

Transmedia Activism: General Notes on Revisions to the MS

I'm on research leave this semester, and I'm now in the midst of a concentrated stretch of time devoted entirely to revising this manuscript.

My main focus for these revisions is to make the text more accessible to a broader audience, limit the theoretical innovation to the key concept of Transmedia Activism (while simplifying language and going lighter on theory in other sections), remove, rework, or move stats- and table- heavy sections to Appendices, integrate a round of new interviews from 2011, integrate new discussions based on the 2010-2011 global cycle of struggles, and improve the flow of the overall narrative.

Over the last two weeks I've made the following changes:

- Voice: worked to eliminate jargon as much as possible. Rewrite for clarity, and for a wider audience. Cite only where it's important to give credit, or clarify a difference with another line of thought.
- Begun a complete revision of the Introduction;
- Eliminated multiple sections of non-critical literature review;

- Removed the second ‘Site, Context’ chapter, and reworked relevant elements into other, appropriate sections of the text;
- Reframed away from the theory-heavy ‘media opportunity structure’ towards a more generalist discussion of the changed media ecology;
- Reworked specialist terms (‘movement actors,’ ‘social movement formations,’ ‘mesomobilization organizations,’ and so on) to convey the core concepts, but in plain language;
- Eliminated the charts and discussion of the ‘formal analytical model of social movements and the media opportunity structure’

I’m now in the middle of:

- Revise each chapter to include better ‘hooks’ at the beginning, drawing on movement scenes and events to bring readers into the narrative.
- Complete the integration of the 2011 material
- Complete the revision of the Introduction.
- Complete integration of new debates about movement structure generated by the Arab Spring, Indignados, and Occupy mobilization wave
- Complete the revision of the Conclusion.
- Counter examples: Put countervailing voices in each case study
- Intersectionality: work through the manuscript to more systematically weave

an intersectional analysis throughout.

- Considering development of one additional Chapter, focused on Pathways to Action, that focuses on what social movement scholars call ‘lifecourse,’ or the ways that people become activists over time, moving across organizations and across movements.

With these and additional revisions based on the reviewer comments, I believe that the manuscript will be much stronger. The renewed attention to immigration based on the re-introduction of comprehensive immigration reform bills in both houses of Congress will ensure additional attention to the book and its argument, especially if it can be moved rapidly through the publication process.

Transmedia Activism

[Series page, or blank]

Transmedia Activism: The immigrant rights movement and the new media ecology

Copyright

Creative Commons Attribution Share-Alike 2.0

Epigraph

[TBD]

Dedication

[TBD]

Table of Contents

1. Introduction: ¡Se Ve, Se Siente! (You Can See It, You Can Feel It!).....	9
SI, Se Puede: Organized immigrant workers.....	14
The Revolution Will Be Tweeted, but Tweets do not the Revolution Make	19
Chapter overview.....	22
2: The Transformation of the Media Ecology.....	31
The media ecology for the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles.....	32
Media Ecology: material to integrate from 2011 interviews.....	51
Media ecology: The Sensenbrenner Bill (HR4437) and the Walkouts.....	60
Media ecology: Macarthur Park	74
The media ecology: conclusions.....	93
3. Transmedia Activism.....	96
Transmedia activism practices.....	100
Transmedia Activism: material to integrate from 2011 interviews.....	116
Translocal media activism: The FIOB and APPO-LA.....	132
Transmedia activism: Walkout!.....	150
Transmedia activism: conclusions.....	156
4. Critical Media Literacy.....	161
Critical media literacy: informal learning, key sites, and barriers.....	168
Critical Digital Media Literacy:.....	186
Material to integrate from 2011 interviews.....	186
Critical Digital Media Literacy: DREAM Activists.....	191
Critical Digital Media Literacy in Worker Centers:	205
5. Movement Structure.....	229

Movement structure: theoretical framework.....	231
Movement structure: horizontal logics.....	242
Movement structure: vertical logics.....	259
Movement Structure: Network Logic.....	285
Movement Structure and the Fast for Our Future.....	299
Movement structure: conclusions.....	311
To integrate: Additional Material from 2011 Interview Series.....	315
6. Conclusions: Rethinking Social Movements & Media.....	333
Appendices.....	359
Appendix: Methods.....	360
Appendix: Partial List of Movement Actors Connected to the Study.....	369
Appendix: Interviewees.....	371
Interview guide.....	374
Appendix: low-wage immigrant labor in Los Angeles.....	378
Appendix: digital inequality.....	385
Bibliography.....	411
Index.....	441

List of Tables

[TBD]

List of Figures

[TBD]

Foreword

[TBD, Manuel Castells has offered to write]

Series forward

[TBD, if applicable]

Preface

[TBD]

Acknowledgements

[TBD]

Abbreviations

[TBD]

1. Introduction: ¡Se Ve, Se Siente! (You Can See It, You Can Feel It!)

[revisit this chapter after reworking the rest of the book. Needs to be more up to date, frame things more cleanly, cut unnecessary lit review stuff.]

“¡Se ve! ¡Se siente! ¡El pueblo esta presente!” (“You can see it, you can feel it, the people are here!”) The sound of thousands of voices chanting in unison booms and echoes down the canyon walls formed by office buildings, worn down hotels, garment sweatshops, and recently renovated lofts along Broadway in downtown Los Angeles. The date is May 1st, 2006, and literally millions of people from working class immigrant families, mostly Latino/a, are pouring into the streets at the peak of a mobilization wave that began in March and swept rapidly through towns and cities across the United States. The trigger was the draconian Sensenbrenner Bill, H.R. 4437, a Republican proposal to Congress that would have criminalized 11 million undocumented people and those who work with them, including teachers, health care workers, legal advocates, and other service providers. The movement’s demands quickly expanded beyond stopping Sensenbrenner and grew to encompass an end to Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids, a fair and just immigration reform, and more broadly, respect, dignity, and

recognition by Anglo society that immigrant workers are human beings.

Another chant begins to build: “*iNo somos cinco, no somos cien! iPrensa vendida, cuéntenos bien!*” (“We aren’t five, we aren’t 100, sold-out press, count us well!”) The magnitude of the marches was unprecedented, and caught most sectors of the English language media by surprise. Major English language newspapers, TV, and radio networks, as well as blogs and online media, only belatedly acknowledged the sheer scale of the movement. Some of these outlets, in particular right-wing talk radio and Fox News, used the marches as an opportunity to launch xenophobic attacks against immigrant workers, filled with vitriolic language about “swarms” of “illegal aliens,” “anchor babies,” and “diseased Mexicans” {Chavez, 2008}; {Huang, 2008}. Lining the streets near City Hall, a forest of dishes and antennae bristle from the backs of TV network satellite trucks. As the crowd passes the Fox News truck, the *consigna* (chant) changes again, becoming simple and direct: “*iMentirosos! iMentirosos!*” (“Liars! Liars!”)

For decades, modern social movements have aimed to capture mass media attention as a crucial component of their attempts to transform society. Those who marched over and over again during the spring of 2006 did so in large part to fight for increased visibility and voice in the political process, and they made explicit demands that the English language press accurately convey the movement’s size, message, and power. Yet during the last two decades, widespread changes in the communication system have deeply altered the relationship between social movements and the media.

Following the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which eliminated national caps on media ownership and allowed a single company to own multiple stations in the same market, the broadcast industry was swept by a wave of consolidation {McChesney, 1999}. Spanish-language radio and television stations, once localized to individual cities, built significant market share, attracted major corporate advertisers, and were largely integrated into national and transnational communication conglomerates {Albarran, 2007}. This process delinked Spanish language broadcasters from local programming and advertisers, while simultaneously constructing new shared pan-Latino identities{Dávila, 2001}. In the 2006 mobilizations, Spanish language print, television, and radio stations participated directly in calling people to the streets, in a demonstration not only of the power of the Latino working class but also of the growing clout of commercial, ‘pan-Latino’ Spanish language media inside the United States. At the same time, the rise of blogs, social media, and participatory journalism {Gillmor, 2005; Shirky, [date]} provide new spaces for social movement participants to document and circulate their own struggles, as well as new real-time tactical tools for mobilization. Some immigrant rights activists, who recognize these changes while remaining cognizant of the exclusion of large segments of their social base from the digital public sphere, take bold steps to expand their communities’ access to digital media tools and skills. They also strive to better integrate participatory media into daily movement practices. Others, uncomfortable with the loss of message control, resist the opening of social

movement communication to a greater diversity of voices. This book, based on five years of research and participation in the immigrant rights movement, explores these transformations in depth.

Born on the border

The genesis of this book can be traced to the Southern side of an invisible line in the sand between Texas and Chihuahua. At the Border Social Forum¹ in Ciudad Juarez, México, between October 12th and 15th, 2006, almost one thousand activists and organizers from the U.S. and México gathered for three days to meet, share experiences, strategize, and build a stronger transnational activist network against the militarization of borders, for freedom of movement, and for immigrant rights. As a communication researcher with a media activism background in the Indymedia network², I travelled to the Social Forum to connect with immigrant rights organizers who were enthusiastic about integrating digital media tools and skills into their work. A few of these organizers were based in Los Angeles. After returning from the Forum, I became linked to the movement networks of which they were a part. Over the next few years, we worked together to integrate digital media tools, skills, and strategies with existing popular communication practices in the immigrant rights movement in L.A. This

1 See <http://www.forosocialfronterizo.blogspot.com>

2 See www.indymedia.org

experience of working hands-on within the movement provided the foundation for my understanding of the core issues addressed in this book, and inspired me to undertake research that might help movement participants, organizers, and scholars better understand the shifting relationship between the media system and social movements.

Both scholars and organizers recognize that media and communications have everywhere become increasingly central to social movement formation and activity {Downing, 2001; Gamson, 1995; Castells, 2007, 2009}. However, both scholarship and practice in this field have suffered from three basic shortcomings. First, in the past most studies of social movements focused exclusively on the mass media as the arena of public discourse. The ability of a social movement to change the public conversation was often measured by looking at articles in elite newspapers, or sound bites in broadcast channels. Second, as social movement scholars have begun to turn their attention to the Internet, the spotlight on new communication technologies often obscures the reality of everyday communication practices within real world movements. On the ground, social movement media practices tend to be multimodal, cross-platform, and as we shall see, increasingly transmedia in nature. Third, the rise of the Internet as a key space for social movement activity cannot be fully theorized without sustained attention to persistent inequality in ICT access and digital media literacy. This book addresses these shortcomings by looking at the broader media ecology, rather than one or a handful of platforms, by exploring daily

movement media practices, and by confronting the challenges of digital inequality within a social movement context. The aim is to help us better understand the conditions under which social movements are able to effectively engage in transmedia activism to strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform broader consciousness. The main site of research is Los Angeles, and the focus is the immigrant rights movement.

[insert here a little bit about LA immigrant rights movement?]

SI, Se Puede: Organized immigrant workers

Historically, organized labor in L.A. at worst attacked and at best ignored new immigrant workers. In addition to low wage service work, Los Angeles has the largest remaining concentration of manufacturing in the United States {Kyser, 2007}, and labor unions focused for decades on a losing battle to maintain their existing base in the private manufacturing sector. After the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) hamstrung the U.S. Labor movement, regulated strike actions, banned the General Strike, and outlawed cross-sector solidarity, the old guard labor unions, especially the AFL-CIO, shifted vast resources away from organizing new workers into a losing strategy of pouring money into Democratic Party electoral campaigns in hopes of winning new federal protections, or simply maintaining existing protections. Big Labor continued to do this even as the Democratic Party moved ever

closer to the business class, repeatedly sold out the labor movement, and adopted neoliberal economic policy. Union membership steadily declined as free trade became the consensus mantra among both major political parties, and former union jobs in sector after sector were outsourced to cheaper production sites {Harvey, 2007}.

Yet starting in the 1990s, Los Angeles emerged as one of the key centers for the development of new models of labor organizing. This dynamic operated in parallel with the rise of new leadership inside the massive service-sector unions, including the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE), and the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE). These unions, along with United Farm Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, and the Laborers International Union of North America, began to shift resources towards organizing new workers, including recent immigrants {Tait, 2005}. In 2005, they launched the Change to Win coalition, an umbrella campaign designed to link service sector workers across the country. As a result of organizing new immigrant workers rather than attempting to exclude them, these unions saw a rise in new membership, rather than the steady decline suffered by manufacturing sector unions. SEIU, for example, has grown from 625,000 members in 1980 to over 2.2 million in 2010³. L.A.'s SEIU Local 1877 pioneered a string of internationally visible campaigns with low wage immigrant workers at the center, such as

³ See <http://www.seiu.org/a/ourunion/seiu-history.php>.

Justice for Janitors, Airport Workers United, and Stand for Security {Walters, et. al., 2003}. However, none of the major labor unions, including SEIU and UNITE-HERE, have been willing to devote significant resources to organizing garment workers or day laborers in L.A. They have seen these workers as unorganizable, based on their assumptions about the high proportion of undocumented workers in these sectors {personal communication, KL, PG}.

Despite the assumptions that undocumented workers are unorganizable because they fear deportation, a number of scholars have demonstrated that there is no easy relationship between workers' immigration status and their propensity to unionization {Bonacich and Gapasin, 2001}. Hector Delgado (2000) analyzed unionization campaigns in the light manufacturing sector in Los Angeles and found that other factors, such as state and federal labor law, organizing strategy, resources committed to the effort by labor unions, and the resources deployed by the employer to fight unionization are all far greater determinants of unionization outcomes than workers' immigration status {Delgado, 2000}. In fact, in many cases new immigrant workers come from cities of origin with much higher rates of unionization, more militant unions, and stronger social movement cultures than their new home; they may arrive with more concrete class identity than U.S. born workers and, in some cases, may themselves have been trained as organizers. To take one example, day laborers in L.A. have historically been largely unorganized, but this has begun to change in recent years. A quarter now participate in worker centers, and the number of worker centers is

growing. Day laborers in L.A. were the first to organize worker centers, and the model has spread around the country. In 2006 there were 63 day labor centers in cities across the United States, with an additional 15 community based organizations working with the day laborer community {Valenzuela, Theodore, Meléndez, and Gonzalez, 2006}.

LA has also been a site for innovative partnerships between the Catholic Church and labor, as well as for models of organizing that focus not only on the workplace but also on the importance of building community more broadly. Faith-based organizing in L.A. is closely tied to the history of U.S. Imperial adventures in Latin America. In the 1980s, many priests and laity trained in liberation theology who were active in Central American popular movements against U.S. backed military dictatorships were forced to flee their countries of origin. Of these, many sought asylum in the United States and ended up in Los Angeles, where they have continued to organize their communities through the practice of liberation theology {Hondageu-Sotelo, 2008}. These and other influences have shaped immigrant organizing in community centers, worker centers, faith-based coalitions, multiethnic organizing alliances, and other innovative forms of community organizing. During the last two decades, there has been a series of shifts away from ‘turf-war’ unionism towards attempts to organize entire sectors of the workforce at once, through coalitions and networks between various unions, community based organizations, churches, and universities. For example, in 1994 unions invested more than \$250,000 into the Los Angeles Manufacturing Action

Project (LAMAP), an attempt to organize about 700,000 mostly Latino workers in the light manufacturing industry that clusters along the Alameda Corridor from Downtown L.A. to the Long Beach / Los Angeles Ports. That project fell apart largely due to internal conflict between participating unions, but the approach - industry wide, labor and community together, geographically focused - became a model for future victories in other parts of the country {Delgado, 2000}. L.A.'s racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity has also generated innovative organizing forms, tactics, and structures. Aside from the labor movement and the churches, the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles includes a vast and diverse array of less visible but highly active community based organizations, student groups, cultural activists, media and filmmakers, progressive law firms, radical professors, musicians, punks and anarchists, hip hop artists, mural painters and graffiti writers, indigenous rights activists, queer collectives, and many others. The rich history of multiracial social movements in Los Angeles has been extensively documented by many scholars and activists, and interested readers are encouraged to explore that literature further on their own (for example, see Laura Pulido {Pulido, 2006}).

[transition sentence]

The Revolution Will Be Tweeted, but Tweets do not the Revolution Make

[Consider a section about the 2011-2012 mobilization wave, and the current debates (Shirky, Morozov, Gladwell, Gerbaudo, Castells, etc)]

[integrate useful material from social movement theory here]

The years 2011-2012 saw an explosive global cycle of struggles that linked mobilizations across the planet in what Manuel Castells calls “networks of outrage and hope” {Castells, 2012.} The global cycle connects anti-austerity riots in Greece, student protests for the right to education in London, Santiago de Chile, and Quebec. It includes the revolutions of the Arab Spring that brought the fall of dictators in Tunisia and Egypt and led to civil war in Libya and Syria. These movements were widely disparate in their composition, goals, and outcomes; each was based in the specificity of local histories and conditions, but also shared certain key components. First, they involved the reclaiming of public space by mass mobilizations, from Tahrir square to the Spanish Acampada del Sol to Occupy Wall Street. Second, significant groups within each of these movements reject the formal aspects of representative democracy (political parties, governance based on periodic ballots to elect political leaders, and so on) and enact *prefigurative politics* {cite, date}. In other words, they attempt to directly build the types of social relationships that they would like to see reflected in broader society, within

the self-organized spaces controlled by the movement. Third, as described by Paolo Gerbaudo (2012), all of these movements were characterized by their presence in both *tweets and the streets*: they were based on the physical occupation of key urban locations, while simultaneously capturing the imagination of networked publics through extended visibility on social media sites, primarily Facebook and Twitter.

[More here.]

[social movement lit review]

Social movement scholars have recently published a great deal of work that focuses on how social movements use social media. For example, [...].

Earl & Kimpton's **Digitally Enabled Social Change**, Lievrouw's **Alternative and Activist New Media**, and this suite of articles by W. Lance Bennett and colleagues:

"Multiple Engagements and Network Bridging in Contentious Politics: Digital Media Use of Protest Participants." (Stefaan Walgrave, Lance Bennett, Jeroen Van Laer, and Christian Breunig). *Mobilization*.(2011) 16(3): 325-349.

"The Logic of Connective Action." Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg.

Information, Communication & Society. (2012) 15 (5): 739-768.

“Digital Media and the Personalization of Collective Action: Social Technology and the Organization of Protests against the Global Economic Crisis.” Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg. Information, Communication & Society (2011) 14: 770-799.

“Social Media and the Organization of Collective Action: Using Twitter to Explore the Ecologies of Two Climate Change Protests” Alexandra Segerberg and Lance Bennett. The Communication Review. (2011) 14:197-215.

Much of this resonates well with what I found in the immigrant rights movement. My approach in this book is to decenter the focus on social media, or indeed, on any particular platform, in favor of exploring the production and circulation of movement narratives across the entire media ecology.

Even the best and most careful analyses of the use of the internet by recent social movements tends to focus attention primarily on social media. Over-emphasis on social media and a failure to engage seriously with movement media across platforms misses the forest for the trees. Social movement media practices don't take place on digital platforms alone; they are made up of myriad 'small media' {cite, Sreberny-Mohammadi, date?} that circulate online and off. Graffiti, flyers, and posters; newspapers and broadsheets; street screenings and projections; pirate radio stations and

street theater; all abound during mass mobilizations. At the same time, activists constantly seek and sometimes gain access to much wider visibility through the mass media. Photos and quotes in print newspapers; speaking slots on commercial FM radio; interviews on mainstream television news and talk shows: all of these spaces make up part of the broader media ecology, where social movements struggle to make their voices and ideas heard.

It is also important to challenge the assumption that specific media technologies automatically produce movement outcomes. Media technologies are not external ‘objects’ that can be somehow sprinkled on social movements to produce new, improved mobilizations. Yet somehow, technological determinism remains perpetually popular. Each year brings broader diffusion of new media technologies, and a rush to attribute the success of the latest mobilization wave to the tools. Iran is the ‘Twitter Revolution;’ the Arab Spring is ‘powered by Facebook,’ and Occupy Wall Street is ‘driven by kids with iPads and iPhones.’ {[citations]}.

[transition into a rationale for the logic of the chapters of the book]

Chapter overview

The following chapters are organized around the key concepts that emerged from interviews and action research within the immigrant rights

movement. Chapter one, this introduction, provides an overview of the book and of my research approach. Chapter two examines the transformation of the *media ecology*. Chapter three looks more closely at *transmedia activism*. Chapter four unpacks the importance of *critical media literacy*. Chapter five investigates the relationship between transmedia activism and *social movement structure*. Each chapter begins by clarifying key concepts, develops examples and case studies drawn from within the immigrant rights movement, and concludes with a summary of the main insights.

Chapter two elaborates on the changing composition of the *media ecology* {Sampedro, 1997; Gamson, 1998; Ferree, 2002} as ethnic media gain power and reach while social media become an integral part of daily communication practices. I describe the relationship between the movement and the broader media ecology, and explore how the immigrant rights movement is able to leverage not only the internet (and in particular, social media), but also Spanish language radio, TV, and print newspapers, as well as media outlets from migrant workers' places of origin. This approach emphasizes the fact that social movements enjoy differing opportunities for visibility and reach across an increasingly complex and diversified media ecology. To some degree, it contrasts with the platform-centric analysis that is so attractive to scholars, journalists, funders, community based organizations, and activists. While a focus on the ways movements use the latest and greatest media technology can be exciting, it can also make it difficult to really understand how media making works within social

movements, as well as how social movements gain access to broader visibility.

Chapter three explores how social movement participants engage in transmedia storytelling {Jenkins, 2003} across converged communication spaces shaped by the political economy of communication {Mosco, 1996; Dyer-Witheford, 1999}, in practices that I call *transmedia activism*.

Chapter four focuses on immigrant rights organizers' efforts to overcome persistent access inequality to digital media tools and skills among working class immigrants, and connects these efforts in L.A. to a larger field of *critical digital media literacy*.

Chapter five probes the relationship between transmedia activism and *movement structure*. I draw on the concept of horizontalism (*horizontalidad* {Sitrin, 2006}) and recent writing about the 2011-2012 global wave of protests to engage the debates about top down/bottom-up, vertical/horizontal, centralized/decentralized forms of movement organizing.

I remain focused throughout on the core question: *under what conditions do social movements effectively use transmedia activism to strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform consciousness?*

Finally, the concluding chapter summarizes the research results and ends with a discussion of implications for the future of transmedia activism in the immigrant rights movement and beyond.

The Immigrant Rights Movement in Los Angeles: Summary

Los Angeles is a hub for low wage immigrant workers, who come from across the globe but especially from Mexico and Central America. Many of these workers find employment in light manufacturing or garment work, in the service sector, especially hotels and restaurants, health care, and household work, and in construction and gardening, often as day laborers. They face widespread wage and safety violations as well as abuse from employers, police, and the English language media. After many decades of antagonistic relations with labor unions, the situation has shifted and immigrant workers now make up a growing proportion of new union members and organizers, especially in the service sector unions. They are also increasingly active in the fight for immigration reform, as well as in other social struggles, and constitute a large and growing political force both in Los Angeles and nationwide.

However, even as the internet steadily gains importance as a communication platform, a workplace, a site of play, a location for political debate, a mobilization tool, and indeed as a necessity in all spheres of daily

life, low wage immigrant workers have less access to the net and to digital literacies than any other group of people. The majority are not online, and less than a fifth have broadband access in the home. While most do have access to basic mobile phones, few use those phones to connect to the net.

Yet somehow, the immigrant rights movement is one of the most powerful social movements in the United States today. [more. Repeated mobilization waves, blocking key legislative attacks, forcing DACA, winning state by state victories and fighting state by state legislative defeats, and finally in 2013 moving Comprehensive Immigration Reform to the top of the national agenda. How? This is what we'll explore in this book, starting with the new media ecology]

In this book, I don't try to claim a causal relationship between technology use and social movement outcomes. Rather than claim that technology use is an independent variable that can predict movement outcomes - a claim that may be true, but one that I'm not making and am not in a position to empirically test - I'm encouraging social movement and media studies scholars, as well as movement participants, to stop treating the media as primarily an environmental element (something external to the movement dynamic) or a dependent variable (something to be 'influenced' by effective movement actions). Instead, I hope to demonstrate in-depth the ways that media making is actually part and parcel of movement building. This may have always been true, but it's more obvious now because we can

see it all unfolding online.

I wrote this book in part because I believe there are some big analytical gaps in how we think about the relationship between social movements and the media. I hope it can become a touchpoint for that conversation, and can help us reach beyond the current social media-centric debates.

It is my hope that this book can challenge narrow conceptions of the relationship between social movements and the media. It's past time for us to replace paeans to the revolutionary power of the latest digital platform, as well as reductive denunciations of 'clicktivism,' with an appreciation for the rich texture of social movement media practices in a highly complex media ecology. I also hope that this book can provide useful lessons for social movement participants, as they attempt to navigate a rapidly changing media ecology while organizing to transform our world.

[Move to notes]

Who did I interview?

This book is an analysis of the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles. The focus is primarily on individuals, groups, and networks active in immigrant rights organizations, independent worker centers, service sector labor unions, indigenous organizations, immigrant student networks, and day

laborer, household worker, and garment worker associations and unions. Activists, organizations, and networks that constitute the immigrant rights movement are, for the most part, not 'single issue' organizers: they also fight for workers' rights, indigenous rights, the rights of youth, gender justice, environmental justice, access to health care, access to education, the right to the city, Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (GLBTQ) rights, sex workers' rights, lower remittance tariffs, against ICE raids and police brutality, and much more. In seeking interviewees, I began with activists from key worker centers that focus primarily on organizing immigrant workers, then snowballed out to include individuals, groups, and networks that my initial interviewees considered important to the movement.

[Additional Paragraph re: justification of the site, "especially its representativeness, relevance, and general applicability to transmedia activism" (Why is the LA Immigrant Rights Movement a good example?). Note that this should also be in the Introduction.]

[Include a sentence re: how I came to connect to this movement? My own background with Indymedia and the Global Justice Movement, frustration at its lack of accountability or connection to community based organizing?]

Intersectionality

[Move to endnote. Requires integration throughout. Go through each chapter with an intersectional lense.]

Throughout this book I deploy race, class, gender, and age categories from a non-essentialist position and from the perspective of intersectional analysis. Intersectionality is the understanding that class, race, gender, sexuality, and other axes of identity, power, and resistance never operate independently from one another {Crenshaw, 1991}. All subjectivity is located at their intersection. For example, there is no categorical subject position of 'woman' who experiences gender oppression independent of her race and class position: therefore, a white middle class woman will experience different forms of gender oppression than a working class Latina. At the same time, identity categories are themselves constructed and performative {Calhoun, 1994; Butler, 1999}. Sandra Harding describes how social scientists have come to understand race, class, and gender as interlocking axes that form a matrix, rather than as parallel but basically separate systems {Harding, 1993}. Each axis operates on 3 levels: the individual, structural, and symbolic; and every person is located ('raced,' 'gendered,' 'classed') by society in a particular position within this matrix. These categories are mutually interlocking and reproduce each other, as well as divide subaltern subjects from seeking solidarity and constructing a unified project for social justice. Intersectional, anti-essentialist analysis often

conflicts with institutional data categories and standard research methodologies. Data gathered by state agencies or researchers that use essentialist identity categories often provide the best available indicators of the impacts of structural inequality, even as they tend to reify reductive views of subjectivity. Wherever such data is used to support arguments within the text, I invite the reader to view it through the lens of intersectional analysis.

2: The Transformation of the Media Ecology

[Open with one paragraph anecdote / drawn from this chapter's material.

Consider starting with the Macarthur Park Melee description? Then cut away, and return to it at the end of the chapter? Alternately, consider starting with a description or transcript of the radiolocutores in 2006?]

In previous patterns of social movement communication, the main mechanism for advancing movement visibility, frames, and ideas was via individual spokespeople who represented the movement through interviews with print or broadcast journalists working for Anglo mass media. This is now undergoing radical transformation. Ethnic media, especially Spanish language radio and television, are gaining power and visibility, and they provide important openings for the immigrant rights movement. At the same time, social media has gained ground as a new space for the creation and circulation of movement media, as the tools and skills of media creation spread more broadly among the population. The media ecology has also been altered by the growth in translocal media practices, where migrants use the Internet to access and sometimes to circulate stories in media outlets based in their hometowns, cities, and communities of origin.

In this new context, individuals, collectives, organizations, and networks that learn to participate in digital mediamaking and to help gather,

circulate, and amplify community voices are better able to mobilize participation, visibility, shared identity, and credibility. Those that try to cling to an exclusionary role as ‘spokesperson for the movement’ may find themselves increasingly vulnerable to public critique from, or even irrelevance to, their base. This chapter examines the transformation of the media ecology for the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles. The analysis draws on two periods of mobilization during 2006-2007: the mass marches and high school walkouts against HR4437 (the Sensenbrenner Bill) in the spring of 2006, and the aftermath of the police attack against the Mayday 2007 celebration in Los Angeles’ Macarthur Park.

The media ecology for the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles

For the purposes of this book, assessment of the media ecology is based on responses by my interviewees to questions about the relationship between the immigrant rights movement and the media. I asked all interviewees to describe the relationship of the movement to mass media, ethnic media, and social media, and to give examples of how these relationships function in practice. Based on their responses, the media ecology for the immigrant rights movement in L.A. can be characterized as follows.

Lack of access to mainstream media

All of my interviewees expressed frustration with what they generally called 'mainstream media.' By mainstream media, they were almost always referring to English language newspapers and television networks with national reach. Most said that they had occasionally managed to gain coverage in mainstream media, but that such coverage was scarce and only happened in exceptional circumstances. One organizer who works with indigenous migrant communities put it this way: "It's rare that we get the attention of the mainstream media unless there's blood or something. Then they'll come to us if it's related to indigenous people" {Interview, PS}. She felt that she was called on to speak as an 'expert' about indigenous immigrants, but only in order to add 'color' to negative stories about her community. She also emphasized that the difficulty was specific to L.A., and claimed that local partners of her organization in some other California cities had more luck with mainstream media. Many interviewees expressed frustration that movement victories, in particular, are almost never covered. They also found it especially galling that mass media would flock to cover the activities of small anti-immigrant groups, while ignoring the hard day to day work done by thousands of immigrant rights advocates:

I think there are very few instances where the work that is, or the victories that are being won, you don't hear about them in the

media, in mass media. In fact you hear the negative side of it. I think about Mayday, and how it's televised, how we talk about it, and I feel like a lot of the great work that's going on with organizations, say day laborers won a huge settlement or claim, you're not going to hear about it in the mass media. What we do hear about immigrant rights is anti-immigrant rights and anti-immigrant sentiment. That's pretty across the board, that's how it's presented. {Interview, NB}

A few felt that the anti-immigrant rights activists got more coverage because they were more savvy about pitching their actions to journalists, and that the immigrant rights movement could do a much better job of placing its stories and frames in English language mass media {Interview, XD}. Others felt that mainstream outlets consistently rejected even their best media strategies {Interview, TX}.

A few interviewees, mostly those who participate in more radical or politicized social movement groups, shared an explicit analysis of the mass media as a powerful enemy, but one that could occasionally be used to the movement's advantage:

We have an understanding that the media is not on our side. The corporate media is not on the side of the people, and they're actually an extension of the State, of these corporations. For us,

because we don't want to be dependent on them, but we know they can reach way more people than we can at this point. Until we take over their TV stations, we're not gonna be able to trust them. But around specific cases of police murder, for example an incident that happened in East L.A. recently was Salvador Cepeda who was an 18 yr old murdered by the Sheriffs in the Lopez Maravilla neighborhood. We were able to, we put out a press release and they came out to the vigil that we had. We try to encourage the families to speak out, to get it out there, but it's just one thing we don't, we're not gonna be dependent on them {Interview, KB}.

Whether they believe mass media to be antagonistic to the immigrant rights movement or not, most are frustrated by the way that they feel the mass media either ignores them or twists their words. Indeed, a recent comprehensive literature review on the framing of immigration in the U.S. strongly supports my interviewees' perceptions that even when they are able to gain access to the mass media, they are still confined within narratives that portray immigrants and immigration as dangerous, threatening, 'out of control,' contaminated, and in otherwise dehumanizing terms {Larsen et al, 2009}. However, only two of my interviewees, from a collective called Revolutionary Autonomous Communities, said that they had moved beyond anger and frustration and made a principled decision to no longer speak to 'the corporate media:'

At the same time we want to focus on creating, like you mentioned, popular media, other forms of communication, so you know, we don't want to be dependent on the State in anything we do. So why are we gonna use them? RAC has the position that as RAC, we're not gonna rely on the corporate media at all. We're not gonna speak to them. Anything we do, it's not gonna be popularized through the corporate media. Because they're gonna, you know, try to tell our stories their way. Definitely censor what we're doing and try to create their, you know, leaders, through their handpicking people to speak to. So we definitely feel that they are not our friends. In RAC, when we do outreach, anything we do, any project we have, is not gonna be done or popularized through them. {Interview, RF}

One of the reasons RAC made this decision was to avoid what they described as the problem of mass media 'creating' movement leaders through selective decisions about who to interview for 'the movement's perspective.' Most immigrant rights organizers, however, would like to receive more and better coverage from Anglo print and broadcast media, but generally find themselves turning to other outlets that are more receptive: ethnic media.

Ethnic Media

Nearly all of the organizers and movement participants spoke about how important ethnic media is to the immigrant rights movement:

I think the Spanish media has a closer connection to immigrant rights. In terms of, they come out to events and press conferences, at least you hear about, like my mom told me, she was telling me about these vendors who basically their food was all thrown out, "It happened in L.A., did you hear about it, were you there?" I didn't even know about it! So I think that sometimes the Spanish language media does, it's very limited, but at least in *Hoy* they have a vendor or a day laborer to highlight. So I think it's really great that they can do that.

Q: So Hoy, who else in Spanish language media does some coverage?

La Opinion, and Spanish TV, like news coverage. When students are organizing and have press conferences, one thing that we've noticed is that usually it's Spanish language media that comes out. And then they have been featuring a lot of students, and interviewing students. Definitely they could be doing more, but I feel like the English media has, you know, could highlight these issues more of working class or immigrants, and I don't think they

do as good a job as Spanish language. {Interview, DH}

Immigrant rights organizers across the spectrum - students, unions, indigenous communities, independent worker centers, radical collectives, and everywhere in between - all say that commercial Spanish language media provides coverage where English language media is nowhere to be found. When they talk about media use by the communities they are organizing, interviewees usually mention the largest Spanish language papers (*La Opinión*) and television channels (*Univisión*, *Telemundo*) as well as papers or stations focused around their city, state, or community of origin. For example, many Oaxacans follow the major 'pan-Latino' media but also read Oaxacan newspapers *El Oaxaqueño* or *El Impulso de Oaxaca* {Interview, PS}. These patterns are also generational: younger indigenous people, especially those born in L.A., are more likely to "go to MySpace, listen to Rage Against the Machine, everything else" {Interview, PS}.

This dynamic is not limited to the Spanish language press, but applies to some degree across all immigrant communities in L.A. For example, organizers from the Koreatown Immigrant Workers' Alliance (KIWA) talked about how they were able to gain coverage in Korean language media outlets during the Koreatown supermarket workers' campaign, and ultimately to secure a living wage agreement in five different supermarkets in Koreatown:

In that campaign, actually, because it was after KIWA had been

established for 10, 11, 12 years, definitely we were not only on their radar screen but it was a very hot issue in Korean American community. Therefore everything was covered each step of the way. We got a lot of highlight from Korean American community. However, because the scope of the campaign was focused on geographic concentrated area Koreatown we were not able to get as much stories written in mainstream media. One of the attempts to overcome that was getting our good visible named ally to write an Op Ed into L.A. Times. *La Opinión* covered it at the beginning a few times. It was because we spinned it in a way that, during April 29th a lot of the *saigu* [1992 L.A. Uprising] was kind of highlighted as a racial issue and therefore we used one of the *saigu* anniversary events as ‘this is something that Korean employer firing 56 Latino workers, therefore we don't want what happened in 1992 to repeat itself’ and the employer has to do the right thing to have racial harmony in Koreatown. {Interview, EQ}

This interviewee described strategies for gaining coverage in English and Spanish language newspapers, including relationships with individual reporters, calling on favors from high status allies, and the use of timely or familiar frames. These strategies were less necessary for Korean language ethnic media, who covered the campaign “every step of the way.”

There is a long history in the United States of immigrant communities

creating media for their community of national origin, published in their first language {Gonzales and Torres, News For All the People}. However, many of my interviewees talked about a shift during the past decade, during which they experienced an increase in access to these media outlets. For example, one described how ethnic media have emerged over the past decade as a key space for community based organizations to gain coverage, where previously English language print journalists and broadcasters ignored them:

For us, we always have to stop and think, “What’s the best way?” Right? And even till now, we still hit that mainstream newspaper, and then we realize other things that work because the mainstream doesn’t show up, but the ethnic does, you know? So for us ethnic media was this huge opening, which I would say was six, seven years ago. They were the place to go to when you didn’t have access to mainstream. And now there’s this whole other even deeper, wider place that you can go to, then how do you navigate that? And the way that we eventually learned how to navigate ethnic press, really, pretty soon the mainstream were going to the ethnic press to get the information. A lot of that reversed {Interview, TX}.

Crucially, this interviewee not only described how ethnic press is important because it covers stories that mainstream media ignore, but also pointed out

that ethnic press have become a source of stories for mainstream press. This closely mirrors the more widely heard argument that mass media now draw stories from blogs and online-only publications. As an example, she described the press strategy around a campaign to gain increased fares for Taxi workers in New York:

So I worked on a project in New York, with Taxi Workers, and pitched it to the New York Times, so this was a very traditional strategy. You know, did all of our messaging, this is what we want the paper to cover. We want to make, it's not a 9/11 story 'cause its post 9/11, it's an analysis of the industry, it's about immigrant workers, it's about families, and we really wanted to highlight the family part. And the reporter bought it, and he was totally down with it, had the cover of the local news, you know, 'taxi drivers can't support their families.' And we're like 'could it have been more perfect?' That morning that it came out is when we sent out the press release for the wider 'report comes out today.' We got thirty media, local radio, I mean sorry, TV, radio, newspaper, tons of ethnic press, and that led to both New York Daily News and the New York, the two smaller, the weeklies, to actually write editorials that support taxi workers in getting a fare increase. They never, ever, ever, ever say anything nice about the drivers. Which led to the fare increase victory {Interview, TX}.

To gain this level of press coverage, this interviewee emphasized the continued importance of the mainstream print media (the New York Times), and the importance of personal relationships with reporters in securing that level of coverage. Like other interviewees, she also noted that relationships with individual reporters are key to gaining good coverage {Interview, KB}. At the same time, her example illustrates how even coverage by a major media outlet is now situated within a changed media ecology that savvy organizers have learned to exploit. The initial NYT story provided important momentum and credibility to the campaign, which organizers then used to get increased visibility for the release of a full report on conditions in the industry, thereby generating a flurry of coverage across local Anglo and ethnic press and securing a fare increase for (mostly immigrant) taxi drivers.

The continued importance of radio

Above all, everyone agreed that Spanish language radio plays a decisive role in the immigrant rights movement:

I mean we saw it with the 2006 marches, where the radios had, I mean they, some would say that they had most of the push. Not the organizations that were organizing. They've been doing their work for a long time, but that whole thing of being able to be on the radio

in front of millions of people really motivated the majority of people to participate in the economic boycott, and in the walk outs {Interview, NB}.

Commercial Spanish language radio represents a significant opportunity for the immigrant rights movement, even though interviewees felt that in general, these stations remain escapist, sensationalist, sexist, racist, and homophobic.

Those are very commercial outlets. They don't, they're not, they're in favor of immigrant rights but in kind of a very general way. And then sometimes they'll talk about raids and things like that, which is a big concern in the immigrant community and in the immigrant rights community. But they don't do what I would want them to do, which would be very proactive about warning people, having people call in when they see ICE vans, warning people where they see them, that's what I would really like to see those media outlets do. But they're not political, they're commercial [...] They're as bad or worse as the mainstream media in English. It's very sensationalist or semi informed people {Interview, CY}.

Beyond occasional support from big-name *locutores* (radio hosts), some organizations have developed relationships with specific radio outlets over

time. For example, the *Frente Indigena de Organizaciones de Binacionales* (Indigenous Fronte of Binational Organizations, FIOB) has a longstanding relationship with Radio Bilingue, based in Fresno. They are often able to provide audio content, interviews, and Public Service Announcements (PSAs) that the radio network will air. For a time, they had a show called *Nuestro Foro* (Our Forum) on the air. The FIOB coordinator in Santa Maria, Jesus Estrada, was also able to secure a regular TV show on Telemundo at one point {Interview, PS}. In a similar fashion, KIWA was able to secure a monthly hour long radio show called “Home Sweet Home” on Radio Seoul, a Korean language radio station that broadcast in the Koreatown area {Interview, KZ}. Minority language radio thus remains a key media outlet for many actors across the immigrant rights movement.

Social and mobile media

We have seen that the media ecology in Los Angeles generally denies the immigrant rights movement access to the Anglo mass media, but provides it with some openings in the ethnic press and in minority language radio. In addition, despite the low levels of digital media access and literacy, many grassroots media activists, immigrant rights organizers, and movement participants do use the net extensively to promote, document, and frame the mobilizations they take part in. By 2006, social movements everywhere, including the immigrant rights movement in L.A., had widely adopted Social

Networking Sites (SNS). In the U.S., the first SNS to gain significant visibility was Friendster, soon followed by MySpace, then Facebook and Twitter (as well as a host of other, smaller or nationally specific SNS, such as Orkut in Brazil or Cyworld in Korea). Social movements have appropriated these spaces almost since the beginning. For example, MySpace was originally marketed as a site for independent musicians to promote their music and connect with fans, but soon became the most popular SNS for young people in the USA {boyd, 2007}. By 2006, a wide spectrum of activist networks and social movement groups including anarchists, vegans, environmentalists, and feminists all had MySpace profiles⁴. Activists use SNS as tools to announce meetings, actions, and events, distribute movement media (especially photos, and increasingly video), and to reach out to young, Internet savvy demographics {Jesella, 2006}. Some SNS focus explicitly on facilitating face-to-face meetings based on shared interests. The earliest example that reached widespread mass media awareness in the U.S. took place in 2004, when Howard Dean's campaign recognized that MeetUp and other social networking tools could help their base to self-organize during Dean's bid for the Democratic Party presidential nomination {Sey and Castells, 2004}. The use of MeetUp emerged first from the base of Dean supporters, and was then encouraged and fostered by campaign leadership {Trippi, 2004}. This case,

⁴ See <http://myspace.com/infoshopdotorg> (anarchist infoshop); <http://myspace.com/gpus> (Greenpeace), and <http://www.myspace.com/feminists>, for example.

and of course the social media savvy strategy of the 2008 Obama campaign, illustrate how horizontal communication practices have been used to restructure and revitalize vertical political organizational forms. Movement appropriation of SNS takes place even while these sites are also spaces where users replicate gender, class, and race divisions (for example, see danah boyd on how Indian Orkut users have replicated the caste system and on the class division between MySpace and Facebook) {boyd, 2007; 2009}. The net and mobile phones are also used extensively as tactical mobilization tools, especially by Latino youth. For example, students in LA Unified School District used MySpace and SMS (text messaging) to help communicate and coordinate walkouts that saw 15-40,000 students take the streets during the week following the March 25th, 2006 marches {Goodman and Gonzalez, 2006; Loyd and Burridge, 2007}. We will return to this in the next section.

Just as commercial media outlets turn increasingly to ethnic media for original story ideas, they also frequently appropriate and repackage coverage initially created by community journalists and posted online to blogs or SNS. One interviewee described his reaction to the plagiarism of one of his stories by a major media outlet in this way:

If one of our independent media stories gets into the mainstream media, even if they don't give us credit it's good because at least word is getting out. So I think there's a little bit of exploitation going

on. I think that mainstream media and mass media exploit us a little bit. All of our volunteer efforts and our labor {Interview, CX}.

Another organizer mentioned that the most effective way to get commercial television coverage of movement activity is to provide them with sensational video footage, especially footage of police or protestor violence {Interview, KB}. These social movement participants found it easy to insert violent video footage of protest activity into broadcast or network TV coverage, but difficult or impossible to effectively frame such clips in ways that would support their goals.

Real-time social movement media

Another important transformation that has taken place over the last few years is the shift from the use of the web to document past actions and mobilizations to real-time social media practices. As one interviewee states:

I think right now we're at this point where suddenly we're kind of moving into this, this different area of real time web [...] I mean I'm finding with video for example, how feasible it is to make a video and put it up the day that it happens, you know? Like in the past, I think in 2006, we wouldn't really have thought like that {Interview, XD}.

He described how a few years ago, activists would have mostly relied on commercial TV stations to provide video coverage of an action or mobilization, then recorded that coverage and perhaps used it later to point to evidence of successful organizing. Today, by contrast, social movements are increasingly able to provide real-time or near-real-time coverage of their own actions. It is not uncommon, for example, for movement media makers to document a day's action, then post the video to the web within a few hours. Increasingly, movement media makers also appropriate commercial live streaming sites to broadcast their own actions. For example, labor organizers live streamed the sit-in at the Madison state house; DREAM activists used UStream to provide realtime feeds from sit-ins at DHS offices, Congressional offices, and Obama campaign headquarters in 2012. Most famously, media activists with Occupy Wall Street used UStream and Livestream to broadcast everything from General Assemblies and daily life in the encampments to the violent displacement of protest camps by riot police {Costanza-Chock, 2012; Mic Check! Media Culture in the Occupy Movement. Social Movement Studies.}.

Streaming radio

Finally, much of the most dynamic movement media is multimodal or cross platform. This is especially true for radio. Several of my interviewees talked about movement radio projects they were involved in, and all of them

mentioned streaming radio live over the net. Live radio streams are sometimes picked up and rebroadcast locally via FM transmitters.

We have a show on killradio.org. We just started in on Tuesday nights from 9-12. On the one hand, it's good, because it's international. People anywhere can listen to it. But at the time we're on, I'm pretty sure people in other parts of the world are sleeping (laughs). But we get some listeners. We're able to do our own reporting, interviews with people that are in different cities, organizing around ICE raids, immigration, indigenous rights, police brutality, other things that are happening, which is a good thing. Eventually I think we want to maybe even do it where, I know one of our members from Copwatch he has raisethfist.org that he has an internet news show and then it's through FM dial. He's gonna rebroadcast some of our shows too. It's heard throughout Compton, Long Beach, Southeast LA. {Interview, KB}.

The media ecology for the immigrant rights movement in LA: summary

The media ecology for the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles has undergone an important transformation. The movement has scant access to Anglo print and broadcast outlets, although coverage is possible during exceptionally large mobilizations or in cases of extreme violence by protestors or police. However, during recent years immigrant rights activists

have managed to gain increased access to ethnic media, especially Spanish language outlets. Some movement organizations have developed valuable personal relationships with reporters that can be called upon at key moments to increase the likelihood of coverage. Organizers have also become more savvy about how to generate coverage in the ethnic press, and how to further push such coverage until it 'bubbles up' to wider circulation via the mainstream media. At the same time, social media, blogs, and online news sites have steadily grown in importance. Sometimes, digital media coverage generates stories in ethnic or mainstream media. Most recently, online digital media practices are shifting from documentation after the fact to real-time or near real-time movement coverage and tactical media, especially valuable at moments when the mass media ignores the movement.

How does these changes provide opportunities during moments of mass mobilization? The next section examines the implications of the changed media ecology in two cases: the 2006 wave of protest against the Sensenbrenner Bill, and the May Day 2007 police attack on Macarthur Park.

Media Ecology: material to integrate from 2011 interviews

Social Media as an organizing tool

There's a lot of attention currently to the ways that social media may be used as organizing tools. DREAM activist interviewees had a lot to say on this topic. One described how Student Immigrant Movement's online presence, specifically its FB page and short videos they had posted, served as a tool to recruit her participation to DREAM Activism. She identified heavily with a video SIM produced that described the personal story of one of their organizers:

I found Student Immigrant Movement on Facebook. What really struck me about SIM and like this Facebook page is cause, you know, I was undocumented, my family was going back to Brazil and I really felt like these students from the stuff that they put on their Facebook. They had videos of the kids running after the bus, they had a video of Mario telling his story, and then when I saw those videos I was like, "I am one of those students." Right away I wanted to be a part of them, and that's what I did, I just, I was living forty-five minutes south of Boston and I came all the way on the commuter rail, just to check 'em out.' [S.U.]

"Tools are tools: they can be used for good, they can be used for bad."

Another interviewee said that the assumption that social media will improve the world is

not necessarily true. He saw both positive and negative aspects of new media in the context of organizing. On the 'good side,' he mentioned that social media allows for rapid list-building, getting in touch with many people quickly, and provided the example of OWS. He also pointed to the ability to 'control and tell your own story, which is extremely powerful; the power of narrative, public narrative is amazing... it's huge to be able to say now, they don't have to tell our story, we're gonna tell our own story." On the other hand, he describes social media as having three main drawbacks. First, it produces a mode of activism that he calls 'reactionary as opposed to intentional;' in other words, activists end up responding to ongoing information updates about various processes and developments, rather than "sitting down and figuring out what you're going for." Second, it blurs the boundaries of public and private, which he sees as potentially harmful. Organizers who default to public by posting everything via social media end up making mistakes and "putting out all these fires that you don't necessarily want to be putting out." Third, he was concerned about social media producing an illusion of making a difference. His example of this dynamic:

KB: *"some one puts out a Facebook status update "Call your Senator," and then you click "Like" and you're like 'ah, I just did something good today,' and I'm just like, if you click "Like" and you didn't call a Senator, you just did absolutely nothing (laughs)."*

Social media can be used to reinforce power inequality

Although revolutionary uses of social media have been widely covered and discussed in

the wake of the Arab Spring, social media in many instances is used by elites, who have greater access to digital media tools and skills, in ways that reinforce power inequality.

Social media is just a tool



Ultimately, not one of my interviewees argued that social media or the internet *per se* have a transformational impact on organizing or social movements. Instead, they see the net as a tool that could be applied to any model of organizing, but is currently underutilized by their communities and by the social movement groups they work with.

MA: I think they're definitely, you know, the new media technology and the tools that it offers, it should be looked at as a tool. It's a tool that can be applied in any situation.

"What Part of Illegal Don't You Understand?" (Progressive Bloggers have not been great allies so far)

In some areas of the new media ecology, immigrant rights activists see great potential for the amplification of their voices, but are frustrated by the current lack of realization of

that possibility. For example, many feel that progressive English language bloggers don't spend a lot of time engaging with immigration. They see this as a crucial problem, especially since Right-wing and anti-immigrant frames and language are widespread across the blogosphere. One interviewee noted that phrases like "what part of illegal don't you understand?" often dominate the comment sections of articles, blog posts, and other online spaces. At the same time, another noted that the relatively small, but highly motivated, group of older, white, racists who systematically post negative comments are more familiar with 'older technology like forums, but they're not good at using some of the newer tools that we have.' Some platforms are seen (at least temporarily) as friendlier to immigrant rights advocates than others.

K: I'll say something else, but I don't know if this is helpful, like um, um, what's really interesting is English language media, and this includes not only um mainstream folks, you know, whether its television, newspapers, or radio, um, but also progressive blogs, uh, generally don't care as much about immigration, you know, don't report on it, we definitely have our folks that we talk to, but not as many people read it, comment on it, view it, whatever in English language, you know, which is a real, real problem and, and when it is reported on, there's just extreme hostility towards it, um, you know, "What part of illegal don't you understand?" is this famous quote we put because everyone, you know, this is the comment you see in so many articles, or blog posts, or whatever, um, and so you know, not only do people not care, but the few people that do are at least like, extremely racist towards the immigrant population which just, just overwhelms all these folks with these negative comments

The power of Fox News: “We know the law’s racist but we still support it anyway”

Even when the immigrant rights movement wins certain kinds of symbolic victories or frame wars, it can be very difficult to withstand the full brunt of attacks from the right wing media machinery:

KB: When we get the full force of the media outlets, we generally don’t, we generally get our asses kicked and I think a good example of that are like SB-1070, we came out very strong, um, framing that through our story of, a story of racial profiling and oppression, and I think you saw it first with a lot of people reacting that way to it was, it was like, the most, the best image I had was the image of Phoenix Suns wearing the “Los Suns” jersey, cause they were like saying solidarity with the Latino Community, but you know, after Fox News and all these folks started going after us, um, the polling changed on it, you know, uh, and it was, it was the worst polling ever cause they were like “we know the law’s racist but we still support it anyway” (laughs),

In this case, even support from a major sports team was not enough to counter the force of a sustained attack from Fox News.

Relationships with reporters are key

Many interviewees also note that social media have become key tools for garnering coverage in print and broadcast media. DREAM activists post press releases via Facebook and Twitter and develop Twitter relationships with

reporters. They find that Twitter in particular produces higher response rates and faster response times from reporters than traditional press releases:

ON: "I could send a Twitter message to a reporter and that reporter will respond ten times faster than if I send a press release. And it's ten times less work."

However, this is not seen as necessarily a technological effect. Rather, it's an illustration of a more basic truth: personal relationship with reporters are important. Many interviewees mentioned specific reporters who they had developed rapport with as being key to getting favorable stories in print or broadcast media. For example, one activist said that journalists who have a personal connection to immigration, especially those who come from immigrant families themselves, are easier to work with and more likely to report on DREAMers in a positive light.

KB: We found that some of the people that work now for, that are journalists, come from immigrant families, so it's a lot easier to get your message across through some one who has a personal connection to it. Someone who doesn't will spin it whatever way they want, and sometimes its really like just horrible and completely off, like, off message, its kind of more difficult to control that, but still, sometimes when you can, its really effective. Last year because I have a relationship with the writer from The

Associated Press, he's from Mexican descent, he loves us. I pitched him this piece about us going to donate blood, as like undocumented students going to donate blood, and he wrote an article about it and it came out real-, like, I mean, there was, you know, there's always those negative comments, but it was really well written and just put us in a really positive light, there's like these students going out all across the nation, and going to donate blood around Christmas time, and so it was kind of like, um, is their blood illegal or something, and it just was, it was really, it was a really effective campaign, so sometimes you get lucky with the mainstream media.

Community media are key

Community media such as local newspapers and smaller radio stations continue to play a crucial role in the immigrant rights movement. Presence in these media is seen as quite important by activists who are trying to mobilize immigrant communities. In terms of reaching the social base of the movement, in many ways the ethnic press is more important than social media or English language mass media:

Interviewer: what media do the community that you're trying to organize use most would you say?

R: Mostly ethnic media, like depends, like uh, here in Boston, like El Planeta, El Mundo, The Brazilian Times, um, even like the Chin-, we've been on the Chinese newspaper, cause there's like a lot of Chinese undocumented people, so um, I mean those are the

most effective in organizing our communities, and social media cause people our age are like on Facebook and Twitter, so they find us through that.

This point again, from another interviewee:

Ethnic media has been one of our biggest resources. El Mundo, El Planeta, The Brazilian Times, and all the Brazilian media outlets, because they get the narrative out there. And they usually use the narrative that we want them to use, which is different from the American media, which is like they can spin it any way they want. ['S.U,' student organizer]

Another activist, who works as an online organizer for a national immigrant rights organization, noted that Wisconsin in particular has a well organized immigrant rights movement that is consistently able to turn out large numbers of people for marches and mass mobilizations. He attributed high turnout to the presence of a number of community media outlets, including newspapers and radio shows, produced by the immigrant community. In the Boston area, he mentioned an AM Radio station that sells hourly time slots. Organizations like Centro Presente and Better Youth Boston take advantage of this and help members produce their own radio programs. He also described creative approaches, like the 'Ask Angie' advice column for DREAMers. For example, Ask Angie reached out after the DREAM Act failed to pass, linking people to mental health resources, encouraging people not to give up and sink into depression, and so on.

"When they see you in the paper they're like, 'Oh, these kids are real'"

Newspapers still provide legitimacy, especially with in terms of credibility with working class communities. Ethnic press (Spanish language, and in Boston, Brazilian portuguese language press) act as legitimators of immigrant rights activist and cover them for more frequently than Anglo (mainstream) papers. However, mainstream (large circulation English language newspapers) press is more challenging terrain for immigrant rights activists. Cultivating relationships with individual sympathetic reporters is key, and that can sometimes be done with reporters who have a personal connection to immigration, either because they themselves or a family member may be a first generation migrant.

SU: It makes people trust us. When they see us in El Planeta, they're like, "oh I saw you in El Planeta so that's why I wanna be involved," or, "I saw you in the Brazilian Times and I heard so much about you guys, here's a hundred dollars, I wanna donate to the campaign." In terms of getting more support from like your own community, its a good resource, cause it almost makes you more legit, you know (laughs)? Even though its your community, when they see you in the paper they're like, "oh these kids are real."
['S.U,' student organizer]

New American Media is an important ally, along with larger Spanish language press and TV networks.

Spanish language media, including large circulation newspapers and major TV networks

like Univision, are key allies of the immigrant rights movement in the sense that they regularly report on immigration as an issue, key policies, and send reporters to cover immigrant rights activism. In addition, networks of ethnic media outlets, in particular New American Media, were cited as key supporters.

Media ecology: The Sensenbrenner Bill (HR4437) and the Walkouts.

The militarization of borders and the expansion of the state apparatus of surveillance, raids, detentions, and deportations are key mechanisms to control low wage immigrant workers in the United States of America {Andreas, 2001}. The consolidation of Immigration and Naturalization Services into the Department of Homeland Security was followed post-9/11 by so-called Special Registration, then by a new wave of detentions, deportations, and “rendering” of “suspected terrorists” to Guantánamo and other secret military prisons for indefinite detention and torture without trial {Twibell, 2005; Buff, 2008}. In 2006, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) increased the number of beds for detainees to 27,500, opened a new 500-bed detention center for families with children in Williamson County, Texas, and set a new agency record of 187,513 “Alien Removals” {ICE, 2006}. By the spring of 2006, it became politically feasible for the Republican-controlled House of Representatives to pass the infamous HR 4437, the proposed Sensenbrenner bill. Sensenbrenner would have

criminalized undocumented persons and the act of providing shelter or aid to an undocumented person, making felons of millions of undocumented individuals, their families and friends, as well as service workers, including clergy, social service workers, health care providers, and educators {Immigrant Legal Resource Center, 2006}. The Republican Party used the bill and the debates around it to play on white racial fears, in an attempt to gain political support from nativists. The proposal abandoned economic rationality: a Cato Institute analysis of the economic impacts of an enforcement- heavy policy as opposed to a legalization policy found that reducing the number of low-wage immigrant workers by a third would cost the U.S. economy about \$80 billion. By contrast, legalizing undocumented workers would grow the U.S. economy by more than 1% of GDP, or \$180 billion {Dixon and Rimmer, 2009}.

The response to Sensenbrenner was the largest wave of mass mobilizations in U.S. history. March, April, and May of 2006 saw major marches in every metropolis as well as in countless smaller cities and towns. Half a million people took to the streets in Chicago, a million in Los Angeles, hundreds of thousands more in New York, Houston, San Diego, Miami, Atlanta, and other cities across the U.S. In many places, these marches were the largest in history {Pulido, 2007}.

Figure: Mayday 2006 in Los Angeles



Source: la.indymedia.org

The surging strength of the immigrant rights movement was built through the hard work of thousands of organizations, including those that work to organize the base directly, those that function as regional or national coordinating hubs, and those that intervene in policy debates. Yet one of the most decisive factors was the changing composition of the media ecology.

English language television news channels (FOX and CNN) played important roles in the information war around migration and immigrant rights, alongside right wing talk radio. However, as we have seen, all major English language media outlets completely failed to anticipate the strength of the movement and the scale of the mobilizations. By contrast, Spanish language press, including nationally syndicated networks *Telemundo* and *Univisión* as well as commercial radio stations, provided constant coverage of the movement. Spanish language commercial radio not only covered the protests but also played a significant role in announcing them and mobilizing participation. This was widely reported on in the Anglo press, after the fact

{Del Barco, 2006}. Carmen Gonzalez surveyed mobilization participants in L.A. and found empirical evidence to support the claim that commercial Spanish language radio was the most important media influence on march turnout in Los Angeles (friends and family were the primary source of information, followed by radio){Gonzalez, 2006}. A study by Graciela Orozco for the Social Science Research Council also analyzed coverage on *Radio Bilingue*, a more than two-decades old nonprofit network of Latino community radio stations with 6 affiliates in California and satellite distribution to over 100 communities in the US, Puerto Rico, and México. The study found that the nonprofit network played an important role in circulating information and encouraging people to join the mobilizations {Orozco, 2007}. Although many of the organizations and networks active in the immigrant workers' movement in L.A. participate in organizing yearly Mayday marches that often turn out several thousand people, when speaking of the spring of 2006, everyone I interviewed agreed that the involvement of the commercial *locutores* (radio hosts) was the decisive factor in the vast scale of the marches against the Sensenbrenner bill {Interviews, NB, XD, KB, BH, DH, CX}.

The Walkouts

While the mass marches were largely organized via broadcast media, especially commercial Spanish language talk radio, text messages and

MySpace were the key platforms for the student walkouts that swept across the city alongside the mass marches {Yang, 2007}. While the anti-Sensenbrenner mobilizations provided a great deal of fuel for the fires of the (Anglo, middle class) blogosphere, MySpace and video sharing platform YouTube opened possibilities for movement appropriation, especially for *autorepresentación* (self-representation) via text, photos, videos, and audio. At the same time, SMS was used as a tool for real-time tactical mobilization. Student organizers who I interviewed made it clear that both SMS and SNS played important, but not decisive, roles in the walkouts {Interviews, BH, XD, NB}. Existing face to face networks of students organized the Walkouts for weeks beforehand, preparing flyers, meeting with other student organizations, doing the legwork and spreading the word. Many said that text messages and posts to MySpace served not to 'organize' the Walkouts, but to provide real-time confirmation that actions were really taking place. One interviewee told me about checking her MySpace during a break between classes, and said that it was when she saw a photo posted there from a walkout at another school that she realized the Walkout was "really going to happen." That gave her the courage to gather students at her school (students who already had been organizing for a Walkout) and convince them that it was time to take action {Interview, EN}.

Another high school student activist explains:

It was organized, there was fliers, there was also people on the

Internet, on chat lines and MySpace people were sending fliers also. So that's also one of the ways that it was organized. The thing is that students just wanted their voice to be heard. Since they can't vote, they're at least trying to affect the vote of others, by saying their opinion towards HR4437 affecting their schools and their parents or their family {SourceCode, 2006}.

This student, like many of my interviewees, emphasizes the pervasive and multimodal nature of movement communication practices during the spring of 2006. In contrast to staff at community based organizations, who noted the decisive role that radio played in mobilizing immigrant workers, my student interviewees often mentioned SNS as a key tool during the walkouts.

Middle school students as well as high school students participated in the walkouts. One organizer I interviewed was a middle school teacher at the time of the walkouts, and told me about daily conversations that she had with her students about their own plans to participate. She noted that there was wide disparity in access to mobile phones among middle and high school students, both based on income but also age. Most of her younger middle school students did not have access to mobile phones or digital cameras during the walkouts. They heard about the walkouts through parents, elder siblings, or existing student chapters of organizations like MeCha. When they walked out, their lack of access to digital cameras and mobile phones meant that police repression of middle school walkouts went largely unreported

{Interview, TH}. A few of the student activists I talked to also mentioned email (especially mailing lists) and blogs, but most of them emphasized that organizing took place through a combination of face to face communication (with friends, family, and organized student groups), paper fliers, text messages, and MySpace. All of them described a context of pervasive and persistent messaging across all channels, urging them to take action to defeat Sensenbrenner and stand up for their rights.

Appropriation of MySpace

When we say that students appropriated MySpace during the 2006 walkouts, what does that really mean? Some commentators at the time seemed to indicate that immigrant rights organizations used Social Network Sites to push their organizing efforts out, from the top down, to a new youth constituency. However, for the most part my interviews and documentation suggest a different story. For example, almost none of the fliers circulated on MySpace were created by established immigrant rights organizations. Instead, these flyers were produced and circulated by students themselves:

Figure: Spring 2006 Walkout flyers



Source: reposted to multiple MySpace walls and bulletins

Students created a wide range of these virtual fliers using graphical styles and techniques ranging from hand-drawn art or scanned paintings, to remix and photo collage, to mostly text with varied fonts, font sizes and colors, and clip art. I found very few examples of MySpace flyers created by existing political organizations; the vast majority were made by students and circulated through their friendship networks in the form of wall posts and bulletins.

MySpace also functioned as a kind of (commercial, circumscribed) digital public sphere for students to debate the broader issues of immigration as well as the specific tactic of the walkouts. An activist from Watsonville High described how after the first day of walkouts, another student posted anti-immigrant commentary on MySpace which was then printed out and posted up around her school. The printed anti-immigrant MySpace bulletin generated a firestorm of anger among immigrant students and prompted a second day of walkouts {Hernandez, 2006}.

After the first round of walkouts took place (in early March), students used

MySpace posts, bulletins, chat, and forums to document their actions, post and circulate photos and videos, and debate tactics for further actions:

BIGGEST WALKOUT IN STUDEN HISTORY ON MARCH 31, 2006)*~

EVERYONE SPREAD THE WORD THAT THERE IS TO BE NO MORE WALKOUTS THIS 2 DAYS COMING UP (WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY) LET THE SCHOOL TEACHERS, POLICE MEN AND GOVERNMENT THINK THAT WE STUDENTS HAVE STOPED PROTESTING LET THEM THINK WE ARE NOT SEAKING ANYMORE TROUBLE AND ON FRIDAY MARCH 31, 2006 ALL MEXICANS/LATINOS/HISPANICS/CHICANOS ARE TO WALKOUT OF CAMPUS AFTER 1ST PERIOD AND ARE TO MARCH TO EVERY POLITICAL BUILDING THEY CAN REACH. IF YOU GOT FRIENDS THAT AREN'T MEXICANS INVITE THEM TO PROTEST TOO TELL EM THEY COULD BE LOSING FRIENDS/GIRLFRIENDS ECT...WEATHER THEY BLACK, WHITE, JAP., ECT...TELL EM TO HELP OUT THIS FRIDAY IS GONNA BE THE BIGGEST STUDENT PROTEST THE GOVERNMENT HAS SEEN BUT THERE IS TO BE NO WALKOUTS (WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY) LET THE SCHOOL AND THE GOVERNMENT THINK WE HAVE STOPED PROTESTING AND THIS WAY THEY WON'T PUT SCHOOLS ON LOCKDOWN SO LET THINKS COOL DOWN AND ON MARCH 31,2006 REMEMBER EVERY MEXICAN/LATINO/CHICANO/HISPANIC AND ANYONE ELSE THAT WANTS TO HELP THIS CAUSE TO WALKOUT RIGHT AFTER 1ST

PERIOD SO LET ALL YOUR FRIENDS KNOW WAT IS GOING ON THIS
FRIDAY COMING UP.....WE GONNA MAKE HISTORY THIS
MONTH

{Post from MySpace board, at

<http://forum.myspace.com/index.cfm?>

fuseaction=messageboard.viewThread&entryID=14832951&categoryID=0&IsSticky=1&groupID=100077050&Mytoken=97CBEC84-551C-40BB-9CC22A010E3BED3436894066}

MySpace became a venue not only to discuss tactics, but also to contextualize the walkouts within larger histories of colonization, indigenous rights, and the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan:

This is all bullshit.....the senate has just approved that bill enforcing...the immigration law....this is bullshit...cuz there is no real american in this country....the real americans were those natives, and they even immigrated.....so fuck this shit....i am here to stay and there is no fucken law that is going to change...that.....so fuck it....lets do it for everyone; mexicans, salvadorenos, and everybody throught out latin america...we can't let them throw us off here.....the land of freedom???what muthafucken freedom is this???

so fuck it.....lets make something out of it and lets have our voice
be heard.....this is the time when we have to stand together and
unite.....yeah we can't have our liscenses but yet they want us to
go fight a war that isn't ours.....fuck this shit.....WEDNESDAY
WALKOUT.....many school are going to walk out and have
completely chaos.....another walk out----- but a real one this
time....do it for a cause.... [Ellipses in original post] {Wall post by
anonymous MySpace user}

In addition to posting comments and images to friends' walls, creating and
sending bulletins, and using forums, students also created numerous
MySpace groups with names including [NO on HR4437](#), [FUCK THA HR-
4437](#), [UNITED MEXICANS](#), [!~PrOuD BeAnErs~!](#), [Indigenous
Resistance](#), [Protest Bill HR4437!](#), [undocumented immigrants' rights](#), [Say No
to HR 4437](#), and the like:

Figure: Anti-HR4437 MySpace Groups

If HR4437 is passed NO WORK or SCHOOL
Body: Subject: May 1st will be the DAY WITHOUT LATINOS

wear white tuesday!!!!!!

If HR 4437 is passed:
no school or work on May 1st
tell everyone you know not to attend school and tell your parents not to work
the movie "A Day Without a Mexican" will become real
All Latinos have to work together to make this happen
to prove to everyone that the U.S. is NOTHING without us
On May 1st don't even go into the streets! don't buy ANYTHING!
Stay at home and kick it. watch the U.S. struggle without us.
May 1st will be the day the gov't loses tons of money and realizes who really runs this country.

spread the word!

Source: MySpace.com

Student activists also found ways to appropriate technical functionality originally designed for personal expression and repurpose it for collective expressions of political engagement or group solidarity. For example, many students changed their profile pictures to 'No on HR4437' images or flyers, and changed their display name to walkout related terms such as 'nohr4437,' 'walkout,' or '4 A Reason.'

Figure: MySpace profile pictures and display names changed in political protest

appropriated towards tactical movement ends and also used to document, remediate, and share media tools and skills. Interviewees described not only practices of documenting their own walkouts with still and video cameras as well as mobile phones, but also how they also learned new media skills as friends showed them how to transfer documentation from capture devices to computers, edit photos and video, and upload photos, audios, and text posts to the web. Other interviewees described spending extensive amounts of time online during the mobilization wave, learning new skills in terms of photo and video editing, 'profile pimping,' and so on {Interviews, TH, BH, EN}.

The Sensenbrenner crisis and the Walkouts thus became a generative space for appropriation of social media tools to circulate information about the struggle in real time. Simultaneously, the crisis provided a crucible for the development and diffusion of emergent sociotechnical practices like modifying display names or profile pictures to make political demands. These practices, created organically by the students themselves and only later adopted by formal political organizations, networks, nonprofits, and policy advocates, take advantage of the changed media ecology to generate collective consciousness, enhance movement identity, and circulate knowledge of key processes, actions, and events.

The media ecology and the Sensenbrenner Bill: summary

Although initially ignored by English language media, the movement against the Sensenbrenner Bill was able to grow rapidly by leveraging the new media ecology. Commercial Spanish language broadcast media reported on the movement in detail, and in the case of L.A.'s Spanish language radio hosts, actively participated in mobilizing millions to take the streets. At the same time, middle school, high school, and university students appropriated commercial social media spaces to circulate real time information about the movement, help coordinate actions, and develop new practices of symbolic protest. As these practices spread rapidly from city to city, the mobilizations continued to grow in scope and intensity. Taken together, the vast scale of the movement was reflected in the slogan 'the sleeping giant is now awake!' Its power briefly caught the political class off guard, and the Sensenbrenner Bill died, crushed by the *gigante* of popular mobilization.

Media ecology: Macarthur Park

People were getting their cameras smashed by the batons ... we had to get those images because one, that's what we were there to do, and two, we knew that the media wasn't going to show that. —
KB

Quickly reorganizing after the defeat of Sensenbrenner, anti-immigrant tendencies within the State launched a new wave of ICE raids {Hing, 2009}. Simultaneously there was an explosion of right-wing information warfare, stretching from the mass base of talk radio up through the national news networks, spearheaded by a parade of racist, anti-immigrant talking heads on Fox News and by Lou Dobbs on CNN⁵. The renewed attack from the right generated a baseline of tension for immigrant rights activists in the lead-up to May Day 2007. On the anniversary of the historic 2006 May Day marches, hundreds of thousands of people again took the streets across the country. This time, though, the Los Angeles Police Department was prepared to deal a crushing blow to movement participants in downtown Los Angeles. In this section I describe the events of Mayday 2007 and analyze the response of the immigrant rights movement through the lens of the changed media ecology. The main goal of this section is to demonstrate how, just as movements no longer need to rely entirely on broadcast media, they also no longer need to rely entirely on movement spokespeople to create their frames and messages.

⁵ See <http://www.bastadobbs.com>

Figure. Graphic from MIWON flyer for May Day 2007

Source: <http://miwon.org>

Macarthur Park, only a few city blocks to the west of L.A.'s main business district, was initially built in the 1880s as a white, middle-class vacation destination surrounded by luxury hotels. The area around the park became a working-class African American neighborhood during the 1960s, and once this transition took place, the city withdrew park maintenance resources {Interview, CZ}. By the 1980s the park had gained a media reputation as a dangerous and violent place. In the 1990s the area was again transformed, this time into a working-class Latino neighborhood. It is currently represented in the Anglo press as a danger zone of "gangbangers," drug dealers, sex workers, and general racialized urban chaos. It is especially infamous as an area where fake identification cards can be easily purchased. This portrayal of Macarthur Park persists despite the actual decline of violent crime in the area {LAPD, 2007} and the park's present-day heavy use by Latino/a immigrant families, especially by children and teens on the soccer field, picnickers with food and blankets, and young lovers who relax under the park's shade trees.

On the afternoon of May Day 2007, Macarthur Park's usual crowd of hundreds was multiplied tenfold as people streamed in for a post-march rally

organized by the Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON), a coalition that included the Garment Worker Center (GWC), Koreatown Immigrant Worker Alliance (KIWA), Pilipino Worker Center (PWC), Institute of Popular Education of Southern California (IDEPSCA), and the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), with participation by South Asian Network (SAN). White-clad families, including many small children and elderly folks, were relaxing in the park with the bells of ice cream vendors ringing in the air and the smell of bacon-wrapped hot dogs wafting in the breeze. The soccer field was transformed into a dance floor as bands performed from the MIWON sound truck. Then, suddenly, people were screaming and running in a mass panic as nearly 450 officers, many in full riot gear, used batons and rubber bullets to attack the peaceful crowd, injuring dozens and hospitalizing several {Ibid}. Members of the media, including Christina Gonzalez of Fox News affiliate KTTV 11, Pedro Sevcec of Telemundo, Patricia Nazario of KPCC, Ernesto Arce from KPFK, and reporters from L.A. Indymedia were also attacked and injured by police {Goodman, 2007}. The fact that reporters from mass media outlets were also attacked resulted in broadcast TV coverage that looked like police brutality footage usually only visible to followers of the independent media, and these TV news reports were then widely circulated on YouTube :

Figure: Fox News coverage of Mayday 2007, reposted to YouTube

Source: YouTube: <http://youtube.com/watch?v=v7xO-GKmH2c>

However, the LAPD moved quickly (and, at first, successfully) to reframe the brutal attack as a 'melee,' with the official line from LAPD chief William Bratton being that a communication breakdown in the chain of command led to a "...significant use of force while attempting to address the illegal and disruptive actions of 50 to 100 agitators who were not a part of the larger group of thousands of peaceful demonstrators" {Bratton, 2007}. The police commission's own report found that the use of force was inappropriate, but continued to justify it as a 'response' to agitators. However, many observers who I interviewed, including two National Lawyers' Guild members who were present as legal observers, recounted that by the time the riot squad was deployed on the edge of the park, the decision had already been made to clear the crowd by force {Interview, ND, WO}. Regardless of whether the attack on the peaceful crowd and reporters was a breakdown of communication or a calculated and premeditated tactic, the result was the same: images of the brutal police riot filled TV screens in L.A. for days, sending a clear message that it was time for the *Gigante* to sit down, shut up, and get back to work. The repressive atmosphere continued to escalate nationwide for the rest of the summer of 2007.

Figure. Macarthur Park May Day images posted to LA Indymedia

Source: <http://la.indymedia.org>

Immigrant rights groups engaged in a wide range of media practices immediately after the police attack. The event also had a lasting impact on the consciousness of many organizers. I interviewed members of the Copwatch LA Guerilla Chapter and asked them to describe communication practices during a recent mass mobilization. One described the Macarthur Park events in this way:

To me, I always think about Mayday, 2007. Because there was a lot of, you could call it chaos. It was a police riot. There was bullets flying, there was tear gas, there was batons flying everywhere, and Copwatch LA, we were asked to observe, right? So we were there observing, and it was hard because we were trying to get our people out of the way. Our children were there, we were trying to get them out of the way. Pull them out, get women, family members out of there, right? A lot of our folks were getting hit with batons while observing the police. People were getting their cameras

smashed by the batons, and stuff like that. So it was hard to organize amongst ourselves and do what we had to do, get our folks out of harm's way and then observe the police at the same time, and film that. It was just, you know, it was rebellion and chaos, right? And then there was, we had to get those images because one, that's what we were there to do, and two, we knew that the media wasn't going to show that. Even though they showed a little bit of what happened, because they got the worst end of it too, but they ended up changing their story {Interview, KB}.

Movement communicators like Copwatch, who engage in daily practices of documenting the abuse of power by the police in low-income communities of color, take on a special role during mass mobilizations. They come hoping for the best but prepared to document the worst in terms of State repression of peaceful protest. In this case, Copwatch activists gathered a great deal of video footage of the police attack on the crowd. However, most crucial for our discussion of the changed media ecology, they immediately recognized that protest participants had themselves documented the police from nearly every angle, and that gathering this material together would be critical both to creating a narrative of what had happened and to the legal strategy against the police.

From spokesman to aggregator, curator, and amplifier

Whereas in the past, movement documentarians may have seen their primary role as shooting and editing footage, by 2007 even an organization dedicated to documentation, that counts many trained videographers within its ranks, was able to recognize the importance of serving as an *aggregator* of video documentation produced by the multitudes. Copwatch ultimately worked with other anti-authoritarian activists to create a full-length documentary about the events of May Day 2007, entitled “We’re Still Here, We Never Left.” The film not only tells the story from the viewpoint of mobilization participants by gathering footage from over a dozen cameras, it also focuses on disrupting the frame introduced by the LAPD.

We put out a call for people to send us their video, and we got a lot of it through our site. Indymedia got a lot of it as well. That was pretty successful [...] We were able to put together the people's side of what happened, through the help of the People's Network in Defense of Human Rights that was created after Mayday. I guess we took the initiative to put that together, interview folks; we got the stories from the people in the community. We did a survey. It was good; we were able to get that out there. We haven't got the film out there as much as we wanted to, but right now we're working to do a speaking tour with the film. We want people to see it. We want people to see it, and discuss it. Not only see that these things are

happening within the Empire, but also how can we stop it from happening again? How can we stop that type of brutality from happening, ever. So I think that's one thing that has been successful, in terms of communications and I guess getting video and audio together for something, for a project. It was a lot of hard work [...] It meant a lot for our organization, because we were getting blamed for it, you know? The police were saying it was the anarchists, and so were some of the organizations. So it was important for us to get it out there {Interview, KB}.

Much of the work that Copwatch and other movement activists and organizations did around popular media in the Mayday aftermath took place through the ad-hoc People's Network in Defense of Human Rights (PNDHR). The network emerged out of a popular assembly held at Pilipino Workers' Center within days of the police riot. As this interviewee indicated, video was gathered through the Copwatch LA site but also through sites like Indymedia Los Angeles, as well as through the extended network of immigrant rights activists and organizations throughout the City. This process was coordinated not by an individual organization but through a loose working committee of the PNDHR⁶, itself an ad-hoc network. One of the key tasks of the PNDHR communication committee was to systematically comb through videos from

⁶ I participated in the PNDHR communication committee for a period of several weeks.

Mayday that people posted on YouTube and MySpace, then contact the videographers to see if they would be willing to share higher quality versions of their footage as well as full access to their source tapes and files. All but one of the many videographers we spoke to were happy to contribute copies of their footage to the legal team, and several people joined our working committee. This group spent time locating more footage and videographers as well as logging and tagging to make it all more useful to the legal team. During this process, video capture, logging, and transcoding skills were shared back and forth between group members, as well as concrete knowledge about how to use video in court. A moment of great crisis thus provided, in this case, a hands-on, peer-to-peer learning opportunity for new media knowledge and production skills to circulate between movement participants.

Some organizers I interviewed described explicit internal debates about whether and how to relate to the mass media in times of mass mobilization or crisis. While logging and tagging footage, the group came across many shots that were compelling examples of police brutality. In one of the most memorable, a cop in full riot gear chops at the legs of a 10-12 year old boy with his baton until the boy falls to the ground, then waits for him to stand before shoving him away violently. They discussed whether to send clips like these to the mass media for broader distribution. This kind of conversation is common among horizontalist and autonomist factions of the immigrant workers' movement.

The better resourced nonprofits, the huge nonprofits that have huge funding and bigger ties to the State, the Mayor, these huge corporations, the ones that are non-threatening, they're the ones that have a little bit more connections to the media. It seems like anytime the corporate media is out there, they want to be in front of them. They want to be the ones talking to them, telling their side of the story. I guess they've built a relationship with the media. Our focus is not mainly on the corporate media, so we don't have those connections. I mean we have some connections. Of course when we put Copwatch LA behind something the corporate media flocks to it, you know. But yeah, they were all out there, even on some progressive media too, they have connections. They use their connections to take the side of the police. To say the same things the police were saying, which to us was like, wow. I guess it showed what side people stand on. On the other hand, we had a huge conversation and debate within the organization, whether we should respond by doing a press conference ourselves or should we do grassroots media or grassroots communication. Getting our story out there ourselves, getting out flyers to the community, talking to people, setting up workshops, which became the film too. The film we created was through that debate. I was one of the people that

thought maybe we should do a press conference ourselves because look, they're doing it. I'm pretty sure, the media have been calling us and wanting us to respond, to do a press conference or whatever. I felt like it was an opportunity for us to tell our story even though probably they weren't gonna tell our story like we told it. So you know, for me it was like, alright, doing that, at the same time, doing our own media, that has always been my personal position with that.

Q: So did you end up doing that?

We ended up just, because collectively we decided we're not going to rely on the corporate media for Mayday. Which was, I think, maybe it was problematic too, because we didn't do the film til a year later, and these folks continued to put out the same story. And people think that alright, this must be true, because nobody else is saying anything. I felt like this was a problem, you know? But it turned out to be a good thing too, because we were able to focus our energy towards [...] our own media. People have liked the film when they watched it. We got it out there internationally, to other countries, to Chiapas, Mexico, to Argentina, and Venezuela, and South Africa, so that's a good thing {Interview, RF}.

The RAC made a conscious decision to avoid the corporate media and instead focused their efforts on aggregating video, photos, audio, and other documentation of the police attack by doing systematic outreach to people who were posting media on social media sites like YouTube and MySpace, on LA Indymedia, and on local blogs. They decided to focus all their energy on this strategy even though it meant turning down a rare opportunity to receive visibility in broadcast television. They reviewed the aggregated media and acted as curators, remixing the most compelling media elements into new texts that could then be circulated more widely both via social network sites and in some cases, by broadcast media.

By contrast, the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) worked hard in the hours, days, and weeks after the police attack to implement a more traditional, top down media strategy to control or at least influence the mass media framing of the event. They did this by holding press conferences and distributing press releases to broadcast and print reporters. Perhaps in an attempt to anticipate the typical police strategy of blaming police violence on protesters, CHIRLA made repeated statements to journalists denouncing the violence but also taking care to distance the majority of 'peaceful protesters' from 'violent anarchists' who 'provoked' police violence.

The first thing that I just want to say is that, first and foremost, over 25,000 people gathered in the evening to demand their rights and

to demand legalization, a path to citizenship, and to peacefully assemble to ensure that their families have a better future in this country. And I want to make sure that their efforts are highlighted. It was unfortunate, and we are indignant at the manner in which the police decided to deal with a group of people who were causing disturbances. These were young anarchists who often join our marches, who in every single march in the past in Los Angeles--this is the seventh May Day march [inaudible] have been isolated away from the crowd {Angelica Salas, Executive Director of CHIRLA, speaking on Democracy Now, May 2, 2007}.

These remarks, and others like them, caused intense controversy within the immigrant workers' movement in Los Angeles, with heated debates in face to face movement meetings as well as online between those who attacked Salas and demanded a public apology for repeating a police lie in hopes of gaining 'mainstream credibility,' and those who defended the statement either on the grounds that they believed it to be true or (mostly) because they respected the work that CHIRLA and MIWON member organizations do. While CHIRLA never issued a public apology for laying blame on anarchist youth of color, after a month of heavy internal debate the MIWON network coordinators changed their tone. Subsequent public statements and press releases on the MIWON website and on movement listservs emphasized that the LAPD were the instigators and needed to be held accountable for the

Mayday attack:

LAPD must take Responsibility as the only instigators of the violence on Mayday

Chief's Bratton's Report does not address the systemic and cultural changes needed in the LAPD to counter racist and anti-immigrant sentiment plaguing the department.

(Los Angeles, Ca) One month after the violence inflicted on the public by the Los Angeles Police Department at Mac Arthur Park on May 1st, no officers have been disciplined. The Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON) stand with other community groups and union to demand a full-scale review of internal procedures within the LAPD as well as concrete policy changes to counter the blatant racism and anti-immigrant sentiment within all ranks of the police force. Chief William Bratton preliminary report to the Los Angeles Police Commission and City Council reflects the department's unwillingness to take full responsibility for the unnecessary attack on the crowds of families, youth and Marchers on May 1st. {MIWON, 2007, see <http://www.miwon.org/mayday2007page.html>}

Indeed, MIWON website owners even made the phrase “LAPD must take responsibility as the only instigators of the violence of Mayday 2007” into a stream of red text that followed site visitors’ mouse arrow around the page:

Figure: Mouse-follow text from MIWON site, 2007

However, even a year later, CHIRLA continued to push the frame that police responded inappropriately to a band of youth agitators:

There was a small group of people that started kind of taunting the police [...] The organizers approached the police and asked them, why not separate this small group, isolate them, because they’re disturbing everybody else that’s having this, you know, peaceful event [...] And then, suddenly, you know, there were rubber bullets flying. {Anike Tourse, Communications Coordinator for CHIRLA, on Democracy Now, May 1, 2008.}

While top down movement organizations spent time and energy trying to control the event frame via broadcast media outlets, horizontalist ad-hoc networks used the new media ecology to draw attention to media produced by march participants and thereby to shape a more radical frame.

Participatory media practices of aggregation, remix, and circulation amplified this alternative frame to the point that it was able to challenge the official narratives repeated by the LAPD, broadcast media, and professional nonprofits. Photos, videos, and personal interviews of mobilization participants all demonstrated a peaceful crowd attacked by riot police. By 2009, once the police review and class action suits were all complete, the verdict was clear: the police use of force was unwarranted and the demonstrators' rights had been deeply violated. Based on LAPD's internal review and on extensive public pressure, Chief Bratton apologized, demoted the commanding officer, and imposed penalties on 17 of the participating officers. The LAPD settled a massive class action suit for 13 million dollars, and other lawsuits for undisclosed amounts {LAPD, 2007}.

The media ecology and Macarthur Park: summary

In the immediate aftermath of Mayday 2007, the more top-down (vertical) nonprofits focused on disseminating their frame of police 'overreaction' to an 'anarchist threat' via the mass (broadcast) media. This approach capitalized on the extensive broadcast coverage by both English and Spanish language television news, based on the fact that broadcast television reporters were among those who suffered police brutality. At the same time, an ad-hoc network composed of horizontalist collectives and organizations used social media spaces to aggregate, curate, remix, and

amplify the rich media texts produced by people who had been attacked. Rather than claim that one of these approaches was more successful, we can say that online audiences, especially youth, were more likely to have seen one version of events, while those watching broadcast media saw another. For television viewers, police violence did receive extensive coverage during the first few days, but by the time the story reached a national broadcast TV audience via short sound bites and clips, it typically carried the headline 'Macarthur Park Melee'⁷ and implicated youth protesters as violent provocateurs. Nonprofit organizations such as CHIRLA, who used a traditional media strategy by acting as movement spokespeople and aligning their frame with the official frame, were able to gain standing and have their voice carried widely in broadcast media. Ad-hoc networks such as PNDHR, who advanced a more radical frame while aggregating and circulating video produced by the social base of the movement, were marginalized from broadcast spaces, as they expected and in some cases chose. Yet their framing persisted and arguably prevailed, at least among the social base of the movement in Los Angeles. Because of the changed media ecology, professionalized nonprofit organizations faced intense pressure from an ad-hoc network to radicalize their frame, and ultimately some of them (such as MIWON) did.

⁷ The Wikipedia entry remains 'Mayday Melee,' most likely based on (LA Times') article of the same name. This reflects Wikipedia's bias towards mass media framings.

Aftermath

Many of the worst aspects of the Sensenbrenner Bill were proposed again in the Secure Borders, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Reform Act of 2007 (S. 1348). This time, the bill was portrayed as a “compromise” but continued to focus on border militarization and policing: it included funding for 300 miles of vehicle barriers, 105 camera and radar towers, and 20,000 more Border Patrol agents, while simultaneously restructuring visa criterion around “high skill” workers for the so-called knowledge economy {Gaouette, 2007}. It fell apart by June, but in July of 2007, three billion dollars in new “border security” funding was approved {Miller and Dinan, 2007}. The transition to the Obama administration initially raised hopes among some in the immigrant rights movement for a progressive restructuring of immigration policy, but by the end of Obama’s first term it was clear that border militarization would continue, as would raids, detentions and deportations, and at rates greater even than under the previous Bush administration {Detention Watch Network, 2011}. There was no comprehensive immigration reform during the first term of the Obama administration, although as this book goes to press at the beginning of Obama’s second term, immigration reform has once again been placed squarely on the national agenda. The legislative proposal launched at the beginning of 2013 is largely identical to the bill proposed in 2007: its main components include increased border enforcement, extension of the e-verify

system, that requires employers to check employee status with a federal database and increases penalties against noncompliant employers, a 'pathway to citizenship' that involves payment of back taxes, fines, an application fee, a background check, and then a work permit and a possibility of naturalization after 'going to the back of the line' - a process that some analysts estimate may take 13-23 years. There has been a complete, and completely unsurprising, failure of the mass media to discuss either the root causes of migration or the possibility of long-term solutions, such as an open border policy for human beings in an age of unrestricted cross-border flows for capital.

The media ecology: conclusions

This chapter has shown how recent transformations in the broader media ecology provide key conditions for effective social movement communication. The immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles has had little success gaining access to Anglo mass media, and when organizers and activists receive coverage, they often feel framed in ways that do not help them achieve their goals. However, immigrant rights organizers are increasingly able to access ethnic media, even as ethnic media, especially commercial Spanish language radio and television, grow in reach and political power. At the same time, the explosion of social media helps organizers more directly involve movement participants, allies, and

supporters in the production and circulation of their own rich media texts. The rise of Spanish language commercial media and the spread of social media thus both provide important openings for the insertion of movement narratives into public consciousness. In addition, translocal media practices modify the overall media ecology in ways that facilitate movement building, as migrants increasingly access and sometimes create content for media outlets in their hometowns, cities, or communities of origin. Agenda setting, framing, and standing have all become more flexible in the shift from broadcast hegemony to diversified channels, translocal media, and social media. However, activists can only effectively leverage this flexibility when they recognize the opportunities available in the new media ecology, rather than remain focused solely on gaining access to Anglo broadcast media.

During times of crisis and mass mobilization, countervailing logics clash: on the one hand, top-down movement groups exert pressure to maintain control of communication, as they seek to capitalize on the mass media attention generated by the crisis to amplify their own frames and messages. At the same time, horizontal practices of transmedia activism (a term that will be developed in the following chapter) blossom, as key media texts created by movement participants circulate rapidly through face to face social networks, amplified by digital media tools and platforms like social network sites and mobile phones. While control of messaging and framing in mass media remains a powerful and contested terrain, top-down organizations that once were able to enforce message discipline now find it

increasingly difficult to do so. Where the police, or even professionalized nonprofits with dedicated PR staff, might have once been able to largely control messaging through press conferences and relationships with professional journalists, the shifting media ecology now allows smaller collectives, networks, and horizontalist groups to rapidly circulate their own media, frames, and narratives. A digitally literate social movement base increasingly self-documents critical moments of mass mobilization. Those who embrace horizontal models of transmedia activism and dedicate resources to increasing the circulation and reach of participatory media are more able to effectively develop narratives and transform consciousness. Those who attempt to maintain vertical control, and ignore or even actively contradict the popular networked narratives that emerge during crisis, may win short-term victories in the form of mass media quotes. However, in the long run they may find their credibility undermined by their own increasingly media-savvy and media-making base.

Ultimately, those groups that are open to including diverse voices from their social base, and are willing to shift from vertical models of centralized communication control towards more horizontal or directly democratic models, are better able to take advantage of the affordances of the new media ecology. In the next chapter, we will look more closely at how movement participants do this through practices of transmedia activism.

3. Transmedia Activism

[This chapter is pretty good. Need catchy intro drawn from narrative, consider bringing Walkout section up to the front. Also, clarify argument (move to definition discussion, and extend that to talk about some of the firms that are positioning themselves as transmedia activists): social movements have always done transmedia activism. They can do better if they're intentional about it. For some, transmedia activism is a term that's limited to what a small number of media firms are doing to create cross platform stories with some participatory media components, cause or issue focused. In this book, I'm developing a use of the term that's broader, and emphasizes organic, bottom up processes rather than carefully managed media initiatives.]

The previous chapter explored the transformation of the media ecology for the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles. Despite continued lack of access to mainstream English language media, the growing power of ethnic media and the rise of social and mobile media provide potential openings for the immigrant rights movement. In what ways are immigrant rights activists actually leveraging the changed media ecology to strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform consciousness?

This chapter develops the theory of transmedia activism, a term I use to describe how savvy organizers engage the social base of the movement in participatory media making practices across multiple platforms. Rich media texts produced through participatory practices can be pushed into wider circulation to produce movement narratives that reach and involve diverse audiences, thus strengthening movement identity formation and outcomes. Yet many organizations continue to find transmedia activism risky, because it requires opening movement communication practices up to diverse voices rather than relying only on experienced movement leaders to frame the narrative by speaking to broadcast reporters during press conferences. In the changed media ecology, effective transmedia organizers shift from speaking *for* movements to speaking *with* them. Transmedia activism thus marks a transition in the role of movement communicators from content creation to aggregation, curation, remix, and circulation of rich media texts across platforms. Those movement groups that embrace the decentralization of the movement voice can reap great rewards, while those that attempt to maintain top down control of communication practices risk losing credibility.

Transmedia activism: a working definition

What do we mean by *transmedia activism*? The term is a mash-up between the concept of transmedia storytelling and ideas from social movement studies about the ways that movements use networked

communication to support their mobilization efforts. Marsha Kinder developed the term *transmedia intertextuality* to discuss the flow of branded and gendered commodities across television, films, and toys {Kinder, 1991}. Henry Jenkins reworks the concept for an era of horizontally integrated transnational media conglomerates, and defines transmedia storytelling as follows:

Transmedia storytelling represents a process where integral elements of a fiction get dispersed systematically across multiple delivery channels for the purpose of creating a unified and coordinated entertainment experience. Ideally, each medium makes its own unique contribution to the unfolding of the story [...] {Jenkins, 2003}

He goes on to articulate the key points of transmedia storytelling in the context of a converged media system. Chief among them: transmedia storytelling is the ideal form for media conglomerates to circulate their franchises across platforms; it involves ‘world building’ rather than closed plots and individual characters; it involves multiple entry points for varied audience segments; it requires co-creation and collaboration by different divisions of a company; it provides roles for readers to take on in their daily lives; it is open to participation by fans; and it is “the ideal aesthetic form for an era of collective intelligence” {Ibid.}

Recently, Lina Srivastava proposed that activists and media artists might apply the ideas of transmedia storytelling to social change, through what she terms transmedia activism: “There is a real and distinct opportunity for activists to influence action and raise cause awareness by distributing content through a multiplatform approach, particularly in which people participate in media creation” {Srivastava, 2009}. To build on this proposal, extend it from the media arts context to a community organizing context, and reframe it through social movement theory, I suggest the following definition:

Transmedia activism is a process whereby organizers develop a narrative of social transformation across multiple media platforms, create a social movement ‘world’ with multiple entry points, and engage the movement’s base in participatory media practices for the purpose of strengthening movement identity and outcomes.

I argue that transmedia activism is a critical emerging form for networked social movements to circulate their ideas across platforms; it involves consciousness building, beyond individual campaign messaging; it requires co-creation and collaboration across multiple social movement groups; it provides roles and actions for movement participants to take on in their daily life; it is open to participation by the social base of the movement, and it is the key strategic media form for an era of networked social movements.

While the goal of corporations that invest in transmedia storytelling is to generate profits, the goal of social movement groups engaged in transmedia activism is to strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform consciousness.

Transmedia activism practices

Most conversations about social movement use of ICTs emphasize their importance as tactical tools for mobilization, fundraising, or information circulation. Some focus on the ways in which social movements are able to reach new audiences on the net. Few emphasize the importance of the process of mediamaking itself. Making media, especially making media together with others in shared production practices, can be a powerful force for social movement identity formation {Downing, 2001}. As media making tools and skills become more widely available, more people than ever before are using these tools and skills to create and circulate rich movement media texts, with largely unstudied implications for movement identity formation. Many of the actors in the immigrant rights movement expressed the idea that the mediamaking process itself is a powerful movement building force.

Make media, make trouble

For one interviewee, active participation in documentary video

production was a key site of movement identity formation. She took part in the creation of an award-winning documentary about garment worker organizing, called “Made in LA,” and described this as a crucial aspect of her own politicization and connection to the immigrant rights movement. She emphasized that she was proud of participating in the project, and that one of the most important outcomes was the connections that were made between people and organizations that worked with the filmmakers:

I became involved with the anti-sweat shop student movement at Cal State L.A. because I worked at a sweat shop, my mother worked at a sweat shop, my whole family, my uncles, they worked for, they had a little business. They were the costureros (clothesmakers) themselves, right? But aside from that, it was just an industry that my mom got into, and then eventually I had to go to over the summer because I had to work. So anyway, working with them at the university was good, but I think the one project that I was the most proud of was helping Almudena Carracedo transcribe interviews with garment workers for her film, “Made in LA.” She actually interviewed me, but gosh! That woman interviewed a bunch of people and it was a 3, 4 year project that took her 4 years to finish. And it was great! And I liked the outcome, and especially the connections that she made. And the fact that that film got distributed all over the world. Over television. Ironically my mom

still hasn't seen it [laughs]. But it just goes to show that Almudena really pulled her equipment together to catch these stories; you know? So just knowing that I helped with that was a good beginning I guess {Interview, TH}.

Following this experience, she became increasingly involved in social movement activity. Currently she works with the Amanecer Collective, an anarchist affinity group that she calls her 'political home.' The group meets regularly via phone conferences, and once a year face to face. They also had a radio collective, *Echos de Libertad* (Echoes of Liberty), that produces a two hour radio show for online radio station Killradio.org. They are also preparing to begin broadcasts on a new pirate FM station in East L.A.

Media production practices in the immigrant rights movement thus generate new movement participants. Digital media tools enable these practices, and the media produced through shared production practices is widely circulated via the net. However, the Internet is not always the primary point of connection for the media makers, and transmedia activism practices do not necessarily require always-on Internet connectivity. Another interviewee, who works as a social media consultant for immigrant rights organizations, emphasized that he has found the process of collaborative video production to have great value, even in situations of limited Internet access:

I feel like the process of making is such a great experience, and because it's such a collaborative experience, which I think in some ways is why I like video, per se, more is because I feel like video has the potential of being very collaborative, in the sense of, people can make decisions about what's gonna be filmed, when are we gonna do it, who's gonna do what, things like that. I think that the process of making it can be, you know. Video is also in some ways done offline, I mean it requires equipment, but it's not created in an online space. It's not like blogging or e-mail, or things that require you to be on the Internet at that moment. Video you can do some other time, edit it, and then put it online, and to me that's why I kind of see potential in it, in the sense of making it more accessible to other people, you know? {Interview, XD}.

Of course, the videos produced in his mediamaking workshops are later circulated online, but this interviewee emphasizes that a significant part of the value for movement building is in the actual experience of collaborative production.

Transmedia activism and cultural solidarity

Many organizers find value in simply including the faces and voices of their communities in multimedia movement texts. They point out that this is

especially true for immigrant communities, so often ignored or misrepresented by the mass media, but may also apply to any group that feels excluded from broader visibility. Community based organizations within the immigrant rights movement regularly use digital media tools to help generate feelings of group identity. For example, one KIWA staff member talked about the power of visual media in connecting people to the movement:

Newsletter used to be offline, just writing the same thing, however doing the layout, printing, mailing, cost was really really high and it took a lot of staff time to do those logistical work. We've switched to e newsletter and that seems to get to people much faster and you know, very dependable. Also, costwise it's amazing, it doesn't cost almost anything [...] In our website there's, you know, photo and other slideshows, whatever was generated gets put on there. And I think all of that really helps the members as well, or people that just wants to find out more about KIWA. It's not just kind of writing or talk that you hear or read, but you actually see in firsthand what had happened or what is currently going on, that really helps [...] I think when folks see their activity, their face or people that they know doing that are engaged in different campaign, I think it really brings them together as a kind of one unique part of the organization and that's always been, whether it's 5 minute or 10

minute I think it really helps {Interview, EQ}.

When asked about whether this kind of inclusive media practice was something new, or simply the latest incarnations of existing practices, he answered:

It is very new. Nowadays those clips can be taken even with camera or telephone. We do use the digital camcorder, so that's been really helpful. Versus in the past, we have boxes and boxes of VHS or small, those small recording tapes, which just sits there and nobody ever takes a look at it. So in old days it was just regular people have no access to editing those clips so it just sits there in the boxes. One of these days we're gonna digitalize all that {Ibid.}.

Most video, audio, and photos recorded on analog media simply sit in boxes, unused. When asked if KIWA had ever screened the older VHS tapes, he replied:

Never. Never. Because say if it's a clip of action, 2 hour long, unless you kind of edit it there's no reason or no way, people sitting down and watching that just didn't make sense. Same goes with the photos, right? Before digital camera came in, it was just paper photos. We have probably 4-5 large boxes of those photos, but it just sits in there. One of our projects with a volunteer is to scan all those so it can be digitalized and used.

Digital photography and digital video, especially, offer small organizations

huge advantages over their analog equivalents in terms of time, money, and equipment. In the last few years, the usability of multimedia production software has greatly decreased the skill level needed to transform the 'raw material' of recorded moments into forms that can be shared and individually or collectively experienced in order to strengthen cultural memory and feelings of movement belonging.

Hubs of transmedia activism

Movement groups can also act as hubs of transmedia activism. Another interviewee talked about how both online and face-to-face strategies were both crucial in the Garment Worker Center campaign against clothing label Forever 21. She, like other younger people and students, learned about the campaign via an email list, but face to face organizing was the key means of reaching garment workers themselves. Social movements often contain people from a mix of backgrounds, and transmedia activism practices must provide forms of connectivity and points of entry for all of them:

I was involved in [the Forever 21 campaign] back in 2001. And we were a pretty small group. [...] I remember the first protest; the first anti-sweatshop protest against Forever 21; I found out through the internet; and I was like, 'I have no idea where Alhambra is. But I guess I'm gonna drive out there.' {Interview, TH}

When asked if she learned about the protest via email, she responded:

Yeah it was an email. It was like some list. I remember there was this group; this huge group that got formed back in 2000 for the DNC here in Los Angeles. It was called the Fair Trade Network. And they had, it's probably one of the oldest lists I'm on; and I think they still circulate some info. Yeah it was just an email. They had weekly events posted, or something like that. So I found out through that. But when I showed up to the protest I noticed that it wasn't sweatshop workers that were at the demonstrations. I mean you would think that -- ah, but it's sort of stereotypical to say that young people have more access to that sort of information; but I think it's because the Garment Worker Center does both. They do the online outreach, but also the face-to-face outreach because they're in the middle of the sweatshop district. The garment district. It's a combination of both. I still believe that it's strong to do the face to face organizing with workers mainly, because there's a lack of resources for obtaining that sort of information through the Internet {Ibid.}

Those most affected often organize with solidarity and support from other movement organizations and networks across a range of identities, and

communication practices may be very different between them. In fact, mass mobilizations often serve as transmedia activism training grounds. Media texts and information are translated across platforms, including online, broadcast, print, and more, and then become spreadable across new movement networks. Some people and organizations focus on playing this role.

Media bridging work: Indymedia Los Angeles

Activists and groups that focus on transferring media and information across media platforms and between networks perform what might be called *media bridging work*. This work has become increasingly important, as day-to-day communication practices within the immigrant rights movement have become deeply multimodal. For example, a participant in LA Indymedia described how, while posting stories and calendar events to la.indymedia.org is the main activity of the collective, working on the site is tightly bound up in participation in multiple channels of movement communication across media including email, radio, print, and telephone. SNS are also appropriated as key venues for the circulation of movement media. The same interviewee stated that he systematically uses both MySpace and Facebook to distribute links to protest reports, articles, action alerts, and upcoming activist events:

MySpace, everything I do, every time I write an article I'll put it as a bulletin. And on Facebook, too, I'll put a link to it. And any event, any actions going on, I'll always bulletin those. A lot of times people will repost my bulletins. I'll even compile lists of events that are going on and I usually post them on Fridays cause people want to know what's going on for the weekend. So Friday I'll have, when I'm reading the paper, when I'm reading my listservs, when I'm listening to the radio, everything that's coming up I'll put it on my calendar. Then I'll take my calendar, make a list of the stuff going on that week, and Friday post it as a bulletin, and then a lot of people repost those. So yeah, I use those sites. I probably should have mentioned, but yeah, obviously {Interview, CX}.

Transmedia organizers thus engage in daily practices of media bridging work by taking information from one channel, reformatting it for another, and pushing it out into broader circulation across new networks. Certain individuals and groups spend more time focused on media bridging work, but in transmedia activism, all movement participants are able to participate to some degree in media bridging work. Movements can also take steps to make this kind of activity as easy as possible. In the social media space, Jenkins calls this principle *spreadability* {Jenkins, 2009}. I found that some of the most interesting media bridging work was done, and the greatest spreadability achieved, by organizers who understood the importance of

linking broadcast and social media strategies together.

Broadcast and social media combined: The Basta Dobbs campaign

When asked to describe an effective use of social media by the immigrant rights movement, one interviewee described a national campaign to remove anti-immigrant commentator Lou Dobbs from CNN. The campaign, organized by Presente.org, deployed a sophisticated transmedia strategy across the web, mobile phones, and broadcast radio, and rapidly built a database of tens of thousands of email addresses and phone numbers. Participants were encouraged to write and call network executives, and made thousands of calls {Interview, LN}. The campaign ended when Lou Dobbs announced the early end of his CNN contract, and organizers were able to declare a major victory. This interviewee emphasized that the campaign's success was largely due to the combination of broadcast radio with mobile and social media:

The Basta Dobbs Campaign, I think that was one of the first times. I mean we had organizations or groups like Move On, and all these different groups that were doing advocacy and very successful, Moms Rising, all these groups that have huge Internet power bases.

But the immigrant community wasn't really involved in that, and neither were their supporters. So what we saw in Basta Dobbs was this, kind of this new model {Interview, LN}.

The Basta Dobbs campaign was targeted at engaging Latino/a activists first, and the Latino/a community more broadly. Organizers appeared on Spanish language radio and television, and asked listeners and viewers to sign up to the campaign by sending an SMS:

They had a text messaging hub, through their web site. So they wanted everybody to sign up on that, so they went really heavy for a month on a campaign where, it was interesting because it was, Jet Blue was offering \$600 flights, you could buy a \$600 flight, and you could travel all over the, any where you wanted to in the country, where ever they flew for a month as many times as you wanted for the \$600. So they took advantage of that and they did this country tour. And they went on all the radio spots, all the TV shows, and they were able to bring, build up a list within a little bit over a month, maybe two months, about a hundred thousand people to join Basta Dobbs {Ibid}.

The Basta Dobbs campaign illustrates the importance of relationship between broadcast media and new media. It was only through a nationwide speaking tour broadcast by local radio stations that Basta Dobbs organizers were able to quickly build a critical mass of hundreds of thousands of people willing to sign up to receive SMS action alerts for the campaign. SMS alerts not only

called on people to take actions like signing petitions, calling CNN headquarters, and writing letters to the editor, but also drove views for videos produced by the campaign. The campaign itself, because of the rapid growth of its SMS list and the high number of views on its videos, quickly became a story that both Spanish language and English language mass media outlets were interested in covering. Effective transmedia organizing thus builds a narrative around the momentum of the movement itself, even while providing multiple points of connection to further engagement. In this case, people initially became aware of the Basta Dobbs campaign via local radio or SMS, later through social network sites, and once the campaign was growing, via mass media.

Mass media or popular communications?

Although the combination of broadcast media and the new digital tools is the most effective form of transmedia activism, most organizations, if they devote resources to communication strategy at all, still focus on traditional P.R. strategies. For example, one organizer felt that there was increasing success in the immigrant rights movement at using digital media for top-down communications, but far less activity in the sphere of horizontal or participatory mediamaking:

I think they're seen very separate from each other. So that's a

perfect example of what people consider media work, but I guess when I speak of media, its something very different, and so maybe that's important for me to define. So when I think of media or using media, I'm thinking really grassroots, very collective oriented, so very popular, popular communications. So that I think, when I see people not moving towards that, that's what I mean. There's definitely a lot of the other stuff, press conferences and all the PR stuff, and creating videos about the message, and putting it out there, and things like that, there's stuff more than before, right? Using those tools in that way. But I think that's very narrow. You're more likely to have a communications person in your staff that does all of this, then to have a popular media or multi media coordinator or something like that [...] they're treated like two different things, but I think it will be really powerful to see what could they look like when they come together {Interview, OE}.

Many who do think about participatory media making tend to see it as a world apart from their overall, traditional communication strategy. In other words, most immigrant rights movement groups are not taking full advantage of the possibilities of transmedia activism. Instead, they use the new tools of networked communication primarily to augment existing top-down media practices. This tension is discussed in depth in Chapter Five.

“How do we deal with a thousand people producing media for us?”

Finally, there are a handful of organizers who in the past saw themselves as movement documentarians, but are increasingly felt the need to shift their role to content aggregation, curation, and amplification. One interviewee described what happened when organizers discussed how to deal with media during an upcoming mobilization of about 10,000 people:

In the whole process of being like, “Oh my god, tomorrow 10,000 people are coming,” we came up with the idea of creating these flyers. You know, if you’re putting your video up this way, tag it, send it here, or send it to this e-mail or whatever, tag your photo or photography this way. We made I think about a thousand of those flyers, and we pretty much handed them all out, cause it was probably that many people filming and taking video. I mean everybody had a small video camera or something. And within that same day, and then for the next few days, all we were doing was kinda compiling all those videos and photography that they had, that people had individually put up on the Internet. So it was a way where we were centralizing stuff, but at the same time it wasn’t centralized, because people were just putting things up on their channels, or on their Flickr accounts, and all we were doing was just kinda linking it [...] It definitely forced us to be like, how do we deal with the situation of like having a thousand people producing media for us, or not for us, but yet having people have access to that media, and it just doesn’t get lost in the sea of the Internet? {Interview, NB}

Social movement organizers thus develop concrete practices and strategies to promote popular participation in transmedia activism. In this case, they promoted particular mobilization tags across social media platforms by

printing out and distributing physical flyers during the mobilization itself.

Transmedia Activism: material to integrate from 2011 interviews

Explicit cross-platform strategy

Immigrant rights organizers have explicit cross-platform media strategies. In one interview, an activist described the process her group uses to develop media strategy. They begin with a group brainstorm about key values, and from there develop key points and sound bytes to use during a specific campaign. Based on these, they do trainings, then circulate messages across platforms. NM explicitly talked about using print newspapers and Spanish language TV news to reach the older generation ("the moms, the dads") while connecting with the younger generation via social media.

"For example, whenever we have a rally, an event, we make sure that we have key networks there, like Univision, Telemundo, Teleflash, Channel 2, channel 7. But when the news stories come out, we always post those news stories on our Twitter and our Facebook, because we know that's the way, the only way that younger folks, and I would say, 80% of people get their news from, so we are very intentional about connecting the two."

Cross platform efficacy

"It's been effective because of the reputation that we already built, and the personal connections we already made." DREAM activists describe the importance of blogs and SNS to reach a younger audience, while also mentioning the continued power of print and broadcast media to shape reputation and increase visibility: "It's really effective when people are already hearing about the DREAM movement through TV or newspapers." In addition, they talked about the spreadability of social media in the context of their campaigns, both in terms of participatory content creation and in terms of sharing via personal networks.

Interviewer: Can you um, one second, um, can you discuss the role of digital media such as blogs, social networking sites, uh, etcetera?

R: Um, it, I mean I think um, that type of media reaches a younger group, like a younger audience, um, and its more accessible, so its um, so it makes it so anybody, anybody can do it, and its really effective when people um, are already hearing about like The Dream Movements through TV or um, newspapers, so I, when we use, when we, like its been effective because of the reputation that we already g-, already built, and the personal connections we already made, um, and so like blogs and um, videos and like, people share it when they like, with their friends when they have a connection, like connection to it, and it spreads, um, and its, and its really, like its really amazing um, how like a short video on like the speech about The Dream Act could get like 2,000, 2,000 people watching it, 3,000 people um, and even like more um, and that's just like from videos uh, little videos that SIM does, um, so its been, its kind of been like a, a little blessing for, I think like organizations like SIM.

Multiple platforms are key

Activists have a clear conception that different platforms are crucial for reaching different constituents within the broader immigrant rights movement. Social media is useful for younger folks and students, while radio and newspapers remain key for reaching parents and working class communities.

Strategic Platform Selection

Some activists choose platforms strategically based on campaign goals and targets. Immigrant rights organizers today do find the diversity of media platforms challenging. In the context of campaigns, they evaluate and choose outlets to target based on their aims and the targets. For example, one organizer described focusing on the New York Times for reaching most elected officials, but Spanish language TV networks when trying to target immigrant rights advocate turned Obama administration official and Secure Communities program defender Cecilia Munoz. In other cases, he described producing and distributing media on his own via his blog, YouTube channel, Twitter, and Facebook.

K: Yeah, yeah, it's not an easy one to figure out, um, the way I, you know, there's just so many different outlets nowadays, it's tough to figure out, the way that I look at it in my head is, what am I trying to achieve? What's the best media to do that with? Um, so, you know, often times I have a goal in mind, like right now, for instance, we're trying to

get um, the Obama Administration to stop The Secure Communities Program, right, um, and one, you know, increase to the bulk of defender they have is Cecelia Munoz, who actually used to be an immigrant advocate with the National Council of La Raza, um, and its you know, she used to be on our side and its really tough to hear her, um, defending these programs, which I think are the most dangerous thing that immigrant communities have had to face since I've been involved at least. So with her, you know, its interesting cause usually, you know, a lot of times I think about Boston Globe, if you get a certain senator at the New York Times who would do this, but uh, with her its actually we're going after ethnic media mostly, like my ideal media would be getting [Felipe Matos?] on Despierta America. Felipe Matos is one of the persons who did the Trail of Dreams, getting him on, [Punto?] when he was actually on Despierta America. Its more talking about Cecilia Munoz where, you know, she's just not telling the truth to our communities about these programs. That's what I look at is like how can we influence what we're trying to do, and a lot of times if uh, if the media out there doesn't, you know, doesn't purport, or doesn't do what we, I need it to do, then ill produce my own media, you know? And push it out in my own way. but yeah, usually its that way, its like okay, how can I get somebody else to do something, and if that doesn't work ill do it on my own, you know, that's the way I look at it, and then, on my own its through, my uh, my own personal blog, um, you know, I have You Tube videos, I have a You Tube Channel, Twitter, Facebook, uh, 4 Square I use a lot too, so you know, those are my own ways of producing stuff on, and getting like pictures, or writing, or video out there.

Face to Face remains the most important for core activists

Although regular communication with broader lists of members and participants is often done via one to many email blasts or FB blasts, core activists continue to communicate primarily through face to face interactions.

Media texts are used as Face to Face organizing tools

Media texts are directly used in face to face organizing efforts. JS repeatedly emphasized that the artistic work he produces within Dreamers Adrift is used directly by activists as they organize. For example, videos produced by the project are played in community meetings.

JS: "In my case, I can draw, and Jesus is an amazing spoken word artist, you know, he does these great things with editing, so using that talent definitely goes into the movement because people use those videos when they're having a meeting, when they're facilitating a know your rights campaign, they've used these things that we've made."

Using FB and email to organize f2f Phone banking

Traditional activist media practices, like phone banking, remain important. One interviewee described using email and SNS as tools to gather activists in a physical location where they then spend time together, face to face, making phone calls:

The continued importance of TV and radio

Facebook and Twitter are crucial for reaching immigrant youth, but to reach the Latin@ immigrant community more broadly, organizers specifically mentioned Univision and Telemundo as the most important TV channels to target. An organizer in Boston also mentioned radio as an important means of reaching varied immigrant communities, including Spanish speaking immigrants as well as Haitian and Brazilian communities. The division between media platforms is partly generational, but also on how long the person has been a resident in the USA.

Interviewer: You did mention that Twitter and Facebook, so would you say that those are the top three that you would-

K: Uh, when talking about immigrant youth, definitely, like I would say, yeah I would say that's probably their, the biggest mediums, um, but when you're talking about the immigrant community broadly like, you know, uh Univision and Telemundo are huge, you know, they're some of the most watched TV channels in this country, so the immigrant community definitely watches TV a lot, um, in Boston here, radio's huge for a lot of different types of immigrant communities, not just, I'm working only with the Spanish speaking immigrant community, but like, um, you know there's Haitian radio, there's all, you know, (Brazilian?) radio, like that's the way people get a lot of their news. You know. Yeah.

Platforms and affordances: from Twitter to TV

The collapsed category 'social media,' while useful in some ways, also masks important differences in the affordances of different tools for networked activism. For example, one organizer describes Twitter as 'the quickest,' email as the best space for dialogue ('that's when more people start figuring out what's going on'), and finally, articles in newspapers or coverage on television as the indicator that the issue or campaign has reached larger significance.

Interviewer: Could you describe how you're, the communications (evolves?) through the network? Through the network or networks that you're involved with?

K: Yeah that's a good question, um, I'm trying to think, I'd probably say its not just one way or another, I would say the quickest, the quickest thing if you wanna stay on top of everything is usually Twitter, like you find out stuff there quicker than everywhere else, but um, I would say its usually through e-mail that you get the most uh, you know, that's when more people start figuring out what's going on, um, and then finally if you read, you know, other articles on media or television or whatever, that's when you kind of, you know, that's usually the way, and its um, um, well yeah it usually starts with like different local folks, and then they come to the, see what folks (have?) nationally, or Presente, or um Dream Activists, or some of the, you know, um, some other larger folks that have connections all over the country, and that's usually how it moves, you know.

Mobile phones are also key

Organizers mentioned Facebook, Twitter, and email lists as key tools for connecting with immigrant youth. At the same time, they emphasize that mobile phones are also a key platform in new immigrant communities.

Interviewer: So what uh, I guess you kinda just went over what you go, what you use kind of personal, but what, like as far as the community that you're involved with, like what uh, what media does the community that you're trying to organize use most?

K: Mm, um, you know I guess it depends, I mean with immigrant youth, immigrant youth who (?), I get a lot of them, you know um, folks that grew up in this country mostly, um, so, you know they use a lot of the newer tools like Facebook and Twitter, and um, e-mail lists is a way a lot of people communicate, um, but you know, they work in a community where broadly uses cell phones a lot more, um, so for instance we just sent, I just sent out this tweet to ask people to sign like a mobile petition to stop deportation, um, and I actually tried to get them to send me their e-mails, um, to, you know, to see, you know, to get them to formally sign the petition, also I'll hopefully follow up with them through e-mail so I can explain the case more broadly, it's a little bit hard to do it with 160 characters, um, but yeah it was, you know, a lot of people signed, or wanted to sign the petition and not as many sent the e-mail, you know, I mean it shows that, you know, more people use mobile phones than e-mails, you know what I mean, so um, yeah that's where I think the future is for our community. Mmhmm.

"When they see you in the paper they're like, 'Oh, these kids are real'"

Newspapers still provide legitimacy, especially with in terms of credibility with working class communities. Ethnic press (Spanish language, and in Boston, Brazilian portuguese language press) act as legitimators of immigrant rights activist and cover them for more frequently than Anglo (mainstream) papers. However, mainstream (large circulation English language newspapers) press is more challenging terrain for immigrant rights activists. Cultivating relationships with individual sympathetic reporters is key, and that can sometimes be done with reporters who have a personal connection to immigration, either because they themselves or a family member may be a first generation migrant.

Interviewer: Can you talk a little about, a little bit about uh, relationship with, with different forms of ethnic media?

R: Oh yeah, ethnic media has been like our, one of our biggest resources, um, like, El Mundo, El, like, El Planeta, like The Brazilian Times, and like all the Brazilian um, media outlets, um, because uh, like they get the narrative out there, and they usually use the narrative that we want them to use, um, which is different from like, the American media, which is like they can spin it any way they want but, I feel like we have a lot more influence with our like, with ethnic media, and a lot of times its, its mostly to inform the people who it's a, like affected by it, so um, it just reun-, like it makes people trust us, like when they see us in El Planeta, they're like, "oh I saw you in El Planeta so that's why I wanna be involved," or, "I saw you in the Brazilian Times and I heard so much about you guys, here's a hundred dollars, I wanna donate to the campaign," so um, in terms of like getting more support from like your own

community, its like a good resource, cause it almost makes you like more legit, you know (laughs), like even though its your community, like when they see you in the paper they're like, "oh these kids are real," um, so that's how its been like helpful, and even um, we've been outreaching, even though like we stopped Denis and Vinny's um, deportation, we have like a whole um, outreach campaign to the ethnic media to let them know and to write stories about it because if they're telling everybody, "oh they were able to stop the deportations," then like less students will, will go back to Brazil, or um, or Peru, or where ever, um, and will instead call us, so even like the day, the day after we stopped their deportation, we already had one person call us and was like, "can you stop my deportation?" So um, its effective in terms of like helping the community and, and, and building credibility.

Newspapers, Radio, 'Ask Angie' advice column: community media continues to play an important role.

Community media such as local newspapers and smaller radio stations continue to play a crucial role in the immigrant rights movement. One activist, who works as an online organizer for a national immigrant rights organization, noted that Wisconsin in particular has a well organized immigrant rights movement that is consistently able to turn out large numbers of people for marches and mass mobilizations. He attributed high turnout to the presence of a number of community media outlets, including newspapers and radio shows, produced by the immigrant community.

KB: I think you see it on different levels um, something you might be interested in, I

have copies of this is um, for instance the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, they still, and also actually mostly La Portera Wisconsin, um, they produced like their own newsletters, and newspapers, and that's how they, that's how they communicated with the immigrant community, and they're, you know, Mississippi not as well as actually Wisconsin, Wisconsin's really level right now, its like when you see all the marches, Wisconsin's like, I'd say Wisconsin's immigrant rights marches are usually like way up there in terms of numbers, and everyone's like what the heck, why these masses organized, its because of this stuff and they have, yeah they have their own uh, newspapers that they produce, um, uh and here locally like radio shows, like immigrants rights, um, there's this Spanish language um, uh, I forget which one it is, its on AM Radio, I'm trying to remember it right now, but yeah, they get invited on and they just preach their own hour of the radio every week

In the Boston area, he mentioned an AM Radio station that sells hourly time slots. Organizations like Centro Presente and Better Youth Boston take advantage of this and help members produce their own radio programs. He also described creative approaches, like the 'Ask Angie' advice column for DREAMers. For example, Ask Angie reached out after the DREAM Act failed to pass, linking people to mental health resources, encouraging people not to give up and sink into depression, and so on.

Sound bites: "You basically have thirty seconds to make your point."

Activists with Dream Team LA are quite clear on the structure of stories in

traditional media, and intentionally develop short, one and two sentence sound bites that they practice and rehearse in order to get their points across during interviews with reporters.

NM: so basically sound bytes are quick, like, one sentence, or like sentence and a half phrases, that we wanna make sure, no matter, um, that we always hit, right, so for example, um, that's because a lot of times we have, in traditional media you have very little space to um, get your point across, so for example, a news clip will be two minutes long, and that'll include most bytes, so then, you basically have like thirty seconds to give, to make your point across in a very strong and strategic way, so um, for example, one of the sound bytes that we use for the current campaign for the California Dream Act is, that, the California Dream Act only impacts 1% of the financial aid pool, right, so wanna make sure that like, that sound byte, everyone uses it because our opposition is saying, you know, that we are draining the economy, blah blah blah, right, but nope, actually only 1% of our financial aid pool is impacted by this legislation. So its kind of like very strong points, and we wanna make sure people hit that are like one and two sentences long, um, and they are really helpful when you're training people that have no idea what to say, um, you know, talking points that kind of helps them frame also their responses to media.

NM finds Twitter and Facebook to be the most effective tools in terms of

generating support and getting their messages out, but also articulates that traditional print and broadcast news remain important because they are the platforms that reach the broader immigrant community. She describes this in terms of age and as a generational difference, as well as in terms of internet access inequality. The parents of Dreamers often don't have access to internet, or if they do, are not users of social media. In addition, she mentions a divide between those who use the net on their mobile phones and those who do not. In order to reach their parent's generation, Dreamers emphasize the importance of visibility in Spanish language print press ("for example, La Opinion every morning") and evening television news ("they're gonna turn on Univision at 6 and at 11.")

NM: I would say in terms of gender I really don't know, (laughs) how that plays out, but in terms of age, I do know kind of, um, you know, the 45 and above age who don't have access to um, to, one, internet, two, internet on their phones, or know how to navigate, kind of our parents' generation, um my parents generation, I know the way for us to keep them involved is not through Facebook, and its not through um, Twitter because they, and I know from, for a lot of us, you know, um, my mom doesn't even know how to text, so (laughs), so kind of for the older generation, um, we definitely use the traditional media, you know, because they're still picking up a newspaper and just gonna read, for example, La Opinion every morning, and they're gonna turn on Univision at six and at eleven, um, so I think definitely for more, kind of, folks who are, won't have access to internet, have access to,

um, to computers and to know how to navigate Facebook, that's where really, I think its more of an age divide really than a gender, um, but I don't, yeah I don't know about gender. I've never really looked into it.

Key barriers: relationships to reporters

Perhaps most important is the lack of access to relationships with reporters who work for mass media outlets. One organizer described it this way: "people think about mainstream media, you know, as a big monolithic thing, or different types of media but, generally, its all about relationships." This activist, who has experience working in a newsroom, described the various pressures that go into determining whether reporters choose to cover a particular event or not. He described the importance of personal relationships to this decisionmaking process, as well as to the kinds of frames that are deployed when the story is written.

Media hotlists and message memos

Dream Team LA has a media hotlist of about 80 journalists, which includes both traditional reporters, bloggers, and people with large numbers of followers on Twitter. People on this list are people who are known to show up for actions, write stories, and circulate stories. They use this list to promote actions, events, and campaign communications.

NM: The tracking system that we use is um, well, throughout the years I

guess we made a lot of contacts with different media sources, in both mainstream and both uh, online sources than traditional sources, so we have um, our kind of like (notes with?), and we always track, you know, did this person show up, did they know what stories came out, and but we also have, which I think has been really useful, is we have a hotlist, so we call it our media hotlist, and what that is, is really a list, its about eighty, I think now its about eighty media sources, both traditional and nontraditional, so bloggers, or people who we know who tweet that have a large reach, or have a, you know, a Twitter reputation of when they tweet, some people re-tweet, um, so we have a list of media hotlists, and those are people who we know when actions, when we have events, or when we need to send out any sort of communication, um, that, those are people that we can count on to make sure to, one, that they're gonna be there, or two, that they're gonna write something and send it out.

They also develop internal memos based on message brainstorming and tests in focus groups. These memos lay out the consensus on message framing and are used for messaging trainings as well as for 'refreshing' prior to interviews.

Printed posters are still important

Printed posters continue to be valuable platform for political art, especially in the context of marches and rallies.

JS: The second, other, you know, way to do it, like when we're, there's actually like, you know, marches, or like a rally, or like a, you know, good old you know posters, like you know, go to Kinko's, print them out and pass 'em out, and, and, and people like to have hold something on, you know like, much like the newspaper, you know, its that, we hear that's going online, whatever, but people like to hold a newspaper, you know like, people like to hold something, and, and, and I think holding a piece of artwork created by one of their peers who's also undocumented gives them like, I think, you know it empowers them in the sense because they're like, "damn," you know, like, "one of us did this,"

Linking Artwork to Action

JS specifically creates artwork that includes links to actions that viewers can take; he gave an example of a series of illustrations of undocumented Dream act eligible youth who were detained and facing deportation. These illustrations included links to online petitions organized by families and supporters of these youth, and to call-in campaigns that encouraged supporters to call elected and appointed officials or detention center administrators to urge their release.

Transmedia activism during two mobilizations

In this chapter, so far we have developed the theory of transmedia activism as reflected in practices in the immigrant rights movement. In the next section, we will apply the theory to the analysis of two periods of mobilization. First, we will look at transmedia practices during protests by the *Asociación Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca, Los Angeles* (The Popular Association of the Oaxacan Peoples, Los Angeles, or APPO-LA) in solidarity with a wave of popular rebellion in the Mexican state of Oaxaca. Next, we will revisit the high school walkouts of 2006 through the analytical lens of transmedia activism.

Translocal media activism: The FIOB and APPO-LA

In Chapter 2 we saw how the ethnic media, in particular Spanish language radio, as well as social media transformed the media ecology in Los Angeles in ways that opened new avenues for social movement visibility. Yet the media ecology is also undergoing radical shifts in geographic scale, as on the one hand major corporate players become transnationally converged media firms, and at the same time ethnic media take on an increasing role in maintaining connections between migrant communities and their places of origin. As media goes global, and ethnic media link diasporic communities,

social movements can take advantage of translocal media practices to circulate information about their struggles and leverage support from their geographically dispersed allies.

The *Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales* (Indigenous Front of Binational Organizations, or FIOB) provides a key example of the dynamics of transmedia activism within the translocal context of the immigrant workers' movement in Los Angeles. Indigenous migrants who came to the U.S. from Oaxaca founded the FIOB in 1991. Starting in the 1970s, thousands of indigenous Oaxacans migrated to northern Mexico and to the US in search of work and better living conditions; currently, about 500,000 of Oaxaca's 3.5 million people live outside the state where they were born {Fox and Rivera-Salgado, 2004}. FIOB was created in order to provide a transnational structure for indigenous communities, split between Oaxaca and the United States, to better organize around their needs and advocate for resources. FIOB communications director Berta Rodríguez Santos states:

FIOB has approximately 5,000 accredited members in both Mexico and the United States. FIOB members come from various ethnic groups including Mixtecos from Oaxaca and Guerrero, Zapotecos, Triquis, Mixes, Chatinos, Zoques from Oaxaca, and Purépechas from Michoacán. The members are organized into community committees in the Mixteca, Central Valleys, and Isthmus regions of

Oaxaca as well as in Mexico City, Estado de México, and Baja California. FIOB is also present in Los Angeles, Fresno, Santa María, Greenfield, Hollister, San Diego, Santa Rosa, and Merced, California. Support groups can be found in the states of Oregon, New York, Arizona, and Washington as well {Rodríguez Santos, 2009}.

Jonathan Fox and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, indigenous academics who work with the FIOB, have done extensive work on emergent transnational civil society among indigenous migrants, and have described how media practices play an important role. For example, they talk about the newspaper *El Oaxaqueño*. Founded in 1999, and produced binationally in Oaxaca and Los Angeles, the paper is circulated in both places with a biweekly print edition of 35,000 copies. The paper reports on everything from “local village conflicts and the campaign to block construction of a McDonald’s on the main square in Oaxaca City, to the binational activities of hometown associations (HTAs) and California-focused coalition building for immigrants’ right to obtain driver licenses and against cutbacks in health services” {Fox and Rivera-Salgado, 2004: 22}. They discuss the radio program produced by FIOB, *Nuestro Foro* [Our Forum], which ran for a time on KFCF 88.1FM in Fresno; narrate the history of *El Tequio* magazine, designed to share stories of activism across the U.S.-Mexico border; and argue that “migrant-run mass media also report systematically on other community initiatives [and] they promote ‘virtuous circles’ of institution building within indigenous migrant

civil society” {Ibid: 22}. A key term for these authors is *cultural citizenship*, which is not necessarily tied to a particular geolocation but instead may be centered around cultural, ethnic, gender, and class identities. They also emphasize the importance of *transnational community*, which for them means binational identity sustained over time. Their preferred focal point is *translocal community citizenship*, or “the process through which indigenous migrants are becoming active members of both their communities of settlement and their communities of origin” {Ibid. 27}.

As an example of translocal community citizenship, these authors offer a 1991 case where Nahua migrants from the Mexican state of Guerrero organized a campaign that blocked the construction of a hydroelectric dam. The dam would have resulted in the destruction of their villages, the displacement of 40,000 people, the submersion of an important ecosystem, and the loss of a major archeological site in the Alto Basas Valley. This movement capitalized on the upcoming quincentennial of the Spanish Conquest to mobilize funds, social networks, and media attention; they also purchased video cameras (at the time, bulky shoulder-mounted VHS cameras) in order to document their direct actions.

This tactic not only served to inform *paisanos* [countrymen] in the United States, it also inaugurated what became the Mexican indigenous movement’s now widespread use of video to deter police violence. Migrant protests in California also drew the attention of Spanish-language television, which led to the first TV coverage of the Alto Balsas movement within Mexico itself {Fox and Rivera-Salgado, 2004:29}.

Thus, we see that the appropriation of video technology by FIOB began nearly two decades ago with a tactical media victory. What is more, tactical media circulates through the migrant workers' movement not only within the geography of Los Angeles but as part of ongoing practices of translocal community citizenship.

The FIOB has a long history of media and communication efforts across various platforms, not only video. Beginning in 1991, FIOB began to publish a newspaper called *Puya Mixteca*; in 1995, they inaugurated a radio show called "La Hora Mixteca," broadcast across the San Joaquin Valley; more recently they began to coproduce another show called *Nuestro Foro* (Our Forum) on KFCF 88.1 {Interview, PS, CS}. FIOB also helped create two community radio stations in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca {Interview, PS}. As early as 1997, FIOB set up a web presence at <http://fiob.org>, with help from *La Neta*, a Mexican NGO that is part of the worldwide Association for Progressive Communications and that also helped network the Zapatista communities {Stephen, 2007}. As an explicitly binational organization that organizes indigenous migrant workers both in Los Angeles and in their communities of origin, FIOB faces severe digital access challenges. ICT access in rural Oaxaca, where many of the HTAs operate, is much lower than among even the most excluded populations of urban Los Angeles. As one FIOB staff member emphasized, many of the communities they work with do not even have access to electricity {Interview, PS}. In this context, FIOB

organizers see the website as primarily a resource for movement leadership and allies, rather than membership and base:

Definitely the leaders and people that aren't at the base, because unfortunately, I mean Oaxaca is the third poorest state in Mexico, so it's hard in a village up in the Sierras to have access to Internet. But sometimes when they come to the local city there, the FIOB members show them hey, this is what we have. They might not be able to fully access it all the time, but they know its out there because when they come to our meetings, when we have a binational meeting, we show them the Internet, this is how it works, this is where everything is at. But not everyone has access to it, it's actually for others. Friends and allies of the Frente to know our work. And also to make a political stand that we are here as indigenous people, there's an indigenous organization that does all this work {Interview, PS}.

For FIOB staff, the fact that their membership is not online does not diminish the importance of the net as a tool for information circulation and mobilization. Like many organizations with a low income base, they use the net extensively in their work, spending most of each day online, communicating across their network, circulating key information and working

on strategy and campaigns. At the same time, they have intentionally developed other forms of media in order to reach their base. For example, in 2000 FIOB began production of a TV show called *El Despertar Indigena* (Indigenous Awakening) for Fresno's KNXT. In 2003 they entered a coproduction partnership with filmmaker Yolanda Cruz, who completed the documentaries *Mujeres que se organizan avanzan* (Women who organize make progress), *Sueños Binacionales* (Binational Dreams), and *2501 Migrants: A Journey*. Cruz continues to create documentaries about the FIOB and the indigenous communities that make up its base, using participatory video methods to involve the communities in the filmmaking process {Interviews, PS, DS, and CS, Rodriguez Santos, 2009}.

Figure: 2501 Migrants

Source: petate.org

FIOB and its allies, who have a long history of using VHS for social movement ends, are now appropriating web video for new daily practices of translocal movement media. They deploy a broad range of media, including web videos, theatrical documentary releases, and community screenings, as well as radio, print, popular theater, and other media, to create a movement media 'world' with space for participation by their social base. In other words,

they engage in practices of transmedia activism. These daily communication practices within the FIOB help inscribe indigenous identities across media platforms and articulate translocal community citizenship.

Yet the main reason migrant indigenous communities appropriate digital media tools is not as a tactical innovation for social movement activity, but through the desire to share records of cultural events with people in their home town of origin. One interviewee described how Oaxacan hometown association members communicate extensively through YouTube by putting up videos of musical events, celebrations of saints, funerals, and other cultural activities, then sending links via email to people in their hometown.

In my community it started probably in what, 2004, 2003? We started seeing all these events, like whatever was happening back home. Somebody's funeral, they would put it there, you could go see it. Or if something happened here, a saint patron's party or celebration, they would put it on the YouTube and the people back home would kind of - you kind of know now that you go on YouTube and you find it. Like my mom, she doesn't know how to read and write. So she says hey, can you go to the computer and put the pueblo stuff on there? And I say "sure, let's put it on!" So she'll have other *comadres* call and say hey, can you tell [your daughter] to teach me how to get into our webpage? So it's really interesting that YouTube is a way to maintain, to inform and gossip on your HTA [Home Town Association].

Q: when was the first time you saw something like that? Or, what was the first thing that you saw?

Oh, the parties! Because, well I shouldn't call them parties. They're celebrations of the Saint. So if someone donated a cow to feed the community, a certain band showed up to do their *guelaguetza* [celebration of indigenous culture] in the community, it would be put on the YouTube. This is how we receive the *banda* [group] from *tzotzil* communities that came to the *Guelaguetza* with us. They would put it there and you would see it. Or this is what's happening in their town. So they would have a blog and everything with the YouTube videos {Interview, PS}.

Social media spaces are thus adopted in practices that reproduce migrant binational or translocal identities. At the same time, it would be an oversimplification to suggest that web 2.0, or the web in general, has introduced 'radically new' tools or completely transformed the communication practices of FIOB and the HTAs. Another interviewee described how essentially the same practice, of videotaping and sharing recordings of key family and cultural events across borders, were formerly done using VHS camcorders and mailing the physical tapes back and forth. In fact, this practice continues today and exists alongside video sharing via the net.

Everybody records [videos]! It's like a thing that the HTAs do. They have everything recorded with the pictures, you know everybody takes pictures. There's tons of information there of the HTA activities that are some put on YouTube, others not, but they have been documenting. I remember those huge video cameras when they first

came out. Everybody had one to document all their events, all of the meetings.

Q: Oh, at that time would they send the tapes to each other?

Uh huh!

Q: Like between here and there in the mail?

Yeah. And they still do now, some. Like *quinceañeras*. For example my sister's one in the US was completely like this big thing and it was sent to all my family in Mexico, so when something happens, a wedding happens there, everybody gets a copy here {Interview, PS}.

The experience of FIOB also illustrates how audiovisual tools and skills are developed through the desire to document and share life experiences and popular cultural practices such as weddings, *quinceañeras*, *guelaguetzas*, and funerals. These same practices are then later applied to transmedia activism. Daily community media practices thus accumulate over time to shape new pathways through the media ecology. We might also read these practices as everyday forms of digital resistance against the erasure of translocal community citizenship⁸. Yet it would be a mistake to focus only on daily cultural practices. As we shall see in the following section, it is the combination of the regular use of digital video to circulate cultural practices with the FIOB's long history of using video as a tool for struggle that proves

⁸ cf. De Certeau, Scott, Fox, and Rivera-Salgado.

decisive during moments of translocal mobilization.

APPO-LA

In the previous section, we looked at the translocal media ecology occupied by the FIOB and by Oaxacan migrant workers in L.A. In this section, we shall see how that structure enabled transmedia activism among indigenous migrant workers who otherwise have very limited access to digital media tools and skills. This transmedia activism took place within the context of a movement group called the *Asociación Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca de Los Angeles* (APPO-LA).

Ulises Ruiz Ortíz, governor of Oaxaca, took office in 2004 following a questionable election {Norget, 2008}. By June of 2006, a mass mobilization by the Oaxacan Teacher's Union against job cuts was joined by other unions as well as by indigenous, women's, student, and other sectors in a general strike and occupation of Oaxaca City. The movement coalesced around the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO), and launched demands for the resignation of Ortíz and for a constituent assembly to rewrite the state constitution {Ibid.}. In August of 2006, at the end of a women's strike and *cacerolazo* (a march to the sound of beating pots and pans) with 20,000 participants, Oaxacan women in the movement leadership entered and took control of the studios of Channel 9, Oaxacan Radio and Television

Corporation, as well as multiple commercial radio stations. When the government responded by expelling activists from the first radio station they occupied, the movement generalized the media insurrection and seized commercial radio stations across the state {Gold and Renique, 2008}. Police attempts to invade the station and shut down Radio APPO, were met with dedicated resistance by a blockade of several thousand people who fought a pitched battle that lasted for days and ended with the police in retreat, and with the radio station still in the hands of the movement. This series of events, now known as the *toma de los medios* (taking of the media), inspired social movements and media activists around the world, and increased the visibility of media infrastructure as a key space of contestation for Oaxacan activists both in Oaxaca and in diaspora in Los Angeles. The *toma* is documented in the film *Un Poquito de Tanta Verdad* (A Little Bit of So Much Truth) as well as in “The Taking of the Media in Oaxaca,” two films that screened widely around the world at events organized by local nodes in global justice networks.⁹

Figure: Stills from “La Toma de Los Medios en Oaxaca”

Source: La Toma de Los Medios en Oaxaca, <http://vimeo.com/6729709>

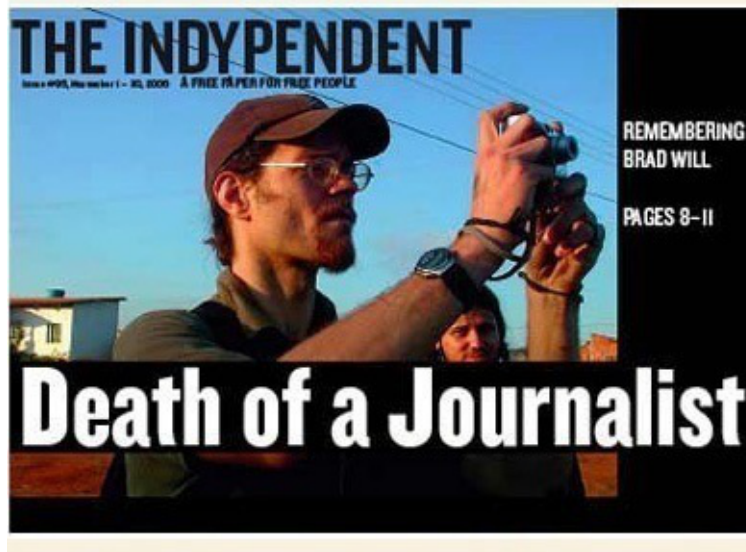
'Traditional' forms of movement media such as full length documentary film

⁹ Freidberg and Mal de Ojo, 2007; and see <http://vimeo.com/6729709>.

thus continue to serve as key vehicles for the global circulation of media strategies and tactics, within broader sets of transmedia activism practices.

As the cycle of struggles in Oaxaca City intensified, the state government escalated tactics and began to employ armed gunmen to attack the APPO. On October 27th of 2006, NYC Indymedia video activist Brad Will was shot and killed in Oaxaca City, in the neighborhood of Santa Lucía del Camino, while filming an armed attack by undercover state police {Simon, 2006}. Will's death, although only one of a long string of political murders during the cycle of struggle, catapulted the mobilizations in Oaxaca to international prominence in the left and radical press. At least 18 Oaxacan activists were murdered, with more detained and disappeared, during this mobilization wave {Physicians for Human Rights, 2009}.

Figure: Brad Will



Source: New York Independent

Since Brad was connected to the global Indymedia network, his death brought the situation in Oaxaca to the attention of global justice movement networks overnight. In Los Angeles, the FIOB organized a series of protests and actions against the increasingly violent repression of the movement, first by the Oaxacan government and later by the Mexican federal forces. APPO-LA appropriated the Christmas tradition of the *posada*, in which groups of friends and family gather and walk together to other community members' houses, play music and sing carols, and in return are entitled to enter the house and eat and drink anything they find. On December 16th, 2006, APPO-LA organized an APPOsada at the St. Cecilia Church in Santa Monica that gathered 300 people to celebrate and participate in cultural resistance against the slayings in Oaxaca City. This event, and many others, raised thousands of dollars that were sent to support the movement in Oaxaca. During the height of APPO-LA mobilizations, the Koreatown Immigrant Worker Alliance (KIWA) regularly lent out its sound system and video projector to FIOB. In part this was because one KIWA staff member, himself Oaxacan, spent a great deal of time organizing the Oaxacan community in the Koreatown area. Video screenings of material from Oaxaca (much of it shot by video collectives Mal de Ojo and Indymedia Oaxaca) were regular events during the winter and spring of 2006-2007, with screenings taking place both at KIWA and also outside in the evenings in front of the Mexican Consulate on

the Northwest corner of Macarthur Park.

At one action, about 40-50 people gathered in the park across the street from the consulate. Several musical groups performed, as well as Aztec dancers. People were eating tamales and drinking *atole* sold by FIOB members to raise funds to send to the movement assembly in Oaxaca City. Signs and banners were hung around the space, crosses were placed on the ground to signify those killed in political violence, and a video screen was set up. One of the FIOB organizers placed a mobile phone call to an activist in Oaxaca, then amplified the conversation through the sound system. Those present heard an update about the situation on the ground and the movement's efforts, and then watched video from the previous day's mass march of 10-20,000 people in Oaxaca City. One FIOB interviewee, who was also a key organizer of the APPO-LA, described media practices in this way:

Q: what about in the political work that FIOB does? Do people document that with video cameras, and send the tapes back, or did they used to send tapes back and forth around that stuff?

We do. We don't document everything because we do so many things, but that mobilization that I was talking to you about on November 11th, we got video. I actually have the video how they leave, and show up to Oaxaca City. And the pictures, I could share with the members here.

Q: so would someone be responsible during the mobilization to document it? Or people would just bring what they had and then after you edit it together and put it

up?

Well, we've had some really good experiences of people [...] that have taken pictures and given them back, or recorded something and given it back, and other than that we have a lot of allies binationally that record some stuff and send it back to us {Interview, PS}.

At one point activists printed out photos of the violent repression in Oaxaca, downloaded from Indymedia Oaxaca and other sites (such as the blog *El Enemigo Común*), then taped them onto the gates of the Mexican Embassy. Similar actions took place at Mexican Embassies and Consulates around the country (with especially vibrant actions in New York, Los Angeles, Houston, and Portland) and around the world.

Figure: APPO LA



Source: Images from <http://la.indymedia.org/news/2006/11/186082.php>

The figure above illustrates the mobilizations that took place in Los Angeles on the North edge of MacArthur Park, across the street from the Mexican Consulate. Notice the video screen that was used to show highly produced videos by FIOB and allies (such as Sueños Binacionales), as well as to screen raw footage from recent mobilizations in Oaxaca City, often shot just hours or days before the screening. These and many other media practices were deployed by Oaxacan activists and allies over the course of the next several years to build steady pressure against Governor Ulises Ruiz Ortiz. On October 14th, 2009, the Mexican Supreme Court found Ortiz “culpable for the human rights violations that occurred in Oaxaca as a result of teacher protests and political and social unrest in May 2006-January 2007 and July of 2008” {Wooters, 2009, available at <http://americas.irc-online.org/am/6579>}.

All of these examples illustrate transmedia activism in a translocal space between Oaxaca and Los Angeles. Social movement media practices are not at all limited to online space. Instead, movements make media and circulate them via digital distribution channels as well as in offline (‘real world’) spaces. At the same time, while it is true that digital media literacy makes possible new forms of richly mediated translocal activism, previous media practices provide an important foundation. Everyday use of media technologies (for example, VHS camcorders) by the transnational Oaxacan migrant indigenous communities served as an important precursor, if not precondition, for effective digital media use during key moments of

mobilization. This is especially important in the context of a community that has very low levels of Internet access in general. The immigrant rights movement is best able to use digital media when the base of a particular movement group is already familiar with the tools and practices of network culture {Interviews, CS, PS, DM, BH}. For indigenous migrant workers, this familiarity evolves out of practices of translocal community citizenship. Within APPO-LA, everyday practices of video sharing by indigenous migrant workers laid the groundwork for transmedia activism.

Transmedia activism: Walkout!

In Chapter 2, high school students effectively appropriated MySpace as a platform to circulate calls for walkouts, document their experiences, and discuss strategies for political action, as well as to reflect on the emotional power of mass mobilization. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that social network sites were the primary generative space for the success of the walkouts as a tactic. In fact, walkouts are a longstanding part of what McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly would call the *repertoire of contention* of Latino/a high school students in Los Angeles {McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly, 2001}. In 1968, more than 20,000 Latino/a (especially Chicano) high school students across L.A. walked out against racism and to demand equal treatment, justice in the public school system, the inclusion of non-European cultural history in their curriculum, and an end to 50% drop out rates {Crisostomo, 2006;

Bernal, 1998}. High school students took up the same tactic during the battle against Prop 87. Walkouts are part of Chicano movement history in Los Angeles, and that history was recirculated and pushed back into the popular imaginary in mass mediated form *immediately* before the 2006 walkout wave. In March of 2006, HBO aired the docudrama *Walkout*¹⁰, directed by Edward James Olmos, which told the story of Chicano high school teacher Sal Castro and student activist Paula Crisostomo, both key actors in the 1968 student movement.

Figure: Promotional image for the HBO film *Walkout*

Source: HBO.com

Although the broadcast of the film did not take place until the cycle of walkouts was already underway in March, prerelease versions of the film were seen by groups of high school student activists in Los Angeles in December and January {Gurza, 2005}. Beginning in December of 2006, student groups around the city, some (like the Brown Berets) that had first been established during the wave of civil rights organizing in the late 1960s, organized prerelease screenings and discussions of the HBO film. Indeed, an

¹⁰ See <http://www.hbo.com/films/walkout/>.

article about the making of the film put it this way:

[T]he persistent educational problems faced by Latino students is one reason [director Edward James Olmos] wanted to make this film -- scheduled to air March 18 -- about events that for most people remain lost in L.A. history. "The dropout rate is higher than it was when these walkouts took place," says Olmos, citing recent (and disputed) statistics that have stirred new debates about the quality of education here, especially for ethnic minorities. "That's why we're making this movie. We're hoping that the kids will walk out again." {Ibid.}

The film - in prerelease screenings organized by student activists, as well as in student promotion on MySpace - contributed to the broader circulation of tactics during the lead-up to the mobilization against Sensenbrenner. For example, one post on the wall a MySpace user:

Figure: MySpace wall post re: walkout film and walkouts

Source: MySpace.com

Walkout was not the only film that contributed to the political atmosphere during the spring of 2006. The fictional feature *A Day Without a Mexican* was also widely referenced in the lead up to Mayday 2006. In fact,

many organizers and coalitions promoted the largest march either under the rubric *Gran Boicott* (The Great Boycott) or, in a direct reference to the film, as “A Day Without Latinos:”

Figure: MySpace Walkout wall post

If HR4437 is passed NO WORK or SCHOOL
Body: Subject: May 1st will be the DAY WITHOUT LATINOS

wear white tuesday!!!!!!

If HR 4437 is passed:
no school or work on May 1st
tell everyone you know not to attend school and tell your parents not to work
the movie "A Day Without a Mexican" will become real
All Latinos have to work together to make this happen
to prove to everyone that the U.S. is NOTHING without us
On May 1st don't even go into the streets! don't buy ANYTHING!
Stay at home and kick it. watch the U.S. struggle without us.
May 1st will be the day the gov't loses tons of money and realizes who really runs this country.

spread the word!

Source: <http://groups.myspace.com/NoOnHR4437>

The flow between films and street mobilizations was not unidirectional. Several independent film projects actively sought to weave video created by participants in the immigrant rights marches and walkouts of 2006 into music videos such as “Cazador” by Pistolera and “Marcha” by Malverde; film compilations like *Gigante Despierta*; and feature length documentary films including *Undocumented*.¹¹ For the most part, the larger, vertically structured social movement organizations only noticed the organic appropriation of SNS as a result of the walkouts. Some then attempted to strategically adopt SNS as a distribution platform for their messaging, with varying degrees of success, but none were able to effectively drive future mass mobilizations by students. In informal conversations with activists as well as formal interviews, immigrant rights nonprofits noted that they began to set up or more actively promote their own MySpace accounts only following the success of the walkouts, based on what they had seen of students’ tactical innovation {Interviews, BH, XD}. An organization called BAMN (By Any Means Necessary) was perhaps most successful in this strategy, but they were never able to mobilize more than a few hundred students. In some cases

¹¹ See “Cazador:” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OqZcSt-gjI8>; “Marcha:”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgT9TE7CTek>; “Gigante Despierta:”

<http://gigantedespierta.org>; and “Undocumented:”

<http://www.myspace.com/undocumentedmovie>.

they were even attacked in MySpace posts by students denouncing them as “opportunists” and *gabachos* (whites) attempting to capitalize on the Latino student movement in order to advance their own political ends. BAMN serves as an example of how organizations that attempt to adopt social media tools pioneered by movement participants or ad-hoc networks run the risk that the tactic will backfire. This can happen if the existing online community, in this case students, perceive it as inauthentic, forced, or opportunistic. Simply becoming present within the space of a horizontal platform is not necessarily an effective transmedia activism strategy. The appropriation of participatory media in this case was most effective for the loosely linked, informal network of student walkout participants.

Transmedia activism: conclusions

We have seen that the changing media ecology provides openings for new forms of transmedia activism within the immigrant rights movement in L.A. Some organizers already use transmedia activism to circulate media across platforms, while engaging their base in mediamaking that strengthens movement identity and builds towards stronger movement outcomes. Participation in movement media production often provides an entry point to further politicization and movement involvement, as was the case for many who took part in the production of the documentary film “Made in L.A.,” and

for those involved in participatory video, audio, and mobile media workshops. This has always been the case, but the growing accessibility of digital media tools and skills has greatly expanded the ease with which activists are able to create and circulate rich media texts. Some organizers described how videos and photos, especially, that used to sit invisible in boxes are now more easily used to reflect movement participants' faces and voices back to them and thereby strengthen their identification as part of the movement. At the same time, many emphasized the importance of using multiple communication platforms to reach various audiences, as well as the fundamental and irreplaceable importance of face to face communication to community organizing and movement building.

We saw that certain activists or groups often serve as nodes within broader networks, transporting movement media from one platform, location, or modality to another. This media bridging work has become increasingly important as movement participants and audiences fragment across the hypersegmented mediascape. In addition, effective transmedia activism in the immigrant rights movement works across broadcast platforms, especially radio, to build participation via social media and SMS, as we saw in the Basta Dobbs campaign. At its most powerful, transmedia activism also manages to engage journalists across all media platforms in generating a narrative about the growing momentum of the movement itself, while providing concrete actions and entry points for diverse audiences. However, many organizations in the immigrant rights movement continue to operate with a firewall

between their participatory media practice, if they have one, and their formal communication strategy, which is often exclusively based on top-down P.R. tactics designed for the previous media ecology.

Analysis of the *FIOB* and *APPO-LA* shows that transmedia activism can also take advantage of translocal community citizenship by migrant workers, who remain linked to their communities of origin through a wide range of media practices. Translocal community citizenship is strengthened via remote access to local media outlets, practices of translocal video sharing, and new digital media tools and platforms. Indigenous immigrant communities and their organizations have long deployed a wide array of media across platforms including radio, print, video, and more recently, the web. Daily practices of digital media making and translocal community citizenship, an existing community of documentary filmmakers based in the community, and previous experiences of successful transnational tactical media combine to provide a rich foundation for present- day transmedia activism by indigenous migrant workers.

Under these conditions, the crisis and mass mobilizations in Oaxaca served as a crucible for tactical innovation. When the movement in Oaxaca physically occupied state radio and television stations, the experience was rapidly circulated through transnational networks of diasporic indigenous communities via a wide range of media platforms. Live radio streaming over the net from Oaxaca City allowed these networks to follow and identify with the movement in real-time, while raw video footage from actions and mass

marches was uploaded, downloaded, and screened sometimes within hours of capture at protests outside Mexican consulates in Los Angeles and around the world. In transmedia activism, each form of movement media thus serves as a key audience entry point. The murder of Indymedia activist Brad Will also generated a rapid and massive spike in the visibility of the struggles in Oaxaca City, catapulting the events into the forefront of the consciousness of transnational activist networks and the anti-corporate globalization movement. Activists in these networks performed extensive media bridging work, boosting circulation of movement videos, photos, audio, and text even further across platforms.

A closer look at the student walkouts against the Sensenbrenner Bill provided further insight into the dynamics of transmedia activism. Rather than attribute the success of the walkouts solely to social networking sites and text messaging, it is possible to locate them within the historical repertoire of contention of the Chicano movement in Los Angeles. The walkouts also function as part of a larger transmedia story that has been told, retold, remixed, and recirculated by movement participants across broadcast and social media platforms. In this case, transmedia activism serves to represent and strengthen social movement identity, as well as to reproduce and encourage participation in specific movement tactics. The student walkouts against Sensenbrenner were organized in a horizontal, ad-hoc network with citywide participation, linked by student activists who used social media (especially SMS and MySpace) to circulate calls to action, file

near-real time reports from the streets, and generate multimedia documentation of protests. Their actions were rooted in the larger wave of street mobilizations against Sensenbrenner, circulated via new participatory spaces in the changing media ecology, informed by the tactical repertoire of the Chicano movement, and facilitated by the students' fluency in the skills, tools and practices of network culture.

If fluency with digital media is the key to transmedia activism, and provides opportunities to take advantage of a changed media ecology, what has the immigrant rights movement done to ensure that its social base gains access to digital media tools and skills? Many activists I worked with and talked to struggle with this question. The next chapter examines the efforts of organizers and educators to develop an effective praxis of digital media literacy within the immigrant rights movement in L.A.

4. Critical Media Literacy

[This chapter needs to reflect an intersectional analysis. One reviewer notes: “in Chapter 5, you discuss at length informal learning, fear of technology, the public spaces of new media, and moral panic. All of these examples are absolutely begging for a gender analysis. Spaces for informal technology learning, like hackerspaces, are notoriously gendered and difficult to access for women, people of color, queer and transgendered people. “Fear of technology” is often attributed to women or the elderly, a claim that, in my own research, I’ve found is unsupported by the evidence, but based instead on cultural assumptions about femininity and age. ‘Publicity’ itself is deeply gendered, and the public spaces of new media are not always comfortable for marginalized groups—whether because of language barriers, online stalking, outing, or discursive norms—and moral panic can cause parents to clamp down unequally on their daughters vs. their sons’ access to online tools.”]

[Framing: critical, read/write, digital media literacy.] Most community organizations now have computer labs. They are convinced that digital literacy is important for their communities. Some organizations also feel that critical media literacy is important, but this is usually developed in terms of workshops about how to critically read the mass media - especially newspaper or TV news stories. Media production occurs far more sporadically. Computer labs are often underutilized, or are staffed by volunteers. The type of training that takes place in community computer labs usually focuses on ‘job skills’ such as Microsoft Office, resume creation, and job search. Media production is rarely taught in computer labs, and social media use is often prohibited or even blocked by filtering software. In other words, there is a deep failure to foster

the organizing potential of critical, read/write, digital media literacy.

Transmedia activism takes advantage of changes in the media ecology to heighten the visibility of participatory media made by those involved in social movements. There are more opportunities than ever before to bring new voices to the table. Yet which new voices get to speak? While a growing number of people do have access to mediamaking tools and skills, the quality, depth, and persistence of access remains deeply structured by class, race, gender, age, and geography. Indeed, if transmedia activism is shaping up to be a crucial strategy for achieving social movement goals, access inequality to digital media literacy is more important than ever. Digital inequality may have a growing impact on the trajectory of social movements, as transmedia activism becomes especially decisive to the circulation of struggles, movement identity construction, and the transformation of public consciousness. This chapter grounds recent developments in digital media literacy within Williams' long view of the rise of print literacy {Williams, 1961}, engages Freire's ideas about popular education, and traces the importance of critical digital media literacy to the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles. The chapter begins by laying out a theoretical framework, moves to examine formal and informal digital media learning practices, key sites and barriers, analyzes digital media literacy projects within the MIWON network, and ends by considering the implications for ad-hoc movement formation in the case of the DREAM Act campaign.

Context: digital inequality

The immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles operates in a context of radically unequal access to digital media tools and skills. As we shall see, the movement uses digital media in innovative ways despite the general lack of ICT access among its base.

[Insert short summary of digital inequality, with reference to Appendix]

Critical media literacy: theoretical framework

[cut or revise]

The term *praxis* originates from the ancient Greek for ‘practical knowledge for action,’ but it is used here in the more widely applied sense developed by Paolo Freire, who defined it as “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.” {Freire, 1970:36.} For popular educators in general, praxis describes an iterative process whereby liberatory theory is used to inform action, which creates social change, in turn requiring the modification of theory and action to reflect and reshape the new reality. Concretely, Latin American popular educators informed by the concept of praxis taught hundreds of thousands of peasants and urban poor how to read and write

through texts and methods that expose and question relationships of power and oppression. For popular educators, literacy is a key tool that can enable oppressed individuals to become subjects able to act upon the world and transform their conditions of oppression {Kane, 2001}. Popular education has long played a role in U.S. social movements, from labor organizing to the civil rights movement and beyond¹². Many popular educators linked to Latin American liberation movements fled U.S.-backed state repression in the 1970s and 1980s; some ended up in the United States, and in Los Angeles specifically {Interviews, NR, SB}. A new wave of ideas, strategies, and practices of popular education thus made their way into CBOs and social movement groups in Los Angeles. One popular educator from Honduras, for example, connected with L.A.'s Institute of Popular Education of Southern California (IDEPSCA), and is now actively working to incorporate digital media tools and skills into IDEPSCA's popular education efforts. If print literacy was a primary tool of liberatory pedagogy during a previous stage of mass based struggle against the centralized power of authoritarian Latin American nation-states, digital media literacy assumes central importance as a tool of liberation against the network state and corporations in the information society.

The growth of read-write critical media literacy

¹² For example, see the history of the Highlander Center and Project South.

If we take the long view, the present moment is perhaps the beginning of the growth of read-write critical media literacy. The tools of audiovisual production, manipulation, and circulation are being distributed, although unevenly, across a constantly growing proportion of the population. What can we learn from the history of print literacy about the implications of this transformation for social movements? In his discussion of “The Growth of the Reading Public” and “The Growth of the Popular Press” in *The Long Revolution*, as in his work on television, Raymond Williams draws evidence from a wide range of sources to make arguments about the impact of the spread of mass (print) literacy {Williams, 1961}. He marshals yearly book sales figures, newspaper and magazine circulation data, information about the technological evolution of the printing press, changes in publishing law, taxation, and licensing, quotes from contemporary authors, and other sources to trace the evolution of print literacy. He follows the long shift from the Roman system of slave dictation that allowed the production of up to 500 copies of a text in a day, to the printing press, the rise of ‘penny dreadfuls’ and radical texts in the 1800s, the emergence of public education, the creation of both commercial and public circulating library systems, the importance of the railway stations in creating a market for cheap pulp paperbacks, through 1958 when over 22,000 books were published in England {Williams, 1961: 170}. Williams analyzes the class needs fulfilled by the expansion of print literacy. Initially, literacy is the province of the church and the aristocracy, or a small group of elites. The growth of the middle class

in the 1800s, and the rise of a commercial class that requires accurate accounting and the exchange of trade knowledge, expands literacy, lays the ground for new forms of literature, and socializes reading publics that come to see themselves as political actors.

In a similar way, we might discuss the intersectional (class, race, and gender) interests fulfilled by the rise of digital media literacy: first, capital requires an ever larger number of knowledge and information workers, so they must be trained and given access to advanced ICTs; second, the production of ICTs as mass commodities for profit impels their diffusion to the widest possible consumer base {Dyer-Witheford, 1999}. However, the structure of the global economy until very recently limited that consumer base to the 1/3 world: residents of the wealthiest countries and local elites in the global South. In the new millennium, the profit logic for ICT technology diffusion took hold on a global scale. In an earlier stage, powerful computers were only available to nation states, multinational firms and large institutions. Now, they are now pushed out for home (under)use in ever greater numbers. Even more than the personal computer, the arrival of the mobile phone further extended this logic and has for the first time placed networked ICTs in the hands of the majority of the planet's population. Put another way, the present moment is a historic expansion of read/write media literacy far beyond the small class of cultural producers who dominated the arts of audiovisual manipulation until the end of the 20th century. Broadcast media continue to retain the most power over the creation and circulation of

symbols and ideas, and the incumbent players in the increasingly globalized cultural industries have moved rapidly to monetize and extract value from the new wave of popular digital communication {Hindman, 2009}.

Nevertheless, even that activity works in favor of social movements, by promoting some degree of media production skill as a requirement for participation in popular culture. If the spread of print literacy was a key enabling factor in the revolutions of the new middle class against the old aristocracies, it is by now clear that the spread of read-write digital literacy (the ability to produce, remix, and circulate multimedia texts, not just consume them), while it does not determine a new wave of social transformation, certainly is a key enabling factor.

Yet as we have seen, digital media literacies are unevenly distributed. Uneven distribution has important implications for networked social movements, especially movements whose social base lies among those traditionally excluded from access to resources in general. Many of the individuals, organizations, and networks that constitute the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles are taking concrete steps to realize the potential of transmedia activism by not only adopting digital media in their own practices, but by attempting to help their social base gain access to participatory media tools and skills. In the following sections we will examine these practices in detail.

Critical media literacy: informal learning, key sites, and barriers

Many community organizers in L.A. hope to increase media literacy among their communities, although only a handful see this as a primary goal. Increasingly, organizers have also come to see media literacy as a potential organizing tool. This section reviews findings from interviews with immigrant rights activists about their practices of informal learning, the key sites for media literacy, and the most important barriers to an effective praxis of digital media literacy.

Informal learning

Many CBOs involved in the immigrant rights movement work to develop the digital media literacies of their social base, largely through formal classes and workshops in computer labs. Yet scholars have shown that a great deal - perhaps the majority - of digital media literacies develop via peer to peer learning and informal skill sharing {Ito et al, 2009}. I found this to also be the case in the immigrant rights movement in L.A., where informal and peer to peer learning takes place constantly between friends and within families. For example, when I asked movement participants how they learned new digital media tools and skills, they often mentioned peer to peer learning from friends and coworkers, rather than formal training:

From my friends, I think that's the truth [...] in work, definitely work settings you're exposed to a lot of different technol-, well, technology if the organization has access to those things. But in general, to think of media as a tool for organizing I don't, like I said, it's never a basic, it's not like you learn base building, campaign strategizing, and media, you know, it hasn't become that yet. But I have been exposed to this because of friends, of people who have an interest in it. And then school, yeah {Interview, OE}.

Peer to peer learning also takes place between family members. Younger family members often spend time teaching parents or grandparents how to use computers, the Internet, and mobile phones:

I also think that it's becoming more and more accessible too, so I think nowadays we get more parents coming and be like, "oh mira, I just got Internet but I don't know how to use it," or something like that. And so there's been a few times where we'll come into the home and set it up, or teach them how to do their e-mail, setup their account. Even in my family I still get phone calls from my tio or my mom. And then, I was trying to get my grandma to learn how to text, and that became a project on its own. [My uncle got Internet] because he wanted to be able to look up Mexico in a satellite and be able to point to where he grew up [...] I mean it was exciting, it was such an emotional moment

when we were able to look up Cuernavaca Morelos in the computer, and then hit satellite and he could see the neighborhood where he grew up, but then I was like, “but you can do so much more!” [laughs] {Interview, OE}.

Informal learning remains important even for organizations that do offer formal digital media literacy trainings. One staff member at IDEPSCA, an organization that has adopted popular communication as a strategic goal, set up computer labs in their main offices and in day labor centers, and has a digital media literacy project (VozMob) built around using mobile phones for popular communication, emphasized that informal learning remains important:

For me it’s really amazing actually to see some of the workers very interested in computers. Now the non-Mobile Voices workers in the past month and a half since [a staff member] has been more visible at the centers, and [the project coordinator] too [...] A lot of people are coming to learn computers very informally {Interview, BH}.

In some cases, formal digital media literacy projects thus serve to gather resources and capacity that then become more readily accessible to the social base of the movement, even to those who do not ‘officially’ participate in such projects.

Key sites: computer labs, universities, schools, and home

Both formal and informal digital media learning take place in key learning sites, where people gain access to computers, broadband connectivity, digital cameras, audio equipment, and other digital media resources. This is true of digital media learning in general, but is especially important in the context of the low levels of home computer and home broadband access in low-wage immigrant worker households in L.A. Many of my interviewees talked about how they learned to use new digital media tools in sites including libraries, schools, universities, and the computer labs of CBOs.

Schools and universities, especially, remain critical sites for the acquisition of digital media literacies that can later be applied to movement building. One organizer shared that despite her lifelong involvement in the immigrant rights movement, she did not think seriously about how digital media could be used as an organizing tool until pushed to do so by the university environment:

I gotta be honest [...] technology is not my strength. But I realized that I had to even when, little things like being able to share documents and things like that. I had to learn how to do it, and that even though I had been organizing here in L.A. for so long, it was really in [the University

of California at] Santa Cruz that I learned that all these tools existed for me to be a better organizer. That was because I was around all kinds of people that were all about technology and things like that, so I got to learn a lot. And I think, it's not that I didn't have hope for it, but I didn't take media as seriously. Because I hadn't seen it. People were not taking media seriously to organize until I was there, then I was able to really see what it could do {Interview, OE}.

Another interviewee, who had worked as a high school teacher, related her experience with working class youth who only had access to the Internet at school or in public libraries:

This is a really poor working class community, and in Wilmington you're either really, really poor, or your dad is a longshoreman that makes some thing like \$40 per hour, and makes a lot of money, so there's very few kids that have a cell phone in middle school. Definitely they're not listening to the radio or watching T.V., and actually for lunch time, I would have at least ten of my 30 students ask if they could use my computer during lunch time because they just wanted to be on the Internet, you know? When I would take 'em to the library, they would just go straight to the Internet. They wanna be on the Internet but they're just not allowed to {Interview, TH}.

This experience is common, and emphasizes the continued importance of public computer labs. Formal educational institutions are often the most important sites for the informal acquisition of digital media literacies. Computer labs at worker centers are also key sites. Another interviewee discussed how computer labs at day labor centers were often the only site where day laborers could access computers and the Internet:

There's no access really, many people that I speak with at the centers don't have a computer at home. Only the ones that have kids that are born here, or that have kids in school, have computers {Interview, BH}.

We will return to a more detailed discussion of CBO computer labs later, in the case study of the MIWON network organizations. Digital media literacy spreads through both formal and informal learning, between friends, family, coworkers, and peers in the movement. Digital tools and skills are sometimes accessible to participants in the immigrant rights movement in key sites, including schools, universities, public libraries, and workplaces. Yet many barriers remain.

Barriers to the praxis of digital media literacy

Many immigrant workers' organizations in L.A. are attempting to build

digital media literacy into their training and organizing efforts. Yet for the most part these efforts remain small in scale, sporadic, and limited to a handful of members. When asked to describe the most important barriers to the praxis of digital media literacy, interviewees mentioned resources, training capacity, fear of technology, generational divides, and a lack of vision.

Resources

One of my initial assumptions was that the main barrier was access to resources: computers, digital cameras, and high bandwidth Internet. To some degree, this was true. For example, one FIOB staff member hoped to make their flagship communication platform, a print and web magazine called *El Tequio*, self sufficient. I asked her what she saw as the biggest obstacle to realizing that goal, and her answer was unequivocal:

Money. We don't have money. Money's a challenge. But you know, one of my wishes is for the ally organizations, the immigrant movement, to buy ads in this magazine that could make us self-sufficient {Interview, PS}.

While this organizer, and some others I interviewed, said that money was the biggest obstacle to strengthening their communications capacity, many others talked about the need for increased capacity in the form of training,

skills, and knowledge about how to make effective use of networked media technologies. This was the case for KIWA's attempts to increase new media literacies among both staff and membership. When asked about barriers to media and technology capacity, one staff member responded:

Our own capacity, I think. If we can hire someone to be just assigned to do something like that, it'll benefit the organization a lot. Someone like that who could train the staff and members to be able to do that. Cell phone type of, like phone messaging system, that would be helpful. Like we were talking about earlier, the computer class, if you have someone that could dedicate their time in terms of curriculum development and running it, it would be really helpful {Interview, EQ}.

Another interviewee emphasized that the inconsistent nature of volunteer teachers was a major obstacle to successful new media capacity building, and expressed hope that a new grant KIWA received to teach computer classes would allow them to hire a teacher and therefore improve the quality and consistency of the program {Interview, KZ}. One of the chief barriers to an effective praxis of digital media literacy among CBOs is resources to hire dedicated, paid staff in order to build computer labs into hubs of training, online organizing, and transmedia activism.

Strange new tools

In several cases, CBOs and movement organizers said that fear of unfamiliar technology is the biggest barrier to access.

I know my mom went to school to get trained on computer lit [laughs]
[...] They just have this fear, and I think the scary part is that technology and this tech equipment changes so much that they don't understand the fact that if they learned the skill, it could be applied to any machine. To my mom it's like 'Oh my God it's a new machine, I can't touch it, I have no idea where to turn it on.' And I feel like it's probably the literacy part that a lot of these groups lack, but also just trying to catch up to what comes up year after year, it's so difficult, you know? {Interview, TX}

The perceived rapid pace of technological change and the constant marketing cycle of new digital media technologies exacerbates this fear.

Access to credit to purchase ICTs is also a barrier to adoption and use, as well as access to information about specific technologies:

I have another uncle that, a woman was selling computers door to door, and they bought one for \$2,000 bucks, a piece of shit, because along with it came a program, I don't know, 20 CDs for pre-school kids to learn how to read faster or some shit like that. And they bought it,

you know, they bought it because first, they were afraid that if they went to a big store, they were gonna ask them to pay with a credit card. Because of course they're not carrying a thousand bucks for a computer. Second, there's no literacy when it comes to knowing what computer is doing what, and because they all claim to take you to the sky and back, and you're gonna know everything in like a minute, so they got ripped off. And they still haven't paid it, they went into debt for it. And it just gets me so angry to think that it's easy to find out, but also the newer generation is, could care less about what the older generation has learned, or how to help them catch up {Ibid.}

Even for those activists who are unafraid of digital media, have relatively high levels of access to ICTs and digital media literacies, and actively seek to incorporate digital media into their organizing, figuring out how to do so can be confusing, time consuming, and unsettling. Organizers often feel pressure to stay up to date with emerging social media tools, practices and norms. They frequently end up participating in new media spaces even when the value of doing so seems vague:

We started this project and we had an intern who created a blog for us. I mean we should check to see if anyone actually visits us, but we're pretty sure [laughs] no one does. And I think that that's the thing, it

was great because we had someone who could do it, but there's actually, you can't just create it, right, there's a maintenance level. There's a participation, there's a relationship that you have to build within it for it to work. And this was a project, you know we actually talked to PTP, do you know them? Progressive Technology Project [...] And he was trying to give us a lot of support in terms of how to better use social media, you know, create, do the Twitters [...] So he was trying to help, he was like 'create a blog, create a Twitter persona,' I think those were the two main things. Or webinars, that was the third thing that he thought would help get the project more outreach support. Then we created an online survey, so we used Survey Monkey, and used our newsletter, our outreach list to put it out there. Listservs, I think Listservs are actually still good old fashioned [laughs] outreach tools [...] MySpace we don't do. Face Book, we're still trying it out, I don't know, I don't know how it works [laughs]. Like if it's working well or not, you know, we're trying to keep updates and keep people informed {Ibid.}

Frequently, staff at CBOs in the immigrant rights movement talked about how they felt pressure to adopt new digital media tools without a clear understanding of how they worked, or of how to judge whether they were effective.

Generational divide

Although the immigrant rights movement increasingly uses digital media tools and skills, younger organizers especially expressed frustration at the slow pace of incorporation into all levels of movement activity. One put it this way:

I think more and more it's happening, I see more organizations using video and all these things to bring more awareness or put themselves out there. But still in the most immediate ways we could use it, it's sort of on the back burner. And some one will bring it up and then we'll address it and try to use it. But it's never how we think of, you take minutes every meeting, somebody has to facilitate and take notes, and blah blah blah. It doesn't become something that basic: "well, can we just have a recorder and record the meeting, or somebody could just be actually videotaping it, and can we do that?" It always is that one person that is into it that brings it up, but it hasn't become a basic tool, you know? [...] People don't think about it or don't take it as seriously {Interview, OE}.

For many organizations, social media is not yet seen as a key element of organizing. Yet many activists, such as the interviewee above, do feel that social media as a basic tool that all organizers should be trained in, just as

they are currently training in meeting facilitation, note taking, and door knocking.

Since older organizers are often unfamiliar with the application of digital media to organizing, it is younger staff members who often act as de facto 'online organizers,' and end up working to adopt and integrate online tools into the life of movement organizations. This has the advantage of being organic. At the same time, older staff who may have more experience with campaign communications, effective messaging, and movement strategy may not work together with younger, more tech savvy staff to figure out how to strategically appropriate new tools and online spaces for movement goals.

I can never figure out what they are [laughs]. I just have brief idea, very limited. So KIWA has MySpace.

Q: Who set that up and who maintains it?

Our youngest staff.

Q: Does she find it a useful tool for the organization?

I think it's still in the process of building. I heard something about a lot of people have to be connected into it, however the number is not that large. One is Facebook, the other is blog.

Q: So who writes on the blog?

[Youngest staff member]. I don't even know how to get in there yet
{Interview, EQ}.

At the same time as younger staff or volunteers are often frustrated by the slow pace of technology adoption, they are expected to act as de facto online organizers. A few enjoy this role; however, others pointed out that although 'youth' and 'students' are often reified as a homogenous category familiar with all digital media tools and skills (so-called 'digital natives,' {Prensky, 2001}) there is a wide range of digital media literacy among young people. Part of this difference is simply interest based, but it is also shaped by structural forces including race, class, and gender.

Moral panic

Differences in youth digital media literacies are also influenced by parental attitudes to technology, and by moral panic induced by sensationalist broadcast media accounts of online spaces. Moral panic about SNS, specifically, has in some cases resulted in adults limiting young people's access to key tools of political participation {Rough, 2006}. Parents and teachers sometimes restrict young people's access, either because they are not comfortable with the technology or because their primary information

source is the mass media, which tend to emphasize stories about scary, sensational, and negative uses of the net {Ibid.}.

Well, because these were middle schoolers, these are what, 11, 12, 13, 14? Well first there was a whole craze of not allowing kids to go on MySpace because you know, crazy men go after girls. Or even, what was the one controversial case of a mom harassing a teenager and the teenager killed himself? I forget if it was a boy or girl, anyway so of course [laughs]. And it's just so T.V. perpetuating this craze about MySpace being a bad space. [...] I think a lot of my students hadn't seen that was just crap the media was putting in their parents' eyes. And then their parents weren't allowing them to do that {Interview, TH}.

Even when parents are not afraid of digital media, they may not recognize its educational value {Ito et al, 2009}. Parents sometimes push back against educators and organizers when they attempt to spend time developing children's digital media literacies. One organizer noted:

Parents don't necessarily feel that teaching their kids how to use a camera to take pictures is as important to teaching them how to do math, you know? And it's not that we're replacing either or, it's that we, they could do everything, they could do all of it. And so even to get

parents to be excited about photography as a way of documenting, or what we were teaching the kids was a way of documenting their lives, was very interesting because I would have parents come in and be like, 'No quiero que miijo pierde treinta minutos en eso.' Like 'I don't want them to just waste,' pretty much saying, 'waste thirty minutes,' they should be doing homework instead {Interview, OE}.

In order to convince these parents that digital media literacies are important, the organizers of one youth program explained that they were not replacing more traditional literacies, but supplementing them by teaching the children new skills with computers and digital media technologies.

What I told them was, "look, there's so many people out there that write about our lives, that document our lives, that come into our communities and then all of a sudden, write about it to try to create change. And it's in a good intention, but at the same time what makes us so different that we can't do it ourselves when we have these tools now much more accessible to us than before?" And it's a scary thought to use something that you don't know how to use, and you feel like its gonna break really easily, that's always a fear, they're always scared of damaging it. But we feel that it's important for your child to feel empowered that they can document their own lives in different ways, and also do the same with your life {Interview, OE}.

[Gender analysis: Moral panics are also gendered {boyd, date}. Boys and girls experience the implications of moral panic, and the constraints imposed by parents, educators, and administrators, quite differently. Example.]

Vision

Finally, many talked about *vision* as the most important obstacle. They felt that resources were available, but that organizational leaders failed to effectively grasp the strategic and tactical possibilities of appropriation of networked media tools and skills. When I asked one interviewee what she thought the biggest obstacle was to reaching her goal of teaching digital storytelling skills to workers who came to the UCLA labor center, she had this to say:

I think getting people on board. Like is this something the Labor Center would like to dedicate resources to, is this something the FIOB would like to do, that the FMLN, you know? I think with different orgs it's different things but through the Labor Center, can we dedicate resources to this? Is this in line with the work we want to do? I think that definitely would be a challenge {Interview, DH}.

In this case, one of the best-resourced movement-linked institutions remained one of the furthest behind in the implementation of media literacy

training. Vertically organized movement organizations that operate mostly as service providers may be too constrained by service mandates that come from their funders to effectively innovate around digital communication technologies, even when socializing these tools and skills among their constituency would enhance service provision. This is a theme we will return to in Chapter Six.

Critical Digital Media Literacy:

Material to integrate from 2011 interviews

Key barriers to access: top down pressure, media production skills

One activist, reflecting on barriers to broader coverage by the mainstream media, mentioned the lack of connection to immigrant communities, as well as pressure from the White House to avoid reporting on key immigration policies. In addition, he spoke about the fact that 'it takes a lot of skill' to produce media; writing skills and access to education and media production training are all barriers to the broader ability of immigrant communities to engage in public discourse. Audiovisual production incurs additional barriers of cost, since it requires access to cameras, audio recording equipment, and more powerful computers, as well as more advanced digital media literacies.

Intensive training in the media collective workshop

In the context of organizing around educational access as a high school student, NM described intensive training during after school workshops with the media collective. In the media collective, student organizers gained critical read/write media literacy skills. They deconstructed media messages, learned about media ownership, and most importantly (according to her),

learned how to create their own media and messaging in the context of campaigns, including how to control the message and frame during interviews with reporters.

NM: but, um, with the program I was able to um, go through br-, a lot of political education and also um, just organizing training, so one of the trainings that, or I was able to go through, was the media collective, and what the media collective was, and is, cause its still around, its basically a half a year, kind of like, intensive after school kind of, um, type of workshop for six months. So what it entailed is um, participants workshops, and they're about once a week, so it would be once a week, and really just analyze and deconstruct, um, the media, right because I think its important to understand the media plays a huge role in our society, not just in terms of um, projecting a message, but how do we create messages, right, so it was about media with, about messaging, creating our own messaging for campaigns, um, so through that media collective I was able to learn, um, I guess like the background on media, right, um the current like, who owns the media, how does the media work, where is this like avenues of media, so radio, TV, um, and your own creative media, and I think the most important thing I was able to learn was how to create your own media and how to, how to really create a message, how to frame a message, um, and how to get your ways across in an effective way in terms of a campaign. Um, so for me that was my involvement in media work, and this was from 2003 to 2008, um, that I have been doing that, and what I meant was, you know, like creating from rights,

how to be a spokesperson, where, you know, like when conducting interviews you know how to frame your message, how to, how to combat your messages, people who are against your messages, how to reframe and restructure, So I think I was able to get a lot of, um, training on that, on doing educational access work.

For example, activists with Inner City Struggle learned to challenge the narrative that low-income Latin@ children are unable to learn and don't attend college by asking questions about unequal distribution of educational resources.

NM: It was so, it was, you know, work around, how do we get the Los Angeles unified school district to invest, um, more resources into low income schools when, the message that goes out there is that Latino low income children cannot learn, you know, they can't go to college, they can't master these skills, and for us, you know, it was great turning that around and asking the questions, you know, um, one, that we deserve to go to college, and why aren't resources being placed in our communities. So it was kind of like, that was my first experience in like really shiftin-, shifting the public discourse in terms of like messaging framing and using media as a tool and as a resource, um, yeah, and in terms of the, the immigrant rights work, so when I started at UCLA, um, I became really involved with IDEAS at UCLA, and for my first year I just really, um, was an observer, so I wasn't involved in the

activities, certainly did not take the lead role, um, one, because I really wanted to get a feel of how the organization worked, you know, um, how, you know, the culture of the organization builds relationships with people within the organization, and it was my first year at UCLA so, I was also trying to figure out how to be a student, at a UC, (laughs), so um, it wasn't until my second year where, um, a lot of, I guess, I feel a lot of my background in organizing in the community, and community organizing really, came into the organization, so, were able to develop um, (?) external representative for IDEAS at UCLA, and supposedly it's supposed to (make?).

Popular Education and digital media

[To write through]

ND: I think in Santa Cruz it was the most successful um, because, because we had access to it um, and so in Santa Cruz it was a lot of um, youth, it was like youth like movements, so a lot of us were students I used in Santa Cruz, or you know, nearby colleges like Cabrillo College, so you know literally, you have like Pedro, which I'm sure you've met, right? Like we actually had access through the university to stuff, you know, like to camera editing stuff, and it didn't cost because we could just get 'em, and because we were students, so I think there I really like how media was very, very crucial to the

kind of organizing we were doing, because creating visual um, either through video, or through even like, uh, like sounds, for a lot of the times you know, and different, what we would do sometimes is in order to be able to share our testimonies, and especially like on campus with professors and stuff like that, we would use a lot of like our tape recordings about like, you know families talking about immigrant rights like in Watsonville, or far away, and then to share it with the class and things like that, so we used it not only to organize, but uh, also in a very educational way um, but we go to, we had to be really creative too, because there were some times where yeah, we had access to the stuff, but many of had never used any of these new very high technology tools, so we had to just kinda teach each other on the go, and then realize that, if we're gonna be, if we, if I or Pedro wasn't gonna be able to be there to record it or to like help do that, then we needed to obviously teach other people, and it became really interesting, uh, the idea of using like, of using popular education and teaching how to use a camera, but, but we, what we did, and in Aprendamos right now, you'll see a lot of the result out of that in terms of methodology, because now we're doing it with children which is a whole other thing, but a lot of the same ideas like lesson plans around like how to use a camera, that could really be useful to like, in like literacy classes, right, like, and it's really crazy, but uh, because for example like a camera might have the button that says On and Off, which is a word in English, in English, right? But if you're able to teach the "O" and the "N" and then at the same time be able to say the On is Prender and Off is

Apagar, it's like you're doing three things at the same time for a person, and also learning how to use a camera. And so we have to do a lot of that because we realize that a lot of the workers that we were also organizing with, and were, they didn't know how to read and write as well, so um we have to be really visual, yeah.

Critical Digital Media Literacy: summary

How do these various practices of, sites for, and barriers to digital media literacy mentioned by interviewees play out in the immigrant rights movement? The next section examines formal media workshops and the praxis of digital media literacy within two key : independent worker centers.

Critical Digital Media Literacy: DREAM Activists

[This section needs to be updated in light of DACA, integrate new interviews, add discussion of livestreaming actions]

According to the US Census Bureau, in the year 2000 [update w/2010 census, if available] more than two and a half million youth under the age of 18 were undocumented. Most of them were brought as children by their parents, either without documentation or with temporary visas that have

since expired. In California, there are about 26,000 undocumented youth; nationwide, each year about 65,000 undocumented students graduate from US high schools {Amaya et al, 2007}. Without access to federal or state financial aid, many are unable to go on to universities even if they are otherwise prepared to do so; they are also denied access to drivers' licenses and are not allowed to participate in the formal labor market. Over the last decade, undocumented immigrant students, along with their families, communities, and supporters, have organized an increasingly visible campaign to normalize their status, attain access to higher education, become eligible for drivers' licenses, and gain entrance to legal work.

In California, the campaign has crystallized around several key legislative initiatives. Assembly Bill 540 (AB540), which became law in 2001, does not provide access to financial aid but does allow undocumented students to qualify to pay in-state tuition fees for the California university system (community colleges, California State colleges, and the University of California system). The federal Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, with some support from both Republican and Democratic parties, would have authorized temporary legal residence for young people who were brought to the country without documents before they were 15. Under the federal DREAM Act,

Once a qualifying student graduates from a U.S. high school, he or she would be allowed to apply for conditional status that would authorize

up to six years of legal residence. During this time period, the student would be required to graduate from a two-year college, complete at least two years toward a four- year degree, or serve in the United States military for at least two years. Permanent residence would be granted at the end of the six-year period if the student has met these requirements and has continued to maintain good moral character {Ibid.: 5}.

At the State level, the California DREAM Act (SB 65) allows AB 540 students to access financial aid to attend any of the State institutions of higher education.

A network of student activists has grown and spread around the DREAM Acts. This new generation of immigrant youth organizers has appropriated social media and other networked communication tools to build their movement, gain greater visibility, and push for the passage of the federal DREAM act and the ratification of SB 65. They make extensive use of dedicated sites (such as <http://dreamactivist.org>), blogs, social network sites (especially MySpace and Facebook), YouTube, Twitter (for example, <http://twitter.com/DREAMact>), and text messaging.

Figure: DREAM Activist social media tools

Source: dreamactivist.org

transmedia activism by DREAM Act organizers provides an interesting counterpoint to the MIWON network in part because the DREAM Act organizers are nearly all students: immigrants to the United States, but 'digital natives.' As we have discussed, it is important to be wary of assumptions about young people's 'natural' facility with computers and digital media. However, many of my interviewees expressed that in their experience, youth and student activists in the immigrant rights movement have indeed been the first adopters of digital tools and skills. For example, one interviewee who was a student DREAM Act organizer had this to say:

Again with Underground Undergrads we actually have our own blog. We're constantly updating on the legislation, where it's at, what students are doing on other campuses, just immigration in general. So that's Underground Undergrads blog. Then there's also the United We Dream coalition, they have their own set of bloggers that are nationwide. There are a lot of contributors to that and Underground Undergrads is a contributor. So that's one of the ways that we've definitely been able to talk about and spread the issue {Interview, DH}.

This interviewee also described the origin of the nationwide blogger network:

That's a really interesting story because in terms of, it actually was a small group of students that came together and realized the power of media, and really felt like they could contribute to the DREAM Act and to issues of undocumented students through a blog. So they feature a lot of stories of students, they have YouTube videos, and then they just are updating people about the issue. It's also a place where they conduct polls, things like that. That started as something small but spread because this issue obviously effects a lot of students nationwide. Underground Undergrads, the blog, actually came out of, one of our interns decided to put a blog together because we do have a student publication about undocumented students. We thought this would be a good way to update people but also to keep students that we talk to on a regular basis through high school presentations, that they could actually go on the site and get more information and resources and tools [...] What's good about it is that there are eight student contributors. Most of them are from LA and a lot of them are from UCLA. They're constantly posting stories, there are a few people on the East Coast. There's a diverse amount of stories on there. This is something they do on their free time. They either write their own stuff, or they post stuff they think is of interest {Ibid.}

As this interviewee indicates, the DREAM Act students who participate in the

Underground Undergrad blog network began as essentially a zero budget, ad hoc network. Yet in comparison with some immigrant workers' organizations that invest a great deal of resources, time, and energy in attempts to develop digital media literacies among their base, or in efforts to develop a top-down online P.R. strategy, the visibility, size, and impact of the DREAM Act campaign has grown rapidly. This can be attributed in large part not just to the 'natural' technological skills of young people, but to the Underground Undergrad's approach to the praxis of digital media literacy within networked culture. DREAM Act organizers systematically share media making and communication skills across the network in both formal and informal workshops and skill shares. Rather than attempt to produce a homogenous message and convince others to disseminate it, they appropriate commercial blogging and video platforms to create spaces for conversation by students across the country who occupy similar positions and share political goals. They focus on featuring the stories of other undocumented students and on sharing information about the legislative process across the network, and use social media space to build a conversation, shared identity, and participatory strategy. In addition, the project is not online-only, but is tightly linked to print publications and physical presentations to high school students. The online space was initially conceived as a way to maintain contact with high school students across the country who initially connect with the DREAM Act network in face-to-face presentations. DREAM Act students, and Underground Undergrads, thus engage in their own forms of transmedia activism, by

providing multiple entry points to a larger narrative that extends across platforms, into face to face space, and encourages participation.

As in any social movement, DREAM Act organizing has its share of internal tensions. One interviewee described a split between student organizations at one of the UC campuses:

There's definitely two models of organizing at UCLA. And one of them is an organization run by law students, who do have a critical perspective on what's going on, but because of their background as law students, career wise, they feel that the meeting has to be lead by the law students. This is a coalition of students, workers and professors, teachers, ranging from TAs to post docs, to full time professors and retirees. But the whole scheme is still there. We show up and the agenda is already set up for us, there's already people that are leading the conversation, you are just there to just give feedback and not necessarily be seen. Or there's no critique, really rotating. So another group was formed. And this group mainly projected the discontent from various campuses. And the way to connect, over the phone, or text messaging, over the Internet or whatever, and people gave us an identity. They gave us an identity, because we formed a Facebook group we were automatically a group. Even though we don't consider ourselves a group, right? It's just a loose network. But because of that structure that came as a critique to that other group we were like 'we

can't do things like that.' First of all, the agenda should be decided by everyone because we're not all one head. Second of all, we should be open to constructive criticism over anything. Third of all, this is a thing that we're trying, you know, like a task, like a long term project that we're taking on that we can not figure out or define in a meeting. So this has to be ongoing, an ongoing discussion and it has to shift meeting after meeting, or whatever. So I think I'm going off on a tangent, but what I was trying to say is, yes; the meeting became a very participatory meeting; and we decided that we can no longer organize only as UCLA students. This is an intercampus ...and not just UC, I mean not just university level; we're including like K thru 12 and whatnot. And it's been kind of tough to have the kids come to meetings, but I think we have the best of intent to do so. Just the fact that we're listening to what they're saying, it's definitely changed the perspective and what we can realistically do {Interview, TH}.

This interviewee provides a key insight into the way that digital media literacy facilitates the development of ad hoc movement groups. Students frustrated with a vertical organizing model formed a Facebook group initially as a kind of backchannel where they could express discontent and critique, but this group was soon perceived by others as a new organization. This took place despite the fact that the initial creators of the group considered it a 'loose network.' The influx of students who were interested in developing a

more participatory movement space brought additional energy to further develop this group, and soon the membership expanded beyond UCLA to additional campuses and also to students from high school, middle school, and even younger. Other interviewees also gave examples of how SNS facilitate ad hoc formation of new movement groups; for instance, in the aftermath of Proposition 8, the organizer of a Facebook group called Queer Koreans contacted all of the members individually. Almost overnight, they agreed to launch a new organization called KUE (pronounced 'Q' for queer), Korean-Americans United for Equality {Interview, KZ}.

Another one of my interviewees supported the DREAM act organizing, but was concerned by its role as a highly visible component of immigrant rights work because she felt it tended to delink undocumented students from workers. First, she noted that the students involved in the campaign are what she called the 'cream of the crop,' the most successful immigrant youth who have managed to make it through to higher education. She worried that the outcome of organizing undocumented students primarily around their own ability to advance in employment might separate them from the larger immigrant rights movement {Interview, BH}.

Several interviewees also voiced critiques of the actual DREAM Act legislation, especially the provision that offers citizenship to students who directly enter military service. Many voices from the left and below question the DREAM Act and the organizing around it, since it divides the immigrant movement by allowing a small group of students with higher education to

become citizens while requiring a larger number of immigrant youth to enter the military directly out of high school in order to achieve the same benefits {Interviews, BH, XD, OE}. The DREAM Act thus falls short of the core demand of the immigrant workers' movement: legalization for all undocumented people {Interview, BH}. At the same time, the media organizing strategies by DREAM Act students are clearly among the most effective within the broader field of the immigrant rights movement.

Flow of tools and skills across movement groups

While some interviewees felt that certain kinds of student organizing had a tendency to split the interests of immigrant students away from those of workers, others noted a reverse dynamic. Students organizing against the UC fee hikes, specifically, went to great lengths to link student and worker organizations. In addition, these partnerships occasionally challenged the assumption that digital media appropriation by youth organizers always lies at the cutting edge. In at least one case, interviewees pointed out that student organizers were learning digital media practices from migrant worker organizations. For example, when I asked about where student activists get ideas about how to use new media as an organizing tool, one interviewee had this to say:

[O]ne thing that they also like to do is, what is it? Oovoo? Are you

familiar with it? It's like Skype, it's just I guess easier. It's like a combo of YouTube and Skype. Oovoo pretty much is Skype really. They set up a television in the park while there was a basketball game, like this Oaxacan town was battling another Oaxacan town, and in the basketball court, around the side, the research center had a huge television with that program running. So that way, they made a convocación [invitation to participate] out in the town saying "There's gonna be a basketball game in Los Angeles in this hour, if you wanna talk to your family, come to the plaza, and there'll be a television and you could see your family." So there, first to teach them how to use a phone over Oovoo, but also so they could just say hi. So a lot of people would be like "oh God, I haven't seen you in ten years" and they would see each other over television and we would all have to watch them [laughs]. It was just great because it was a way to reconnect emotionally {Interview, TH}.

Watching the Oaxacan community appropriate digital media to maintain translocal community ties inspired student organizers to use videoconferencing tools at their own movement events. Through everyday digital practices, new media tools and skills flow across interconnected cultural and social movement networks to be deployed for organizing or mobilization ends when the moment arises.

Peer to peer learning: PR skills

Another DREAM Act organizer talked about the important role played by both specialist training and peer to peer learning in gaining the skills to insert stories into mass media by cultivating press contacts, creating press releases, and organizing press conferences.

It's really neat because students that we work with don't have these skills, you know? But they learn them along the way with other student interns that we've worked with longer. They actually have a huge press list that they call, that they fax, that they email, so they know how it works. They are constantly calling and they have established some great relationships. They learn how to write press advisories, how to be spokespeople, so they pass on that information. A lot of the times they take it back to their campus and to their organization and they can duplicate that work {Interview, DH}.

When asked about who organized and participated in this kind of skill sharing, the interviewee noted:

Underground Undergrads, part of the UCLA labor Center. Interns that are working around issues of AB540 and access to education. So what they do is try to train people on media because we noticed that sometimes the media doesn't know how to talk about undocumented

students, and can put their lives at risk by featuring their names or disclaiming too much information. So we had a training with a media person and she went through the whole process of press conference, how to establish contacts, and also how to tell your story [...] That was the one and only time we worked with her, because then the students who took part in that training were able to train other students {Ibid.}

In this case, the 'train the trainer' ideal seemed to function effectively, with the first training provided by a media consultant through the UCLA labor center, but subsequent trainings given to new students by students who had already been trained and then gained hands-on experience during campaigns.

Coming out as undocumented on FaceBook

DREAM Act students organized a national day of action where undocumented students came out by publicly declaring their immigration status on FaceBook:

The danger it exposes you to is that it's on Face Book, and then anybody could just copy/paste what you just wrote. And then, if they really wanted to be malicious, they could ICE or put a finger on you or something, right? Or ICE might just be looking at it, right, and they

might just go for it. And I think that's a very true and valid concern, and I think that for a lot of us we don't only have to think about ourselves, but our families too. So it becomes a multi-layer decision because you might be cool with it, but you gotta check in with your family. So it took a long time. The DREAM Act has been around for more than ten years, and it had taken a whole decade for us to do something like this. And not even publicly, although in Chicago they had a public event where seven students went to the federal plaza and had a whole press conference, and one by one said 'my name is blah blah blah, and I'm undocumented, and I support the DREAM Act.' [...] The conversations were tough. There's a lot of fear. Some people said it's the perfect way of just giving ourselves up [...] So it's a risk, but I think for many of us it's just been too long. So that I think more and more we're looking at those kind of strategies {Interview, OE}.

We discussed the genre of coming out videos on YouTube, and this interviewee said that Underground Undergrads had extensively discussed and been inspired by these videos' power as a strategy to build queer visibility in online spaces. Their Facebook campaign made conscious and intentional references to the long history of the queer movement, and to the YouTube genre of the 'coming out' video {Alexander, 2010}.

Overall, DREAM Act students thus mobilize their own fluency with digital media tools and skills in service of strategies of visibility adapted from other

social movements. In part because of their familiarity with the practices, skills, and norms of network culture, they are able to create ad hoc movement groups to route around top-down organizational structures. They also consciously build media and communications skills into both formal and informal learning, while applying those skills to organizing.

Critical Digital Media Literacy in Worker Centers:

The Garment Worker Center, the Institute of Popular Education, and the Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance

The first series of interviews I conducted for this book took place between January and April of 2007. At that time, I interviewed staff from organizations that were, at the time, members of the Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON) about their communication practices in general and about formal computer and media literacy trainings specifically.

Figure: MIWON mural

Source: KIWA

MIWON is a pioneering multi-ethnic network of immigrant worker centers that came together in 1999 to support each other's organizing efforts and to create a space where workers of different races and ethnicities could build

relationships. Their mission:

The Multi-ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON) is a network of low-wage immigrant worker-based organizations in Los Angeles committed to the struggle for dignity, justice, and the human rights of immigrant workers and all peoples. We ground our work in the experiences and leadership of immigrant workers in Los Angeles, an international perspective, and a commitment to build alliances with U.S.-born low-wage workers and other communities fighting for justice. We seek to transform the conditions in which we live through campaigns that build the power of low-wage workers, expand the worldview of workers and residents of Los Angeles, build worker-to-worker alliances, and win concrete victories for legalization and worker rights {MIWON, 2010}.

The founding MIWON members were the Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), the Pilipino Workers' Center (PWC), and the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA); the Garment Worker Center (GWC) joined in 2000 and the Institute of Popular Education of Southern California (IDEPSCA) joined in 2005. I interviewed key staff at all of these worker centers, and their responses provide a snapshot of their communication capacity at the time as well as an overview of their thoughts about digital literacy and strategies to address digital inequality.

Garment Worker Center (GWC)

The Garment Worker Center (GWC) organizes among LA's approximately 80,000 workers who labor in the apparel industry, largely concentrated in the fashion district just south of downtown's financial district. In Chapter Two, we discussed the composition of the garment industry and the extensive abuses and violations suffered by garment workers. GWC, created in 2001, is an independent worker center that has trained over 100 garment workers as organizers, successfully pushed for the implementation of anti-sweatshop laws, conducted a three-year boycott against clothing label Forever 21, and won more than \$3 million for workers in back wages and penalties. Their mission: "to empower garment workers in the Los Angeles area and to work in solidarity with other low wage immigrant workers and disenfranchised communities in the struggle for social, economic and environmental justice" {GWC, 2007}.

In 2007, GWC had a computer lab with 5 computers and a DSL connection. One of the computers was a G4 tower capable of running Final Cut Pro (professional grade video editing software); this was donated by a film student from USC who occasionally came in to help with technical support and who started a video workshop with workers during the fall of 2006. GWC staff said that the video workshop fell apart due to lack of planning and lack of staff capacity to help. At the time, GWC also had two

recording devices: one digital camera, and one “old school” camera (VHS or Hi8). They estimated that about 50% of garment workers had cell phones, mostly prepaid, and in their experience workers kept them turned off a lot due to the high cost of credit. In general, garment workers at GWC did not have access to the Internet, although a few said they were connected. A few young adults came in to the GWC space on Saturdays to use their computer lab, mostly for email and video games. There were sporadic computer classes, but the organization did not have staff capacity to keep the machines maintained or to turn the lab into a real media production and distribution hub. GWC often tried to get volunteers to come in and do projects or trainings, but found it difficult to get people to commit to projects over the long term on a volunteer basis {Interview, TH}. GWC workers also played key roles in, and participated extensively in the production of, the award-winning documentary *Made in L.A.*

Garment workers, volunteers, and staff produced a semi-regular newsletter, but also said that they would like to see a lot more happen with multimedia production. Specifically, they dreamed of having a radio station, since radio remains the most popular form of media used by the majority of garment workers. GWC’s long-term aim was for worker-produced audio to reach the 60-90,000 workers concentrated in the Fashion District. GWC workers said that they listened to the radio with headphones at work, especially when employers told them that they were not allowed to talk to each other {Interview, TH; personal communication, GWC member}. A

worker interviewee added

that in some shops they were neither allowed to talk nor listen to music using headphones. Staff felt that audio content circulation would ideally be via FM radio, but might also be done initially via CDs.

Radio Tijeras

Beginning in 2007, GWC created a digital media literacy workshop focused around audio production¹³. From 2007 through 2009, the group met every week (sometimes every other week) with 3-8 garment workers and 1-2 community organizers in an ongoing workshop initially called El Proyecto de Radio (The Radio Project), later Radio Costurera (Radio Garment Worker), and finally Radio Tijeras (Radio Scissors). Between 2007-2009 the workshop produced interviews, PSAs (public service announcements), know-your-rights clips, news, poems, calls to action, oral histories, and a range of other audio material. Audio material was initially distributed via CD audio magazines dubbed Discos Volantes¹⁴.

Figure: Image of Discos Volantes

Source: <http://garmentworkercenter.org/audio>

We pressed hundreds of copies of CDs packed with worker-produced audio materials mixed with

¹³ I was a cofounder of this workshop and participated on a monthly or biweekly basis.

¹⁴ A play on words: the term means 'flying saucers' in Spanish, but also means 'CD flyers.'

music, and garment worker organizers distributed these CDs inside downtown L.A.'s garment sweatshops. Workers also designed and completed an evaluation survey, where they documented the number of CDs distributed, the number of 'contacts' during the distribution process, and the number of new workers that came into the Garment Worker Center based on the process of distributing the CD.

In fact, this distribution process provides a powerful example of how the principles of social media can apply offline as well as online. GWC workers saw the value in the audio materials not only in the recordings per se but also in the opportunity they provided for person-to-person (in this case, face to face) contact between garment workers. Worker-produced media was thus valued not only for the technical skills gained by the workshop participants or the content of the audio clips, but also as an organizing tool, to provide a focal point for face to face conversation about industry conditions, rights, and the GWC's organizing efforts {Interview, TH; personal communication, GWC members}. During the summer of 2008, the group also built a low power FM transmitter with the help of activists from the Prometheus Radio Project. They later set up and used this transmitter for live microradio broadcasts from the Fast for Our Future in Placita Olvera (see Chapter Six).

Figure: Building the transmitter for Radio Tijeras



Source: Garment Worker Center

In 2009, members of Radio Tijeras were invited to present some of their interviews and other material on Pacifica affiliate KPFK (90.7), which reaches the entire city. In the week leading up to the KPFK appearance, once again GWC organizers took the broadcast as an opportunity to initiate face to face contact by distributing flyers on the streets and inside the factories, announcing the air date and time for garment worker-produced radio segments. In many ways, this project was a success: garment workers gained skills in digital audio recording, mixing, editing, and distribution, as well as increased computer literacy and live radio broadcast experience. Audio produced by garment workers was distributed inside sweatshops and over the air, spreading important messages about labor law, right to wages, health and safety, immigration policy, and organizing strategies. However, at the time of writing, Radio Tijeras has not yet managed to meet one of the main objectives of the GWC: to become self-sufficient, with a process entirely run by garment workers themselves.

While low initial levels of digital literacy contributed to the challenges, the problems in building Radio Tijera into a self-sustaining project were not primarily problems of resources or technology skills. It was not difficult to gather the resources necessary to purchase digital audio

recorders, microphones, a mixer, the radio transmitter, and other equipment. Rather, the biggest challenges were those faced by any organizing effort in an industry with long hours, bad conditions and low pay: limited time and energy. No garment workers were able to step forward to consistently lead the project. In the world of national labor organizations, this problem is to some degree mitigated through the use of paid organizers - a solution that introduces its own problematic relationship between workers and organizers. However, in 2006-7 the GWC collective decided to move away from a nonprofit model of paid staff or a union model of paid organizers. This decision was made based on the ideal that any sustained organizing effort must be firmly rooted in the desires and organized efforts of garment workers themselves, and eliminating paid organizer positions would ensure the greatest possible degree of accountability to the base. At the same time, this model is very difficult to sustain, and the experience of Radio Tijeras, where three different groups of garment workers came into the project and produced material, but then left the project, reflects this broader difficulty.

Institute of Popular Education of Southern California (IDEPSCA)

The Institute of Popular Education of Southern California (IDEPSCA) is a nonprofit, community-based organization that uses popular education methodology to educate and organize low-income immigrant families from Mexico and Central America. Established two decades ago during a struggle to organize for better schools in Pasadena, in 2010 IDEPSCA has grown and expanded to a number of organizing projects across the city. IDEPSCA has a contract with the City to operate 6 day labor centers around Los Angeles; has

a K-6 children's educational program called Aprendamos; trains community health promotoras (promoters) who provide basic health care and education around the city; runs a green gardener's cooperative and a household cleaning co-op called Magic Cleaners; provides ESL and Spanish Literacy classes for adults in a program called La Escuelita de La Comunidad; and has a youth organizing component called Teens In Action, among other programs and initiatives.

In addition to volunteering on a weekly basis for IDEPSCA's popular communication project during 2007-2010, I formally interviewed a number of IDEPSCA staff and workers. Organizers from IDEPSCA described their long term efforts to develop what they call *comunicación popular* (popular communication) capacity among their base of low wage immigrant workers. They had a long history of training day laborers and domestic workers to create and distribute their own media, including several radio and audio projects, video projects, and a newspaper called *Jornada XXII*. Crucially, one IDEPSCA staff member had a long history of using popular communication in social movement struggles in Central America during the late 1970s and 1980s. He described popular communication as his main activity in those times, during which he worked with a team of three other organizers to create a nationwide network of social movement radio a newspaper that collected and distributed articles by students, workers, peasants, and women's organizations throughout Honduras {Interview, NQ}. This organizer migrated to the USA as a refugee fleeing right wing political

violence. Once in LA, he connected with IDEPSCA and during the early days of the organization helped create a newspaper, a radio program, and later a short video documenting their activities. More recently, IDEPSCA produced a video called Neidi's Story with help from the Bay Area Video Coalition. They posted this video to YouTube, but did not promote it widely. In 2007, IDEPSCA owned one video camera and one audio recorder.

In 2007, IDEPSCA staff said that at one point they had four computer labs, but at the time of the interview had three, since a lab in Pasadena had recently closed. IDEPSCA labs included six computers located in their main office in Pico Union, four computers in the Hollywood day labor center, and four computers in the Downtown day labor center. In the past there were basic computer literacy classes, but at the time of our interview no classes were taking place. They had an IT staff of just one part-time person, and according to interviewees had so far been unable to incorporate many new developments in ICTs into their communication strategy. My interviewees felt that there was a lack of staff capacity to conduct trainings, as well as a general lack of an overarching vision of what might be possible. In addition, the computers themselves were very old and slow, in part due to a lack of upgrades and maintenance {Interview, BH}.

IDEPSCA occasionally showed videos to workers, using TV or a video projector that they had at the main office. In 2006 they had a screening series about the Minutemen, with screenings taking place in the day labor centers and at one point in the community. One interviewee described how

seeing the way that the Minutemen and other anti-immigrant hate groups use the Internet to spread their message and to circulate racist depictions of Latino/as filled her with rage but also inspired her to learn how to appropriate the web. She wanted to see IDEPSCA's base become digitally literate and gain access to ICTs so that they could "become subjects who speak and authors of our own history" {Ibid.}

When we discussed strategy, IDEPSCA interviewees said that their long term organizational goal was to reach and include LA's 26,000 day laborers, using the network of day labor centers and organizing corners spread throughout the city. They would be excited to use radio, and would like to experiment with Low Power FM (LPFM) stations at the day labor centers in order to reach workers on the corners. However, they also said that mobile phones were the communication technology that day laborers had the most access to, and that they were very interested in developing the possibilities of phones as a media making and delivery platform.

In 2007, when these interviews began, IDEPSCA had no overall strategic communication plan. The Executive Director was the main press contact, with others, usually staff, talking to the press as well. According to one interviewee, the organization had a hard time consistently turning out effective press releases. Some of this changed by 2009, when popular communication was incorporated into their strategic planning process.

Vozmob (Voces Móviles / Mobile Voices)

While the audio workshop began to unfold at GWC, a research team interested in participatory research with immigrant worker organizations grew to include additional doctoral students and a faculty member at USC's Annenberg School for Communication¹⁵. This team chose to focus on researching the potential of mobile phones as a key platform for media production, and together with IDEPSCA staff planned, then implemented, a preliminary survey of mobile phone use by day laborers at IDEPSCA's 5 day labor centers around the city. In a pilot survey of 58 workers at five of IDEPSCA's day labor centers, the team found that:

78% of the workers currently own a mobile phone. When asked how many times a day they use their phone, 36% reported using it between 5 to 10 times a day, 31% reported 1 to 5 times a day and 25% reported more than 10 times. Only 3 workers reported using their phone less than once a day. Workers reported using their phones for: family – 82%; friends – 73%; work – 98%; emergencies – 49%. Texts: 31% send texts, 50% receive texts; Photos: 47% take photos and 24% do not have cameras on their phones; Videos: 20% take videos, 33% do not have video recorders on their phones. Half of the workers (29) have never used a computer. 94% said they would like to learn how to use a computer. 23% currently own a computer {VozMob, 2008}.

In addition, the team was able to work with IDEPSCA to produce a successful application to the Social Science Research Council's 2008 Large Collaborative Grants cycle, followed by a successful application to the Macarthur-funded HASTAC Digital Media and Learning initiative. VozMob (Voces Móviles / Mobile Voices) now has several components, including digital media

¹⁵ I was a member of this team.

literacy trainings, popular education curriculum development, participatory research, and free software development through participatory design. VozMob has also begun to work with other CBOs, with workers and staff from IDEPSCA leading trainings for low income downtown residents at the offices of Los Angeles Community Action Network, as well as for youth at the Southern California Library. VozMob members have also now travelled widely to domestic and international conferences to conduct workshops, trainings, and presentations of digital stories from VozMob.net.

Figure: VozMob

Source: Mobile Voices Project

The VozMob team met (and at the time of writing continues to meet) every Tuesday evening at IDEPSCA's main office, and spends time learning together how to use mobile phones as tools for popular communication.

Figure: VozMob workshop

Source: Mobile Voices Project

IDEPSCA viewed VozMob as a means to incorporate new technology into their existing popular communication practice. Another framing for the project is that it helps immigrant workers appropriate mobile phones for digital storytelling, or for community journalism. The VozMob project coordinator described these efforts:

I always believed in Pop ed [popular education]. IDEPSCA is a perfect example of why these stories that happen here everyday at the centers are not told and that the media obviously doesn't have the workers humanity in mind. There have been several attempts to do that – we've had newspapers for example–but nothing technological. I feel that orgs like this need to have this tech in mind cause we don't have resources, but we are behind all the tech and all the great things that can happen. MV is a great start. [...] [VozMob is] a pilot program to see how we can use open source tools to empower workers to tell their own stories. Using cell phones, but other tech as well. It's cheap. Everybody can use [...] To create open source mechanisms not only for day laborer community, but also immigrant community as a whole to use for digital storytelling – and to find out in the long run what the workers would want to use it for beyond storytelling {Interview with VozMob project coordinator, conducted by Cara Wallis}.

Asked about the goals of the project, she responded:

Empower them to share their story. To counter anti-immigrant voices of community at home. When you google day laborers, it comes out as if they are criminals. We want to be able to counter that. It's a political goal. We use pop ed at IDEPSCA so a goal is for whoever we work with to not only be empowered but have a political agenda as well {Ibid.}

Organizers from IDEPSCA thus developed an intentional approach to new media literacies that links these literacies to struggles over representation of their communities, to community organizing, and to the long history of popular communication as articulated through Latin American social movement struggles. At the same time, they learned how to engage with foundation and academic discourses of digital inclusion, digital storytelling, and technological empowerment, in order to gather resources for popular education approaches to a praxis of digital media literacy.

Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA)

The Koreatown Immigrant Worker Alliance (KIWA) is an independent worker center and CBO that was formed in the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles Uprising. The goal was to create a multiracial worker center in the heart of one of the country's most diverse neighborhoods, to organize the community around labor, housing, education, gender justice, and other forms of

progressive social change. Koreatown has around 200,000 residents, and is one of the most densely packed and diverse areas in the entire United States. More than 2/3rds of Koreatown residents are working poor. In 1997, KIWA organized to help win over \$2 million in back wages for sweatshop workers {KIWA, 2007, 2009}. The organization has won significant gains for Koreatown's restaurant workers, hotel workers, and supermarket workers, and has struggled to increase affordable housing, gain legalization, maintain affirmative action, raise minimum wage, increase access to public transportation.

When interviewed about their approach to increasing access to ICTs and new media literacies among immigrant workers, KIWA staff said that they had a computer lab that was built mostly from a donation by one of the members' mothers. There were six functioning PCs with monitors set up in a small room in KIWA's office, wired with broadband (DSL) connectivity. Danny Park, KIWA's Executive Director, set these up several years ago (during 2003). KIWA staff said that usage of the lab had been up and down since that time, varying between weekly classes for workers in which they learned basic computer literacy skills, Microsoft Word, and Excel, to nothing or almost nothing. In 2007, the room mostly sat empty except for an occasional person using a machine to check their email or surf the web. KIWA staff had not created a strategic plan for how to better utilize their computer lab or how to integrate worker media training and production into a larger communication strategy {Interviews, EQ, KZ}.

One interviewee felt that the main obstacle to more effective popular communication training and social media was not access to equipment or connectivity, but staff capacity for trainings. This was a repeated theme, as most of the groups I interviewed had no dedicated staff to focus on either IT needs in general or hands-on training with staff and/or membership. Usually, volunteers offered trainings focused on ESL and basic computer literacy, but these were invariably difficult to sustain over time.

Hand in hand, ESL class and computer class, is something that our members ID as something, not because you want to learn but because it's a necessity for survival in their job place or in order to advance in the job or elsewhere. We've set up a computer class a number of years ago. However, that has been really challenging to sustain or grow. System is an issue, all the network, all the things that need... however, also, to sustain the class the instructor has been always challenging. These classes start with large number of participants. They registered, they were really gung-ho about learning this. However, their work schedule is, our members have 2-3 jobs, family to take care of. Eventually, the number dwindled down to few very quickly. By having a unpaid volunteer instructor it really kind of impacts them, 'I must be a bad instructor, only two people showed up today, I don't want to do this anymore,' things like that. So the overturn of the instructor was so rampant that it became really hard to sustain these classes {Interview,

EQ}.

Lack of resources for regular trainings was a consistent theme throughout all of my interviews, as was the difficulty of training people who have very little time and energy after work and domestic responsibilities. Another KIWA staff member that I interviewed later (in 2009) went into more detail about the computer classes and the difficulties that KIWA had faced in trying to make digital literacy training a sustainable part of their organizing model {Interview, KZ}.

The computer class is just these basic, your basic word processing, basic Internet service. We're thinking of working with SCOPE, because they just opened their computer lab and they have a training curriculum that's already set and we're hoping to work with that. The grants manager at California Consumer Protection Fund, where we're getting this grant, also recommended that we work with KRC {Ibid.}

As this interviewee indicates, organizers try to remain aware of potential funding sources for computer literacy as well as other organizations that they might potentially partner with. However, many remain focused on trying to teach their members basic computing skills, despite a very clear desire to teach digital media skills. So far, they had not been able to successfully do this. When asked if classes were ever built around social networks,

communication with friends and family, or other digital media entry points, staff responded:

I think that's really interesting. We definitely want to do that, because we want eventually to organize people online, and to have a web presence and to make sure that immigrants aren't missing out on that dialogue, as with everything else. So we definitely want them to be able to ultimately advocate for themselves online, and like on message boards, or to be able to petition online, to be able to write on KIWA's boards, saying this is what we want, this is what we need {Ibid.}

KIWA organizers see digital media literacy as a method for community organizing, and potentially as a way to increase the Koreatown community's ability to self-organize. They were inspired in part by other digital media literacy initiatives in Koreatown, including a youth film project at KYCC, a video called 'grassroots rising' produced at KIWA during campaigns to organize restaurant and supermarket workers, and a youth group organized by South Asia Network that created a video about the "Lost Voices" of Bangladeshi people in Koreatown {Ibid.}. KIWA also had a video projector, and during the time of this study used it regularly for screenings and events attended by workers. KIWA also provided AV equipment for APPO-LA in the spring of 2007¹⁶.

¹⁶ See Chapter Four for an in-depth discussion of media practices by APPO-

Overall, KIWA actively took steps to develop a praxis of digital media literacy. They set up computer labs, gathered resources to conduct basic computer literacy trainings, and were able to produce a wide range of multimedia materials. However, they were frustrated by the lack of IT support and the lack of a staff person dedicated to improving their multimedia capacity, and were not able to transform their computer lab into a hub of transmedia activism.

Critical media literacy in two movement networks: conclusions

Digital media literacy is deeply unequal in Los Angeles. Low wage immigrant workers, who form the social base of the immigrant rights movement, for the most part have very little access to the tools and skills of networked communication. Movement groups that work with them have for the most part not yet tightly integrated digital media literacy into their broader organizing efforts. However, most of the organizers I talked to considered computer literacy and social media important, and had taken some steps to try and heighten these skills among their base. Most community organizations now have computer labs and have made some efforts to teach computer literacy classes. Indeed, falling costs of equipment and connectivity have meant that even less resourced organizations are increasingly able to access computers, mediamaking equipment, and network connectivity. At the same time, mobile phones are approaching near

LA.

ubiquity even among the poorest and otherwise least connected populations of immigrant workers. The immigrant rights movement in LA has for the most part failed to take advantage of high mobile phone use rates, although there are a handful of innovative media projects that provide the exceptions that prove the rule {Interviews, NB, BH, LN}. There is thus great untapped possibility for the immigrant workers' movement to fully integrate mobile communication strategies into their organizing efforts. This work is just beginning at the time of research and writing. A few organizers have created popular education workshops around digital media and are actively working to build a praxis of digital media literacy among their social base.

Besides formal digital literacy trainings, the tools and skills of networked communication circulate through the immigrant rights movement via informal and peer to peer learning between friends, family, and co-workers. Digital media literacies develop in key sites including universities, schools, and the computer labs of CBOs. The key challenges to the effective praxis of digital media literacy are funding, training capacity, and unfamiliarity with strange new tools. Language issues, trust, and low-wage workers' lack of time and energy to participate also make the praxis of digital media literacy a challenge. Fear of digital media and moral panic induced by television coverage of digital culture create additional obstacles. There is also a generational divide. Younger people and students who volunteer with immigrant rights organizations, as well as younger staff, are often the ones who innovate online organizing strategies for these organizations, networks,

and groups.

In the past, digital media literacy was usually seen as peripheral not only to organizing, and to communication strategy. For the most part, up until the late 2000s, online tools were still considered experiments by many senior staff, and were not necessarily part of strategic communication plans. This began to change by the end of the decade, especially with the high visibility of digital tools and social media as fully integrated components of the 2008 Obama campaign. Still, besides low levels of access among the immigrant worker base, one of the greatest barriers to adoption and integration of transmedia activism by the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles is probably a lack of vision on the part of organizational staff.

[revisit based on developments in 2011-2012].

As seen the case study, all of the CBOs in the MIWON network are interested in developing digital media literacy trainings for workers. However, while some have done this on a short-term or project basis in the past, few have been able to sustain this work. Access to hardware is not the major challenge, since each CBO has computers and broadband connectivity. The major challenge is staff capacity, both in terms of staff media production skills, lack of time to develop these skills, or even time to think about how to transform the often-empty computer labs into hubs of transmedia activism.

Radio is the most important communication platform in most low-wage immigrant workers' lives, but there is no access to LPFM licenses in Los Angeles, even with the expanded LPFM bill passed by Congress. Learning

how to produce audio and radio shows is an important skill set, and the GWC has moved to address this systematically with an ongoing radio workshop. In terms of distribution, workaround strategies like CD distribution and lobbying for time on larger FM stations are currently feasible, and GWC is now pursuing this approach. While radio is the most popular media platform among low- wage immigrant workers in LA, mobile phones are by far the communication tool that most have access to. IDEPSCA and the VozMob project are taking advantage of this fact to develop a popular education approach that begins with the mobile phone as a point of entry to broader digital media literacies.

In the case of the DREAM Act campaign, student organizers leverage youth familiarity with digital media practices and network culture to strengthen their organizing efforts. Digital media literacies make it easier for them to create ad hoc groups and route around top-down organizational structures. At the same time, DREAM Act organizers have made conscious efforts to share media and other organizing skills both informally and via ‘train the trainer’ workshops and skillshares. They also learn from and adapt rich media practices by other social movements, such as the translocal video practices of immigrant indigenous communities and the genre of the ‘coming out video’ on YouTube. Through these and other efforts, the DREAM Act campaign has developed an effective praxis of digital media literacy.

Overall, critical media literacy provides skills that are crucial to effective transmedia activism and to the ability to take advantage of the changed

media ecology. In the long run, media-making tools and skills are becoming available to an ever broader section of the population, but the distribution of skills and tools remains highly inequitable. Some immigrant rights activists are developing a praxis of critical media literacy that has the potential to help transform the lives of immigrant workers, students, their allies, and the broader movement networks of which they are a part. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, one of the strongest barriers they face is resistance from vertical movement structures.

5. Movement Structure

General notes for this chapter:

This chapter still needs a solid revision. It's twice as long as it should be, needs major cuts, potentially break out into two chapters. At the same time, it should integrate the more recent debates around structure, leaderlessness, horizontalism. Integrate Gladwell debate, Occupy, Tweets and the Streets, Charlie de Tar's recent blog post.

Also: Start each chapter by describing a scene, a successful or failed action, or a programming session or coalition meeting.]

Movement Structure: Horizontalism is difficult and imperfect, but it's possible and important to strive for. Horizontalism isn't structurelessness. It's not leaderless, but leaderful; shared leadership, building leadership. Integrate what we learned from the Occupy debates. Top-down and bottom-up. Key terms: Vertical/Horizontal. Top-down/Bottom-up. Authoritarian/Democratic.

>Argument: Horizontal organization of social movements makes them more democratic and more effective. Transmedia activism--when understood correctly — is horizontal and multimodal, not vertical. Therefore, it is more effective at creating progressive social change. But too often, as we've seen in Occupy and other recent, "leaderless" forms of protest, we simply trade the conservatism of hierarchical organizations for the "tyranny of structurelessness."

[The current conversation about social movements and the media would benefit greatly from deep engagement with the longstanding debates about movement structure (vertical/horizontal). As discussed in the Introduction, a great deal of scholarship has emerged over the past year that examines movement structure across the Arab Spring, Indignados, and Occupy, among other movements in the recent global cycle of struggles.]

The previous chapter examined the rise of critical digital media literacy within the immigrant rights movement in L.A. Trainings, workshops, skill shares, and informal learning practices increase the ability of immigrant communities to adapt digital media tools and skills to their daily needs. As we saw in Chapter Three, in times of crisis, these practices then provide a bedrock for transmedia activism, whereby immigrant workers are able to articulate local struggles across media platforms (and across borders) via the circulation of rich media in both physical and virtual spaces. In parallel, youth organizers appropriate social media spaces, draw on shared identities, and rapidly build ad hoc movement groups towards specific outcomes linked with larger political and cultural projects of immigrant rights and translocal community citizenship. In many of the cases described so far, the movement groups involved tend to operate either on an ad-hoc basis or with formal consensus structures in place. Is it a coincidence that the most interesting and effective examples of transmedia activism by the immigrant rights movement tend to take place within movement groups governed by

participatory structures? This chapter focuses more closely on the relationship between the structure of social movement groups and transmedia activism practices.

The immigrant rights movement, like all social movements, is shaped by contradictory organizational logics: vertical and horizontal. This chapter begins with a brief review of current theoretical approaches to social movement structure, governance, and power sharing, with special attention to ideas about horizontalism on the one hand, and the dynamics of funder-driven social movement professionalization on the other. Next, it examines contradictory horizontal and vertical organizational logics within the immigrant rights movement. The penultimate section is an analysis of tensions between these logics within a movement event called the Fast for Our Future. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the relationship between social movement structure and transmedia activism.

Movement structure: theoretical framework

In the wake of the collapsed so-called Communist experiment in the former Soviet Union, the rise of state-led capitalism in the People's Republic of China, and the general failure of self-identified Socialist states throughout the 2/3rds world to successfully advance a political alternative to capitalist globalization, the horizontalist left and the global justice movement emerged in the first years of the new millennium as one of the most promising sites for

the articulation of a shared counterproject {de Sousa Santos, 2006; Fisher and Ponniah, 2003; Sen, 2004}. Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau prefigured these developments when they argued for a turn towards radical democracy, differentiated from the formalized, representative democracy that has achieved hegemonic status within the globalized system of nation-states {Mouffe and Laclau, 1985}. Hardt and Negri's widely discussed texts *Empire* {Hardt and Negri, 2001} and *Multitude* {Hardt and Negri, 2005} posited a polycentric, networked, movement of movements as the only possible response to a networked process of capitalist globalization that could no longer meaningfully be said to have a center. Indeed, following the 1999 Battle of Seattle, the 'movement of movements,' in increasingly visible fora, emphasized the need to shift away from top-down structures of movement organization, governance, and power towards new models that are bottom up, participatory, networked, and directly or radically democratic {Kidd, 2003}. Many of these principles also gained strength as they spread transnationally through an increasingly networked feminist movement {Mohanty, 2005}. By 2000, the World Social Forum process had become one of the most visible articulations of a broader transformation in organizing structures for networked movements, as many activists turned away from political parties and state power as the end goal of the revolutionary project {Smith, et al, 2008}.

For organizers within the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles, this shift is perhaps best articulated in the Zapatista slogan "One No, Many

Yeses” {Kingsnorth, 2004}. In this context, the increased appeal and visibility of directly democratic movement structures has become a key aspect of information age social movements. Jeff Juris argues that this is also due to the adoption of networked communication technologies {Juris, 2008}. In what he calls a ‘militant ethnography’ of the global justice movement, Juris observes that the net is both tool and mirror of the organizational forms of new radical activist networks. He explores clashes in organizational culture and structure between political parties, vertical organizations, social democratic NGOs, and the radical anarchist or autonomist collectives and networks that provided much of the momentum, innovation, and technology adaptation that drove the mobilization wave from 1999 in Seattle, past a stutter and confusion following September 11, 2001, into the global antiwar movement and the World Social Forum process. Juris concludes that there is a new cultural logic of activist networking: “The introduction of new digital technologies significantly enhances the most radically decentralized all-channel network formations, facilitating transnational coordination and communication among contemporary movements” {Juris, 2005:197}.

Horizontalism

Within this broader shift towards polycentric politics, then, the antiauthoritarian left has enjoyed a major resurgence, facilitated by the growing availability of the net and by increased digital media literacies. Over time, antiauthoritarian organizing repeatedly bubbles up and bursts into

international consciousness. One such key moment, well documented elsewhere, is the 1994 Zapatista uprising in Chiapas that inspired the birth of the worldwide Indymedia network and rekindled the revolutionary imagination of a generation. Another is the Argentine social movement wave that emerged following that country's economic collapse in 2001. The popular rebellion of December 19th and 20th, 2001 in Argentina and the subsequent wave of worker occupied and managed factories, the movement of the unemployed, and other networked forms of participatory power were closely observed by a post-millennial, transnationally networked antiauthoritarian left {Dark Star, 2002}. A number of texts that document, theorize, and explore these movements were published in rapid succession during the last few years, some by the movements themselves and others by social movement scholars from Argentina or elsewhere {Sitrin, 2006; Lavaca Collective, 2007}.

[shorten or cut]

In her in-depth account of Argentina's new social movements, Marina Sitrin weaves together interviews with activists from occupied, recuperated, and worker-managed factories, unemployed workers' movements, neighborhood assemblies, cultural collectives, students, mothers of the disappeared, and other Argentine activists to paint a vivid picture of the social movement experience in Argentina since 2001 {Sitrin, 2006}. Sitrin organizes this compilation around a series of concepts and theoretical / practical proposals that emerged from these movements and that remain in

continual elaboration. Key terms and processes include *horizontalidad* (horizontalism), *autogestión* (self-management), *autonomía* (autonomy), *política afectiva* (affective politics) and *protagonismo* (protagonism) {Ibid.} Horizontalism, the key term of the new networked forms of political action in Argentina, implies not only a negative (the absence of power organized in vertical or hierarchical forms), but also a set of constructive counterprojects that operate on the day-to-day (micropolitical) level and also manifest as demands for the reconstruction of failed institutions along directly democratic lines. Horizontalism can be seen as the attempt to radically transform all relationships and institutions, private and public, through consensus based decision-making processes and direct democracy.

It is in this sense that I have tried elsewhere to describe *horizontalist communication*: not as simply the negative or counter to mass media organized in corporate hierarchical form, but as concrete practices of power sharing and consensus that enable individual and group forms of richly mediated creativity within dense webs of social relationships and community accountability. This differentiates horizontalist communication from terms such as 'User Generated Content,' participatory media, or even citizen journalism. The first places the text, rather than the subject, at the center of analysis; the second is an umbrella for a wide range of new networked media forms that are mostly used to enable enhanced practices of individuation, and the third is a genre. The key difference between these terms and horizontalist communication is that it applies only to those embedded in and

accountable to social movements.

Many of those interviewed by Sitrin express that horizontalism, while perhaps closely related to earlier theories of direct democracy, anarchism, and practices of consensus, emerged from the neighborhood assemblies during the financial crisis of 2001, when residents spontaneously organized assemblies on street corners throughout the city following the popular uprising of the 19th and 20th known as the *cacerolazo* (kitchen pot uprising). Rather than theory put into practice, horizontalism is a way of describing collective practices that emerged in response to mistrust of the entire political class, the system of representative democracy, and the disempowering tradition of clientelist politics and *caudillismo* (strongmen as leaders of political parties). Horizontalism means learning to listen to each other with respect, taking decisions by consensus, figuring out how to mobilize and take action and engage in long term constructive collective practices without leaders. Hernán from Asamblea de Pompeya says, “The social structure of political parties is like a pyramid- it forces you to obey the person right above you, unless you're the boss. Here, when the police came to the building our neighborhood assembly occupied and asked who was responsible, we looked at each other and said everyone, everyone. I think this shows the main difference between us and vertical systems of control” {Sitrin, 2006:42}.

[Insert discussion of Arab Spring, Indignados, Occupy]

Social movement professionalization: the revolution will not be funded

At the same time as horizontalist organizing has gained visibility, social movements have undergone a process of professionalization and specialization. In the United States, it makes little sense to discuss changes in organizational structure over time without discussing funding and the role of private foundations. In the wake of the civil rights, antiwar, gay liberation, and feminist movements during the 1960s and 1970s, social movements in the United States underwent a period of increasing professionalization as private foundations stepped in to fund, mediate, and increasingly shape social movement activity {McCarthy and Zald, 1973; Staggenborg, 1988}. Social movement criticism of foundations and nonprofits in the United States has grown over the last two decades, and in some ways came to a head with the 2004 conference “The Revolution Will Not Be Funded,” organized by the national network INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. The conference proceedings were published as the book *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Nonprofit Industrial Complex* {INCITE! 2007}. The main argument of the authors is as follows: all foundation money is in a sense ‘stolen’ public money, funds that otherwise would have become available to the state (and thereby to some form of formal democratic accountability), but instead were used to establish privately governed organizations with mandates to spend funds according to directives written at the will of their individual (white, male, ruling class) founders. They go on to argue that the creation of

professionalized nonprofits has in many ways served to actually weaken social movements in the United States and, increasingly, internationally. Case studies of the civil rights movement, women's movement, and environmental movement demonstrate how what the authors term the Non-Profit Industrial Complex (NPIC) has systematically drawn movement leadership away from radical or even broad-based progressive social movement building and into issue-specific, organization-centric, professional careerism {INCITE!, 2007; Staggenborg, 1988}. People who otherwise might be building value driven social movement networks able to mobilize large scale societal shifts instead end up isolated into issue silos, competing with one another for limited foundation funds, and spending much of their time writing proposals and project reports instead of organizing and movement building {Faber and McCarthy, 2005}. Another crucial aspect of the critique is that organizations registered as nonprofits under section 501(c)3 of the US tax code are prohibited by law from engaging in many forms of political activity, including lobbying and supporting political parties or candidates. Nonprofits are thus quite formally and explicitly institutions of depoliticization {INCITE!, 2007}. Manuel Castells makes a related argument in *The City and the Grassroots*, when he observes that "the disintegration of a complex, powerful, and multisegmented urban movement leaves its trace in the urban scene where it took place, in the form of community-based, single-purpose organizations that represent the different dimensions of the movement," in which he includes Neighborhood, Poverty, and Minority groups in various

combinations. What is more, Castells observed that multi class, multi issue urban social movements lose much of their force once fragmented and siloed, when “all of them are submitted to State Power without any real capacity” to challenge that power {Castells, 1983:349}.

In the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles, almost all of the activists I interviewed, whether they worked inside nonprofits or not, had critiques of foundations and of the nonprofit system. Some use their experience within the NPIC to develop new movement structures with strong internal policies that govern who they will accept funds from, and under what conditions. A few have actually decided not to accept any funds from either the State, the corporate sector, or private foundations, based on their critique of the NPIC, or simply because they desire to maintain autonomy and avoid the professionalization of social movement activity. For example, when I asked a FIOB organizer about foundation support, she had this to say:

No, we're pretty much autonomous. We don't want any foundation money, we're not a nonprofit, we want to maintain our autonomy, but not committing with anyone on what stand we're gonna have on any issue, don't want to owe anybody a favor. So basically member, volunteer organization, I'm here as the general coordinator [...] We have a joke that says to be a member of the FIOB you have to pay your lifely dues, you know? {Interview, PS}.

Another collective, the Garment Worker Center, was initially incorporated as a 501(c)3 nonprofit, then for a time underwent a process of de-professionalization. The organizers made a conscious decision to transition from paid staff to volunteer, and to move further and further away from a hybrid services and organizing model towards one that would require garment workers themselves to take on leadership of the organization {Interview, TH}. However, this approach failed to produce a self-sustaining core of garment worker leadership, and the organization is currently rethinking its overall strategy in light of systemwide changes to the garment industry itself. Overall, it would be fair to say that the immigrant rights movement - nationally, as well as in Los Angeles - has undergone a long-term process of professionalization.

Of course, INCITE's critique of the NPIC has been challenged by some activists, both those who work within more professionalized movement organizations as well as by some who work within small, grassroots collectives and groups staffed largely by volunteers. Virginia Eubanks, a scholar and activist who has written extensively about the struggles of integrating digital media into community organizing, put it this way: "As a member of a small grassroots welfare rights and economic justice organization with an extraordinarily horizontal structure, I have to say that we'd kill for a half-time staff member." [Eubanks, personal communication, 2013]. Many of my interviewees, including those who volunteer for informal or ad-hoc movement groups, expressed similar sentiments, and frequently

described lack of access to resources and paid staff as one of their greatest obstacles. In the absence of paid staff, those with the most free time typically end up running movement groups, and free time is usually class- and gender-based.

Ultimately, most activists have a complicated relationship with the nonprofit system. While many are critical of the demobilizing effects of 501(c)3s, few argue that the deprofessionalization of social movements is a goal. The harsh critique of ‘service providers’ that some self-styled radicals employ also rings false against a reality of low-wage workers who are often focused on the struggle for survival, first and foremost. Many of my interviewees work for organizations that provide direct services and meet people’s material needs, as well as work to develop critical consciousness and organize towards political goals. Most connect to the politics of daily survival, and do not identify primarily as ‘media activists.’ As the financial crisis struck the endowments of private foundations hard, ambivalence about the nonprofit sector became especially relevant. Many nonprofit organizations and movement groups found themselves defunded in the midst of a climate of economic austerity [cite DataCenter SOS report]. Overall, it’s important to have a more nuanced discussion of the tensions between volunteer and paid labor in the social movement sector, the potential problems (and synergies) between ad-hoc and professionalized movement groups, and the implications for media strategy.

Like all social movements today, the immigrant rights movement reflects

the larger forces, pressures, and debates between vertical movement politics and new modes of horizontalism. We now turn to an in-depth analysis of the contradictory organizational logics within the immigrant rights movement in L.A.

Movement structure: horizontal logics

The immigrant rights movement in L.A. includes many groups, organizations, collectives, and networks that are horizontalist in structure, and many individuals who are sympathetic to horizontalism. These include a broad array of anarchist collectives and networks, horizontalists and *Magonistas*, libertarian socialists, indigenous organizations and assemblies, Zapatistas, and queer collectives. Some of the organizations that consider themselves part of the movement began as more directly democratic movement groups, but over time have become more professionalized and adopted more top down decision-making structures, as we shall see. However, many staff within nonprofit organizations also have horizontalist values and work to transform vertical structures from within. These are often the same people responsible for the most effective use of social media for movement ends.

Horizontalists

Some movement groups in LA are explicitly based on horizontalist principles. In my interviews with Revolutionary Autonomous Communities,

Copwatch LA, Indymedia LA, and the Zapatista *La Otra Campaña del Otro Lado*, interviewees repeatedly emphasized how their internal structures are consciously and formally as horizontal as possible, based on principles of consensus and power sharing {Interviews KB, CS, TH}. A few directly cited Argentine social movements and the concept of *horizontalidad* as an influence:

I think internationally, inter-regionally, and even in LA we are building with different movements. It speaks to the times we living in, we actually have a lot to learn too from movements in the Third World that I feel are light years ahead of us [...] Also because we look at the Zapatista movement, the horizontalist movement, the Magonista movement, movements in Africa, throughout Latin America, the specifista movement, which are anarchists in Latin America. We learned a lot from them but also we have different conditions here within the Empire. We can learn from that and apply it to our own conditions but also we have different experiences, so we need to have also our own road to build, right? It's never been done. We have for example the 60s to look to, and also before that the movements in the 1800s from the anarchist-syndicalist movement and things like that. But it's a different time as well, and a different experience, and from all that how can we learn from it? Take some of the good things and continue to learn from some of the mistakes.

Q: You mentioned Horizontalism. Do you use that term or ideas in your work?

Definitely. I think in our mission statement, when RAC wrote the mission statement collectively, we try to speak to that. Not only things we've learned, but also this terminology, even though it's not yet a part of popular culture. We feel that we can popularize these ideas and people can take these up themselves and create something on their own [...] In terms of horizontalism, it comes from Argentina but to us it means creating those relationships, creating anti-authoritarian models of organizing in general {Interview, RF}.

Translocal community citizenship thus can extend beyond ethnic identity: it applies to political imagination as well. Los Angeles based horizontalists explicitly position themselves as connected to translocal communities of networked organizers who share and circulate participatory political strategies throughout the Americas and beyond.

Horizontalists attempt to use direct democracy, consensus decision-making, and active power sharing throughout their activities, including media and communication practices. RAC's commitment to horizontalist communication is reflected in their approach to the May Day documentary film project described earlier: to act as aggregators and amplifiers of social

media produced by participants in the action, rather than as 'spokesmen for the movement.' RAC interviewees also emphasized that collective decision-making is not the same as decisions made 'by committee,' and that communication projects taken on by 'specialists' are not the same as those created by the broader movement:

Also the radio, and the zine, it's all been a collective process that to us has been important, because people have always given their input collectively. It's not done by a central committee, it's not done by one person, one specialist. It's done by the people collectively, and by the people in the organization collectively. That's important {Interview, RF}.

People involved in various structures of movement organizing attempt to replicate their own governance models through the type of media trainings and workshops that they do. For horizontalists, this means spending significant time and energy on skill and power sharing. For example, Copwatch LA not only conducts community patrols and documents brutality by police or ICE agents against communities of color, youth of color, and migrant workers, but also works to teach and empower people from these communities to do their own patrols and documentation:

We feel that we can't do patrols in neighborhoods we don't live in or

we're not invited to. But people themselves, when we do the know your rights trainings, the youth themselves, or one example: Copwatch in Macarthur Park. At first, how people are taught to look at the police is that when they see them they're afraid of them. When we see them harassing somebody, they just look the other way. Since we're out here, and we do patrols when we do the food program, people have actually stood up to the police themselves {Interview, KB}.

As a network that operates by principles of horizontalist communication, Copwatch LA's goal is not to become the hegemonic 'documentarians of police abuse,' although the broadcast media often attempts to portray them in that way {Ibid.}. Rather, they hope to transfer read-write digital media literacy to the most affected communities, and thereby arm them with tools to transform their power relationship to the State.

The political and cultural logic of the tequio

Other movement groups do not use the theoretical term 'horizontalism,' but do operate with decision-making structures that are essentially either consensus based, run by popular assembly, or otherwise involve a significant element of direct democracy. For example, the structure of the FIOB is based on the cultural and political logic of the tequio, an indigenous term for "community work for the benefit of all." Formally, it could be said that FIOB is internally a kind of representative democracy, with the membership electing

officers to three year terms. However, the overall decision-making process is more directly democratic. The FIOB follows indigenous law (Uses and Customs), and makes decisions about goals, strategies, campaigns, and resource allocation after extensive discussion during a General Assembly of the FIOB base, rather than via a simple ballot or through representatives. Leadership is also considered accountable to the base and is responsible for reporting back on organizational activities, keeping members informed about the work of the FIOB, and otherwise remaining accountable to the Assembly {Interview, PS}.

For some of the FIOB organizers I talked to, the idea of separating out media work from other aspects of organizing made little sense based on the general structure of their work. They described how for them, media is a kind of supporting activity that ends up 'just happening' based on community members and supporters stepping up when necessary.

I think one quality of the FIOB actually for being indigenous, maybe, I don't know, is the fact that everybody does everything. As far as a strategy on how do we shoot, do outreach through the media, independent media, we don't have one. But everything happens because we have so many allies. Eduardo, Stanley will probably write something about the mobilization and send it to us. Or somebody else will document the mobilization and send us pictures. But we don't have a strategy. We need that {Interview, PS}.

The communities FIOB organizes (migrant indigenous people living and working in Los Angeles) do have members who are considered to be 'specialists' in video production. My interviewee talked about one man who in fact receives regular payment to shoot and produce videos of community events. Thus, it would be inaccurate to assume that FIOB has no dedicated movement videographers because their community 'lacks capacity.' Rather, as a migrant indigenous social movement organization, FIOB draws on existing community norms to operate with a cultural structure of decision-making that is more horizontal than most of the incorporated nonprofit organizations in the immigrant workers' movement in LA. Hiring a videographer to document social movement activity is just not something that fits within the FIOB's ethic of the *tequio*. Yet, the FIOB were more effective at using a wider range of media to circulate their activities, and able to build a bigger base over a longer period of time, than most other organizations.

Anarchogeeks

Communication specialists do not necessarily operate to reinforce vertical structures. Indeed, radically horizontalist, worker-owned and run tech/design/activism collectives have long played key roles in the diffusion of innovations in communications activism through networks of social movements. Tech activist collectives serve as nodes or hubs in transnational

social movement networks, and tech-activists are often themselves linked in networks articulated to local, national, and transnational social movement organizations. During the last decade, newer networks like Indymedia and Netsquared have joined those with decades of experience in training social movements to use horizontal communication {Surman and Reilly, 2003; Hadl and Hintz, 2006 }. Older networks include the Association for Progressive Communication (APC), the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC), the World Association of Christian Communicators (WACC), and others {Cammaerts, 2005}. Over the course of two decades, AMARC World Conferences have functioned to strengthen horizontal radio networks in Vancouver, Dublin, Mexico, Dakar, Milan, and Kathmandu. These networks have recently made efforts to link to the new generation of communication tech activists, especially through the World Social Forum process and to some degree around the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). For example, the campaign for Communication Rights in the Information Society (CRIS) emerged around the WSIS to promote a vision of people-centered ICT policy and a social justice framework for thinking about the globalization of communication systems. During WSIS, CRIS took up an organizing role to promote communication as key theme within the Social Forum process. CRIS also became one point of connection between different regions, older existing networks, and new networks of younger media activists {Benfield and Arevalo, 2010}. Another example is the transnational network of feminist activists focused on gender and ICTs that coalesced

around the 1995 Beijing Summit on Women, and then continued and carried forward their activity through the 2005 WSIS process and beyond. This network developed a shared analysis of ICT policy around gender justice, and forged ties to a new generation of feminist tech activists {Gurumurthy, 2004}. Most recently, groups like Eggplant Active Media Workers' Collective, the Design Action Collective, and Cooperativa del Sur have joined the ranks of longstanding radical collective printing presses like Red Sun Press and AK Press¹⁷. Many of these tech/activism/design collectives provide services to a wide range of social movement organizations, from small grassroots groups through large-membership social movement organizations, and sometimes including professionalized international NGOs like Greenpeace and Amnesty International.

Anarchogeeks also support and operate within the immigrant workers' movement in Los Angeles. However, LA has a surprisingly weak network of tech-activists, given the size of the city and the amount of social movement activity. For example, LA Indymedia counts the regular participation of only two software developers, neither of whom spends much time on the site {Interview, CX}. The tech-activist collective Slaptech, which was involved in the founding of LA Indymedia and in the early 2000s provided web hosting and tech support for a number of local social movement organizations, by 2006 existed mostly in name only, as its various members devoted more and

¹⁷ See www.eggplant.coop, www.designaction.org, www.coopdelsur.org, www.redsunpress.com, and www.akpress.org.

more time to paid employment in professional nonprofits, the private sector, or university contracts, and less and less time to volunteer radical tech activism {Ibid.}. Since 2008, there has been some renewed interest in linking tech activists to nonprofits, in part through monthly NetSquared Los Angeles meetings {Interview XD, LN}. However, the ‘nonprofit technology community’ is largely disconnected from social movements, and those who identify with this community tend to work instead within a charity or social service focused model. As one interviewee put it:

I have been frustrated by the non profit tech community because I find that it’s very charity focused, and its not justice, social justice focused. Which is kind of the reason for this group too, is that my experience with a lot of Netsquared groups is that they tend to be a lot about fundraising for charity, but not questioning why these inequalities exist, and whether or not, how these things, these tools can be used to address that {Interview, XD}.

Only a handful of ‘nonprofit techies’ in Los Angeles are linked to social movement activity, and of these only a few individuals are connected to the immigrant rights movement {Interview, XD, LN}.

Although tech-activist collectives play a relatively small role in the immigrant workers’ movement in Los Angeles, there are many individuals with technology and media skills and horizontalist politics who support the

movement. Many of my interviewees described relationships that their organization or network had with specific individuals that they might call on for support in media or technology areas, for example to make a video, develop a website, or even develop new software. Another interviewee from RAC put it this way:

There are people who are maybe more skilled around that field because they took some schooling, they built their skills around those things. But we want to democratize that knowledge so everyone is able to use these programs. We don't want to have to be dependent on specialists. I mean they are our comrades and they are willing as well to democratize those skills. Hacking skills, filmmaking skills, whatever {Interview, KB}.

When asked what concrete steps they take to democratize media skills, he said:

I think we've tried to do skillshares amongst ourselves, amongst people here. [...] If they are specialists who aren't part of the movement, I think you'll have that problem [of pushback]. But because we only work with people who have maybe the film editing skills and the websites, maybe script writing skills, whatever, they're willing to share their knowledge. Also make these things to further help the movement,

further help the cause that we're fighting for. I think that goes to the reasons why we're working with them, because they are willing to share that knowledge and those skills, and build these things for the people {Ibid.}.

Horizontalist organizers thus emphasize that sharing knowledge, skills, and tools is an explicit part of both their communication strategy and also of their broader political strategy. Rather than a political and cultural logic of specialization and professionalization, they operate according to the logic of skill sharing, power sharing, and networking.

Being on the outside can move new initiatives

In a few cases, social media consultants who are paid to come in and provide 'expert' advice can move new media initiatives forward with much more success than if they were working from a staff position within the organization. One interviewee previously worked as a paid staff member inside nonprofits that consider themselves part of the immigrant rights movement. He said that he ultimately left full time employment with a nonprofit in order to work more independently with different organizations and networks on a contract basis.

I just found within organizations there's a strange dynamic that, when you're, (laughs), when you're in an organization it's really hard to move

through new initiatives and new approaches, yet when you're on the outside, and they have to pay for it, they're more interested {Interview, XD}.

In his experience, organizations or networks willing to hire a consultant to build their social media strategy often take the recommendations more seriously than if they were to come from paid staff. Thus, in some cases horizontal media strategies make headway in vertical organizations when pushed by someone operating from outside that organization's structural constraints.

The same interviewee pointed out that media makers who have come to understand the importance of creating a conversation within the social media space, but who work within movement groups that are afraid to open up, sometimes find that the only way to move social media strategies forward is to "ask forgiveness rather than permission:"

I had this funny relationship with [a national immigrant rights network], its kinda like, I asked forgiveness rather than permission [laughs]. They were just kinda like yeah sure, go ahead, do it, so I started this MySpace page and tried to reach out to a lot of these kids, cause a lot of what those kids were saying was stuff about enforcement issues. It was not, I mean yes there was legalization, and I think this is part of the problem that we're finding now with the whole immigration reform

debate is that there's this very superficial statement about the need for reform, but nothing about necessarily what that means, you know? So a lot of the groups very focused on enforcement feel shut out a lot because we're seen as kind of too radical. We wanna release all the criminals or something like this. But a lot of these kids, they were saying things like 'don't criminalize my family,' you know, and 'don't take my parents away from me.' {Interview, XD}.

This interview also highlights the fact that conversations in social media spaces, as framed by those most directly affected by immigration enforcement policies, are often more radical than the 'safe' messages put forward by national immigrant rights organizations. Other interviewees described how national messaging in 2006 often emphasized a "We Are Not Criminals" frame that emphasized 'hardworking, Christian immigrant families who pay taxes and just want a shot at the American Dream,' while conversations by young people on MySpace often included critiques of racism, colonialism, genocide, and cultural imperialism {Interviews, NB, LN}. Organizers that hope to engage in social media spaces must be prepared to engage in difficult conversations with their base about framing, and cannot assume that the frames they have chosen will be the same frames generated by bottom-up communication processes. Effective transmedia activism thus requires a significant cultural shift for movement organizations that are used to a top down strategy of message control.

Volunteers & Staff

Most of the independent worker centers and smaller organizations I talked to did not have dedicated communication or IT staff. Some of them had a volunteer techie who had been consistent over time; others found ways to rotate student volunteers in and out of specific ICT tasks. In general, smaller organizations often found themselves choosing between spending scarce resources on web specialists, or having to live with slow, inconsistent web development and IT help on a volunteer basis:

We bought a domain for Soul Rebel Radio. And then no one in the collective really knew or had time to develop our website. So then I think we did as much as we could do, we had all the information that we wanted to put on the website, and then a friend of a friend was kind of hired voluntarily, not paid. So they worked on the website a little bit but we wanted to add all of these elements, and we just couldn't because this person didn't have time, wasn't getting paid, wasn't really that dedicated to it, so we just kind of left it at that. We had another person who worked on our MySpace, uploaded a lot of our sound, worked on flyers, more professional looking flyers or nicer flyers I should say. But of course this person was a volunteer with Soul Rebel Radio so we didn't pay that person either. I feel like because we don't have income, we don't wanna hire people to do things. Maybe the

website isn't completely necessary. Maybe MySpace is enough. Actually we don't even have a Facebook. I feel like, you know, there's nothing wrong with experts. But I feel

375 like definitely people can learn those skills and then help to pass them on {Interview, DH}.

The most important aspect for this interviewee was not that the radio collective in which she participates have a 'professional' web presence, but rather that the media and tech specialists they work with be willing to share their skills with others. This reflects the horizontalist logic that privileges skill- and power sharing over an instrumentalist approach to online communication strategy.

Some organizations attempt to capture the energy of horizontalist communication even when they do have professional communications staff. For example, the FIOB has a dedicated communications director, but also often brings in volunteers from universities to work on media projects. Students often come to FIOB through one of their advisers, Jonathan Fox, who is a professor at UCSC in the Latin American and Latino Studies Department. One interviewee described a UCSC student who redesigned the FIOB

376 webpage, and then stayed on to become part of the Frente {Ibid.}.

Everyone I talked to hoped to increase their own capacity to do online media work. The idea of 'train the trainers' circulates widely among movement networks.

I feel like experts are definitely necessary, because if we don't know how to do that work then we do need someone to teach us. But then that whole idea of train the trainers, it definitely is something that at least for Underground Undergrads we've been able to put into practice. I feel like that is important, to learn those skills so that we can continue to develop other people to use those skills {Ibid.}.

As in this interview, many organizers who work for less resourced nonprofit organizations describe a similar experience of tension between the horizontalist aims of knowledge sharing and the need to 'get work done.' Those working with smaller organizations often express a desire that communication and technology skills be taught more broadly to movement participants, but also feel pressure from funders to complete communication projects and to become more visible online. Yet they lack resources to hire full or even part time specialist staff with multimedia production skills, and so they move from volunteer to volunteer, with an occasional small contractor, in efforts to release more 'professional' looking multimedia materials, without internalizing these skills {Interviews DH, KZ, EQ, BH}.

Creating space

Ultimately, the broader organizing structure of the movement group shapes its approach to transmedia activism. In transmedia activism, just as in

participatory organizing, the organizer creates a space within which people can themselves make media and/or organize:

It goes back to looking at it as a tool for organizing. It's not about going into a community and being like, 'okay everybody, you all have to get together now, and you have to think this way and do it this way because we're right,' even though a lot of people follow that model in organizing. And it's ridiculous because that shit falls apart anyways. The whole thing about organizing is, I think, and at least the people I've worked with that I really respect, it's about the creation of a space in conjunction with the people that you're working for [...] And I think it's the same thing with this media stuff, and looking at communications as not just this department of 'oh, I'm the guy that just shakes hands with the press, and I give them a press packet or I write the press release.' I think that's a very, more of a corporate way of looking at it {Interview, NB}.

The participatory organizer in both cases sets up a space or platform and then facilitates conversation, but does not impose one model or idea from the top down.

Movement structure: vertical logics

While some actors in the immigrant rights movement organize according

to horizontal logics, including in their media and communication practices, many others do not. Within a larger professionalized social movement sector, incorporated nonprofit organizations with paid staff often present themselves, and are presented by the mass media, as ‘the immigrant rights movement’ in Los Angeles. Yet almost all of my interviewees, including most nonprofit staff, recognize that the movement is much broader than the organizations that operate within it {Interviews BH, LN, TH, DM, OE, TX, NB}. What is the relationship between the structure of these movement organizations and the broader movement’s ability to leverage the changed media ecology via transmedia activism? Many of my interviewees described vertical organizational logics as one of the main barriers to more effective use of networked communication tools by the movement.

Professionalization

Several interviewees discussed their own experience of the ongoing shift to professionalization and centralization within the immigrant workers’ movement in Los Angeles. They talked about how the last 10 to 15 years, especially, have seen a transition from social movement groups governed directly by those most directly affected to incorporated nonprofit organizations ultimately controlled by boards of directors, executive directors, and paid staff {Interviews NB, BH, TH, DH, KB}. One interviewee described the transformation of day laborer organizing in Los Angeles, from a Day Laborer’s Union that was governed directly by general assembly, to the

current situation of a formal network governed by a committee of executive directors of immigrant rights organizations:

As an organizer that has been in the community for a long time, I've seen how that has shifted. Specifically I'd say, within the day laborer movement, when I started working in the day laborer community, we had the Sindicato de Jornaleros, which was a broad based kind of a organization of day laborers throughout the L.A. County, where they would sit down, have meetings, and really direct the political work. Now there was a lot of drama, there was tension, there was arguments, all this stuff happening. And once the organizations that were hosting became more formal, they started cutting that out little by little, to the point where the union dissolved and then the power got very centralized by the representatives, which became the executive directors of the organizations. So they may have good intentions, and they may understand what is it that the community needs, but that's never gonna replace the actual voice of the communities that are in struggle. Because socio-economic things change, people in these organizations start getting paid more, everything changes, class changes, you're no longer on the street looking for work, you know? That right there is, if anybody's an expert on the situation, it's the people that are actually going through it [...] I think a lot of people are starting to see how the industrialization of our movements have

become like this. They've become a, well I mean they become corporate structures, and so within
382 that, the CEO or the board of directors has the final say, you know?
{Interview, NB}.

He stressed that the intentions of the directors remains good, and that many of the directors initially came from the base they now represent. However, he pointed out that the consolidation of organizing within formally incorporated nonprofits led, over the long run, to the progressive removal of decision-making power from the hands of day laborers themselves. For this organizer, the implications for movement media strategies were clear:

Classically what tends to happen is that there's a centralization, you know? And so, within that centralization there, even within the messages, even if the base is asking for another message, once that request gets filtered through their communications department, through their EDs, and through their board, it's changed completely. It's become maybe a little bit more acceptable, or more responsible of a message, or not as extreme a message. I think what that's done, it's definitely affected the organizing, the base organizing within the communities that these organizations work with. Even though I think they still claim, and there's still a connection to the communities because they're still doing work with them, when it comes down to

decision of messages, decisions of strategies, and being in the process of the creation of strategies and messages, the community is no longer included in that {Ibid.}.

The professionalization of immigrant rights organizations thus tends, over the long run, to distance the social base of the movement from decision-making over strategy, messaging, and communication {Melucci, 1994}.

Social media strategists

In addition to the broader process of social movement professionalization, the last decade has seen the emergence of a new layer of nonprofit and social movement technologists, information technology experts, and most recently, social media strategists and nonprofit application service providers. Like most social movements, the immigrant rights movement is characterized by wide differentiation in communication infrastructure, between those actors who primarily use autonomous infrastructure or commercial sites, those who outsource to professional social movement application service providers (SMASPS), and those who have internalized communication technology capacity either through staff or volunteers. As discussed above, smaller, poorer resourced organizations tend to appropriate commercial sites and have a basic web presence based on volunteer labor or a one-time web design contract. Medium and larger organizations have more resources to devote to SMASPs and to nicer

websites, including Content Management Systems that make it easier for them to update and maintain a 'more professional' web presence. The largest organizations sometimes internalize technical and web capacity with full time ICT staff, web designers, and 'online organizers.' However, despite the resources they are able to bring to bear, larger vertically structured organizations have not necessarily done a better job at integrating social media into their communication strategies. In some cases, larger organizations have been slower to adopt decentralized, networked, popular or social media practices into their communication efforts. Based on my interviews, horizontally structured collectives, organizations, and networks were often more innovative in their adoption of popular media into the core of their communication practices, although this was not universally true.

Some of the organizations that do have professional communication or PR staff members are currently developing what they call 'social media strategy.' This process is advanced by funders and by communication consultants who constitute a sub sector of the professional nonprofit field. Better resourced, more professionalized nonprofit organizations approach 'social media strategy' from the perspective of fundraising, professional capacity building, and constituent relationship management. They hope to appropriate some of the functionality of 'web 2.0' tools while retaining vertical control over messaging and framing {Interviews, LN, XD}. This strategy is in part driven by the apparent success of top- down management of networked communication by other professionalized nonprofits and, most

recently, by the Obama campaign {Interviews LN, XD, OE, BH}. In addition, an industry of 'new media' consultants has sprung up around the nonprofit sector. In interviews with some of these 'social media professionals' and consultants, I found that many are actually interested in pushing top-down immigrant rights organizations towards more horizontal media practices and strategies. However, they expressed that this usually ends in failure and frustration {Interviews, XD, LN}.

Social media as underpaid labor in the NPIC

Although some professional nonprofits hire full time online organizers or outside social media consultants, the majority tend to assign social media work to volunteers or to the lowest-paid staff:

Here's a crazy idea: the fact that the work force in non-profit organizations is not an organized work force, and therefore, there's an area which is rife with worker exploitation. Where workers are asked to do so much, and this is just something that's added to that plate. So there's a lot of guilt, and there's a lot of exploitation that makes these tools not viable, cause who's gonna get stuck with it? Low person on the totem pole. It's like 'alright, oh and by the way don't fuck up cause you're our organization's voice, but you're not gonna be part of the decision making process, cause that's not in the scope of work' [laughs] {Interview, LN}.

Unfortunately, within vertically structured organizations, many of my interviewees felt that social media ends up relegated to the realm of underpaid labor {Interviews, LN, XD, OE}. This precludes its effective integration into transmedia activism strategies able to incorporate the voices of the social base directly into movement communication practices.

Capacity building

More professionalized, vertically organized nonprofits participate in foundation- backed social media trainings, and in general these take on a very different form from the skillshares and hackmeets of the horizontalists. Consultants or specialists in new media provide ‘capacity building’ workshops for leadership and communications staff from professional nonprofits, with support from private foundations. For example, Liberty Hill Foundation conducted a Technical Assistance Survey in October of 2003 in order to evaluate the work of the Liberty Hill Fund for a New Los Angeles, a grants program created in 1992 to fund CBOs doing antipoverty, racial justice, and gang prevention work in L.A. The Fund distributed over three million dollars between 1998 and 2003, the time of the survey. The aim of the survey was to evaluate Liberty Hill’s Technical Assistance Program, which included workshops in the history of social movements, general skills building workshops, and peer roundtables for CBO executive directors and development directors. Over 20 CBOs from around the City participated in

the survey, and of these most listed technology and media capacity building as their highest priority needs:

Technology: Eleven of the 21 respondents listed technology-related technical assistance priorities. These included general requests such as maximizing technology use, to more specific requests such as maintaining and upgrading websites and creating better database systems [...] Media: Ten respondents listed media-related subjects among their organization's top three technical assistance priorities. The specific areas mentioned included developing a media strategy, interfacing with the media, developing/strengthening general communications skills, and facilitation/public speaking {Liberty Hill, 2003}.

In part based on this survey, Liberty Hill expanded their media trainings, bringing nonprofit staff from around the City together for trainings with Foundation staff and additional media professionals. In 2008 Liberty Hill initiated a new round of 'brown bag lunch' media trainings in which media and communications staff from more than 15 community based and nonprofit organizations gathered to share experiences on using 'Web 2.0' tools for organizing and fundraising aims.

I attended several such trainings and interviewed participants. In marked contrast to skill shares and workshops organized by horizontalists,

where hands-on media making workshops, 'hard' tech skills (how to build a computer or solder a radio transmitter together), IT knowledge (how to set up a server and install a content management system), and movement strategy discussions frequently take place together, in this capacity building workshop series there was a firm division between 'technology' and 'media.' This was shaped by Liberty Hill's own analysis of their survey results:

Technology appears also to be of interest to many. This is one subject quite possibly best left to other technical assistance providers. The Center for Nonprofit Management, for example, recently introduced a fairly extensive technology training program for nonprofits, which includes such workshops as Introduction to Word; Beginning, Intermediate and Advanced PowerPoint; and Database Design Principles, among others. This series was developed after an extensive needs assessment process, which included interviews with Liberty Hill as well as with some Liberty Hill grantees. One particularly attractive feature of this program is that the Center's partner in this venture, the Verizon Foundation, offers full scholarships for the program {Liberty Hill, 2003}.

ICTs are still thought of as primarily for internal organizational use, while 'media skills' are focused around press releases and the development of relationships with professional journalists. In addition to the separation

between IT and media skills, despite the focus on social media, the primary framework for funders still seems governed by the longstanding paradigm of the press release and the mass media interview: how to stay on message and ensure that your frame and talking points will be heard. Several of the organizers I interviewed speculated that perhaps this is because professional nonprofit media strategies have centered for so long on reaching mass media organizations, rather than developing popular communication approaches {Interviews LN, BH, XD, TX}.

In theory, as we have seen, transmedia activism integrates the praxis of digital media literacy with more traditional strategies for outreach to mass media, since member-created media texts can serve as key 'hooks' to generate interest from professional journalists {Interviews XD, LN}. In practice, even without engaging the deeper critiques of the NPIC, foundations that aim to help community based organizations develop professional capacity, while well meaning, have fallen behind the times. Funders have mostly failed to grasp the new media ecology, and lack an integrated vision of ICTs as key tools not only for internal document and data management tasks, but also as infrastructure for transmedia activism {Davis and Applied Research Center, 2010}.

Controlling Funders

While community based funders like Liberty Hill struggle to come to grips with the importance of read-write digital media literacy to overall

communication strategy, none of my interviewees questioned their underlying intentions. As a relatively small social justice funder, CBOs feel that Liberty Hill's aims are definitely to strengthen the movement as much as possible. Indeed, most of my interviewees were critical of the ways in which foundation funding tends to shift the priorities of movement organizations over time, but they also emphasized that this takes place through subtle, long term pressures, rather than through direct demands from funders about specific actions. However, several interviewees also described instances of funders, especially the largest national and international foundations, intervening in social movements in much more direct ways. One interviewee described an instance of the latter form of pressure:

I think there is a pushing out of organizers, there is a pushing out, because it goes to D.C., and [this topic] goes to the funders as well. The funders do not want to be polarized, so as soon as you polarize your politics, and you're saying some pretty extreme things, and I'm not saying being a racist or a separatist, or anything like that, the funders start shaking a bit, and they tweak your message [...] It's not the big conspiracy theory that the funding officer is coming and saying "You can't do this." Which they have though, they did it during the presidential election when Obama was inaugurated. In D.C. there was the immigrant rights movement that was like "we're gonna march on the day of his inauguration, and we're gonna demand immigration

reform.” Ford Foundation was very clear with the head organization, they’re like “if you fuckin do that shit, we will pull your funding. You will not get funded by us anymore.” [...] They had to shift their whole strategy to not offend [...] I mean you’re talking about hundreds of thousands of dollars that they receive, that most of the organizations receive in a year. So you know, we become dependent of that, we like having ten people in our staff because we’re able to do more work, but its this total catch-22: we’re doing more work, but in the times of really striking, we, our leaders or our directors, really, really think about the ramifications. Not in the community, but the ramifications that they’ll receive from the funders and from their access in D.C. {Interview, NB}.

The same dynamic plays out in Los Angeles. The politics of lobbying in D.C. have local impacts, when immigrant rights organizations shy away from more radical activity because they worry about losing access in D.C., or when they place more resources into D.C. lobbying because of a perceived shift in the national political opportunity structure. When nonprofits play an insider’s political game, they expose themselves to the possibility that funders may avoid them or even pull funding if they seem ‘too radical’ or even just ‘unprofessional.’ In this way, controlling funders can be another vertical structure that militates against the adoption of bottom-up transmedia activism strategies.

Social practices of sharing

One of the main barriers comes from what several interviewees described as 'old school' cultures of organizing that fail to engage in social practices of sharing that characterize newer movement groups and networks. One interviewee described the lack of a social practice of sharing contact information, and the lack of trust between nonprofit organizations, as the main block to successful online organizing during a national campaign against Maricopa County sheriff Joe Arpaio:

When the NDLO started working on the Arizona campaign against Arpaio, one of the strategies of the Day Laborer Network was to activate their network and use it with new media. You know, be able to build lists and really for the purpose of bringing people out from different parts of the country, and having people caravan, and things like that, and so we used a system, you know? A system to be able to get people to sign up, to go online, say that they were gonna be a part of it, and maybe even potentially donate for water or whatever. [Q: What system did you use?] We used the Democracy In Action system, the Salsa Commons, you know what I mean? It has its, it's been very successful for a lot of groups. But it was interesting because the network is comprised of forty organizations, and so the theory was that if each organization could donate 70 to 80 of their contacts for this list so that those 70 and 80 could be put into a database, and they could

be invited out and the list would just continue growing. That was the initial theory but what we got in response from those organizations was a non response. They didn't wanna give their 70 contacts, even though they're organizations with thousands of contacts. So they didn't see the importance of building a list like that for their national network, because at the end, NDLON is just, NDLON wasn't or isn't theoretically its own organization within the network, it actually is one that helps the network work, throughout the country. So what we saw was kind of this ownership of their bases instead of this distribution of bases, and use of through Internet, so I think it failed, you know? {Interview, NB}.

In this case, organizers within a movement network were unable to move a social media strategy forward because the leadership of vertically structured member organizations were wary of sharing contacts with each other and failed to understand the utility of networked collaboration. When movement formations are horizontal, it matters less when some in the movement formation fail to grasp the significance of a particular tool or tactic.

Participants in the movement have the opportunity to advance new tools and tactics, to convince others of their utility, and to deploy them towards movement ends, as we have seen in case studies in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. However, the more vertical the decision-making process in the movement group, the more important it becomes to ensure that leadership understand social media and transmedia activism.

Top-down Tweets: social media as a broadcast tool

Besides problems of resource sharing, many organizers are deeply frustrated by what they find to be pervasive attempts by immigrant rights organizations to use social media as a new kind of broadcast channel. Interviewees described various organizations that have this problem, and said that it was a constant struggle to get organizations to realize the possibilities of creating a conversation with their online audience. This is especially a problem for national organizations:

Some of these national groups are using social media, but they kind of use it as a broadcast medium. It's just a different channel that they broadcast on, and I've, as a consultant, have had trouble communicating to people the difference between broadcast and social media [...] It's really hard for organizations to understand about opening it up and allowing people to add content to what they have to say, you know? And it's kind of scary to them, and they, they're very wary of it {Interview, XD}.

This social media consultant mentioned the National Immigration Forum and America's Voice as examples, and said that many movement organizations in L.A. suffer from the same problem. When I asked for a specific example of top-down social media use in L.A., he began by describing how one well

known immigrant rights organization tried to use Twitter:

[The organization] has a twitter feed, and I got really frustrated with them cause they had a conference last fall, I was just asking about it, and they basically [laughs] they used Twitter as a way, what they did was is they took the program, and they cut and paste different things from the program, like 'we're gonna have a workshop on social media,' and they put that in the Twitter feed and just sent it. And there was no kind of, they didn't follow anybody, they didn't ask any questions, it was 'this is what we're doing, and maybe somebody out there will be intrigued enough by the title of this workshop that they'll want to come to our conference.' But there was no relationship building, there was no looking for other organizations to say 'hey, could you share this?' It was very kind of, 'we're pushing this out.' [...] From my experiences in social media, you gotta do a lot of legwork, you have to do a lot. You have to call in a lot of, I don't wanna say favors, but you know what I mean? You Tube doesn't even work like that. It'll just get drowned out. You have to go and tell people to go look at it, and you have to invite people to participate with it, otherwise it just gets lost {Ibid.}.

In another instance, the same organization hired a consulting firm to manage their Facebook page, but then got upset when the firm changed their profile photo:

They got really upset when they changed the photo on the profile. The thing I've learned about Facebook, you have to change it all the time. You can't keep the same. My sister makes fun of the number of photos I have on mine, cause I just do it all the time as a routine thing. But they, as an organization, got upset because they had their logo, and they didn't understand the need, necessity of changing that, you know? In my mind, the thing with social media, it has to always be new and fresh and show that there's a human, that it's not automated, that there's somebody behind it {Interview, XD}.

The logic of social media, which requires constant attention to human connections, conversation, and regular foregrounding of 'new and fresh' content, conflicts deeply with the discourse and practices of branded identity that nonprofits have incorporated from the private sector. Another interviewee described how she quickly set up a Facebook page for a program within her organization, but a more senior staff member "immediately pulled me in and was like, 'why isn't this connected to [our] main page, blah blah blah, you shouldn't have just created [the program page] cause then people think it's just [the program], and [the organization] is not just [the program],' and so those kind of things I still have to deal with." {Interview, OE}. In the social media space, nonprofits struggle to implement the advice they have received from communications consultants who counsel them to maintain strong brand identity. This manifests in the micropolitics of daily

communication practices, with nonprofit staff pushing back especially against the more fluid social media practices of youth {Interviews OE, XD, TH, KZ}.

Taking Credit: "Who gets the credit for this?"

Others felt that larger organizations find most of the principles of network culture alien to their experience. Sharing of resources, contacts, content, and platforms, so crucial to the cultural logic of networked activism, is not something that tends to take place in the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles, at least not between the largest and better resourced nonprofits.

I think that's really one of the big challenges we have because of the nature of a lot of the kinda newer movement within the, using the Internet as a tool. A lot of the people involved in it believe in sharing content, the creation of programs and content that can be distributed and used by anybody that maybe has similar thoughts, or wants to use it for the same reason. Part of the challenge with a lot of the larger organizations, the immigrant rights organizations that receive a lot of funding and they're kind of these institutions, they're very wary of that, they're very wary of sharing. They're very wary of, well, then who gets the credit for this, you know? And unfortunately it leaks back to kind of the funding issue, cause whoever gets the credit is the one that's gonna get the funding [chuckles]. The funders aren't just gonna fund

this undefined movement, you know? This un-centralized movement, they'll just move on to the next topic on their list, on their funding list {Interview, NB}.

In other words, funders currently play an important role in pushing movement organizations away from horizontalist organizational logics and the norms of network culture. In part this may be because funders themselves do not understand the new cultural logic of networking; in part it may be because they have a different model of social change; in part it may be because individual program officers do not want to (or in some cases, are legally not allowed to) fund a diffuse 'network.' Funders want to build organizations and institutions, and to be able to quantify deliverables such as service provision metrics or key policy changes {Poletta, 2004; Bartley, 2007}. In this context, interviewees described how professional nonprofit organizations within the immigrant rights movement often compete for funding and project ownership rather than work towards network coordination and resource sharing {Interviews OE, LN, NB, TH, XD}. Even when they create nominal or formal 'networks,' participating organizations with internal vertical structures often block network activity and resource sharing.

Structure: "I cannot believe he just said that."

In general, many professional nonprofits fear social media because it is a

space in which they are less able to control the message. Of course, controlling the message is a difficult task in the broadcast media space as well. When asked about vertical organizations' fears of letting people from the base speak for themselves, one interviewee described the following scene. At a DREAM Act rally, the executive director of a well known immigrant rights nonprofit took the stage and spoke about immigration reform:

She stayed on message about immigration reform, when right now the question is should we push at least one thing forward, and use it as a victory to build momentum, or really just go for the whole thing and end up getting nothing, and continue to crush the movement? But then right after her a worker spoke, and the worker's message was 'if Obama doesn't pass immigration reform, he will not count with our vote.' He was immediately sort of pushed to the side, and [the executive director], you could see her face right away was just like, "Oh I cannot believe he just said that." And I had other people next to me that immediately also responded the same way, we were like, "oh no, I can't believe he just said that, that's not the message that we want people to hear from us, and definitely not from this action, right?" But I understood what he was saying and I don't disagree completely. That our communities are feeling like yeah, he's not doing shit for us right now [...] And so it wasn't for me that it seemed crazy, but for them, it

was all about ‘that totally is against the message.’ Because they’re still very pro Obama, they spent a lot of money in doing all that work, so they don’t wanna dis-encourage the Latino vote to vote him in again. I see it all the time {Interview, OE}.

This interviewee went on to describe how the P.R. staff of the lead organization then approached broadcast media reporters and encouraged them to edit the worker’s ‘off message’ statement out of their reports. However, they were deeply worried that citizen journalists, bloggers, or everyday movement participants present at the event would distribute the statement. For organizations that have spent years or even decades learning how to stay on message, shape frames through personal relationships with reporters, insert choice quotes into mass media, and push forward campaigns with a unified voice, social media offers a threatening, messy arena where keeping ‘message discipline’ becomes all but impossible.

Fear of Haters

When asked about why many organizations had trouble opening up to the conversational possibilities of social media, some interviewees talked about the fear of being overwhelmed by anti-immigrant hate speech. One described an instance in which their site was hacked and had to be temporarily taken down {Interview, NB}. However, no one gave a concrete example of a site being flooded by anti-immigrant speech. Instead,

immigrant rights organizations tend to ‘preemptively’ lock down their web platforms out of fear that this might happen {Interview, XD}. Fear of ‘haters,’ whether based on direct experience, word of mouth, or otherwise, has produced a chilling effect that reduces the ability of the immigrant rights movement to fully engage with participatory and horizontalist communication logics.

Blurring the personal and professional

As we have seen, the danger that social media will expose a movement’s base as more radical than the leadership is one reason why nonprofit leaders remain wary of opening up their communication to more people. The fear of too much transparency also comes into play not only in terms of political positioning, but also in the potential of social media to expose the behavior of organizational staff as ‘unprofessional.’ Another interviewee talked about a situation where the leadership of a nonprofit angrily called in the younger staff to berate them for posting pictures of people drinking and dancing at an organizational fundraiser on Facebook {Interview, OE}. In this case, social media again generated tension: on the one hand, the ED worried that revealing staff and members drinking, dancing, and having fun would appear unprofessional and reduce the chances of securing foundation funds in the future; on the other hand, staff members felt that showing this side of the organization via social media would make it easier to attract interest from potential new members and

volunteers.

Digital culture

Finally, younger organizers talked about how organizational leaders simply do not understand social media as a space for the production and circulation of digital culture. For example, one articulated a concern that more vertical, hierarchical movement organizations are unable to effectively bring arts and music into their culture of organizing, in contrast to the dynamic appropriation of social networking sites by youth and student activists:

I feel like there are very few ways that we communicate our work in the media, alternative media. I don't feel that there is a unifying way that we've been doing it or have done it. I think about youth organizing, and there are always really cool flyers that grab your attention. Posting it on MySpace or Facebook I think really makes a difference [...] The artistic, creative, and even musical part of it, not that it's been left behind, but I feel like, how do we incorporate these things into our work? I think we get focused on the goal, or the message, and I feel like incorporating art and media and music is really important {Interview, DH}.

When asked how art, creativity, and music within social movement groups relate to communication technology, she responded:

I feel like these are different organizing strategies. I think that organizing sometimes is very businessy. I think about unions, or nonprofits that are very hierarchical [...] Alternative media strategies or tools are in line with art and culture and music. So I feel it's about us thinking and using these as ways to organize and to develop {Ibid.}.

She worries about the professionalization of social movement activity (“I think that organizing sometimes is very businessy. I think about unions, or nonprofits that are very hierarchical.”) Her concern is at least in part that she feels hierarchical organizations in the immigrant rights movement fail to mobilize arts and culture to effectively communicate with the base they are trying to mobilize. They approach communication technology from a ‘hard’ utility perspective, with the assumption that ICTs are worth investing in only if they are tools that can be applied directly to nuts-and-bolts organizing, with outcomes that can be measured in clear quantitative terms like increased membership, greater donations, or more efficient use of staff time. In her analysis this perspective fails to grasp the key value of networked communication, so evident from the experience of high school and college student activists: direct participation in the production and circulation of movement culture.

To take another example, the computer lab of one CBO had signs up above every computer warning people to use the lab for ‘work related tasks’ only, and specifically banning the use of social networking site MySpace. The

sign threatened to fine lab users \$5 if they were caught using MySpace, and to revoke computer access for repeat infringers. In many ways this is simply a recent reiteration of the now longstanding tension between 'old left' values that place class analysis and struggle as the central (and in the most extreme version, only) category and more sophisticated analyses that recognize the intersectionality of oppressions and the importance of cultural resistance. Staff and leadership of some movement organizations seem also to have internalized values that discount the importance of play and informal learning to digital literacy. In other words, one of the ways that hierarchical organizations often fail to effectively appropriate network communication technologies is that they attempt to use these technologies solely as extensions to vertical models of communication. They approach the web as another means to distribute 'important' or 'hard' information vetted by leadership, and fail to grasp the key place of talk, play, graphic arts and music in networked cultures {Juris, 2008; Ito et al, 2009}.

Movement Structure: Network Logic

(material to integrate from 2011 interviews)

Consider adding a new discussion of network logic

Networked organizing, grounded in local efforts

Networked organizing can provide an infrastructure that helps organizers within movements that operate at national or transnational scale remain grounded in local efforts. One organizer with a national organization often emphasizes that local involvement is the most important aspect of social movement participation. He described how DC based groups, pushing for Comprehensive Immigration Reform, were unable to move the dial for many years, and feels that more recently there is a new wave of energy coming from organizations that are more locally grounded, operate within left political frameworks, and engage in base-building work. He mentioned NDLO and the work challenging Secure Communities as an important example.

Interviewer: Um, do you have uh, so, um, would you say, you meant, can you kind of elaborate a little bit on like uh, local, national, or transnational networks if they're applicable?

K: Mmhmm, totally, um, yeah I think um, I mean most, I always tell everyone, anyone in the country, whenever I'm there, its like the most important thing you can do is get involved locally, um, like that's my strength, like my, the way I stay connected and know

what's going on is through the student immigrant movement here in Boston, you know, and also Centro Presente, (?), a lot of local organizations, um, and uh, yeah, so you know, generally I suggest that, and the national scene is, for a long time it was mostly made up of DC Groups, was what we'd call them, uh, these are you know, non-profits based out of DC that we used to get a lot of funding for things like Comprehensive Immigration Reform, um, I think with, you know, now it looks like Comprehensive Immigration Reform won't get done for a little while, um, they're losing some of the funding and other folks are kind of rising, uh, I think Presente.org is a part of that, the National Day Laborer Organizing Network is a huge part of that, they've done some really amazing work on Secure Communities, um and they've done it entirely out of DC and generally from more leftist, uh, kind of view point, um, and uh, yeah, so you know, that's the way I see it.

"We started forming our own media teams"

DREAM activists struggle to shape the framing of their movement, not only against anti-immigrant forces but also against larger, better resourced, immigrant rights groups. NM describes how DREAMers had to start forming their own media teams in part to redirect frames by ostensible policy allies that depicted them as model immigrants and criminalized their parents.

NM: 2010, and it was a crazy year, it was at the height of um, the Federal DREAM Act Campaigns when we were getting closer to Federal, to the vote

for the DREAM Act and, it really, because, you know, some one, when (Elisa Arondes?) was at, people were framing the debate around the DREAM Act, and people were framing the debate around undocumented immigrant youth, and the people who came in the debate either pro or against, were not undocumented immigrant youth. So for example you had, um, you know, um, Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights, Casa de Maryland, (Buripa?) Campaign were framing that the DREAM, and creating sound bytes that, as undocumented students we did not feel comfortable with, and that we had no um, input in, so kind of one of the sound bytes that we would always refer to, which is what we're trying to combat now, is you know, the sound byte that when we were kind of like the model immigrant, um, to that we came here at no fault of our own, um, and those are some things within the immigrant youth movement that we don't agree with, right, so kind of some of the things that we use to come back at it, you know like, we were brought here by our courageous parents, who are responsible parents, and wanted their children to have a better life, right, because we don't want to, um, we don't have to criminalize our parents,

NM brought sophisticated media skills she had developed as a high school organizer around educational access with Inner City Struggle to her work on the federal DREAM Act. She talks about writing press releases, developing relationships with reporters, testing messaging and framing with focus

groups, and developing clarity about the core values that underly the frames. Rather than assign messaging tasks to single spokespeople or professional communications staff, DREAMers worked to make collective decisions about framing, sound bytes, media strategy, and spokespeople.

So we started looking around and seeing that a lot of the coverage we were getting was because of price to organizations, so an organization will get approached and asked to have a DREAMer speak, so the relationship for between organizations, and not between us and the actual news sources, so, um, having had this experience from before, knowing how to write a press release, knowing how to um, create different relationships with media, um, we then really started forming our own media teams, right, so when ever we would have actions or events, we had focus groups that would go over messaging, right, and framing, how do we want to frame our message, what are some of the key values we're gonna use to frame our message? We would collectively decide on our sound bytes, collectively decide on um, you know, who we're gonna train to be the spokesperson, and collectively decide on our online media strategy.

As media and communications chair for Dream Team LA, NM now focuses on working with other Dreamers to help them develop more effective media strategies. Her goal is not only to ensure that Dreamers' voices are heard, but also to lift up and humanize the entire immigrant community, which

remains under heavy discursive attack. In addition, they emphasize media strategy that is “lead by, and that is run by, undocumented students.”

NM: Um so I think, so the last year at UCLA and also um, now this year being involved with Dream Team LA, I think that Dream Team LA is really what we’re, we’ve been able to push kind of like an immigrant youth movement media strategy that is lead by, and that is run by, undocumented students. And I think people have seen it and that has shifted, where we’re the ones who are at the forefront, and we’re the ones that are creating, um, this messaging, we’re the ones that are carrying the force. And that’s where I am now. So now I’m currently the, the media and communications chair for Dream Team LA, so a lot of the work that I do is really training other Dream Teams that have emerged, so in Southern California there’s been like seven new organizations that have been formed of undocumented students in their communities, and um, my role is really to develop and to train other people in developing effective media strategies, um, and really ensuring, you know, that more people are comfortable in training their own, in having their own voices heard in a very strategic way, um, for, not just for the campaign, but really to humanize the whole immigrant community, because we are being bashed (laughs), you know, we are being bashed, and we’re gonna continue being bashed, so that’s kind of my role now within the immigrant rights group. In California.

DREAM networks proliferate

DREAM activism has developed from ad hoc and informal, campus and city-level groups and collectives, to multiple overlapping multistate and national networks and coalitions. For NM, work with the UC group shifted to work with Dream Team LA; Dream Team LA is also connected to a statewide network called the California Dream Team Alliance, and participates in United We Dream, the national organization of undocumented student groups.

NM: Okay, so um, for Dream Team LA and I think, a lot of my focus is now with Dream Team LA, um, but its important to know that Dream Team LA was, we are connected to a state wide network and also a national network, so, the work that we did here does echo like a cross between (?), so we're part of the California Dream Team Alliance, which is a coalition of different groups and states, um, and then we're part of The United We Dream Network, which is the National Organization of Undocumented Student Groups, and they have like, in four different states.

Dream Team LA activists emphasize the importance of developing messaging and framing, as well as ensuring that members are able to project the shared message and talk to reporters. They see this as the core of media strategy, and explicitly talk about circulating key messages across all platforms, both

online and via 'traditional' media (print and broadcast). NM says that they have a traditional media strategy designed to reach print media, news media, and magazines, as well as a social media strategy to keep connected to supporters and participants via Facebook and Twitter. She says "for us, it's really important to merge the two."

NM: In Dream Team LA, um, the daily, for us, are media strategy, and I guess our day to day development of our media work, um, it has to do, so we really, um, we have a traditional kind of, our traditional media strategy which is outreaching to both um, like print media, news media, um, and different, other news sources, of kind of like web journals or, some magazines, but we also have a very intentional online media strategy, so we really make sure to, for example, keep people updated on our Facebook and on our Twitter, and our, all the social media sites that we have, but we, for us its really important to merge the two. So for example, um, but before that, right before we engage in any campaigns, before we engage in any sort of, even interviews, any lead or source, we really focus a lot on developing our messaging, and really framing our messaging, and developing our members to be able to project that message, right, and be able to um, really know like, kind of know how to talk to reporters, how not to talk to reporters, right, how to bring things back to our main goals and objectives within our messaging.

Youth led networks

Dream Team LA participates in local, regional, and national networks. They have recently focused extensively on developing the leadership potential of other local and regional groups, including the San Fernando Valley Dream Team, Dream Team South Bay, and more recently, a group in Fresno. Nationally, they took part in the campaign for Administrative Relief (DACA) under the umbrella of the United We Dream Network; most of their focus is local.

The benefits of participation in networks include the development of shared vision that extends across a broader geographic area, and an increased ability to strengthen the leadership of a younger generation of undocumented students. The challenges include a lack of resources, difficulty in travel to meet other organizers face to face, and ensuring that “everyone is growing and learning and that organizations that are stronger at one thing are able to train others.”

Interviewer: You mentioned networks, um, like national and then state, is, so I guess, what are, if you are part of, uh, networks, if they're local, national, or what, along those lines, what are the networks you would say that you work with most?

NM: So the network that we work with the most, um, as Dream Team of LA, is the California Dream Team Alliance, and that's the network that um, we basically created this year, so all of us came together because there were different various groups popping up in Southern California, all over and we

realized that we weren't really working together, um, or we weren't working together in a strategic way, right, so how do we push a campaign forward, and instead of being just two organizations pushing it forward, what if it's the entire state of California pushing that example forward. And for us it was really important to have something that was, um, youth led, um, so that was known (?) to the organization, that was something that people wanted to do because it was their passion, not because you know, either they were paid for it or things like that, so even for Dream Team LA, Dream Team La was completely volunteer led, um it was completely youth led, um so we kind of wanted to create that because it was, there was not anything present at the time, so um, our focus really this year has been developing that, so that, really the California Dream Team Alliance, developing the leadership potential of other groups, for example, um, if our region here in LA is, we think that it has emerged, or the San Fernando Valley Dream Team, (San Fernando Valley Dream Team?), Dream Team South Bay, and we're also helping develop other teams in like the Fresno area, so its kind of um, that's really where a lot of our focus is, and nationally, with the Administrative Relief Campaign, it has been through United We Dream, um, The United We Dream Network, but I would say most of our focus is here locally.

Interviewer: How has it helped, or made things more difficult, to be part of a network? Would you say.

NM: I think definitely um, the positive is that it has given us a stronger base,

um, I think that has definitely made us a lot stronger and given us opportunity to train younger undocumented students, um, (?) lead, cause a lot of us, you know for example, like myself, I already graduated college, I'm already trying for my masters, so, we really wanna make sure that we're developing, right, a new generation of leaders, I would say I have been a positive too, that we're able to strategize together and come up with a consensus of how we wanna see California through the eyes of undocumented students, um, so I think definitely that's been amazing, I think the challenges really, I think its with any network, so the challenges are that people are at different levels, and making sure every one is growing and learning and that, you know, organizations that are stronger at one thing are able to train others, and just, you know, the fact that we are a youth led network without any resources is definitely very difficult, right, so we're not able to physically, for example, connect with people in the bay because we don't have the resources to drive up there, to fly up to train people so, definitely we have a stronger impact here in um, Socal than in Norcal, because of resources, yeah. But I think that's also a very positive thing because it, you know, what we are, we're doing this out of our passion in our hearts, but its really difficult because the lack of resources to keep everyone connected and stay connected with everyone.

Communication across Dream activist networks

Dream activist networks use both synchronous and asynchronous communication processes to maintain contact and organize across broader geographies. NM describes Steering Committee conference calls twice a month, with representatives from each participating organization, as well as face to face retreats that take place twice a year. Regular communication takes place on a listserv (on Google Groups) as well as via a Facebook group.

Networks bring resources but also stretch capacity

Participating in a national network brings increased access to information, trainings, allies, and resources. National networks provide social media trainings as well as social media staff who provide support, both formally and informally, to local organizers.

Interviewer: Can you talk a little bit about how it has helped to be part of the network?

R: Um, yeah I mean, with the, with the local network here, with like the churches and the organizations, um, its helpful in terms of like outreach to people and getting people to actions, and getting people to um, like make calls, write letters, um, and in large amounts, um, and as for the national network we're also connected with United We Dream, which is um, you know, a network of, of groups like SIM acro-, all across the country, and I think there's about like thirty-five groups that are part of uh, United We Dream, um, and at terms, in terms of the national its helpful because we get the latest information, we get, we get trainings, we get to connect with other groups, see

what they're doing, is it effective in their area, can we bring it to our area, so like the national network is good for like learning, and even like learning about social media, um, we've learned a lot of, um, a lot of it through um, the national network that does social media trainings, or ha-, like has as social media person, and has been really effective um, in, on that so we try to bring it back.

Participation in national networks is challenging since it stretches capacity of local organizations; local and national organizing, campaigns, events, and priorities have to be balanced appropriately.

Interviewer: What are some of the challenges of being part of a network?

R: Um, well one of the biggest like, challenges nationally in being part of a network is sometimes there's stuff going on nationally, like say that there's something that needs to like, there's, happening in DC and we need to send people over there, um, but the same time here locally, there's, there was like an In-State battle and anti-immigrant amendments, and like our capacity was like thin, and like we get, we get pushed like, cause there are organizers to come over there and, and so the biggest challenge is trying to balance um, the national and local, and not like burn yourself out in trying to do both

Decisionmaking: horizontal, bottom-up

Most Dream activist groups, organizations, and networks use some form of horizontal, participatory, bottom-up, collective, or consensus

decisionmaking. At the same time, the movement is beginning to professionalize and some organizations are shifting from informal groups to incorporated 501(c)3 nonprofits. This brings new leadership and decisionmaking structures.

Bigger orgs: unprepared to engage the community with tech tools

Although organizers from smaller organizations believed that bigger, better resourced organizations were on top of social media, with paid staff and the ability to spend time, energy, and resources on media strategy in general, those who worked as IT managers inside even larger immigrant rights organizations painted a different picture.

KM: I was also the um, we didn't have a good title at CHIRLA, which is very, very indicative of non-profit work, so I was, on paper they would call me the Information Technology Technician, (laughs), and uh, but I like to say, well you know I'm your network administrator cause I wasn't really the IT Manager because I wasn't part of the management framework for the decision making process, it was just "hey, um, do we have duct tape, or can we actually get a real solution for X,Y, and Z?"

Manage to death, or make space for play

Some of the most successful uses of social media to win concrete victories in immigrant rights organizing were created by organizers and technology staff before organizational directors learned about social media and incorporated it into larger organizational frameworks and decisionmaking processes. In other words, there is a good argument that organizations that want successful social media mobilization need to relax top down control and allow staff and members the leeway to play with the possibilities of new tools and practices:

Transnational dynamics

Transnational dynamics in the immigrant rights movement are quite complex. On the one hand, migrants are by definition transnational (or translocal), and often participate in transnational civic engagement through self-organized social processes like Home Town Associations. At the same time, undocumented immigrants face constraints on transnational forms of social and political participation, largely because it is difficult for them to move back and forth between the country of origin and the place they have migrated too. While those with legal status are often able to travel between places, undocumented migrants are able to do far less frequently than they often desire (although some do make the voyage occasionally).

KB: Transnational is an interesting question because the reason I got involved in the immigrant rights movement was because I thought I saw its transnational potential, you

know, and I, at heart, am very much a transnational organizer and person, like I want to back to Guatemala, I think immigrant rights is a transnational issue, but um, its hard, you know, its not, you know, you think that it'd be a community that, you know, we need to organize locally first so I guess, so I'm saying before you can even think transnationally, um, and the only way that I really see transnational work is with uh, you know, I'm sure you're familiar with Hometown Associations, uh, and that's what I see works for like immigrants staying connected to their home towns, and that's where I see the real strong transnational connection in organizing work being possible

Movement Structure and the Fast for Our Future

Media ecology, transmedia activism, critical digital media literacy, and social movement structure are concepts that we can use together to analyze social movements and help us better understand their media practices. During the last months of 2008, a group called RISE circulated an announcement that they would be organizing a 21 day hunger strike in the lead up to the presidential election:

The “Fast For Our Future” campaign will begin in Los Angeles on October 15th, 2008, three weeks before the November 4th presidential election. Over 100 people will fast in order to mobilize our community to vote for immigrant rights. Fasters will give up all food and juice liquids. When engaging in a hunger strike, we will commit to only drink

water. The Fast will be based at an encampment at La Placita Olvera, the historic heart of Los Angeles. The encampment will be a visual representation of the size and growth of the hunger strike. Fasters will sleep in tents and live at the encampment for the duration of the Fast {See http://immigration.change.org/blog/view/fast_for_our_future}.

RISE is an organization whose key activists are rooted in the Catholic worker tradition and inspired by liberation theology. Religious immigrant rights activism has a deep and powerful history as well as high visibility in Los Angeles today. Religious activists of various faiths, especially Catholics, have long organized for immigrant rights in terms of civil rights, border rights, and economic justice {Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008}. Cardinal Roger Mahoney of the Los Angeles Archdiocese, the nation's largest, has been a vocal and visible supporter of Amnesty and full legalization, along with many other clergy members of various denominations. The Fast for Our Future was not explicitly tied to any religion, and many secular activists participated. However, the campaign drew extensively on religious symbolism in its imagery and actions, had visits and support from religious figures, and attempted to engage the public with a moral force rooted in religious faith.

The communications committee of the Fast for Our Future planned a popular communication strategy. My notes from the weeks before the hunger strike include action items assigned to RISE movement activists including: create a blog for hunger strikers (at fastforourfuture.wordpress.com);

coordinate WiFi access for the camp (piggybacking on the wireless connection of nearby nonprofit organization COFEM); arrange a live Internet radio stream as well as links to the stream from various Indymedia sites; set up a VOIP account at gizmo.com to allow people to call a number to leave messages of support; coordinate a sound system for musicians, speakers, and films; get access to a printer to use for printing out images of support; set up campaign accounts on Flickr, MySpace, Facebook, change.org, and Twitter (with various individual activists taking on responsibility to manage each account); create a Facebook cause; and prepare other tools for use during the hunger strike. The group hoped to build visibility for the campaign, spread its message via social networks, encourage additional supporters to take a pledge to support political candidates only if they were willing to support immigrant rights, raise funds to be used for organizing for immigrant rights, and otherwise contribute to the goals of strengthening a shared identity for immigrant rights activists and supporters.

Digital Solidarity

One of the goals was also to provide ways for supporters to demonstrate solidarity in ways that would be visible and would bolster the resolve of the hunger strikers. For example, a free VOIP service provider called Gizmo was used to set up a phone number that supporters could call to leave voice messages. The messages were converted to mp3 files and sent via email to a dedicated mailbox, and were then automatically posted to an online audio

gallery. As people began to call in and leave messages from around the City and across the state of California, organizers highlighted some of them with links in blog posts. They also downloaded the calls and played them over the air on a local microradio FM station (Radio Ayuno) that was set up with the help of the Garment Worker Center radio project. The radio station broadcast music, live interviews, call-ins, and messages of support across the area of La Placita, where the hunger strike encampment was located. An Indymedia activist from the San Francisco area, living temporarily in Los Angeles, also helped set up an Internet radio stream to rebroadcast the signal of Radio Ayuno across the web. Supporters were also able to send pictures from their cell phones to a Flickr photostream by posting them via MMS to 'ayuno@vozmob.net.' 77 images supporting the hunger strikers were sent in this way:

Figure 37: RISE movement Flickr photostream

Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/risemovement>

About two weeks into the hunger strike, volunteers from the Mobile Voices project printed all of these images out and hung them up along one wall inside the encampment. This provided a physical representation of the solidarity messages for the hunger strikers and served as a visual reminder

of community support for those living at the encampment. As the hunger strike progressed, participants began to post regular updates to blogs and SNS. Some participants, and some supporters, also began to record, edit, and post videos to YouTube on an almost daily basis {See <http://youtube.com/user/therisemovement>}.

Figure 38: RISE movement YouTube Channel

Source: <http://youtube.com/user/therisemovement>

A wide range of digital media tools and skills were thus deployed around the strike. Through peer-to-peer circulation of calls for solidarity, mostly face to face and via SNS, the Fast for Our Future engaged hundreds of supporters in media production and circulation. These media practices were participatory, multimodal, and bridged 'new' and 'old' media.

At the same time, within a specific mobilization event and the media practices that surround it there are always competing modes of use and communication goals. For example, some of the RISE leadership, in this case white male activists affiliated with religion-based support for immigration reform, also hoped to use the visibility from the Fast for Our Future to build a large email list that they would later be able to use for MoveOn-style, one-to-many email action alerts. To meet this goal, they purchased an account with Social Movement Application Service Provider (SMASP) Democracy In Action,

and the main action they asked of visitors to the fastforourfuture.org website was to sign a petition pledging ‘to vote for immigrant rights’ in the Presidential election. They faced internal criticism for the vagueness of their demand from other immigrant rights groups in L.A {Interviews, NB, LN, BH}. Signing the petition was a mechanism for encouraging supporters (via a check box) to add their email address and zip code information to the RISE movement’s supporter database (hosted by DIA). Once the hunger strike began, the email list began to grow, but these organizers were cautious about using the list to ask for expressions of solidarity via social media. Thinking of the list more like a traditional movement newsletter, they wanted to reserve its use for ‘important’ announcements (whose content they would control) and for calls for funds. This approach clashed with the participatory strategy of inviting supporters to produce media about the hunger strike, and the difference meant that in the end the list was almost never used to drive traffic to supporter-produced media or to ask for support in the form of producing or circulating media texts. The vertical organizational logic of key actors within the mobilization undermined the ability of the Fast for Our Future to parlay moderately successfully social media practices into a true transmedia activism strategy.

Given the media ecology for the L.A. immigrant rights movement, Fast for Our Future press conferences at Placita Olvera were fairly well attended by reporters from Spanish language TV, radio, and print outlets. English language broadcast media were scarce, although PBS did produce and air a

video on the Fast as part of Tavis Smiley's special election 2008 coverage {See <http://www.pbs.org/kcet/tavissmiley/voices/497.html> }. Yet the RISE movement, like many immigrant rights organizations in L.A., struggled to link their new media strategy and tools to broadcast news coverage. For example, before the Fast began, the communication team discussed the importance of driving traffic to the website by constantly repeating the site address during interviews with journalists from print, radio, or TV. They also discussed the possibility of specific days when press conferences would be used to invite readers, listeners, and viewers of broadcast media to participate in the Fast or show support by taking specific actions such as calling or texting in messages of support. However, the former tactic was used only sporadically, and the latter was never taken up at all. One organizer of the Fast for Our Future, asked to comment on what would make digital media more useful in the future, put it this way:

Having capacity. Having a group of people that is going to be there for the whole time. That we had actually thought about what kind of frame we wanted to do, had some set goals. That's what lacked. We didn't have set goals of what we wanted to show and when. Or how quick it would be shown. Having that before we go: OK, we will have this event, this is what we need to do: A.B.C.D., instead of 'here's the tools you can use,' but what to do with those tools? {Interview, BH}

By the end of the Fast for Our Future, organizers reported that “Almost 300 people have fasted and joined the encampment in Los Angeles and a dozen courageous people haven't eaten anything since October 15th. Solidarity fasts are popping up from Santa Cruz, CA, Las Vegas, NV, and Lansing, MI to Cincinnati, OH, Washington, DC, and Miami, FL. The Fast has been covered extensively in local, national, and even international Spanish- and English-language media from Telemundo to CNN.” {See http://org2.democracyinaction.org/o/5586/t/3639/blog/index.jsp?blog_KEY=30 }.

Significant broadcast media coverage was thus generated. However, in the absence of a clear focus on linking social media to broadcast coverage - a transmedia activism strategy - social media solidarity with the hunger strikers mostly came through networks of people who were connected to the strikers in real life.

A lot of things happened. If we looked at the pics that were taken by [popular communication] team - they took an active role in taking pictures, so it wasn't a failure. I thought it was going to be able to get more people that weren't part of our community to do it, but even the tools of the phone calls, a lot of the workers center workers made phone calls to support the hunger strikers. My expectations were higher, but were going beyond the scope of work that we were doing {Interview, BH}.

As this interviewee indicates, at the end of the day, it is very difficult to make a new media campaign 'go viral' beyond the immediate circle of real world friends. Organizers sometimes assume that new media campaigns will autoproferate based on the natural communication patterns of young people online. This erroneous assumption is strengthened and skewed by the extremely high visibility of successful activist media that does manage to go viral; put simply, everyone hears and talks about those cases where new media is effectively used by the movement (the walkouts were 'organized on MySpace') but few spend time discussing and understanding the thousands of cases where movement networks fail to effectively use the same tools.

At the same time, the FFOF did successfully generate a large amount of documentation of their actions. One interviewee who covered the story for L.A. Indymedia described it this way:

I guess the biggest thing we had lately was the fast for immigrant rights that was the 21 day fast leading up to and ending on the day of the election. Right here, right where we're sitting. They were camped out right there. So the first day there was a big kickoff, and so we were emailing each other to see if anybody could make it, or if anyone was gonna be there. So we try to, we can't really be sure if somebody's gonna, somebody that's there is just gonna take it on their own initiative to write something up or take pictures or upload pictures so

sometimes we try to make sure that one of us or somebody we trust is gonna be there to at least put pictures up or do a blurb. So there was some back and forth in the email seeing who is gonna be there. And then the organizers themselves, or people affiliated with them, did a lot of media. They had videos, and they had pictures, they had audio, radio, they had a lot of stuff. So it was really easy for us as far as the work collective to just sit back and let them do all the work and then we just put everything into place. And that's really the way it's supposed to work, ideally.{Interview, CS}

Just as we saw in Chapters [three and four], in the ideal case this interviewee sees social movement media activists as aggregators: taking media elements (videos, pictures, audio) produced by movement participants and highlighting them, summarizing and linking them together, reposting them, and pushing them into broader circulation. In this way, transmedia organizers also build horizontal accountability to movements directly into their daily practice, by stepping back from exercising a monopoly on production to promote the bottom-up circulation of struggles.

FFOF: the role of leadership

In an interview several months after the end of the Hunger Strike, one organizer had this to say about the solidarity audio messages and photos:

I thought it was going to be a lot easier. I had a lot of expectations, a

lot of ideas had come out about people taking the pictures and supporting through use of the phone, but I guess... you know, student groups already use the phone as a means [of organizing]... naively I thought it would come organically. Also we thought we would be able to teach people how to do it, but it didn't happen. {Interview with VozMob project coordinator, conducted by Cara Wallis}.

There is often a disconnect between the desire of some members, volunteers, or staff of movement organizations to creatively and effectively deploy new media tools and strategies in participatory ways, and the already existing repertoire of 'communication as P.R.' used by movement professionals or long time activists. Sometimes, but not always, the differing views of how to engage the new media space can be explained by age, with younger activists often more familiar with new media cultures, tools, and practices. However, this can backfire, as expressed by the organizer above who pointed out that it was a mistake to assume that young people and students are already so digitally literate that using new tools to support mobilizations will 'come organically.' Or to put it another way, effective movement use of social media comes from a delicate balance between organic appropriation by a digitally literate base and the catalyzing activities of movement activists engaged in the praxis of digital media literacy. In addition, in the case of the FFOF the failure to use mass media to build and amplify the campaign's social media strategy seemed to be based more on a

combination of lack of coordination and the vertical leadership style of some of the RISE movement organizers. For organizers on the ground, it can often be difficult to determine whether leadership are not supportive of opportunities to extend horizontal communication practices within the movement through conscious decision-making (because they fear losing control of the message) or through lack of imagination (because they are not used to thinking about what it would look like to effectively involve a large number of people in social movement communication).

Movement Structure and Transmedia Activism in the Fast for Our Future: summary

As we saw in the Fast for Our Future, few movement groups think systematically about how to use online media to drive broadcast media coverage, or vice versa. In part, this may be a function of the fact that in smaller, understaffed movement organizations, there is a division of labor between ‘new’ and ‘old’ media: younger staff or volunteers spend time building the movement’s online presence, while older and more experienced organizers focus on generating mass media coverage through press conferences and relationships with print and broadcast journalists. By dividing labor in this way, movement organizations and networks may miss opportunities to effectively leverage interesting movement-generated online media into mass media coverage, as well as to use stories in the mass media to drive large numbers of viewers and participants to online spaces.

While some immigrant rights movement groups may successfully deploy top- down network communication strategies to build email lists, raise funds from middle class sympathizers, and win grants from private foundations, this strategy has little connection to the need to broaden participation by the immigrant worker base. Horizontalist immigrant worker collectives, organizations, and groups are, by contrast, adopting networked communication tools in a manner that is more organic and based on expanding the capacity and reach of popular media practices. This approach is less visible in the short run, and is unlikely to attract funders, but effective mass socialization of digital and networked communication practices will have real impacts on the strength of the immigrant rights movement. Down the road, broader participation in movement media making will produce increased mobilization capacity, stronger movement identity, and concrete political and economic victories.

Movement structure: conclusions

This chapter used the theory and practice of *horizontalidad* (horizontalism) to investigate the relationship between the structure of social movement groups and their ability to effectively adopt participatory media practices. Overall, social movement groups that are governed by horizontal structures have the most affinity for the participatory logic of transmedia activism, and thus are best able to effectively incorporate social media into their daily practices of movement communication. However, the most

horizontal groups tend to have the least resources, and face the greatest barriers in terms of access, staff, time, and connectivity. When the social movement base is already read-write media literate, lack of organizational support for transmedia activism matters less, since movement participants can create ad hoc networks to route around vertical organizations. On the other hand, if the movement has a low-income base with little digital literacy, the lack of organizational support can make it difficult to effectively use digital media tools and skills at all. Yet professionalized movement organizations that receive funding from private foundations, while they have greater access to resources including connectivity, computers, and video cameras, are almost always organized with vertical structures, making it difficult for them to adapt to the new cultural logic of networks. These organizations may come from and maintain strong ties to their base, but they also often compete against each other for a relatively small pool of resources. Overall, professional organizational culture does not usually mix well with social media and transmedia activism. These factors militate against the ability of many nonprofits to embrace resource sharing, including media content, contacts, and software platforms.

The professionalization of social movements, their segmentation into issue-based nonprofits, and dependence on foundation funding thus all push against horizontal governance structures, horizontalist communication, and transmedia activism. Actors in the immigrant workers' movement are often caught in a catch-22: deploy social media in ad hoc movement networks by

working with those who already have read-write digital literacy, or struggle against vertical organizational cultures to bring in rich media texts created by the social base of low wage immigrant workers who currently lack digital access, tools, and skills. One possible path forward for organizers and activists is to educate funders about the value of conversational, rather than top-down, media strategies, and about the importance of supporting social movement networks. Another strategy is to shift away from nonprofits altogether, and to place more energy into networked, ad-hoc, and horizontal movement groups.

To that end, there may be an emergent transformation within the immigrant rights movement, as expectations about the digital literacies and roles of the movement base, volunteers, anarchogeeks, and professionals all begin to shift. Whereas in the past, organizations might have been satisfied to hire contractors with a specialized skill set to produce media that promoted their issue, framing, or message, there is now an increasing expectation that the role of a media activist or organizer embedded within broader social movements is to actively share skills and help build the capacity of those most directly involved to tell their own stories. Some of my interviewees see this as an encouraging shift towards greater horizontalism and accountability in social movement media practices. However, funders have not caught up with this shift, and indeed it remains unclear whether most funders will be willing to transition to supporting a more horizontalist approach to social movement media. That goal may be incompatible with

many foundation's social change models, where change is driven by professionalized nonprofits engaged in issue- based policy debates, rather than by broad based, directly democratic, digitally literate social movements of the base. Professional nonprofits themselves, for the most part, are failing to effectively deploy transmedia activism because their leadership fail to understand the social media space. What is more, younger staff within professional nonprofits are often frustrated when their efforts to use social media for movement ends are blocked by organizational leadership who either fail to understand social media, are afraid of losing control of the message, or both.

To integrate: Additional Material from 2011 Interview Series

[Possible new chapter based on lifecourse analysis of
movement actors.]

[6. Pathways to Action: Telling Stories, Building the Movement]

This is not definite yet, exploratory set of material.

Social movement scholars have noted that an initial movement experience often shapes the subsequent life course of participants. Put plainly, people become engaged in one movement and then take that experience with them, become more deeply politicized, and often participate in additional social movement activity. This is also the case for some DREAM activists we interviewed. For example, NM described becoming politicized as a high school student through the organization Inner City Struggle. “I always go back to that organizing because I think that is where I learned all those skills I then put into use, and to the immigrant rights organizing work [...]”

Interviewer: Okay, so how did you get involved, uh, this is more about like personal engagement, how did you get involved with I guess, the movement, and with media, in particular, I guess.

NM: Okay so, my involvement, was the, my involvement with teen activist groups, and organizing around immigrant rights issues, was fairly recent, so I became involved with IDEAS at UCLA when I transferred into UCLA, which was in Fall 2008. So its been about three years that I’ve been involved, and for me I think that’s recent because my primary involvement was with inner city struggle, and that began

in 2003, so I always go back to that organizing because I think that is where I learned all those skills I then put into use, and to the immigrant rights organizing work. So I became involved in inner city struggle in 2003, um and really my role in organization was to develop, so I was a high school student, so it was to develop campaign nesting, develop campaign strategy,

Activists move from group to group

Many immigrant rights activists cut their teeth on student organizing, and move through multiple movement organizations, from informal groups and collectives to paid organizing positions.

I've been involved in, I've been doing Immigrant Rights work for about, I guess it's six years now, maybe going on seven, and uh, I guess the place where I really learned how to organize and cut my teeth, and whether its working with social media, or organizing on the grounds with the Immigrant Youth Movement, different elements of it, uh, I locally organize here with the Student Immigrant Movement, so I consider myself a member of the Student Immigrant Movement. nationally I work with the United We Dream Network, and I was also a part of DREAMActivists.org as that came together, which is another kind of national network, and yeah so that's where I kind of cut my teeth organizing, and now I became associated with presente.org. so that's, and that's where I work right

now.

Mass mobilizations have lifecourse impacts as well as (occasionally) direct policy outcomes. One interviewee who now works as a paid online organizer at a national immigrant rights organization described the massive marches against HR4437 as a key inspiration for his own decision to apply his blogging and media making skills to immigrant rights work.

Interviewer: As far as like personal engagement, how did you, like first get involved with just organizing, or specifically like the media side, why media?

K: Mm hmm, gotcha, it's a hard question to answer, I guess I would say the way I describe it is, you know, growing up in Guatemala, traveling between (Rovert?) and Guatemala, and also spending time in the states I was just aware of inequality at a very young age, you know, I think when you're aware of something it could either make you change it, or it could make you want to do something about it, and I think the difference there is being a loving a family, that's what I have, I have a very loving family, and so seeing so many injustices as I saw made me wanna do something about it, and I didn't know exactly how, at first I put my head down and was studying, that's what I did first, I did well at that and then when I got into school thinking that I would be able to make a difference there. I had this, also this sense of urgency knowing that the older you get, the more tied down you get, the more responsibilities you have, the harder it

is to do crazy things, and so I wanted to do something right away. I didn't know what that was, uh, but when I took time off I was certainly inspired by, I knew taking time off from Harvard to try and figure that out, and uh, I was really inspired by the Immigrant Rights Movement in the states, seeing the (knights?) marching on the streets against HR 4437, at the time what I wanted to do was connect that to some of the suffering that I saw growing up in Guatemala, and, so I came up with this crazy idea of trying to retrace the route of it while I'm an immigrant into the U.S., and writing about it. Why I chose media as a way to do it, I would say probably arrogance is the best way to do it, you know, I don't know, the way you see the world as probably through media, and so by creating it you think you can be a part of it and be a part of history or whatever, so that's, I think that's why I chose blogging at the same time like, at Harvard I was seeing a lot of people starting up blogs and stuff, so just, I mean I was excited to be a part of, I also was trained as a Editorial Editor at the (Grimswood?) to media rights, so I got a little bit of journalism training, and that's what got me into, I guess, deciding to produce media, you know? Yeah.

DIY Video and Movement Identity

One interviewee described how an organization's online presence, specifically its FB page, served as a tool to recruit her participation in DREAM Activism. She identified heavily with a video SIM produced that described the personal story of one of their organizers:

I was undocumented, my family was going back to Brazil and I really, I really felt like these students from the stuff that they put on their Facebook, they had like videos of the kids like running after the bus, they had a video of Mario telling his story, and then when I saw those videos I was like, "I am one of those students," and I, like right away I wanted to be a part of them, and that's what I did, I just, like I was living forty-five minutes south of Boston and I came all the way on the commuter rail, just to, just to check 'em out, and when I met the organizer I was like, "I want to be a part of you guys, tell me what to do," and they had, they didn't, the Facebook page was new at the time so they, they never had some one just come, like come to them, they usually had to go around to the high schools or like, they had like a undocumented network in Boston where people would tell other students about it, so I was kind of like, they were just like, "okay, this is kind of strange, there's this person from another city, what do we do with her," and then I just became involved.

"We just became fearless."

During earlier stages of DREAM act organizing, activists did not yet feel ready to go public with their citizenship status. Once they abandoned secrecy, came out as undocumented, and became more visible both in social media spaces and through mass media coverage, they found it increasingly easy to organize actions, gather supporters, and increase face to face turnout for events.

R: well from last year I think in terms of the national movement, uh, one of, even though we didn't pass The Dream Act, we lost by like five votes, I think a

big victory and a big step was the fact that we mobilized over, there was like 250 students in DC for weeks like or like on Capitol Hill, so pretty much took over Capitol Hill and everyday they saw like they saw us, so its like we pretty much, like we were there everyday and they couldn't get rid of us, and I think that was a big victory uh, like because past, before, like the past Dream Act there wasn't that much mobilization happening in DC, there wasn't like students coming in, in like from all across the state in vans to the Capitol, um and here locally, I think we became a little bolder in terms of like, putting the message out there, because I remember when I got involved it was more like, "oh let's not put it in the media because we don't, that's not how we want other people there, just make personal calls," but once we were like out there already, it wasn't like, we, we just became fearless and it just became a lot easier to organize people to our actions because we didn't have to keep it a secret, like we could put it all over Facebook, we could tell the media, and at one of our events we got, like we did it at a church and we got over like 400 people inside the church, and it, and it wasn't, we didn't even like take, it was like two weeks of organizing to get like four, like 400 people there, it wasn't, it wasn't extensive an amount of organizing that we did, so it was, it was really powerful that a lot of people came and we, we didn't expect that.

"Everybody wanted to do an article about the DREAMers." Mass media flocked to cover DREAM activism once DREAMers began to come out as undocumented, engaged in

nonviolent civil disobedience, took direct actions, were arrested, and developed innovative protest tactics like DREAM university in front of the White House. Print and broadcast media covered these activities and helped the DREAMers reach a much broader audience, although activists found message control in these media difficult.

R: I feel like the larger movement has only been tapping into uh, the like mass media recently, cause in the past I feel like, I ha-, I hadn't seen that much on immigration, or Dream Act, unless it was a read or something like that, but I think nationally because students came out as undocumented and weren't afraid to use like their full name, it grabbed the media's attention and everybody wanted to do an article about The Dreamers, I mean Dreamers were getting arrested, like Dreamers were coming out, Dreamers were standing uh, like in front of The White House for weeks having their own university, so I think, like it was, its been fairly recent that we've been able to tap into the, the mainstream and the media, outlets, and its been, I think its been pretty successful, I mean its still harder, hard to control the message, but a lot of it has been pretty positive.

Information persistence helps DREAMers build visibility and reach additional allies. For example, one organizer described how articles that may be two or three years old but remain publicly available online continue to produce new contacts. In addition, access to online information helps DREAMers conduct research and planning in general. For example, information about high schools is readily available online.

Interviewer: Okay, so in what ways has the internet helped you, um for the group or the, or the movement?

R: well information is a lot more accessible, [...] people can go back and see an article from like two or three years ago about The Dream Movement, and I have people still like message us from articles they saw like, from articles they saw on the internet that were written like two years ago

Videos as a key tool to inspire sympathy and movement participation

Many interviewees felt that DREAM activists have done a good job creating videos and documentaries about undocumented students. These are made at varying levels of production value. Defineamerican.org was also cited as a powerful example of participatory video making linked to movement identity. Some activists also specifically mentioned Jose Antonio Vargas as a key actor who brought mass media visibility to the movement.

Female: I would just say that a lot of people post from California, so I know about like people who make like videos about the uh, the bike ride from UCLA to Berkley, so there's a lot of videos, a lot of people make documentaries about undocumented students, yeah, that's it.

Male: Yeah I feel like they are uh, they're pretty good a bout uh, creating videos, especially I think stories of undocumented people to sort of inspire other undocumented citizens uh sympathy for them, uh,

and for their dream, and I feel like uh, there are websites, and Youtube videos, and Facebook messages and, and Twitter status posts uh, all over, uh, really uh embrace that and I think that's a, that's a big part of, of media involvement into the bigger movement.

Female: I think a good example of that is like Jose Antonio, or I guess his website with The Dream Act.

Male: And defineamerican.org, uh, where he's asked people to send in their definitions of, of America in Youtube videos and you'll find Steven Colbert's definition, uh, and stuff like that.

The role of narrative

Artist JS emphasized that constructing narrative is a key component of social movement activity. He argues that it's not all about policy and law; "there's a human aspect behind every issue that people seem to forget, and using a narrative, telling our stories, telling specific snippets of our lives makes it much more clear to the person [you're trying to reach]."

He emphasized diversity of personal stories, experiences, and pathways to present immigration status. Dreamers Adrift works to integrate personal stories with art, and link diverse narratives and accessible aesthetics with specific calls to action. For example,

In one video, "The Science of Dreams," Dreamers Adrift represents the

DREAM Act and the policy process as a dysfunctional romantic relationship [embed video]. Salgado also emphasizes the importance of multimodal storytelling. Different people are able to tell their stories in different ways: not everyone is an excellent writer.

JS: Totally, I mean yeah, I mean we, we, narratives are very, very, very important because it gives it gives the viewer, you know, we can talk, you know, sit here and talk policy and, and and you know, laws and everything, but excuse me, one of the things that that we try to you know, use is the idea that its not all about, you know, there's a, there's a human aspect behind every issue that people seem to forget, and using a narrative, using you know, telling our stories, telling specific snippets of our lives make it much more clear to the person

Learning from other movements

Learning from past movements: Alinsky, Ganz, Chavez, and public narratives

When asked to talk about where they learn how to use new media as an organizing tool, DREAM activists provide a complicated set of answers. Activists teach themselves new tools and techniques; they consider social media to be something they understand 'naturally' as part of everyday life. At the same time, many attend trainings, events, and conferences, where they learn media tools and strategies from other

DREAMers, immigrant rights activists, or progressives more broadly. One interviewee mentioned Netroots Nation, and cited progressive blogs as an influence. In addition, they talk about particular movements and key organizers or educators. For example, UWD leadership learned about public narrative from Marshall Ganz, who worked with Saul Alinsky and Cesar Chavez as an organizer with United Farm Workers.

Cross movement networks, solidarity and tactical sacrifices

Networked organizing takes place not only in digital space but also face to face. One organizer described how he is able to find places to stay almost anywhere in the country, either with other activists he has met and worked with or through friends of theirs (one step removed). The same interviewee talked about the benefits that come from links across movement networks. Specifically, he described the LGBT movement as an important network that lends decades of experience, guidance, resources, and support to the immigrant rights movement. He expressed admiration that this is the case, despite what he felt were tactical decisions by some immigrant rights activists to “put the LGBT community under the bus” when attempting to mobilize support from churches.

Interviewer: So let, kind of the next section is about, networks and different forms of networks, so are you or, like, uh, you mentioned Presente, or like part of a network or networks?

K: Oh yeah, I mean certainly, I think, like I said the immigrant youth network is a very strong group that I'm a part of (in the well?), I can go almost anywhere in

the country and find people that, that if I don't know them directly, they know other people that know me in the networks, and then I have places to stay, people to organize with, Presente obviously is part of the larger Latino community which is now the immigrant right community, so there's a lot of networks there obviously, that are, uh, I mean I know about mostly through the immigrant community but I'm also starting to learn more, what are other networks, I'm trying to think, like I said with, interestingly, I think the LGBT Movement uh, is something that a lot of us learn from, and aspire to and are connected to I think they've had a lot of dec-, a few decades on us in terms of organizing so, they also generally have more money than we do, I think we generally have more people, they have more money (laughs), uh, but uh, but yeah, we look to them often for guidance and you know, they (?), like a lot of leaders in the LGBT Community are very supportive of the work we do, which, which is pretty amazing cause its, I think sometimes at some levels, they make a tactical decision, the immigrant rights movement does, to like go after churches since specifically put the LGBT Community under the bus, which, you know, you gotta make your own decisions in your own places, but, you know, instead of getting down on us, the LGBT Community still supports us, which I think is really amazing, you know, yeah.

"It's a do and learn process."

Activists talked about looking both to predecessors within their own organizations, as well as to other movement groups and networks, to better understand the possibilities for using media as an organizing tool. Many chose to explore new tools after seeing an example of their effective deployment elsewhere in the movement, and did so in an ad-hoc, hands on process of experimentation rather than through formal training. They also looked to other social movement media practices (from beyond DREAM activism or immigrant rights activism) for ideas.

For example, one interviewee described a specific style of participatory video production used by the Occupy Movement that she hoped to incorporate into the repertoire of DREAM activist media practices:

Female: Yeah, and not just like, undocumented student groups, I think like something we talked about before is like with the Occupy Movement, they have like videos where they show like people holding up this paper that say like their story, so kind of like incorporating that and trying to like humanize the issue of being undocumented.

Undocuqueer

Many interviewees mentioned that the leadership of the immigrant youth

movement disproportionately identifies as queer, especially gay or lesbian, but also transgender as well as other gender identities and sexual identities. One stated:

“[Immigrant youth] are often able to find, whether it’s a friend or someone they generally love, to get married to them and they’re able to get status that way. But there’s a whole group of immigrant youth that don’t get married because they’re identified as queer, you know, and so disproportionately the leadership in immigrant youth movement actually identifies as queer.”

Queer DREAMers face additional burdens and pressures. For example, undocumented people who marry opposite sex partners may gain legal status more rapidly, while same-sex marriages, even where possible, don’t confer the same advantages. In this way the state continues to regulate sexual identity and exclude queer folks from full integration.

At the same time, Queer DREAMers often find themselves in the position of challenging oppressive norms internalized by communities they otherwise feel a part of. Another interviewee describes this struggle succinctly:

“if you’re in a queer space, do you tell them you’re undocumented, or if you’re in a undocumented space, do you tell ‘em you’re queer?”

DREAMers Adrift address these challenges in part through illustrations, poster art, and videos that explore intersectional identity and the idea of a ‘movement within the movement.’ They try to challenge homophobia within immigrant communities more broadly and the immigrant rights movement

specifically, as well as challenge anti-immigrant narratives within the queer community. As Julio Salgado from DREAMers Adrift put it this way: *"Hey, you know, what, guess what, you're part of an oppressed group, do not oppress other groups."*

DACA [to incorporate]

Undocumented youth have been organizing for over a decade to attain regularization of immigration status, both as part of the broader immigrant rights movement and for a federal DREAM act. The Obama administration's recent announcement of DACA (Deferred Action), while only a small step forward, was a hard-fought victory that was won by undocumented youth activists through a combination of inside and outside tactics, including direct action and sit-ins in streets, offices, and campaign headquarters across the country. DREAMers use innovative transmedia activism tactics to build visibility, circulate their messages, and provide opportunities for participatory media making that strengthens movement identity.

DACA, Databases, Detention and Deportation

On the one hand, DACA can be seen as a minor victory: it potentially provides 1.2-1.6 million DREAMers with a formal mechanism by which they can receive recognition from the state, a promise that they won't be detained and deported for at least two years, and legal permission to work inside the United States. It can also be seen as a cynical electoral play by the Obama administration to throw the smallest possible bone to the immigrant rights movement in an attempt to build support among Latin@ voters. In the worst case scenario, DACA serves to build a federal database of undocumented youth which might then be used - either by an incoming Romney administration, by the Obama administration, or even further in the future - to more easily detain and deport DREAMers. The general failure of progressives to consider the latter possibility is strange, considering the power of lobbyists for the private prison and detention facility

industry. These lobbyists coauthored the infamous Arizona SB1070 and then, via the American Legislative Exchange Council, transformed it into 'model legislation' that would spawn numerous copycat state bills [Laura Sullivan, 2010. "Prison Economics help drive Ariz. Immigration Law." National Public Radio.

[http://www.npr.org/2010/10/28/130833741/prison-economics-help-drive-ariz-](http://www.npr.org/2010/10/28/130833741/prison-economics-help-drive-ariz-immigration-law)

[immigration-law](http://www.npr.org/2010/10/28/130833741/prison-economics-help-drive-ariz-immigration-law)]). The assumption that Obama is on track to win the 2012 election may reduce the likelihood that a DACA database will be used to round up DREAMers, but even that assumption isn't clear, given the year after year record-breaking rate of detentions and deportations by the Obama administration: from 369,221 removals in FY 2008 to 396,906 in FY 2011, according to figures released by ICE [ICE, 2012:

<http://www.ice.gov/doclib/about/offices/ero/pdf/ero-removals1.pdf>]. In fact, the Obama administration has deported an average of 33,000 people per month, compared to 21,000 per month under the administration of Bush (Jr.) and 9,000 per month under Clinton [2012, Politifact: [http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-](http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2012/aug/10/american-principles-action/has-barack-obama-deported-more-people-any-other-pr/)

[meter/statements/2012/aug/10/american-principles-action/has-barack-obama-deported-more-people-any-other-pr/](http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2012/aug/10/american-principles-action/has-barack-obama-deported-more-people-any-other-pr/)].

6. Conclusions: Rethinking Social Movements & Media

[revise Conclusions after completing chapter by chapter revisions]

In the context of a global political economy that results in vast numbers of economic migrants, immigration policies are shaped by social movements - nativists on one side and immigrant students, workers, and their allies on the other - that battle over attention, framing, and credibility within a communication system that is simultaneously globalized, converged, diversified, hypersegmented, broadcasts to more eyeballs than ever before, and includes the rapidly expanding, unruly, and participatory space of social media. This book is an attempt to make sense of how social movements negotiate, and sometimes influence, such a rapidly changing media ecology.

To understand these dynamics, we focused on the primary question: under what conditions do social movements effectively use media to strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform consciousness? Together with a wide network of organizers, students, media activists, community based organizations, ad hoc collectives, and immigrant workers, I worked to develop shared research, theory, and practice focused on building the critical media literacies of low-wage immigrant workers. Insight drawn from nearly 100 participatory media workshops, movement events, and day to day practice was augmented by analysis of multimedia texts produced by the movement during this time, and by [40 (update final total based on what's included from recent interview

rounds)] semi-structured interviews with movement participants. What emerged from this work is a model that finds social movements to be successful when they learn to take advantage of transformations in the media ecology through transmedia activism, shift their communicative role from sole content creator towards aggregation, curation, remix, and circulation of movement media, and engage in developing critical media literacy with their social base. I also found that the ability of social movements to participate in transmedia activism is shaped by contradictory vertical and horizontal organizational logics that operate within, between, and across movement organizations, groups, and networks.

Summary of findings

[MOVE to Conclusion? Transmedia Activism isn't the most important thing in the world - but it's worth paying attention to.]

Too often, scholars and journalists posit that more and better social media are responsible for “turning the tide” in mass mobilizations. Activists, especially during the recent mobilization wave, sometimes use the same logic but argue that social movement success is based on horizontal forms of organizing. I urge readers to reject this kind of mechanistic approach to thinking about social movements. While I have described here many cases

where social media use was indeed important, as in the Walkouts against Sensenbrenner, where movement groups appropriated new tools in innovative ways, as in DREAM Act livestreaming sit-ins, or where horizontal organizing models challenged top-down approaches, as in the response to the Macarthur Park 'Melee,' it is not my intention to claim that social media, new technology, or horizontal organizing processes are the most important factors in social movement success.

In fact, none of these are usually the 'most important variable' in social movement outcomes, if such a thing is even useful to posit. Other factors, long identified by social movement scholars, are usually more crucial: [access to resources, elite allies, splits between different factions within a formerly unified opponent, support and solidarity from a wide range of people beyond the movement's base, tactical innovation, highly publicized acts of police repression, a compelling narrative - all of these, and many more, have been identified as key components of social movement success.] I believe that transmedia activism and horizontal forms of organizing are important because they are crucial parts of movement building, not because they are independent variables that can help predict movement outcomes. Through media making, social movement participants build collective identity. When movements use horizontal forms of organizing and directly democratic decisionmaking, they prefigure a more just and democratic world; they enact the change they wish to see.

[Rewrite in a less formal tone.]

When we analyze key immigrant rights mobilizations, including the 2006 marches against the Sensenbrenner bill, the 2006 high school walkouts, and the FIOB, it's clear that social movements are operating within a rapidly changing media ecology. On the one hand, most immigrant rights activists still lack access to Anglo print or broadcast media, and these channels continue to play the most important role in framing and agenda-setting for the dominant political class, both locally and nationally. On the other hand, most activists agree that they have a steadily growing ability to generate coverage in the ethnic press, including print, radio, and television stations that have increasing reach and power. At the same time, commercial Spanish language radio is the single platform with the most power to galvanize the social base of the immigrant rights movement into action. When Spanish language locutores (radio hosts) decide to call for mass mobilization, they are able to bring literally millions of immigrant workers into the streets. Ethnic media, especially Spanish language commercial radio, television, and newspapers, provides important new possibilities for the immigrant rights movement.

The growth in translocal media circulation is also an important modification to the broader media ecology. Although access to ICTs and digital media literacies remain deeply unequal, immigrants appropriate ICTs to strengthen practices of translocal community citizenship. In some cases, immigrant workers are early adopters of new digital media tools that allow

them to remain closely linked with family, friends, and community via rich media sharing practices. During mobilizations, they use these tools and skills to share movement media with networks of supporters and media outlets in their communities of origin and around the world; they also generate transnational support for movements in their places of origin by circulating media among supporters and the ethnic press in the United States.

At the same time, the media ecology is being transformed from the bottom up by the rise of social media and mobile phones. The rapid adoption of social network sites by the children of new immigrants, and mobile penetration rates soaring above 80 percent even among the most marginalized groups of low wage immigrant workers, enable new participatory practices of movement media making. These new tools and skills help everyday participants in the immigrant rights movement coordinate, document, and circulate their own actions in near-real time, and generate space for bottom-up agenda setting, framing, tactical media, and self-representation or storytelling. Crucially, the impact of social media is not limited to peer to peer circulation, as important as that may be. Media produced by activists and initially circulated via social networks also passes into broadcast distribution, and print and broadcast journalists now regularly seek news tips and content that has 'bubbled up' from social media, blogs, and the ethnic press. Movement groups that recognize these new openings in the media ecology and take steps to occupy them are more successful than those that continue to address all of their communications efforts directly

towards Anglo broadcast outlets.

The most successful movement media practices during the 2006 Walkouts and in the aftermath of the 2007 police attack in Macarthur Park can be best theorized in terms of what I call transmedia activism. Transmedia activism engages both skilled media makers and the movement's social base in the production and circulation of movement narratives across multiple media platforms. Transmedia production practices provide opportunities for participation to people with varying skill levels, allowing those involved with the movement to contribute simple elements like photos, texts, or short video clips that are later aggregated, remixed, combined, and circulated more broadly. Some movement groups consciously employ social media solidarity tactics that encourage allies and supporters to identify more closely with the movement by adding their own small media elements to larger shared texts. Transmedia activism is not limited by genre, and may also incorporate elements of commercial films, television programs, songs, and so on, which are then referenced, sampled, remixed, and recirculated in the movement context, thus providing multiple entry points to movement consciousness.

Transmedia activism strengthens movement identity formation among those who take part, by providing discrete opportunities for participants and supporters to produce and circulate movement frames and narratives. At the same time, it results in broader visibility of the movement to non-participants through distribution across multiple platforms. Transmedia activism thus

values the act of mediamaking as in and of itself a movement building process. Movement groups that become hubs of transmedia activism practice are able to take advantage of the changed media ecology, build stronger movement identity among participants, and gain greater visibility for the movement, its goals, its actions, and its frame.

Immigrant rights organizers in Los Angeles, like activists everywhere, are to some degree caught between the desire to retain control over framing and act as spokespeople for the movement, and the need to become transmedia organizers. The latter approach requires taking on new tasks, and marks a move from content production alone to aggregation, remix, curation, and amplification of messages and frames generated by the movement's social base. Some characterize this shift as a conscious decentralization of the movement voice. Top-down communicators inside social movements find it increasingly difficult to retain control over messaging, as 'approved' frames are challenged by media produced and circulated by a social base with ever growing digital media skills. In some cases, bottom-up transmedia activism forces movement leaders or spokespeople to modify their messages in order to regain trust and credibility with the broader movement base. However, the tools and skills of transmedia activism have not yet become an established part of daily communication practices within the movement. Press conferences and actions staged specifically to draw mass media coverage continue to be the go-to forms of social movement media strategy. Over time, the many small tasks required to effectively organize a press

conference have become tacit organizational knowledge. By contrast, effective use of social media tools is a recent development and requires a new and different skill set. These skills often mystify the older generation of organizers. Older organizers, especially, are used to dealing with broadcast media events but do not yet truly understand the new media ecology - the shifted terrain of communication power {Castells, 2012}. Even those who are paying close attention to changes in the media ecology, and who have intellectually committed to adapt digital media to movement needs, continue to struggle to transform their daily practices. This is slowly changing. Many activists hope that over time, the new tools and skills themselves will fade into the background, and the ability to effectively deploy and integrate them within overall movement media strategy will grow.

Transmedia activism has great potential both as a tool to strengthen participatory democracy within social movements, and as a strategy to leverage changes in the media ecology to generate greater movement outcomes. However, wide disparities in ICT access and digital media literacies pose significant challenges. In the worst cases, activists may transfer the majority of their time and energy to 'organizing in the cloud,' become removed from their social base, and draw resources and attention to online activity that appears significant but lacks accountability to any real world community beyond a handful of web savvy activists. While some see this as a problem, few organizers in the immigrant rights movement argue that the solution is to move away from online organizing. Instead, they are

building on the history of popular education to develop a praxis of digital media literacy that links training in ICT tools and skills directly to movement building. Analysis of media practices by the MIWON network as well as by DREAM Act organizers reveals the key role of social movements in the long growth of critical digital media literacy.

This praxis of digital media literacy takes place in a context of scarce resources and a lack of advanced ICT capacity within the immigrant rights movement. Many community-based organizations have low capacity computer labs, and struggle to sustain digital literacy trainings alongside their many other responsibilities as overworked nonprofits with few staff and constant crises. Older CBO staff, especially, often struggle themselves with what they describe as strange new tools. At the same time, there is a great deal of informal and peer to peer learning, including between younger movement participants and students but also between generations. In fact, the bulk of the democratization of media skills within the immigrant rights movement takes place through informal learning processes. In the case of the DREAM act students, it also became clear that digital media literacies both enable and are shaped by new processes of ad hoc movement formation. Backchannel conversations via digital media tools may rapidly coalesce into new movement groups or informal networks that are more open and participatory than pre-existing organizations or institutions. Ad hoc networks also provide opportunities and incentives for participants to gain new digital media skills. While students do generally have greater digital

media literacy than low-wage workers, this is unequal between students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. In some cases, students also learn new tools and skills from immigrant workers who have appropriated these tools for translocal community practices. Digital media literacies thus flow back and forth across generations and between social movement networks in largely informal processes of peer-to-peer learning.

Perhaps more than any other factor, social movement structure shapes the ability of the immigrant rights movement to engage in effective transmedia activism. Social movements are structured by competing horizontal and vertical logics. Horizontal influences include (among other things) open skillshares, indigenous norms of the *tequio*, anarchogeeks, and frequently, younger organization staff and volunteers whose political formation has been shaped explicitly by horizontalist movement philosophy or implicitly by the cultural logic of networks and experience with social media tools. Vertical pressures often come from funders, who push organic movement networks towards issue based policy advocacy, professionalization, and clear brand identity, all of which require top down communication strategies and tight control over messages and framing. The long- term professionalization of social movements, the incorporation of movement groups as 501(c)3 organizations, and the subsequent necessity to compete with other organizations for scarce resources also drives many CBOs away from daily practices of information and resource sharing. For these and other reasons, nonprofit organizations often tend towards tighter message

control. Nonprofit staff are under pressure to take credit for mobilization successes and increase their organization's visibility, to reframe broader social struggles in terms of issue-based campaigns, and to advance winnable policy proposals. Funders, program officers, and media specialists are also often experienced with communication strategies that have not caught up with recent transformations in the media ecology, the possibilities of transmedia activism, or the growth of read-write digital media literacy. In capacity building workshops and professional trainings, they therefore often replicate a discourse about the importance of top down message control, based on communication strategies that focus entirely on the production of 'news hits' defined as coverage by English-language broadcast media.

Any given group, organization, network, or social movement group faces contradictory organizational logics in response to the new media ecology. Besides implicit and explicit pressure from funders, many organizers in the immigrant rights movement talked about a divide between 'old school' organizers who are unfamiliar with social media and the younger generation. Some older organizers, who occupy leadership positions inside vertically structured nonprofit organizations, either ignore, dismiss, or deprioritize the possibilities of transmedia activism. In some cases, leaders actively push back against social media use because they fear loss of control in networked, participatory spaces. A few do so based on concerns that anti-immigrant groups will invade their social media spaces and overwhelm them with hate speech, although in practice this rarely occurs. Others worry about the

dilution of their brand identity, or that by hosting conversations open to participation by their base, they will appear unprofessional or too radical to secure funding.

Some are willing to take risks, open movement communication practices to their base, and incorporate the praxis of digital media literacy into their work. They make the shift from speaking for the movement to speaking with the movement; from content production to aggregation, curation, remix, amplification, and circulation. In the long run, these organizers, and the movement groups they are part of, are most likely to effectively use transmedia activism to take advantage of the new media ecology, strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform consciousness.

Implications for social movement scholars

In the past, many scholars theorized social movements as completely separate entities from the media. Press coverage was taken as a dependent variable, or outcome, of successful movement activity. While some scholars focused on media produced by movements themselves, media making was rarely considered a core aspect of social movement activity. The growth of read-write digital literacy on a mass scale and the rise of social media require that we retheorize this relationship.

As the political economy of the communication system itself is reconfigured around the social production and circulation of digital media,

social movements are becoming transmedia hubs where new visions of society are encoded into digital texts by movement participants and then shared, aggregated, remixed, and circulated ever more widely across platforms. Despite digital inequality, the praxis of digital media literacy can result in subjects able to fully participate in transmedia activism, connect to networked social movements, and take advantage of the changed media ecology to strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform consciousness. Within the immigrant rights movement in L.A., as in other social movements, this process is becoming increasingly visible. However, social movement groups are continually pushed in contradictory directions by both external and internal organizational logics. Private foundations steer movements towards professionalization and vertical structures, while old-school organizers often misunderstand, distrust, or fear the loss of message control. To build stronger social movements, transmedia organizers work to educate funders, move towards more autonomous resource models, struggle to gain the trust of older organizers, take risks with new ad hoc networks, and share digital media literacies with the movement base.

In this context, social movement scholars must retheorize movements and the media as interlocking systems {see Gamson}, examine the role that media production plays in movement identity formation, and explore the tensions between vertical and horizontal organizational logics.

[more?]

Knowledge gaps [tone has reverted to social science. Rewrite, cut]

Based on analysis of these practices, proposed significant changes to our understanding of the relationship between social movements and media. Yet, this research in some ways only scratches the surface of the analytical model that can usefully describe this retheorized relationship. The proposed new model must be further developed and refined by examining its utility for understanding a range of social movements in different contexts. For example, comparing the outcomes of immigrant rights movements from several, widely disparate contexts might test the importance of the composition of the media ecology. In addition, comparative work is needed to examine whether and to what degree the proposed model holds across different kinds of social movements. Other key areas for research include more systematic attention to different geographic levels of the media ecology (neighborhood, city, state, national, and transnational, as well as translocal, media ecologies). There is also a need to examine transmedia activism by political parties and by State agencies, as well as to explore transmedia activism by reactionary social movements.

The analytical model proposed here could be greatly extended, and its impacts enhanced, by additional attention to social movement outcomes. Social movement scholars have developed an extensive literature focused on movement outcomes, including the creation of diverse outcome typologies (for example, mobilization, political, and cultural outcomes) and the

development of various outcomes metrics (number of movement participants, size of mobilizations, adoption of movement frames by the mass media, incorporation of movement proposals into specific legislation, election of movement candidates, and so on). Where appropriate, quantitative indicators should be applied, and additional indicators developed for other components of the model. For example, social movement scholars may wish to develop quantitative indicators of the media ecology. These might take the form of measures of social movement access to various components of the media system, or indices of information access, as proposed by the Knight Commission {Knight Commission, 2009}. Measures of the media ecology might also combine quantitative and qualitative approaches, as in Sandra Ball-Rokeach's work on media ecology {Kim and Ball-Rokeach, 2006a, 2006b}. Future research on transmedia activism could focus more attention on impacts, as shown by different outcome indicators.

Another key research gap lies in the need to further elaborate the serious dangers of transmedia activism. Dangers that were touched on only briefly in this project but deserve sustained attention include surveillance, data mining, and social network analysis by enemies, censorship in social media spaces, and the incorporation of movement communication practices as free labor for the profitability of corporate media platforms. Transmedia activism makes social movements more visible to friends and enemies alike, and movement participants often create and circulate content online without regard to the potential implications for privacy and for future repression. The

long-term persistence of online data generates unforeseen effects, as movement participants who leave traces of their daily practices in social media spaces may be retroactively held accountable for their activity far in the future. This is especially problematic in environments of extreme State repression, but potentially harmful to movement participants' life chances even in the most open environments. Overall, transmedia activism potentially enables heightened surveillance by State, corporate, and countermovement actors.

While we have seen that social media platforms are great enablers of peer to peer movement communication, at the same time over-reliance on commercial platforms leaves social movements vulnerable to censorship. Censorship of movement media takes place for a variety of reasons: content that contains music or video clips from commercial sources is deleted by algorithms designed to eliminate copyright violations; images of police, military, or vigilante brutality are removed based on violations of Terms of Service that disallow graphic display of violence; group accounts and pages are deleted for advocating positions seen by site moderators as too extreme. Site Terms of Service rarely leave space for activists to take any legal action against providers for hiding or deleting their content or social network accounts. In some countries, the State requires service providers to implement extensive content filtering, and in most countries, almost all commercial sites cooperate extensively with law enforcement and intelligence agencies.

Most of the self-documentation of struggles that takes place in the immigrant rights movement in L.A. is being circulated through appropriated space on commercial sites like MySpace, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and Tumblr. While movement media finds broad audiences via these spaces, at the same time movement media makers are contributing to the profitability of transnational communication firms, some of which (especially Rupert Murdoch's Fox News) are active mouthpieces for anti-immigrant sentiment. Many movement activists I talked to were quite aware and self-critical of their own use of corporate tools to do movement work. They use these spaces strategically because of their ease of use and in order to reach wide audiences. However, if autonomous alternatives were available many would use them. On the margins, some media activists are working to construct a stronger autonomous communication infrastructure, built in decentralized fashion using Free and Open Source Software, but these tools would be more widely used if they were more visible and more user friendly. Since corporate SNS already have massive audiences, autonomous tools have much less chance of uptake even if they are functionally equivalent or superior. However, this can change rapidly during moments of great crisis, ruptures in the glossy facade of friendly corporate culture, or at other moments based on the fickle feelings of the multitude. Additional research into these dynamics would be welcome.

Despite these and other knowledge gaps, the research findings of this book have real implications for communicative practice in social movements.

The last section is a discussion of these implications.

Implications for social movements

One of the main aims of communication for social change specifically, and action research more broadly, is to develop new knowledge together with the community of study in order to advance theory and practice within that community. In accordance with that aim, this book ends with a summary of the implications of the research findings for social movements. The points highlighted here are based on my own interpretation of the project's research findings, drawn from the large body of primary materials gathered from participatory workshops, movement media, and semi structured interviews. In addition, all interviewees were asked to reflect on what they felt the most important goals of the immigrant rights movement should be with respect to communication practices, and to imagine and describe the media landscape they would like to see in five years' time. I have tried to incorporate all of the key points made by interviewees in response to this invitation to imagine the future of social movement media practices.

Analysis of the media ecology

Very few actors in the immigrant rights movement in L.A. have taken the time to analyze the media ecology. This project demonstrates that activists would benefit greatly if they took the time to do so, since changes in

the media ecology have implications for the strategies and tactics they choose to employ. In plain language, this means that effective social movements think about who they are trying to reach with their actions, research which media platforms and spaces will be most effective at reaching that group of people, and shape their communication strategies accordingly. This form of analysis needs to be iterative and built into overall movement strategy, since the media ecology involves rapidly changing platforms, tools, and services. The process involves learning about the audiences and reach of various print, TV, radio, and online news media, as well as blogs, social media, and mobile media services and platforms. Movements can also take advantage of the new media ecology by developing relationships with and allies among journalists, bloggers, and media makers across all platforms.

Transmedia activism strategy

This project also argues that social movements that want to take advantage of changes in the media ecology must think about how they can involve their social base in making media about the movement. Media texts created by the movement base can be aggregated, remixed, more widely circulated, and amplified across platforms by transmedia organizers. Transmedia activism also means systematically linking movement media texts in any one channel to the broader movement narrative across media platforms. For example, interviews with broadcast media should always mention a website or an SMS number where the viewer or listener can find

out more. If a movement participant creates an interesting video about an action, a link to the video can be included in the press release that is sent to journalists and bloggers, a high quality version can be made available for download by TV and web video outlets, online news sites and local bloggers can be contacted to embed the video in their sites, and so on. Transmedia activism also requires reconceiving the organizers' role, from content creator to curator. Part of the responsibility of effective transmedia organizers is to constantly pay attention to media created by the movement base. When they find something powerful, transmedia organizers repost it on their sites, send it to their social networks, and try to get it picked up by broadcast media. These practices privilege participation by the social base of the movement in messaging, framing, and the construction of larger movement narratives, and help build movement identity among those who participate. Those social movement groups that are willing to relax top-down control over messaging and framing will benefit from stronger movement identity, greater participation, and ultimately, more power among the social base of the movement.

Developing critical digital media literacy

Especially for movements with a social base that is largely excluded from the public sphere, it is important to develop a praxis of digital media literacy that links training in media production directly to popular education and day to day movement building. This book demonstrates that the praxis

of digital media literacy is most effective when it is ongoing and inclusive, involving core organizers, staff, volunteers, and the social base. Some organizations wait for 'experts' to train them, but this is not likely to be an effective long term strategy. Activists and organizers can strengthen the praxis of digital media literacy by sharing tools and skills in both formal and informal settings across movement networks. Regular, hands-on, skill sharing labs, workshops, and practices, open to all, can greatly strengthen a movement's capacity for transmedia activism. The more people in the movement's social base that learn to make, remix, and circulate media across platforms, the more powerful the movement becomes.

This research also indicates that activists and organizers should challenge the tendency to assume that media production is too complex or too expensive. Effective media production is increasingly fast, cheap, and DIY. Movements with few resources can still use free online tools to make quick, inexpensive, multimedia that tells their story effectively. Expert advice or fears about 'production values' should never be allowed to hamper the creative use of media for movement ends. Videos with high production values can be important tools if the resources are available, but movement groups do not need big budgets to have big impacts. Those that make a practice of regularly producing and circulating their own media improve their skills and abilities over time.

Physical media laboratories can quickly become key spaces for the development of critical media literacy and effective transmedia activism. It is

possible to transform existing computer labs that often sit empty or are used only for basic computer literacy learning, or for personal use, into hubs of transmedia activism. Social movement organizations have, for the most part, not thought creatively about how to find staff or volunteers to help make this happen. Partnerships with community colleges, universities, and other institutions that have students skilled in media production are one possibility that has been underutilized in Los Angeles. Movement organizations might also explore pooling resources with others to help make dynamic media labs a reality.

In the long run, many activists and organizers I interviewed also feel that social movements should consider the possibilities of community controlled communications infrastructure. For example, although cable access TV stations are rapidly disappearing, some still have resources to teach video production; the long struggle by microradio activists has finally begun to bear fruit in the form of new Low Power FM licenses (although, at the time of writing, these are not yet available in Los Angeles); organizers in Little Tokyo created a community owned wireless network, and so on. Community controlled media and communications infrastructure, combined with the development of critical media literacy, has the potential to be a decisive factor in building strong social movements.

Horizontal movement structures

The structure of social movement groups shapes, but does not

determine, the ways in which they use the tools of networked communication. Social movement groups in the U.S. context have become increasingly professionalized and vertically structured, in part due to the influence of private foundations and the rise of the issue-based nonprofit sector. Within the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles, some professionalized nonprofits and vertical organizations have been able to take advantage of the new media ecology and engage in transmedia activism, when their leadership has been open to shifting their communication strategy away from a top-down model towards a horizontalist or popular communication model. However, staff, especially younger staff, within professional nonprofits are often frustrated by organizational leadership's refusal to abandon top down communication practices. By contrast, horizontally structured movement groups have been more easily able to deploy transmedia activism.

Regardless of the decision-making structure of the movement group, I argue in this book that horizontalist principles are essential for those that want to take advantage of the possibilities of the new media ecology. First, *social media is a conversation, not a broadcast*. Movement 'leaders' who try to control the message in social media spaces will fail, since no one wants to participate if they are not allowed to speak. Second, it is crucial to *let people innovate, play, and take risks*. Those that try to over-plan social media strategy will never get off the ground, while those that allow interested movement participants (for example) to set up accounts and play with new

online services and networks, then incorporate them into overall communication strategy if they seem to be working well, will have more success. Movement groups must also avoid technological 'lock-in:' tools that do not seem to be working should be dropped in favor of others that seem more intuitive or effective. Perhaps most crucially, transmedia activism means *opening the story of the movement to the voices of those who make up its social base*. If movement participants want to push messages other than those preferred by the leadership, then the leadership needs to either do a better job of articulating the importance of their frame, or a better job of actively listening to what their social base demands. The solution, in a social movement group that actually wants to build shared power, can never be to silence or marginalize the voices of the social base. Effective movement leadership respects and values community knowledge and information. An effective praxis of digital media literacy and a strong transmedia activism strategy thus also serve to constantly strengthen movement accountability.

Finally, those I worked with and interviewed for this book emphasized over and over again the importance of *sustainability*, and *autonomy*. A diversified stream of resources is important not so much to avoid explicit control by funders (although that does occasionally present a problem), but in order to escape the long term process of social movement professionalization that tends to shift movements away from value-driven base building and towards issue-based, top-down (expert-driven) models of social change. This is not to say that social justice oriented foundations

cannot play a positive role in encouraging transmedia activism among social movement organizations, but so far, most have not. Exceptions during the period of this research included the Funding Exchange's Media Justice Fund, now closed, and certain program officers within the Ford Foundation, the Open Society Institute, the Knight Foundation, and a handful of others. While these programs supported a great deal of important community-based media work, most of them were also explicitly focused on getting CBOs involved in media and communications policy battles. The California Emerging Technology Fund, Zero Divide, and the Instructional Television Foundation were also all important sources of funding for actors within the immigrant rights movement, but mostly (with the exception of Zero Divide) focused on a 'capacity building' model that was divorced from a theory of social change. Foundations were thus willing to fund CBOs either to train community members in basic computing skills, develop professionalized public relations strategies, or develop so-called 'new media' strategies that were geared to using social media as a broadcast and branding tool or to building email lists for fundraising. Some funders were willing to support community media making as long as it also contained a component of media policy advocacy at the federal level. Yet we have seen that movements are most effectively able to incorporate networked communication tools and skills when their base is digitally literate, when they use digital media tools and practices in everyday resistance, and when they are willing to shift from top-down communication strategies to horizontalist approaches that involve the base as much as

possible in production of the movement narrative. A long term vision for community control of media thus requires a diversified funding model that does not remain wholly dependent on foundations for the bulk of resources.

The immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles has already built innovative forms of transmedia activism on top of existing media practices of their base. The steady growth of read-write digital literacy makes possible new practices of richly mediated translocal mobilization and ad hoc movement formation. By beginning from the actually existing practices of social movement groups and tracing the way that media is created, circulated, appropriated, and transformed across various platforms, we gain a more detailed and deeper understanding of social movements in the 21st century. By listening to the experiences of those involved in day to day organizing within the immigrant rights movement, and by learning from those experiences, it is possible to build stronger, more democratic social movements in the information age.

Appendices

Appendix: Methods

Research question

The primary research question that guided all data gathering for this book was: *under what conditions do social movements effectively use networked communication to strengthen movement identity, win political and economic victories, and transform consciousness?* When I began this project, I worked from the following set of hypotheses about the preconditions for effective networked communication by social movements.

Effective use of networked communication for social outcomes is possible:

- *When the social base of the movement gains basic access to digital media tools and skills, and when these tools and skills become incorporated into daily life;*
- *When movement actors develop a communication strategy that includes social media;*
- *When the movement adopts new tactics in the heat of crisis or mass mobilization;*
- *When the movement includes technology-literate activists who have specialized knowledge and skills;*
- *When the movement has access to sufficient resources;*
- *When movement actors shift from vertical communication practices*

(‘control the message’) to horizontal communication practices (‘engage in conversation’).

The methodology I use to engage my primary research question and to explore these hypotheses is action research, working within a Communication for Social Change framework. Within this framework, research data was gathered using multiple techniques including interviews, field recordings, the creation of archives of online movement media, and participatory media workshops.

Communication for Social Change

This project differs in several respects from many partnerships between scholars and community based organizations (CBOs). Typically, a CBO with an existing campaign collaborates with the researcher or research team to generate a detailed study that documents and validates community knowledge and demands. Such studies provide legitimacy to community knowledge that can then be used to generate attention from mass media and policymakers, with the end goal of a specific campaign victory. For example, in Los Angeles Andrea Hricko's work with community based environmental justice organizations and Gary Blasi's work with the LA Taxi Workers' Alliance follow this model {Hricko, 2004; Blasi, 2006; LA Taxi Workers Alliance, 2006}. By contrast, my work with the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles has been focused on building long-term communication capacity, rather than on

winning a specific campaign. All of the movement formations I became involved with already had histories of popular communication practice, as well as desires to build digital communication capacity. To varying degrees, all had made previous attempts to train immigrant workers in media production. My role was to help in conceptualization, planning, and seed fundraising stages of several communication projects. I attempted as much as possible to do this not by imposing my ideas of what kind of project might be most fruitful, but by using the methodology known as Communication for Social Change (CFSC) to develop digital media projects and practices together with the immigrant rights movement.

Communication for Social Change (CFSC) is both theory and method, and is influenced by the work of Paolo Freire, especially the Freirian focus on conscientization or political education through literacy {Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, 2006}. In this theoretical and practical tradition, literacy is seen as a process through which people acquire not only a technical skill (reading and writing) but also an increased awareness both of themselves as actors who have the ability to shape and transform their world, and of the structural (systemic) forces that stand in their way {Freire, 1993}. CFSC is a subfield of development communication that emphasizes dialogic communication rather than a one-to-many 'knowledge injection' approach {Freire, 1993}. It overlaps with participatory research approaches, and has been elaborated over time by several generations of communication scholars and activists. Contemporary proponents of CFSC include Alfonso Gumucio Dagron, John

Downing, Cees Hamelink, and Clemencia Rodriguez, among many others {Gumucio Dagron and Tufte, 2006; Downing, 2001; Hamelink, 1995; Rodriguez, 2001}. CFSC emphasizes principles of community ownership, horizontality (as opposed to verticality), communities as their own change agents, dialog and negotiation (instead of persuasion and transmission), and outcomes measured by changes in social norms, policies, and social structure, rather than by individual behavioral change {Figueroa et. al., 2002}. Present practitioners of CFSC are also attempting to rethink critical literacy for an age of digital communication technology. Practitioners work with community partners to develop a shared analysis and vision, create strategy, construct curriculum, work on media production and circulation, and evaluate project impacts {Figueroa et. al., 2002}. The community actively participates in each aspect of the communicative process, as far as possible. The outside researcher thus acts as a catalyst for a shared process with the community, rather than solely as an observer of the community as an object of study.

I have been working with this methodology in Los Angeles since May of 2006. In January 2007 I received a Collaborative Grant in Media and Communications from the Social Science Research Council to map the communication ecology of immigrant rights organizations in L.A. using CFSC methods. That process provided the foundation for this book, and also catalyzed the creation of the Garment Worker Center radio project that would later become *Radio Tijeras* (Radio Scissors). It also planted the seed for a

larger university- community partnership. The following year I worked with Radio Tijeras organizers, USC Annenberg faculty members, and other PhD students to secure a follow-up Large Collaborative Grant from SSRC, which later became the basis for a Macarthur/HASTAC Digital Learning grant to explore the use of mobile phones for digital storytelling by day laborers and household workers. That project continues today as VozMob (Mobile Voices / Vóces Mobiles: <http://vozmob.net>). These projects are not at the center of my book, but several of my interviewees are participants in them. In addition, my own involvement in these projects in weekly face to face workshops over the last three years has provided me with a great deal of contextual knowledge, given me opportunities to hear key insights from workers and organizers, and has grounded this research in an understanding of day-to-day communication practices within the movement.

Workshops

Both as a function of my participation as a movement actor, and in order to more deeply understand the dynamics of popular communication practice in Los Angeles, during the course of 2006-2010 I took part in more than 100 skill-sharing workshops in multimedia production and distribution. In Los Angeles, the workshops include a three-year ongoing digital audio production and radio workshop at the Garment Worker Center and a weekly workshop in mobile digital storytelling that began in June 2008 at the Institute of Popular

Education of Southern California (IDEPSCA) and continues today. Workshop participants were always aware of the fact that in addition to contributing to workshops with hands-on skillsharing, I was also researching and writing my own book.

Interviews

The bulk of the project data analyzed in this book was gathered in semi-structured interviews with [50] people who consider themselves part of the immigrant rights movement. Interviews were conducted both with individuals and small groups, and interviewees were drawn from immigrant rights movement organizations, tech/media activist groups, labor unions, funders, and others. The vast majority were face-to-face interviews, but in a few cases interviews were conducted via phone, videochat, or IRC (chat). Interviews were recorded using a small digital audio recorder, with the explicit permission of interviewees. These audio recordings were fully transcribed¹⁸, some by the author and the majority by a professional transcriber. The full questionnaire that guided the semistructured interviews is available in the Appendix. The confidentiality of interviews and Institutional Review Board requirements preclude inclusion of a full list identifying individual

¹⁸ The complete transcriptions follow the oral history guidelines available at <http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~ccfriday/tools/transcribing.htm>. Selected quotes that appear in this dissertation also follow these guidelines. In some cases, bridge words (“um,” “uh”) and crutch words (“like,” “you know”) have been removed to improve sentence clarity.

interviewees, unedited transcripts, or audio recordings. Anonymized transcripts are available on request.

Field recordings

I took photos and recorded video and audio material during many movement mobilizations, meetings, and events, both to use as primary source material and to incorporate into multimedia presentations of the research findings. At no point did I make recordings of non-public meetings or events without seeking explicit permission from those present.

Movement Media

Movement-produced multimedia texts were used extensively as primary source material for analysis. As with interviews and field recordings, clips, stills, and short excerpts of movement-produced media were incorporated into digital presentations of book findings. Multimedia texts include photos, audio, video, and texts posted to movement websites as well as to popular social networks and videosharing sites. Some SMS messages are included in the movement media archive for this project. I also gathered a large number of movement media texts that were circulated on physical media, such as flyers, posters, and newspapers, as well as a number of physical CDs and DVDs produced by mediamakers linked to the immigrant workers' movement.

Limitations of the research approach

My own subject position as a white, male, U.S. citizen, doctoral student, and media activist with extensive formal and informal training in multimedia production shapes both my theoretical and methodological approach as well as my interactions with activists, organizers, and community members in the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles. The limitation introduced by my own standpoint is further complicated in the context of the increasing importance of social media to movement communication, since social media is deeply embedded in existing face-to-face family and friendship networks. My own participation in both off- and online networks of immigrant rights activists, as both activist and researcher, is thus doubly fraught.

Language also limits my research. Although not all of the actors I worked with, interviewed, and talked to were Latino, the fact that my language fluency is limited to English and Spanish means that all of my formal interviews were conducted in those two languages, and the movement media materials I examined were also almost all in English and/or Spanish. Given the immense diversity of immigrant workers in L.A., this fact undermines the generalizability of my study. That said, I did work with and interview activists from immigrant rights organizations, collectives, and networks that organize Korean, Chinese, South Asian, and Southeast Asian immigrant workers, and their perspectives also inform this work.

Finally, this study does not employ a comparative design. This fact limits any strong claim that my findings in the immigrant rights movement in L.A. necessarily hold for other social movements, or even across geographic locations. It may be that the analysis in this book is unique to the movement formations I worked with and studied, in this particular location and in this particular historical moment. In the future I plan to develop comparative analysis of the framework developed here by testing its applicability to other movements with varying compositions and locations. I invite other scholars to do the same.

Appendix: Partial List of Movement Actors Connected to the Study

American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca en Los Angeles (APPO-LA)

Asia Pacific American Legal Center (APALC)

California Emerging Technologies Fund Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights LA (CHIRLA)

Community Partners

Copwatch LA - Guerilla Chapter Data Center

Ford Foundation

Free Speech Radio News

Frente Contra las Redadas

Frente Indigena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB)

Garment Worker Center (GWC)

Institute of Popular Education of Southern California / Instituto de Educación Popular del Sur de California (IDEPSCA)

Insurgencia Femenina

Killradio Koreatown Immigrant Worker Alliance (KIWA)

KPFK

La Otra Campaña del Otro Lado

Liberty Hill Foundation

Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE)

Los Angeles Community Action Network (LACAN)

Los Angeles Indymedia

March 25 Coalition

Media Justice Fund

Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON)

National Day Laborer Organizing Network (NDLON)

People's Network in Defense of Human Rights

Pilipino Worker Center

Producciones Cimarrones

Radio Tijeras

Revolutionary Autonomous Communities

RISE Movement

Service Employees International Union (SEIU)

Slaptech

Soul Rebel Radio

South Asia Network (SAN)

South Central Farmers

Strategic Actions for a Just Economy (SAJE)

Taxi Workers' Alliance

Underground Undergrads

UNITE-HERE

Voces de Libertad

Voces Moviles (VozMob)

Zero Divide

Appendix: Interviewees

I conducted 40 semi-structured interviews with participants in the immigrant rights movement. This appendix provides short descriptions of the interviewees in order to orient the reader. To preserve the anonymity of the interviewees, the descriptions are of a very general character. Please note that the initials of all interviewees have been changed, and no longer reflect their real names.

BC, radio producer, interviewed July 2008.

BD, day laborer, interviewed October 2009.

BH, staff at a community based organization, interviewed February 2010.

CP, funder, interviewed March 2008.

CS, volunteer with a news website, interviewed January 2009.

DM, volunteer with various media projects, interviewed July 2008.

EN, high school student, interviewed August 2009.

EQ, director of a small nonprofit, interviewed May 2009.

GN, video producer, interviewed December 2007.

HH, taxi worker, interviewed November 2009.

IQ, funder, interviewed September 2008.

KB, volunteer for multiple collectives, interviewed July 2009.

KD, staff at a community based organization, interviewed July 2009.

KL, tech activist, interviewed September 2008.

LN, IT staff at a large nonprofit, interviewed February 2010.

NB, community organizer / media maker, interviewed April 2009.

ND, immigrant rights lawyer, interviewed April 2010.

NH, household worker, interviewed August 2009.

NI, student, interviewed May 2008.

NN, day laborer, interviewed October 2009.

NQ, community organizer, interviewed February 2010.

OE, staff at a medium size nonprofit, interviewed January 2010.

PS, organizer with an indigenous organization, interviewed May 2009.

QH, labor organizer, interviewed October 2008.

QX, director of a community based organization, interviewed April 2008.

RF, student and media maker, interviewed November 2009.

TD, staff member of a community based organization, interviewed July 2008.

TH, member of various horizontalist collectives, interviewed February 2010.

TX, employee of a small nonprofit organization, interviewed March 2010.

WO, public interest lawyer, interviewed April 2009.

XD, social media consultant, interviewed February 2010.

ZP, radio host, interviewed February 2009.

LC, Guatemalan-American male, late 20s, online organizer with a national immigrant rights organization, interviewed fall 2011

ON, Chicana female, early 20s, core member of a DREAM activist collective, interviewed fall 2011

KE, Puerto Rican male, early 40s, executive director of an activist/artist nonprofit, interviewed spring 2011

KT, Latino male, mid 20s, undocumented, queer, member of an activist/artist group, interviewed fall 2011

SM, Brazilian female, student, early 20s, undocumented, member of an undocumented

student organizing group, interviewed spring 2011

BE1 and BE2, college students, late teens, male & female, jointly interviewed spring 2011.

Interview guide

Overview

Organization: Briefly describe the organization or network you work with, its main areas of work, how you frame your work, and what social movements you consider yourself part of. And, what's the best source for more overview information?

Personal engagement: How and why did you get involved?

Daily communication practices: Describe day to day communication practices. Within organization? Between staff/leadership of movement network? With base? With alternative and popular media? Ethnic media? 'Public' media? Mass (Anglo) media?

Media use by those you are trying to organize: What media does the community you are trying to organize use most? What are their three most popular communication channels (specific radio stations, TV channels, newspapers, etc)?

Is it the same for men and women? Younger and older people?

How do you know?

Networks: Are you, your organization, or movement, part of a network or networks? What are they?

Are any of them transnational? How has it helped or made things more difficult to be part of a network?

Describe how communication flows through the network.

Mobilization

Victory: Describe something you consider to be a major victory of your organization or of the movement.

Crisis: How about something that was a major setback or crisis?

Communication: Describe your own communication practice during

these key moments.

Access

Relationships to the media: Describe the movement's relationship to: mass (Anglo) media, ethnic media, 'public' media, independent and popular media, Print press, radio, TV, Blogs, Social Network Sites, mobile phones, other forms of media.

Relationship to the net: Describe how your organization and the movement use the net. In what ways has the net helped you, and in what ways does it present challenges or dangers?

Barriers: What do you think are the key barriers for your organization in gaining access to the media?

What about to new communication tools and skills?

Do you think these are the same barriers faced by other groups or networks in the movement?

What do you think the key barriers are for your base or members?

Appropriation

Popular Communication strategy/practice: Is there or has there ever been any? If so, describe it. What worked/failed, and how do you know?

Describe an example of how the immigrant rights movement has effectively used the mass media, and an example of how the movement has effectively used new media.

Where do you get ideas for how to use new media as an organizing tool?

Are there specific people, organizations, trainings, examples you look to?

Specialists/Professionalization

Specialists: Describe your following relationships:

With tech-activists in the movement?

What about movement media makers?

Do you have a dedicated communications person on staff?

Do you work with outside communication consultants or strategists?

Do you have an IT person you work with, or software programmer?

How about an online organizer?

Do you use any corporate application service providers, (for example, Democracy In Action?) Talk about that experience, what has been good and bad.

Structure

Who? Describe who your organization is accountable to, and the mechanisms for accountability.

Structure: What is the decisionmaking structure in your organization or network?

Technology: Do you think communication technology has any impact on accountability in the movement? If so, what?

Gender, Sexual Identity, Race/Ethnicity, Class, Age: of staff/leadership; of membership; of communication activists. How do these impact communication practice in the movement?

Funders: What role do funders play in movement communication tools, skills, and practices?

The Long Term

History: Has your use of media and communication technology changed over time? How so?

Desired capabilities: are there communication projects or goals that you have as an organization or as a movement? What would you like to see in 5 year's time?

Barriers and blocks: What is in the way of realizing your best case scenario?

Thank you so much for your time!

Appendix: low-wage immigrant labor in Los Angeles

This Appendix provides an overview of low-wage immigrant labor in Los Angeles.

Migrant labor in Los Angeles

Los Angeles is a key regional and global location for migrant labor, especially from Mexico and Central America (mostly Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras), but also from China, Korea, Vietnam, and the Philippines. There are also large numbers of immigrant Armenians, Bangladeshis, Iranians, Arabs, and Jews, among dozens of other groups¹⁹ {Census 2000}. L.A. has long been a 'majority minority' urban system: the 2000 Census found the population to be about 46% Hispanic, 30% non-Hispanic White, 11% Black, 10% Asian, 1% Native American, and less than 1% Pacific Islander. Over 40% of the population was born in a foreign country, against a national average of 11%, and over 22% of the population lives in poverty, against 12% nationwide {ibid.} In 2009, the official unemployment rate for the city was 12.5% {U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010; see <http://stats.bls.gov/eag/eag.ca.htm>.}.

A large number of migrants who do find work in L.A. are employed in the low wage service sector, especially the garment industry, household work, restaurants and hotels, and day labor. About 17 percent of all workers

¹⁹ Census 2000 data; for summaries see <http://cityplanning.lacity.org/DRU/HomeC2K.cfm>.

in L.A. County, or 750,000 people, are front-line (non-managerial) workers in these low wage industries; over 625,000 of these are foreign-born {Milkman, González, and Narro, 2010}. A recent survey of 1,815 low wage workers found the distribution of low-wage employment to be as follows:

Figure: Low wage workers, respondent characteristics, L.A. County, 2008

Source: Milkman, González, and Narro, 2010

The great majority are foreign born, Latino/a, with less than high school education. Among these workers, the study found regular and widespread violations of the most fundamental aspects of labor law: workers are regularly paid less than minimum wage, receive no overtime pay, are given inadequate breaks, and are subject to late payment, tip stealing, and employer retaliations against worker complaints. 30 percent of low wage workers in L.A. County are paid less than minimum wage; 80 percent of those who work overtime are not paid legal overtime rates; three quarters are denied meal breaks; and 80 percent are denied breaks or given breaks that are shorter than the law requires. Employers regularly deduct pay and appropriate their workers' tips illegally (from 20 percent of tipped workers), and regularly (nearly half of the time) retaliate against the minority (15 percent) of workers who complain. Only half of those seriously injured on the

job seek medical treatment and of those, only half receive assistance from their employer in paying the bill {Milkman, González, and Narro, 2010}. These violations vary across the workforce by gender, nativity, and legal status:

Figure: Minimum wage violation rates by gender, nativity, and legal status, L.A. County, 2008

Source: Milkman, González, and Narro, 2010

As can be seen from the figure above, foreign-born undocumented women bear the brunt of wage violations in L.A. County. It is interesting to note that the disparity between foreign-born unauthorized men and women is far greater than that between any other categories. When it comes to violations of workers' rights, gender continues to matter far more than documentation status or citizenship, despite widespread assumptions that citizenship status is the primary determinant of wages and working conditions {Ibid.}.

Garment Work

Nearly a quarter of low wage immigrant workers in Los Angeles find employment in the garment sector. In California, apparel is an industry worth over \$20 billion, and Los Angeles is the primary hub of U.S. garment production {Garment Worker Center, 2007}. The largest concentration of garment manufacturing lies in the Garment District just southeast of Downtown

L.A.'s financial district. In 2004, the Garment Worker Center (GWC), an independent worker center based in the Garment District, released a study of the local industry that found:

90,000 workers employed in more than 4,500 sewing shops. These workers are newcomers from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, China, Vietnam, Thailand and elsewhere. 75% of garment workers in Los Angeles are women. 70% are Latina/o, and 20% are Asian. Generally between 30 - 50 years old, some are in their 20's or teens. Most are monolingual in their native languages. They are contingent workers, paid by the piece and often employed seasonally {Garment Worker Center, 2004}.

On average, the GWC found that workers worked 52 hours per week and were paid just \$3.28 per hour. At this rate, well below the (then) State minimum wage of \$6.75 per hour (now \$8), each one of these workers was underpaid by an average of \$9,202.44 per year. Besides low wages, unpaid wages, long hours with no overtime, and lack of breaks, garment workers in L.A. suffer cramped, overheated sweatshop conditions, high rates of workplace injury, illegally blocked exits, unclean bathrooms, and sexual abuse by employers {GWC, 2007; Bonacich and Appelbaum, 2000}. Despite efforts by sweatshop managers to drive costs down through underpaid wages and minimal spending on worksite health and safety, the garment industry in Los Angeles suffered severe decline following the passage of NAFTA and the subsequent outsourcing of production to even cheaper facilities, many along the U.S./Mexico border:

Figure: Garment Workers in L.A. County, 1990-2004

Source: Garment Worker Center, 2004.

This decline continued after 2005, when all WTO members were required to end apparel export quotas. Multinational apparel producers were the major victors from this global policy shift, reaping great profits by consolidating production in fewer countries, driving wages and working conditions down everywhere, while workers in those countries (including the U.S.) abandoned by the industry lost their jobs {GWC, 2004; Bonacich and Appelbaum, 2000}. However, due to the nature of the industry, certain segments of apparel production remain physically located in L.A. Most remaining garment manufacturing in L.A. produces items that require small production runs and rapid turnaround {Ibid.} Overall, the elimination of garment manufacturing jobs has exerted steady downward pressure on wages and conditions in an industry already characterized by widespread and dramatic violations of worker rights, safety, and basic human dignity.

Day Labor

Many migrant workers in Los Angeles seek work as day laborers; best estimates of the proportion of low wage workers who seek day labor range

between 10 and 20 percent {Milkman, González, and Narro, 2010}. Day labor jobs are seasonal and contingent, primarily in residential construction and landscaping, and conditions are harsh. Valenzuela, Theodore, Meléndez, and Gonzalez (2006) conducted the only nationwide survey of day labor in the United States to date. They surveyed 2,660 randomly selected workers at 264 hiring sites in 20 states, including sites in Los Angeles. They found that nationwide, about 118,000 workers are looking for or engaged in day labor on any given day; 80% of them do so at informal hiring sites; half are hired by homeowners and renters and most of the rest (43%) are hired by contractors. Day laborers earn a median wage of \$10 an hour, but monthly earnings are volatile since work is intermittent, and few make more than \$15,000 per year. Wage violations and abuse are widespread, with half of day laborers reporting wage theft within the past two months and nearly half reporting denial of food, water, or breaks. Day labor is dangerous: one in five day laborers are injured on the job, and more than half of those injured receive no medical care {Ibid.} The authors also found that “[m]erchants and police often unfairly target day laborers while they seek work. Almost one-fifth (19 percent) of all day laborers have been subjected to insults by merchants, and 15 percent have been refused services by local businesses. Day laborers also report being insulted (16 percent), arrested (9 percent) and cited (11 percent) by police while they search for employment.” Among their survey respondents, 59 percent were Mexican, 28 percent Central American, and 7 percent U.S. born. 75 percent were undocumented, with 11 percent in

the process of applying to adjust their status {Ibid.} The collapse of the housing bubble in 2008-2009 dramatically reduced demand for day labor as new home construction slowed to a crawl. Even many existing construction projects froze due to a lack of capital. Shrinking availability of day labor employment reduced wages and working conditions even further below the already marginal levels documented in 2006 {personal communication, Añorve, 2010}.

Immigrant employment in household work, restaurants, and other major low-wage sectors is characterized by similar widespread violations of wage law, health and safety regulations, and human dignity. Yet despite these harsh conditions, heavy competition for jobs, an unfavorable global political economy, and rising anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S., the last two decades have seen a resurgence in immigrant organizing in Los Angeles.

Appendix: digital inequality

[Consider bringing a short summary of this back into the main text, then refer here for greater detail]

The immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles operates in a context of radically unequal access to digital media tools and skills. The movement uses digital media in innovative ways despite the general lack of ICT access among its base. In order to better understand the magnitude and potential impacts of digital access inequality on social movement formations, this appendix provides a detailed overview of recent studies in the field. It ends with an examination of recent ICT access data specific to Los Angeles.

Global

In the early years of the information ‘revolution,’ policymakers framed internet access inequality in terms of a growing ‘digital divide,’ both domestically and internationally {National Telecommunications and Information Administration, 1998, 1999}. During this time, a few scholars focused attention on the relationship between race, class, gender, and internet access {Hoffman and Novak, 1998}. However, the debate was largely drowned out by what initially appeared to be the steady diffusion of networked communication technology to all populations. The Internet and

mobile phones gained massive uptake in the first decade of the new millenium. In OECD countries, for example, higher penetration rates shifted the Internet user base from a highly educated, mostly young, male demographic to one that now includes the majority of the population, including a majority of women in all advanced economies. During the same time period, computer use in developing countries soared. Indeed, internet use in developing countries accelerated so rapidly that some believed the North-South gap might be closing. For example, in China the internet usage rate jumped from 1.7% to 19.0% between 2000 and 2008; in Brazil, the same rate climbed from 2.9% in 2000 to 35.2% in 2008 {ITU, 2008}. The unprecedented rate of diffusion of mobile phones also raised hopes for an additional path to equitable network connectivity. For example, India jumped from 1.2% mobile penetration in 2002 to 20% in 2007 and is now adding between 7 and 9 million new subscriptions per month, while most African countries - long plagued by the lowest levels of ICT connectivity in the world - also displayed robust mobile growth {International Telecommunications Union, 2008. "Global ICT Developments." ITU-D Market Information and Statistics. Retrieved 10.10.2008 from <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/ict/index.html>}.

Meanwhile, the Bush Administration replaced the term 'digital divide' with 'digital inclusion,' published reports emphasizing how many Americans were online rather than how many were excluded, cut funds for programs aiming to increase Internet access among underserved populations, slashed

community technology center funding, and deactivated the website digitaldivide.gov {Jaeger, et. al., 2005}. This is not to say that moves away from the term were entirely ideologically driven. Scholarly work emerged that questioned the concept of a binary 'divide' and emphasized the multidimensional nature of ICT access, appropriation, and use. Scholars emphasized the need to reframe the digital divide as a complex phenomenon in which access to hardware and applications play an important role, but so do access to financial resources, knowledge, social networks, and formal Internet training {Norris,2001; Warschauer,2004; Wilson, Best, and Kleine, 2005}. As Steve Cisler (2000) argues, the term oversimplified a complex field of widely variable access to ICT tools and skills, while masking underlying inequalities of race, class, and gender that shape access to capital, resources, and life chances more broadly {Cisler, 2000}. The NTIA study "Falling through the net: Toward digital inclusion" (2000) to some degree succeeded in shifting city agencies, nonprofits, and community technology centers towards a graded, non-binary view of ICT access and use {NITA, 2000}, while Warschauer expanded the argument into a widely cited book length, cross-cultural comparative study that spans the globe and finds the 'divide' unhelpful in most contexts {Warschauer, 2004}. More recently, Livingstone and Helsper found that quality of Internet access and use among 9-19 year olds in the UK varied according to age, gender, and socioeconomic status {Livingstone and Helsper,2007}. They too argue for a theoretical framework of digital inclusion that sees access and use along a continuum,

rather than as a binary of 'access/noaccess.' Jack Qiu examines ICT use by workers in China and argues for an analysis of the 'Digital Have-Less' {Qiu, 2007}. The key point for all of these scholars is that access to digital tools and skills is not a binary, is increasingly widespread, and is unevenly distributed. However, in moving away from the 'digital divide' formulation, the press and policymakers in the U.S. seemed to revert to the default position that the market, left to its own devices, would in time provide universal Internet access.

A more sober assessment of the data reveals that, while Internet usage is rapidly becoming more widespread across the globe, access remains deeply unequal. Income, gender, geography (especially urban/rural location), race/ethnicity, level of education, age –all continue to be significant predictors of ICT access and skill levels {Mossberger and Tolbert, 2006}.

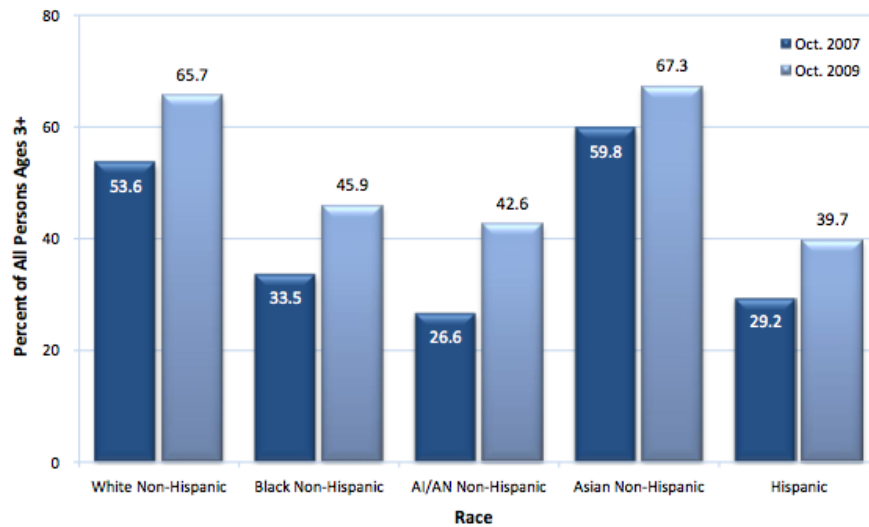
Indeed, global figures of access inequality are stark. In 2008, ITU data shows just 5.3% of the world's population with broadband subscriptions, and only about 20% of the world's population with any form of Internet access at all. In addition, these users are distributed very unevenly: at the beginning of 2007, "just over 10 percent of the world's population in developing countries were using the Internet, compared to close to 60 percent in the developed world." {ITU, 2008}. Unsurprisingly, broadband Internet access is concentrated almost exclusively in the world's wealthiest countries, or in the hands of local elites in major urban areas in middle income and poor countries. For example, in 2007 the African continent had just 0.2 broadband

subscribers per 100 people, compared to 3.4 in Asia, 4.2 in Brazil, 14 in the EU, and 21 in the USA {Ibid.} Ubiquitous basic Internet connectivity, let alone broadband access, remains a distant dream in most parts of the world. As we shall see in detail in this section, the largest ICT divide - that between the wealthy and the poor - remains firmly in place regardless of the level of geographic analysis.

Nationwide

Nationally, Pew Internet surveys continue to document a long term upward trend in home broadband adoption by all demographic groups. In 2009, 63% of all adults in the USA reported that they had broadband in the home, up from 42% in 2006. In 2008, White, Black, and Latino households reported broadband at home at rates of 57%, 43%, and 56%, respectively {Horrigan, 2008: 3}. The most recent survey by the National Telecommunications and Information Administration found continued growth in broadband access for all groups, with 68.7% of all households having computers and internet connections, and 63.5% with broadband connections at home {NTIA, 2010}. However, broadband access continues to be stratified by race, with 66% of White (Non-Hispanic) and 67% of Asian persons reporting broadband at home, compared to 46% of Black, 43% of American Indian, and 40% of Hispanic persons:

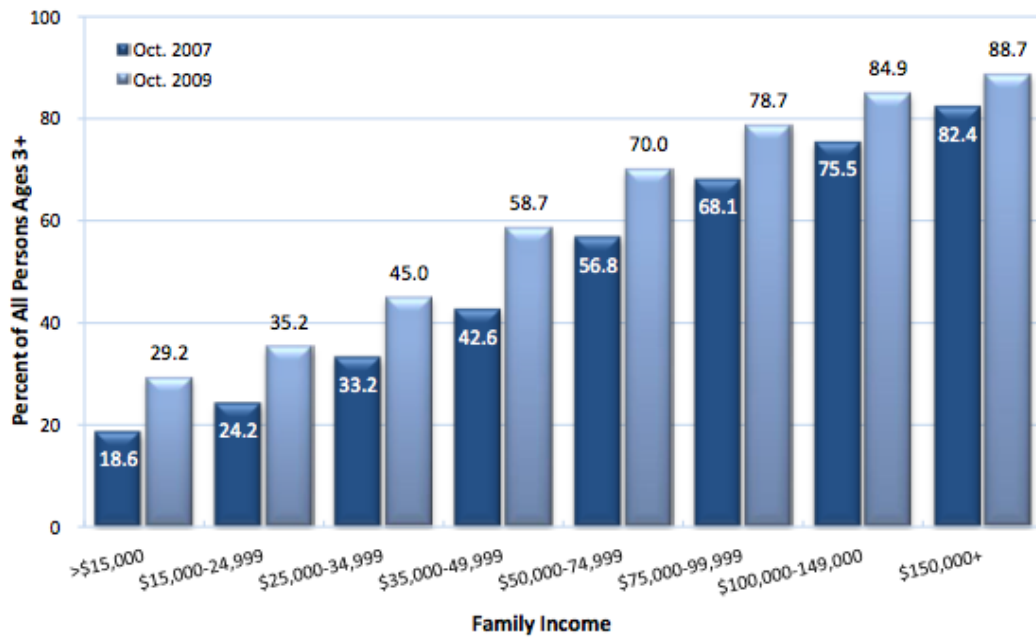
Figure: Persons using Broadband in the home by Race, 2007-2009



Source: NTIA, 2010

The study also found that 84% of college educated people above the age of 25 had broadband in the home, compared to just 28% of those with no high school diploma. The widest gap was based on family income: persons in households making under \$15,000 per year (in other words, homes supported by those with minimum wage or less-than-minimum wage jobs, the underemployed, or the unemployed) reported just 29% broadband at home, compared to 70% of households making above \$50,000, 85% of those making above \$100,000, and 89% of those with incomes above \$150,000.

Figure: Persons using Broadband in the Home by Family Income, 2007-2009

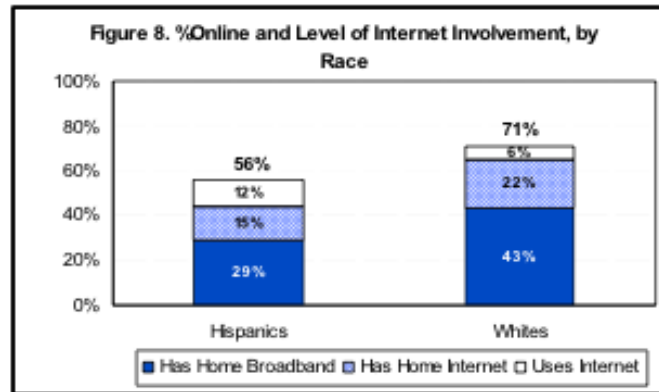


Source: NTIA, 2010

In other words, middle class and upper middle class households are twice or even three times as likely to have broadband access as working poor households {NTIA, 2010}.

We also know that nationally, Latinos/as lag behind all other ethnic groups in broadband adoption:

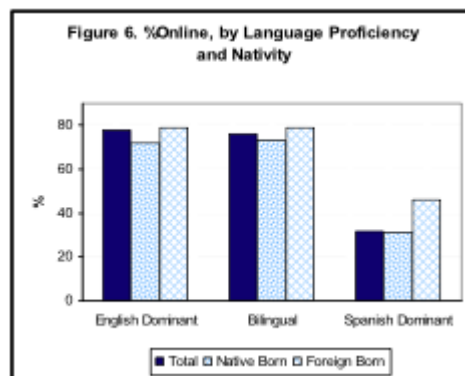
Figure: %Online and Level of Internet Involvement, by Race



Source: Pew Hispanic/Pew Internet, 2007

A 2007 Pew study found that 71% of Whites used the internet and 43% had home broadband, compared to 56% and 29% of Hispanics, respectively. A closer look at this study's findings reveals that among Latinos, those who speak English or are bilingual are far more likely to be online than Spanish speakers:

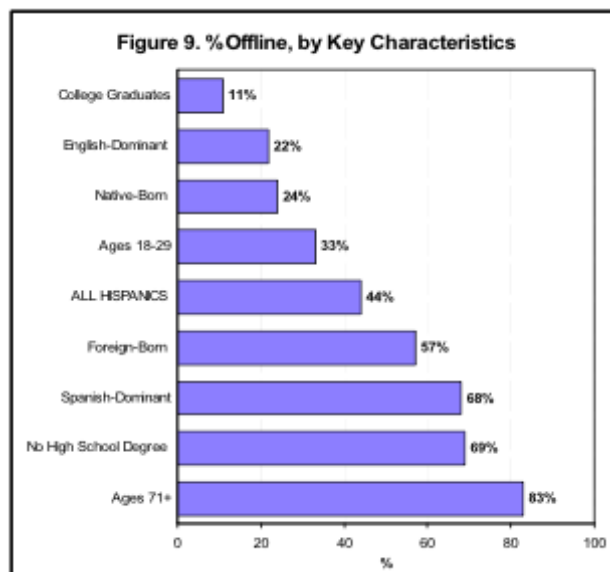
Figure: %Hispanics Online, by Language Proficiency and Nativity



Source: Pew Hispanic/Pew Internet, 2007

Nearly 80% of those who either speak English or are fully bilingual report that they are online, with relatively little distance between the native born and foreign born. However, those who primarily speak Spanish are less than half as likely to have internet access, with less than 30% reporting that they are online. If we drill down further into the dataset, we can see that new immigrants from Central America and Mexico are less likely to have internet access (50% and 52% online, respectively) than those from Puerto Rico (66%), Cuba (64%), the Dominican Republic (59%), or South American countries (70%) {Pew, 2007: 12}.

Figure: % Hispanics Offline, by Key Characteristics



Source: Pew Hispanic/Pew Internet, 2007

Pew also examined key demographic characteristics of those Hispanics who

reported that they were *not* internet users. They found that 83% of those older than 71 were offline; as well as 69% of those with no high school degree, 68% of those who lived in Spanish dominant households, and 57% of those who were foreign born. In contrast, 44% of all Hispanics reported not using the internet, and just 24% of Native-Born Hispanics were offline {Pew, 2007: 15}.

Thus, we know that nationwide, out of all demographic groups, it is low-income, foreign born, non-English speaking Latinos/as from Mexico and Central America that are least likely to have computers, internet, and broadband at home. Mexican and Central American low wage immigrant workers have the lowest digital literacy rates in the country. As we have seen, it is precisely this demographic group that makes up the vast majority of low wage immigrant workers, and the vast majority of the base of the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles.

California

Access inequality in California follows the national trend. A June 2009 statewide survey of 2,502 California residents by the Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) found that “just over half of Latinos (52%) say they have home computers, far lower than the percentage of Asians (89%), whites (87%), and blacks (75%) who do. Only 39 percent of Latinos have a home broadband connection, compared to 75 percent of whites, 74 percent of

Asians, and 62 percent of blacks” {PPIC, 2009: 5}.

Figure: Californians with Broadband at Home

Source: PPIC, 2009

The same study found a growing digital divide between Latinos and other ethnic groups, with Latino internet use on the increase (from 48% in 2008 to 53% in 2009) but at a slower rate than among whites (from 81% in 2008 to 88% during the same time period). Income remains a key predictor of access, with 89% of Californians who have household incomes above \$80,000 reporting broadband at home, compared to just 40% in households with incomes below \$40,000. This data reveals a persistent divide, with those at the upper end of the income spectrum more than twice as likely to have broadband connections as poor and working poor households. The PPIC survey also provides a breakdown of computer and internet use by age, household income, race/ethnicity, region, and rural/urban location:

Figure: Computer and Internet use, California

Source: PPIC, 2009

In addition to income and race/ethnicity, age remains a significant predictor of ICT use in California, with those between 18 and 34 reporting computer use at 86% and internet use at 83%, while those over 55 report computer use at 71% and internet use at 68% {PPIC, 2009: 6}.

The PPIC study also provides us with key data about new media literacies, in the form of questions about what people do online. Survey respondents were asked if they use the net to access government resources, contact elected officials, use social networking sites, use Twitter, or blog:

Figure: Activities online, California

Source: PPIC, 2009

PPIC summarizes the key findings for online activity as follows:

37 percent of Californians use a social networking site, but fewer report going online to use Twitter (18%) or to create or work on their own blog (14%). Compared to last year, Californians are about as likely to report going online to visit a government website (50% 2008, 53% today), but more likely to report going online to access government resources (43% 2008, 51% today), or to use a social networking site (26% 2008, 37% today). Once again, Latinos are

one of the least likely groups to participate in such activities. Black respondents are more likely than others to use a social networking site, while Asians are most likely to blog or use Twitter. Across regions, Central Valley residents are the least likely group to do any of these things. Less affluent Californians are less likely than others to report going online to do any of these activities and younger Californians are the most likely to go online to use a social networking site, work on their own blog, or use Twitter. {PPIC 2009: 13}.

As for production of new media content in the form of blogs, microblogs, and Social Network Sites (SNS), PPIC found significant disparities based on age and ethnicity. Just one in five adults use Twitter, compared to a third of 18-34 year olds. Three out of five 18-34 year olds use a social networking site, compared to one in three of those age 35-54 and just one in seven of those older than 55. A quarter of 18-34 year olds blog, while just one in ten of those older than 34 do so. As for race/ethnicity, “Blacks are more likely (53%) than others (44% Asians, 39% whites, 28% Latinos) to use a social networking site. Asians are most likely (22%) to blog (14% whites, 13% blacks, 11% Latinos)” {PPIC, 2009: 7}. The PPIC study provides evidence that the gap for Latino households in California is almost entirely explainable based on the low rates of computer, internet, and broadband use by Spanish speaking, noncitizen, low-income immigrant workers:

Figure: California's Digital Divide, 2009

		California's Digital Divide			
		Internet Use*		Broadband at Home	
		2008	2009	2008	2009
All Adults		70%	76%	55%	62%
Community	Rural	63	77	51	59
	Urban	70	76	56	63
Race/Ethnicity	Asian	80	85	67	74
	Black	82	81	66	62
	Latino	48	53	34	39
	White	81	88	68	75
Education	No college	47	54	32	37
	Some college	81	84	63	69
	College graduate	92	93	81	83
Citizenship	U.S.-born	81	85	67	71
	Naturalized citizen	62	68	46	57
	Noncitizen	36	45	23	31
Disability**	Yes	57	60	36	47
	No	73	79	60	65
Gender	Men	71	77	59	65
	Women	68	74	52	59
Homeownership	Own	76	83	64	73
	Rent	61	66	44	48
Region	Los Angeles	61	71	48	58
	San Francisco Bay Area	77	86	65	73
	Central Valley	71	67	53	51
	Orange/San Diego	73	81	58	70
	Inland Empire	70	76	56	60
Age	18 to 34	78	83	60	65
	35 to 54	73	75	61	64
	55 and older	58	68	44	57
Income	Under \$40,000	49	58	33	40
	\$40,000 to under \$80,000	83	87	64	74
	\$80,000 or more	92	97	85	89
Children age 18 or younger	Yes	69	74	54	62
	No	71	77	57	63

* "Internet Use" includes those who answered yes to the question "Do you ever go online to access the Internet or send or receive email?" or to the question "Do you send or receive email, at least occasionally?"

** For 2008, "Disability" includes those who answered yes to the question "Does any disability, handicap, or chronic disease keep you from participating fully in work, school, housework, or other activities, or not?" For 2009, it includes those who answered yes to that question or to the question "Do you often have difficulty seeing, hearing, talking, or walking in the course of your everyday life?"

Sources: (1) PPIC Statewide Surveys, Californians and Information Technology, June 2008 (2,503 adults) and June 2009 (2,502 adults). Margin of error for all adults $\pm 2\%$; margin of error for subgroups is larger. (2) Pew Internet & American Life Project, Spring 2009.

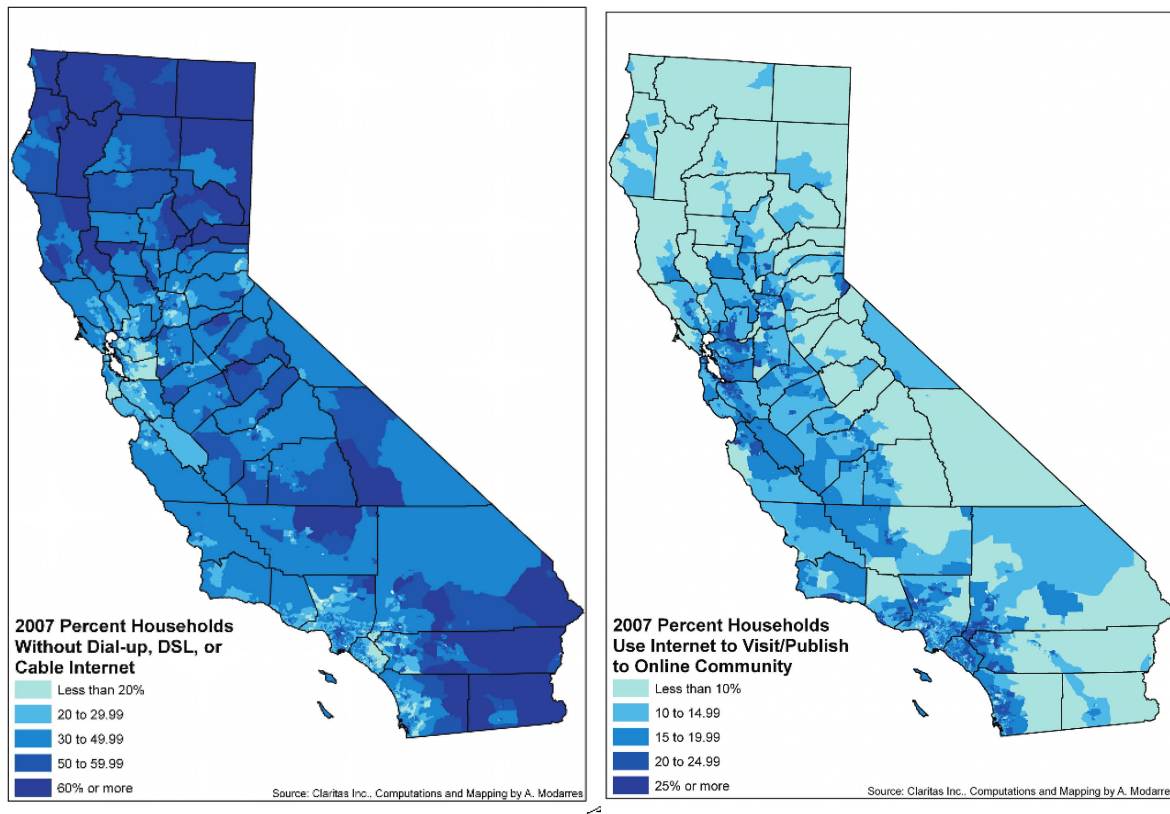
Source: PPIC, 2009

PPIC reports that the largest divide is between less-educated, immigrant, low-wage, Latino residents and all others. Overall Latino internet use is

increasing, but computer, internet, and broadband use remain at 61%, 53%, and 39%, respectively. Among Spanish speaking households in California, just 31% are online and just 17% have broadband; in households with less than \$40,000 income per year, 44% are online and 29% have broadband. Of all California residents, those born in the United States remain more likely to use the internet and have broadband at home (85%, 71%) than either naturalized citizens (68%, 57%) or noncitizens (45%, 31%) {PPIC, 2009}.

Finally, some of the most compelling work on access inequality in California comes from Ali Modarres and the Pat Brown Public Policy Institute {Modarres, 2006, 2008}, who has extensively analyzed the geography of ICT inequality in the state of California (and in Los Angeles, specifically). Using data sets from the US Census as well as private data firm Claritas, Modarres examines the spatial distribution of communication technology access and use in California and demonstrates that this distribution mirrors existing patterns of social and economic inequality. Census tract level analysis of the distribution of internet connectivity show that lack of internet access is concentrated overwhelmingly in rural areas and in low-income neighborhoods in the cities:

**Figure: Percent Households Without Internet vs. Percent Online
Community, 2007**



Source: Modarres, 2008

Unsurprisingly, the spatial distribution of internet access provides an inverted mirror to the spatial distribution of online activity, as evident in the map of percent households that visit or publish to online communities.

Digital Inequality in Los Angeles

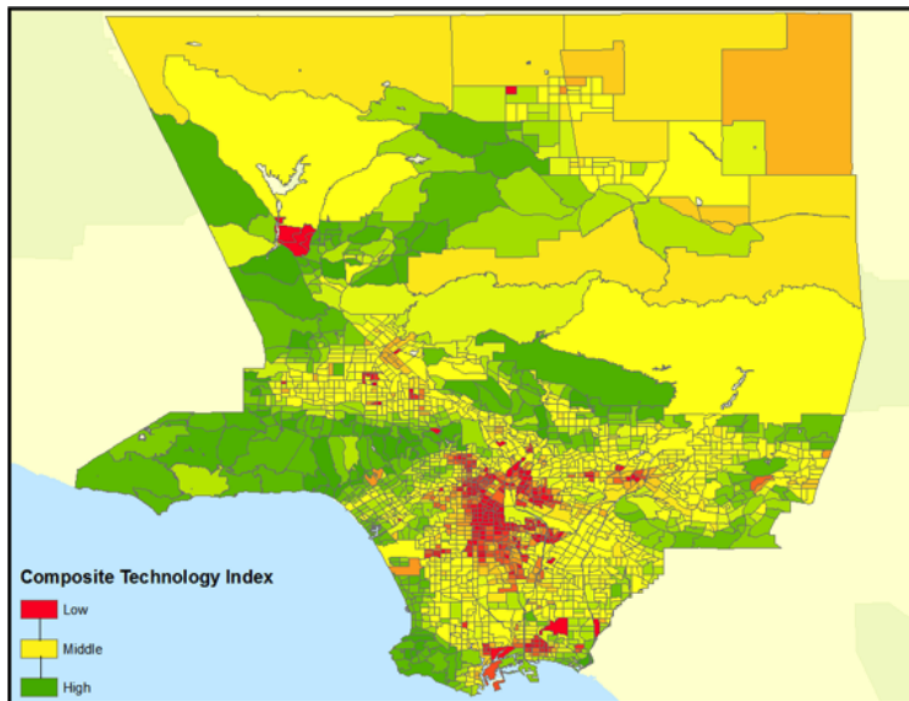
What do we know about networked communication access and digital literacies among low wage immigrant workers in Los Angeles? Across the country and in California this is the population with the least amount of access: incomes below \$40,000, Latino/a, often foreign-born, many speaking

Spanish at home. A large proportion of immigrant worker households in Los Angeles have incomes below \$40,000 and their rates of computer, internet, and broadband at home are well below the general rates for 'low-income' (below \$40,000) households provided by PPIC.

Modarres and Pitkin {Modarres and Pitkin, 2006} analyzed available geospatial datasets about communication technology access in Los Angeles County, and found that Latino and African American neighborhoods, low-income neighborhoods, and neighborhoods with low levels of educational attainment had the lowest level of access to all forms of communication technology, including personal computers, notebooks, internet access, broadband access, use of rich media services like audio or video streaming online, number of cell phones per household, and landline telephone access. For example, they mapped estimated percent households with Desktop PCs, Laptops, DSL, and Cable Modems, and found that ICT access in LA County is unequally distributed. Those neighborhoods with a high proportion of low income Black and Latino residents have far less access to desktops, laptops, and broadband internet connectivity than other communities. In addition, despite the much touted prediction that lower income communities can 'leapfrog' personal computers and broadband internet modems by taking up cell phones as primary network connectivity devices {Foster, 2007}, the data indicate that cell phones are unequally distributed along the same lines as other ICTs. Modarres and Pitkin produced a Composite Technology Index based on ten indicators (cable modem, DSL, dial-up, own laptop, own

desktop, own cell phone, wireless internet, local phone service, satellite or cable TV, and internet at home for work) and mapped this index onto census tracts in LA County:

Figure: Composite Technology Index, 2006



Source: Modarres and Pitkin, 2006

The areas that score highest on the Composite Technology Index lie mostly in the Santa Monica mountains and along the coast, as well as some parts of the San Fernando and San Gabriel Valleys. The areas with the lowest scores are downtown along the Figueroa Corridor, South, South Central, and East Los Angeles, and the central areas of the San Fernando and San Gabriel Valleys, as well as some neighborhoods in the South Bay. Census tracts that

score low on individual technology access indicators, or on the Composite Technology Index, map very closely onto indicators of socioeconomic inequality. For example, the authors used factor analysis to create a Composite SES Index that combines Census measures of income, poverty, ethnicity, language, home ownership, and education, and this composite provides a near perfect fit to the spatial distribution of technology access:

Figure: Composite SES Index vs. Composite Technology Index

The Composite SES Index accounts for over 43% of the variation in the Composite Technology Index data. The authors also performed regression analysis and found the least access to ICTs in neighborhoods that were more than 75% Latino. In addition to concentration of Latino households, the strongest predictors of access to technology at neighborhood level were educational attainment, household income, and poverty. They conclude that:

Clearly, inner-city neighborhoods, as well as other low-socioeconomic status tracts in East San Fernando Valley, the South Bay communities, and the heart of the San Gabriel Valley have some of the lowest levels of access to technology (at least for the ten variables we examined) (...) not only can we visually detect the spatial relationship between access to technology and socioeconomic status but also, statistically speaking, we can

observe a high and significant correlation between the two. In fact (...) there is nearly a perfect relationship between the two indicators. This brings us to the conclusion that the geography of access to technology simply mimics that of SES, and as such, the current buzz about the role of technology in improving the social and economic structure of communities would become another utopian promise, whose delivery rests on our ability to integrate social equity considerations in our pattern of service delivery and infrastructural investment. {Modarres and Pitkin, 2006: 42}

They argue further that covariations in race and ethnicity with socioeconomic status are reproduced in the spatial distribution of access to communication technologies in L.A. County. Specifically, they demonstrate that African American and Latino/a neighborhoods suffer from low levels of technology access. Put bluntly, the geography of class and race inequality is reproduced almost perfectly in the geography of access to technology in Los Angeles County {Ibid: 50}.

The authors conclude with the argument that digital equity therefore cannot be separated from broader struggles for social justice. They argue against using the framework of a 'digital divide,' since "(t)he geography of digital divide, as presented by this research, suggests that to produce sustainable solutions for the existing patterns of inequitable conditions, we must deal directly with the sociospatial contexts that produce them"

{Modarres, 2008}. They conclude that an equitable distribution of technology access cannot take place without also addressing underlying class and race inequalities.

Access: Digital Youth?

While there may currently be a divide in access to and use of communication technologies, many believe that the divide is sure to disappear as young people who have grown up with these technologies become the new heads of household. There is certainly much truth to the 'digital natives' formulation {Prensky, 2001}. For example, Pew surveys continue to find steady growth in the percentage of teenagers who are online content creators:

39% of online teens share their own artistic creations online, such as artwork, photos, stories, or videos, up from 33% in 2004; 33% create or work on webpages or blogs for others, including those for groups they belong to, friends, or school assignments – essentially the same number as reported this in 2004 (32%); 28% have created their own online journal or blog, up from 19% in 2004; 27% maintain their own personal webpage, up from 22% in 2004; 26% remix content they find online into their own creations, up from 19% in 2004 {Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, and Smith, 2007}.

Young people are, without question, increasingly capable content creators. Even in low-income households, American youth are increasingly finding ways to get online in droves. The Macarthur-funded Digital Youth study echoes this point:

In 2005, the Kaiser Family Foundation published data from a nationally representative survey of 8- to 18-year-olds showing that most American youth lived in households where media technologies were varied and numerous. (...) More recently, the Pew Internet & American Life Project conducted a survey that showed 94 percent of all American teenagers—which it defines as 12- to 17-year-olds—now use the Internet, 89 percent have Internet access in the home, and 66 percent have “broadband” Internet access in the home (Lenhart et al. 2008). In 2008, the USC Digital Future Project reported that broadband was now used in 75 percent of American households (USC Center for the Digital Future 2008) (...) The Pew, Kaiser, and USC studies each report on the increasing prevalence of “new media”—notably the Internet and the mobile phone. {Ito, et. al., 2009}

Study after study finds that young people in the United States are increasingly networked both via personal computers and mobile devices. At the same time, young people’s communication technology use remains

challenged by the reality of persistent access inequality. The Pew, Kaiser, and USC studies all found wide variations in access and use among youth as well as adults. The main determinant of youth access is socioeconomic status: both the Pew (2007) and Kaiser (2005) studies found that “youth living in the most economically disadvantaged households had significantly lower rates of Internet access in the home and tended to rely on nonhome locations, such as schools and libraries, to access the Internet” {Horst et al, 2009}. Two-thirds of teens living in households with less than \$30,000 income per year had home internet access, compared to nearly 100 percent of teens in households with more than \$75,000 yearly income {Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, and Smith, 2007}. Both studies found that three quarters of wealthier youth go online daily, compared to less than half of low income youth {Ibid., 2007; Rideout et al, 2005}.

Access inequality determines which youth voices can be heard in online spaces. For example, a 2006 study by Pew found that only 13% of teen content creators came from households with less than \$30,000 of annual income, compared with 38% from households with more than \$75,000 of income. There are thus three times as many wealthy teen content creators as low-income teen content creators. Also, Pew found that suburban teens make up a higher percentage of content creators than urban and rural teens combined.

Figure: Demographics of Teen Content Creators, 2006

Demographics of Teen Content Creators	
The percentage of content creators* in each demographic category:	
Sex	
Boys	45%
Girls	55
Age	
12-14	45
15-17	55
Family Income	
Less than \$30,000 annually	13
\$30,000 - \$49,999	21
\$50,000 - \$74,999	19
\$75,000 +	38
Locale	
Urban	23
Suburban	52
Rural	25

Source: Pew Internet & American Life Project Survey of Parents and Teens, October-November 2006. Content Creators n=572. Margin of error for teens is $\pm 4\%$. *Content creators are defined as teens who have done at least one of the following: created or worked on a blog, created or worked on webpages, shared original creative content, or remixed content they found online.

Source: Pew, 2006

In addition, race and ethnicity retain predictive power for whether teenagers have internet access in the home. African American and Latino teens are less likely to have broadband at home (56 and 60 percent) than white teens (70 percent), and youth of color are more likely to access the Net from nonhome locations than Anglo youth {Lenhart, Madden, Macgill, and Smith, 2007}. Ethnicity also predicts use frequency: "[A] significantly greater share of white teens went online daily than black teens, reporting 67 percent and 53 percent respectively" {Ito et al, 2009}. Disparities in digital literacies are also evident, for example, in studies of online video, where three out of four

young adults report viewing video online but just 20% of 18-29 year olds report uploading video to the net {Lenhart et al, 2007}. Perhaps most important, the Digital Youth study also provides compelling ethnographic evidence that young people who do not have broadband access in the home are less able to participate in what the authors call 'geeking out:' exercising advanced digital media skills like video editing, software coding, and the like {Ito et al, 2009}.

Overall, young people from all backgrounds are increasingly active online, but with significant disparities along class, race, and urban/suburban/rural lines. In the case of the immigrant workers' movement in L.A., children and youth who are either themselves recent immigrants or whose parents were born in Central America or Mexico are likely to have less access to digital media literacies than their peers.

Chapter Notes

Bibliography

[To be updated after full text revisions]

Albarran, Alan. 2007. "Mergers and Acquisitions in Spanish Language Media." In 2007 Annual Report: The State of Spanish Language Media. Denton, TX: The Center for Spanish Language Media, University of North Texas.

Alexander, Jonathan, with Elizabeth Losh. 2010. "A YouTube of One's Own: Coming Out as Rhetorical Action." Pp. 37-50 in LGBT Identity and Online New Media, edited by Christopher Pullen and Margaret Cooper. NY: Routledge.

Amaya, Laura Cana, et al. 2007. "Undocumented Students, Unfulfilled Dreams." Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education.

Andreas, Peter. 2001. Border games: Policing the US-Mexico divide. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Arquilla, John, and David Ronfeldt. 2001. Networks and netwars: The future of terror, crime, and militancy. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corp.

Bartley, Tim. 2007. "How foundations shape social movements: The construction of an organizational field and the rise of forest certification." Social Problems 54:229–255.

Benfield, Dalida Maria, and Joanna Arevalo. 2010. "You Say Media, We Say Justice! The Media Justice Delegation at the World Summit on the Information Society." In *Making Our Media: Global Initiatives Toward a Democratic Public Sphere*, edited by Clemencia Rodriguez and Dorothy Kidd. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Bernal, Dolores Delgado. 1998. "Grassroots leadership reconceptualized: Chicana oral histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles school blowouts." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19:113–142.

Blasi, Gary, and Jacqueline Leavitt. 2006. *Driving Poor: Taxi Drivers and the Regulation of the Taxi Industry in Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations.
<http://www.irle.ucla.edu/research/pdfs/drivingpoor.pdf>.

Bonacich, Edna, and Richard P. Appelbaum. 2000. *Behind The Label: Inequality in the Los Angeles Apparel Industry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bonacich, Edna, and Fernando Gapasin. 2001. "Organizing the Unorganizable." Chapter 15 in *The State of California Labor*. Los Angeles: University of California Institute for Labor and Employment. <http://www.ucop.edu/ile/scl/2001/ch15.pdf>.

boyd, danah. 2007. "Why youth (heart) social network sites: The role of networked publics in teenage social life." Pp. 119-142 in *Macarthur Foundation Series on Digital Learning - Youth*,

Identity, and Digital Media, edited by D. Buckingham. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. Forthcoming. “White Flight in Networked Publics? How Race and Class Shaped American Teen Engagement with MySpace and Facebook.” In *Digital Race Anthology*, edited by Lisa Nakamura and Peter Chow-White. NY: Routledge.

Bratton, William. 2007. “May 2, 2007 Media Brief on Macarthur Park Disturbance.” Los Angeles: LAPD. (Retrieved July 10, 2008 from http://lapdblog.typepad.com/lapd_blog/2007/05/chief_bratton_b.html).

Buff, Rachel I. 2008. “The Deportation Terror.” *American Quarterly*. 60(3): 523-551.

Butler, Judith. 1999. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. NY: Routledge.

Calhoun, Craig. 1994. “Social theory and the politics of identity.” Pp. 9-36 in *Social theory and the politics of identity*, edited by C. Calhoun. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Cammaerts, Bart. 2005. “ICT-Usage among Transnational Social Movements in the Networked Society: to organise, to mobilise and to debate.” Pp. 53-72 in *Media, technology and everyday life in Europe: From information to communication*, edited by Roger Silverstone. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Castells, Manuel. 1983. *The city and the grassroots: a cross-cultural theory of urban social*

movements. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

———. 2004. *The power of identity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

———. 2007. "Communication, power and counter-power in the network society." *International Journal of Communication* 1:238–266.

———. 2009. *Communication power*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chavez, Leo Ralph. 2008. *The Latino threat*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Cisler, Steve. 2000. "Subtract the digital divide." *San Jose Mercury News*, January 16th.
(Retrieved January 21, 2008 from <http://www.athenaalliance.org/rpapers/cisler.html>).

Costanza-Chock, Sasha. 2003. "Mapping the Repertoire of Electronic Contention." Pp. 173 in *Representing resistance: media, civil disobedience, and the Global Justice Movement*, edited by A. Opel and D. Pompper. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

———. 2006 (unpublished). "Analytical note: Horizontal communication and social movements." Research note with Manuel Castells. Los Angeles: Annenberg School of Communication.

———. 2009. "New Social Movements in the Network Society." In *Big Brother and Empowered*

Sisters: The role of of new communication technologies in democratic processes, edited by Helen Belcastro. Uppsala, Sweden: The Collegium for Development Studies. (Available online at [http://www .csduppsala.uu.se/dokument/Rapport31.pdf](http://www.csuppsala.uu.se/dokument/Rapport31.pdf)).

Crenshaw, Kimberley. 1991. "Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color." *Stanford Law Review* 43:1241–1299.

Crisostomo, Paula. 2006. "Ethnic Pride, Civil Rights and Young People - Parallels Between the Chicano Walkout of 1968 and the Latino Demonstrations of 2006." Statement published by The Lavin Agency. (Available online at [http://www .thelavinagency.com/images/uploads/1215818149_crisostomo%20article. pdf](http://www.thelavinagency.com/images/uploads/1215818149_crisostomo%20article.pdf)).

Curtin, Michael, and Tom Streeter. 2001. "Media." In *Culture Works: The Political Economy of Culture*, edited by R. Maxwell. Minneapolis / London: University of Minnesota Press.

Dark Star Collective. 2002. *Quiet rumours: an anarcha-feminist reader*. Oakland: AK Press Distribution.

Dávila, Arlene M. 2001. *Latinos, Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People*. Berkeley / Los Angeles: UC Press.

Davis, Nicole, and Applied Research Center. 2010. *Strategic Grantmaking & Grassroots Organizing for Media Justice*. Media Justice Fund of the Funding Exchange. (Available online at

http://www.fex.org/assets/170_media.pdf).

Del Barco, Mandalit. 2006 (April 12). "Spanish-language DJ Turns Out the Crowds in LA."

National Public Radio. (Retrieved September 1, 2007 from <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5337941>).

Delgado, Hector. 2000. "The Los Angeles Manufacturing Action Project: An Opportunity Squandered?" In *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, edited by Ruth Milkman. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Dixon, Peter B., and Maureen Rimmer. 2009. *Restriction or Legalization? Measuring the Economic Benefits of Immigration Reform*. Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute's Center for Trade Policy Studies. (Available online at http://www.cato.org/pub_display.php?pub_id=10438).

Downing, John. 2001. *Radical media: Rebellious communication and social movements*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

———. 2002. "The Indymedia phenomenon: space-place-democracy and the new Independent Media Centers." Presentation to BUGS Conference: Globalisme et Pluralisme, University of Québec, Montréal. (Available online at www.er.uqam.ca/nobel/gricis/actes/bogues/Downing.pdf).

Dyer-Witheford, Nick. 1999. *Cyber-Marx : cycles and circuits of struggle in high- technology*

capitalism. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Faber, Daniel, and Deborah McCarthy. 2005. Foundations for social change: critical perspectives on philanthropy and popular movements. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Ferree, Myra Marx. 2002. Shaping abortion discourse: Democracy and the public sphere in Germany and the United States. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Figueroa, Maria Elena, et al. 2002. "Communication for Social Change: An Integrated Model for Measuring the Process and Its Outcomes." New York: the Rockefeller Foundation and Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs. (Retrieved February 10, 2007 from [http://www .communicationforsocialchange.org/pdf/socialchange.pdf](http://www.communicationforsocialchange.org/pdf/socialchange.pdf)).

Fisher, William F, and Thomas Ponniah. 2003. Another world is possible: popular alternatives to globalization at the World Social Forum. New York: Palgrave.

Foster, M. 2007. "Cell Phones Vital in Developing World." Wired News.

Fox, Jonathan, and Gaspar Rivera-Salgado. 2004. Indigenous Mexican Migrants in the United States. San Diego, CA: Center for US-Mexican Studies, UCSD.

Freidberg, Jill Irene, and Mal de Ojo. 2007. Un Poquito de Tanta Verdad (A Little Bit of So Much Truth). Corrugated Films and Mal de Ojo. (Available online at <http://www>

.corrugate.org/un_poquito_de_tanta_verdad/).

Freire, Paolo. 1970. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: The Seabury Press.

Gamson, William. A. 1992. *Talking politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1995. "Constructing social protest." *Social movements and culture* 4:85–106.

———. 1998. "Social movements and cultural change." Pp. 57–77 in *From contention to democracy*, edited by Giugni, Marco, McAdam, Doug, and Tilly, Charles. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Gandy, Oscar H. 2000. "Audience Construction: Race, Ethnicity and Segmentation in Popular Media." Paper submitted to the Popular Communication Division, 50th Annual Conference of the International Communication Association. (Retrieved February 5, 2008 from: <http://www.asc.upenn.edu/usr/ogandy/targeting.pdf>).

Gaouette, Nicole. 2007. "Senate Gets Tougher on the Border," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, A16.

Garment Worker Center. 2004. *Crisis or Opportunity? The Future of Los Angeles' Garment Workers, the Apparel Industry, and the Local Economy*. Los Angeles: Garment Worker Center and Sweatshop Watch.

———. 2007. *Six Years of Workers Organizing in the Fight for Social & Economic Justice*. Los Angeles: Garment Worker Center. (Retrieved May 12, 2009 from <http://www.garmentworkercenter.org/2007GWC%20final.pdf>).

Gerhards, Jürgen, and Dieter Rucht. 1992. "Mesomobilization: Organizing and framing in two protest campaigns in West Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 98:555.

Gillmor, Dan. 2005. "The read/write web." In *We the media: grassroots journalism by the people, for the people*. Authorama. (Retrieved March 14, 2007 from <http://www.authorama.com/we-the-media-3.html>).

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gold, Tami, and Gerardo Renique. 2008. "A Rainbow in the Midst of a Hurricane: Alternative Media and the Popular Struggle in Oaxaca, Mexico." *Radical Teacher* 81:8. (Available online at http://muse.jhu.edu/demo/radical_teacher/v081/81.1gold.pdf).

Gonzalez, Carmen. 2006. "Latino Mobilization: Emergent Latino Mobilization via Communication Networks." Unpublished seminar paper. Los Angeles: Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California.

Goodman, Amy. 2007. "L.A. Immigration Protest: The Police 'Were Relentless. They Were

Merciless,” May 4, 2007. (Retrieved August 25, 2007, from <http://www.alternet.org/columnists/story/51454/?comments=view&cID=651184&pID=650213>).

Goodman, Amy, and Juan Gonzalez. 2006. “Students Protest Anti-Immigrant Bill.” WireTap magazine. (Retrieved July 24, 2007 from <http://www.wiretapmag.org/immigration/34230/>).

Goodwin, Jeff, James M Jasper, and Francesca Polletta. 2001. *Passionate politics: Emotions and social movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gould, Deborah B. 2004. “Passionate Political processes: bringing emotions back into the study of social movements.” Pp. 155-75 in *Rethinking Social Movements: Structure, Meaning, and Emotion*, edited by J. Goodwin and J.M. Jasper. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International.

Gross, Larry. 2001. *Up From Invisibility: Lesbians, Gay Men and the Media in America*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gumucio Dagron, Alfonso and Thomas Tufte. 2006. *Communication for social change anthology : historical and contemporary readings*. South Orange, N.J.: Communication for Social Change Consortium.

Gurumurthy, Anita. 2004. Gender and ICTs: Overview Report. Brighton: University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies. (Available online at [http://www .bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/cep-icts-or .pdf](http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/cep-icts-or.pdf)).

Gurza, Agustin. 2005. "Reborn in East L.A.; An HBO film by Edward James Olmos resurrects a 1968 L.A. Chicano student walkout that roused an activist spirit." Los Angeles Times. Dec 25, E.1. (Available online at <http://blogs.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=blog.view&friendId=38303221&blogId=72823076>).

Hadl, Gabi, and Arne Hintz. 2006. "Framing our media for transnational policy: the world summit on the information society and beyond." Paper presented at Cairo IAMCR Conference.

Halleck, Dee Dee. 2002. Hand-Held Visions: The Impossible Possibilities of Community Media. New York: Fordham University Press.

Hamelink, Cees. J. 1997. New information and communication technologies, social development and cultural change. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Harding, Sandra (Ed.) 1993. The "Racial" Economy of Science: Toward a Democratic Future. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2001. Empire. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 2005. *Multitude: War and democracy in the age of empire*. New York: Penguin Group USA.

Harvey, David. 2007. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. New York/ Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Headrick, Daniel. 1988. *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940*. New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hernandez, Soraya. 2006. "Watsonville High Walk Out." Bay Area Indymedia. (Retrieved August 10, 2009 from [http://www .indybay.org/newsitems/2006/03/28/18118141.php](http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2006/03/28/18118141.php)).

Hindman, Matthew. 2009. *The myth of digital democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hing, Bill Ong. 2009. "Institutional Racism, ICE Raids, and Immigration Reform." *University of San Francisco Law Review*, Vol. 44, p. 1. UC Davis Legal Studies Research Paper No. 197. (Available online at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1525578>).

Hoffman, Donna L., and Thomas P. Novak. 1998. "Bridging the Racial Divide on the Internet." *Science*, April 17. (Available online at <http://collections.lib.uwm.edu/cipr/image/148.pdf>).

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 2008. *God's heart has no borders: how religious activists are working for immigrant rights*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. 1944. "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception." Pp. 120-167 in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Trans. John Cumming. New York: Continuum, 1994.

Horrigan, John. B. 2008. "Home broadband adoption 2008." Washington, DC: Pew Internet & American Life Project. (Available online at http://www.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2008/PIP_Broadband_2008.pdf).

Horst, Heather, Becky Herr-Stephenson, and Laura Robinson. 2009. "Media Ecologies." *Digital Youth Project*. University of Southern California and University of California, Berkeley. (Available online at <http://digitalyouth.ischool.berkeley.edu/book-mediaecologies>).

Hricko, Andrea M. 2004. "Road To An Unhealthy Future For Southern California's Children." USC Urban Initiatives Public Policy Briefing. Los Angeles. (Available online at <http://www.scpcs.ucla.edu/news/CHSPolicyBrief.pdf>).

Huang, Priscilla. 2008. "Anchor Babies, Over-Breeders, and the Population Bomb: The Reemergence of Nativism and Population Control in Anti-Immigration Policies." *Harvard Law and Policy Review* 2:385.

ICE. 2006. "Fact Sheet: ICE Office of Detention and Removal." (Retrieved August 20, 2007 from <http://www.ice.gov/pi/news/factsheets/dro110206.htm>).

Immigrant Legal Resource Center (2006). "Dangerous Immigration Legislation Pending in Congress." (Retrieved August 21, 2007 from http://www.ilrc.org/resources/hr4437_general.pdf).

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (Eds.) 2007. *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Nonprofit Industrial Complex*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

International Telecommunications Union. 2008. "Global ICT Developments." ITU-D Market Information and Statistics. (Retrieved October 10, 2008 from <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/ict/index.html>).

Ito, Mimi, et al. 2009. *Hanging Out, Messing Around, and Geeking Out: Kids Living and Learning with New Media*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Jachimowicz, Maia. 2006. "Argentina: A New Era of Migration and Migration Policy." Migration Information Source. (Available online at <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=374>).

Jaeger, Paul. T, John Carlo Bertot, Charles R. McClure, and Lesley A. Langa. 2006. "The policy implications of Internet connectivity in public libraries." *Government Information Quarterly* 23:123–141.

Jenkins, Henry. 2003. "Transmedia Storytelling." MIT Technology Review, January 15.
(Available online at <http://www.technologyreview.com/Biotech/13052>).

———. 2009. "If It Doesn't Spread, It's Dead." (Available online at
http://henryjenkins.org/2009/02/if_it_doesnt_spread_its_dead_p.html).

Jesella, Kara. 2006. "The Friendster Effect." AlterNet. (Retrieved June 29, 2010, from
<http://www.alternet.org/story/31103/>).

Juris, Jeffrey S. 2005. "The new digital media and activist networking within anti-corporate globalization movements." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 597:189.

———. 2008. *Networking Futures*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Kane, Liam. 2001. *Popular education and social change in Latin America*. London: Latin American Bureau.

Keck, Margaret E, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kidd, Dorothy. 2003. "Indymedia.org: A new communications commons." Pp. 47-69 in

Cyberactivism: Online activism in theory and practice, edited by M. McCaughey & M. D. Ayers.
New York: Routledge.

Kim, Yong-Chan, and Sandra Ball-Rokeach. 2006a. "Civic engagement from a communication infrastructure perspective." *Communication Theory* 16:173–197.

280

———. 2006b. "Community storytelling network, neighborhood context, and civic engagement: A multilevel approach." *Human Communication Research* 32:411–439.

Kinder, Marsha. 1991. *Playing with power in movies, television, and video games: from Muppet Babies to Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kingsnorth, Paul. 2004. *One no, many yeses: a journey to the heart of the global resistance movement*. London: Simon & Schuster UK.

KIWA. 2007. *Towards a Community Agenda: A Survey of Workers and Residents in Koreatown, Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance & DataCenter. (Retrieved March 4, 2010 from <http://www.datacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/towardscommunity.pdf>).

———. 2009. *Reclaiming Koreatown*. Los Angeles: Koreatown Immigrant Worker Alliance & DataCenter. (Retrieved March 4, 2010 from http://www.datacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/KIWA_Report.pdf).

Klandermans, Bert. 1990. "Linking the 'old' and the 'new:' Movement networks in the Netherlands." Pp. 122-136 in *Challenging the political order: New social and political movements in western democracies*, edited by Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Kuechler. Oxford: Polity.

Kleiner, Dmytri, and Brian Wyrick. 2007. "InfoEnclosure 2.0." *Mute* 2:10–19. (Available online at <http://www.metamute.org/en/InfoEnclosure-2.0>).

Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy. 2009. *Informing Communities: Sustaining Democracy in the Digital Age*. Washington, D.C.: Aspen Institute. (Retrieved June 29, 2010, at <http://www.knightcomm.org/read-the-report-and-comment/>).

Kyser, Jack. 2007. "Manufacturing in Southern California." Los Angeles Economic Development Corporation. (Available online at <http://www.laedc.org/reports/Mfg-2007.pdf>).

LAPD. 2007. "An Examination of May Day 2007." Los Angeles Police Department Report to the Board of Police Commissioners. (Retrieved October 10, 2007 from http://www.lapdonline.org/assets/pdf/Final_Report.pdf).

Larsen, Knud, Krum Krumov, Hao Van Le, Reidar Ommundsen, and Kees van der Veer. 2009. "Threat Perception and Attitudes Toward Documented and Undocumented Immigrants in the United States: Framing the Debate and Conflict Resolution." *European Journal of Social*

Sciences 7(4). (Available online at http://www.eurojournals.com/ejss_7_4_13.pdf).

Lavaca Collective. 2007. Sin patrón: stories from Argentina's worker-run factories. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Lenhart, Amanda, Mary Madden, Alexandra R. Macgill, and Aaron Smith. 2007. "Teens and Social Media: The use of social media gains a greater foothold in teen life." Washington, DC: Pew Internet & American Life Project. (Available online at http://www.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2007/PIP_Teens_Social_Media_Final.pdf).

Lenin, Vladimir. I. 1999. Imperialism: The highest stage of capitalism. Chippendale, Australia: Resistance Books.

Liberty Hill, 2003. Liberty Hill Technical Assistance Survey. Los Angeles: Liberty Hill Foundation.

Livingstone, Sonia, and Ellen Helsper. 2007. "Gradations in digital inclusion: children, young people and the digital divide." *New Media & Society* 9:671.

Los Angeles Taxi Workers Alliance. 2006. Sweatshops on Wheels. Los Angeles: LATWA. (Available online at <http://www.latwa.org/latwa.htm>).

Lowenthal, Andrew. 2007. "Free Beer vs Free Media." Pp. 38-46 in *A Handbook for Coding Cultures*, edited by F. da Ramini. Sydney: d/Lux/MediaArts.

Loyd, Jenna M., and Andrew Burrridge. 2007. "La Gran Marcha: Anti-racism and immigrants rights in Southern California." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(1):1-35.

Marx, Karl, and Frederick Engels. 1967. "The communist manifesto (1848)." Trans. AJP Taylor. London: Penguin.

McAdam, Douglas. 1982. *Political process and the development of black insurgency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, Douglas, Sidney G. Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1973. *The trend of social movements in America: Professionalization and resource mobilization*. Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press.

———. 1977. "Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82:1212.

McChesney, Robert W. 1999. *Rich media, poor democracy: Communication politics in dubious*

times. New York: The New Press.

———. 2004. *The Problem of the Media: U.S. Communication Politics in the 21st Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

McClelland, John S. 1989. *The crowd and the mob: From Plato to Canetti*. London / Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Melucci, Alberto. 1994. "A Strange Kind of Newness: What's 'New' in New Social Movements?" Pp. 127 in *New social movements: From ideology to identity*, edited by Enrique Larana, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

———. 1996. *Challenging codes: Collective action in the information age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Milkman, Ruth, González, Ana Luz, and Victor Narro. 2010. *Wage Theft and Workplace Violations in Los Angeles: the failure of employment and labor law for low-wage workers*. Los Angeles, California: UCLA Institute for Research on Labor and Employment. (Available online at [http://www .irle.ucla.edu/publications/pdf/LA_wagetheft.pdf](http://www.irle.ucla.edu/publications/pdf/LA_wagetheft.pdf)).

Miller, S.A., and Stephen Dinan. 2007. "Senate OKs \$3 Billion to Guard Border," *Washington Times*, July 27. (Retrieved September 1, 2007, from [http://www .washingtontimes.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20070727/NA_TION/1_07270098/1001](http://www.washingtontimes.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20070727/NA_TION/1_07270098/1001)).

MIWON. 2010. "Mission." (Retrieved January 10, 2010 from http://miwon.org/about_us)

Modarres, Ali, and Bill Pitkin, 2006. Technology and the Geography of Inequality in Los Angeles. Los Angeles: Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of Public Affairs, California State University Los Angeles.

Modarres, Ali. 2009. In Search of Digital Equity. Los Angeles: Pat Brown Public Policy Institute. (Retrieved June 29, 2010 from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/11233703/In-Search-of-Digital-Equity>).

Mohanty, Chandra. T. 2005. Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mosco, Vincent. 1996. The political economy of communication: Rethinking and renewal. London: Sage Publications.

Mouffe, Chantal, and Ernesto Laclau. 1985. Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics. London / New York: Verso.

National Telecommunications and Information Administration. 1998. Falling Through the Net II: New Data on the Digital Divide. July. Washington, DC: NTIA.

———. 1999. *Falling Through the Net: Defining the Digital Divide*. November. Washington, DC: NTIA.

———. 2000. *Falling Through the Net: Toward Digital Inclusion*. October. Washington, DC: NTIA.

———. 2010. *Digital Nation: 21st Century America's Progress Toward Universal Broadband Access*. February. Washington, DC: NTIA. (Retrieved March 10, 2010 from http://www.ntia.doc.gov/reports/2010/NTIA_Internet_use_report_Feb2010.pdf).

Nogueira, Ana. 2002. "The birth and promise of the Indymedia revolution." Pp. 290-297 in *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban protest and community building in the era of globalization*, edited by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk. London: Verso.

Norget, Kristin. 2008. "Convergences and Complicities: Local-National Interactions in the 2006 Movement of the Popular Assembly of Oaxacan Peoples (APPO)." In *After the Barricades: The Oaxaca Rebellion and the Future of Mexico*. Vancouver: BC Teachers' Union.

Norris, Pippa. 2001. *Digital divide: Civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Orozco, Graciela. 2007. *Understanding the May 1st Immigrant Rights Mobilizations*. New York City: Social Science Research Council. (Retrieved July 10, 2007 from

<http://mediaresearchhub.ssrc.org/grants/sponsored-projects/preliminary-report-on-qualitative-study-of-immigrant-latino-audiences>).

Pew Hispanic/Pew Internet. 2007. Latinos Online. March 14. (Available online at http://www.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2007/Latinos_Online_March_14_2007.pdf).

Physicians for Human Rights. 2009. "Canadians' Report Leaves More Questions than Answers in Death of US Reporter in Mexico." Physicians for Human Rights International Forensic Program. (Available online at <http://physiciansforhumanrights.org/library/news-2009-08-05.html>).

Pickard, Victor W. 2006. "United yet autonomous: Indymedia and the struggle to sustain a radical democratic network." *Media, Culture & Society* 28:315.

Polletta, Francesca. 2004. *Freedom is an endless meeting: Democracy in American social movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Prenksy, Mark. 2001. "Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants." *On the Horizon*, 9(5). NBC University Press. (Available online at <http://www.marcprensky.com/writing/Prensky%20-%20Digital%20Natives,%20Digital%20Immigrants%20-%20Part1.pdf>).

Public Policy Institute of California, 2009. "Californians & Information Technology." PPIC. California Emerging Technology Fund and ZeroDivide. (Available online at www.ppica.org).

.ppic.org/content/pubs/survey/S_608MBS.pdf).

Pulido, Laura. 2006. *Black, brown, yellow, and left: radical activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

———. 2007. "A day without immigrants: The racial and class politics of immigrant exclusion." *Antipode* 39(1):1-7.

Qiu, Jack Linchuan. 2007. "The Accidental Accomplishment of Little Smart: Understanding the Emergence of a Working-Class ICT." *New Media & Society*, 9(6):903-923.

Ray, Raka. 1999. *Fields of protest: women's movements in India*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Rideout, Victoria, Donald F. Roberts, and Ulla G. Foehr. 2005. "Generation M: Media in the lives of 8-18 year-olds." Kaiser Family Foundation Study, Publication No. 7250. Washington, DC: The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. (Available online at <http://www.kff.org/entmedia/upload/Executive-Summary-Generation-M-Media-in-the-Lives-of-8-18-Year-olds.pdf>).

Rodriguez, Clemencia. 2001. *Fissures in the Mediascape: An international study of citizens' media*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Rodríguez Santos, Berta. 2009. "Indigenous Communication in a Global World: Strategies Used by the FIOB in the United States and Mexico." Americas Program, Center for International Policy (CIP). (Available online at <http://americas.irc-online.org/am/5874>).

Roth, Silke. 2003. Building movement bridges: the coalition of Labor Union Women. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Roush, Wade. 2006. "The moral panic over social-networking sites." MIT Technology Review, August 7. (Available online at http://www.technologyreview.com/read_article.aspx?id=17266&ch=infotech).

Sampedro, Víctor. 1997. "The Media Politics of Social Protest." Mobilization: The International Journal of Theory and Research in Social Movements. 2(2): 185-205.

Sen, Jai. 2004. World social forum: challenging empires. New Delhi: Viveka Foundation.

Sender, Katherine. 2004. "Neither Fish nor Fowl: Feminism, Desire, and the Lesbian Consumer Market." The Communication Review 7(4): 407-432.

Sey, Araba, and Manuel Castells. 2004. "From media politics to networked politics: The Internet and the political process." Pp. 363-381 in The Network Society: A cross- Cultural Perspective, edited by Manuel Castells. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Simon, Joel. 2006. "CPJ calls for federal probe into killing of U.S. journalist in Mexico."

Committee to Protect Journalists. (Available online at <http://www.cpj.org/protests/06ltrs/americas/mexico30oct06pl.html>).

Sitrin, Marina. 2006. *Horizontalism: voices of popular power in Argentina*. Oakland: AK Press.

Smith, Jackie, et al. 2008. *Global Democracy and the World Social Forums*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Press.

Smythe, Dallas W. 1981/2006. "On the Audience Commodity and its Work." In *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks*, edited by Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas Kellner. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

SourceCode. 2006. "Students Unite in LA." In Season 3, Episode 10: Immigration Emergency? (Video available online at http://www.archive.org/details/freespeechtv_sourcecode3_10).

de Sousa Santos, Boaventura. 2006. *The rise of the global left: the World Social Forum and beyond*. London: Zed Books.

Srivastava, Lina. 2009. "Transmedia Activism: Telling Your Story Across Media Platforms to Create Effective Social Change." MediaRights. (Retrieved April 10, 2010 from http://www.mediarights.org/news/Transmedia_Activism_Telling_Your_Story_Across_Media_Platforms_to_Create_Eff).

Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1988. "The consequences of professionalization and formalization in the pro-choice movement." *American Sociological Review* 53:585–605.

Starr, Paul. 2004. *The creation of the media : political origins of modern communications*. New York: Basic Books.

Stephen, Lynn. 2007. "Indigenous Transborder Ethnic Identity Construction in Life and on the Net: The Frente Indígena de Organizaciones Binacionales (FIOB)." Paper Presented at Rockefeller Conference on "Poverty and Community in Latin America." Northwestern University, May 24-25, 2007. (Available online at <http://csws.uoregon.edu/wp-content/docs/InitiativeArticles/ImmigrationPDFs/NWFIOBInternetPaper.pdf>).

Surman, Mark., and Katherine Reilly. 2003. "Appropriating the Internet for social change." Report for Program on Information Technology and International Cooperation. New York: Social Research Council. (Available online at <http://mediaresearchhub.ssrc.org/appropriating-the-internet-for-social-change-towards-the-strategic-use-of-networked-technologies-by-transnational-civil-society-organizations/attachment>).

Tait, Vanessa. 2005. *Poor workers' unions: Rebuilding labor from below*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Tarrow, Sydney G. 1998. *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics*.

Cambridge University Press.

Terranova, Tiziana. 2006. "Of Sense and Sensibility: Immaterial Labour in Open Systems."

Curating Immateriality: The Work of the Curator in the Age of Network Systems (DATA browser 03). New York: Autonomedia. (Available online at [http://www .data-browser .net/03/](http://www.data-browser.net/03/)).

Tolbert, Caroline J., and Karen Mossberger. 2006. "New inequality frontier: Broadband Internet access." Economic policy institute, EPI working paper No. 275. (Available online at http://epi.3cdn.net/09afea4a13746fb124_ekm6iy8rr.pdf).

Trigona, Marie. 2006. Made in Argentina: Slave Conditions for Bolivian Workers. Americas Program, Center for International Policy (CIP). (Available online at <http://americas.irc-online.org/am/3221>).

Trippi, Joe. 2004. The revolution will not be televised: Democracy, the Internet, and the overthrow of everything. New York: William Morrow.

Twibell, Ty S.Wahab. 2005. "The Road to Internment: Special Registration and Other Human Rights Violations of Arabs and Muslims in the United States." Vt. L. Rev. 29:407–1067.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2010. Data retrieved from <http://stats.bls.gov/eag/eag.ca.htm>.

Valenzuela, Abel, Nik Theodore, Edwin Meléndez, and Ana Luz Gonzalez. 2006. On The Corner: Day Labor in the United States. Los Angeles: UCLA Center for the Study of Urban Poverty.

(Available online at http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/issr/csup/uploaded_files/Natl_DayLabor-On_the_Corner1.pdf).

VozMob, 2008. "Preliminary Survey of Day Laborer Communication Practices." (Available online at <http://vozmob.wordpress.com/2009/02/16/preliminary-survey-of-communication-practices>).

Wajcman, Judy. 1991. *Feminism Confronts Technology*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Walters, Jonathan, et al. 2003. "Justice for Janitors: 'Your Hands Make Them Rich.'" Research Center for Leadership in Action. New York: NYU/Wagner. (Available online at <http://wagner.nyu.edu/leadership/reports/files/8.pdf>).

Warschauer, Mark. 2004. *Technology and social inclusion: Rethinking the digital divide*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Whitney, Jennifer. 2005. "Make Media, Make Real Trouble: What's Wrong (and Right) With Indymedia." *LiP Magazine*. (Available online at http://www.lipmagazine.org/articles/featwhitney_indymedia.html).

Williams, Raymond. 1961. *The Long Revolution*. New York / London: Columbia University Press / Chatto & Windus.

———. 1974. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*. New York: Routledge.

Wilson III, Ernest. J, Michael Best, and Dorothea Kleine. 2005. "Moving Beyond 'The Real Digital Divide.'" *Information Technologies and International Development* 2(3):3-6.

Yang, Wayne. 2007. "Organizing MySpace: Youth walkouts, pleasure, politics, and new media." *Educational Foundations* 21(1-2):9-28.

Index

[TBD]