cases despite other mitigating factors, like caste position. Kővérová (2010), in a study of opposition to homosexual rights in Slovakia, states that heterosexuals, as the majority population, oppose such rights in part due to “fears over the loss of... symbolic capital” (Kővérová 2010: 30). She finds particularly strong

opposition to the adoption of children by homosexuals and argues this is because having children is perceived as part of the symbolic capital associated with the family.

2.3 Conclusion

Existing social movement theories were developed around progressive movements and thus integrated several assumptions about the composition and goals of these movements. This creates difficulties in attempting to explain conservative movements using these theories. McVeigh's (2009) power devaluation theory attempts to address these issues, and while it provides a good framework for the analysis of the structural aspects of conservative movements, it is insufficient to fully explain the ideological and cultural aspects of conservative movements. To this end I have proposed integrating aspects of Blumer's (1958) group position theory as well as Bourdieu's (Bourdieu 2001a, 2001b) conceptualization of capital with existing theories on social movement ideology in order to better examine the ideology of conservative movements. This approach addresses some of the flaws in power devaluation theory by placing the question of motivation, a pre-defined assumption in power devaluation theory, front and center. The assertion that conservative or right-wing movements are driven by a desire to restore or maintain privilege is directly examined using the criteria set forth in Blumer's theory of group position. Furthermore, the question of how conservative movements perceive their privileges is decomposed through Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital, including economic, cultural, social, and symbolic privileges. These privileges are centered on particular identity claims used by conservative movements to justify the isolation of particular privileges to their group and the entitlement of the group to those

privileges. Finally, the ways in which conservative movements attempt to maintain these privileges through protest activity is explicitly explored not just in terms of a desire to change policy, but also through potential efforts to change the broader culture as well. In this way, we gain a comprehensive view of the ideology of conservative movements in terms of their motivations and goals and the methods by which they believe they can be successful.

Therefore, I develop four questions designed to explain the ideology of conservative movements:

1. How do conservative movements construct movement identities?
2. Are these movements claiming privileges, and if so, what are they? Do they perceive threats to these privileges?
3. How do these movements characterize their agents of threat (those individuals or groups threatening their privileges)?
4. Do these movements frame their goals in terms of cultural change, and if so, in what way?

To answer these questions, I conducted a qualitative case study of two conservative movements: the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement.

3. Methods

The purpose of this research is to further the development of a theory of the motivations and ideologies of conservative social movements that will apply to conservative social movements generally. To this end, I decided to conduct a qualitative study of two case movements, the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, to try to understand the range of arguments, logic, and context of the thoughts, feelings, and aspirations of these conservative activists. In the following chapter, I will describe my methodological choices and the reasons for these decisions. First, I will discuss the reasons for my case movement selection. I will then describe my three sources of data about these movements: content analysis of movement web sites, interviews of movement leaders and participants, and direct observation of rallies and protests.

3.1 Case Selection

To foster development of social movement theory that is generalizable to conservative social movements, I chose two cases that have quite different goals. I also chose movements that are nationally distributed so that they represent not just local or regional concerns but have enough broad influence to involve people from many different locations with potentially multiple reasons and motivations for engaging in protest. Furthermore, I chose movements that are currently active so as to better understand the implications of conservative protest both for today and the future. The anti-abortion/pro-life movement and the anti-illegal immigration movements are both large, national

contemporary movements that, while centered on conservative causes, represent very different histories, methods, and goals.

The anti-abortion/pro-life movement draws from decades of previous experience and activities, while the anti-illegal immigration movement is relatively young. As detailed in Chapter 1, the anti-abortion/pro-life movement has been around since at least the 19th century in the U.S., but even the latest wave of anti-abortion/pro-life activism commenced before the passage of *Roe v. Wade* in 1973 (Tribe 1992; Jacoby 1998; Munson 2008). In contrast, while the anti-illegal immigration movement also has existed in various forms since before the founding of the nation (Nevins 2010), the latest wave of anti-illegal immigration activism only began in the early 2000s (Doty 2007; Hayden 2010).

While both movements engage in traditional protest activities such as picketing and rallies, each movement also has unique tactics. The primary tactic of the anti-illegal immigration movement, particularly in the mid-2000s when the Minuteman Project was in its prime, has been the border patrol (Gaynor 2009). The Minutemen and some other groups directly address the perceived problem of undocumented migrants crossing the border by watching for border crossings and reporting them to authorities. There are fewer border patrols today than in the past, particularly due to the dissolution of the Minutemen Civil Defense Corp in March of 2010, although my interviews indicate some local and state groups still conduct limited border operations. Direct interventions of the most well known anti-abortion/pro-life activists used to be "rescues," in which they blockaded abortion clinics to prevent doctors and women seeking abortions from entering

(Grant 1991; Ginsburg 1998). The tactic of conducting rescues was largely abandoned following the passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, which mandated harsh penalties against specifically this kind of activity (Johnson 1999). Today, anti-abortion/pro-life activists often engage in prayer vigils outside abortion clinics and what is known as "sidewalk counseling," in which they attempt to persuade women entering abortion clinics to decide not to have abortions (Doan 2007).

3.2 Locations of Research

While there are a number of well-known national organizations in the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements, there are also many state, regional, and local organizations that are active within these movements as well (Doan 2007; Chacon and Davis 2006). To gain both breadth and depth of knowledge about these movements, I focused on national organizations and, within selected states, local and state organizations. Due to the sheer number of potential state and local organizations in the nation, I elected to concentrate my more in-depth research on a set of particular states. I chose states based upon their history with both the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements and their levels of local activism and political activity related to the issues. At the same time, however, I sought out states that differed from one another in order to obtain potentially different perspectives due to different geographical contexts. I initially chose two states in which to concentrate my more in-depth research, Texas and North Carolina. Eventually, I expanded my research on the anti-illegal immigration movement to more states, as I will explain below.

3.2.1 Texas

Texas is a state that borders Mexico and has struggled with the issue of immigration since it became a state (Montejano 1987). For over 100 years, Texas, with the longest stretch of border with Mexico of any state, has experienced undocumented migration from Mexico. Mexican workers began to migrate to the U.S. in large numbers following the Mexican Revolution in 1910, attracted by a demand for labor, particularly in the southwest (Donato 1994; Takai 1993). While immigration laws were in place to restrict immigration from areas outside western and northern Europe and Asia, few restrictions were imposed on migrants from Mexico due to the need for agricultural labor (Zolberg 2006). Undocumented migration of Mexicans in the early 1900s was not seen as a concern, as the migration patterns were temporary and circular: Mexican workers would cross into Texas to work and return to Mexico when that work was completed (Ettinger 2009). In more recent years, increased militarization of the Mexico-U.S. border has disrupted the circular migration patterns of seasonal Mexican workers, leading to more Mexicans settling in the U.S. as opposed to risking the trip back home to Mexico and back into the U.S. the following season for work (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2003). Despite a decline in the undocumented population overall since 2007, the undocumented population in Texas increased in 2010 (Passel and Cohn 2011).

While Texas never had a state-level anti-immigrant ordinance like California's Proposition 187, some localities have passed or attempted to pass anti-immigrant ordinances of their own. In 2006, the city of Farmer's Branch, a suburb of Dallas, attempted to pass an ordinance declaring English to be the official language of the city.

Farmer's Branch also passed another ordinance that criminalized the renting of housing to undocumented migrants (Esbenshade et al. 2010). More recently there have been attempts at the state level to pass a bill banning "sanctuary cities," cities that enact policies to restrict local police from inquiring about the immigration status of individuals arrested or detained (Hart 2011).

Texas is well known for being extremely conservative politically, and this conservative attitude has extended to the issue of abortion, both in the populace as well as among lawmakers. Texas is home to numerous anti-abortion/pro-life groups, including 40 Days for Life, an international pro-life campaign that has staged events in 337 cities across six countries (40 Days for Life 2011). Texas also has been active at the state policy level on the issue of abortion. In 2005, Texas signed a bill into law that requires youth who are under eighteen years of age to get parental consent before having an abortion (Blumenthal 2005). The 82nd Texas legislature is currently attempting to pass a bill allowing the state to sell "Choose Life" license plates (Brooks 2011). There is also a bill under consideration that would require a woman seeking an abortion to view a sonogram of her fetus (Holley 2011). Additionally, the current governor of Texas, Rick Perry, is an outspoken critic of abortion and has appeared as a keynote speaker at anti-illegal immigration rallies (Rauf 2009). Governor Perry even declared the sonogram bill described above as "emergency" legislation for 2011 legislative session (Holley 2011).

3.2.2 North Carolina

North Carolina, despite its distance from the U.S.-Mexico border, has a large undocumented Latino population (Passel and Cohn 2009). As of 2008, North Carolina

was estimated to have the ninth largest undocumented population in the United States (Passel and Cohn 2009). Unlike Texas, however, this is a very recent occurrence. Drawn by demands for unskilled labor, the Latino immigrant population has increased dramatically within the last two decades (Gill 2010). Indeed, Charlotte, North Carolina is considered a "pre-emerging immigrant gateway" (Furuseth and Smith 2010). Like in other areas of the South, this has spurred the emergence of anti-immigrant sentiment in the state, including the promotion of local anti-immigrant laws and ordinances (Gill 2010).

North Carolina is at the forefront of the anti-abortion/pro-life movement as well. Although North Carolina is generally a politically conservative state, the state government has been relatively favorable towards the practice of abortion. In 1967, North Carolina became one of the first states to reform its anti-abortion/pro-life statutes by lifting restrictions on the practice (Tribe 1992). Nevertheless, North Carolina is the national home of one of the nation's most prominent evangelical anti-abortion/pro-life organizations, Operation Save America, a descendant of Operation Rescue.

3.2.3 Inclusion of Other States

In my initial research design, I had planned to conduct interviews in just Texas and North Carolina. However, as I began to contact potential interview subjects, I found that while I was able to find a sufficient number of respondents among anti-abortion/pro-life groups, I had difficulty securing interviews with anti-illegal immigration activists. Compared to my experiences with anti-abortion/pro-life groups, the anti-illegal immigration groups I contacted seemed much more cautious about speaking with me and

were especially reticent to put me in contact with other members. Therefore, to obtain more interviews of immigration activists, I decided to expand the scope of my analysis of the anti-illegal immigration movement to four additional states: California, Arizona, South Carolina, and Georgia. Each of these states was chosen by the same criteria as my initial selections of Texas and North Carolina.

California is substantially similar to Texas in that it is a border state with a long history of undocumented migration. Indeed, California surpasses Texas as the state with the largest population of undocumented migrants in the nation (Passel and Cohn 2011). California also has a history of contentious politics with regard to the issue of undocumented migration. The state passed Proposition 187, which banned the use of various social services by undocumented migrants in 1994, although it was later found to be unconstitutional (Jacobson 2008; Ono and Sloop 2002). Additionally, California is the home of Jim Gilchrist's Minuteman Project, one of the two offshoots of the original Minuteman Project.

Arizona, despite being a border state like California and Texas, has not seen until recently much undocumented migration (Passel and Cohn 2009; Cabrera and Glavac 2010). Due in part to increased enforcement of traditional border crossings in California (Cabrera and Glavac 2010), there has been a recent influx of undocumented migrants in the state, which has incited some very hostile reactions. This has resulted in both state-level policy implementation and anti-illegal immigration activism. Arizona was home to the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps, one of the two offshoots of the original Minuteman Project and was the center of anti-illegal immigration activism during the Minuteman

Project's heyday (Chavez 2008). More recently, Arizona became the center of the immigration controversy with the passage of SB 1070 in April of 2010 (Archibold 2010). This law makes failing to carry alien registration documents a crime, obliges police to check the immigration status of individuals they arrest or even just stop, and also criminalizes transporting undocumented migrants or hiring undocumented workers from certain vehicles (State of Arizona 2010).

South Carolina and Georgia both share similar profiles to North Carolina with regard to immigration. Both are Southern states that, until recently, had a relatively small undocumented population. By 2008, however, Georgia was estimated to have the seventh largest undocumented migrant population in the nation (Passel and Cohn 2009), and the Latino population of South Carolina has increased 148 percent over the last decade (Kropf 2011). As of March 2011, South Carolina's legislature is considering a bill similar to Arizona's SB 1070 that would require local police to enforce immigration restrictions (Adcox 2011). Similarly, Georgia's legislature passed an Arizona-style anti-immigration law in April of 2011 (Campo-Flores 2011).

3.3 Research Methods

Previous research on conservative movements has pointed out the potential disconnect between public ideologies and private motivations (Linden and Klandermans 2007; Kimmel 2007). Therefore, to get a comprehensive picture of the ideologies of my two case movements, I decided to approach the movements from multiple perspectives. I designed a three-part methodology, involving a combination of analysis of public

documents with interviews of key participants as well as observation of rallies and protests.

3.3.1 Ethnographic Content Analysis

To fully understand the arguments that the activist organizations intended for public consumption, I elected to conduct an ethnographic content analysis (Altheide 1987, 1996; Krippendorff 2004; Doane 2006; Gooch 1996) of movement web sites (Martin 2010). Ethnographic content analysis (ECA) is a qualitative method of analysis of text in which aspects of ethnographic research are applied to the analysis of documents (Altheide 1987, 1996). Given that the goal of this project is to extend existing social movement theories, ECA was especially well suited to this project as it is "oriented to check and supplement as well as supplant prior theoretical claims" (Altheide 1996: 17). It involves a reflexive research design, in which documents are analyzed not in a serial fashion, but repeatedly to allow for the discovery of previously unknown patterns and categories of analysis (Bernhard, Futrell, and Harper 2010). Unlike traditional quantitative content analysis, this allows for the identification and examination of emergent patterns within the data (Healey 2010). While ECA is still guided by pre-established categories drawn from previous research and experience, it allows for "constant discovery and constant comparison" of patterns within the data (Altheide 1987: 68). ECA also allows for a much more nuanced and context-sensitive analysis as compared to traditional content analysis. While traditional content analysis involves counting instances of particular words or phrases, ECA involves the analysis of data units derived conceptually (Altheide 1996), such as arguments or claims. This allows for a

deeper, more context-sensitive analysis of text while at the same time allowing for traditional coding counts. Additionally, ECA involves the constant comparison of analyzed material to the material preceding it to iteratively ensure the validity of the findings (Bernhard, Futrell, and Harper 2010; Healey 2010; Altheide 1987, 1996). This reflexive comparison enabled comparisons of themes across several different sources of data, including web sites, email messages, books, pamphlets, and other materials.

I constructed a list of web sites of existing anti-abortion/pro-life and anti-illegal immigration protest organizations through a three-step process. First, I identified national organizations from previous research and conducted searches for web sites of these organizations. Second, I conducted broad searches for other activist organizations using the terms "pro-life" and "anti-illegal immigration." I performed these searches for both national organizations and for organizations in the states in which I interviewed. Finally, I followed links from those sites I initially discovered to affiliated or associated sites of other organizations (Rosen, Dragiewicz, and Gibbs 2009). In all cases, I specifically concentrated on social movement organizations. That is, for an organization's web site to be included in my dataset, I had to identify at least one non-institutional activity in which the organization had participated.

I began examining web sites in the fall of 2008 and continued until the end of 2010. Rather than sample within the organization web sites, I separately analyzed each distinct article, page, or posting produced by the organization on every organization web site, with the exception of archived material. In the case of archived material, I elected to analyze one month's worth of material posted prior to the time I examined the site. I

chose this strategy instead of sampling over the entirety of existing archives to ensure that the information I was gathering was as current as possible with regard to any potential evolving arguments or claims. In total, I analyzed 23 anti-illegal immigration and 35 anti-abortion/pro-life organizational web sites, which includes both national organizations and organizations that operated within my selected states. Within these sites, I analyzed over 1,100 unique articles and postings.

Coding was oriented by my research questions, with specific coding broken down into four categories related to my questions. I coded for identity claims, claims of privilege and threat, portrayals of agents of threat, and non-policy-oriented goals. Specific coding criteria within these categories was based on a combination of pre-existing coding categories derived from existing social movement theory and literature on the movements and emergent categories that were identified during the course of my research. The coding process was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, the data was scanned to inductively generate new coding categories from emergent patterns (Hammerli, Znoj, and Berger 2010), and these new categories were combined with the pre-existing categories. The second phase, after a complete list of both pre-existing and emergent coding categories was generated, involved the actual coding of data.

Examination of the data during the first phase of analysis found that identity claims made by anti-illegal immigration groups and individuals were solely concentrated on the identity of "American" or "citizen," and identity claims among anti-abortion/pro-life activists were primarily concentrated on the identity of "Christian." This is consistent with previous literature on nativism with regard to anti-illegal immigration sentiments

(Jacobson 2008) and the centrality of Christianity (both Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism) in the anti-abortion/pro-life movement (Tribe 1992). I then coded for more specific claims about the qualifications necessary to be considered "American" or "Christian." For the anti-illegal immigration case, these included the claim that one must speak English to be truly American (Flores and Murillo 2001), that one must be culturally Anglo in some way (sometimes unspecified), that one must be native-born to be American (Bhabha 2004), and the claim that one's race or phenotype can exclude one from being considered American (McVeigh 2009). For the anti-abortion/pro-life case, I coded for claims that to be American is to be Christian (Chancey 2009), claims that to be Christian means that one must be opposed to abortion, that one cannot be Christian and be homosexual (Barton 2010), and I additionally coded for those instances in which other moral conditions were placed on the definition of being "Christian."

I coded claims of threat and privilege by categorizing threats in terms of economic, cultural, and social capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1989b, 2001b). However, it was not the case that all claims of threat were related to particular privileges. Moreover, in those cases where threats to privileges were claims, it was not always the case that these threats related to specific proprietary claims (that is, were limited to a particular group). Thus, I also coded for instances in which arguments were not necessarily proprietary or in terms of threat to privileges. Finally, I coded for non-policy-oriented goals, goals that were not intended to bring about social change through change in government policies.

3.3.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

In addition to the content analysis of movement materials, I conducted semi-structured interviews (Lindlof and Taylor 2011) with movement leaders and participants. Whereas the content analysis examined organizations on a national scale to look at the breadth of organization ideologies, the interviews were designed to provide more in-depth information concerning organizations and individuals. These interviews also offered the opportunity to examine potential differences between messages communicated in publically available materials and personal opinions (Linden and Klandermans 2007).

I selected my interview respondents through the web sites of protest organizations located in my target states. To capture the full range of ideologies among different types of movement organizations, I engaged in purposeful sampling of the various movement groups (Altheide 1996), attempting to contact at least one individual from each unique organization in my target states. I also specifically sought interviews with racial minority and female participants in both movements to ensure that potential ideological differences due to race or gender were included in the analysis. Once I identified potential interview candidates through the web sites, I then proceeded to contact each potential candidate via email or by phone. Unfortunately in several cases, primarily among anti-illegal immigration groups, either the groups themselves had gone defunct or the contact information was incorrect, and my initial emails were returned undeliverable. From the remaining initial contacts, I secured interviews with approximately 40 percent for both movements combined.

I also sought out additional interview subjects at the rallies I attended and was even able to solicit a number of interviews from activists living in other areas of the country. In addition, I sought referrals from my initial interview respondents for other potential interview subjects. This strategy worked well in the anti-abortion/pro-life case, but I secured just two additional interviews through referrals from anti-illegal immigration activists. These initial difficulties in securing anti-illegal immigration respondents led me to expand my initial state selection to include an additional four states, as explained earlier. Although I initially sought to interview both leaders and respondents in approximately equal numbers because of possible ideological differences between leaders and participants (Luker 1986; Linden and Klandermans 2007), I was able to secure only a few interviews with individuals outside of leadership positions, in part because of difficulties with interview referrals. Additionally, while I specifically sought out minority respondents, I was only able to secure a relative handful of such interviews, making comparisons of minority opinions difficult due to a lack of data.

In total, I conducted 46 interviews, 20 with anti-illegal immigration respondents and 26 with anti-abortion/pro-life activists. The interviews ranged from 20 minutes to three hours, with the average about an hour and a half. Where possible, interviews were conducted face-to-face, although a small number were conducted over the phone in cases where a person-to-person meeting was not possible. The audio of each interview was recorded where allowed, which was later transcribed and analyzed. In those cases where permission to record was refused, detailed notes were taken during the interview.

Approximately seventy total hours of interview data were collected. The data was coded using the same coding scheme as was used in the web site content analysis.

3.3.3 Observation of Protests and Rallies

I supplemented my data from the public web pages and interviews with observations from protests and rallies. I had the opportunity to attend a total of eight individual events, including both semi-private organizational rallies as well as public street protests. I attended nightly rallies at two national events for Operation Save America in 2009 and 2010 for two and five days, respectively. I also was present at the protest of an abortion clinic and a street demonstration in Charlotte, NC during the summer of 2010 as well as a protest of a mosque by the same organization. In addition, I attended several rallies at state capitols. These included an anti-abortion/pro-life rally and anti-illegal-immigration rally at the Texas state capital in January 2010 and June 2010, respectively. I also attended an anti-illegal immigration rally that was organized by the South Carolina Black Conservatives at South Carolina's state capitol in August 2010.

I recorded all speeches given at these rallies, which totaled approximate 25 hours of audio from 30 to 40 different speakers. The text of these speeches was transcribed and coded according to the same scheme used for the web sites and interviews. I also collected pamphlets and other materials distributed at these rallies, which were analyzed in the same fashion. I took numerous photographs of signs, shirts, and other protest materials and wrote field notes about the overall characteristics of the rallies and protests themselves.

3.3.4 Coding Counts and Representativeness

Ethnographic content analysis encourages both numeric counts of coded arguments as well as qualitative data analysis (Altheide 1987, 1996). Therefore, in addition to a qualitative analysis of the web site and interview data, I provide figures regarding the number of coded arguments and proportions of the various arguments. While these figures allow for comparison of the relative frequency of different arguments, there are several important caveats. First, one must be careful in drawing conclusions regarding the relative prevalence of different categories of arguments based upon their coding totals. As described above, I counted instances of conceptually derived claims and arguments, consistent with ECA and qualitative data analysis (Althedie 1996; Rubin and Rubin 2005). That is, for each coding category, I coded separately for each unique argument or claim within that category. For example, threats to jobs, wages, and different social services, would each be counted as economic threat. Some categories, such as the economic threats of undocumented migration or cultural threats of abortion, had far greater argument counts due to the large variety of concerns under these categories than others with a more narrow focus, such as claims regarding birthright citizenship, which almost solely centered on interpretations of the 14th amendment. As a consequence, it would be inadvisable to draw conclusions regarding the relative prevalence or importance of different categories of arguments in the broader movement based upon the proportions of coded arguments shown in the diagrams in the subsequent chapters.

A second caveat involves questions of representativeness of the data for the movements overall. Even though I attempted to analyze web site content from every protest organization within my case movements that was operating either nationally or in my target states, the quality and quantity of the data presented on the individual web sites varied dramatically. Some web sites had only a few individual pages or articles, while others had well over 100 articles, pages, or posts. Consequently those organizations with a larger number of articles had a much greater influence on coding counts and proportions of arguments.

Furthermore, my research concentrated on the ideological positions of these organizations, primarily their identity constructions, their motivations, and goals. Many, and in some cases most, of the articles on a lot of organizational web sites contained no relevant information on those topics and as such yielded no coded arguments. As a result, those web sites with a greater number of articles relating to the ideology of the organizations also had a disproportionate impact on the coding counts. Thus, we cannot draw any hard conclusions about the relative prevalence of particular arguments in these movements in the U.S. based solely upon the coding counts and proportions presented in this research.

This being said, I provide diagrams of the proportions of the various arguments to demonstrate the relative prevalence of my coded findings in this research. Despite these caveats, ethnographic content analysis of the three bodies of data (web sites, interviews, and rallies) yielded a great deal of material with the breadth and depth necessary to enable a comprehensive analysis of the movement ideologies necessary to answer my

four research questions. In the following four chapters, I will describe my findings relating to these four research questions. I will present examples from movement web sites, interviews with activists, and dialog taken from speeches made at protests and rallies. I have chosen quotes from the web sites and interviewees based upon common patterns I observed in these movements. In an effort to present a comprehensive view of the claims presented, I try within each category to show many varied articulations of how different organizations and respondents characterized the different types of arguments.

4. Identities of Privilege

Scholars within the culturalist school of social movement theory have emphasized the importance of the formation of movement identities as a way to inspire solidarity among movement participants and spur people to action (Gamson 1992; Jasper 1997; Bernstein 1997). The formation of movement identities works alongside other framing tasks, giving justification to injustice frames by portraying members of the movement as an oppressed minority for example (Schrock, Holden, and Reid 2004). New social movement scholars argue that such movements create new identities that previously had no political connotation to replace lost or weak traditional identities (Johnston, Larana, and Gusfield 1994; Kauffman 1990). Indeed, the creation of movement identities can be explicit or implicit goals of social movements, a way of changing the existing culture by calling for the recognition of new identities or the rearticulation of existing identities (Bernstein 1997).

As with much of existing social movement theory, many theories of identity formation are oriented towards progressive movements, assuming the participants are long-oppressed peoples attempting to create new, unrecognized identities or to address stigmatized identities (Bernstein 1997). How, then, do we think about identities of conservative movements? Bernstein specifically discusses how movement identities criticize aspects of the "dominant" culture, but in many ways members of conservative movements *are* members of the "dominant" culture. Moreover, if members of conservative movements are relatively privileged compared to members of progressive movements, how can conservative movements describe themselves and their members as

oppressed? How can they criticize the "dominant" culture when, by definition, conservatives strive to preserve the existing dominant culture?

In this chapter, I will examine how conservative movements construct their movement identities and how these identities are able simultaneously to be grounded in "mainstream" identities, such as "American" and "Christian" yet still be characterized as an oppressed minority, suffering under the pressure of a purportedly domineering and dictatorial national regime. I will show how these movements take what Jasper (1997) terms "collective identities," identities that existing within mainstream culture, and convert them into "movement identities," identities created for the purposes of mobilization, by applying particular restrictive criteria to those that "qualify" as, for example, a "true" Christian or a "true" American. This strategy of identity formation serves two purposes. First, it allows the movements to claim themselves as oppressed because the mainstream culture, as they see it, refuses to accept their ideological definition of "American" or "Christian" and persecutes them for "speaking the truth." Second, and more importantly, the construction of these identities serves to maintain privilege for these groups by restricting those who have "legitimate" access to these privileges. I term these identities that are created for the purpose of maintaining or reacquiring privilege, "identities of privilege."

4.1 Anti-Illegal Immigration

Anti-illegal immigration groups exclusively emphasized the identity of "American" or "citizen" as their primary movement identity, although what precisely qualified someone to be an "American" varied somewhat among movement organizations

and members. The following diagram represents the proportionate representation of the most common restrictions on these identities that I observed in my analysis of movement web sites, interviews, and rallies.

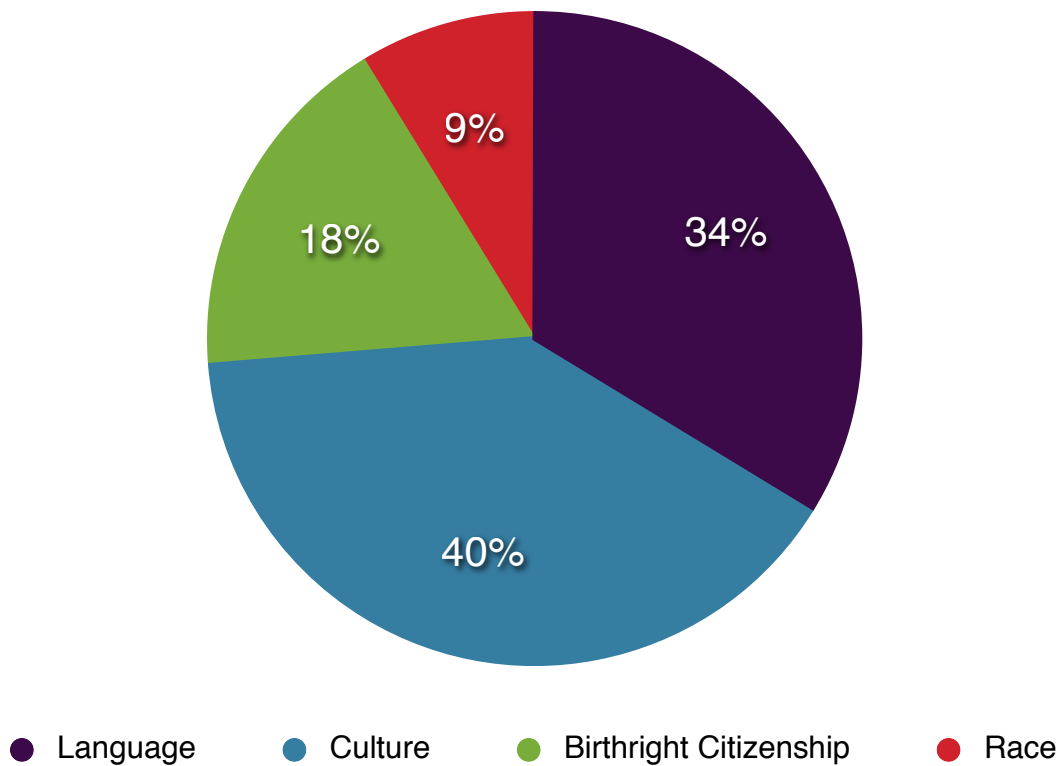


Figure 1: Proportions of Anti-Illegal Immigration Identity Claims

The vast majority of identity claims centered on issues of culture, with a large proportion of the cultural claims specifically emphasizing language. A smaller number concerned the issue of birthright citizenship, while a relative few made explicit references to race or phenotype as it relates to American identity.

4.1.1 Language

Most of the restrictions on the definition of what it means to be "American" centered on the English language. That is, to be a "true" American you must speak English. For example, the web site for the Dustin Inman Society, an anti-illegal immigrant organization named for a boy killed in a traffic collision with an undocumented migrant, asked, "What would our Grandfathers say about the fact that English is now an optional language in Georgia?" This implies that languages other than English being spoken in Georgia is betraying or ruining our national heritage. Peter, a former military serviceman from North Carolina, stated, "When you come into the United States, you assimilate. You even look back at when they came into the United States at Ellis Island, many of them 'We're going to speak American. We're going to speak English. We're going to be American.' That's what makes America great." And Mark, an activist living on the Texas border, stated simply, "Learn the language. I mean, you think enough of your damned country, you want to be there, then learn the damned language."

The web page for Americans for Legal Immigration, ALIPAC, advocates legalization of English as the official language of the United States:

A final touch should be the declaration of English as America's national language. New laws must be passed that prohibit government agencies and businesses from discriminating by catering to Spanish speakers. Legal immigrants should be required to have some command of the English language. Current bi-lingual services are provided at a cost to American taxpayers and consumers are specifically designed to aid and abet illegal aliens. All legal immigrants to America should know how to speak American!

Here ALIPAC explicitly associates speaking English with being American by declaring that English should be the national language and goes as far as to directly equate English with being American, in that legal immigrants should speak "American." ALIPAC also describes bi-lingual services as "specifically designed" for illegal immigrants. At first glance it may seem absurd to say that bi-lingual services are designed explicitly for undocumented migrants. However, if we accept the assertion that all Americans speak English, then these statements follow logically. That is, if we declare that all "true" Americans speak English, then it would logically follow that any bi-lingual services must be designed not for the benefit of Americans who do not have full command of the English language (since they do not exist by definition) but for noncitizens. In this way these resources are restricted to the "real" Americans that speak English.

In addition, ALIPAC asserts that English-speaking Americans face "discrimination" from government agencies that "cater" to Spanish speakers. Its web site explains, "The employers of illegal aliens and H2B visa immigrants do not want Americans in the mix. There is rampant discrimination against America workers because they do not speak Spanish..." So here ALIPAC declares that "American" workers do not speak Spanish and accuses businesses that do not hire monolingual English-speakers of discrimination against "Americans." By alleging such discrimination, activists portray themselves as suffering under unjust oppression, despite the advantages they enjoy by virtue of the near ubiquity of the English language in the United States.

Roan Garcia-Quintana, a candidate for the state senate of South Carolina, said the following at an anti-illegal immigration rally in Columbia, South Carolina: "The Cuban

community, when we came here, we embraced the American way, we learned how to speak English, and we showed America what we could do for you. Now we're being run out of Miami. A lot of the people in America are being run out of Miami because illegal aliens are there." Garcia-Quintana contrasts the immigrant Cuban community to current undocumented migrants and in so doing defines what he considers to be "American." Part of this "American way" is learning to speak English. Furthermore, he characterizes the Cuban community as "real" Americans (in that they learned English) who are now at the mercy of undocumented migrants "running them out" of Miami, a place to which they presumably have a legitimate claim as "true" Americans.

At the same rally, Larry Grooms, a South Carolina state senator, said of undocumented migrants, "They demand special privileges. They speak their language and expect us to change our ways and our culture to accommodate them." Consistent with Gamson's theory (1992), Grooms creates an adversarial "us versus them" dynamic in describing "they" (undocumented migrants) versus "our" (Americans). In so doing, he implicitly defines "Americans" as English speakers who adhere to an "American" culture.

Raul, a Latino activist from South Carolina, argued that America is not, in fact, a multicultural nation: "One of the misconceptions about the United States is that we're a multicultural nation. We're not. Culture is what you live. We're a multi-heritage nation, and heritage is what you bring to the table... a common language. I always like to say that English is the language that unifies—U dot S dot, us, the United States." So for Raul, a common culture is necessary for a national identity. While having multiple heritages is fine, having multiple lived cultures is not. Part of this singular American

culture is speaking English, which he views as fundamental to the United States as a nation in that it binds us together. With regard to undocumented migrants today, he said, "Because unlike the 1900s when everybody wanted to come to America to speak English, that's not happening as much. These people, they don't feel the bond. They don't want to become Americans. They want to go back to Mexico." Raul assumes that lack of English skills of undocumented immigrants indicates a lack of desire to speak English, which he views, in turn, as evidence that they do not want to become Americans. Consistent with Bernstein's (1997) idea of identity as critique, Raul sees the nation as moving away from its common culture, which is in part defined by the English language. While mainstream cultural norms generally stress acceptance of diversity and tolerance of difference, Raul is challenging these values by instead stressing the need for more cultural uniformity.

Other respondents also talked about the practical reasons for English as a national language. Brian, an activist from North Carolina, stated, "To me, the two things that hold America together are our flag and our language." Brian, therefore, links English as much as the flag to the identity of America. He further elaborated,

So English has been a predominant language, and I think it needs to be. It doesn't mean that students shouldn't learn other languages. The more the better. But we need to be able to communicate on a central language because otherwise how are we ever going to be able to become a melting pot if we can't communicate with each other.

Brian, although he lauds the learning of multiple languages, claims we cannot be a "melting pot" without a common language. This is similar to Raul's argument distinguishing culture from heritage. The "melting pot" can be composed of different

heritages, but a common culture, a vital part of which is English, is necessary for national unity.

From the perspective of the anti-illegal immigration movement, therefore, command of the English language serves as a fundamental dividing line between "real" Americans and non-Americans. In this way, English becomes a powerful symbol of Americanism and can effectively function to limit access to particular privileges through suspicion and mistrust of individuals who do not speak English. While most anti-illegal immigration activists specify that such English-only requirements are meant to keep undocumented migrants away from resources to which noncitizens do not have a legitimate claim, the fact is not every citizen in the United States necessarily speaks English. In essence, these criteria subject all non-English-speaking citizens to demotion to "non-American."

4.1.2 Culture

While language was the single most frequently cited aspect of culture used to define what it is to be "American," other cultural criteria were used as well. In many cases, exactly what constitutes a person who is "culturally" American was not specified, but treated as self-evident or assumed. These assertions serve to further reinforce oppositional identities between "true" Americans and undeserving migrants. John, a security consultant from California, said, "We believe that we can't help illegal aliens by helping them to come here and destroy our country, our lives. They have a different culture. They have different laws, different ways of going about doing things, none of which jive real well with what we are about here." John never specifies exactly what

constitutes "American" culture nor the culture of undocumented migrants. He generalizes that immigrant culture is incompatible with American culture in that it doesn't "jive real well." Similarly, Kyle, an activist from North Carolina, stated, "Many of the illegal immigrants that are coming in and some of the legal immigrants are not expressing a desire to assimilate to American value systems and principles that, in my belief, have helped create the most prosperous and successful civilization in human history." Like John, Kyle does not specify what exact comprises American culture, but he believes American culture constitutes a superior value system to the culture that immigrants bring with them.

William, a retired military serviceman from North Carolina, was a bit more specific in the aspects of culture that, at the very least, were not *incompatible* with American culture:

Well, if Juan Valdez is tired of picking coffee beans down in Columbia and he wants to come to America to work in auto parts manufacture or to start his own business and he comes here legally, the right way, God bless him. Bring some of that great coffee with you, you know. Or those skills that you learned about growing it. It's like the Italians and their spaghetti or their pizza or the Mexicans and their Mexican dishes. Bring that good stuff with you. Leave the values behind. Come here the right way.

In William's opinion, the more superficial aspects of immigrant culture, like food, are acceptable, but deeper values should be left behind if one is to come to America "the right way."

In other cases, the incompatible aspects of immigrant culture are described in varying levels of detail, and in so doing, Americans are defined implicitly or explicitly in comparison to non-American cultures, almost exclusively Mexico. For instance, State

Senator Larry Grooms at the South Carolina rally described some of the traits he believes define Americans and distinguish them from undocumented migrants:

We stand against the Obama administration and all of those things to ensure that illegals have rights. They don't have rights. They're from somewhere else. They don't have Constitutional rights; they don't have Constitutional protections. But you do, because you're citizens. You value certain things. You value life. You value liberty. You value property rights. You value Constitutional law. You value certain things that we hold dear.

Grooms explicitly describes those values held by American citizens: life, liberty, property rights, Constitutional law. However, he is contrasting undocumented migrants from "somewhere else" with Americans, implying that migrants do not value life, or liberty, or property rights. Later in his speech Grooms was more specific as to the values held by undocumented migrants (or lack thereof):

Let me tell you a little bit about illegal immigrants. They're mainly economic migrants. They come here to our country seeking economic advantage. They're not here for individual freedom. They're not here for individual liberty. They remain loyal to their homeland and to their culture where the rule of law is weak and where corruption is a way of life. Their first act in this land is a total disregard for the rule of law as they sneak across our borders. After violating our immigration laws, they commit felony document fraud.

Here Grooms defines American culture as valuing law and condemning corruption again through an implicit comparison to Mexican culture. This, however, requires the willful ignorance of lawbreaking that happens within the U.S., at least so far as it could indicate a "culture of lawlessness" in this country. Furthermore, by portraying Mexican culture as inherently lawless and corrupt, anti-illegal immigration activists are able to condemn all

undocumented migrants for violating U.S. immigration law and thus demonstrating, by their logic, the inherent lawless nature of immigrants.

Martha, a retired activist in California, described immigrant culture in relation to family size:

And I'm not saying anything's wrong with their culture. It's just that their culture is very defined. It is very typical of people from Oaxaca. That happens to be—the state of Oaxaca is where most of the workers come from that are in our area. And they have 5 and 6 kids. Americans don't have that many anymore. You have one. I've had three children. I have what I could afford, and even that was a struggle. If you're not responsible for your own children, somebody else is paying for them, then you feel like you have this liberty to do whatever you want. So personal responsibility all has to be a key to this.

Using what Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2010) terms a "style" of color-blind racism, Martha begins by explicitly stating that there is nothing wrong with immigrant culture, but she then goes on to explain what is wrong with immigrant culture, at least as it pertains to family size. That is, lack of personal responsibility is a part of immigrant culture, as evidenced through immigrants having children beyond their economic means.

Mark, from the Texas border, was more direct in his assessment of immigrant culture:

But we know for a fact that they like killing bulls for no damned apparent reason. We know a fact that they like dog fighting and cock fighting. And they don't hesitate to smack their women around, one. And it's a macho thing to have 6 or 7 mistresses on the side with the wife. I know that because I've lived down here with that shit... It's unfortunate that's the way they believe. They believe that way to a very high degree. I've seen it.

Mark declares that immigrant culture is characterized by animal cruelty through bullfighting, dog fighting, and cock fighting, as well as misogynistic attitudes on the part of men through multiple mistresses and violence against women. Again, by explicitly

defining immigrant culture he implicitly defines American culture as opposed to these attitudes.

Jim, a businessman living near the border of Arizona, described immigrant culture in relation to education:

Los Angeles schools 40 years ago were ranked in the tops in the nation. Today, they are the worst. Same with California schools. Two-thirds of the students in the LA unified district are Hispanic. Come on. So we saw a tremendous increase in Hispanic students in California, and we saw a drop in performance. But they also have the same problem in Mexico. And, in essence, a lot of the problems that we have are cultural, okay, in that basically in Mexico there's not that much of a respect for education. So what we have is a cultural clash where you have a tremendous influx of people who are not assimilating because there are so many of them. They bring their attitudes toward education with them.

Jim thus attributes the problems in academic achievement in California schools to an increase in Latino students whose Mexican culture does not value education.

By defining the supposed traits of immigrant culture that are incompatible or damaging to American culture, activists implicitly describe American culture as the antithesis of these detrimental attitudes and simultaneously provide an argument for the exclusion of the purveyors of these dangerous values from the nation and its privileges.

It is important to note here that while some respondents specifically mention undocumented migrants in reference to culture, many make claims about Mexican culture more generally. That is, in those cases where specific cultural traits are mentioned, they are connected not to undocumented migration, but to Mexican or Latino culture.

Furthermore, Mexican or Latino culture is presented in an almost uniformly negative fashion, except for superficial traits like cuisine. Therefore, to be American is to be

culturally Anglo, and if you do not "assimilate" to American Anglo culture, not only do you not deserve the label of "American," you actually constitute a threat to American prosperity.

4.1.3 Birthright Citizenship

Another common argument with regard to who deserves to be labeled "American" lies in the controversy over birthright citizenship. The 14th amendment to the United States Constitution grants U.S. citizenship to anyone born on U.S. soil, based on existing Constitutional interpretations. Many anti-illegal immigration activists, however, contend that the granting of citizenship to anyone born on U.S. soil is a misinterpretation of the 14th amendment in terms of both its language and its original intent. This leads, they argue, to "anchor baby" syndrome, in which undocumented migrants give birth in the United States in order to have their child declared a U.S. citizen. They then collect various social services and benefits for their child and, ultimately, themselves.

The web site for the Atlanta Minuteman Project declares very simply, "Having a baby born in this Country does not make someone a Citizen of this Country." Mark, from Texas, complains, "I just don't somehow believe that that kid deserves every right that I've got 'cause his mother was able to run across the bridge. That has to be stopped." Mark explicitly articulates a perceived threat to his privileges, declaring that merely being born on U.S. soil should not be sufficient to obtain "every right that I've got."

Ruth, from South Carolina, speaking of undocumented migrants, said:

They're exploiting the 14th Amendment, which was written for ex-slaves who were born in the United States and wanted to become a citizen of the United States and the state where they lived. And a

lot of them are exploiting that by coming across the border almost 8 months pregnant—who are going to have a baby—and they have a baby in the United States and all of a sudden it's a U.S. citizen. You know the baby is a citizen so, therefore, they are, too. So, that's what they call the anchor baby, I guess.

Ruth asserts that undocumented migrants are taking advantage of the 14th amendment by exploiting the letter of the law and, in turn, violating its original intent. Similarly, Martha, from California, stated, "First of all, the 14th Amendment was put in place to protect the children of the slaves and the slaves that were brought here against their will. That was to make sure that they were citizens and would be accepted in our country as a citizen and not 3/5 of a person. Okay?" Alan, a contractor from California, criticized the 14th amendment as anachronistic:

Get rid of the 14th Amendment. You know what that is, right? The anchor baby portion, okay? I mean that is such an old, ridiculous law. I mean it wasn't ridiculous when it was made a law, but it is ridiculous in 2009 as opposed—I think it came into effect in something like 1866 or 1868 or something like that. Right? To help the slaves and their children so they couldn't be deported. Fine. We're past that. Now that they're coming over here and abusing that like crazy.

And John, from California, stated:

And we also have to end this birthright citizenship—uh—automatic birthright citizenship in the United States. The 14th Amendment was never intended to apply to illegal aliens. It was intended to apply to slaves. That's what it was written for. And it was never meant to, uh, to provide shelter for people who weren't supposed to be here in this country anyway and to give automatic citizenship to anybody who has the good fortune of being plopped out of mom on U.S. soil. It was never meant to be that way, and we need to get rid of that.

Jeff Duncan, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from South Carolina, said the following at an anti-illegal immigration rally in South Carolina.

To solve this issue, we've got the political will to end the anchor baby phenomenon. We're going to say if you're Guatemalan and you're here illegally in this country and you have a baby, you know what, that baby's Guatemalan, too, and not American. If you're here from Pakistan and you cross the southern border and you're here illegally and you have a baby, that baby is Pakistani and not American. Because my mom and dad taught me that something earned is worth a lot more than something given.

Jeff is expressing fears of the devaluation of American citizenship, that the value of citizenship decreases when it comes too easily. By this logic, legitimate access to the privileges of American citizenship should come through "earning" one's citizenship, presumably through the procedures necessary to become a naturalized citizen. It is unclear, however, how native-born citizens "earn" their citizenship, since it is granted upon birth, the same as children of undocumented migrants born in this country.

4.1.4 Race

In virtually every case, including nearly all organization web pages and interviews, respondents and organizations emphatically stated that the debate of undocumented migration was not about race and that they were not racist. And indeed, it is the case that explicit mention of race was uncommon. However, a few respondents did make explicit reference to race or phenotype in terms of how one defines being American. For example, Raul, from South Carolina, stated:

But when you walk out and you see a lot of 4 feet tall people that are Indians—Mestizos is what we call them in Spanish 'cause they're more Indian than they are Spanish. You know, that's why we were able to say, "My God. Where did all these people come from?" And all of a sudden it was obvious. It was like an invasion. And, then, you know, as people started studying and looking, the poultry farms that used to employ all blacks—mostly

blacks. All you saw all of a sudden were brown people, short brown people from Guatemala, Central America, and whatnot.

Raul clearly has an image of what an "American" looks like, and it does not include people who are "4 feet tall" and "brown people" by his own definition. Indeed, the mere sight of such individuals was enough to constitute an "invasion." Again, we see the dichotomization of identity, in that the 4-foot tall brown people are "these people" and not "us." Raul also talked about racial profiling, saying that racial profiling was not actually racial, despite the fact that phenotype was the primary trait by which he said profiling should be used:

You know, it's not about profiling. Profiling has gotten a bum rap because law enforcement cannot exist without profiling. Ah, it's just that simple. If a blond, blue-eyed guy robs a bank, you don't go to the black areas of town looking for him, do you? You're looking for a blond, blue-eyed guy. If 99 percent of illegal aliens in South Carolina look a certain way, then, hey, that's the way it is. And if they don't speak English and they don't have drivers licenses and all these things, then the next thing you can ask is, "Show me that you belong here." And I don't find anything wrong with that because I used to have to carry my green card until I became an American citizen.

For Raul, profiling is simply a fact of life, as "99 percent" of undocumented migrants look the same way, so it is perfectly justified to question their immigration status.

However, Raul never addresses one of the core criticisms of racial profiling: that it unfairly exposes people of particular races or phenotypical traits to undue and unjust attention by police and others, essentially assuming their criminality or, in this case, illegality by virtue of nothing more than their appearance (Romero 2008; Glover, Penalosa, and Schlarmann 2010). Raul does say that he does not find anything wrong with profiling based on phenotype because he, as an immigrant himself, used to have to

carry his green card. However, Raul is of Cuban descent and phenotypically white, thus he likely would not have been the target of such profiling. Indeed, he went to great lengths to demonstrate his whiteness: "If you're going to say anything about my race, my mother's from Barcelona... They're both Spaniards. I'm Caucasian. I may have some Moor blood, but then the Moors were Caucasian, they were just dark Caucasians."

Alan, from California, did not make specific declarations regarding race, but some of what he said revealed his own racial definition of whom he considered to be "American." In one case, he said,

And it's really hard, really hard for the person who wants some work done on their house to say, "Well, this company over here gave me a bid of \$40,000; they gave me a bid of \$18,000. I think I'm going to go with the \$18,000." This is an all white crew—well, not all white, an all American crew—and this is a crew that maybe you have the principals as being American and then they hire whoever to do the job.

Alan describes a situation in which two contractors bid for a job, and one offers a lower price due to being able to pay his laborers less because they are undocumented migrants. What is important, however, is how he describes the all-American crew. He first describes them as an "all white crew," but then realizing the racial undertones of that statement revises it to say, "well, not all white, an all American crew." Clearly his first instinct when picturing who is "American" in his mind is to picture white people. He later confirmed this saying, " We get a lot of [the] finger from, you know—it's mostly people that look American, white people or whatever. They're just like, 'You're a bunch of racists' and calling us names." Here he essentially says that "people that look American" are white people. Similarly, Kyle from North Carolina, whom I interviewed

over the phone, indicated that he defined "American" at least in part in terms of race or phenotype when he said to me, "I don't know what color or race you are but you sound like an American." While he stated he did not know what race I was, the fact that he associates race with being American and the fact that I "sound" like an American indicates that he defines Americanism in part in terms of race.

Many have accused the anti-illegal immigration movement of being racist (Chacon and Davis 2006; Chavez 2001), yet my findings found only a handful of explicit references to race, seemingly vindicating the movement of charges of racism. However, we live in the age of contemporary racism, where racism is not often expressed in explicit terms (Bonilla-Silva 2010; Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith 1997; Tarman and Sears 2005; Dovidio and Gaertner 2004). Indeed, the fact that anyone made explicit mention of race (outside of declaring that they are not racist) is somewhat surprising. When we examine the anti-illegal immigration movement more closely using the criteria of contemporary racism, however, there are several instances that could be considered racist. Many of the examples regarding culture in this chapter could rightly be interpreted as examples of what Bonilla-Silva (2010) terms "cultural racism," in which particular negative stereotypical traits are attributed not to biology, as in the past, but to cultural failings. Such traits include lack of intelligence or educational ability, lack of responsibility with regard to family size, traits of criminality, animal cruelty, and misogyny. Therefore, lack of explicit mention of race does not necessarily mean a lack of racism within the movement.

It should also be noted, however, that almost all of the respondents seemed genuine and sincere in their beliefs that what they were doing is not racist. Again, this is not unsurprising in the age of contemporary racism where color-blind frames such as cultural racism are used to deny racism (Bonilla-Silva 2010). That is, criticizing an ethnic or racial group based upon purported cultural failings, rather than biological deficiencies, is not considered racist under the standards of contemporary color-blind ideology. Similarly, racial profiling is argued not to be racist using what Bonilla-Silva terms a "naturalization frame," since it's simply a "fact" that most undocumented migrants "look a certain way," as Raul puts it. Furthermore, many define racism in terms of the explicit, overt racism of the Jim Crow era, arguing that racism must involve hatred or violence to be considered "racist." Raul, for example, describes what he considers to be racism: "

To me, racism has to be some sort of hatred involved. Just like the new Black Panther. 'Let's kill the crackers. Let's kill the white crackers.' That is racism to me. I'm not saying it doesn't exist among white folks. But don't say its down here, the KKK is down here in the South, when the main KKK is in Indiana or Michigan—the biggest membership.

For Raul, to be "racist" requires obvious show of hatred or threats of violence.

Therefore, it does not appear that these groups are being intentionally dishonest in their claims of not being racist. Rather, they are using a definition of racism as overt and explicit, which allows them to make racialized statements while still claiming not to be racist.

4.2 Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life

Every organization and individual in the anti-abortion/pro-life movement stressed an identity of "Christian" as their primary movement identity, emphasizing that their Christian faith required them to actively oppose abortion. However, most of those who identified as Christian also specified restrictions on the definition of "Christian" such that many individuals who identify themselves as "Christian" would not qualify under these criteria. In addition to restricting the definition of "Christian," most also stressed that America is a Christian nation, and thus laws or cultural practices that lead the nation away from Christianity (as defined by these groups) are in violation of the spirit of the United States.

The following diagram shows the most common restrictions and their approximate proportions in coded claims.

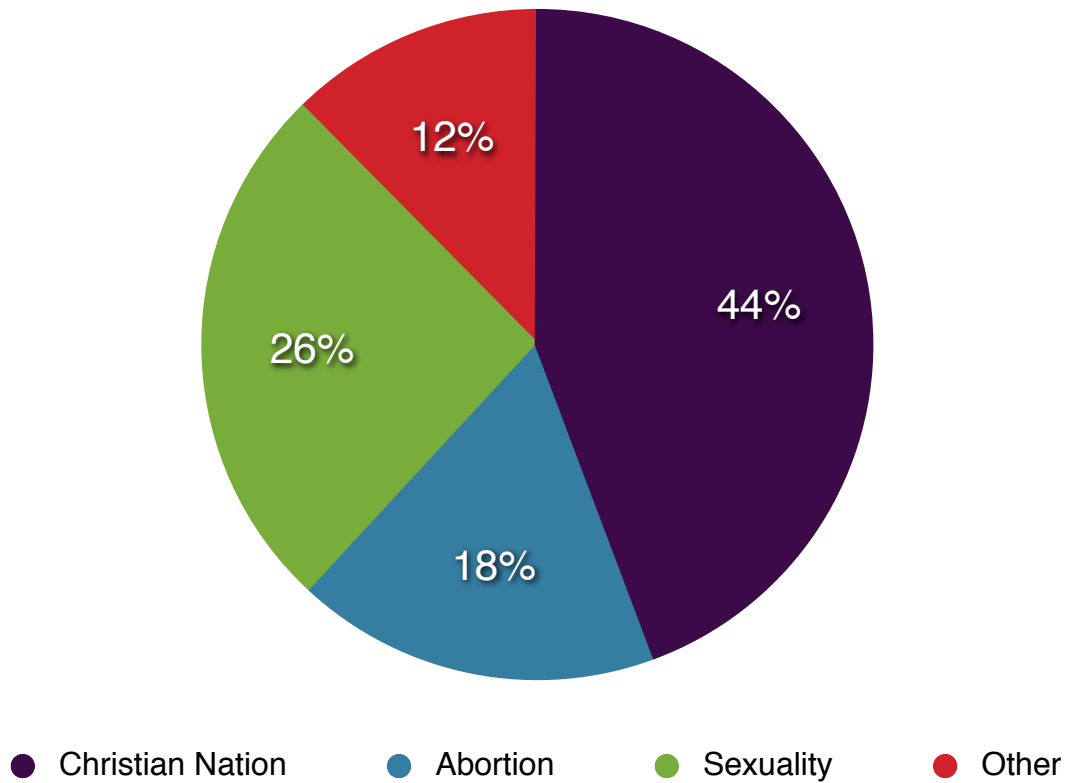


Figure 2: Proportions of Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life Identity Claims

A great many claims were made regarding America as a Christian nation. In terms of specific restrictions on the definition of Christianity itself, various individuals and organizations declared or implied that a "true" Christian must be opposed to abortion, be heterosexual, and conform to a variety of other, sometimes unspecified, moral behaviors or values.

4.2.1 America as a Christian Nation

A large number of claims asserted that America is a Christian nation because it was founded by Christians and based on Christian principles. In so doing, they implicitly define "true" Americans as Christians. The web site for Elijah Ministries, an anti-

abortion/pro-life organization based in Waco, Texas, specifically links Christian goals with the founding of the nation:

America has a rich heritage and a godly legacy... It was apparent that in every founding document Christ was the inspiration that founded this virtually untouched prime real estate in the earth.

From the Mayflower Compact with its, "In ye name of God," "For ye glory of God and advancement of ye Christian faith," to the Declaration of Independence, there is irrefutable proof that God Almighty had revealed His mighty arm to settle this great nation. God's good Providence remained faithful even through the throes of the Revolutionary War with its battle motto of "No king, but King Jesus."

Another article on Elijah Ministries web site goes on to describe how the nation has moved away from Christian principles and how this process occurred:

We are desperate for a different direction that will restore the family, moral sanity, fiscal responsibility, and the Biblical principles that have served as the righteous foundation of our nation. Based upon the modern day, humanistic education agenda and the subsequent governmental conversion it has produced, America has shifted from a God-centered Republic to a man-centered Democracy. How has America been transformed from a God-fearing nation to a pagan nation that kills their babies and allows for the sodomizing of their sons and daughters? How did this godless revolution take place? It was accomplished in the name of pluralism, diversity, multi-culturalism, and tolerance.

In this statement, several values are associated with the Christian foundations of the nation, including values regarding family, morality generally, and fiscal responsibility.

However, it is argued, the nation has shifted from its origins and nature as a "God-centered Republic" to a "pagan nation" that promotes child killing (abortion) and homosexuality, both of which are in violation of Christian principles. The reason for this shift is allegedly due to policies that favor tolerance and diversity. It seems that

respecting other cultures, religions, and philosophies involves violating Christian principles.

The web site for Operation Save America also declares the primacy of Christianity in the founding of the nation:

AMERICA WAS FOUNDED UPON THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY

It was not a group of Hindus, Muslims, and Christians that sailed across the Atlantic to the shores of the "New World" to begin a new nation where one was free to worship Almighty God (Jesus). It was those who loved Christ. It was upon the principles found in the Bible and the liberty found in Jesus Christ that the foundations of our nation were laid.

Explicit associations between Christianity and the democratic principles of freedom were also made:

What made America free and her flag a symbol of that freedom can be found in the hearts of our Pilgrim forefathers who, before founding a new nation, were first liberated by Christ. They came to the New World to be free. They built a nation upon the precepts of Christ and the Bible. The American flag is a symbol of that liberty.

The principle of liberty was, it is argued, due to the "liberation by Christ" experienced by the founding fathers. Tom, an activist and pastor from Texas, made a similar claim regarding the connection of Christianity to the principles of liberty: "We need authority, and we need liberty. And what our founding fathers desired was a peaceful social order on one hand and maximum individual freedom on the other. And they knew the only way that was possible was one nation under God." The web site for Alliance for Life Ministries also talked about the foundations of America in Christianity:

If we know our history, we know that America was founded upon Christianity. Before the Pilgrims set sail for North America,

Governor William Bradford stated motives for re-locating their church. He said they had “a great hope . . . for propagating and advancing the Gospel of the Kingdom.” The Pilgrims were all Christians! Inside the rotunda of our capitol is a painting of the Pilgrims about to embark from Holland. The chaplain has the Bible laying on his lap. The words state, “The New Testament according to our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.” On the sail is the motto of the Pilgrims, “In God We Trust. God With Us.”

In this case, not only was the nation founded on Christian principles brought over by the Pilgrims, but indeed the purpose of their journey was to spread and promote Christianity. It goes on to describe purportedly anti-Christian values that violate the intention of the founders of the nation:

America was not built on tolerance for wickedness, disrespect for the unborn, sexual perversion, radical feminism, paganism and relativism – there is an eternal right and wrong. It’s high time we, without shame and apology, reclaim our Christian heritage and return to the greatness with which God once blessed our nation!

By this definition, abortion, "sexual perversion" (homosexuality, among other practices), feminism, paganism, and "relativism" (tolerance and respect for different value systems) are in violation of the nation's Christian heritage. It then states that "we" (Christians) should "reclaim" our rightful Christian heritage, of which the nation has been robbed.

George, an activist that I met at a protest in North Carolina, also declared that the intention of the founders was to create a Christian nation:

That’s one of those things that they don’t teach in our schools. They don’t teach the truth of history. I have a friend that has over 100,000 original documents that shows right from their mouth, right from their eyewitnesses to them, to show that they were overwhelmingly wanting a Christian nation in this country. But that’s probably not what you learned in school.

Similarly, Joanne, an activist from Texas, stated: "Our country was founded as a Christian nation even though our President says that it wasn't. It was founded as a Christian nation. There is scripture—if you go to D.C., there is scripture is all different places, there's scripture verses." Roger, another activist I met in North Carolina, stated simply, "The United States of America was established on Christian principles, our founding fathers laid down their lives for the cause." And a speaker at an anti-abortion rally in Charlotte, North Carolina, said, "God grieves for this nation. It was God that birthed this nation. It was God that raised this nation up. It was God that set in place a nation that was to be like a city on the hill. A light from which people from every place in the world could come and become an American."

The definition of America as a Christian nation has two important implications. First, Americans of other religions or those who profess no religion at all are demoted to the level of "non-American," implicitly if not legally. These groups are, therefore, tacitly disenfranchised in that goals and values espoused by these populations are inherently suspect and at risk of being defined as in violation of the spirit of the nation. Second, it is important to note that, in addition to declaring that America is a Christian nation, many organizations and respondents also specified particular practices or values that are defined as contrary to the nation and thereby to Christianity. Many in the United States who claim to be Christian but support these values, including religious tolerance and diversity, homosexual rights, abortion rights, among others, are also demoted to "non-American" status as they are not "true" Christians. In the following sections I will discuss in more detail some common restrictions placed on this definition of "Christian."

4.2.2 Opposition to Abortion

Unsurprisingly, being actively opposed to abortion was a common restriction placed on the definition of "Christian." In my analysis, I coded only those claims that seemed to declare that one cannot by definition be Christian if one is not actively opposed to abortion. This is distinct from claims that one is simply a "bad" Christian for not opposing abortion. A speaker at an anti-abortion rally in Charlotte, North Carolina stated,

This is a war to the death. Somebody's going to win here. Either the local church or the abortion clinic. The two of them cannot coexist peacefully. They cannot! ...the local strip club. They cannot peacefully coexist with the church of Jesus Christ. Because God hates the shedding of innocent blood. God hates abominations...

If the local church and the abortion clinic cannot coexist, then it follows that one cannot be a "true" Christian, such as a member of said church, and peacefully tolerate abortion. It should also be noted that "the strip club" is also placed alongside the abortion clinic, such that a "true" Christian cannot support such an establishment as well. One web site, Corpus Christi Right to Life, specifically addressed Catholicism, saying simply, "POLITICIANS CANNOT BE CATHOLIC AND PRO-ABORTION" [capitals in original].

Roger, from the rally in North Carolina, described how one cannot be in favor of abortion or homosexuality and still believe in God:

If you embrace the conviction that abortion is wrong, then you have to go back to that same Bible and say well homosexuality's got to be wrong. Okay? So what it amounts to is this: they've got to be in the camp of pro abortion or of pro choice in order for them to live their lives the way they want. The absolutes of God's word

have got to be discarded. So they come from the same thesis, which is that there is no God.

In this case, the logic necessary to be in support of abortion or homosexuality precludes believing in God, in that one must willfully ignore moral absolutes laid down in Christian scripture in order to support these activities.

The web site for Operation Save America also addresses the idea of moral absolutes:

The enemies of Jesus Christ (abortion, homosexuality, Islam, etc.) are having their way in America because, in our attempt to win the world for Christ through “luv” and tolerance, we have become more like the world and less like Christ. The world can’t distinguish between that which is good and that which is evil because the Light of the World has become dim. We no longer speak of the moral absolutes of Almighty God for fear of appearing narrow, unreasonable, and judgmental.

This statement explicitly labels abortion as well as homosexuality and Islam as the "enemies of Jesus Christ" and again blames the promotion of tolerance and diversity for the weakening of the "moral absolutes" of Christianity. Similarly, Michael, an anti-abortion/pro-life activist in Austin, Texas, said that so-called "liberal" Christians who support abortion are actually "anti-Christian" on these issues:

It’s only—I would say liberal Christians, people who really don’t live by the Bible, can accept abortion. So folks who do not live by the Bible, which liberals in my opinion do not. Because so many of their beliefs—people who live with themselves as liberal are anti-Christian on issues such as abortion, homosexuality, divorce. These are major tenets of the Bible which liberals, uh, uh, would, you know, allow an open license to practice these things, which Christians cannot do that because the Bible specifically says that they are not allowed to have divorce or abortion, murder, or homosexuality and these other things.

Michael explicitly says that Christians cannot engage in abortion, homosexuality, or divorce. Therefore, those who do these things and label themselves Christian cannot be truly considered such. Similarly, Lisa, an activist I met in North Carolina, said:

Now there are many church buildings and organizations and gatherings that call themselves churches that do not follow the teaching of the Scriptures, you see. So it's difficult because in Corinthians, the Apostle Paul wrote, "If someone comes to you speaking about a different Jesus and another gospel, then that is another, a different spirit." You see, the Church down the road here who would agree with abortion, sodomy, homosexuality in that sense and be all inclusive of all these things—okay?—and this church right here would be speaking of the same historical Jesus, okay? But they would change—it is a different Jesus than what he truly was.

4.2.3 Homosexuality

As demonstrated above, many individuals and organizations not only define "true" Christianity in terms of opposition to abortion, but in terms of opposition to homosexuality as well. While it has its origins solely in opposition to abortion and this is its primary mission today, Operation Save America also openly condemns homosexuality and defines it as incompatible with Christianity. An article on their web site stated,

In a 6-3 decision, the Supreme Court of the United States of America ruled on June 26, 2003, in *Lawrence v. Texas* that there is a constitutional right to homosexual sodomy. That's right! In one fell swoop, the Supreme Court threw out God, His Law, over 4,000 years of history, and its own past precedent, to declare sodomy, in all of its perverse forms, a constitutional right in America.

Another article on this site described Christians "battling" the "homosexual agenda": "We pray that what happened here will provide a bright ray of hope for gentle Christians who are battling the radical homosexual agenda and 'Gay Pride Events,' in their own cities.

We pray that many who are lost in the bondage of homosexual lust and sin will be set free by the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

OSA is not the only group or individual to declare homosexuality incompatible with Christianity. The web site for Alliance for Life Ministries stated, "God does not defend men and women who have sex with their own gender as normal. To the contrary, it's a lifestyle, which is openly condemned in the Bible more than any other specific sin." The web site for Stand True Ministries, a youth-oriented anti-abortion/pro-life organization, stated, "A famous preacher recently claimed that it was OK to remain homosexual and claim to be a real Christian. What this man did was spit in God's face." Similarly, an article on the web site for Elijah Ministries stated,

The truth is, Biblical Christianity cannot co-exist, tolerate, or condone homosexuality. To do so is to invite the wrath of God upon America, condemn homosexuals to hell, and to foolishly squander our children's future because of our moral cowardice. Brethren, if the homosexual agenda prevails, this nation will be forced to outlaw and prosecute someone. Which lifestyle will be made illegal, Christianity or homosexuality? In the near future this nation will be forced to decide.

These organizations explicitly assert that Christianity cannot coexist with homosexuality. Christianity and homosexuality are dichotomized and placed in explicit opposition to one another.

4.2.4 Other Moral Values

As already seen in some previous examples, some organizations and respondents cite additional moral values that are deemed incompatible with Christianity, such as strip clubs and divorce. In many cases, however, certain churches, denominations, or

individuals were criticized for not being "true" Christians but specific criteria were not enumerated. Ken, an anti-abortion/pro-life activist from California, said, "I was a Lutheran. I went to church Christmas and Easter. But I didn't live like a Christian. No concept of it." Benito, a Latino anti-abortion/pro-life activist, when speaking of opposition to his activities, said:

But the persecution that comes most comes from those that claim Christ. That claim Christ but don't know Christ. Sort of like the Pharisees in Jesus' day, who knew the law and even said they practiced the law. But they were hypocrites. Those are the ones who will probably frustrate you the most... But that's probably the opposition that we would get most, from those who say they're Christians.

Benito explains that there are those out there who "claim Christ but don't know Christ," that is, they are Christians in name only who do not follow particular, unspecified, "true" Christian values. He was more specific in his condemnation of what he referred to as "apostate" denominations, saying, "They object to revealed truth. They object to what we would call the first tier issues of Christianity. Doctrinally speaking, the virgin birth of the deity of Christ, the trinity, the resurrection, things like that they've strayed away from." A speaker at an abortion rally in North Carolina made a similar claim, describing a local church as "an apostate church [that] believes in Buddhists and Muslims and that there are many ways into the kingdom of Heaven. This church that tolerates almost anything that you can possibly imagine, makes no distinction between that which is good and that which is evil. ...this church that doesn't even recognize the real Jesus." And another speaker said, "We live in unbelievable times in America. We live in times where our

greatest enemies appear to be the spiritual... those of our own household. The greatest challenge we face are those who claim the name of Christ"

All these cases are consistent with Bernstein's (1997) idea of identity as critique. That is, Christianity in America today is defined in terms much too loose and liberal for many anti-abortion/pro-life activists. They are critiquing this existing definition of Christianity, arguing that the values associated with mainstream Christianity are insufficient to be truly Christian. In this way, these activists also are able to portray themselves as suffering oppression under the existing liberal cultural regime that stifles "true" Christianity in violation of the intentions of the Christian founders of America. Indeed, as will be discussed in the next chapter, criticisms of American culture are at the heart of virtually all anti-abortion/pro-life groups.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I described how both the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement construct their movement identities through taking an identity in the broader culture then restricting the population who qualify by applying conditions on that identity. The effect of this constriction of these identities is to reduce the population that has legitimate access to particular areas of privilege by excluding those who do not belong and are "undeserving." The anti-illegal immigration movement stresses an identity of "American." The activists in this movement base their claims to privilege on their identity as Americans, but restrict those who have legitimate access to these privileges by restricting those who qualify as "true" Americans. That is, "true" Americans speak English, possess various, often unspecified, cultural traits that mark

them as "American," are born of citizen parents, and in some cases are of particular racial categories or phenotypes. As a consequence, those citizens who do not speak English, do not possess "American" cultural traits, were granted citizenship by virtue of the 14th amendment, and do not "look" like Americans are not "true" Americans. At best, they do not deserve access to the privileges of "Americanness." At worst, they are saboteurs and invaders, trying actively to destroy or conquer the nation, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Similarly, anti-abortion/pro-life activists primarily claim an identity of "Christian," but in a way that is considerably more restrictive than for many who claim to be Christian in the United States. At the same time, these activists often made explicit connections between being Christian and being American: America is a Christian nation, hence "true" Americans are Christians, and those who violate the tenets of "true" Christianity are essentially traitors to the legacy of the founders. Consequently, like the "American" identity defined by anti-illegal immigration activists, those citizens who are Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, or of another religion, not to mention atheists, are not considered "true" Americans. Yet claiming to be Christian, even belonging to an established Protestant denomination and church, is not sufficient to be considered a "true" Christian. To be considered a "true" Christian one must adhere to a set of criteria, including actively opposing abortion, being heterosexual, and conforming to a set of often vague or unspecified moral and religious guidelines that defines oneself as something other than a pretender or "apostate."

Part of the importance of these identity claims lies in the symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2001a, 2001b) that is assigned to these identities and, more importantly, the desire on the part of these movements to recapture symbolic capital that has been lost. Both the identity of "American" and "Christian" have changed over the course of American history. As the country has grown and changed, more and more people of different backgrounds, ethnicities, races, cultures, customs, and religions are now American. Consequently, some of the traits that at one time defined an American, such as speaking English or being racially white, have either been eliminated or are under threat. Whereas once a person could assume that, as a white, English-speaking American they would be denied nowhere and would in fact be privileged over others, that is not as much the case today (although the fact that whiteness and American cultural practices are still privileged in contemporary society is well known and documented (Feagin 2010; Lipsitz 1998; Kincheloe 1998; Roediger 1991)). This is a function of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2001b): that merely being labeled as and being seen as an "American" had a value associated with it that privileged such "Americans" over others.

As described in this chapter, however, anti-illegal immigration activists see this privileging of traits like speaking English being reduced. The same is true for the identity of "Christian." In part due to religious pluralism as well as greater moral latitude in some Christian denominations, the symbolic value of being "Christian" has decreased historically in the country and the symbolic value of some traits previously associated with Christianity have also diminished. For example, homosexuals are increasingly asserting their rights and encroaching on privileges previously isolated to heterosexuals,

such as marriage (Stadler 2009; Langbein and Yost 2009; Lewin 2008). Both these identity formations are attempts to reclaim this lost symbolic capital by restricting access to privileges to a smaller number of "true" Americans and Christians.

Even though the evidence suggests that these identities restrict legitimate access to privilege, this is not to say that these identities were created solely for the purpose of preserving privilege. But the effect of the restrictions placed on these identities, whatever the origins or justifications, is to restrict those who truly "belong." When belonging is used as a justification for legitimate access to particular privileges, these identities truly become "identities of privilege." But what privileges do these movements claim, in the name of being "Christian" or "American?" I will explore these privilege claims in the next chapter.

5. Privilege and Threat

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated how conservative movements construct movement identities by taking identities in the broader culture and narrowing their definitions, thus constricting the population with legitimate access to particular privileges. But what privileges are these movements making claim to, if any? Following Blumer's (1958) theory of group position, we can look for evidence of maintenance of privilege through, among other things, a sense of proprietary right to particular privileges and a belief that these privileges are under threat. To examine privilege in a more detailed manner, I turn to Bourdieu's (1990, 2001a) conceptualization of capital, which allows us to specify these privileges in terms of economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. In most cases, legitimate access to particular privileges is implicitly based upon the constricted identities described in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I will show how these movements perceive threats to economic, cultural, and social capital, and how they make particular proprietary claims to these areas of privilege based upon the identity claims described in the previous chapter.

It should be noted that this is not an exhaustive examination of threat framing (Van Dyke and Soule 2002; Berlet and Vysotsky 2006) for the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements. I specifically focus on claims or proprietary right to privileges and associated threats. It is indeed the case that other threat claims were made that are not specifically associated with proprietary rights such as threats of disease. While I do not examine all of these frames in-depth, as they are outside the scope of this

research, I do mention these frames where applicable and explain how they exist outside my framework.

5.1 Anti-Illegal Immigration

The majority of threat claims made by anti-illegal immigration activists addressed issues of economics, with a smaller but significant proportion addressing issues of culture. Claims regarding social capital were made as well, although they were fewer in number. The following diagram represents the approximate proportions of the different types of claims.

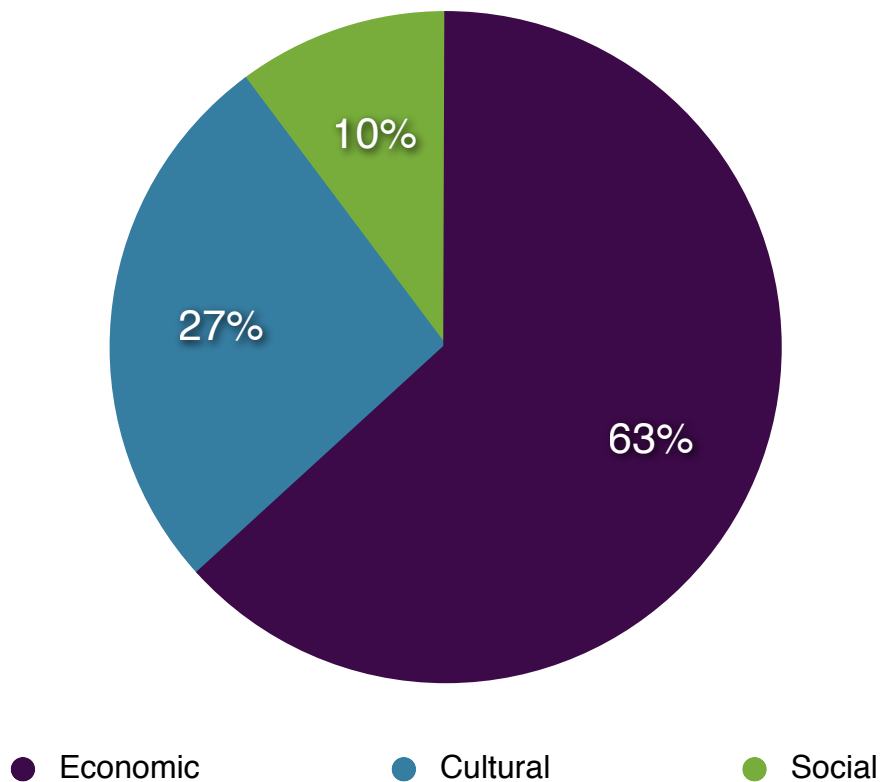


Figure 3: Proportions of Anti-Illegal Immigration Threat Claims

5.1.1 Economic Threats

Claims of threats to economic privileges were the most common claims among anti-illegal immigration activists, due in part to the wide variety of different types of economic threats described and the many areas of social life allegedly affected. William, from North Carolina, touched on a number of different aspects of economic threat in a single sentence: " Illegal immigration is something that people can see—how it affects health care, the economy, safety, crime, schools, the cost of building and maintaining schools. There are lots of tangibles associated with an excessive influx of people, whether it's legal or illegal, either way." At an anti-illegal immigration rally in South Carolina a speaker for the Palmetto Minutemen declared,

The reason illegal immigration is such a big problem is because it causes so many other problems. Social Security is in the red, unemployment is sky high, people are losing their homes. Our children, our future, are finding themselves unable to return to schools and colleges because of the expense of illegals. These, ladies and gentlemen, are some reasons why illegal immigration must be stopped. Our country is being destroyed by this invasion.

Similarly, the web site for NC Listen, a North Carolina-based anti-illegal immigration organization, argued,

Mass immigration to include illegal immigration has a major impact on homeland security, the unemployment rate, our education system, health care, government budgets, congestion, the environment, crime and countless other areas of American life. It is evident to most Americans that out-of-control immigration is not serving the needs and interests of our country.

Unsurprisingly access to jobs was one of the most prominent threads in which undocumented migrants were blamed for taking jobs that, in their opinion, rightly

belonged to Americans. John, from California, said, "Then you take a look at employment. There are 15 million unemployed people in the United States today, not counting illegal aliens, that are receiving some sort of government benefit. We allow 1.5 million new immigrants to immigrate into the United States every year to take jobs that should be going to Americans." Similarly, Brian, from North Carolina, stated,

And so these are people who are low skilled, poorly educated, and they were doing these jobs. Now they've got to compete with people who are illegally in our country. So instead of the illegal immigrant being the victim, as often times those who promote them try to turn them into, really the victims are low-skilled and poorly educated Americans who are competing against them.

And the web site for the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps argued,

It behooves Congress to reassure the American people that their government is doing everything it can to save their jobs and ensure that only legal citizens of this country can retain honest employment—especially since Congress has done little to deter the thousands of illegal migrants, gang members, terrorists and international drug cartel soldiers who traffic into this country daily through our open borders, operating a criminal underground economy that distorts fair market standards, steals American jobs and drives down living wages for American workers.

In all of these cases, proprietary claims to jobs are made upon the basis of legal American citizenship, such that any job competition from undocumented migrants is defined as unfair or illegitimate due to their undocumented status. These are jobs that, as John said, "should be going to Americans."

Many respondents and organizations placed the blame for loss of jobs for citizens on employers. At an anti-illegal immigration rally in Austin, Texas, R.J. Lindsay, a speaker for an organization called Coalition for an Illegal Free America stated,

Since January of 2008, the American unemployment rate has risen from 5 percent to over 10 percent. I know this has a lot to do with our economy and our recent economic recession, but it also has to do with businesses that are hiring illegal immigrants because they'll work cheaper. Where are these illegal aliens' paychecks going? Not to stimulate America's economy, that's for sure. Well maybe, right? Because they pay taxes? Wrong. These are jobs that American legal citizens would gladly take to support themselves and their families.

Lindsay attributes the rise of the U.S. unemployment rate in part to the hiring of illegal immigrants who are willing to work for less money. These wages, he then argues, are not helping the American economy because these undocumented workers are not paying taxes. Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC) also placed much of the blame for loss of jobs on employers:

Elite financial and political business interests who could care less about the death and devastation they are causing Americans have sabotaged the system. Their profits continue to rise as they send the rest of America spiraling downward on a path to anarchy and Third World quality-of-life conditions.

Similarly, the web site for the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), which publishes numerous articles on the subject of undocumented migration as well as speaking at rallies, outlined how employers take advantage of undocumented labor:

Employers hiring workers from day labor centers often will avoid legal standards, pay less than the minimum wage, fail to withhold salary for taxes, and avoid paying into the unemployment fund and other expenses. Those employers illegally cut the costs of employment and, in the process, decrease the job opportunities for qualified workers who may be unemployed, but who are unwilling to work for cash payments under the table.

In a response to the claim that consumers and the economy benefit from the lower wages of undocumented labor, the web page for the Minuteman Project stated,

There is no net 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.

In all of these cases, employers are said to hire undocumented migrants not due to qualifications or skills, but because they are willing to work for lower wages and are able to skirt other rules and regulations such as withholding taxes. In this way employers, by taking advantage of undocumented labor, are causing economic damage to the United States through not only displacing American workers but also avoiding taxes that would have been generated had they not paid undocumented workers under the table.

Closely related to the issue of jobs was the issue of wages. Anti-illegal immigration activists argued that undocumented migration not only take jobs that should belong to Americans but they drive down wages for those Americans who have jobs. The FAIR web site declared, "Half of all wage depression among high-school dropouts in America is attributable to job competition from immigrants. Because too much immigration keeps wages low, wage increases in low-immigration cities have been 48 percent higher than in high- immigration cities." Similarly, the web site for NC Listen, a North Carolina-based anti-illegal immigration organization, stated, "Large scale immigration today is distorting worker supply and demand and affecting wages. American workers in the bottom 20% bracket have not seen their wages (adjusted for inflation) increased in the last 12 years. And it's not only low-skilled workers who are being affected." Ruth, from South Carolina, specifically discussed the impact on wages for black workers:

The influx of illegals into our state has depress or decreased the living wage because a lot of contractors, mostly in the construction business, would rather pay under the minimum wage—which is \$7.25—if they can get around it. And they're allowed to do so if they hire illegal immigrants. And so, therefore, it is pushing the black employees—the black men and women—who want to work in construction out of the business because they don't want to pay them that wage. But they're citizens, they have to pay them \$7.25. If they're not citizens, they don't have to pay them that.

Again, these examples illustrate how wages of a particular level are viewed as a proprietary right of American citizens. They assert that undocumented migrants are driving down wages due to their numbers and willingness to work for less than many citizens, and this is viewed as unfair wage competition due to migrants' undocumented status.

In addition to the specific threats to jobs and wages, broader threats to the American economy more generally were cited. Tim, from California, declared,

And that's an example of what comes across with the more or less innocent worker. Although the innocent worker is doing horrible damage to our economy, you know. Termites don't have a grudge against humanity. They just eat wood, you know. They don't have to have ill will to be damaging or really screwing up the American economy. And we couldn't afford it five years ago, and we sure can't afford it now.

Tim, in a somewhat problematic metaphor that compares undocumented migrants to termites, portrays them as essentially blameless for economic damage to the U.S. insofar as they do not, by his reckoning, bear ill will towards the U.S. The end effect, however, is detrimental to the U.S. economy. The web site for American Patrol, an anti-illegal immigration web site run by Glenn Spencer of the organization American Border Patrol, also claimed damage to the economy of California due to undocumented migration:

Seventeen years ago we said we were importing poverty and that the state would eventually face bankruptcy. That has now happened. We also said that the state was importing ignorance as evidenced by the dropout rate among Hispanics. Now comes a study that says; 'The growing mismatch between the needs of the economy and the education levels of the workforce is likely to put pressure on state social programs, increase economic inequality, and limit the path of the state's economic growth...' The study singles out Hispanics as the root of the problem.

This statement is problematic in that it does not cite undocumented migration as specifically the cause of these problems, but declares "Hispanics" as the "root of the problem." That is, this statement seems to imply a more racialized articulation of economic threat, focusing the blame on Latinos rather than undocumented migrants.

In addition to employment, another major area of concern with regard to economic threats was in the area of social services. Many activists and organizations cited the tax burden placed on American citizens due to services being consumed by undocumented migrants. For instance, Alan, from California, complained, "We're getting those bills in the mail—it's taxes—and they're taking the money and paying for all this stuff. Look at California. It's in terrible shape right now. And probably 20% of our problem is illegal immigration." Martha, also from California, said, "California only spends 4 to 5 billion a year on illegal alien services." Similarly, the web site for the Dustin Inman Society asserted, "The financial costs to Georgia taxpayers of supplying (bilingual) education, incarceration, medical care and social benefits to the hundreds of thousands of people who are here in violation of our laws is becoming impossible to ignore." And the web site for the Atlanta Minuteman Project declared,

We, as legal workers, pay our taxes. Our tax dollars are used to pay for education, medical, welfare and other services that are for

people who are citizens or in this Country legally. We wait in emergency rooms with insurance cards in our hands while illegal immigrants with NO documentation are treated free while we wait hours for treatment.

Again, taxpayer-funded social services are viewed as a proprietary privilege owed American citizens because of their status as citizens and taxpayers. Use of these services by undocumented migrants is defined as unjust and burdensome on citizens both through the cost in taxes as well as difficulties in the actual use of such services, such as crowded emergency rooms caused by undocumented migrants taking advantage of such services.

Many threats to specific social services, such as health care, education, and the welfare system, were also cited. The web site for IRCOT, the Immigration Reform Coalition of Texas, stated, "The state of Texas and local hospital districts spent an estimated \$677 million to provide health care to illegal immigrants in a year, a new study says." The web site for ALIPAC asserted, "Poor Americans that need help will no longer be pushed aside by illegal aliens at this hospital. How many Americans have died because they could not get the access to healthcare they needed because of all of the illegal aliens that were taking those resources?" Again we see a proprietary claim to health care resources, here worded as undocumented migrants "taking those resources" and "pushing aside" Americans. And Brian, from North Carolina, said,

Go to the Wake County clinic and just look about and see how many people in there can't speak English. That's supposed to be for legal residents. It wasn't designed to be for illegal immigrants. So all of the illegal immigrants that pour into our county clinics around the state and around the country to get free health care, someone is paying for that.

Brian explicitly says that the Wake County clinic is supposed to be for legal residents, whom he identifies in terms of English proficiency, applying one of the restrictive criteria for identification as "American" as discussed in the previous chapter.

The web site for Citizens for Immigration Reform, a now defunct Texas-based anti-illegal immigration group, cited threats to the welfare system through increased costs due to undocumented migrants:

Despite immigration reform laws, federal law and laws in some states prevent social service employees from asking for proof of a welfare applicant's citizenship status. As a result, 21% of illegal aliens receive some form of state welfare or federal aid. Each year, state governments spend an estimated \$11 billion to \$22 billion to provide welfare to immigrants.

Similarly, the web site for the Golden Gate Minutemen, an anti-illegal immigration group operating in the San Francisco area, declared,

While government continues its massive efforts to reduce poverty, immigration policy in the U.S. has come to operate in the opposite direction, increasing rather than decreasing poverty. Immigrants with low skill levels have a high probability of both poverty and receipt of welfare benefits and services.

Finally, economic threats to the American educational system were also cited.

These statements specifically addressed the cost of education, in contrast to quality of education, which constitutes cultural capital (Dmitrieva 1996; Anheier, Gerhards, and Romo 1995). For example, the web site for IRCOT stated, "Your hard-earned tax dollars are being used to assist illegal alien students through funding of tuition discounts and money grants." Similarly, the web site for FAIR claimed,

By 2002, the school population will grow from 49 million to 55 million—because of immigration. Without school-age immigrants

(about 250,000 a year) and the children of immigrants (about 725,000 a year), school enrollment would not be rising at all. The estimated cost to the American taxpayer for the education of immigrants' children is over \$30 billion a year.

And the web site for NC Listen declared, "The John Locke Foundation says the average cost of educating a student in K-12 in North Carolina is over \$8300 per year. So we are spending \$805 million on students in the LEP [Limited English Proficiency] program per year in our state." Again, taxpayer monies for education are viewed as a proprietary privilege owed only to American citizens. With NC Listen, we again see the implicit definition of "American" in terms of language through their criticism of money being spent on English proficiency programs.

5.1.2 Cultural Threats

A common theme among claims of threat to cultural capital also focused on education. Undocumented migrants were perceived to threaten the educational achievement of American citizens for various reasons. According to the web site for FAIR, "As state universities across the country increasingly limit enrollment, increasing the intake of illegal aliens into these schools will mean fewer opportunities and less aid for U.S. citizens and legal immigrants." Here the proprietary claim is relatively straightforward: undocumented migrants compete unfairly for slots at American educational institutions and cultural capital in the form of education is threatened by undocumented migrants potentially edging out native-born students.

The web site for American for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC), declared, "Meanwhile, Denver Public Schools stagger under the crush of 30,000 illegal alien

students with violence, drugs, one out of five teachers resigns every nine month teaching cycle, over a dozen foreign languages and a 67 percent drop out/flunk out rate." Here problems in the Denver public school system are attributed to undocumented students who bring specific detriments to the school system in the form of violence and drugs, causing teachers to flee. This, along with foreign language instruction that consumes resources that could otherwise be used for English-speaking students, undermines educational attainment for citizen students. This assumes, however, that citizen students speak English and are not in need of foreign language instruction. Brian, from North Carolina, expressed similar concerns:

Now you've got classes in which you've 4 or 5 disadvantaged kids, and you've got another 4 or 5 who can't speak English. So now the teacher is completely overwhelmed. And a little bit of the class is OYO: you're on your own. The teacher is focused on the kids who can't speak English because they are behind, naturally, because they can't speak English and the kids who normally show up who are poor. And so, we are just sort of dumbing down our school system.

Brian explicitly attributes the "dumbing down" of public schools to resources being diverted from English-speaking American citizens to poor, non-English-speaking children of immigrants.

Another common theme among with regard to cultural capital was the threat of the demise of English as the dominant language in the United States. The web site for the Golden Gate Minutemen asserted,

We don't want our country, our culture, or our language, the very foundation that was handed down to us by our forefathers who toiled and died for our freedom, to be diluted by gate crashing illegal aliens aided by bleeding heart liberals, cheap and greedy

business owners, and worse yet, self-serving elected government officials!

Similarly, the web site for the Minuteman Project predicted,

Year 2030 could bring the first attempt to introduce into Congress legislation designed to trump English with Spanish as the national language. The bill will fail...the first time. As the Spanish language becomes more dominant throughout the United States so will the likelihood of further attempts to replace English with Spanish as the nation's new common bond of language.

The Minuteman Project goes beyond merely arguing against potential threats to English as the dominant language of the United States in saying that there will be attempts to codify Spanish as the national language. Threats to the dominance of English constitute threats to the cultural capital possessed by English-speaking Americans by virtue of language (Watson and Nic Ghiolla Phadraig 2009; van Amersfoort and van Niekert 2006) in that the value of English is potentially reduced. One cannot assume, for example, that anywhere one goes in the United States one's command of English will be sufficient to be granted access to services.

John, from California, articulated this fear with regard to government services:

And yet, if you go into social services in Long Beach and you walk into the wrong office, they will not give you the time of day because that is a Spanish-only office. You're not allowed to come here if you are white and don't speak Spanish. They will kick you out. We know this because one of our guy's mothers went in to get special assistance because she was injured and she was off work for a long time. She went in and they kicked her out 'cause that was a Spanish-only office.

John actually articulates perceived threats in terms of both cultural capital based on language and symbolic capital based on race (Bourdieu 2001b; Glenn 2008; Weiß 2010).

That is, if you are white and do not speak Spanish, then you risk not being able to take

advantage of some privileges in the form of government services. Indeed, in this case, English actually constitutes *negative* capital (Bourdieu 2001b; Chisholm 1993) in that English-speakers are being actively turned away.

The web site for Voice of the People USA, a nationally active anti-illegal immigration organization headquartered in Pennsylvania, makes a similar argument:

When exactly did it become a legal matter to have street signs in our language? When did it become a decision of the courts to dictate to us whether or not we can condone English as our one and only language in the united states [sic] of America? I'm sorry but isn't that supposed to be a given? Why should we have to learn another language in order to better ourselves in our career's [sic] or to even read a basic street sign, or better yet a menu at a restaurant!?!

This example specifically condemns the value placed on being bilingual, arguing that since English is "our language" and English should be the "one and only language" of the United States, Americans should not have to learn Spanish for career advancement, among other things. This also demonstrates the declining cultural capital of English in that as the country becomes more diverse and other languages become more prevalent, the relative value of only knowing English is reduced.

In many cases, the specific aspects of American cultural capital were not specified. For instance, the web site for Citizens for Immigration Reform argued, "Our battle against illegal immigration is not just over job security. It is a fight against the forces that will, if allowed to do so, destroy our identity, our meaning, our purpose, and our greatness as a nation." While this organization claims that undocumented migration will destroy American identity, meaning, purpose, and greatness, it does not explain

precisely how that will come about nor what precisely constitutes American "meaning" and "greatness." Martha, from California, also stated,

Meanwhile, does this country want to be a cultureless country without any borders, without any rules and regulations? Is that what you want? Is that what Americans want in this country? I don't want to be south of the border. I don't want to be in Africa. I don't want to be a third-world country.

While Martha does not explain precisely what aspects of American culture are under threat, or the specific consequences, she implies that the cultural damage caused by undocumented migration will cause the United States to fall into third-world status.

Alan, from California, was more descriptive:

And what if all these people were coming from deepest, darkest Africa, you know, and they're used to head hunting or something? Or whatever. Do you want those guys to come in here? Is that okay?" You know. I'm not saying there's anything wrong with headhunters, but...

Alan uses a style of color-blindness (Bonilla-Silva 2010) in an attempt to appear unprejudiced when he declares that there is nothing wrong with "headhunters" from "deepest, darkest Africa" while clearly implying that there is indeed something wrong with such "headhunters." Through this explicitly racialized comparison to "headhunters," he demonstrates the cultural threat he believes the U.S. faces due to undocumented migration.

Another common pattern in claims of cultural threat to the U.S. took the form of the threat of a "culture of lawlessness" that could be imported from Mexico. As seen in the last chapter, the characterization of Mexico as corrupt and lawless due to endemic cultural traits was juxtaposed to American culture as a way to label all undocumented

migrants as inherent lawbreakers since they violate U.S. immigration law. But beyond portrayals of Mexican and American identity with regard to lawbreaking, many activists claimed that undocumented migration will, in essence, "infect" U.S. culture with the supposed culture of lawbreaking and corruption that exists in Mexico.

Drew, an anti-illegal immigration activist from Georgia, when asked about the potential consequences of undocumented migration, said, " I think you'll see more balkanization of the country. You'll start seeing more Hispanization of certain parts when non-Hispanics move out. And part of that is going to be crime driven." Drew fears the "balkanization" of the nation, with "American" culture being supplanted by so-called "Hispanic" culture due to demographic shifts in certain areas. Part of this "Hispanic" culture, he implies, involves crime. Like many statements condemning migrant culture, it does not limit itself to undocumented migrants, but labels all Latino culture as involving crime, a common Latino stereotype (Chavez 2008). Similarly, Raul, from South Carolina, stated, "The people—some of the illegal aliens—a lot of them from South and Central America—are lawless. They come from lawless societies where you can get away, run away and shoot a cop. You know, they don't care." And Tim, an activist on the border in California, when asked about the potential consequences of undocumented migration, said,

Well, at the moment, Mexican culture. I wouldn't want to live there. Policemen's heads are being cut off, uh, innocent people don't have a chance. Usually, when you mix two liquids, you dilute the better liquid. You know, if you put water in whiskey, you get bad whiskey. If the osmosis sort of a thing going on between Mexico and the United States keeps going, I have to believe that you will have *mordida*, more corruption, more lawlessness.

Tim's use of the dilution metaphor implicitly defines American culture as the superior culture in danger of being weakened by Mexican culture, which will lead, he argues, to corruption and crime.

Some activists, however, linked the threat of a culture of lawlessness not to Mexican culture, but to the act of undocumented migration itself. Jim, from Arizona, explained how this disrespect for the law occurs due to undocumented migration:

Well, first of all, illegal immigration is against the law. So what you have is—if you have people coming into the country illegally, it starts a whole chain of disrespect for the law. If they have to come in here illegal, then they have to violate—they have to get a false I.D. Then they have to lie about something else. Then somebody else has to cover it up. And then there's this whole lawlessness culture that has developed. That's bad... So all of a sudden, you start clouding the law. You start clouding the issue. There's no right line any longer. It depends on kind of what feels good or what doesn't feel good. The law doesn't matter anymore. It's what you think is important to you. And that's when we are no longer a nation of laws.

For Jim, it is not Mexican culture that is lawless, per se, but a culture of lawlessness that develops due to the lawbreaking necessary to live as an undocumented migrant. When you break one law, he argues, it reduces one's respect for all laws, and over time this leads to a cultural shift in which the law is not respected generally.

While the perceived threats to American culture due to lawlessness are relatively straightforward, the proprietary claims are less so. Like claims asserting that only "Americans" should have educational privileges and only English-speakers should have legitimate access to various services and businesses, it would seem in the case of lawlessness that only law-abiding citizens should have access to the privileges of being

"American." This, however, would require one to ignore all lawbreaking committed by citizens. Furthermore, in making proprietary claims to education, one excludes such privileges from those defined as non-deserving, in this case undocumented migrants. Yet in the case of lawlessness, it does not appear that these activists are claiming that the rule of law be denied to immigrants. They claim quite the opposite, actually, in that they are adamant about the enforcement of law, most notably immigration laws. While lawlessness certainly represents a threat and the labeling of undocumented migrants as "lawless" can serve as a criterion to exclude undocumented migrants from "American" privileges, it does not appear that the threat of lawlessness to American culture constitutes a proprietary claim itself.

5.1.3 Social Threats

Threats to social capital from undocumented migration were described in terms of the potential effects of the influence of a large undocumented population on various aspects of American society. Many articulate such threats in reference to the influence of undocumented migrants on U.S. politics. As politics can be considered to be a form of institutionalized social capital (Eyal, Szelenyi, and Townsley 1998), I classify these political threats as threats to social capital. According to the web site for Voice of the People USA, "It's about letting your voice be heard rather than to continue to have our voices overshadowed by individuals who aren't even entitled to our freedom of speech. For all of those who enter this country illegally know one thing, you have no rights and most importantly you have no voice!" The threat to American politics by undocumented migration was particularly emphasized. According to the web site for Americans for

Legal Immigration (ALIPAC), "November 4, 2008 marks the first time in U.S. history whereby countless foreign nationals known as illegal aliens or non-citizens may contaminate the U.S. presidential and Congressional elections. When all it takes to win may be a few percentage points, illegal aliens grow in their power to throw an election." Similarly, the web site for the Federation for Immigration Reform (FAIR), argued,

However, there are many documented reports of non-citizen voting, and there is no evidence of prosecution of the aliens for their action. With nearly 19 million foreign-born residents who are not U.S. citizens in the country in the 2000 Census and an estimated 9-11 million illegal residents (many of them not also counted in the Census), the potential is enormous for non-citizens to affect the outcome of elections.

Hence, undocumented migrants who through unspecified means are influencing U.S. elections threaten the social capital of American citizens by reducing the relative voting power of citizens. Drew, from Georgia, explicitly articulated this fear, arguing that undocumented migrants are, in fact, voting in American elections:

We know for a fact from media reports and other documentation that illegal aliens are registering to vote. And in many cases they are registering to vote because most states, like North Carolina, where they have a little box that you're supposed to check there if you're legal, if you're a legal American or not, they're not really checking. So if you're an illegal alien, you can just go and deprive me of my vote anytime you want.

Drew expresses his interpretation of this threat to social capital in characterizing migrants voting as "depriving" him of his vote, although he does not assert that his vote is not being counted. Rather, he assumes that the collective voting power of these migrants will, in essence, drown out his vote. This also assumes an adversarial political relationship between himself and undocumented migrants.

A handful of organizations expressed fears of not only undocumented migrants affecting American politics but naturalized citizens as well. This represents an even more stringent proprietary claim to American politics, since naturalized citizens, as citizens, have the right to vote by law. The web site for the Minuteman Project stated, "Consequently, tens of millions of unassimilated, newly declared U.S. citizens with dual voting rights and primary allegiances to their lands of origin could simultaneously vote for candidates in their homelands as well as in the United States." The site elaborated, "Politicians lust for the prospective votes of illegal alien families who might be granted prompt amnesties and citizenship, despite their aversion to pledge any allegiance to the USA." The important qualifier in this example is "unassimilated." Consistent with the identity claims described in the previous chapter, even naturalized citizens cannot be considered "true" Americans if they are not culturally assimilated. Such unassimilated citizens, the organization argues, are a threat to the interests of "real" Americans.

Often immigrant rights proponents and so-called "liberals" in state and national government are accused of purposely abetting undocumented migration for their own political gain. Martha, from California, said, "I don't blame the people. I blame the politicians. Because they can't trip over themselves fast enough to put our taxpayer dollars away to, to get a vote. They're getting votes from illegal aliens. Shame on them." A speaker at an anti-illegal immigration rally in Austin, Texas, stated, "Amnesty increases immigration and amnesty will give 10 million noncitizens the right to vote for the liberal Congress currently in power in these states." And Beth, an African-American activist from South Carolina, declared, "If they're granted amnesty by the government,

that's what they're going to do. They're going to vote for the Democratic Party."

Therefore, these activists view policies of granting citizenship to undocumented migrants currently in the U.S. as a conspiratorial attempt to gain "liberal" immigrant voters who are opposed to their interests.

While most accused the Democratic Party of supporting immigrant rights as a way to gain potential voters, some activists also condemned the Republican Party for supposedly pandering to the undocumented population in an attempt to gain Latino voters. At an anti-illegal immigration rally in Austin, Rebecca Forest, co-founder of IRCOT, stated, "I just want to tell you that at the Republican Convention right now, they're working hard pandering for the Hispanic vote. So if anyone would like to know why the Hispanic vote is growing, it's because we continue not to enforce our laws and to allow people to come in illegally." This statement is particularly problematic in that it does not address voting by undocumented migrants but rather the "Hispanic vote," setting up a racialized contrast between Latino voters and (presumably) white voters.

In addition to the threats posed to American politics, many activists and organizations cited threats to American society because of the sheer numbers of undocumented migrants settling in the United States. Kyle, from North Carolina, complained, "There's enough illegal aliens that are being counted in the Census right now that they're going to give unfair advantage, a great unfair advantage to the states that have illegal immigrants in them." Many characterized the threat from the undocumented population explicitly in terms of an invasion of the United States. According to the web site for the Minuteman Project,

There are two common ways to seize a country: by military invasion with bayonets fixed and guns blazing, or by incrementally transferring an aggressor nation's population into the target nation, thereby overwhelming the host country by sheer numbers. The United States is the victim of the latter method... While a Trojan horse, covert invasion carried out over a few decades requires no military might, it accomplishes a similar goal: seize the target nation's infrastructure and take it over from within. However, with tens of millions of illegal aliens, especially from one country or one region of the world, occupying U.S. territory, it is possible that a violent coup could ensue. I doubt that the U.S. will have a civil war in the very near term. But, a break up into several nation states, much like what occurred in Russia, is not beyond imagination for the not-so-distant future.

Here the Minuteman Project explicitly states that undocumented migration constitutes a "bloodless invasion," in which undocumented migrants will be able to essentially take over parts of the nation due to the influence their large numbers will be able to exert.

Jim, from Arizona, expressed a similar fear: "And we got together, and we said, 'Wait a minute. There's something else going on here. This isn't just an economic issue. This is a takeover of California. This is an aggressive act.'" And William, from North Carolina, declared, "We are in the largest invasion in world history. You can do the numbers. Partly because there's more people on the planet now. But historically, we are in the middle of the largest invasion in world history."

5.2 Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life

In terms of threat claims, anti-abortion/pro-life activists overwhelmingly stressed threats to American culture in contrast to economic or social threats. While economic and social threats were mentioned, they were a small minority of claims compared to the

emphasis on culture. The following diagram shows the approximate proportions of the different claims.

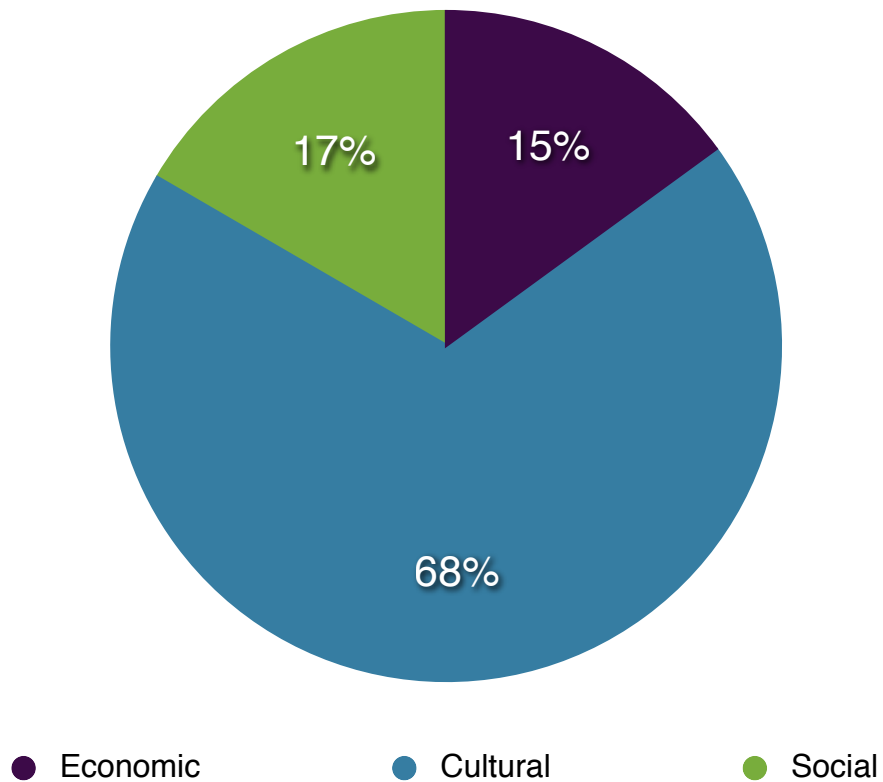


Figure 4: Proportions of Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life Threat Claims

5.2.1 Cultural Threats

The most common theme among claims of cultural threat was the argument that abortion promotes a "culture of death." When a nation allows abortion, the argument goes, life is devalued in the national culture. This devaluation of life leads to the permissibility of other "life-taking" measures, such as euthanasia. Ultimately, this will lead to a purely utilitarian perspective on life in which the disabled, the elderly, the infirm, and others whom society deems as not useful will be subject to forced execution.

The web site for Operation Rescue stated simply, "Abortion, by its very nature, devalues human life." The web site for Corpus Christi Right to Life enumerated what it considers to be the various aspects of the culture of death: "the scourges of abortion, embryonic stem cell research, euthanasia, cloning, artificial contraception and all manifestations of the culture of death." And the web site for Pro-Life Waco asserted, "All together, we must build a new culture of life..." The web site for Pro-Life Unity said, "There are millions of us who know that we must do all we can to end abortion and the culture of death."

The web site for the American Life League explained how this "culture of death" spreads from the act of abortion to the logic of euthanasia:

It is rooted in pro-life integrity that stands up for every innocent human being whose life is threatened by what Pope John Paul II called "the culture of death." That ranges from the single cell human embryo to the elderly, the infirm and others at risk of having their life terminated by acts of euthanasia. The pro-life position notes that neither abortion nor euthanasia can ever be medically necessary or morally permitted.

Similarly, Ian, a media personality from Texas, explained his conceptualization of this argument:

But that will only lead into other things. Because if we can end a life in the womb, which used to be the greatest blessing and exciting news you could have in civilization, life is now controversial. You know, it's silly. Uh, that will pour into other areas because usefulness will become important. And functionalism will become important and what you can do and how much you can do of it. And so, the old people are in trouble. The mentally retarded are in trouble. This is why 85 percent of babies with Down's Syndrome are aborted. 85 percent are aborted. And that's because we're a society that looks at, you know, 'You're not normal and you can't do what another normal person can do.'

In Ian's estimation, allowing abortion reduces the value of new life such that considerations of functionality and normality will be used to judge the worth of a life, rather than treating all life as sacred. Scott, from Ohio, made a similar argument:

The devaluing of human life will spread to other facets of society. The elderly, the infirm will be devalued and put to death because they're just waste. Even prisoners, possibly, will be terminated even if they don't get the death penalty just because they're not useful to society. Infanticide would be probably more promoted. Any, any human life would be devalued ultimately. And it will just go from one group to another. And the sad thing is we will deem who should live and who should die, which we're already doing.

Scott extends the risk of execution to prisoners and infants, arguing that the usefulness of individuals will become the standard by which they are allowed to live or die. Michael, from Texas, argued, "But it certainly leads to the breakdown of society, I think, because the people don't value life. If you don't value life at one end of the spectrum, it certainly influences you in your feelings about euthanasia or your feelings about your fellowman. That some people are extinguishable." And Ned, an activist from Alabama I met at a rally in North Carolina, related the following:

I mean if we can destroy a child. I've been in a lot of countries where euthanasia's legal now. I've seen the results of that. I mean those countries are ahead of us in social issues. And I've been in quite a few countries where euthanasia's legal and nobody thinks about it. I mean I saw a woman in a clinic in Geneva where I was. I went in the clinic and the siblings didn't want—I mean they were waiting for their inheritance and if she would just die sooner, you know, they could get their inheritance. I mean, you know, they can't force them. But the force came from the children who wanted that inheritance. You know, so the effects that it has, I mean if we don't respect human life, then we don't respect any life. We can't respect one life and not somebody else's. We can respect our own. But that just ends in chaos.

Ned connects abortion with the general devaluation of human life and argues that in countries like Switzerland this has led to situations in which, for example, children could encourage or even demand the euthanization of their parents out of greed.

Others went further, associating the culture of death not only with threats of sanctioned killing of those whom society deems unworthy but also with the rise of violence and murder in the United States. According to the web site for Rock for Life, a youth- and music-oriented anti-abortion/pro-life organization, "Our society has less respect for all human life because of abortion. You can see it everywhere in the increased acts of violence and hate, the breakdown of families and relationships, and the killing of people through assisted suicide." Erma, an elderly activist originally from Eastern Europe, explained this position with regard to the cultural consequences of abortion:

First of all, we become brutalized as a nation. I connect the right to abort an unborn child to a people who have grown up in this culture thinking it's okay to kill people in the street. You know, young people thinking if I can abort my baby, why not kill somebody over a pair of sneakers if I want those sneakers. It's just post-birth abortion, somebody said to me.

Erma argues that the same logic that allows for abortion operates in the minds of youths: that if killing is acceptable through abortion, killing must be acceptable anywhere.

Similarly, Paul, an activist I met at a protest in downtown Charlotte, North Carolina, stated,

But first of all, it's a very simple principle. We reap what we sow. We're sowing violence in the womb here. Weakening society. You know, we're teaching a generation of society. This is what we're teaching them here: If you have a problem, if you get pregnant out of wedlock, you just have to kill it. And we wonder why? You know we teach them and it sears their conscience. And we wonder why we see violence escalate in our society. Because

there's no more respect for life. If you can't respect the most innocent, helpless member, how are you going to respect anything else? And we have seen violence increase incrementally in our nation. Children open up with automatic weapons in our high schools and our colleges. Violence in the workplace. And it continues to grow.

For Paul, the characterization of a fetus as "the most innocent, helpless member" of society is paramount in that devaluing such life intrinsically devalues all other life.

Many other respondents and organizations took the cultural threat of abortion beyond arguments regarding euthanasia and execution of the useless. Julian, an elderly minister from Louisiana, took the "culture of death" argument a step further and argued that general immorality in the form of drugs, alcohol, and rape is encouraged when abortion is allowed:

And if it's alright to kill an innocent child, then what's wrong with anything else. Drugs, alcohol, rape, what's wrong with that if it's okay to kill a child. And we as a society have said it's okay. So we see how it's affected our nation. We are living in a culture of death. Here we see these two young men living in the Columbine massacre. Some people were teasing them. And their way to solve the problem when someone's annoyed you is to kill them. We've taught them that. We say that if this child is annoying you or is going to be a nuisance for you, your solution is to go in and kill them. It's a culture of death they we have laid down. But it's laid down such a culture of death in this nation that we see human life is no longer valued. And if it's all right to snuff out people's life, then what's wrong with doing anything else. And we as a society said that that's okay, and the church has basically approved of that because we haven't done anything to stop it.

George, from the rally in North Carolina, made a similar argument:

Well, what it does, it adds to, in and of itself, it adds to the culture of death. And when you have a culture of death, men start doing what is right and wrong in their own eyes. If it is okay to murder, it's okay to lie, cheat, steal. All those things come at a greater force of immorality when you say it's okay to murder the children.

And it's something that a holy God can never bless a nation that turns it's back on him and murders their children and does what's right in their own eyes against the laws of God. It makes people blind and amoral once they accept death in any way in their culture. They start becoming blind and call evil good and good evil. We see this in this country. We see it all over this country. We see activist judges who never would made some of their decisions which go against God, family, and country but have now, politicians and judges, there are some on both sides of the aisles, that have become actual traitors against God, family, and country. It eats at the fabric of the nation.

George states that when you allow abortion and create a culture of death, you allow moral relativism in which everyone does simply what they believe is right, which can include murder and theft, among other things.

Many other respondents and organizations made similar claims regarding a general breakdown of morality in the United States. Jerry, an activist from Kansas I met at a rally in North Carolina stated, "If the taking of innocent life is condoned, especially the most innocent, a little baby, if we condone that, if that is right, then you can justify anything. Right and wrong does not exist. Our young people today have no moral compass. Much of our nation has no moral compass." Frank, an elderly activist I met at the same rally, when speaking of the consequences of abortion, said, "And also the moral fiber of our country. You know, before abortion came in, America was a pretty moral place. And since 1973, we have gone down hill to the point where it's almost an "anything goes" mentality. The fiber on the moral fortitude of America is gone. We've just destroyed it because we killed little baby boys and girls."

Similarly, the web site for Operation Save America declared, "Our country is in the midst of a huge paradigm shift. It has never occurred in our nation before. We are on

the precipice of moving from one worldview to another. We are moving from the objective, absolute standard of God's Word (rule of law) to the subjective, relativism of each man doing what is right in his own eyes (the will of the people)." And the web site for Elijah Ministries stated,

America is without a moral compass with no concrete standards to uphold our experiment in liberty. We can't even seem to reach a consensus on the most basic ethical and moral problems that afflict us today. America's promise of freedom that has fallen for the lie of moral relativism is leading this nation to the very bowels of hell. In our attempt to play god, by setting our own subjective standards, we have become the worst kind of devils. We have deceived ourselves into believing life without God's standards is utopia. The definition of utopia is "no place." Is that where we really want to lead America?

Historically, at least in Western Civilization, the Church set the standards for the world. Unfortunately, we don't live in the past anymore. Now, the opposite seems to be true as the Church sheepishly submits to the standards that are being set by the world. Of course, the Church justifies this pitiful state by desiring not to appear as intolerant, bigoted, or mean-spirited. This mentality, that has been framed by the enemies of the cross as love, has duped the Church into a passive state where She has become willing to surrender God's standards to the highest bidder.

In both these cases we can see evidence of proprietary claims to American culture and morality. "God's Word" is presented as the absolute standard of morality that the nation, at one time, adhered to but has now abandoned to secular morality and moral relativism. According to these organizations, God's standards of morality, as the "objective, absolute" standards of the nation, should be the moral standard of America. First, this standard is explicitly a Christian standard, and thus excludes other faiths and philosophies and explicitly rails against secular standards. Second, what constitutes God's moral code, although presented here as objective and absolute, is subject to many different

interpretations even among Christians. This has the effect of excluding as legitimate the opinions and arguments of those Christians who do not share the same absolute interpretation of Christian morality.

In the same vein, some respondents and organizations specifically claim threats to Christianity and Christian culture. Roger, from Ohio, said,

When a culture is, when a community or a nation is able to embrace something such as abortion and they call it good, then it tells us how evil the heart of that nation is. Culture is being manifested by the way that it acts or reacts to its citizens, especially the least of these. And so in abortion what we can also see is this, a culture is destroyed, specifically a Christian culture because we cannot, the only way we can be a Christian community or a Christian culture is if God blesses us. And so when we begin to embrace those things that God does not endorse, then we begin to see a culture go by the wayside and a new culture come into existence.

Tom, from Texas, described the cultural consequences of abortion, saying, "So, yes, this is assault against our heritage. It is an assault against the founding principles of our nation. This is an assault against God himself." According to the web site for 40 Days for Life, an international anti-abortion/pro-life campaign, "The struggle over abortion is really a struggle over the dominion of God. The Christian individual, and the Christian Church, cannot sit idly by when others declare that God is not God." STOPP International, an organization that primarily targets Planned Parenthood as the main provider of abortions, accuses Planned Parenthood of being actively anti-Christian: "Planned Parenthood is openly hostile to Christianity, and regularly mocks people of faith." Another article from the STOPP web site explained the "humanist" agenda of Planned Parenthood:

Planned Parenthood is dedicated to spreading the doctrine of secular humanism as reflected in the Humanist Manifestos (I & II) and the Humanist Manifesto 2000. Human Manifesto I appeared in 1933. It reflected a non-theistic philosophy proposed as an alternative to traditional religion. Humanist Manifesto II was released in 1973. Alan Guttmacher, then PPFA president, signed it.

Secular humanism rejects the supernatural; thus, it rejects God. It admits to no objective moral code. Planned Parenthood's adherence to this philosophy explains why it consistently refuses to give children a clear message of "right" and "wrong." It seeks not seek to educate our children in moral values, but to indoctrinate them into the secular humanist philosophy and that "right" and "wrong" can be decided solely by the individual.

Planned Parenthood, according to STOPP, actively promotes an atheist worldview, emphasizing a philosophy of moral relativism in which, essentially, there is no right and wrong in direct contradiction to the supposed objective morality of Christianity.

Others go as far to argue that not only is Christian culture and Christianity under threat, but that Christianity is being actively criminalized in this country for acting against abortion. An article on the web site for Operation Save America quoted its national director: "In its second decision in three years, the Supreme Court of the United States of America has once again flattened the radical pro-abortion industry's attempt to criminalize Christianity," said Rev. Flip Benham, National Director of Operation Rescue/Save America." And Wilma, an activist from California, believes that eventually Christians will be imprisoned for merely talking about Jesus:

I can't see anything getting any better than it is and completely turned upside down to where you won't be going to jail for trying to stop abortion, you'll be going to jail for opening your mouth about Jesus. Because that's where it's headed now. They are throwing him out of public school. They are trying to throw him out of the public square. You can't talk about him on the job. You can talk about any kind of perversion you want. And it doesn't

matter how badly I am offended by the filth that people talk about.
But I can't talk about Jesus because that's offensive.

Consistent with Gamson's (1992) conceptualization of framing, these claims regarding the criminalization of Christianity function as injustice frames and allow activists to present themselves as oppressed minorities suffering under the tyrannical rule of an abusive government.

A number of activists also claimed that American culture was being threatened by promiscuity and other "liberal" sexual practices. The web site for Pro-Life Waco at times referred to Planned Parenthood of Central Texas as "Planned Promiscuity of Central Texas" and further stated, "The promotion of sexual promiscuity, however, underlies abortion promotion and abortion revenue. Moreover, it is the promotion of sexual promiscuity that is central to moving human societies in the direction of the debauchery of unfettered sexual expression." Similarly, Joanne, from Texas, when asked what she thinks should be done to end abortion in the United States, said,

One thing, like for younger kids, like our teenagers and college age, is teach—I know a lot of places are already saying teach abstinence. But I think if Hollywood would keep from promoting, you know, sexual immorality and teach abstinence, I think that would help. 'Cause our culture, they mimic everything that Hollywood puts out there.

From these examples, we are to conclude that abortion is caused by sexual impropriety and abortion providers, desiring greater profits, promote such open sexual mores for their own benefits, creating a stable loop of cultural degradation.

The web site for the Coalition for Life, an anti-abortion/pro-life organization located in Texas, specifically criticized Planned Parenthood for promoting promiscuity:

Teen wire encourages sexual promiscuity among teenagers. The site describes various birth control choices, teaches teenagers how to use condoms and encourages youth to masturbate, all the while saying that this is information that all teenagers need to know! The site gives the impression that teen sex is normal and healthy.

Planned Parenthood has access to numerous schools throughout the country promoting their "sex-education" program and teaching YOUR children to be sexually promiscuous before marriage.

Coalition for Life criticizes Teenwire, a resource for information about sexuality for teenagers set up by Planned Parenthood, arguing that it promotes promiscuity among teenagers. They further underline the threat by arguing that sex-education programs at public schools will encourage "your" children to engage in sex. STOPP International, in its criticisms of Planned Parenthood, also accuses it of promoting promiscuity:

Planned Parenthood's sex education classes and PPFA's web site for teens teach children a perverted philosophy which denies the very truth and meaning human sexuality. Planned Parenthood seeks to break down a child's natural inhibitions and foster greater promiscuity. This increases Planned Parenthood's customer base for both contraception and abortion.

STOPP asserts that Planned Parenthood interferes with a child's "natural inhibitions" towards sex for the purpose of creating more business for itself. In so doing, STOPP also makes an implicit proprietary claim in its declaration of the "truth and meaning of human sexuality" as defined by its own, unspecified, standard. The web site for the Houston

Coalition for Life also criticized Planned Parenthood's resources for teens:

Planned Parenthood makes every effort to educate children in a "how-to" manner on sexual promiscuity behind the backs of their parents. Planned Parenthood's national teen web site clearly indicates to parents that "this Web site is for teens. This is their place... please do not register on the site." However, anyone (of any age) will find such topics as abortion, masturbation,

homosexuality, oral & anal sex, and sex with multiple sex partners freely discussed and openly promoted.

Teenwire not only encourages promiscuity the organization argues, but functions as a "how-to" guide for a variety of sexual practices implied to be morally abhorrent. The explicit mention of these sexual practices is consistent with what Jasper (1997) terms "moral shock," in that the intent is to invoke outrage toward the instruction of teenagers in such practices. The Houston Coalition for Life also addressed the issue of birth control:

All methods of birth control are efforts to separate sexual intercourse from procreation. This separation supports sexual relationships that are much weaker than traditional marriage—hooking up, cohabitation, adultery, and serial monogamy. These relationships erode society by leading to divorce, unexpected pregnancy, abortion, single parent households, abuse, and poverty. The consequences of birth control clearly demonstrate an unhealthy, anti-culture and anti-life, impact that raises major ethical concerns.

Birth control is explicit described as "anti-culture" and "anti-life," creating a casual sexual culture that "erodes" society.

Some activists also described threats to American culture from homosexuality. Tom, from Texas, described homosexuality as a "twin evil" to abortion, stating that homosexuality is "anti-life, anti-child, anti-Christ, anti-God. I mean, it's an interesting phenomenon... but do you know who mostly guards the abortion mills? It's homosexuals." Phil and his wife, Betty, who I met at a rally in North Carolina, also described the purported cultural threat of homosexuality in terms of family values:

Phil: Generally, gay rights people seem to be the most vocal and the most active. When you go to anything that's pro-life, there's a counterdemonstration and usually the majority of the people are

gay, homosexuals. And it seems kind of odd because it doesn't seem like they would be all that concerned about abortion.

Betty: Yeah, but the reason why is because it's breaking down the family. The homosexuals are very interested in breaking down the family in order to get their way.

Other activists asserted that abortion and birth control threaten cultural values towards families and children. According to the web site for Rock for Life:

What birth control has done for our society is turn little babies into disposable objects. Pregnancy is no longer seen as a blessing, but a curse. Parents of large families are looked down upon instead of held in high esteem. We now place more value on getting big salaries, driving nice cars, and living in huge homes.

This example is particularly notable in that it clearly expresses the threat to cultural capital posed by birth control and abortion: that the cultural value previously placed on having large families (Polit 1978) has been eroded by, they argue, birth control. Whereas once being the mother or father of a large family would have possessed cultural capital in the form of respect and esteem, now more value is placed on economic success and conspicuous consumption, they argue.

The web site for Generations for Life also asserted that abortion has led to not only the devaluation of life but the devaluation of children and motherhood:

A society which allows the killing of its most vulnerable members, in the very place in all the world which should be for them to be safest and most nurtured—their own mothers' wombs—is incapable of cherishing and nurturing human life or valuing childhood and motherhood.

Joanne, from Texas, makes a similar claim regarding the cultural value of children:

Our culture is saying it's okay to sacrifice your child for convenience, for careers, for college, high school, if girls are young and unwed. For the sake of convenience or money, we're

just offering these children up as a sacrifice. And our culture has a lot to do with that because they say it's okay.

The Center for Bio-Ethical Reform, in talking about population decline, also declared that family values, particularly the cultural value placed on having children, has diminished:

Why the population decline? The worldwide collapse of what are, literally, family values. Thanks to contraceptive technology, sex has become separated from childbearing. With women pursuing careers of their own and men getting sex without the responsibilities of marriage, why bother with children? For many women and men, pregnancy has become an unpleasant side effect, something to prevent with contraceptives or easily treat with a trip to the abortion clinic.

This change in culture, it is argued, is due to contraception and abortion, which interferes with what is implied to be the natural family order where women do not have careers and men are only able to have sex within marriage.

These claims regarding threats to the family are consistent with Kristin Luker's (1986) findings regarding women in the pro-life movement. She claims that part of the debate over abortion concerns the meaning and importance of motherhood. Pro-life women, she argues, consider motherhood to be "the most important and satisfying role open to a woman," while pro-choice women view motherhood as "a burden when defined as the only role" (Luker 1986: 214). Furthermore, the activists' criticisms against the changes in the value of children and motherhood are consistent with defense of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2001b) as well. That is, feminism and the drive for equality for women has led to the devaluation of the traditional role of wife and mother relative to, say, the 1950s or earlier (Bloch 1978). While in the past this role had significant symbolic capital associated with it in that it was viewed as the "ideal" role for women, today more value is

placed on achievement outside the home. Consequently, the role of wife and mother does not have the same symbolic value it once had.

A few activists were explicit in their condemnations of the changes in roles not only for women, but for men as well. The web site for Elijah Ministries declared,

Whether we admit it or not, America has become a feminized nation. Biblical manhood has been targeted by a two-pronged attack. It comes from without (the man-hating, Jezebel spirit perpetuated by the Feminist Movement) and from within (men who passively submit to being feminized). A feminized man is one who reacts to situations and people as a woman, instead of as a man. It is the cultural script that cries out for men to be more "sensitive." ...It behooves men to summon the moral courage to throw off the feminist suppression that seeks to destroy the male inclinations to direct, protect, and provide for women and children. Men must boldly face the destructive cultural forces that deny, demean, and seek to emasculate them and say, "enough is enough." Men must wrest back from the government and from the Feminist Movement their God-ordained role that He assigned to them in the Holy Scriptures. It should be quite evident by now that civil government makes a terrible substitute for a husband and a dad. And yet, this nation continues to think patriarchy is obsolete to our own dismay.

The natural, "God-ordained" role of men, it is argued, is to protect, provide for, and "direct" both women and children in an explicitly patriarchal system. Instead, men are being "feminized" by "man-hating" feminists who are suppressing the natural inclinations of men. Similarly Louis, an activist and former police officer from Las Vegas I met in North Carolina, stated,

The National Organization for Women opposes us because they're also primarily pro-abortion. But they're also what we would call anti-patriarchal. And they are opposed to men being the head of the family. And as Christians, we believe that is what God meant men to do. We do not believe that that in any way denigrates women or reduces their role in society. But fathers are responsible.

Much like the devaluation in the role of women as mothers, these activists are expressing the loss of cultural value of traditional male roles as protectors and heads of the family (Bernard 1981). These examples also express a proprietary claim to the roles of family head and protector, arguing that these roles should be reserved for men exclusively. Using a kind of "separate but equal" argument, they argue that these restrictions do not denigrate women.

As demonstrated above, these activists made a plethora of claims of threat made against American culture. However, not all these claims necessarily constitute proprietary claims. For example, criticizing a perceived "culture of death" in the United States does not, in and of itself, constitute a proprietary claim to any particular areas of privilege in American society, nor do mere criticisms of other perceived problems in American culture regarding moral decay. Indeed, criticism of mainstream culture is a cornerstone of many if not most social movements (Bernstein 1997). Such a claim becomes proprietary, however, when the authority to dictate what American culture should be is isolated to a particular group. When that happens, a proprietary claim is made to American culture and morality itself, in that the right to determine what should be moral or immoral in American culture is restricted to one group, in this case, "true" Christians. In other words, merely criticizing a culture does not necessarily constitute a proprietary claim. However, when such a cultural threat is framed as a violation of a moral code dictated by a particular group (e.g. Christians) and that group claims that this code should be the law of the land, then a proprietary claim is made on American culture itself. While not all of the threats described in this study involve proprietary claims,

many do make reference to particular moral codes, specifically those attributed to the law of God or Christianity. This, together with the restrictive Christian identity described in the previous chapter, suggests that these activists are making proprietary claims to American culture and morality itself.

5.2.2 Economic Threats

While the vast majority of threat claims addressed culture, threats to the American economy were made as well. Usually such threats were described in terms of the losses of potential revenue due to a decreased population that has resulted from the practice of abortion. According to the web site for Alliance for Life Ministries,

To date over 35 million young Americans - more than the population of the entire nation of Canada - have been killed by "legal" abortion. The cost to every American has been devastating, at the very least, both as a moral decay of our society, as well as financially. It is estimated the lifetime economic loss to our country from these killings would amount to somewhere between 12 and 15 trillion dollars - more than enough to eliminate our National Debt.

Similarly, Ian, from Texas, said,

And it's funny—oh, it's not funny but it's sobering to look at how abortion goes into other areas. I mean we have less taxpayers. When you look at the Census predictions of 1965, they project—you know, we're way behind where we were projected to be. And it wasn't an, "Oh, there's going to be too many people." It was, uh, "Whew, imagine the jobs, imagine the universities, imagine the Social Security.

In both cases economic losses from abortion are expressed in terms of lost prosperity that would have been generated had these abortions not occurred, according to particular population projections and unspecified assumptions regarding earnings.

A number of activists specifically singled out the harm that has supposedly been done to Social Security and tax revenues due to a reduced population. Jerry, from Kansas, speaking of the consequences of abortion, declared,

Well, uh, okay on a natural side, a simple one would be we are clearly running tax money, Social Security, we're killing one-third of our nation and we've been doing it for 30 years, and so just that alone, just the revenues from the taxes of 50 million who have died. And out of those 50 million, I don't know, maybe 30 million of them would be wage earners today. How much income would there be from 30 million if they were still alive.

STOPP International made a similar argument:

We pay more in income tax each year, both at the federal and state level. With less people in the work force and an aging population, we have fewer and fewer working taxpayers to contribute the funds to run the government. Thus the contribution from each individual is higher today than it would have been had 38 million babies not been aborted in the United States.

Echoing this argument, Frank, from North Carolina, said, "Let's face it, our Social Security System is in trouble. Why? Because we've killed 50 million little baby boys and girls." Similarly, Erma argued, "We are killing our children. And now we're talking about Social Security going broke. There's no difference. We're killing the future workers. And then we will have no funds later on to take care of the people."

Scott, from Ohio, claimed that the economy has been hurt by a lack of workers: "If you have 50 million dead people in America today, of course, the job, the market, the work force is going to be diminished. The, uh, the workforce will be diminished, and I guess that can be detrimental to the economy." And Sandra, an activist and midwife from Texas, described damage to the economy in terms of loss of consumers:

There's been 50 million killed since the quote legalization of abortion in '73. It is a third of my generation. That's staggering. I actually think that that is where the economic crisis now has come from. ...My sister now has four children. Their family is participating in the economy. But the next person down the line that was killed isn't. And neither are their children. I mean there's a snowballing effect, a cascading effect from people being killed on such a massive scale.

While the accuracy of these predictions regarding the effects of abortion on the economy are questionable, these activists do indeed believe the economy has been harmed by abortion. Again, however, these threats do not seem to imply proprietary claims. The losses are expressed in universal terms, as losses to the nation as a whole in terms of Social Security, the national workforce, loss of consumers, and so forth. Unlike anti-illegal immigrant activists, it is not suggested that this money should be limited to particular groups or that the effect on the labor market is isolated to particular individuals.

5.2.3 Social Threats

Like economic threats, social threats were also relatively rare among anti-abortion/pro-life advocates. The most common threats cited were threats to the family, that abortion destabilizes society by harming the family. I coded these claims separately from the claims of cultural threat to family values discussed above, as these latter claims refer not to the cultural values associated with the family, motherhood, and childhood, but to harm supposedly done to the stability and integrity of the family.

A doctor, speaking on the consequences of abortion at a rally in North Carolina, declared, "But it's the nation, it's just families in general, the degradation and the falling

apart that we see of the family unit." Iris, an activist from Florida whom I met in North Carolina, made a similar claim, saying, "The family is harmed by abortion. And, I think, the family is the basis of society. Uh, a strong family unit usually will create less chaos in society." Linda, an activist from Texas, when asked how abortion harms society, replied, "It's detrimental to society because it harms the woman. The woman is really the heart of the family. If she's damaged goods—physically hurt, emotionally and psychologically hurt—she's no good as a mother. There's no stability in that family." Similarly, Wilma, from California, said,

When you harm the woman, her hand is the hand that rocks the cradle. She is going to teach the children. And when her heart hardens and is broken, she's not the mother she needs to be, she's not the wife she needs to be. And when the man is part of the crime, which so many are, the crime of abortion, the family starts out broken. As the family is broken, so will society be broken. And as the local community is broken, the state will be broken, and it spreads throughout the nation.

The statements by Wilma and Linda also suggest that abortion causes psychological harm to women such that they cannot be effective mothers, thereby destabilizing the family. But it is not just the family that is harmed. The family as the fundamental building block of society causes damage throughout the community and the nation at large.

Another significant theme among social threats were threats to the American black population. Abortion, it is argued, was conceived in part as an exercise in eugenics. Furthermore, the effects of loss of population for blacks are greater than those for whites, as abortion rates are higher for blacks and, it is claimed, abortion facilities specifically target minority neighborhoods. Paula, an African-American activist from Georgia, explained,

We believe that the abortion industry, Planned Parenthood, has been targeting the black community to control the birth rate of the black community through abortion. If you go back and look at the founder of Planned Parenthood's history, she had a project that she called the Negro project in which she paid black ministers to teach birth control as a way of life. And back then a number of organizations objected to Margaret Sanger and objected to her organization. And they called it black genocide.

She went on to further explain the consequences of the loss of population for the black community:

Had we not had as many abortions as we've had, there would be an additional 18,870,000 blacks in this country. We would have been 19 percent of the population instead of the 12 to 13 percent we've hovered around since the 1930s. So, we've had no growth even with all of the immigration from Africa and other nations like Trinidad, Jamaica, etc. We've had no growth.

Thus, abortion has resulted in a stifling of the growth of the black population, potentially impacting a number of social areas, such as political representation. LEARN, the Life Education and Resource Network, an organization made up of African-American and other minority anti-abortion/pro-life advocates, made a similar claim:

Michael Novak had calculated "Since the number of current living Blacks (in the U.S.) is 36 million, the missing 16 million represents an enormous loss, for without abortion, America's Black community would now number 52 million persons. It would be 36 percent larger than it is. Abortion has swept through the Black community like a scythe, cutting down every fourth member.

While many of those that cited the social threat to the black community from abortion were, unsurprisingly, African-American, the claim that abortion is racist was not uncommon among other organizations as well. The web site for the Houston Coalition for Life stated, "Planned Parenthood today is doing exactly what their founder hoped to

do—make America as white as possible by eliminating 'inferior' humans." Similarly, the web site for Corpus Christi Right to Life declared,

It seems that the judicial, executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government have conspired to promote the mass slaughter of unwanted unborn, and especially minority babies. Supposedly, this "genocide by choice" forestalls a feared explosion of minorities and drain on the Federal social services budget. The Federal government's facilitation of minority abortions is simply racial and ethnic cleansing — American style... As a result of government policies, over 40 million legal surgical abortions have been performed in the United States since 1973. Half of these abortions have been procured by minorities, who have been undeclared targets for population reduction.

In a seeming contradiction to those who claim that preventing abortions would be an economic boon, here it is argued that one of the motivations behind the greater proportion of minority abortions is fear of the potential cost in social services of supporting a larger minority population. An article on the web site for Elijah Ministries stated,

It is the left that continues to promote, as a sacrament to their godless religion, the sinful and criminal act of abortion. As stated previously, they are caught adhering to beliefs and actions that cannot sustain their future. They are literally wiping out their own base of support by pursuing this fatal path. For instance, most blacks in America vote liberal. Until now, most of them are ignorant to the truth that the birth control movement and subsequent abortion agenda perpetrated by Planned Parenthood (a radical liberal group) is rooted in racism. This "wolf in sheep's clothing" is devouring the black race. And yet they blindly submit to the slaughter convinced they are being helped by a "benevolent" organization. This so-called "help" is leading to their extinction. What will the political left do once the black race has dwindled? The day is coming when the cause of their agenda is going to run smack into its affect. Where will they be then?

This example outlines the potentially ironic political consequences of abortion in the black community in that African-Americans disproportionately vote for Democrats, who

support abortion rights, yet abortion is allegedly killing off the black community that would be voting for them.

A few respondents even argued that abortion constitutes a social threat in that other groups, specifically Muslims, will out populate Christians. Lisa, from North Carolina, stated,

The next greatest cost to the spiritual aspect is the physical and financial aspect. The fertility rate, I believe it is at 1.8 per family. Those of the Muslim thought process, I won't call it a faith. It's a faith that is in a false teaching. It won't take them anywhere. It will take them to death is where it will take them. In that faith that they have, they're reproducing greatly. So what's going to happen in 20 years? They're going to far outweigh us physically.

Similarly, Tom, from Texas, makes an argument very similar to the "bloodless invasion" arguments made by anti-illegal immigrant activists, that Muslims are attempting to conquer the "Christian West" through number alone:

Now, Muslims believe this. Do you know what I'm saying? Like what Muslims couldn't do with the sword, they're now doing with immigration and population. So the Christian West, who at one time believed that children were a blessing from God. Okay? In fact, in 1912 in America, the average family was 11 children. Today it's like what? 1.9? 2.2? So here you have the Muslims highjacking a Christian doctrine. Implementing it. And so Christians who are refusing to have children, but the Muslims are populating. ...Now believe me, brother, we are heading into trouble here. And so the point being, brother, is that through birth control, he's preventing our ammunition—like in Psalm 127, where God compares children to arrows. Now think about that. He compares children to arrows. What are arrows? That's ammunition.

The social threat from abortion and birth control, he explains, is that Christians are limiting their "ammunition," children, in an implied war of numbers with Muslims. A

speaker at an anti-illegal immigration rally in North Carolina was more specific about the consequences of this purported Islamic population surge:

Oh, we can't afford to have kids. You can't afford not to. Why do you think Social Security and Medicare were banned from discussion? Why do you think in three or four generations Islamists will be able to vote terrorists into office? ... We lose our legacy because we would rather have a boat? God have mercy on us.

This example expresses political fears regarding a change in the proportion of populations between Christians and Muslims, such that the population of "Islamists" in the future will be such that they will gain political power in the U.S.

Like economic threats, many of these expressed social threats do not appear to involve proprietary claims. The claims of harm to the family do not appear to limit the benefits of family stability to any particular groups. Similarly, while the potential loss of black voters, for example, certainly constitutes a loss of social capital for blacks, it is not suggested that blacks alone are deserving of the political benefits of population. The only claims that could be characterized as proprietary involve the last few claims regarding the Islamic population. In these cases, an explicitly adversarial relationship between Christians and Muslims is declared, and references to the "Christian West" and "our legacy" indicate proprietary claims to the nation and its government over those of Muslims, presumably regardless of their status as American citizens. Given the assertion that America is a Christian nation, this is not particularly surprising. However, these claims regarding the Muslim population were found only in a relatively small minority of organizations.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I described the various privileges claimed and threats perceived by the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement using Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital (1990, 2001a) to categorize and analyze these privileges and threats. Both movements made a series of privilege and threat claims based upon economic, cultural, and social capital. Anti-illegal immigration activists described many areas to which they make claims of privilege and perceive threats due to undocumented migration, including privileges associated with language, education, jobs, social services, and politics, among others. Similarly, anti-abortion/pro-life activists described a host of perceived threats to American society, most notably in terms of the moral degradation of American culture, but also in terms of economic losses due to a reduced population and harm to American families as well.

Unlike anti-illegal immigration activists, however, anti-abortion/pro-life activists were not as explicit in terms of privileges being claimed. Indeed, the threats expressed in terms of economic and social capital were not often expressed in terms of proprietary rights (for example, arguing that only "true" Christians should have access to particular economic privileges). However, the key area in which claims of proprietary rights were made was in the area of culture. That is, many anti-abortion/pro-life activists made proprietary claims to American culture and morality itself. That is, since American is a Christian nation, as described in the last chapter and they are the "true" Christians, they and they alone know the appropriate moral path for America and are the only appropriate stewards for American society.

Another important point to note is that not all threat claims made regarding the detriments of undocumented migration or abortion constitute threats to privilege. A key frame of the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, one that was mentioned by literally every organization I examined, was the claim that abortion is essentially murder, the intentional ending of a human life. Ending a single life does not appear to constitute a privilege, nor does it alone constitute a threat to a group or society (through secondary effects, like the promotion of a culture of death or a lack of taxpayers, do). Similarly, one of the key frames in the anti-illegal immigration movement, mentioned by a majority of respondents, was the idea that illegal immigration poses a threat to American security through both increased crime and the possibility of terrorist activities. While this certainly constitutes a threat to U.S. society, I found little evidence of proprietary claims in that activists did not, for example, claim that only American citizens deserve to be protected from crime. This finding is understandable, as the motivation to preserve privilege is likely not the sole motivation behind these movements, nor do all frames necessarily serve this particular end.

This chapter has demonstrated the presence of two of Blumer's (1958) four elements of group position in the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movement: proprietary claims to certain areas of privilege and a fear and suspicion that these privileges are under threat. In the next chapter I will look at statements related to Blumer's last two points: the idea that those that threaten these privileges are inferior and inherently different.

6. Agents of Threat

Blumer (1958) provides a set of four criteria that can be used to examine group position, two of which were analyzed in the previous chapter: proprietary claims to areas of privilege and perceived threats to those privileges. This chapter will address Blumer's last two points: a feeling that the subordinate group is intrinsically different and that the subordinate group is inherently inferior.

The first question we must consider is how to identify the group comparable to Blumer's "subordinate" group when analyzing conservative social movements. Blumer's original conceptualization of group position was based on racial privilege, in which there was a clearly defined dominant group (whites) and a clearly defined subordinate group (blacks). Other scholars who have attempted to expand on Blumer's work have also struggled with this question. In some cases, group distinctions are relatively clear based upon existing power relationships (Bernstein 2004; Bernstein, Kostelac, and Gaarder 2003; Dixon 2010). Bobo and Hutchings (1996), however, examined perceptions of threat among different racial minority groups, where each group could be considered a subordinate group. They instead used a group-centered approach, looking at in-group/out-group relationships and perceptions of threat from an out-group.

Consistent with Bobo and Hutchings' approach, I move away from the dominant/subordinate relationship. However, while Bobo and Hutchings used established racial categories to define their groups, the lines between in-group and out-group related to conservative movements are not necessarily as clear. Therefore, I propose defining the out-group using criteria established by Blumer in his own

descriptions of the criteria for group position. Blumer defines the threat criteria as "a fear and suspicion and the subordinate group harbors designs on the prerogatives of the dominant race" (Blumer 1958: 4). The out-group, therefore, can be defined in terms of that group that is perceived to be threatening the privileges of the majority group.

The various advocacy organizations that support undocumented migrants and abortion rights also threaten the privileges of these conservative groups. However, it is not at all unusual for movement groups to portray organizations that are opposed to them as evil, immoral, or in otherwise negative terms (Schrock, Holden, and Reid 2004). Consequently, we cannot assume that such denigrations of opposition groups are necessarily due to a desire to preserve privileges. Therefore, I propose examining the opinions of my case movements towards undocumented migrants and those women that have abortions. Anti-illegal immigration activist organizations perceive undocumented migrants to pose threats to their privileges, as described in the previous chapter. Similarly, anti-abortion/pro-life groups argue that abortion threatens American cultural and morality, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, are claimed by "true" Christians. Consequently, those women who seek abortions, as instigators of the act of abortion, constitute a threat similar to undocumented migrants. I label these groups of individuals who constitute a threat to the privileges of the conservative organizations "agents of threat."

In my analysis, I found two broad portrayals of agents of threat in both movements. In many cases, they were portrayed as perpetrators, coming across the border illegally or obtaining abortions for reasons of greed, convenience, or outright

malice. In other cases, however, they were treated as victims, driven to cross the border or have an abortion due to overwhelming pressures, such as intolerable circumstances and living conditions. In this chapter, I will describe the ways in which activists characterized these agents of threat as both victim and perpetrator and how both descriptions were used to advocate an end to undocumented migration and abortion.

6.1 Anti-Illegal Immigration

While evidence of both victim and perpetrator portrayals were found among anti-illegal immigration activists, perpetrators portrayals were more than twice as prevalent within the coded data, as shown below.

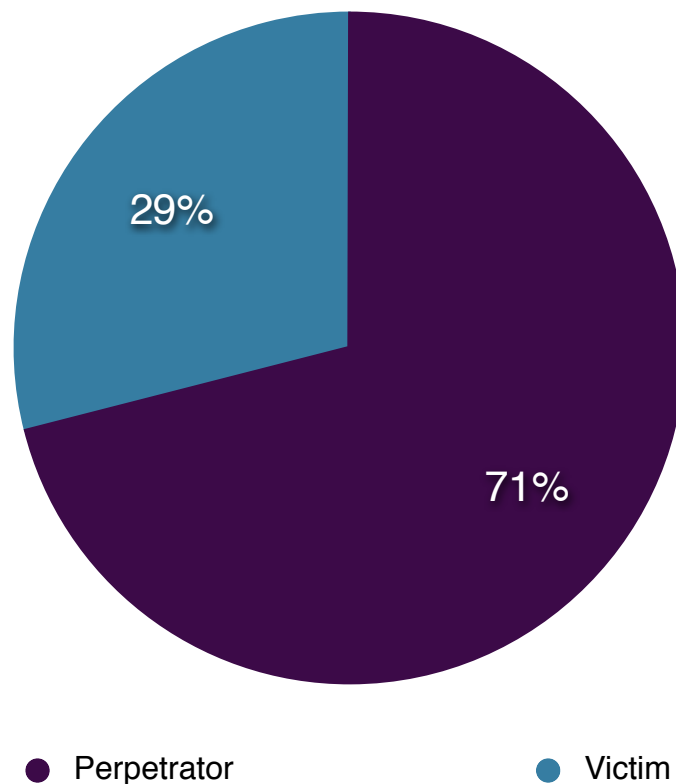


Figure 5: Proportions of Portrayals of Undocumented Migrants

6.1.1 Perpetrator

Several malicious motivations were ascribed to undocumented migrants who chose to cross the border into the United States. One of the most common was the portrayal of migrants as criminals who desire to come to the U.S. for criminal goals. The web site for the Minuteman Project described the U.S.-Mexico border as little more than a source of criminals and terrorists: "The southern border 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." The web site for Texas Border Volunteers, an anti-illegal immigration organization that performs border watches in south Texas, associated child molestation with undocumented migration: "In recent crackdowns on child molesters, authorities discovered that 85 percent of child molesters were foreign nationals; 40% of these are illegal immigrants." The web site for the San Diego Minutemen specifically countered the argument that undocumented migrants are coming into the U.S. to find jobs. This site argued, "Border Patrol in San Diego says that about 30% of the people crossing our southern border have criminal records, so many of them are clearly 'not just here to work.'" The web site for NC FIRE, North Carolinians for Immigration Reform and Enforcement, enumerated a variety of immigration travesties: "Some of the crimes illegals commit include: child molestation, human smuggling, ID fraud, identity theft, drug trafficking/distribution, gang violence, rape, murder, kidnapping, arson, DWI, driving with out a license, hit and run, assault, social services benefits fraud, illegal employment and tax evasion, among others."

Speaking at an anti-illegal immigration rally in Austin, Texas, R.J. Lindsay of the Coalition for an Illegal Free America stated, "Everyday an illegal alien breaks our laws. And sometimes that involves murder. They murder innocent Americans, not drug smuggling Americans, actual innocent Americans." And Ed, a retired police officer in Arizona, complained, "We are seeing more and more criminal elements moving across. That's a humongous problem. Just two days ago here in Green Valley, we had a 70 year-old man assaulted by an illegal who wanted his wallet and his cell phone and his car. And [they] roughed the old man up a little bit and stole his car." Many of these types of statements, particular on the web pages, make use of what Jasper (1997) terms "moral shock," in that they are intended to outrage the reader with the purported horrifying nature of violent drug-runners being allowed to come across the border.

Various organizations associated undocumented migrants with terrorism. The web site for Americans for Legal Immigration (ALIPAC) declared, "Illegal aliens have taken part in almost every major attack on U.S. soil perpetrated by Islamist terrorists, including the first attack on the World Trade Center, the Millennium plot, the plot to bomb the New York subway, and the attacks of 9/11." Similarly, the Atlanta Minuteman Project posed the question: "How long will it be before someone simply walks across our border into the United States of America carrying a bomb or nuclear device?" At the anti-illegal immigration in Austin, Daniel Miller of the Texas Nationalist Movement said, "Unless we believe that this is solely about Mexico, let's not forget that over—almost 200,000 that were caught to illegally cross the border were from countries that engage in

terrorist activities against the United States and now against Texas." Tim Scott, speaking at an anti-illegal immigration rally in Columbia, South Carolina, argued,

Our illegal immigration issue is more than an issue of illegal immigration. It is an issue of national security. Think about it. 200,000 people that crossed the Mexican border were not from Mexico. 200,000 people that crossed the Mexican border illegally were not from Mexico! One individual carrying one pound of weaponized Anthrax kills 5 million Americans. Our illegal immigration issue—our border security—is more than an issue about illegal immigrants. It's an issue about national security.

Joe, a retired firefighter from North Carolina, explicitly stated that his focus was not on undocumented migrants from Mexico, but on terrorists that could cross the Mexican border:

If you look at Travis County, Texas--look up an article by Sarah Carter. ...And it shows in there where in Travis County, Texas, as many as 20 people a week go in there and have their names changed from Middle Eastern names to Hispanic names. And I can show you a laundry list—in fact there was just an article out by Congresswomen Sue Myrick that shows Hezbollah coming in through our southern borders. So my involvement isn't just about Juan and Maria coming here and taking jobs that Americans don't want, I'm looking at terrorists, hard-core terrorists.

While Joe is obviously concerned about terrorists crossing the border, he is careful to say that he does not portray all undocumented migrants as terrorists: "Middle Eastern illegal aliens are the terrorists. I said that one time to a radio or T.V. person and they mistook it claiming that I was saying that all illegal aliens are terrorists. And that's not what I'm saying." Even though several of these statements single out terrorists as not being Mexican and not comprising a large proportion of all undocumented migrants, labeling terrorists as "illegal immigrants" still casts a negative light on the undocumented population as a whole.

Associations with the illegal drug trade also were frequently mentioned.

According to the web site for Voice of the People USA, "During the year of 2005 there were 4 to 10 MILLION illegal aliens that crossed our Southern Border also, as many as 19,500 illegal aliens from Terrorist Countries. Millions of pounds of drugs, cocaine, meth, heroine and marijuana, crossed into the U. S. from the Southern border." The web site for Team America, an anti-illegal immigration organization founded by former House representative Tom Tancredo, implied that lax immigration enforcement has actually attracted drug offenders to the border: "There you have it -- Mexico wants our border 'safe and open to...workers' and, of course, their families and friends. But alongside these folks come the gangbangers, the drug runners, the criminals -- and the drugs. The openness of our border is precisely why the drug cartels set up shop in Mexico."

Many respondents also cited malicious intent on the part of undocumented migrants who seek free public services in the United States. When asked why most undocumented migrants come to the U.S., Kyle, from North Carolina, replied,

Personal ambition. If there was a country that I could break into and the worst thing that was going to happen to me was that I was going to be sent back home to be near my friends and family, I could roll the dice and get my education and health care of my children paid for in the most successful civilization in human history without having to pay the taxes and blood, sweat, and tears that it took to build it.

And Brian, also from North Carolina, specifically railed against those people who portray undocumented migrants as victims, accusing both undocumented migrants and their supporters of ignoring the potential loss of services to American citizens:

They don't seem to mind that when they get free health care at our clinics some American isn't getting what they need because there isn't an unlimited amount of money. That doesn't seem to both them a whole lot. And the very people who try to make victims out of illegal immigrants don't seem to care about the people in America who suffer.

Many respondents also complained that Mexican women will take advantage of the 14th amendment by coming across the border to give birth on U.S. soil solely for the purpose of having the child declared an American citizen who is thereby able to take advantage of social services restricted to citizens. Ruth, from South Carolina, described such a situation:

And then they're exploiting the 14 Amendment, which was written for ex-slaves who were born in the United States and wanted to become a citizen of the United States and the state where they lived. And a lot of them are exploiting that by coming across the border almost 8 months pregnant—who are going to have a baby—and they have a baby in the United States and all of a sudden it's a U.S. citizen. You know the baby is a citizen so, therefore, they are, too. So, that's what they call the anchor baby, I guess.

Martha, from California, similarly stated, "We have people basically sitting in Tijuana or Juarez waiting to have their child. They come over the border to have their child as it is assumed that that child is a legal citizen." John, from California, accused women of having multiple children in order to collect on benefits in California:

They're not entitled to CALWORKS because they're illegal aliens, but their kids are entitled to CALWORKS. And so what they do, they have as many kids as they can and they file for the money--to get the CALWORKS money. California is the only state in the country that pays more than five years of child welfare, until their 18, adults. From the time they're born until they are 18 years of age, they qualify for free money, which amounts to between \$700 and \$1200 per kid. What mommies will do is they will come here to the United States. They plop out a kid. They file for the CALWORKS, they get it all...

Raul, from South Carolina, complained that it was not just poor women attempting to gain access to social services, but also wealthy individuals seeking dual Mexican-American citizenship: "Some of these rich people come here to drop their babies and then they go back to their country so their baby can have dual citizenship. And hospitals actually advertise in these foreign countries." And Mark, from Texas, declared,

They just make fun of the place because any time a woman wants to have what they call and "anchor baby," she'll waddle across the bridge like that and as her water breaks on the north side, under humanitarian conditions they got to rush her ass to the hospital. She has the kid. The kid's an American citizen. Welcome to my world. As soon as he becomes 18 years of age, he can bring every buddy he knows and his family across.

Another common motivation ascribed to undocumented migrants is a desire to take over or conquer the United States. The web site for United Patriots of America, a nationally active anti-illegal immigration group headquartered in New Jersey, stated,

Americans watch a peaceful invasion and the most profound colonization in modern history. Carlos de Mola for Mexico's Excelsior Newspaper said, "You cannot give me a similar example of such a large migratory wave of an ant-like multitude, stubborn, unarmed and carried on in the face of the most powerful and best-armed nation on earth...it is slowly returning the southwestern U.S. to the jurisdiction of Mexico without firing a single shot nor requiring the least diplomatic action, by means of a steady, spontaneous and uninterrupted occupation."

Similarly, the web site for the Campo Minutemen, a border watch organization based in southern California, ascribed "seditious intent" to undocumented migrants: "We are proud Americans who will not sit idle while our Government sells us out, giving OUR Country away to foreign nationals, many with seditious intent." Roland Garcia-Quintana, speaking at an anti-illegal immigration rally in South Carolina, asserted that

undocumented migrants want to expel both white and black Americans from areas of the United States:

We have over half a million illegals crossing annually over our borders. They spit on our flag. They fly their flag. They have a sense of entitlement. We owe 'em. But they don't care about that. They want anybody European or African to get the hell out. They want to run our nation. Actually, I say "ruin" our nation because look at Mexico. If they were so smart, then we wouldn't have the problems that we have in Mexico today.

Jim, from Arizona, also derided the common argument that undocumented migrants come to the U.S. to find work, saying, "Are they just coming across the border to work, some people say. No. They think this is their land. They are on a mission. They have an obligation to cross the border and occupy the territory. That's what their doing. Work has nothing to do with it." Alan, from California, asserted that Mexican schools are instructing their students that parts of the U.S. rightfully belong to Mexico, and this influences undocumented migration:

I believe that they're taught in schools down there in Mexico—I've heard this—that they're taught about how we took this part of the country away from them and it's really theirs. And I think that there might be an underlying thing—not their main goals—that they want that part of their country back and that they're coming back and they're going to take it.

A similar claim was made by Sam, an activist from Texas: "They promote, you know, you've got a group that come over here illegally and they have kids or they have kids when they get here and they promote that. They promote that the American is the bad person. He stole the country during the war. We need to get it back by overpopulating... we need to get it back."

6.1.2 Victim

While anti-illegal immigration activists ascribed many malicious motivations to undocumented migrants, many also portrayed migrants as victims, suffering under terrible conditions, both in Mexico and in the United States. The web page for the Minuteman Project described a situation in which aid was rendered to an undocumented migrant suffering from the ordeal of crossing the border: "A 25-year-old Guatemalan hobbled into our camp suffering from hypothermia, dehydration, and starvation. He had gotten separated from the group that escorted him over the border and had wandered aimlessly through the desert for four days." Similarly, Ed from Arizona said, "And if they walk up—quite often you would be surprised how many of them have been ditched in the desert by their coyote. So they've been wondering around for 4 or 5 or 6 days. They're tired. They're hungry. In the summertime, they're exhausted. In the wintertime, they're cold." A speaker at an anti-illegal immigration rally in Austin, Texas, associated undocumented migration with crime, but at the same time portrayed other migrants as victims who are being taken advantage of by human smugglers:

Guys, illegal immigration costs people lives. It not only harms the lives of our citizens, our ranchers, our police department, our border patrol agents, our common citizens getting gunned down by illegal drug dealers in our towns across the country, it's killing them, too. They're dying. They're getting taken advantage of by the coyotes. First they pay to come across, then they get held hostage here. Some are killed and dismembered in trying to extort money from the family members back across the border.

Robert, a former military serviceman in North Carolina, said many undocumented migrants don't necessarily want to leave Mexico, but are forced to do so due to violence and intimidation:

The illegal aliens, a lot of them have been victimized as well. A lot of the human smuggling and the trafficking isn't because these people want to, they've been oppressed and pressured into it by people who cut heads off and body parts off and roll the heads down the middle of the street to intimidate everybody, to control everybody.

Others also asserted that many undocumented migrants come across not out of any malicious intent, but to escape poverty. When asked why most undocumented migrants come to the U.S., Ruth, from South Carolina, replied,

For the American dream. Make money. And really, if you think about [the] image that people have of America, you come over here and there's money pouring out of the streets. And so a lot of them come to escape poverty. A lot of political prisoners—I've heard that some are escaping because of persecution in their country. But not so much with Mexico.

In response to the same question, Drew, from Georgia, said very simply, "Economic reasons. Which you can't blame them for wanting to do it."

Like Drew, John, from California, sympathized with migrants who are attempting to escape poverty: "If the tables were turned, and Mexico was Valhalla and the United States sucked as bad as Mexico does, we would probably do the same thing. We would probably go over there and try and get at the golden goose, or whatever you want to call it. Doesn't make it right. It just means that we would probably do it to avoid being poor." And Alan, from California, actually praised the work ethic of undocumented migrants: "And the same thing happens with the illegals who come here. They need the work. And they're glad to get anything. And they work hard. Okay. And they don't have an attitude like a lot of Americans have." While such praise would seem to be complimenting migrant workers, it is very similar to that given to migrant workers in

Texas in the 1920s which lauded migrant workers as more "docile" and easily pliable than either white or African-American workers (Montejano 1987; Takaki 1993; Reisler 1976).

Mark, from Texas, described the conditions migrants face both in coming across the border and working once they get here:

You take people across. They pay you money; you bring them across. You treat them like dogs. You stick them in some damned container you wouldn't put a rabbit or a dog in. You ship them wherever. And they got to work this off. They've stuck 40 or 50 people in a damned house, apartment, or whatever, and they work. They're working for these companies that know who they are, what they are. And they don't care about it. So, this old boy doesn't have a shield on his blinders. And he gets [injured]. Who's he going to go to? ...Why would you want to put anybody through that... slavery, for God's sake. Why would you want to redo it? They say, "Well, it's a better job." Not under those conditions, it's not.

Like Mark, many activists described the exploitation undocumented migrants face in employment in the United States as akin to slavery. The web site for the Minuteman Project specifically ascribed malicious intent not to undocumented migrants, but to businesses seeking exploitable labor, comparing it explicitly to slavery-era conditions:

Meanwhile, 21st century slave traders lure or purchase economic refugees from third world countries and greedily mark them for exploitation by unscrupulous American employers, a scenario not seen since the pre-Civil War era where morally cheap slave-masters justified their piggish behavior only by what was financially good for them. Then, as today, greed trumped consideration for human rights or any ominous economic consequences to our nation.

The San Diego Minutemen described one of their near-term goals as "To close every major day labor and migrant camp sites in SD Co. and to target businesses that hire

illegal slave labor." And Raul, from South Carolina, described the conditions migrant workers suffer:

You have—the illegals are victims because they're being exploited and abused and they have no recourse whatsoever. So when they lose an arm or leg or something, they're just thrown out. Or when they're sprayed chemicals. This was something I learned when I was doing the migrant education, and I went to the fields and people were working and they were exterminating the fields right on top of the people. And that bothered me.

The Minuteman Civil Defense Corps simultaneously criticized the exploitation of immigrant labor while faulting undocumented migrants for disregarding American laws:

The American people are firm but fair, and we share their great compassion for the many powerless victims of cruel, illegal human trafficking and labor exploitation. But we also support our citizens' adamant rejection of the blatant disregard for our laws and ordered liberty represented by the U.S. government's failure to secure our borders, enforce our nation's sovereignty and end the flood of illegal trafficking into American territory.

Tim, from California, described the conflicting feelings between sympathy and hostility towards undocumented migrants in the following way:

People ask me, you know, don't you feel sorry for the illegal alien? Do you hate the illegal alien? And all that. And I don't. I don't hate him. I do feel sorry for them. But I always tell them that as I understand the legendary story—I'm pretty sure it's pretty well factual—of Typhoid Mary. I feel sorry for Typhoid Mary. But I'm glad they put her in an institution at the end of her life, because she was giving people typhoid fever and she refused to stop working in restaurants because it was the only way she knew to make a living. So she eventually—it may all be urban myth—my understanding of Typhoid Mary was that they confirmed that she was indeed a typhoid carrier and told her not to work in restaurants and she worked in restaurants until they actually locked her up for it. Do I hate Typhoid Mary? No. Do I feel sorry for Typhoid Mary? Yes. Am I glad they locked her up? Yes. You know.

Tim likens the undocumented migrant to a plague carrier: fundamentally innocent in that he or she bears no ill will, deserving of sympathy, but necessitating that action be taken to prevent wider suffering. However, in this case the suffering in question would appear to be the loss of various privileges that are defined by activists to belong to American citizens.

6.2 Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life

Unlike anti-illegal immigration activists, anti-abortion/pro-life activists used victim and perpetrator portrayals in almost equal amounts, with victim portrayals edging out perpetrator portrayals, as demonstrated below.

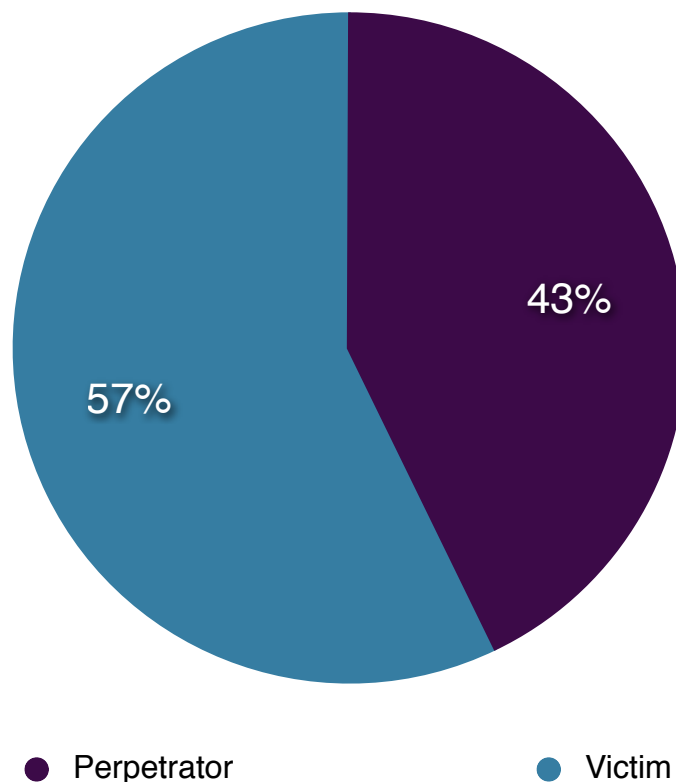


Figure 6: Proportions of Portrayals of Women Who Get Abortions

6.2.1 Perpetrator

One of the most common themes among the perpetrator portrayals of women who have abortions was the ascription of motivations of convenience to these women. That is, most women who have abortions do it because it interferes with their lives or life goals in some way, and they selfishly get an abortion to avoid these complications. The web site for Bound4LIFE, self-described on its web site as "a grassroots prayer mobilization movement targeting the ending of abortion," listed its own breakdown of the reasons for abortion as follows: "98% Personal Choice (unwanted or inconvenient); 1.7% Life/Health of Mother or Child; .3% Rape/Incest." The web site for Justice for All, an anti-abortion/pro-life organization that conducts demonstrations on college campuses, specifically singled out selfishness as the reason for most abortions:

Nearly one in three children conceived in America are being violently killed in the womb. Not because they did anything wrong, or because we cannot afford them, or because no one would adopt or love them. They are aborted because they are unwanted and unborn, though ironically their tiny bodies are now deemed vital to medical research. Why would the most affluent society in history kill off so many of its youngest and most vulnerable members? Answer: Selfishness, fueled by ignorance.

Similarly, Paula from Texas, when asked why most women get abortions, replied,

Birth control. If you look at the Alan Guttmacher Institutes web site, it tells you that 52 percent of the women that get abortions have had at least one before. So this is not 51 million different women having abortions. There are some women that have as many as 10, 12, 15 abortions. There was an article not too long ago where one woman said she was addicted to abortions. And she didn't know how many she had had. But the average person has at least two, if not more.

Lisa, from North Carolina, said, "Many times it's just offering our children on the altar of convenience. This is just not convenient for me at this time. So it becomes self-centeredness."

Respondents cited several different specific motivations regarding convenience and selfishness. According to Julian, a pastor from Louisiana: "Some, education. Some say 'I don't like being fat.' In my church they got abortions because they didn't like the guy. Financial reasons, whatever." Ken, from California, said,

I think there's another one there that's being overlooked and it's called selfishness. Because I'm going to give my one baby all this stuff instead of having lots more children and not being able to give them as much as I can for one baby. And then some women don't want children anymore. They don't want children in their life so they can have more toys and more goodies for themselves.

Ken is ascribing selfish motivations to women who get abortions not only to avoid the financial cost of a child in favor of reserving money for themselves, but also in cases where a mother wants to provide more for a single child rather than dividing resources among multiple children. Joanne, from Texas, made a similar claim:

A lot of people think it's mostly teenage girls who are too young to have a baby. But I've been amazed that actually it's women in their young 20s and they're not ready to have a child. It's not at the right time. It's an inconvenience right now. Or, at the other end of the spectrum, they're a little bit older and they've already got two or three children, and they don't want anymore. They can't afford another child. That's what they think in their mind, that they can't afford another child. And I think that's the two biggest reasons that women do it. It's for convenience, because it's not the right timing, and they can't afford another child.

Anita, an activist from Austin, Texas, cited "social reasons" as the primary motivator behind abortion:

It's in the way of their career. It's just in the way of their life plans in general. Young women don't want to tell their parents that they got pregnant. It's a solution for them. Many of the women who have abortions have them for social reasons. Social reasons being I don't want a child right now, a child would interfere with my life, or X,Y,Z. The other two percent are these women are victims of rape or incest or because of the case of the mother's health is in danger. But 98 percent happen because of social reasons.

While Anita does state that some abortions are done in cases of rape, incest, or when the mother's life is in danger, she believes these are a small minority compared to those who get abortions in furtherance of career or other life ambitions. Frank, from North Carolina, also cited career ambitions as the primary motivator:

Most women have abortions because they want a career. They don't want to pay for a baby when they have an SUV. We're finding less and less women that don't have much money. More and more women are having abortions just because of convenience. Okay? Billy Jean King had one many years ago. She was going to play tennis in a national tournament, and she was pregnant. So she had an abortion so she could play tennis. So we're finding that more and more.

It is interesting to note that, in portraying most women as having abortion to further financial or career goals, he believes there are fewer poor women getting abortions.

Jerry, from Kansas, made a similar claim:

Probably the number one reason they are being pressured to do that is finances. They want to go to school. They are too young, they don't want the inconvenience. And there's a waiting list in America to adopt infant children. Not older children, but infant children. So that's not an issue at all. But we want our bigger house, and our bigger car. Watch them drive in—it's not like I have official statistics, but I'm going to say 80 percent of these cars you see drive in there are late models. Nice cars. They're not junkers. I've seen Lexus, I've seen Mercedes, I've seen SUVs, nice SUVs, nicer than any car I've ever owned coming in here. And they usually try to spin that a little bit—the other side—you know, that these are just poor, poor women. And it's not.

Jerry specifically disputes the claim that many women get abortions because they are poor and cannot afford a child, asserting that the vast majority of women he sees getting abortions are relatively wealthy as evidenced by their cars.

Phil, from North Carolina, also cited greed as a motivator:

But I think the biggest thing is greed. When people get pregnant, it's like "Do I want to give up my life now for this kid? Do I want to feed it and send it to school and take it? It might lower my standard of living." You know, there are all these things and basically it is just greed. They don't want to pay for it. They don't want to be responsible for what they've done. They want to take the easy way, the cheap way, spend it on myself way.

In addition, Phil cited personal responsibility as a failing of women who get abortions, characterizing an abortion as an easy way out that enables a woman to avoid having to potentially reduce her level of comfort due to the added financial burden of a child.

Veronica, an activist from Kansas I met at a rally in North Carolina, also ascribed moral failings to women who get abortions:

To even consider abortion, you have to consider your life-style before the pregnancy. And people are not willing to change to change their life-style and obey God's commands and walk his ways. They let their lust prevail. And that results in a child and then they kill the child, as if it's the child's fault. But it's the fault of their own sin that they get in that position.

Again, women who get abortions are portrayed as primarily considering their own comfort and, in this case, falling prey to lust, which led to the pregnancy in the first place.

An abortion, Veronica argues, essentially redirects the fault from the woman's sin to the child. Paul, from North Carolina, also criticized women who get abortions for sexual impropriety: "You know, many of them were in relationships they shouldn't have been

in. Many of them were having sex outside of marriage. And there are always consequences to these things. That's why God sets those standards because he loves us and wants to protect us and we go outside of that we suffer consequences."

6.2.2 Victim

While many activists portrayed most women who get abortions as greedy, morally deficient perpetrators who almost literally sacrifice their children on the altar of convenience, many also described women as feeling as if they have no choice but to have an abortion. Speaking at a rally in Austin, Texas, Kathy Kerr, a regional coordinator for Silent No More, declared, "For those who say that it's a woman's choice, ask a woman why she has an abortion. Almost always it is because she felt she had no choice." The web site for the Pro-Life Action League, a Catholic anti-abortion/pro-life organization started in 1980, stated, "We fully appreciate the many pressures and crises which may lead some parents to believe they have no choice but to abort their child." Harold, an activist and pastor from Austin, Texas, said, "What we've found is that most women aren't going to get an abortion because they're pro-choice, they're going because they feel they don't have a choice. They feel they have no way out of it." Similarly, Terry, from North Carolina, explained,

You're in a pickle and you've got to get out. The devil's always got an easy way out. And you get rid of all evidence. Mom and dad don't have to know. Nobody has to know. There's such pressure. So many women feel that they have no choice when they're there. None. They're just trapped. A woman doesn't choose an abortion like you choose what kind of ice cream cone you want. You know, chocolate or vanilla. She chooses an abortion like an animal caught in a trap trying to gnaw off its own leg to get free.

Pressure from others, usually family members, boyfriends, or husbands, was most often cited as the reason that women feel they have no other recourse but abortion. The web site for Silent No More, an organization made up of women who have previous had abortions and now seek to end the practice, explained,

Women are pressured and coerced by family, friends, employers, institutions of learning, and sexual predators into having abortions. In some cases, parents threaten to kick the girl out of the home. Boyfriends and husbands may threaten to leave. Women are told by well-meaning friends that having a baby will ruin their lives and they simply have to have an abortion.

Louis, from Las Vegas, specifically talked about parents forcing their daughters to have abortions: "But probably the one that is the hardest is to see grandparents of the aborted baby dragging their daughter in to have the abortion when she doesn't want to. Of course, they'll say it's a matter of pro-choice, but you can tell whose choice it is, the parents', not the girl's." And Scott, from Ohio, said, "But subjectively speaking, in my experience, I see that the ones going into abortion clinics are afraid. They feel they have no one to help them. They're being forced to do it by boyfriends or husbands or mothers. And for 18 years of doing this, that's what I've seen. They feel they have no other choice. That that's their only choice."

In addition to pressure from family and friends, some activists also included other influences. According to the web site for Citizens for a Pro-Life Society, "Many women are pressured toward abortion, and they need our help. The pressures are partly, but only partly, economic in nature. Women are influenced by husbands, boyfriends, parents and friends, and by a culture and legal system that tells them the child they carry has no rights

and is of no consequence." In this case, pressure is not only characterized in terms of influence or coercion from family and friends but also cultural and legal "pressures" regarding the act of abortion. Sandra, from Texas, made a similar claim, arguing that most women who have abortions are not told the "truth" about the procedure: "I would say most of them do it probably from a lack of information. They don't understand that it's their child. They don't understand that they're ending a human life. They are really not told that."

In a similar vein, a few respondents explained that such pressures essentially override a natural mothering instinct such that, if left to their own devices, these women would not seek abortions. Erma, from North Carolina, stated,

I think they feel pressures, from what my experience has been. They feel it's the only way out. I can't get inside of women why they do it, but I prefer to think that if they had way out, most of them, if they had time to think about it, if they were not being deceived into thinking it was just a blob of tissue, their motherly instincts would come forth. And if they had a way out, and not the pressure from family and boyfriend, or the ones who raped them or who knows what, I think that women would tend to give life to their children.

Again, there is "deception" involved in not characterizing a fetus as a person and abortion as killing, and because of this deception, natural mothering instincts are circumvented.

Similarly, George, from Missouri, said, "I think it's a tough decision. I think their natural mothering instincts would not want to go there."

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, victim and perpetrator portrayals were nearly equal for the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, and in many cases, the same activists made both victim and perpetrator claims. For example, Anita, who said that "98

percent" of abortions happen for "social reasons," also said women get abortions "Because they're scared. They feel like they don't have any other choice because they have been told this lie that this pregnancy is a problem." Paula, who argued that women get abortions for reasons of convenience also said, "But we also know that 64 percent of all of the abortions done in this country are done for coercion and not for choice." Lisa, who claimed most abortions happen for reasons of convenience, also stated, "They are seemingly overwhelmed with their circumstances around them. I can't afford a child. I don't have time for a child. I can't be the best—I'm not good enough to be a parent. You hear all kinds of things." Jerry asserted that most women get abortions due to financial aspirations, but also said,

We believe that as much as 80 percent of them are being substantially pressured by the husband, by the boyfriend, by the mother, by the father, whoever financially supports them essentially to do what they do. Very few women if they had support to keep the baby, to give it up for adoption, to keep it themselves, if they had somebody saying "We are with you" instead of pressuring them for the easy fix, what they think is the easy fix, would not make that choice.

And Veronica, who asserted that women who get abortions "let their lust prevail," also said, "60 percent are coerced. That's a statistic. And they're coerced either by their parents, boyfriends, rapists, incest."

Ian, from Texas, lists reasons for getting abortions that include both victim and perpetrator portrayals:

But when we think about the act of abortion and what happens psychologically and scientifically, that we willfully choose this person not to be a part of our society for whatever reason—because the mom is on drugs, or because she already has too many

kids, or because she wants to finish college, or because the dad is making her do it, or whatever.

Similarly, Wilma, from California, when asked why most women get abortions, replied,

Convenience. I've been doing this 30 years, and I've been talking to girls almost every day for 30 years. And it's "I can't afford this. I need my education." Or it's two reasons. Two. And I think they go almost hand in hand. Convenience and pressure. Peer pressure, familial pressure, boyfriend pressure. "Oh, you can't have a baby. No, you can't have a baby." A lot of the women going in are being forced by being pressured by someone within their family...

6.3 Conclusion

This examination of agents of threat offers evidence in support of Blumer's (1958) criteria regarding defense of group privilege. The perpetrator portrayals clearly portray the agents of threat of these movements in a negative light. Undocumented migrants are described as criminals, invaders, and greedy exploiters of existing U.S. citizenship laws, portraying them at best as morally suspect and at worst as malevolent conquerors. Women who have abortions are described as doing it for fundamentally selfish reasons, to avoid the inconvenience of a child. These portrayals appear to be in line with Blumer's theory in that they depict these agents of threat as morally inferior to the activists themselves. Furthermore, these agents of threat are portrayed as inherently different, as can be seen when examining the identity claims of the movements. "Real" Americans are distinct from undocumented migrants in terms of language, parentage, cultural and moral traits, and even race, while women who get abortions are not "true" Christians due to the mere fact that they can perpetrate such an act.

However, the presence of victim portrayals of undocumented migrants and women who have abortions would seem to be inconsistent with Blumer's (1958) criteria for defense of privilege. There are many portrayals of agents of threat as victims, in many cases by the same organizations and individuals that described them as perpetrators. Undocumented migrants are described as attempting to flee horrible conditions, from poverty to violence, and are described as suffering under slave-like conditions in the U.S. Abortions are essentially forced upon many women, activists say, due to pressures from parents, boyfriends and husbands, as well as other potential pressures of parenthood. Ironically, many of the victim arguments for undocumented migrants would not seem out of place if they were spoken by immigrant rights activists, who also rail against the exploitative conditions suffered by undocumented migrants in the U.S. (Vogel 2007; Pastor and Alva 2004). Yet both the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-choice movement use these victim portrayals to argue for the abolition of undocumented migration and abortion. That is, undocumented migration and abortion, they claim, harms undocumented migrants and women who get abortions, and if the practice is abolished, all this harm will be prevented. The victim portrayals do not appear to follow Blumer's criteria. They do not seem to portray undocumented migrants or women who have abortions as inherently different or alien, but rather as sympathetic figures suffering under understandable conditions and pressures.

At the beginning of this dissertation, I asked two basic questions: Why do conservatives protest, and what are their goals? The past three chapters have addressed

the question of why, demonstrating how the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements appear to be working, at least in part, for the maintenance of privileges. In the next chapter I will address the second question regarding goals. While it is assumed that social movements attempt political change, many scholars argue that movements can attempt to change culture as well (Bernstein 1997; Jasper 1997; Taylor 2010). To this end, I will examine the goals of these movements to determine if they are attempting to change culture in addition to, or even instead of, politics.

7. Cultural Goals

While the three previous chapters have concentrated on motivations and diagnostic framing (Snow and Benford 1988), in this chapter I examine the prognostic framing of goals. The primary stated goal of virtually every organization I examined was to end undocumented migration or abortion, either locally or nationally. But the question remains: How do these movements go about pursuing their goals? Do they seek to achieve their goals by political change or do they strive for cultural change?

Traditional social movement theory, such as political process theory (McAdam 1982), was developed under the assumption that social movements attempt to change society by changing the state. Protests are ultimately political tools, intended to bring about changes in policy to address the issues brought forth by social movements. However, some scholars have argued that the political arena is not the only potential target for a social movement. That is, one can attempt to change society in other ways than just through state action. Armstrong and Bernstein (2008) attempted to incorporate non-state-oriented goals through their multi-institutional framework, arguing that there is a need to look beyond the state at potential ways that movements may attempt to change the broader culture. Similarly, Bernstein (1997) argues that movements may not only create identities for the purposes of mobilizing participants, they also may pursue identity formation or change within the broader society as a goal in and of itself.

While Bernstein talks about deconstructing "restrictive social categories" as a potential movement goal, it seems that the opposite may be occurring here, since these movements are actually placing restrictions on the more open definitions of "American"

and "Christian" that exist in the broader culture. Given the importance of the creation of restrictive identities as a way to limit legitimate access to privileges for these movements, having the goal of changing the broader culture for the purpose of codifying these reconstructed identities within American society would seem logical. Therefore, this chapter will examine the stated goals of my case movements to determine if changing culture is a goal of these movements. I begin with the anti-abortion/pro-life movement because culture as a goal was more explicitly defined than in the anti-illegal immigration movement, as demonstrated in the figure below.

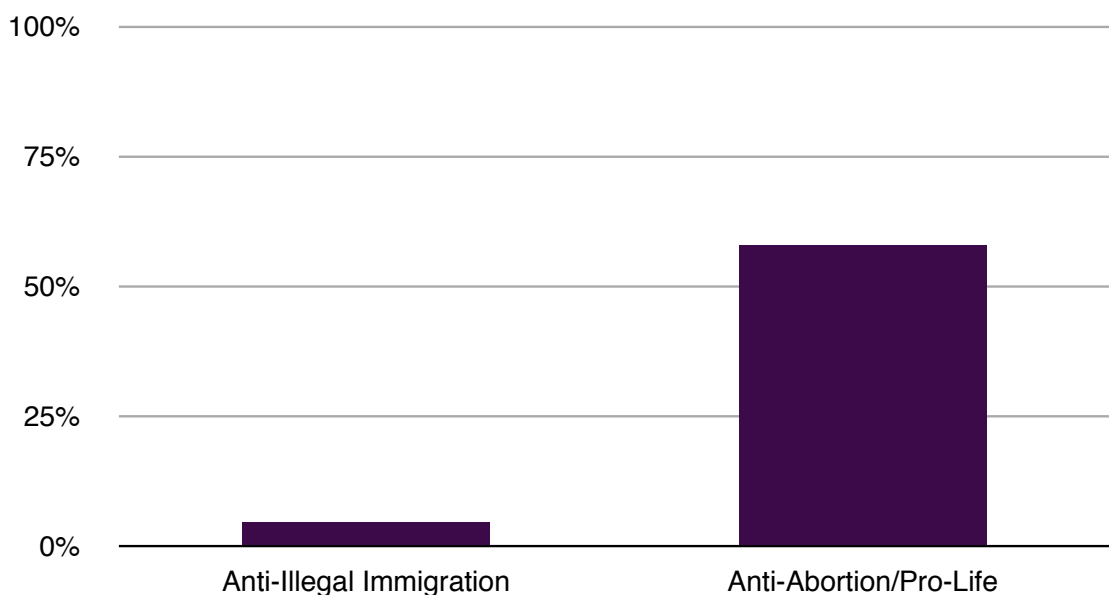


Figure 7: Percentage of Data Sources Expressing Explicit Cultural Goals

7.1 Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life Movement

Most anti-abortion/pro-life organizations emphasized changing American culture. While most also advocated political change, many view the political arena as either insufficient to truly end abortion or as a fundamentally incorrect focus in trying to end

abortion. The web site for Generations for Life explained its mission as follows:

"Generations for Life is on the leading edge of a growing youth movement to transform the culture and usher in an era of reverence for all human life from conception to natural death — a culture in which all people, whatever their age, ability, background or physical condition, are treated as members of one human family and children of God." Another article on its web site elaborated on this mission: "It explains perfectly the truth that it's up to us, each one of us, to help build the Culture of Life in our communities, and by thus doing, we counteract the evil laws by making them insignificant, because there is no use of them." By this logic, political action is unnecessary if you change the culture, in that no one will seek an abortion if they believe it to be immoral, regardless of permissive laws. Similarly, Paula, from Texas, said, "It was an issue that was being used as a stepping stone into that political position. Which is why there is a tremendous need to bring it out of the political arena and into the moral arena. This is not a political issue, it's a moral issue." And Iris, from Florida, when asked what her goals were, replied,

"That abortion not be illegal, but it would be inconceivable. That a man and a woman who have produced a child would say, 'I cannot imagine how I would ever abort this child.' And it can be legal all you want. It needs to be just inconceivable to people that that would be so far off of what would be the norm that you wouldn't even consider doing it."

As above, several activists described their goals in terms of making abortion "unthinkable." The web site for Justice for All stated, "The mission of Justice For All is to train thousands to make abortion unthinkable for millions, one person at a time."

Similarly, a speaker at an abortion rally in Charlotte, North Carolina, said, "Abortion will

go the way of slavery. Not only will it be illegal. It will be unthinkable." Linda, from Texas, declared, "We want to make abortion unthinkable for a woman," while Anita, also from Texas, echoed, "Education is key to making abortion not just impossible but to making abortion unthinkable." The web site for Silent No More declared, "We believe that abortion should be unnecessary and unthinkable. While abortion must be addressed on many fronts—including the legal, political, and ethical arenas—the Silent No More Awareness Campaign addresses abortion by personal testimony that touches hearts." Though Silent No More acknowledges that the abortion issue should be approached from different angles, including through the law and politics, it primarily emphasized changing the culture as an important goal.

Many activists also referred to "changing hearts and minds" when it comes to abortion. An FAQ on the web site of the Coalition for Life included the question: "Why don't you work at the national level to get laws changed?" The answer was "Almost everyone agrees the abortion debate is ultimately about changing hearts and minds, not just laws." The American Life League also stressed the importance of education in shaping national culture: "The realm of public education on abortion is where the battle for people's hearts and minds will ultimately be won or lost." Tom, from Texas, explained how he believes abortion will be ended in the United States:

When we win the war in the heavenlies, and we change the hearts of people, eventually our law and our government will reflect that change. In other words, God works from the bottom up and the inside out. In other words, the culture has much more influence upon the church than the church has upon the culture. Okay? And clearly, abortion, homosexuality, all these different isms that are now flourishing in the United States of America is an indication of our failure before God.

Similarly, Terry, from North Carolina, specifically explained his view of the relationship between culture and the law. When asked what his goals were, he replied,

Turning God loose. When he begins to change hearts and minds, the laws of this land will reflect this change as more hearts and minds. Laws always lag behind hearts and minds. And right now, the whole heart of our nation is changing toward the issue of abortion... The heart of this nation is changing, and we're seeing it, visible manifestations of it. And it's not just us. Just look at the polls. Look at what's happening. Look at the numbers of abortionists. Look at the numbers of abortion mills. Look at the numbers of abortions. All of them are going down. So then the obvious question is, "Well, then how is that?" Because faithful little Christians living out their faith in the streets and telling the truth and God himself is changing the heart of our nation.

Virtually all of the organizations I examined identified themselves as Christian organizations, so it is not surprising that many of them referred to the role of religion in their goals. At the same time, however, many emphasized cultural change involving changing not only attitudes towards abortion, but changing religious or spiritual beliefs as well. The web site for 40 Days for Life declared, "We see unity of purpose with all denominations, changing minds and transforming hearts through the power of the Holy Spirit, plus outstanding response and faithful vigil at the abortion site by all ages and especially our youth and young adults." Bound4LIFE actually referred to its goals in terms of religious conversion: "Bound4LIFE is a grassroots prayer mobilization movement targeting the ending of abortion, the increase of adoptions and the reformation of government and society through spiritual awakening." Stand True Ministries explicitly stated that its goal is not just to end abortion, but also to convert people to Christianity: "We believe that the only true way to end abortion is to turn hearts to

Christ. Though it is important for the unjust laws to change, we must first turn the hearts of our nation... Pro-life is about turning hearts not just against abortion, but also to Christ."

Erma, from North Carolina, also asserted that incorporating religion into this change in culture is necessary:

We have to make an impact in my opinion on the culture and call the culture back to the true principles of the Bible which will help any nation to prosper. We will eliminate crime if we follow what the Bible says. If everybody does what God's word says, we're supposed to be kind one to another, help one another, and do unto others as we would have them unto us.

For Erma, changing culture is vital not only to end abortion, but for the good of the nation itself. Furthermore, this cultural change involves returning to the "true principles" of the Bible. Similarly, Paul, from North Carolina, said, "I view this as a spiritual battle. It won't be won in the political arena. It has to be won in the church because they're the only ones who can change the heart and soul of a nation. Then the politics will change." Paul explicitly states that only the church is capable of changing the "heart and soul" of the nation, and thus religious conversion or awakening is integral in attempts to end abortion. Paul also makes a proprietary claim regarding culture in that he declares that "only" the church can change the heart of the nation.

Again, it is not particularly surprising that these religious organizations attempt to spread their religion through their activism. However, this strategy has important implications in terms of proprietary claims to American culture. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, anti-abortion/pro-life activists make proprietary claims to American morality through their restrictive definition of "true" Christianity and the assertion that

Christianity is the only valid moral code for the nation. From that perspective, changing culture is of paramount importance to further that goal.

7.2 Anti-Illegal Immigration

Whether changing culture is a goal of the anti-illegal immigration movement is less clear than it is for the anti-abortion/pro-life movement. Although many anti-illegal immigration organizations emphasize education as one of their goals, the ultimate purpose of this education is not necessarily to change America's culture. In some cases, it appears to be primarily directed at political change by educating voters and policy makers. For instance, the web site for the Dustin Inman Society stated, "With a focus on Georgia, The Dustin Inman Society is dedicated to educating the public and our elected officials on the consequences of illegal immigration, our unsecured borders and the breakdown of the rule of law in our Republic." The web site for the Immigration Reform Coalition of Texas described its goals as follows: "IRCOT seeks to educate Texans on the wide variety of serious problems associated with illegal immigration and communicate our positions to relevant elected leaders." And the web site for Texans for Immigration Reform, in describing its goals, stated, "Finally, we work to educate the public and work with our elected representatives to achieve these objectives." In each of these cases, educating government officials as well as the public was emphasized, implying a focus on policy more than culture.

Other activists and organizations emphasized educating the public, but it was unclear as to the ultimate purpose of such education, whether it was to sway political opinion or

to create change within American culture. The web site for the Minuteman Project declared,

The primary goal of the Minuteman Project is to bring national awareness to the illegal alien invasion of the United States. In a span of only two years, with a paltry purse of public donations, the Minuteman Project has brought more attention to the illegal alien crisis than many larger and longer-established immigration law advocacy groups have done in 25 years with aggregate donations of an estimated \$20 million.

Similarly, the United Patriots of America web site stated that one of its goals was to "Educate, organize, and provide leadership to our fellow citizens around the country to promote the changes necessary to achieve our stated mission." The San Diego Minutemen web site declared, "We believe educating the public and taking action is the key to winning this battle for our nation and preserving our sovereignty." Texas Border Volunteers described its goals both in terms of providing practical assistance to the border patrol as well as education: "The Mission of TBV is assisting law enforcement officials with securing the border, upholding the rule of law and educating the general public with regard to immigration issues." The web site for the Border Patrol Auxiliary, a border watch organization in California, stated, "The Mission of the Border Patrol Auxiliary is to provide education and support. Education on the challenges of securing our Border and the citizens responsibility for ensuring a secure America." And Joe, from North Carolina, said, "This is what it's all about. To educate. The more people become educated, the more people realize that we're in serious trouble. That's what it's all about."

While many anti-abortion/pro-life organizations made specific reference to culture, norms, and "hearts and minds," the anti-illegal immigration organizations did not use similar terms that would indicate that their educational mission was to change the broader culture. Nevertheless, some of the new laws and regulations sought by the anti-illegal immigration movement, specifically English-only initiatives, could be considered attempts to change the cultural landscape. Just as some anti-abortion/pro-life activists argued that their focus on culture would lead indirectly to changes in law, so too does it hold that changes in law regarding the mandating of English could also have a similar effect, restricting the use of other languages and reinforcing the primacy of English in American culture.

7.3 Conclusion

These findings would suggest that the goals of conservative movements in terms of policy change or culture change are not a function of being a conservative movement, but rather a strategic choice. Given the conclusion reached in Chapter 5 that the anti-abortion/pro-life movement claims proprietary rights over American morality, it is not surprising that the organizations in this movement emphasize changing culture as one of their primary goals. On the other hand, anti-illegal immigration organizations seem to be more focused on policy change, with some stressing education as a means to help achieve that goal.

A deeper examination of the interview data suggests that there are practical concerns related to these goals as well. In the case of the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, most respondents were vehement in their assertions that abortion was an issue

on which there could be no compromises or half-measures. Existing and proposed legislation that places restrictions on abortions but still allows abortions under particular circumstances, including rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother, were roundly decried as insufficient. Given their unwillingness to compromise on the issue and the fact that, by judgment of the Supreme Court, abortion is a constitutionally guaranteed right, an approach of policy change to end abortion would appear to be extremely difficult if not impossible.

The opposite appears to be the case for the anti-illegal immigration movement. Existing immigration laws and restrictions favor anti-illegal immigration advocates. Therefore, their primary stated goals often were to encourage the enforcement of existing laws, namely, preventing undocumented individuals from crossing the border. From a practical standpoint, it would appear that focusing their efforts on enforcement of existing laws is a prudent strategy. At the same time, however, anti-illegal immigration advocates are still attempting to change the definition of "American" by arguing that the 14th amendment is improperly interpreted; hence, those merely born in the U.S. should not be citizens based on that alone. Similarly, anti-illegal immigration advocates have been successful in passing English-only laws in several localities, such as Farmer's Branch in Texas, in an attempt to solidify the primacy of English (City of Farmer's Branch Ordinance No. 2006-130). Therefore, it can be argued that these movements are still working to change culture through changing the definition of what it is to be "American."

8. Conclusion

8.1 Summary

The purpose of this research was to extend existing social movement theory to account for conservative movements. Starting with McVeigh's (2009) power devaluation theory of right-wing movements and drawing upon various aspects of culturalist movement theory (Gamson 1992; Jasper 1997; Bernstein 1997), I incorporated aspects of race theory, specifically Blumer's (1958) theory of group position and Bourdieu's (1989b, 2001b) conceptualization of capital, to help us better understand and examine the privilege motivation of conservative movements. Consistent with McVeigh's (2009) theory of power devaluation, my findings suggest that an underlying motivation of these conservative movements is the preservation of existing privileges or the restoration of lost privileges.

One of the ways in which this goal can be illuminated is through the identity claims made by these movements. In Chapter 4, I demonstrated how these movements take existing identities within the broader culture, specifically "American" and "Christian" for the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements, respectively, and place restrictions upon them in order to limit access to the privileges associated with these groups. Anti-illegal immigration groups restrict the definition of "American" by asserting that "true" Americans speak English, have parents who are also citizens, and adhere to other "American" cultural traits or, to put it more accurately, shun negative cultural traits ascribed to immigrants. Some even define Americans in terms of race and phenotype, asserting that one can visually identify immigrants because "they

simply look a certain way," a way that Americans, it seems, do not. By restricting who qualifies as an "American," these organizations restrict who has a legitimate claim to the privileges of being "American."

Similarly, the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, in stressing its identity as Christian, makes assertions about "Americanness" as well. Its organizations also make a cultural claim regarding who are the "true" Americans, but, unsurprisingly given their identity focus, they solely emphasize Christianity. They declare that America is a Christian nation and, as such, only "Christians" qualify as true Americans, while non-Christian American residents are betraying the intent of the founding fathers and the spirit of the nation. Moreover, not all who call themselves Christian necessarily qualify as "true" Christians. "True" Christians must be actively opposed to abortion, be heterosexual, and conform to a variety of other cultural practices, although in this study, precisely what these other practices entailed tended to vary from one organization to another and in many cases were vague or unspecified. Again, this restriction on the definition of "Christian" serves to isolate the undeserving pagan masses and "apostate" Christians from the privileges of Christianity, the biggest one being legitimate claim to the culture and morality of the United States.

These restrictions placed on the identities of "American" and "Christian" both constitute an attempt to regain lost symbolic capital (Bourdieu 2001b) associated with the identities themselves and particularly with the traits that identify one as "American" or "Christian." That is, the symbolic value of being an English-speaking, culturally Anglo American has diminished with increasing diversity in the United States. Similarly, the

symbolic capital associated with being an anti-abortion, anti-gay Christian has decreased within a society that has promoted rights for women and has become more open to rights for homosexuals. Therefore, the efforts by these movement groups to restrict the privileges of being American and being Christian to those who adhere to this particular view of what constitutes an "American" or a "Christian" can be viewed as an attempt to restore the symbolic capital to the "rightful" Americans and Christians.

Having explained how these movements define their identities to constrict access to privileges, I then examined what privileges these movements actually claimed in Chapter 5. Drawing upon Blumer's (1958) group position theory, I examined those aspects of society that these conservative movements viewed as under threat and determined if the movements also made proprietary claims related to these threats. I again drew upon Bourdieu's (1989b, 2001b) conceptualization of capital to classify these privileges, offering a more nuanced and methodical view of these claims. The anti-illegal immigration movement claims that undocumented migration threatens nearly all aspects of American life. On the economic side, undocumented migrants threaten jobs and social services. In terms of culture, undocumented migration threatens the American educational system and thus the cultural capital of American students as well as the privileges of culture, such as those that result from the dominance of English-speakers in the nation. And undocumented migration even threatens aspects of social capital through threats such as the creation of Latino voting blocks supplemented with undocumented migrants who have the potential to reduce the political power of "true" Americans. In almost all of these cases, these privileges that are under threat are viewed as proprietary

rights of "true" Americans: undocumented migrants are "taking American jobs," ruining "American" schools, and interfering with "American" politics.

Anti-abortion/pro-life activists also enumerate various threats from abortion, including threats to the mothers as well as the unborn children, but when identifying societal threats, they primarily concentrate on threats to American culture. Activists claim that America culture is being turned into a "culture of death" due to the legalization and normalization of abortion. They predict that this, in turn, will lead to more cultural degradation in terms of a loss of respect for life for the infirm, the elderly, or even more generally. Others claim that in allowing the "evil" of abortion, the moral lines between good and evil have blurred to the point that violent and criminal acts have become commonplace. Some claim that abortion has caused a change in sexual attitudes leading to greater sexual promiscuity and licentiousness in American society. And several activists whom I interviewed characterized the cultural threat of abortion in terms of the threat to America's purported Christian morality and heritage, arguing that abortion and, by extension, the efforts of its supporters, constitute an attack on Christianity itself. Anti-abortion/pro-life activists also claim that aspects of the economy are threatened. They argue that abortion has effectively depopulated the United States relative to where the population would be otherwise, leading to loss of tax revenues, for example. Some activists claim that abortion has particularly harmed the black community through a similar method of depopulation, which decreases political representation, and potential social influence of African-Americans.

While I found nearly all threat claims made by the anti-illegal immigration movement are in the context of proprietary claims to privileges, this is less the case with the anti-abortion/pro-life movement. Several of the threats perceived towards society, such as threats to the black community and threats to the economy, are not presented in a way to suggest proprietary claims to these aspects of American society. The primary area in which proprietary claims were intimated, however, was culture. While some claims, such as the criticism of a supposed "culture of death" do not, by themselves, appear to constitute proprietary claims, others, particularly those regarding sexual promiscuity, gender roles, and especially perceived threats to Christianity, when examined together with the identity claims made by these organizations, imply proprietary claims to American culture, including morality. That is, these claims are characterized as threats to an "absolute, objective" moral standard, one that the nation should follow based upon what the movement defines as "true" Christianity. As America is a Christian nation, only "true" Christians have the authority to define the culture and morality of the nation and, thus, these threats constitute an attack on the nation itself.

In addition to claims of threat and proprietary rights, Blumer (1958) also predicts that groups attempting to defend privilege will characterize those who threaten their privileges in particular ways. Specifically, those who threaten these privileges will be denigrated as inferior and inherently different. In Chapter 6, I examined how these "agents of threat" (undocumented migrants and those who get abortions) are portrayed by movement organizations and activists. In many cases, they are portrayed as perpetrators, acting out of malice or selfishness. Undocumented migrants are described as coming to

the United States and committing acts such as theft, murder, trade in illegal drugs, child molestation, and even terrorism. Other times undocumented migrants are portrayed as conquerors conducting a bloodless invasion of the United States, intent on taking over the country by virtue of sheer numbers. Anti-abortion/pro-life activists were described women who get abortions as morally deficient, acting out of greed and selfishness because a child would be inconvenient. In both cases, agents of threat are presented as morally inferior, acting out of either base selfishness or explicitly malicious desires.

However, it was also the case in my study that these agents of threat are portrayed not only as perpetrators, but as victims. Anti-illegal immigration activists stated that many undocumented migrants cross the border to flee violence and corruption in Mexico and described horrific conditions faced by migrants in their attempts to cross the border. Many characterized undocumented migrants as simply seeking a better life in America, while others cited the exploitation faced by migrants as undocumented laborers in the U.S. Similarly, anti-abortion/pro-life activists portray women getting abortions as feeling as if they have no choice, often due to social pressures from family and friends. These claims do not portray these agents of threat as malicious perpetrators, but as victims of circumstance being forced into an untenable situation. They are not portrayed as fundamentally different, but as sympathetic individuals doing the best that they can under understandably bad circumstances. While activists of this study still characterized the agents' acts as wrong, they did not assign moral blame in these portrayals.

Most social movements strive for social change through changes in government policy, and most social movement theory, such as political process theory (McAdam

1982), is based on this assumption. However, other scholars (Jasper 1997; Bernstein 1997; Armstrong and Bernstein 2008; Taylor 2010) argue that movements can and do target culture in an attempt to create social change. In Chapter 7, I examined the goals of movement organizations to see if conservative movements favor cultural change as well as policy change. Like the evidence in regarding agents of threat, the results of my study were mixed. Anti-abortion/pro-life activists seem to stress cultural change as much, or in many cases more than policy change, although change in laws was often presented as a secondary or additional method of securing an end to abortion. Many organizations contend that abortion will end only when the national culture is changed to render abortion an inconceivable act. At that point, laws would change in response to the changes in culture, but ultimately such laws would not even be necessary since no one would seek an abortion. In contrast, anti-illegal immigration organizations did not stress changes in culture. Instead, they focused on the enforcement of existing laws. Many expressed a goal of educating the public about undocumented migration, but the ultimate purpose of this education was unclear. On the one hand, it seemed to be aimed at policy makers, and in no case was change in culture made explicit through discussion of, for example, "hearts and minds." On the other hand, the promotion of English-only laws would appear to be an attempt to influence culture through policy. Given that the primary proprietary claims made by the anti-abortion/pro-life movement were regarding culture, it follows that changing culture would be a primary goal for these organizations. In contrast, one cannot conclude that cultural change is a significant goal for the illegal

immigration movement, although preservation of culture may indeed be an unacknowledged goal.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements have as an underlying goal the preservation or restoration of privilege in various forms. However, there are exceptions to this finding among some anti-abortion/pro-life organizations. Some of these organizations, such as Coalition for Life and American Life League, do not appear to be driven by privilege motivations. Organization web pages and interviews with members of these organizations express few, if any, restrictive identity claims regarding Christianity or claims that America is a Christian nation. Similarly, while they stress cultural threats in terms of the "culture of death" idea, they do not appear to put this threat in the context of threats to Christianity, nor do they assert that only Christians have legitimate claim to American morality. Furthermore, they also tend to stress victim portrayals in their descriptions of women who get abortions. Like the vast majority of anti-abortion/pro-life groups, however, they stress cultural change as much or more than policy change.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the precise proportion of these groups in reference to the anti-abortion/pro-life movement as a whole. In my study, these groups were in the minority, but, as explained in Chapter 3, this may not be representative of the movement as a whole due to potential bias through web page availability and interview response rates. Even within the groups examined in this research, it is difficult to conclusively determine if particular organizations were privilege driven due to vast

disparities in the quality and quantity of information presented on organization web pages.

8.2 Sincerity, Justified Privilege, and Universalism

While this research finds evidence that the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements have an underlying goal of maintaining or preserving privilege, this is not to suggest that these movements are being disingenuous. My experiences during the interview process suggest that these activists are very sincere and forthright in terms of their opinions and judgments of the purported dangers of undocumented migration and abortion. In one interview, the respondent was nearly in tears when describing his first experience with the realities of abortion. While it is possible that these respondents and organizations are not being truthful, I found no evidence of this. And indeed, it is not necessary for these organizations to deceive for these findings to hold. I do not suggest that maintaining or restoring privilege is the only goal of these movements or necessarily an explicit goal. Rather, the evidence suggests that it is an underlying goal of many organizations within the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements in terms of the identity restrictions and proprietary claims made. These movements certainly do not often talk about privileges as such, and even when they do, their conceptions of these privileges is such that they do not believe their reasons for restricting certain privileges to particular populations are unjust.

To understand how these movements can be working towards maintaining or restoring privileges yet not perceive themselves as doing so, we must address the issue of just versus unjust privileges. Often when we talk of privileges, we implicitly define

privileges as unjust, such as racial privileges (e.g. Blumer 1958; Bonilla-Silva 2010; McIntosh 1998; Kendall 2006; Jensen 2005; Williams 2003). However, in the case of these movements, the privileges being claimed are in most cases defined as justified privileges based on various criteria. Anti-illegal immigration activists make proprietary claims to American jobs, education, social services, and aspects of American culture, but feel justified in restricting these things to ("real") Americans as they view them as privileges justly owed only to citizens. Due to the negative connotations of the term privilege, they often do not use the word. For example, Kyle, from California, said, "I think in America we've been privileged—well not privileged—we've been lucky, we've been blessed, but not privileged..." From their perspective as Americans, these privileges of America, including jobs and social services, rightly belong to Americans. Anti-abortion/pro-life advocates make a similar claim. As America is a Christian nation, Christians not only have the privilege of steering the moral course of the country, it is also their responsibility.

The identities claimed by these movements are vital in making these claims: We, as Americans, have a legitimate claim to the privileges of "Americanness," and we, as Christians living in a Christian nation, have a legitimate claim to American morality. The picture becomes less clear when you consider the additional restrictions placed on the identities by which these organizations claim these privileges, which calls into question just how justified some of these exclusions actually are. But in their minds, they are the *only* authority justified in their cause, and what's more, they are *the* authority. Everyone else is either maliciously trying to destroy the country (supporters of abortion and

undocumented migrants, for example) or is simply ignorant of the "true" nature of the problem and indeed of what it means to truly be "Christian" or "American." That is, only these activists understand the true nature of the nation and what it means to truly be "Christian" and "American."

In addition to justifying these claims of privilege, these groups nearly always claim that what they are doing is for the betterment of everyone, which would seem to be contradictory if they are working towards preserving privileges for themselves. Again, this does not mean that these organizations are being deceptive. Rather, they make these statements based upon their framing of the consequences of, in this case, undocumented migration and abortion. Consistent with research on right-wing groups, several organizations in the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements believe that, if things continue as they are, apocalyptic calamity will befall the nation (Berlet and Lyons 2000; Bhatia 2003; Zeskind 2009). The web site for 40 Days for Life stated, "Without remorse and repentance the wheels of judgment will surely crush us!" and went on to say, "Finally, Lord, the warning signs are noticed even by the ungodly. Finally, Lord there is a sense of impending doom for the godly and the ungodly." The web site for American for Legal Immigration, ALIPAC, asked, "Are we looking at an American Holocaust?" John, from California, said, "We're very, very close to armed insurrection." And Jerry, from Kansas, when asked what will happen if abortion is not stopped, said, "God's judgment will continue to come upon this nation, and it's going to be very, very bad. Economically, culturally, socially. Maybe war, maybe famine. I don't know..." By characterizing the consequences of inaction in terms of the destruction

of the nation, these organizations are able to claim an imperative to act to stop abortion and undocumented migration for the good of all, even if those around them do not understand the depths of the danger they are in. Thus, by this logic, they work for the good of all, not just themselves, although the logical consequences of their activist will likely result in benefits for themselves.

Another way these organizations can consider themselves universal is through what I term "paths of inclusion." While organizations from both movements are clear in the definitions of those who are not "American" or "Christian," they both allow for ways in which someone can become American or Christian. For anti-illegal immigration activists, that method is legal immigration. Although the precise conditions differ among different organizations and individuals, generally if a noncitizen wishes to become an American and goes through the established process, he or she will be welcomed as an American. However, this acceptance is contingent on the criteria outlined in Chapter 4, namely assimilating to "true" American culture. And for those who associate Americanness with particular phenotypical traits, it is unclear how anyone phenotypically different could ever truly become American. For anti-abortion/pro-life advocates, the path to becoming a "true" Christian is arguably even easier. Again, the specifics vary among groups, but typically all that is required is that one repents of one's sins and adopts the conditions of what it means to be a "true" Christian. This means, for example, that one can have an abortion, but if one regrets it, repents, and adopts the beliefs of this "true" Christianity, one can become a "true" Christian. Indeed, many in the movement came in through this method, including Norma McCorvey, Jane Roe of *Roe v. Wade*.

Both of these methods of inclusion would seem to be counterproductive if one is attempting to preserve privilege for a particular group. That is, if you allow more people into the group, there are more people to use the same amount of resources. In contrast, placing restrictions on the potential population of one's movement can also be counterproductive, in that the strength of a social movement largely relies upon the number of people it can mobilize (Staggenborg 2011; Tilly and Wood 2009). Conservative movements, then, have to conduct a careful balancing act in order to preserve privileges yet mobilize enough constituents to be effective. In both cases, the restrictions on who qualifies as a "true" American or Christian prevents these groups from being too inclusive, as many people would refuse to change their own culture or beliefs to belong. Also, in the case of the anti-illegal immigration movement, the limitations imposed through the legal process of immigration serve to further limit those allowed into the "true" American group. For the anti-abortion/pro-life movement, the logic works a bit differently. The main proprietary claim these groups are making is to American culture and morality itself: they believe they and they alone know the appropriate moral course for the nation. In that case, a larger population of "true" Christians is actually beneficial in that it makes their claims easier to obtain through cultural pressure. These "paths of inclusion" offer another way for these movements to claim to be tolerant and universal while still working to isolate privileges for themselves.

8.3 Future Research

This research probed the ideological depths of the anti-illegal immigration movement and the anti-abortion/pro-life movement to bring a greater understanding of

the ideology of conservative movements to the field of social movements in the context of social movement theory. But these findings raise many additional questions that this research is unable to answer. While analysis of web sites and interview data was suitable to construct an understanding of the various arguments made by these individuals and organizations, this research is ill equipped to address questions of how prevalent these arguments are in the movement as a whole. While I attempted to examine every web site from protest organizations involved in these movements, it is the case that some movement web sites contained a great deal more relevant information than others. Consequently, these sites weigh more heavily in terms of the number of coded arguments. Similarly, while I tried to seek out interview respondents from a variety of organizations, some organizations were more cooperative than others, and, thus, they are overrepresented in terms of the interview data. While this does not present a problem for the cataloging and analysis of arguments present in the movement, it does pose problems in trying to determine what proportion of the movement overall agrees with a particular argument. Having identified these privilege-driven claims, a fruitful avenue for future research would be more targeted projects examining the prevalence of these arguments within particular groups.

An additional area in which further study is needed is regarding potential differences among different organizations within the movements. The anti-abortion/pro-life movement in particular is likely to contain activist organizations with varied motives because of their different religious orientations toward the issue. As mentioned above, there is a proportion of anti-abortion/pro-life organizations that do not appear to be

privilege-driven. While this research is insufficient to conclusively address the question of how these groups differ from those that appear to be motivated by privilege, we can speculate based upon the existing evidence. The privilege-oriented groups of this movement seemed to tend toward more evangelical rhetoric, whereas the non-privilege-driven groups seemed more likely to be Catholic. But in some cases, groups claiming to be Catholic exhibited privilege-driven motivations, while non-Catholic groups did not. Additionally, there was variation among members within organizations as well. In some cases, evangelical groups that showed evidence of privilege-driven motivations had Catholic members who agreed whole-heartedly. In other cases, Catholic members of otherwise non-privilege-driven groups expressed restrictive identity claims and proprietary claims to privilege. One potential answer lies in the broader ideology espoused by these organizations. Many of the privilege-driven organizations focused not only on abortion, but on other issues as well, such as homosexuality. It would appear, then, that these organizations, while primarily anti-abortion/pro-life organizations, are working towards a broader goal of cultural change in the direction of "true" Christian values, evidence of which was presented in Chapter 7. This is a topic to address in future research.

A further way in which ideological differences may play a role is with regard to a broader conservative ideology. While the evidence in this study was limited in that many groups did not express opinions on issues too far outside the realm of abortion, some groups, such as Catholic groups, were anti-war and anti-capital punishment, which is in direct contrast to conservative political ideals in this country. These groups tended to not

exhibit privilege-driven motivations, while those that agreed with broader conservative thought on such issues tended to be privilege driven. It could be the case, therefore, that while I classified all anti-abortion/pro-life groups as "conservative" based on opposition to abortion being a cause championed by conservatives in the United States, some anti-abortion/pro-life groups, ideologically speaking, are not truly "conservative" groups. Indeed, others have noted that for many Catholic groups the abortion issue is one of the few commonalities they have with conservatives, and Catholics are generally opposed to conservatives on issues such as war, capital punishment, and poverty (Tribe 1990). However, as I said, few sites specifically addressed these other issues, and additional research is needed to truly answer this question. More research is necessary to determine what proportion of anti-abortion/pro-life organizations among the movement as a whole are not driven by privilege and what characteristics separate these groups from others in the movement.

Another fruitful avenue of research concerns broader similarities to and links with other conservative movements. I specifically examined two disparate conservative movements in an attempt to make my findings applicable to not just a single movement, but to conservative movements more generally. However, other conservative movements need to be studied. In particular, the Tea Party is having a tremendous impact on American politics and society and if it, like these movements, is also privilege-driven, there are important consequences to consider.

I have already begun preliminary work on the Tea Party using this same theoretical framework. At the time of this writing I have conducted three interviews,

attended five Tea Party rallies, and examined a handful of articles from Tea Party web sites. So far the arguments presented by the Tea Party are consistent with privilege-driven motivations. Similar to anti-abortion/pro-life organizations, they appear to be making proprietary claims to American culture itself. Even religion features more prominently than one might expect, given the economic focus of many Tea Party organizations. Like both the anti-illegal immigration and anti-abortion/pro-life movements, they consider themselves to be the "true" Americans in that only they truly understand and faithfully interpret the wishes and writings of the founding fathers. Alternate viewpoints are treated as either malicious or ignorant. In addition to their obvious political goals, which seem to have been quite successful judging by their influence in the 2010 elections, they also appear to emphasize changing culture as a goal. For example, one woman I interviewed in Texas boasted of her efforts to change public school textbooks in the state to reflect a more Tea Party-oriented philosophy. In the near future, I plan to continue this research and supplement the two cases in this research with the Tea Party as a third.

Given the rising influence of conservatism in the United States, which is partly driven by conservative protest, the implications of these findings are great. If these movements are successful, access to many American privileges will be isolated to an increasingly restrictive group of "true" Americans, leaving many outside the doors of this newly walled-off nation. For those who believe that this isolation of the privileges is justified, the nation appears to be moving in the correct direction. The Tea Party wields enormous influence in state and national politics (Jacobson 2011), and four states,

Georgia, Utah, Indiana, and Alabama, have now passed immigration restrictions similar to Arizona's anti-immigration law, SB1070 (Fausset 2011). But for those that contend that such restriction of privileges are unjust, this country faces a dangerous tide of discrimination and oppression of individuals living in the United States who fall outside these conservative movements' definitions of "American."

Appendix A. Movement Organization Web Sites

The following is a list of every movement organization web site I analyzed during the course of this research. I include the organization's name, the URL of its web site, and the month and year in which it was captured.

A.1 Anti-Illegal Immigration

American Freedom Riders: www.americanfreedomriders.org (December 2010)

Americans for Legal Immigration: www.alipac.us (February 2009)

American Patrol: www.americanpatrol.com (December 2008)

Atlanta Minuteman Project: www.atlantaminutemanproject.com (May 2009)

Border Patrol Auxiliary: www.hspig.org/bpaux (March 2009)

Campo Minutemen: www.campominutemen.com (February 2009)

Golden Gate Minutemen: www.goldengateminutemen.org (April 2009)

Citizens for Immigration Reform: www.cfirusa.org (October 2008)

The Dustin Inman Society: www.thedustininmansociety.org (June 2009)

Federation for Immigration Reform: www.fairus.org (February 2009)

Immigration Reform Coalition of Texas: www.ircot.com (April 2009)

Minutemen Civil Defense Corps: www.minutemanhq.com (December 2008)

Jim Gilchrist's Minuteman Project: www.minutemanproject.com (November 2008)

NC Listen: www.nclisten.com (June 2009)

NC Minutemen Patriots: www.ncminuteman.com (August 2010)

North Carolinians for Immigration Reform and Enforcement: www.ncfire.info (August 2010)

San Diego Minutemen: www.sandiegominutemen.com (February 2009)

Team America: www.teamamericapac.org (April 2009)

Texans for Immigration Reform: www.texansforimmigrationreform.com (December 2010)

Texas Border Volunteers: www.texasbordervolunteers.org (February 2009)

United for a Sovereign America: www.immigrationbuzz.com (August 2010)

United Patriots of America: www.unitedpatriotsofamerica.com (May 2009)

Voice of the People USA: www.votpusa.com (June 2010)

A.2 Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life

40 Days for Life: www.40daysforlife.com (November 2008)

Alliance for Life Ministries: www.alliance4lifemin.org (December 2008)

American Life League: www.all.org (April 2009)

Austin Coalition for Life: www.austincoalitionforlife.com (December 2010)

Bound for Life: www.bound4life.com (February 2009)

Catholic Pro-Life Committee: www.prolifedallas.org (November 2009)

Center for Bio-Ethical Reform: www.abortionno.org (December 2010)

Citizens for a Pro-Life Society: www.prolifesociety.com (February 2009)

Coalition for Life: www.coalitionforlife.com (February 2009)

Corpus Christi Right to Life: www.corpuschristirighttolife.com (March 2009)

Crossroads: www.crossroadswalk.com (December 2010)

Crusade for Life: www.crusadeforlife.org (February 2009)

Defend Life: www.defendlife.org (February 2009)

Elijah Ministries: www.elijahmin.com (October 2008)

Face the Truth America: www.facethetruthamerica.com (June 2009)

Generations for Life: www.generationsforlife.org (February 2009)

Houston Coalition for Life: www.houstoncoalition.com (April 2009)

Justice for All: www.jfaweb.org (November 2010)

Life Education and Resource Network: www.blackgenocide.org (February 2009)

Life and Liberty Ministries: www.lifeandlibertyministries.com (May 2009)

March for Life: www.marchforlife.org (February 2009)

Operation Rescue: www.operationrescue.org (June 2009)

Operation Save America: www.operationsaveamerica.org (February 2009)

Pray 4 Holy Spirit: www.pray4holyspirit.com (December 2010)

Pro-Life Waco: www.prolifewaco.com (December 2010)

Pro-Life Action League: www.prolifeaction.org (October 2009)

Pro-Life Action Ministries: www.plam.org (November 2008)

Pro-Life Unity: www.prolifeunity.com (April 2009)

Rock for Life: www.rockforlife.org (December 2009)

San Antonio Coalition for Life: www.sacfl.org (December 2010)

Silent No More: www.silentnomoreawareness.org (May 2009)

Stand True Ministries: www.standtrue.com (October 2008)

STOPP International: www.stopp.org (July 2009)

Appendix B. Conservative Movement Claims and Portrayals

Table 1: Anti-Illegal Immigration Movement Claims and Portrayals

	Web Sites	Interviews	Rallies	Total
Identity Claims				
Language	3 (4)*	22 (14)	2	27
Culture	1 (1)	28 (15)	3	32
Birthright Citizenship	5 (4)	7 (7)	2	14
Race	0	5 (3)	2	7
Threat Claims				
Economic	99 (19)	72 (17)	15	186
Cultural	29 (11)	37 (14)	12	78
Social	13 (6)	15 (10)	2	30
Portrayals of Agents of Threat				
Perpetrator	34 (14)	36 (16)	11	81
Victim	9 (4)	23 (10)	1	33
Non-Policy-Oriented Goals				
Culture	1 (1)	3 (1)	0	4

*Number of sources indicated in parentheses

Table 2: Anti-Abortion/Pro-Life Movement Claims and Portrayals

	Web Sites	Interviews	Rallies	Total
Identity Claims				
Christian Nation	24 (6)*	17 (12)	2	43
Abortion	8 (2)	5 (5)	4	17
Sexuality	18 (4)	7 (7)	2	27
Other	1	4 (3)	2	7
Threat Claims				
Economic	14 (7)	13 (10)	1	28
Cultural	88 (23)	33 (20)	7	128
Social	15 (7)	14 (10)	2	31
Portrayals of Agents of Threat				
Perpetrator	3 (3)	18 (17)	3	24
Victim	3 (3)	27 (19)	2	32
Non-Policy-Oriented Goals				
Culture	32 (19)	22 (17)	2	56

*Number of sources indicated in parentheses

Appendix C. Interview Guide

Introduction

1. How did you get started in <organization>?

Perceived Threat

2. Can you tell me, in your own words, why you are opposed to <abortion/illegal immigration>?

3. How does <abortion/illegal immigration> harm American society?

*Probe for various economic and cultural effects

4. What do you think will happen down the road if <abortion/illegal immigration> is not stopped?

Politics and Elites

5. Do you or your organization receive any support from local politicians?

5a. State politicians?

5b. Local business leaders?

6. How do you feel about the national political situation as it relates to <abortion/illegal immigration>?

Opposition and Out-Group Portrayals

7. What groups or organizations are opposed to what you're doing?

8. Why do you think they're opposed to you?

9. Why do you think most <people come into the U.S. illegally/women get abortions>?

Relations with Other Organizations

10. Do you work with other <anti-illegal immigration/pro-life> groups?

Conclusion

11. Is there anything else you feel is important that we haven't discussed?

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Biography

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