Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Local Political Opportunity Structure and Immigrant Political Incorporation: The Multifaceted Incorporation of Latinos in Chicago

Estefanía Cruz Lera

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by

Estefanía Cruz Lera

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Supervisors:

Eva Ostergaard Nielsen

Margarita León Borja

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Abstract

This dissertation analyses immigrant political incorporation by acknowledging the interactions between immigrants' agency and the local political context. In this research I focus on explaining the whys and hows of the development a multifaceted process of political incorporation at the city scale. Departing from exploratory research and inductive analysis, this thesis looks at the contrasting and coexisting strategies undertaken by Latinos during the process of their political incorporation in Chicago.

Using the political opportunity structure (POS) approach, I propose an analytical model considering two variables: the immigrants' agency and the

political structure in Chicago. The agency has three dimensions in the analysis: organization, mobilization, and policy incidence. The structure includes, on the one hand, contextual factors that are the lasting characteristics of the polity having its roots in the social and historical processes. On the other hand, it includes as explanatory variables the political opportunity structures that refer to the political circumstances that barrier or catalyst immigrant incorporation.

The research design consisted of an in-depth study of the critical case of Chicago. This qualitative study followed a multi-method strategy. The main part consisted on participant observation and elite interviews with leaders of the immigrant organizations and other political actors from Chicago.

The main finding of this dissertation rests precisely on how the degree of political inclusiveness of the city and the contextual factors merge with the multifaceted agency leading to complex interactions. This case study found that Chicago Latinos are facing the following dilemmas: 1) mainstreaming vs autonomy in the case of organization, 2) the simultaneous use of both contentious and uncontentious collective action, and, 3) the generation of community innovations to politicize the group in order to avoid depoliticization in the case of policy incidence. This multifaceted incorporation has the broader implication of positioning Chicago Latinos simultaneously as both a challenging group and as a political clientele. These dynamics spotlight a critical case among the universe of research of immigrant political incorporation at the city scale

Resumen

Esta tesis aborda la incorporación política de inmigrantes a través del análisis de las interacciones entre la agencia de los migrantes y el contexto político local. En esta investigación me concentro en explicar por qué y cómo se desarrolló una agencia multifacética de incorporación política en la escala de la ciudad. A partir de investigación exploratoria y derivado del análisis inductivo esta tesis examina las estrategias contrastantes y coexistentes emprendidas por los Latinos durante su procesos de incorporación política en Chicago.

Usando el enfoque teórico de "Estructura de Oportunidades Políticas", propuse un modelo analítico considerando ambas variables: la agencia de inmigrantes y la estructura política en Chicago. La agencia tiene tres dimensiones de análisis: organización, movilización e incidencia política. La estructura incluye, por un lado, "factores contextuales" que son las características duraderas del sistema político que tiene sus raíces en los procesos sociales e históricos. Por otra parte, incluye como variables explicativas a "las estructuras de oportunidad política" que se

refieren a las circunstancias políticas que tienen la capacidad de frenar o catalizar la incorporación inmigrante.

El diseño de la investigación consiste en el estudio a profundidad del caso crítico de Chicago. Este estudio cualitativo siguió una estrategia multimetodológica, cuya parte nuclear consistió en la observación participante y el desarrollo de entrevistas de élite con líderes de las organizaciones de migrantes y otros actores políticos de Chicago.

El hallazgo principal de esta tesis descansa en cómo tanto el grado de inclusión política de la ciudad y los factores contextuales se fusionan con la multifacética agencia de los inmigrantes dando lugar a complejas interacciones. Este estudio de caso encontró que los latinos de Chicago se enfrentan a varios dilemas: 1) "mainstreaming" vs autonomía en el caso de la organización, 2) la exhibición tanto de acción colectiva contenciosa como no contenciosa en el caso de la movilización, y, 3) la generación de innovaciones comunitarias para politizar al grupo con el fin de evitar la despolitización en el caso de incidencia política. Esta incorporación multifacética tiene las implicaciones más amplias de posicionar a los latinos de Chicago simultáneamente como un grupo desafiante y como una clientela política. Estas dinámicas nos remiten a un caso crítico entre el universo de investigación de la incorporación migrante en la escala urbana.

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Acronyms

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
DACA	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
FEDECMI	Federación de Clubes Michoacanos/Casa Michoacán
HTA	Hometown Associations
ICE	Immigration Costumes Enforcement officials
ICIRR	Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights
HR	House of Representatives Bill
IL	Illinois
IL-D	Illinois Democratic Party
IL-R	Illinois Republican Party
LULAC	League of United Latin American Citizens
MALDEF	Mexican American League Defense and Education Fund
NALEO	National Association of Latino Elected Officials
NIYA	National Immigrant Youth Alliance
OCAD	Organized Communities Against Deportations
PASO	Proyecto de Acción de los Suburbios del Oeste
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
TRP	The Resurrection Project
TPS	Temporary Protection Status
UIC	University of Illinois-Chicago
UNAM Chicago	National University Autonomous of Mexico, Chicago Extension
US	United States
USCIS	United States Costumes and Immigration Services

USDHS	United States Department of Homeland Security

Introduction

Immigrant political incorporation implies the enduring process through which organized immigrants become a collective more politicized (aware of political dynamics and power relations), more visible, more participative, and less disadvantaged group in politics of the host society. This thesis addresses a case in which immigrants attain agency to engage in local politics through strategies of incorporation mediated by the complex structure of the polity. This dissertation approaches immigrant political incorporation by acknowledging the interactions between immigrants' agency and the local political context. The central puzzle of this research is the study of how Latino immigrants in Chicago are responding to and taking advantage of these political circumstances categorized as political opportunity structures.

This thesis uses the Political Opportunity Structure (POS) approach as analytical framework because it emphasizes the need to look at both, the structure (political rules and institutional context) and the agency (how the politically active immigrants react to these structures), as variables for the analysis of the nature of immigrant political incorporation. The Political Opportunity Approach (POS) helps to address the emerging questions about the extent of the relations between the local political context and the political incorporation of immigrants. Using POS, I articulated a theoretical model of analysis to link political behaviors and dynamic contexts at the city level. This model privileges the understanding of the interactions between political insiders and outsiders while analyzing the effect of contextual factors and political circumstances.

In the proposed analytical model, the dependent variable is the agency of immigrants in their own process of political incorporation. It includes three main dimensions each one shaped in different ways by the structure. The first dimension relates with the collective constitution as political actors through *organization*. The second dimension consist of seeking access to political arenas through grassroots *mobilization*. The third is related with group management of political niches and resources for influencing policy change, this dimension has been denominated by organized immigrants as *policy incidence*.

On the other side of the explanatory model, the set of independent variables conceptualized as the local immigration governance is the dynamic structure in which immigrants' agency is shaped and displayed. The structure consists of contextual factors and political opportunity structures. Contextual factors are the lasting characteristics of the polity such as the local narrative on immigration, the history of the city, ethnic relations and structures of power, and other contextual characteristics of the political environment that are a result of historical and social processes. In addition to this context, the political opportunity structures act as the key explanatory variables. Political opportunity structures are political circumstances that barrier or incentive immigrants' entry into local political spheres and other civic institutions. Political opportunity structures can be translated as niches or threats depending on the capacity of immigrants to perceive and advantage these political circumstances rooted in the locality that have catalyst effect on political agency.

This research design was highly inductive and resulted from situated analysis of the circumscribed context of Chicago. These characteristics in addition to the explanatory nature of the puzzle of this dissertation urged case study methodology.

Case studies offer a robust methodology for qualitative research when the main focus is to study behaviors and explain interactions within real-life context. Consequently, the Chicago case became a theoretical construct (the practical application of theory from which that theory was conceptualized) in this dissertation. Then, a multi-method strategy guided data collection, its nuclear part consisted in participant observation and elite interviews.

After tracing the dynamics of Chicago Latinos, I found that contrasting behaviors and strategies are coexisting in their process of political engagement locally. The case of Chicago highlights as an important epicenter of local immigrant incorporation with its foundational narrative built on immigration and diversity. In the case of Latino immigrants in Chicago, the local context of reception and the will of politicized immigrants to incorporate collide in a complex interaction. By exploring Latino immigrant politics in Chicago, I observed that many contrasts emerge, and the political vibrancy of the city is complex to follow.

In Chicago, immigrants and the political elites (in many cases coupled) held campaigns of resistance and exerted local pressure. Sanctuary ordinances were reaffirmed and enhanced, and many lawsuits and legal battles were introduced by activists and local governments in Congress and courts. Immigrant leaders are aware of the political discussions happening in different branches of government, they show a deep understanding of how the US politics work, and they have made activism a professional activity. In the meantime, they keep encouraging civic engagement of their grassroots, sometimes going door to door to spread information. In Chicago, we see both at the same time, activists displaying civil disobedience and activists lobbying in public offices for the same cause. Even

Chicago Latino politicians are speaking in Congress one day, and the next, they are coordinating citizenship workshops or participating in public demonstrations.

This research contributes to this field of political incorporation by explaining that context cannot be over simplified as inclusive or exclusive, and that its nature do not automatically result in more or less immigrant incorporation in a linear way. This study contributes to the literature on immigrants' political incorporation by re-scaling the dynamics of political incorporation at the city level for studying a case in which new forms of immigrants' power struggles are characterized by a broad spectrum of collective action. The theoretical proposal of this dissertation consist in that immigrants' agency and political structures collide in complex interactions.

The empirical contribution of this case study consists in that immigrants' agency can be displayed through coexistent and contrasting strategies of incorporation. Latino agency in Chicago ranges from playing roles of disruptive forces to cooperating with the mainstream as the routine path established for institutional political access. In this way Latinos both play the role of the political clientele in machine politics to reach niches for participation and become a source of community innovations. This more diverse and multifaceted response is a clear indicator of how Latino political incorporation is happening now in different spheres within and outside formal politics in cities like Chicago.

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 revisits the existing literature on immigrants' political incorporation and explains the theoretical contribution of this study. Chapter 1 includes a detailed explanation of the analytical model proposed for this research. Subsequently, Chapter 2 describes the steps followed by this research at the methodological level. I explain the building of the

theoretical puzzle, and I broadly justify the logics of selection and the nature of the study case of Chicago. I also explain the process of data collection and data analysis that led the process of inference.

Chapter 3 is aimed at contextualizing the politics of Latinos at the city level in Chicago. It includes the contextual variables affecting their political incorporation. I provide a description of the group, of their political weight, and the social capital of this contested minority. In this chapter, I also describe three conditions framing their political incorporation, explaining how the so-called Chicago-style politics is: racialized politics, Democratic Party machinery politics and, recently, sanctuary city politics.

In Chapter 4 I describe the nature and characteristics of the organizational network articulated by Chicago Latinos. After a long history of politicization filled with successes and failures, they have developed the ability to exercise horizontal legitimacy and to speak with one voice, at least for their political causes in the locality. Latino organizing in Chicago faces a political opportunity structure in which stakeholders and political insiders (despite their own interests and agendas in the local polity) are willing to bridge and link with these organized and politicized immigrants. On the immigrants' side, these interactions result in outcomes, such as reaching insiders' forums and facilitating institutional access. However, the most interesting dynamic occurs in their effect on the agency of Latino immigrants, these stakeholders are influencing Latino organizing by positioning immigrant leaders in the dilemma of mainstreaming versus autonomy.

Chapter 5 approaches the mobilizing dimension of Latino political incorporation. Sometimes, cities, such as Chicago, are involved in immigrant

activism by defending sanctuaries in courts and launching partnerships in support of immigrants. These circumstances involving cooperation with institutional actors generate a series of incentives for immigrants. The rewards can be legitimacy among the mainstream and the fact that partnerships with political insiders help in the faster achievement of causes. Meanwhile, Latino grassroots seek responses to their own contested political agendas, which, in many cases, require pressure through confrontation. In this context, the critical mass leading Latinos have become aware that they can consciously display both contentious and uncontentious collective action to achieve their causes locally.

Finally, Chapter 6 focuses on the analysis of immigrants' incorporation in the process of influencing policy change or, as Chicago Latinos have called it in their forums, their political incidence. Once immigrants have accessed the political arenas, the city government included their demands in the local agenda and enacts policy. The problem for the politicized immigrants is that when governmental agents convert their demands into technical issues, immigrants are prevented from continuing to resonate their minority voice in the city hall. Furthermore, issues involving higher political risks are often avoided and depoliticized by governments. Under these circumstances, organizers are trying to keep Latinos politicized in Chicago, and they are scaling their community initiatives from below to position themselves as a source of proposals and increase their political influence in the city.

Chapter 1.
Theoretical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation

1.1. Introduction

The studies about immigrant political incorporation now constitute a vast corpus of literature that has articulated interesting research lines across a very dynamic field. The main objective of this chapter is discussing the relevant literature to explore how immigrant political incorporation has been approached. In this chapter, the progressive articulation of immigrant political incorporation as an independent field of study is examined. The challenges and gaps of many relevant studies within this literature are discussed. Then, my theoretical proposal to study Latino political incorporation in Chicago is explained. Finally, the studies on local political incorporation are reviewed to explain how the city scale enables in-depth study of immigrant dynamics.

1.2. The study of immigrant political incorporation

Immigration and politics have been related, particularly in the US literature, since the 1960s (Brettell and Hollifield, 2014). Earlier works subscribed to assimilationist theories and the most common area of research was cross-national comparison between the US melting pot and the French model of assimilation (Hirschman, 1983) . These theories were fundamental in the development of ethnic and racial studies in the United States (Fraga *et al.*, 2006) . In this context, during the 1960s several works concluded that the adaptation process over time into American civic life was imminent and that state-centered policies, like the French model, were not necessary (Breton, 1964; Gordon, 1964).

In the decade of the 1970s, the work of Schneider (1976) concluded that status and ethnicity were determinant variables for understanding immigrants' political behaviors. These works in the field of racial studies questioned the dominant melting pot model that had explained the processes of assimilation of the early European migrations to the United States. Cornelius & Rosenblum (2005) have compiled a summary of the studies in this field. They explained that during the 1970s and 1980s two approaches permeated into the research of immigrant politics' research: political pluralism and participatory cultures. These theoretical perspectives enabled the development of studies based on group conflict, ethnic competition, and how to accommodate ethnic differences.

During the 1990s, the transnational approach emerged as the dominant perspective in migration studies and in many disciplines and contexts. Progressively, transnationalism was used to explain how immigrants participated in politics by constituting hometown associations (HTAs) and developing transnational practices During this period, this perspective was embodied in the

work of scholars such as Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc (1992); Massey, Goldring, and Durand (1994); Pries (1997); Portes, Guarnizo, and Landot (1999). These authors paved the theoretical ground of transnationalism. Their works explored how solidarity networks became public spaces constructed by immigrants to keep their roots in their hometowns while they were integrating into their host societies. Later, transnational politics emerged as a field in itself. Faist (2000), Bauböck (2003), Ostergaard-Nielsen (2003), Portes and Ariza (2007), explained how one of the outcomes of the linkage between transnational immigrants and home country politics was political engagement in the places of settlement as well.

Other authors (Ireland, 1994; Soysal, 1994; Joppke, 1996) became aware of the reformulation of membership by migrant political dynamics. As Martiniello & Lafleur (2008) argue, scholarly interest in immigrant political incorporation was related to a renewed interest in citizenship. The works of Bellamy, Castiglione & Santoro (2004), Favell (2007), Kivisto & Faist (2009), and Brubaker (2010) described how immigrants were changing the understandings about their political participation in host countries through their organizations. These scholars suggested that immigrants were living de facto citizenship and they developed the idea of a politics of belonging. They used both internal and external factors to explain their political engagement and membership in host societies.

Progressively, scholars brought to the field the differentiation between immigrant politics as a broader category and political incorporation as an independent object of study. On the one hand, studies of transnational politics revealed immigrants as agents with social capital and not just the objects of politics with minimal participation. On the other hand, the strategies of incorporation

alerted scholars to be aware of the process of politicization as a subject of study in itself. This raised questionings about the mechanisms by which new social forces, in this case immigrants, were entering into political systems either by inclusion, absorption, or transformation (Minnite, 2009).

It is fundamental to mention that in the case of immigrants, their political action is constrained by the granting of rights at places of settlement and their starting point is their position as political outsiders. Segura states that, "incorporation can be best understood as the process whereby the immigrant group becomes a fuller, more participatory, and less disadvantaged segment of the American Polity" (2013, p. 255). Political incorporation can be studied as an outcome and as a process because it refers to the extent to which self-identified minorities are articulated, represented, and met in the public policy making. Political incorporation denotes how immigrants' interests are reflected in political outcomes and policies.

Among the first studies explaining immigrant political incorporation as an autonomous topic highlights the work of Zolberg (2004). Zolberg outlined the "basic model of successful incorporation", in which he proposed that the degree of immigrant incorporation corresponds to the cumulative sum of immigrants' previous political experience. This in addition to the democratic management of cultural difference in the context of settlement. The main criticisms of this model are its linearity and determinism because Zolberg argues that successful entry into the political arena depends on a cumulative process. For example, Mollekopf and Hochschild (2009) suggested that immigrant choices and policy choices were equally relevant to explain political incorporation. They argue that the combination

of factors such as the articulation of interests and the accommodation of values, may result either in entry or not-involvement into the political arena.

In the same topic and with the goal of bringing dynamism and complex thinking to the field, Mollenkopf (2013) proposed three guidelines for studying immigrant political incorporation. First, he stressed studying the influence of political coalitions on the varying patterns of immigrant incorporation. The second guideline was locating the analysis by taking into account factors such as geography, ethnic composition, and class. Thirdly, the study of immigrant political incorporation should include a careful analysis of who is organizing and seeking to represent immigrants.

Latino immigrants encompass these complexities in their process of political incorporation in the United States at different levels. Factors such as group characteristics, their mechanisms of access, and the nature of their process had been the main objects of study to distinguish Latino political incorporation from other US ethno-political minorities (immigrant and non-immigrant).

Regarding the characteristics of the group, highlights the transnational experience and the mixed-status. Latino political incorporation cannot be understood without considering formative experiences either in immigrants' home countries or learned inside immigrant organizations (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003; Portes, Guarnizo and Landot, 2003; Fraga *et al.*, 2006; Fraga and Garcia, 2010). Moreover, the lack of citizenship is central for Latinos, either upon arrival or afterwards, this group is deeply concerned with the fear of deportation of themselves and their close relatives (Espenshade and Ramakrishnan, 2001; De Genova, 2002; Stokes, 2003; Barreto, Manzano and Ramírez, 2009).

Studies of Latino political incorporation had also focused in the mechanisms of access. For example, Pantoja, Ramírez, and Segura (2001) studied the motivations of immigrants to naturalize, mobilize, and vote. In the same direction, studies have focused on the struggles for gaining civil and political rights at different levels (Robinson, 2006; Pallares and Flores-González, 2010; Kovic, 2014). Nicholls explains that, "the intense hostility facing immigrants in recent years has made it difficult if not impossible to justify rights claims on the basis of universalistic arguments… they must construct representations of immigrants and their cause in ways that cohere with the core normative and moral values of the nation" (2013b, p. 84). Following this logic, minority politics could refer to the collective behaviors and group identity contesting the dominant narratives about "the limited" agency of immigrant groups (Bloemraad, 2013).

The formation of ethnic groups in many cases implies the articulation of common political identities, when the affiliations and shared interests find group traction, persist and maturate, they tend articulate a political minority. Immigrant minorities are marked by intersectionalities such as segregation, subordination, social, and cultural traits and their tendency to be externally married with the ideology of a particular group. These variables are enhanced when this collective is geographically concentrated.

1.3. The Approaches to Political Incorporation

There is a general consensus (Martiniello, 2009; Hochschild *et al.*, 2013) about differentiating the theoretical approaches for the study of immigrant political incorporation into two general groups:

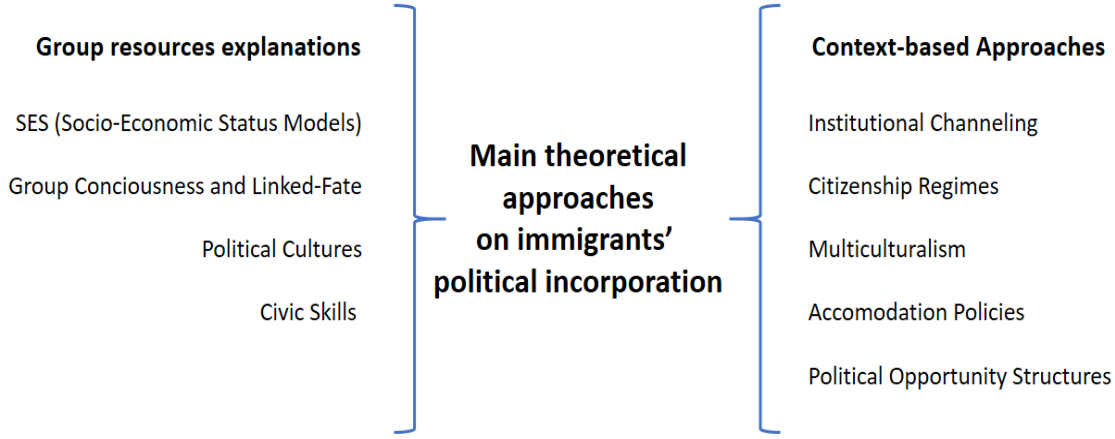

Figure 1.1. Main theoretical approaches on immigrants' political incorporation
Source: Own elaboration

The main difference between the two perspectives is based on the explanatory variable, in the case of 'group resources explanations' the characteristics of the immigrant collective are operationalized as the independent variable for explaining political incorporation. Meanwhile, context-based explanations operationalize the characteristics of the context of arrival as the independent variable.

1.3.1. Group Resources Explanations

These studies use internal factors related to the immigration experience and group characteristics such as time, the size of the collective, and the degree of ethnic concentration as determinants for the difference in immigrants' political

incorporation. There are four main perspectives, each privileging distinct factors and building conceptual frameworks around them:

Socioeconomic status models: These studies suggest that economic and social statistical indicators help to predict the degree of influence on the politics of groups. For example, these studies argue that higher educational levels increase the involvement in formal politics and this might result in more financial resources destined to politics with the goal of attracting more the interest of representatives (Sanchez, 2006; Sanguino, 2008).

Group consciousness and linked fate: These works suggest that pan-ethnic conformation, socio-cultural boundaries, and factors such as the identification of collective marginalization, negative representations in the context of settlement, or policy threats are the main factors motivating political engagement (Stokes, 2003; Masuoka, 2006; Junn and Haynie, 2008)

Political cultures: This concept is based on the studies of Almond & Verba (1963) of how different civic cultures have different attitudes towards politics. Accordingly, different immigrant groups have differentiated tendencies to participate in politics based on factors such as the distance to their the country of origin, level of democracy, their trust in government, their previous involvement in unions and movements, their organizational cultures, prior political socialization, etc. (Alba and Nee, 2003; De Genova, 2005; Voicu, 2014; Jones-correa, 2016).

Development of civic skills: These studies found that immigrants compare the possibilities of the civic life between their country of origin and the host country and they adopt the skills necessary to participate in politics. The focus is then on

how they acquire and use these skills to interact in politics (De Sipio, 2006, 2011; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008; Zolberg, 2009).

All these scholars have studied political incorporation through group-based approaches to explain the variating political behaviors of diverse groups in cases such as their electoral activities, the participation in ethnic associations, and the formation of ethnic politics. They have concluded that migrant groups are expected to develop different or common patterns of political incorporation depending either on their divergence or affinities of group characteristics with the context of reception. Group-based factors are useful for comparisons between different ethnic groups in similar contexts and for explaining differences between native and ethnic or immigrant groups.

One of the main limitations of these explanations is that ethnic groups are increasingly more heterogeneous in terms of class, immigration status, and race, and less geographically concentrated. Therefore, intra-group diversity cannot be ignored in the study of the political incorporation of larger groups such as Latinos and in cases of internal ethnic differences such as with Asians in the United States. It is crucial to consider that many intra-group dynamics are lost in group-based research. In many cases, the study needs to be complemented with other theoretical frameworks not generalizable to the group of study and more related with external factors. For example, group resources-based studies tend to focus on immigrants' politics as separated spheres, as if they were not contained by broader political contexts and frequently fail to explain questions such as: how immigrant politics are tied to the flux and ebb of host country politics? How relevant are these collectives as political actors? How external factors such as threats and affirmative

action shape their political incorporation? In response to these questions, there are approaches to this research that privilege contextual explanations.

1.3.2. Context-Based Approaches

These works use variables from the social and political environment to explain immigrants' political dynamics. Context-based studies sustain that immigrant political incorporation is contextual because it depends on dispositional (perceptions) and systemic (structural) factors. In simple terms, context-based explanations argue that every polity has its own rules and processes that produce substantial numbers of heterogeneous political outcomes such as mechanisms, laws, and policies that shape immigrants' dynamics in different ways.

Context-based research also sustains that the configuration of institutional factors, power relations, the dominant norms, and the public discourse in the place of settlement are essential factors to understand immigrant incorporation. The basic idea is that the degree of inclusiveness in the context of reception leads to more successes or failures in the political incorporation of immigrants. This approach is used to explain processes such as the reconfiguration of citizenship, the formulation of migration policy, the role of a minority in the political negotiation, and immigrant mobilization, among other dynamics.

The seminal works on *institutional channeling* sustain that political insiders, such as political parties and host society organizations, are institutional gatekeepers who control access to the venues of political participation available to immigrants along defined lines (Ireland, 1994). This approach emphasizes the role of

institutions from the host country in shaping incorporation. However, sometimes institutional channeling ignores the institutional and social barriers to the immigrants' willingness to engage in politics. In contexts like the United States where federal organs restrict immigration and local institutions are more willing to incorporate immigrants, institutional channeling cannot explain political incorporation because of the conflict between local and federal migration policy (Varsanyi, 2011).

Another important approach related to context-based research is the study of the *citizenship regimes*. This line of research focuses on the effects of legislation and the configuration of the rules for the acquisition of full political and civil rights over the political incorporation of immigrants (Soysal, 1994; Bellamy, Castiglione and Santoro, 2004). Koopmans described how, "…different configurations of citizenship are embedded in national political and civic institutional frameworks, and that these have important consequences for the incorporation of immigrants…" (1999, p. 662). These works highlight how exclusionary and inclusionary regimes influence in varying ways political incorporation by focusing on the citizenship access for immigrants. Citizenship regimes are often used for cross-national comparisons, highlight comparisons which differentiate between assimilationist, segregationist, universalist, and multiculturalist citizenship models (Koopmans and Statham, 1999; Koopmans *et al.*, 2005; Koopmans, 2010). In the case of the United States, few times the citizenship regimes are explored, in terms of its citizenship regime this country represents an exclusionary regime and the largest immigrant group (Mexicans) have low naturalization rates (De Sipio, 2011; Collingwood, Barreto and Garcia-rios, 2017). The US migratory system has barely changed in centuries, and frequently immigrants challenge the normative regimes to engage in

local politics by running for a position or engaging in activism while undocumented.

In response to the normative charge of the past approaches, other research approaches influenced by the political pluralism have emerged: *multiculturalism* and *accommodation policies*. Like institutional channeling, these approaches sustain that public institutions are responsible for the political relationship with immigrants in the public sphere. The difference lies in inclusiveness, supposedly, migration policies must seek coexistence of the different cultural groups and the accommodation of diverse political interests (Zapata-Barrero, 2001; Bakker, 2011). Under this logic, "pro-immigrant measures will be supported only when they are consistent with the perception of a consensus in the actual and potential electorate" (Caponio and Borkert, 2010, p. 177). While these approaches recognize immigrants as political subjects, their capacity of action is excessively determined by their context and by the willingness of the host society to face their diversity and to enact accommodation policies. These studies exacerbate the role of the policies and structures on immigrant political incorporation, and barely focus on immigrants' social capital, the political experience of the groups, and the possible dissent and conflict of immigrant organizers with institutional guided accommodation.

Finally, another context-based approach is the *political opportunity structure* (POS). The POS approach sustains that both factors, the conduciveness of the political rules and the institutional settings, as well as the groups' behaviors across these structures, shape incorporation in different ways depending on circumstantial contexts. Immigrant political incorporation does not occur in a vacuum but is tied to political dynamics of the context. Besides, in the case of immigrants, it is

necessary to explore both how immigrant organizations work together as well as how they collaborate with non-immigrant allies, both governmental and non-governmental. Considering the explanatory nature of this research, it is necessary to outline a theoretical framework for explaining the dynamic interaction between political participation (behaviors) and institutions (context), and the POS approach is useful for this purpose.

1.4. The Political Opportunity Structure Approach

The political opportunity structure (POS) is a theoretical approach which is part of the political process theories in political sociology. Originally, this set of theories surged during the 1970s and the 1980s to explain social and civil rights mobilizations, in many cases with the retrospective analysis of the 1960s movements. McAdam, Tilly & Tarrow (2001) compiled a complete summary of these "new social movement theories", including the approaches of mobilizing structures, framing process and the political opportunity structure. The last, the political opportunity structure approach has been the most developed perspective for explaining the mechanisms that link institutional and policy structures to peoples' everyday social and civic activities.

The POS approach centers on explaining how political contexts affect the development of social movements in settings of place or time (Meyer, 2003). This implies that to use this explanatory approach, it is necessary to locate the analysis in a political context with the presence of a challenging group. In the case of this research, the political challengers are the Latino immigrants in Chicago, a group of

political outsiders trying to enter into a polity with complex political arenas. This local context is filled with multiple and overlapping opportunities and threats. A central point in this dissertation is analyzing the structuration of these political opportunity structures and explaining the responses of Latinos towards this complex political context.

The Political Opportunity Structure approach aims to predict variance in the periodicity, style, and content of activists' efforts and also of the more mainstream institutional politics (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004). In his studies about immigrant protests, Koopmans states that, "the central tenet of the political opportunities approach is that mobilization is not a direct reflection of social structural tensions, problems, and grievances, but is mediated by the available opportunities and constraints set by the political environments in which mobilizing groups, in the case at hand migrants, operate" (2004, p. 541). In other words, the POS approach sustains that the variations in immigrant dynamics are influenced by the political environment and the political circumstances surrounding the immigrant minority. The main postulate of the approach bases on how the political opportunity structure stimulate, constrain or channel the forms and the degree of immigrants' involvement in the polity.

In migration studies, the political incorporation field still struggles with theorizing the relationship between immigrants and the structural contexts containing their politicization. In this regard, some scholars such as Nicholls (2013a), Mahler & Siemiatycki (2011), and Triviño (2014) argue that political opportunity structure models are able to outline explanations based on the understanding of the environment that contains, catalyzes, and constrains immigrants' political behaviors. In this case, they suggest that when immigrants

settle in a country, their space for action is outlined by the basic institutional structures in the residence. These conditions justify the study about how the political opportunity structure shapes the extent and characteristics adopted in the process of politicization of an immigrant minority and how they modify these polities.

In the case of migration studies, the political opportunity structure approach has been widely applied to study immigrant protest by using post-national arguments and intra-local analysis. For example, POS was employed to trace mobilizations such as the protests of immigrants in Germany (Koopmans, 2004), the "*Sans-papiers"* movement in France (Penninx, Berger and Kraal, 2006; Koopmans, 2010), the Dreamers (Nicholls, 2013a; Nicholls and Fiorito, 2015) and the anti-immigrant movement (Minkenberg, 2013) in the United States. Other important work was developed by Triviño (2014), who employed a political opportunity approach analysis into how immigrant organizations relate to political parties during specific moments of politicization at the local level. Nevertheless, most of the immigrant dynamics studied have been conjunctural such as protests and mobilizations for regularization. Previous research has studied temporal agency transiting quickly through durable political structures, but this process often had only minor policy outcomes and few political changes. For this reason, their transformative capacity on the political structure has been limited.

The Political Opportunity Approach (POS) helps to address the emerging questions about the extent of the relations between the political context and the incorporation of immigrants. Using the POS approach, Nicholls suggested that, "liberal democratic political systems are complex and filled with many internal contradictions, even the most hostile contexts produce countless cracks and fissures

that can serve as narrow niche-openings for some immigrants" (2013a, p. 25). Then, the main postulate of POS consist in that context shapes immigrant collective action. The main focus is put in the process through which immigrants perceive and advantage niches for their progressive incorporation into a concrete political context.

Immigration is a salient and divisive topic in many locations. Because of this, contexts at different levels are plagued with contradictory responses, positions, and mechanisms. In some localities that context results in opportunities of contrasting nature that can be perceived as positive or negative by the immigrants depending on the degree of politicization of their group. In this case, it is relevant to study immigrants' responses to advantage the narrow openings available to them, demonstrating that their group fits in the country through strategies such as destigmatization, crafting discourses, and positive representation (Nicholls, 2013a).

There are several criticisms of the POS approach (Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009; Però and Solomos, 2010). The main criticism relates to the risk of an excessive emphasis on institutional factors (Bousetta, 2000). This has been avoided in this research by arguing that politics happens inside and outside institutions, immigrant activism and their political incorporation are a continuum. Moreover, some studies had forgotten to highlight the transformation of the structure by agents and external factors in their conclusions, and therefore there is sometimes the misconception that POS is non-dialectic and mono-causal in nature (Koopmans, 1999; Bousetta, 2000).

Another criticism that frequently is mentioned in the studies based on POS approach is that the approach contains too many variables and dynamics (Koopmans, 1999). The POS argument in this regard is that polities are more

complicated than ideal types, and more factors are involved in local dynamics. In this way, selecting fewer variables might be risky because this would oversimplify reality. In addition, POS analysis remarks the existence of interests' constellations modifying the allocation of resources outside institutions (Meyer and Imig, 1993).

Finally, the ontological rigidity of the opportunities is considered chaotic for POS critics, "a further limitation has to do with the narrowly and rigidly defined range of forms that POS is seen as able to assume" (Però and Solomos, 2010, p. 9). However, the value of the opportunity approach is its empirical nature and the intrinsic contingency of what might be an opportunity offers dynamism.

1.5. Theoretical proposal

This dissertation addresses political incorporation as a progressive, enduring (long-term), and non-linear process that involves many interactions, transactions, and transformations among the agents and the structure. For these reasons, POS is applied in a reflexive way, this means that I focus on interactions because opportunities are relevant political forces and circumstances rather than static conditions. The study of how Latino immigrants in Chicago are responding to and taking advantage of these political circumstances categorized as political opportunity structures is the central puzzle of this research.

For analytical purposes the political opportunity structure approach contains two explanatory dimensions: structure and agency. The following figure synthesizes the theoretical model that I had proposed for the study of the Latino immigrants' political incorporation in Chicago.

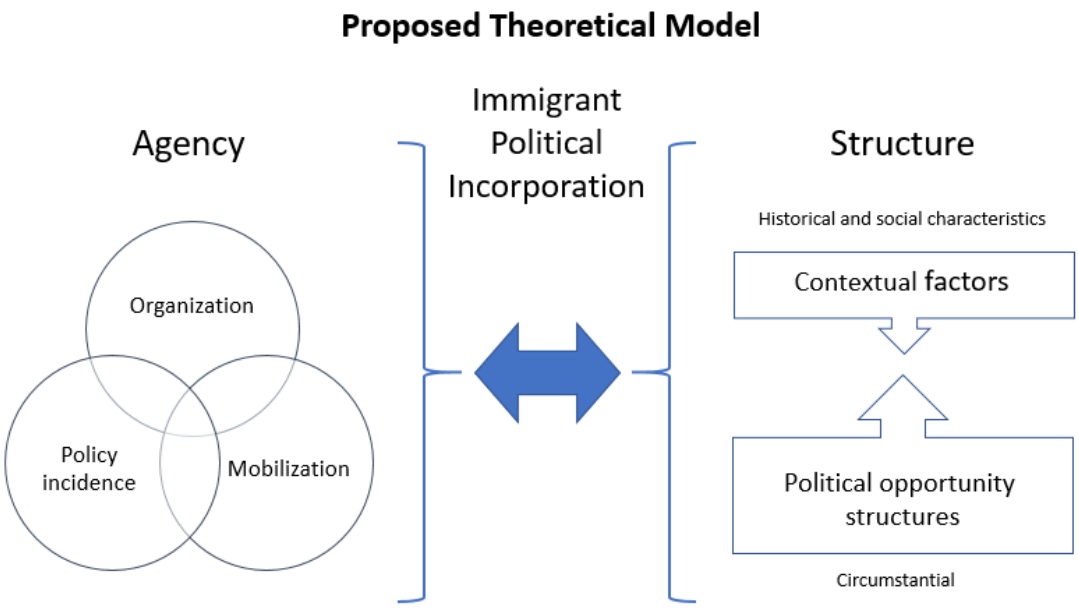

Figure 1.2. Proposed Theoretical Model

Source: Own Elaboration

In this model, immigrants' agency is the dependent variable, while the structure is the independent variable, within the structure the POS is the core explanatory dimension.

In political sociology, agency, explained in simple terms, is the ability to act, respond and overcome as a social force. Agency could be any meaningful political behavior, mediated or unmediated, which enables the capacity for transformation or standing (Moulaert, Jessop and Mehmood, 2016). In this research, the agency of immigrants as an ethno-political minority is their process of political incorporation, but this term is still too broad to be operationalized. Consequently, I focus on the participatory dimensions of their local political incorporation.

In order to configure the indicators of the agency, I followed Tilly's (2008) strategy for analyzing social processes that consist on the constitution of agents,

seeking access, and management of capital. Therefore, the dimensions for Chicago Latinos incorporation are:

a) Organizational networks, because these clusters encompass the progressive constitution of the collective actor.
b) The capacity of mobilization that implies seeking access to the political arenas.
c) The influence in policy change, or in terms of Chicago Latinos, their "policy incidence", stage related to the management of political niches and resources.

These elements are affected in varying ways by the contextual and structural characteristics of the polity. For this reason, in this research, these dimensions are approached separately.

First, *organization* comprises the process of immigrants' grassroots association, and in Chicago this happens on an ethnic base. Usually, organization of minorities surges from solidarity networks to accumulate social capital or with the objective of displaying collective activities (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008). The activities developed by these organizations facilitate and channel the civic process of engagement with the political institutions of the locality (Alba and Nee, 2003). This instrumentality of Latino organization at many scales in the United States have been carefully studied (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008; Bada *et al.*, 2010; Fraga and Garcia, 2010; De Sipio, 2011; Jones-correa, 2016). However, few times the focus has been on how interactions with the political environment hosting immigrant organizations influence their nature and degree of engagement in local politics.

Organizing in this model of analysis explores relationships and trade-offs between immigrant clusters and the political opportunity structures. Then, indicators of this dimension are the characteristics and degree of structuration of organizational networks, as well as connections with political insiders, particularly the relationship with local advocacy organizations and the political negotiations for alliances with local stakeholders. For example, the analysis focused on how political insiders facilitate access to resources and forums and what are the effects of these relationships on immigrant political incorporation.

Mobilizing is the second dimension of Latino political incorporation and it is directly related to political contexts. *Mobilization* is a collective proactive action used as a mechanism of pressure or in response to threats and restrictions (Steil and Vasi, 2014). Mobilizing implies high levels of community capacity for immediate collective responsiveness with a wide range of public demonstrations (Zlolniski, 2008).

Several conditions of repression and marginalization historically have drove immigrant groups for mobilizing (see Pallares and Flores-González, 2010). However two variables are the relevant inquiries about immigrant mobilization for this study. In the one hand, the motivations that activate structured mobilization. On the other hand, the effects of displaying collective action as a tool for political engagement, rather than other forms of isolated and improvised mechanisms of protest. Following this motivation, immigrant mobilization in this thesis is analytically divided into contentious and uncontentious. Contentious mobilization relates to collective actions against the establishment and pertains to confrontation towards the mainstream (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001). In contrast,

uncontentious mobilization refers to collective action inside or in alliance with agents from institutional politics (Tarrow, 1994).

The third dimension of the agency is related to the ultimate aims of immigrants' political engagement that consist in influencing policies of the host locality in their favor. I have denominated this dimension as *policy incidence,* as Latino immigrants call it in their forums because it includes campaigns and programs born outside governmental bodies, born inside their own organizations, aimed at influencing local governance. Given the multiplicity of interests in the local public sphere, immigrants develop community innovations to attend their more salient demands (de Graauw, Gleeson and Bloemraad, 2013). Policy incidence is related to intersectional campaigns covering immigration services, ethnic affirmative action, and community development issues. These broad campaigns change with political conjunctures, and in many case, are projected for filling policy deficits. Policy incidence stresses the capacity for becoming convergent and purposive political actors by allocating their own initiatives in institutional urban development projects, non-profit large-scale campaigns, and common interest topics of political insiders. This way immigrant campaigns of policy incidence reach local support and in other cases they community innovations can be institutionalized at the locality.

Policy incidence is influenced by political context because it implies a reflection about the local power structure for identifying decision makers and available channels to display collective pressure. In addition political outsiders use the available resources of the context in their favor for alternative building to influence structural change (Lyons, Velez and Santoro, 2013). The indicators of

policy incidence relate with their influence in local agenda setting and in policy change by advantaging political niches and gaining voice and foothold in local political arenas.

On the other side of the model, the structure is constituted by the contextual factors and the political opportunities structures. In other words, the POS approach includes the lasting and intrinsic features of the political environment in addition to the set of political circumstances.

The contextual factors relate to the broader political background, structural properties, and symbolic conditions that are a result of historical and social circumstances. These factors can be abstracted through the reflection of the intrinsic political values, taking into account the practices rules and grievances of the scenario where the political agents interact. The contextual factors explain characteristics such as the trajectory of the current structure of power, the rules of the political system, the historical position of the group in the polity, and other characteristics of the political behaviors grounded in long term political processes.

In the case of US cities the local narrative on immigration, the history of immigration and periods of restriction or inclusion, the degree of political segregation, and many other characteristics of the broader political context influence immigrant agency. Chicago highlights because of three contextual conditions framing the political incorporation: racial politics, Democratic Party Machinery, and recently sanctuary city politics. These contextual factors are tied to the more fluctuant set of political opportunities but are independent of the political conjunctures. Immigrants' agency does not immediately affect this lasting and more

static characteristics of the political context that commonly persist independently of immigrant political incorporation.

The second set and core dimension of the structure are the political opportunity structures. These are circumstantial and contingent variables that can be malleable or even generated by the agents and have a catalyst effect on the agency. Meyer explains that "political opportunity range from the very volatile, such as issue salience and public opinion to far more stable elements, such as institutional politics*"* (2003, p. 20). The main characteristic of these variables is that instead of just containing the agency like the contextual factor, the political opportunity structures have the effect of activating or delaying the agency.

Political opportunity structures are intrinsic mechanisms acting as consistent dimensions in the political environment, these structures of opportunities incentivize or obstacle the political oriented collective action (Bengston, 2010). This means that the POS bases the analysis on a juxtaposition of resources, behaviors and contextual accounts (Dancygier *et al.*, 2015).

There is a consensus in the POS approach (Koopmans, 1999; McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001; Tilly, 2008) that political opportunities can be grouped in the following categories: power relations, political resources and institutional access, and rewards and incentives. I followed this categorization to operationalize the political opportunity structure in Chicago that is the independent variable in this research.

In the case of the structuration of the power relations in the polity, several indicators related with the nature of the relationship with political insiders are taken into account. For example, the presence or not of stakeholders supporting

incorporation, as well as Latinos and immigrants in political positions, are important factors for the analysis of alliances. In addition, the structuration of power relations considers the degree of opposition or support of local elites towards immigrants. Another characteristic consists in considering the ethnic relations in the city by analyzing if conflict or cooperation persist in power relations. In other words, political insiders such as unions, advocacy organizations, civic leagues and elected officials might play fundamental roles in banning or bringing outsiders into the polity by several mechanisms such as sponsorship, invitation to strategic forums, and obtaining potential resources for organized immigrants.

Political resources include circumstances such as the availability of funds for immigrant projects, accommodation policies, and development projects in immigrant neighborhoods. In addition, channels for institutional access imply consultative forums, the possibility of running for public offices as undocumented immigrants, and niches for initiatives allocation. In the case of political resources and institutional access, these kinds of opportunities can be directly provided by local government or generated by governance agents in the polity. In addition, depending on the degree of openness of the locality, immigrants can discover and create niches for allocating their own resources, initiatives, and alternatives.

Local governments in cities such as Chicago are seeking ways to externally influence the political engagement of structured and capitalized minorities, to do so they display incentives and rewards with the aim of attracting them to institutional politics. These incentives are relational outcomes and are varying mechanisms of Chicago's machinery politics for mobilizing immigrants framed by the city agenda. Besides, not only rewards incentive immigrants, conversely, threats are also part of

the political opportunity structure because they also motivate collective action. Following this logic, the use of these political incentives is a double-edged sword for Latino immigrants.

Once explained what POS are, it is important to emphasize that the main goal of the political opportunity structure approach is not quantifying the existing categories of opportunities within a political system. Instead, the emphasis is placed on how the political opportunity structures work for enabling spaces of participation and access to the polity (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004). Consequently, the POS is aimed at finding relations between the agency and the structures that may stimulate, constrain, and channel the degree, nature, and types of political engagement.

In research based on the POS approach the understanding of the relationship between the context and the political action is critical to find theoretical explications of the relationship between structure and agency (Steil and Vasi, 2014). In consequence, it is necessary to understand that differences between local polities are deeper than merely different political rules and laws, then, institutional arrangements alone do not explain political incorporation. It is important to point out that the analysis of a political opportunity structure cannot be reduced to a purely positive or negative assessment. The perception of a positive or negative POS has effects only on the trust of immigrants, and political trust is an ingredient but not an indicator of the qualities of the political incorporation of a minority.

In this thesis, I sustain that the political context containing immigrants' political dynamics is complex because it is constituted by many overlaps of opportunities, threats, and even gaps. This means immigrant politicization is not an automatic and cumulative process, and in many cases, the effect on incorporation does not occur

when immigrants do not perceive the opportunities because of the weak structuration of their networks of the scarce political experience. For this reason, political opportunities structures better explain the context in which immigrants have strong associative networks and already exposed their organizational capital through active participation.

1.6. The local shift of the studies on immigrant political incorporation

Cities are the contemporary epicenter of important debates about human mobility, with around 54% of the contemporary global population living in cities (United Nations 2016), and thus urban dynamics are increasingly attracting many scholars. Immigrants are globally concentrated in major gateway cities[1] and the undocumented condition of many immigrants has become one of the main paradoxes of globalization (Sassen, 1990), a system in which capital is a global issue, labor remains local, and immigrants are transnational (Kearney, 1995).

Many of the context-based works have focused on describing dynamics at the national level (Espenshade and Ramakrishnan, 2001; Junn and Haynie, 2008; Zlolniski, 2008). There are some cross-national studies (Bloemraad, 2006; Mahler and Siemiatycki, 2011) and even some compilations of transatlantic perspectives

[1] *"The term 'gateway' is applied to cities containing a combination of historical and opportunity factors that attract large proportions of new migrants"* (Glick Schiller and Çaglar, 2009).

(Joppke, 1996; Mollenkopf and Hochschild, 2010). All of these studies contribute to conceptualizing immigrant political engagement in different national contexts. However, considering that most of the advancement of immigrants' participation and incorporation have taken place in the local arena, particularly the cities, urbanities have become an important level of analysis and further research is needed at the city-scale.

Localities are analytically defined as concrete spaces below the nation state scale. The features making relevant the local-urban context are multiple. In cities, changing demographics caused by foreign-born and ethnic minorities are more visible. However, there is also higher access to social services provided by the state, the city and civil society. Neighborhoods are segregated, but are more permeable. In cities there are more possibilities for community activism, more diffusion of opinion leaders, and often a vibrant civic life. All these factors influence the trajectories and dynamics of immigrants' political incorporation and can better be studied at the local level.

Among the main misconceptions about the local approach, one finds the assumption that the dynamics at the city scale produce exclusively local effects or that those dynamics are constrained by the local interactions. Mollenkopf (2013, p. 114) has described how "while we cannot ignore national context, the real action takes place in urban settings", he argues that this scale allows "…deciphering the construction and maintenance of local coalitions; elucidating tensions between them that might cause breakdown and reorganization, especially if it relies partly on mobilizing immigrant constituencies..*"*.

The main scale, but not exclusively, of POS is local/urban because the main object of study, the protests and movements, generally occur in the city. Political opportunity structure stresses the political receptivity or vulnerability of cities while addressing the needs and demands of the organized segments of society locally (Lyons, Velez and Santoro, 2013). The local context allows focusing on the politically relevant circumstances by analyzing the responsiveness of the political system and the way in which the different interest and values are accommodated. Meanwhile, as Glick Schiller & Çaglar (2009, p. 188) explain, *"*the concept of city-scale can allow us to highlight the dynamic and transductive relationships [from concrete to specific, remaining in the particular] that cities achieve through their relative positioning within intersections of hierarchical fields of power*"*. In the cities, immigrant find niches of participation, sometimes created by minority mobilizations and sometimes produced by the formal legislative action.

We can differentiate between two lines of research resulted of the analysis of the intersection of the local polity and immigrants' politics. Firstly, there are works that concentrate on the outcomes of participation of such immigration policies (Ramakrishnan and Wong, 2007; Filomeno, 2017) or representation (Ginieniewicz, 2010; Takle, 2015; Gebhardt, 2016). In contrast, fewer works have focused on tracing and analyzing the processes of the enactment of these policies. This means that to a lesser extent, local migration governance is explained as the result of the complex relationships between both immigrant ethnic organizations and governmental positions and postures (Zlolniski, 2008; Landolt, Goldring and Bernhard, 2011). Bird (2012) concludes in her work that it is necessary to develop explanatory research that examines the relations and the interaction between immigrant participation and political structures.

In the concrete case of research from the United States, where migration policy is federal and immigration policies are local (Varsanyi *et al.*, 2012), scholarly attention on the local scale is a recent phenomenon. It has also centered on the role of localities in mediating the dynamics of immigration politics through policy-making (Walker, 2011). The literature has privileged the systematic understanding of the adoption of anti-immigrant responses (Varsanyi, 2011) and policy-making in new immigrant destinations (Winders, 2012).

Increasingly, there is an optimistic view about how policies adopted on the city level can influence a nation's capacity to absorb immigrants and their effects on society (Filomeno, 2017). Local immigration governance rest on the participation of the third sector on the policy-making, it is a result of the processes of decentralization and devolution in the United States, where migration policy is national but immigration accommodation is a local prerogative (Varsanyi, 2011; Varsanyi *et al.*, 2012). Local immigration governance is tied to urban development, and it implies mediation of the tensions at the community level between immigrants and the native-born. Moreover, increasingly immigrants are actors in contemporary urban restructuring (Cattacin, 2009; Van Leeuwen, 2010; De Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016; Hoekstra, 2017), their acts are restructuring contemporary place-making and their dynamics tend to be rescaling processes (Filomeno, 2017).

The local level is a highly productive scale to revisit and explain immigrant dynamics. This research contributes to developing an analysis of the interactions between political institutions, policies, and laws with other elements of the local governance. I emphasize the need to understand the relations of the politicized immigrants with other political agents, the public ideology (operational principles,

values, and ideals of host society), and symbolic frames (public discourse, narratives, and representations of immigration).

Furthermore, this analysis goes beyond the existent literature to understand the barriers and incentives for immigrants' entry into local political spheres and civic institutions. My research contributes to the studies of local political incorporation through an in-depth non-linear analysis that highlights how complex interactions in the local-polity help to explain the relations between political insiders and challenger outsiders. To do so, I use some insights of critical urban studies arguing that the contemporary structuration of the local governance shapes politico-institutional arrangements of groups and influences socio-spatial inequalities (Harvey, 1992; Eisinger, 1998; Glick Schiller and Çaglar, 2008; Gutiérrez, 2012).

A central insight of critical urban studies approach consists in analyzing the politics of place and the place of politics. Critical urban studies argue that it is important to understand the difference between the conceived space (representation of the space) and the spaces of representation, which refers to the actual lived space (Keith and Pile, 1993). For this reason, I use the local polity (in this case the lived space) as the context for this research.

In her study about local policy activism Varsanyi (2011) explains how in cities is where restructuring processes are taking place. She explains that "As particular scalar configurations uphold power relations, there is a distinct and often contentious politics of scale and rescaling, as those with different interests fight to shape processes and institutions into scalar configurations that best suit their purposes and to legitimate desired constellations of power" (Varsanyi, 2011, p. 298).

I also borrow the idea of "*the right to the city*", first employed by Lefebvre (1968) to describe the demands and needs of marginalized sectors in urbanities. The term was popularized by Harvey (2006) to explain why mobilizations where happening in key urban spaces. In this thesis, I suggest that the idea of the right to the city is suitable to explain Latino political incorporation at the local level because cities are perceived by political outsiders as more favorable grounds or at least more tolerant- to expose their social justice claims. This means that politics are circumscribed to a delimited locality, but what makes the polity are the dynamics developed by the political agents. These interactions constitute the substance of the context. For this reason, the engagement in Chicago politics is remarkable given the formal and informal restrictions that immigrants face. Under the rule of the US citizenship regime few Latinos have full political and civil rights and there are other systematic forms of segregation limiting their political participation that will be explained in the contextual chapter.

These dynamics of social exclusion are related with the debates of urban restructuring sustaining that the neoliberal embeddedness of urban restructuration projects today has been defined by the legacies of past institutional frameworks, inherited policy regimes, and non-solved political struggles (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Glick Schiller and Çaglar, 2009; Varsanyi, 2011). These dynamics help to frame the discussion about the coexisting exclusion of Latinos in Chicago and the enactment of welcoming policies for immigrant incorporation. The concrete characteristics of the so called "neoliberal urban governance" (Sites, 2012; Sternberg and Anderson, 2014) in Chicago will be described in detail in the contextual chapter of this thesis.

1.7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I presented a theoretical proposal to study the contemporary stage of a long-term process of Latino political incorporation at the city level using the POS approach. After revisiting the approaches on immigrant political incorporation, I concluded that the Political Opportunity Structure approach is suitable for the study of multifaceted strategies of political incorporation. The POS approach helps to look at both the structuration of the political context and the characteristics of the agency, emphasizing the interactions and trade-offs in complex political contexts. In this theoretical chapter, the indicators to categorize the structure were appointed. The multipronged agency was dissected for analytical purposes into three delimited dimensions (organization, mobilization and policy incidence).

The theoretical contributions and the niche of research of this dissertation were discussed. I emphasized the pertinence of interactional approaches suitable for complex political context like Chicago where immigrants attain agency. I proposed to study both, how the city matters on the political incorporation of immigrants, and how this agency has transformative influence in the political environment of the urbanity. Departing from this local scope, I retook the debates about the local shift of immigration studies to explain the importance of this scale in the analysis of political incorporation. Finally, I explained how some insights of the critical urban studies coincide with the contemporary dynamics of Latinos, and how these discussions helped to outline the theoretical proposal for this dissertation based on the case of the city of Chicago.

Chapter 2.

Methodology

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to explain the steps followed by this dissertation at the methodological level. Four stages, analytically but not always chronologically distinct, guided this research. First, the building of the empirical puzzle followed by the articulation of the research question. Then, the proposal of a theoretical model based on the POS approach already explained in the past chapter. Finally, the process of theoretical inference from the findings.

This research design was highly inductive and resulted from situated analysis on the circumscribed context of Chicago. From previous research during my master studies and from preceding experience working on binational forums with Mexican immigrant leaders in the United States, I noticed that Latino politics in Chicago highlighted among other immigrant gateway cities. The organizational networks articulated by the immigrants, the vitality of Latino politics locally, the famous and multitudinary mobilizations happening regularly since 2006, and many other circumstances spotlight Latino political incorporation in Chicago. This empirical knowledge motivated an exploratory research at the beginning of the doctorate. Departing from this exploratory study, the following empirical puzzle was built: How and why are Latinos finding niches for political participation, achieving higher

political incorporation, and generating more innovative forms of civic engagement in Chicago?

After initial observation of the case, I found that contrasting behaviors and strategies are coexisting in their process of political engagement locally. Tracing the dynamics of Chicago Latinos led to the articulation of the theoretical puzzle for this research that is synthesized as follows: Why did Chicago Latinos develop a multifaceted strategy in their process of political incorporation? How is this reflected in their organizing, mobilizing, and policy influence?

In the analytical proposal for this research, Latino immigrants' agency is the dependent variable, their practices and strategies traduce in data, and their qualities and characteristics are the indicators. On the other hand, the political context (urban immigration governance) in Chicago is the independent variable that, coupled with Latinos' agency, helps explain why they are politically incorporating through a multi-pronged strategy locally.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, the reasons for situating Latino political incorporation in the Chicago context are described and discussed. Characteristics such as the inductive nature of the research design and the explanatory nature of the puzzle of this dissertation urged case study methodology. Following this, in the second section of this chapter, the case of Chicago Latinos is characterized in accordance with case study methodology. Second section also explains how Chicago's complexity led to focus a single case and the reasons for privileging in-depth qualitative research.

Section three explains the multi-method strategy for data collection an analysis followed by this thesis. Preliminary research based on gathering documentary and statistical data is described, these initial steps helped to sampling actors and to reconstruct context. Then, in the nuclear part of the strategy of data collection, the activities developed during the fieldwork are described and discussed. In this section I also explain how participant observation and elite interviews provided rich empirical data for understanding the interactions of Latino immigrants in Chicago.

Finally, in section three the process of data analysis is described. In that section I describe how the progressive analysis of data on the field and the interpretation of data across the research process led first to the structuration of the theoretical proposal. Subsequently, this analytical model guided to the findings discussed in the empirical chapters of this dissertation.

2.2. Why Chicago? The logics of case selection

Nowadays, 63% of all immigrants to the United States are living in only 20 metropolitan areas (Passel & Cohn, 2017). These cities like Chicago are mostly traditional immigrant gateways and destinations that have created their own narratives about immigrant incorporation into urban life (Hoekstra, 2017). Chicago is one of the most diverse cities in a country that is, in absolute numbers, the main recipient of immigrants in the world. The metropolitan area of Chicago is home to around 1.5 million immigrants (American Community Survey, 2015). In Chicago, one in seven people are foreign born and the biggest minority are Latino origin immigrants.

Chicago was described as a laboratory for social research during the boom of the Chicago School of Sociology, whose corpus of works was focused on urban sociology and case study research. Precisely, this school and its theories on human ecology were the most complete antecedents of the study of political behaviors, race, and the influence of the city during the 1920s (Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick Duncan McKenzie, 1925). One highlight is the work of Park (1952), which studied how the symbiosis of immigration and industrialization merged in the political conformation of the city of Chicago before the Latino migrations.

The inheritance of the urban studies of the School of Chicago motivated universities and research centers to document in detail many of the social dynamics happening in Chicago during the entire 20th century by using neighborhoods and ethnic groups as units of study (Morawska and Bommes, 2005, p. 224). In the last decades of that century, William Julius Wilson (1989; 1995) explained the relation between race and inequality in urban neighborhoods by taking the city of Chicago as the reference, giving space to the study of ethnicity and urban segregation. He resumes his findings in his work There Goes the Neighborhood: Racial, Ethnic, and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and Their Meaning for America (Wilson and Taub, 2011). He concluded that both social structure and political cultures play fundamental roles in ethnic community development or, in the opposite case, in enhancing social delays (poverty, inequality, higher rates of school drop-off and crime) of racial groups in metropolitan areas of the United States. In fact, the denominated racial studies served as the antecedent for ethnic studies, particularly for Latino studies.

In the concrete case of Latino studies, Segura and Rodriguez (2006) had explained that circa 1970, Chicano studies started to develop in American universities as an autonomous discipline. In the case of Chicago during the 1970s, Chicagoan historians were interested in documenting the articulation and cohesion of the Mexican community in the city (Dorantes, 2007). Louis Año Nuevo Kerr completed the first comprehensive academic investigation of Mexicans in Chicago. During the 1970s, several programs on Latino studies were founded in the city's universities, with the University of Illinois (UIC) being the pioneer, followed by Northwestern University (Innis-Jiménez, 2013).

Research interest in Mexican and then in Latino studies coincided with the period of conformation of immigrant civic leagues and hometown organizations in Chicago. This activism flourished during the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s (Raijman, 2001; Banda and Zurita, 2005). The principal research topics during these decades were the role of Mexican workers in labor movements, the electoral interethnic coalition during the election of Harold Washington and the emergence of Latino community leaders, several works about crime in immigrant neighborhoods, and many ethnographies about Chicano culture in the city (Sánchez, 2015).

According to Gzesh (2010), during the 1990s, Chicago's Mexican immigrants deeply developed their transnationalism and consolidated ethnic platforms, such as the ethnic media, economy, and politics. By the start of the 21st century, Chicago scholars had documented the history of Latino migration in the city (Michelson, 2001; Smith and Goldring, 2002; Banda and Zurita, 2005; De Genova, 2005). Highlights of this research were the studies concerning the hometown associations

by Rivera, Bada and Escala (2005), the study of the associative culture of Chicago in comparison with other US cities (Bada *et al.*, 2010), the documentation of the transnational practices of Mexican immigrants in the city, and the construction of political agendas with governments of origin (Zamudio Grave, 2004; Mendoza and Bada, 2013; Schutze, 2016). These studies were highly influenced by a dramatic increase in interest in a transnational approach (Smith and Goldring, 2002).

However, by that time, the community had changed dramatically, and research had shifted to focus on the politicization of Latino Chicago.

Most of the scholars in the field agreed that the 2006 manifestations were a key moment in the process of Latino political participation (Barreto, Manzano and Ramírez, 2009; Pallares and Flores-González, 2010; Betancur and Garcia, 2011). These mobilizations were the most recent political process of the Latino community in Chicago that have been documented in any depth (Vonderlack-Navarro, 2014). Beyond continuous references to the structuration of HTAs, binational civic participation and transnational practices (Schutze, 2016), there are very few recent, in-depth case studies on political incorporation in Chicago.

A decade later, Chicago and Latino immigrants have evolved faster, their dynamics had opened niches for new research urging to approach this city as case study. The actual context of the overlapping local political vibrancy of Chicago and the federal hostility against immigrants have activated the agency of Latino immigrants and the structure in Chicago. These dynamics are revitalizing research on the role of urban immigration governance on political incorporation.

Latinos from Chicago have overcome social and political barriers. They are now one of the most organized immigrant collectives in the US and have constituted a political force locally. Mexican activism and Puerto Rican political engagement have transgressed the social borders of their ethnic neighborhoods to permeate the agenda and the debates on Chicago's urban governance, particularly local immigration governance. In Chicago, Latinos are frequently involved through their voice and vote in the political debates of the city hall. Their immigrant politics are covered by prestigious newspapers, such as The Tribune and The Sun-Times. They hold periodic rallies and public demonstrations in the city center. In sum, contemporary Chicago politics has the foothold of Latino immigrants.

These characteristics have led to the question of why these dynamics are happening in Chicago and help justify more the case study of Latino Chicago. This city is far from the US Mexican border, where immigrants have settled massively and where Chicanos developed their immigrant rights movement during the 1960s to improve their group position in such places. In Californian, Texan, and Floridian cities, Latinos have struggled to contest local politics, in those locations they are already the ethnic majority. Otherwise, in Chicago, Latinos are still an ethnic minority although they had constituted a political force locally and nationally. Thereafter, the exploratory research confirmed that the processes happening in Chicago were crucial to understanding the dynamics behind successful cases of immigrant political incorporation.

Certainly, Chicago has been an important case study on racial relations, ethnic segregation, and assimilation. However, the contemporary phase of Chicago immigrants' politicization found scholars still attempting to explain the nature, the degree, and the expansion of immigrant organizations during the first decade of the

21st century, just after finishing the documentation of the processes of immigrant politicization in the city during the last century. This research is aimed at filling this gap in contemporary studies of Latino dynamics locally. This thesis is aimed at explaining why and how Latino political incorporation is happening now through a multi-pronged strategy in response to the complexity of contemporary local political contexts.

2.3. Case Study Methodology

This thesis is aimed at finding the whys and hows of the multifaceted strategy of Latino political incorporation in Chicago. In this regards, Yin (2009) points out that a research founded in questions, such as how and why questions, in its nature, uses the case study methodology. Case studies offer a robust research methodology when the main focus is to study behaviors and to explain interactions in their real context (George and Bennett, 2004). Case studies refer to empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within real-life context. This research argues that the city matters on immigrant political incorporation, for this reason, I place Latino dynamics in the real-context of Chicago. Consequently, case study methodology is crucial for in-depth inductive research about specific settings.

The justification for focusing only on a single case rests on the explanatory aims of this dissertation to approach intensively and extensively the complexity of the dynamics of immigrants at the local level. Latinos in Chicago correspond to an embedded case in which is necessary the analysis of multiple assemblages. This case includes multiple variables such as the characteristics of agents (an articulated political minority), the nature of their agency in their process of incorporation, the

qualities of the structure (contextual and circumstantial factors), and the interactions across this structure and with other political stakeholders.

The Chicago case demonstrates that the context of reception cannot be oversimplified on the basis of its inclusive or exclusive nature in the analysis of focalized political incorporation. Instead, multiple factors, contextual and interactional, are shaping immigrant incorporation in the city. Multiple actors ranging from politicians to not for profit organizations had influenced Latino political incorporation in Chicago. Furthermore, the numerous and complex interactions among these political insiders and outsiders had motivated to focus in a single case. The empirical value of Latino political incorporation in Chicago helped to generate theoretical knowledge backed by a dynamic context filled with complex trade-offs between the agents and the structure

The complex nature of immigrants' agency and the dynamics happening in the city of Chicago are characteristics of a critical case study. The multifaceted strategy developed by Latino immigrants in the city has strategic importance to examine contemporary dynamics of political incorporation in the US metropolis. Critical cases are in-depth studies with key content for research questions that foster theory-building (Flyvbjerg, 2006). A critical case is one in which a theory that passes empirical testing is strongly supported. In the case of this research, Latino dynamics in Chicago provided an inductive use of evidence for theory building about how the POS have influence in the development of a multifaceted agency on their process of political incorporation locally.

Chicago is a critical case because of its function for theoretical inference about the political incorporation in US cities. This means that if factors such as the

configuration of power relations, the political responsiveness, and dispositional resources and incentives activate agency of Chicago Latinos, these conditions would help to explain political incorporation in other cities. The last explanatory relation applies in both directions, in most-likely and least-likely contexts. This means that the inference derived from Latino political incorporation in Chicago contribute to explain the whys and hows of the successes or the failures of Latino immigrants' political dynamics in other US cities.

Critical case studies like Chicago urge careful analysis of processes, behaviors, and conjunctures of events within a bounded setting. This required an in-depth case research design that includes careful analysis of the context, the facts, mapping interactions between the actors, and gathering qualitative data from multiple sources (Collier, 2011). In-depth case research design articulates qualitative research privileging the explanation of dynamics grounded on detailed exploration of experiences of the actors involved (Vennesson, 2008). This in-depth case study included multi-method collection of qualitative data based on inquiring interactions across the political opportunity structure in Chicago. In the following section I explain this process in detail.

2.4. Data Collection and Analysis

In this dissertation, the process of politicization of Latino immigrants in Chicago was the dependent variable, then, what produced variation and shaped the outcomes was the set of independent variables termed in the theoretical proposal as the political opportunity structure. George and Bennett (2004) explained that it is

necessary not to focus on the outcomes of the dependent variable and instead to concentrate on the process through which the independent variable is shaping outcomes because this relation standardizes the process of data collection. Following this, the theoretical model explained in the previous chapter guided the research design (see figure 1.2. Proposed Theoretical Model), and the political opportunities were the prompts for data collection.

In the case of Chicago, urban segregation facilitates sampling. The city has an ethnic-urban model called pie slices (see figure 2.1. Map of Chicago Racial Breakdown). Chicago's downtown, called the Loop, is the financial and political center. The Loop is surrounded by dormitory areas, which are neighborhoods with a largely ethnic character. The Latino population is concentrated in the southwest side of the city and the northwest suburbs. Latino immigrants are concentrated in the neighborhoods of Pilsen, *La Villita* (Little Village), and Back of the Yards (*Las Empacadoras*).

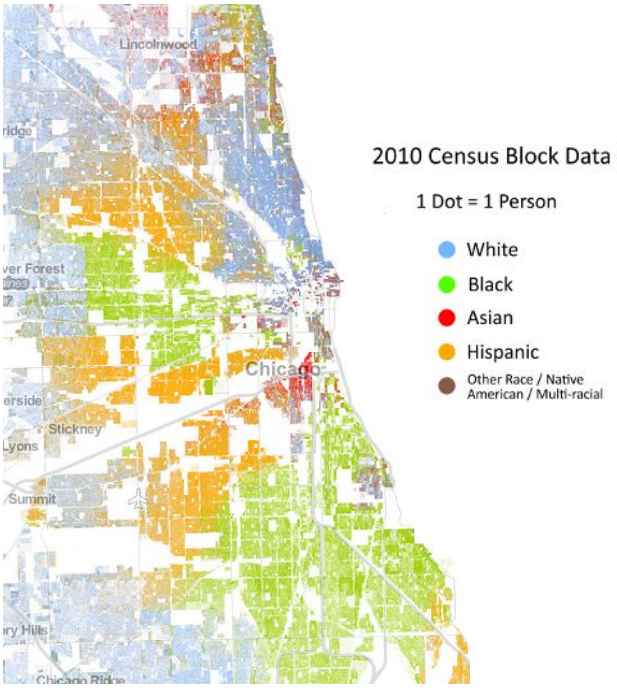

Figure 2.1. Map of Chicago Racial Breakdown

Source: The Racial Dot Map, 2013, Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service,
University of Virginia (Dustin A. Cable, creator).

My case study used a large-scale community as the main unit of analysis following the methodology developed by Gilham (2000). Data collection focused in Pilsen and Little Village, where 81% of the residents are ethnically Latinos and which are the home neighborhoods of the main immigrant organizations. Nevertheless, most of the events documented (conferences, meetings, rallies, and marches) happened in the city center because downtown is the political arena of convergence between ethnic groups in this geographically and socially segregated city (see figure 2.1. Map of Chicago Racial Breakdown).

Chicago case was under permanent observation between the periods of May-September 2016 and February-July 2018. These were the most active periods for Latino activism in the city because periodic mobilizations, legislative terms, and elections usually take place during those months. Data collection was divided into two stages, the first consisted in documentation and contextualization of the case, while the second was fieldwork.

The first stage consisted in gathering and analyzing empirical studies about Chicago Latinos developed by scholars previously described in this chapter, as well as reports commissioned by numerous think tanks studying Latino dynamics across the United States such as the Wilson Center (Bada and Selee, 2006; Bada *et al.*, 2010; Boruchoff *et al.*, 2010), the Migration Policy Institute (Paral, 2013), and other Chicago-based centers (Ready and Brown-gort, 2005; Koval, 2010; Sandoval, 2010; American Immigration Council, 2015). These reports provided statistical data, contextual information, and other relevant data about Latino leadership. This

stage allowed mapping the relevant organizations and identifying the most influential leaders in the case of the dependent variable and identifying stakeholders, campaigns, and contextual background related with the political opportunity structure (independent variable) for immigrant political incorporation in Chicago.

Subsequently, I conducted fieldwork in Chicago between February and July 2017. Fieldwork included several context-situated strategies for collecting and generating qualitative information not available through the preliminary documental and statistical review of the case. The fieldwork for this dissertation primary consisted of participant observation and elite interviews.

Observation follows the goal of making the subject of a study more intelligible, putting together the pieces of the puzzle through the collection of qualitative scores of the dependent variable and all the independent variables intervening in the phenomenon (King, Keohane and Verba, 1994). In this dissertation, the focus of observations was the ethnic community that is politically active and engaged with immigrant organizations. Particularly, I followed the activities of Chicago Latino leaders. I followed their interactions with political insiders and their political behaviors in dynamic contexts. I conducted structured participant observations because of the high structuration of Latino organizations and the continuity of their work. My main motivation was to get an inside view of the agents in dynamic contexts such as public demonstrations, organization meetings, rallies, campaigns and political negotiations.

The Latino organizations visited and observed were the following:

- Illinois Coalitions for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR)
- Alianza Americas

- The Resurrection Project
- Enlace Chicago
- Casa Michoacan/FEDECMI
- Casa Aztlan
- Centro de Trabajadores Unidos
- Instituto del Progreso Latino
- Mujeres Latinas en Accion
- Proyecto de Acción de los Suburbios del Oeste (PASO)

In the case of the structure, I followed the immigration-related work of the Chicago Office of the Mayor with special emphasis on the Office of the New Americans in Chicago. I also followed the Latino politicians from Chicago (individually and through their organizations such as the Chicago-based National Appointed and Elected Latino Officials and the Illinois Hispanic Caucus). Finally, I observed the work on immigration of the organization of the civil society and Unions from Chicago, particularly when they worked in alliance with the local government and the Latino immigrants' organizations. Chapter 4 related to organization characterizes and analyses all these units of analysis in detail.

During the fieldwork, I observed 10 different types of events grouped into the three categories according to the dimensions of the explanatory model of political incorporation. The observations are equivalent to 67 episodes that are associated with qualitative scores for the variables of the research design.

Events documented during observation.		
Category	Episodes	Description
Mobilizations	20	Includes rallies, marches, civil disobedience actions, and other mechanisms of pressure.
Organizational Work	15	Summits, campaigns conducted by their community navigators, meetings with city officials, alliances.

Campaigns of political incidence	32	Includes community development, citizenship campaigns and other responses emerged from the experience of the organizations.

Table 2.1. Events documented during observation

Source: Own elaboration with data obtained from fieldwork

In addition to the observation of organizational work, I attended rallies and public demonstrations. My main motivation in these mobilizations was to analyze the speeches, seeking for patterns of interaction and inquiring about the political behaviors of the immigrant organizers and their allies in these dynamic situations.

My initial contact with immigrant organizations was facilitated by my previous participation in several binational forums organized by the Mexican consular network in Mexico and then in Washington D.C., where I identified the most influential organizations from Chicago and their partners. During the fieldwork, I participated in the horizontal forums organized by these organizers to spread their campaigns. The access was facilitated by UNAM Chicago, Mexican consular officials, scholars from the University of Chicago in Illinois, and organizers from Casa Michoacan. In the case of Latino politicians, the UNAM Chicago hosted several events organized by immigrant organizations and Chicago-based advocacy organizations where the guests and speakers were politicians. I arranged meetings and visits to their headquarters.

Rapport was easily established because of commonalities such as shared social and personal history, cultural roots, similar challenges, and common concerns around migration. I introduced myself as a researcher completing a doctoral thesis about political activism of Latinos in Chicago. I also shared how my family and myself were migrants from Sahuayo, a famous town of migrants in the northern

region of the Mexican state of Michoacan (see Fitzgerald, 2000, 2005; Bada, 2013). During the same decade (1990s) that most of the immigrant leaders arrived at Chicago, part of my family migrated to the United States and the rest of us moved to the periphery of Mexico City looking for better opportunities. These patterns were similar to the case of the families of many immigrant organizers in *Chicagoacan* (as they call Latino Chicago because of the dominance of Michoacano immigrants).

In every case, activists and politicians were willing to discuss and divulgate their work as well as giving their informed opinion and share experiences about things happening in Chicago. They frequently invited me to observe their daily work at the headquarters of the organizations, and I attended several events of campaigns launching. Notably, they use social media for reaching a larger audience for their activities and to follow live streaming of activities of their organizations taking place in other settings. This helped to expand the spectrum of observations, and it was helpful because I learned that I could follow their activities after my stay in Chicago through Internet-based observations.

In addition to participant observations, I conducted elite interviews with the Latino leaders to understand their motivations, perceptions, and experiences in Chicago. Elite interviews do not follow random sampling like other survey instruments and its function on qualitative research is different (Goldstein, 2002). This kind of interviews are aimed to obtain data related to trace processes by corroborating or complementing information (Tansey, 2007). In the case of elite interviews by interviewing the key actors it is possible to make inference about larger populations' characteristics and decisions (Farquharson, 2005).

Latinos in Chicago are led by a consistent group of leaders acting as an axis for the articulation of the minority. I conducted 18 elite interviews with immigrant agents, and these can be grouped into the following categories: 1) Latino officials appointed in Chicago, 2) immigrant leaders, 3) other Chicago stakeholders (legal advisors, representatives of advocacy organizations, and labor union board members), and 4) home country representatives.

Groups	Interviewee	Affiliation
Immigrant Leaders	Monica Ruiz	ICIRR/PASO
	Rosa Carrasco	OCAD
	Zoraida Avila	Casa Michoacan
	Artemio Arreola	ICIRR/Casa Michoacan
	Carlos Arango	Casa Aztlán
	Eréndira Rendón	The Resurrection Project
	Raul Raymundo	The Resurrection Projecr
	Jorge Mujica	Arise Chicago
	Oscar Chacon	Alianza Americas
Latino Officials	Carlos Ramirez Rosa	Alderman 35th Ward
	George Cardenas	Alderman 12th Ward
	Chuy Garcia	County Commissioner
Home Country Representatives	Consul Carlos Jimenez	Mexican Consul
	Juan Carlos Mendoza	Institute for the Mexicans Abroad
	Jose Luis Gutierrez	Secretario del Migrante Michoacan
Other Stakeholders	Kalman Resnick	Immigrant Justice Center
	Stephanie Altman	Shriver Center
	Jose Javier Lopez	LULAC Chicago

Table 2.2. List of interviews

Source: Own elaboration with data obtained from fieldwork

In these interviews, respondents provided information related to their leadership, their perceptions of Chicago politics, and about their relations with other

actors in the process of political incorporation of the collective. For example, leaders are first-hand participants of the process and described preceding negotiations of their political action in the cases of mobilizations, alliances and lobbying.

Highlighting the openness of the interviewees is important. Latinos from Chicago are used to sharing details about their work and are eager to express their concerns about their collective action. For the same reasons, confidentiality was not important for them, as they explicitly expressed in their consent before the interviews. Immigrant organizers and Latino leaders from Chicago believe that letting others know about their work is the best way to grow the movement. In addition, they are used to the work of scholars because local research centers often engage with their activities, and they are looking for scholars' feedback about their collective action.

The research relied heavily on induction through the analysis of the data during collection which means that I started analyzing and interpreting the data meanwhile I was in the field in order to generate new themes to explore. The first step in the analysis of information was the construction of a qualitative database for its subsequent inference. Coding helped organize and sort data, for this research, the categories and concepts were given by the theoretical model that was articulated after the exploratory study from the real context of Chicago. In the case of Latinos' agency, the codes were mobilizing (examples of labels: rallies, demonstration, and civil disobedience), organizing (indicators: degree and nature), and policy incidence (labels: community innovation, campaign, and policy). In the case of the local political opportunity structure, the code categories were contextual factors and

political opportunities. Then, I proceeded to the triangulation and analysis of content.

These techniques allowed me to describe the characteristics of each dimension of the agency and to analyze the interactions within the political opportunity structure by using empirical examples. I found that in every dimension of the Latino immigrants' agency incorporation happens in an ambivalent way. Finally, I analyzed whether Latino immigrants are truly challenging the patterns of incorporation, or if they are they just navigating the different political contexts.

2.5. Concluding remarks

This chapter explained the methodological steps followed by this dissertation. The methodology was highly inductive because it was structured from the real-context and the dynamics around the process of political incorporation of Latinos happening in Chicago. These conditions paired with the complexity of the case motivated an in-depth case study methodology from which the theoretical model was articulated.

The multi-method data collection strategy followed by this research was described in this chapter. I described the preliminary research techniques based on the documentation of the case by reviewing the scholar literature and specialized reports. Then, the activities during the fieldwork were exposed, the organizations and activities observed were described and the development of the elite interviews was explained. Finally, situated data analysis and the process of inference led to the empirical findings and discussions of the following chapters.

Chapter 3.

The context of Latinos in Chicago Politics.

3.1. Introduction

The main goal of this chapter is to provide contextual information about Latino Chicago in order to understand the politics of place and place the politics of the group in the local context (see Kemmis, 1992; Keith and Pile, 1993; Mayhew, 2016). Situations such as the ethnic conformation of Chicago across different migratory waves, the articulation of racialized politics, and the dominance of machinery politics are explored as local contextual variables. The effects of these structural characteristics of the Chicago style politics on immigrants' political incorporation are analyzed in this chapter to understand the complexity of the political trade-offs locally.

The political incorporation of immigrant minorities does not surge in isolation, it is a process contained by already constituted political structures that are themselves the outcomes of social and historical processes. Immigrant political engagement is tied with the participatory life of the host polity and it is rooted in interactions between the agents of local governance. Local immigration governance in US cities illustrates how "space cannot be dealt with as if it were merely a passive abstract arena in which things happen" (Keith and Pile, 1993, p. 2). Mollenkopf & Sonenshein argue that "Major population shifts have always affected local politics first in the United States, having an impact on national politics only after a long winding trail" (2009, p. 74). Therefore, host urban centers like Chicago have strategic influence over immigrants' political identities.

In the first section of this chapter, I provide some indicators about Latino demographics and data about their contemporary political behaviors. I discuss how the accumulation of social capital alone is not enough to understand Latino's segmented political incorporation in Chicago. In the second section of this chapter, I problematize how racialized politics have contributed to positioning Latinos as political outsiders trying to incorporate in local politics from disadvantaging situations such as mixed status, underrepresentation in public offices, and political clientelism. Following this, I explain why Chicago politics are characterized for political machineries and how Latinos had become an important group in this scheme. Finally, I close this chapter by discussing how Latino immigrants in Chicago can be approached as a mature political minority with progressive adoption of political causes locally that enhance their complex process of political incorporation.

3.2. A benchmark of the Latino socio-political capital in Chicago.

Putnam (2002) asserted that the existence of social networks and trust in organizations, under conditions of economic well-being and high levels of political integration, are the best contexts for the accumulation of social capital. The agents for this research are better understood as an ethno-political minority in the specific context of the US localities that are characterized by marked differences of distribution of power. In Putnam's work (2001), the activities of a civic community, such as voting, structuring information networks, and voluntarism, are the indicators of the accumulation of social capital and its later conversion into political capital. According to Putnam, socio-political capital results from the interaction between groups' resources and the economic and political contexts.

Although Putnam's study (2001) developed a comparison of the degrees of civic engagement in the United States in recent history, I agree with Glick, Schiller and Çaglar's (2009) argument that it is necessary to analyze politicization and civic engagement by considering variation between the different local polities and within the social sectors in those localities today. Pursuing this last motivation, in this subchapter, I provide a general benchmark for the socio-political capital of Latinos in Chicago, including some indicators of their demographic, migratory status, and political behaviors in order to place these agents in the local political context.

Chicago is the fifth metropolitan area with the highest number of Latinos in the United States (PEW Hispanic Center, 2014).[2] According to the US Census Bureau (2015), around 1,934,000 Latinos live in Chicago's metropolitan area and approximately 774,000 (40%) of them are first-generation immigrants.

Latino Population in US Cities			
Metropolitan area	Foreign-born population	Undocumented immigrants	Latino population
1. Los Angeles	4 426 000	1 150 000	6 000 000
2. New York	5 749 000	1 000 000	4 800 000
3. Miami	2 334 000	450 000	2 600 000
4. Houston	1 485 000	575 000	2 300 000

[2] Latin American immigrants and their descendants are the largest and fastest growing ethnic minority in the United States. According to the 2016 American Community Survey, there are 58 million Hispanic/Latinos in the country (63% of Mexican Origin) and they constitute 18% of the total population of the country.

5. Chicago	**1 682 000**	**425 000**	**2 100 000**
6. Dallas	1 239 000	475 000	1 900 000

Table 3.1. Latino Population in US Cities

Sources: Own elaboration with data from

Passel & Cohn 2017; PEW Hispanic Center 2016b; Stepler & Lopez 2016

It is likely that Latinos represent a measurable minority almost equivalent to the Whites and Blacks in Chicago (see graphic 3.1. Ethnic diversity in Chicago). This characteristic allows Chicago to be an important case study for the development of ethnic politics.

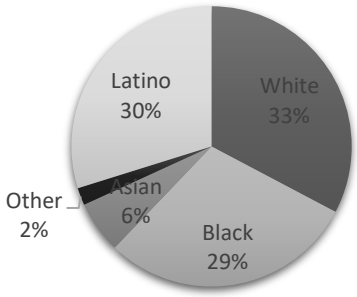

Figure 3.1. Ethnic Diversity in Chicago

Source: American Community Survey 2017

According to the American Community Survey (2015), 79.2% of Latinos self-report as Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Chicago. They are followed by Puerto Ricans who constitute 10.8% of the city's population. It is important to mention that Puerto Ricans self-identify as Latino immigrants. Although they are US nationals, they do not have political rights in the country. This majority in demographics is proportionally reflected in almost every case study in this research, which means that, in the organizations and campaigns analyzed, Mexicans comprise the overwhelming majority of the Latino minority. Notwithstanding that some authors (Suárez-Orozco and Páez, 2008; Hajnal and Rivera, 2014) have

argued that "Latino" is a constructed identity modular for collective political incorporation, in the case of Chicago's politics, these people from diverse backgrounds mobilize as a united group. For example, as I explain in the analysis of the articulation of political alliances, it is not possible to understand Latino incorporation in the city without the alliance between Mexican immigrant organizations and Puerto Rican politicians.

Regarding migratory status, table 3.2. summarizes the estimations for Chicago Latinos:

Migratory Status of Latinos in Chicago	
Total	1,934,000
US-Born	59%
Documented (residents + citizens)	32%
Undocumented	7–8%
DACAmented[3]	<1%

Table 3.2. Migratory Status of Latinos in Chicago
Source: Estimations based on Tsao and Paral (2014).

It is estimated that around 7–8% of the Latinos living the metropolitan area are undocumented, and 7–8% of the total population of Chicago is undocumented. The city is home to 54% of Illinois' undocumented population (Paral, 2013). According to the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR), approximately

[3] DACAmented means that they are registered in the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Program that do not imply a migratory status but avoids deportation and includes a work permit (see for more info Unzueta Carrasco and Seif, 2014; Mena Robles and Gomberg-Muñoz, 2016).

12% of Chicago's households have at least one undocumented member. They also found that more than half of the Latinos in Chicago were afraid of the possibility of deportation of a family member or close friend (Tsao and Paral, 2014). It is important to keep this fact in mind because, as I explain in this thesis, this characteristic of the mixed-status of the Latino collective helps to explain the prevalence of the interest in immigration politics in Chicago.

The US Census Bureau has estimated that the demographic growth of the population of Chicago during 2000–2015 was sustained by immigration. Without immigration, Chicago would have experienced a long-term population decline (Ready and Brown-gort, 2005). Other relevant data are the fact that Latinos in Chicago are young compared with the average for all Chicago inhabitants being 36 years old. In contrast, the Latino population average age is only 27, while it is 42 for non-citizen Latinos (PEW Hispanic Center, 2016a). The majority of US born Latinos in Chicago are under-age and cannot participate in formal politics.

As we can see in figure 3.1., Latinos in Chicago are the second demographic minority in the city. However, it is important to consider that the population with full political rights (US born Latino and documented immigrants) represents only approximately 21.9% of all the residents of the city. This fact implies that although there is similarity between the demographic shares in Chicago for Whites, Blacks, and Latinos, the latter minority group tends to be underrepresented in terms of descriptive representation in local politics. This situation that will be analyzed in further chapters (see section 4.3.2. Latino Politicians) is partially explained here by the given variables of age and lack of citizenship of Latinos in Chicago.

At the end of the 20th century, scholars described the Latino community in the city as one of the poorest, least educated, and as having the least access to social services (Banda and Zurita, 2005). Today the socio-economic status (SES) of Latinos in Chicago is better in many aspects such as poverty and access to social services than the media for Latinos across the United States (see table 3.3. Indicators about the SES of Chicago Latinos). However, compared with the media for all the ethnic groups in Chicago, Latinos are poorer and less educated. Only employment rates of the group is above the average in Chicago as it could be seen in the following table.

Indicator	Latinos in the US	Latinos in Chicago	Chicago (median)
Poverty	23.5%	19.1%	13.6%
Education (high school diploma or more, +25)	66.5%	64.9%	87.6%
Health Insurance	76.3%	79%	89%
Unemployment	4.7%	3.7%	3.9%
Homeownership	46.2%	51%	64%
Household annual income	$42 200	$49 600	$62 000

Table 3.3. Indicators about the socioeconomic status of Chicago Latinos
Source: Own elaboration with data from the PEW Hispanic Center, 2014, 2016b).

Although the SES of Latinos from Chicago seems favorable, the comparison with the dominant mainstream from the city shows a huge gap. The socioeconomic

differences between Whites, Blacks and Latinos concentrated in ethnic neighborhoods in Chicago are deep. Many reports describe Chicago as one of the most unequal cities in the United States (Jonathan Grabinsky and Richard Reeves, 2015; Henricks *et al.*, 2017). For example, the following figure describes the relationship between ethnic neighborhoods and poverty.

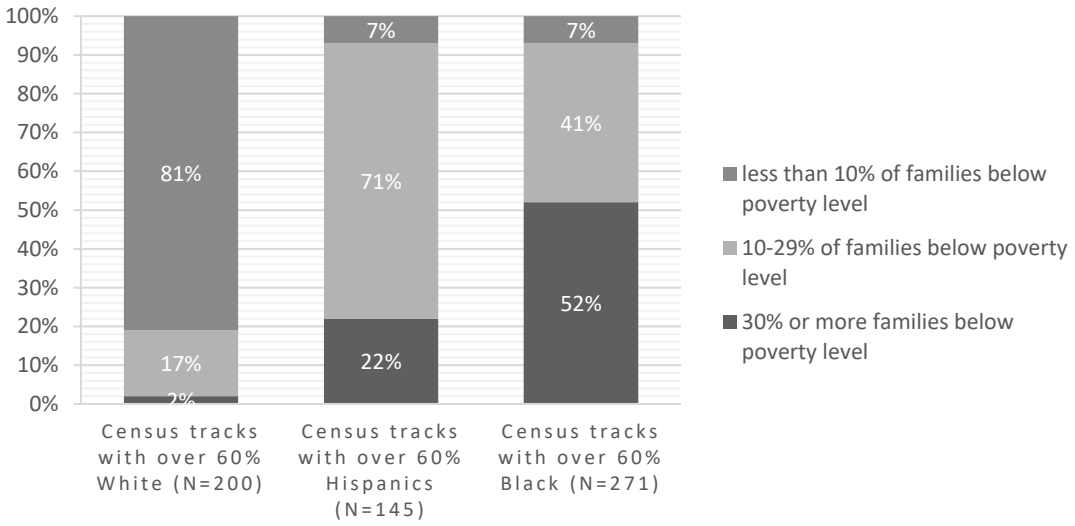

Figure 3.2. Chicago's race gap in concentrated poverty
Source: (Jonathan Grabinsky and Richard Reeves, 2015)

The better socio-economic position of Latinos compared with Blacks is explained for the lower employment rates and college attainment of Blacks. Despite wages of Latinos at the individual level are lower than the wages of other ethnic groups, the household income of Latino families is just below whites (Henricks *et al.*, 2017).

In the empirical sections of this dissertation there are several examples sustaining that the variations on the SES of Latinos in Chicago compared with the situation of the group in other parts of the country are explained in part for the higher levels of organization and mobilization of Chicago Latinos. Latinos in Chicago have generated their own alternatives of social services and they have

access to more public services offered by the city as the following chapters describe in detail.

Chicago Latinos are a highly engaged community. The Immigration Mobilization Project (University of Illinois in Chicago) found, in their 2010 survey, that around 40% of the participants had attended a rally before "the spring of the immigrant," 52% had participated in a public meeting, 38% had signed a petition or called an official, and 22% had contributed money to a political candidate (Pallares and Flores-González, 2010, p. xx).

Regarding the electoral behaviors of Latinos with political rights, the state of Illinois reports that, in 2016, 1.49 million Latinos were eligible voters. This number includes permanent residents eligible for citizenship. It is important to take in account that not all of these residents have the intention of becoming citizens and many are engaged in the lengthy process of naturalization. Close to 527,000 Latinos voted in Illinois in 2016 elections. This share shows Illinois as one of the states with the highest percentage of Latino active voters in the nation. According to the state government, in the 2012 presidential election, around 295,000 Latinos voted. This indicates that, in only four years, the Latino vote almost doubled in Illinois (Lopez and Stepler, 2016).

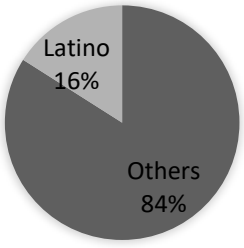

Figure 3.3. Latino Registered Voters in Illinois 2016

Source: Elaboration with data from
US Census, Voting and Registration in the election of November 2016, in https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-580.html?intcmp=s1_voting, consulted February 2017.

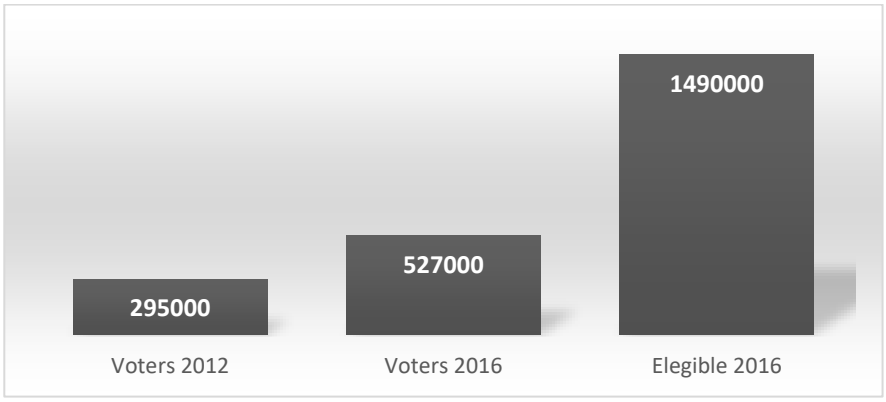

Figure 3.4. Latino Vote in Illinois
Sources: Elaboration with data from
Lopez & Stepler, Latinos in the 2016 Election: Illinois, Pew Hispanic Center, 2016.

In the 2018 primaries in Chicago there were 1 512 190 registered voters including 240 00 Latinos. 72% of the Latino registered voters are citizens by birth and 27.9% of them are naturalized. Notably, Latino organizations and public offices had estimated that more Latino permanent residents in Chicago could be eligible voters although many of them do not naturalize to obtain full civic and political rights. Certainly the politically active segment of the group is still under-represented in front of other ethnic groups in the city (for example see figure 3.5.).

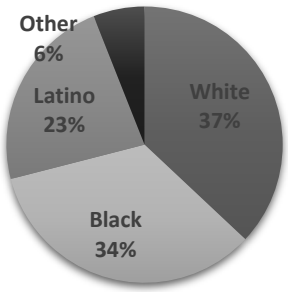

Figure 3.5. Ethnicity of voters in the 2015 Mayoral Election in Chicago
Sources: Elaboration with data from
AP/*New York Times*, How Chicagoans Voted and Why

https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/04/07/us/how-chicagoans-voted-and-why.html, consulted September 2018

However, the politicized Latinos are highly engaged with political exercises such as local primary elections and the number increases in presidential election years. For example, 85% of the registered Latinos voted in the 2016 presidential elections (Dominguez, 2016a). In contrast, the voter turnout media for the city is 72.07%.

Regarding partisanship, the 2017 Latino Policy Forum Survey reflects that barely 8% of the Chicago Latinos voted Republican in the 2016 elections, while the national average for Latinos was 26%. The following graph shows the variation of the Latino Democratic vote at different levels during the last presidential elections.

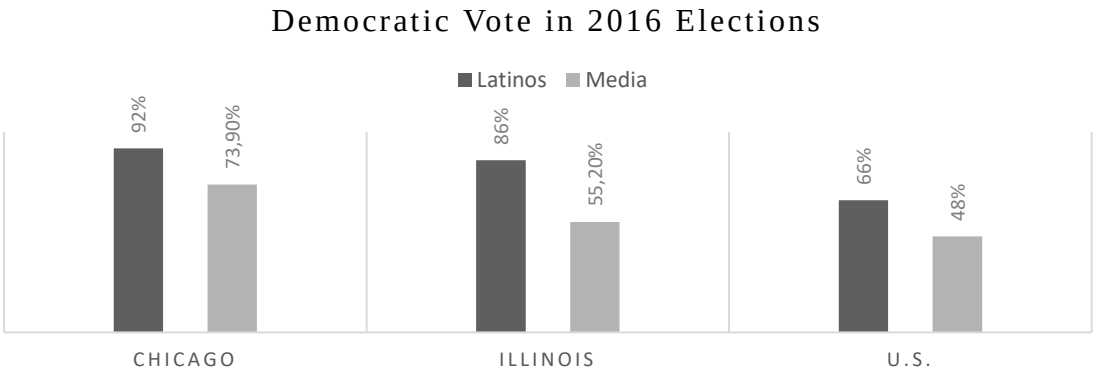

Figure 3.6. Democratic Vote in 2016 Elections
Sources: Elaboration with data from
AP/*New York Times*, Presidential Results,
https://www.nytimes.com/elections/results/president, consulted Feb. 2017
Lopez & Stepler, Latinos in the 2016 Election: Illinois, Pew Hispanic Center, 2016.

In the same direction, only 2.11% of the electorate in Chicago voted in the 2018 Republican primaries, meanwhile the turnout for Democratic primary elections was 30.29% of the registered voters in the city. This preference in partisanship is based

on two factors: the Democratic Party has more friendly positions and agendas towards Latino immigrants nationwide, and Latinos have been key actors in the Democratic party-political machinery in Chicago. Both conditions are described and discussed in detail in the following sections.

3.3. The local context of racialized politics in Chicago.

"*Racialized politics*" refers to the distinctive political power of groups delimited by deep social cleavages such as race and ethnicity, which generate the ambiguous political stratification that characterizes the United States. The US Census Bureau recognizes five racial categories: White, Black, Indian, Asian, and Pacific Islander. White is divided into Hispanic/Latino and Not Hispanic/Latino. Latino is considered to be an ethnicity, although there is sometimes a misconception of it as a race. Instead, Latino refers to a social construct of people from different "races" (Fraga and Garcia, 2010). As Soja and Hooper have explained, the politics of race "do not simply manipulate naively given differences between individuals and social groups, it actively produces and reproduces difference as a key strategy to create and maintain modes of social and spatial division advantageous to its continued empowerment" (1993, pp. 184–185).

The effect of race in the United States has been considered by social sectors and previous researchers, such as scholars of critical race theory, to be pernicious for the social fabric of the country. They have found that racial segregation and discrimination are obstacles for democratic aspirations in the United States (Kinder and Sanders, 1996). Junn and Haynie (2008) have argued that the use of the "big four" racial categories (White, Black, Latino, Asian) by the government has made

the enforcement of race-sensitive policies possible, but it has also had social and political consequences such as stereotyping, racism, and segregation. In public life, most groups consider that "race" is important for their collective history, identity, their group consciousness, and even for their political distinctiveness[4]. For these reasons, the designation of "races" has persisted and predominated in US political argot, and has been adopted by scholars to explain diversity and group relations in the country (Alba and Nee, 2003).

Race relations in the United States are more complex in cities that historically are immigrant gateways. These urban centers tend to be more diverse and race politics are more compelling in those local polities. Two key questions emerge from contextualizing Chicago politics as "racialized politics": How are co-ethnic political behaviors influenced by racial stratification in political life? How do ethnic minorities struggle to increase their legitimacy in the public sphere? Racialized politics can enhance disadvantages of groups incorporating in local politics when they are an ethnic minority and a mixed migratory status collective like Latinos in Chicago. Pursuing this inquiry, this subchapter explores the relationship between the characteristic racialized politics of Chicago and the local political incorporation of Latino immigrants by discussing the conditions that have motivated their articulation in a political minority.

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[4] For example, these arguments have been used by the advocates of the *ethnic curricula* in middle school and high school. This movement began in California in response to anti-immigrant states such as Arizona that banned Mexican American Studies in the state universities.

Chicago has been a traditional destination for immigrants to the United States, both for urban immigrants working in the third sector of this industrial city, and as the main gateway for rural immigrants to the fields of the dairy belt and all around the US Midwest. Chicago's history has been tied to waves of immigration (Sanguino, 2008; Innis-Jiménez, 2013). At first, the city received the early European immigrants from Germany, Ireland, Italy, Ukraine, and Poland during the industrialization of the city in the last decade of the 19th century (Wilson and Taub, 2011). These immigrants settled down in Pilsen and the East Village, but progressively they were absorbed by the mainstream population.

Following "melting pot" integration patterns, these immigrants were assimilated and moved to the wealthier areas of the city, the neighborhoods of Lake, Lincoln Park, and the North Loop (Innis-Jiménez, 2013). As Alba & Nee explain "Historically, the American mainstream, which originated with the colonial northern European settlers, has evolved through incremental inclusion of ethnic and racial groups that formerly were excluded and accretion of parts of their cultures to the composite culture" (2003, p. 12).

Subsequently, Chicago experienced the so-called "Great Migration" that refers to the arrival of African Americans from the southern fields to the industrial north of the United States during the World Wars. This social sector occupied the opposite side of the city, currently the area with higher violent crime rates, the areas of Bronzeville and the South Loop (Wilson and Taub, 2011). This phenomenon of ethnic neighborhoods allocation is a relevant antecedent for this case study because it is the departure point for the ethnic segregation in Chicago.

After 1945, new immigrant inflows arrived in the city using the old European immigrant towns in the southwest as gateways (Dorantes, 2007; Curran, 2017). These workers were different from the binary White-Black racial makeup of Chicago and defied the melting pot model that had worked to incorporate early immigrations. On the one hand, the Chinese arrived at the factories escaping from the "Chinese exclusion laws" on the US West Coast, and they founded Chinatown. On the other hand, there were renewed and increased flows of Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants, and they situated themselves in Pilsen and Little Village, between the White and Black neighborhoods, aiming to avoid racial tensions (Dorantes, 2007; Innis-Jiménez, 2013).

Alongside ethnic segregation through conscious neighborhood allocation, the second relevant antecedent was the urban development policy. In many cities, immigrant ethnic enclaves were the product of networks of solidarity amongst the immigrants, which concentrated new arrivals in certain peripheral neighborhoods (Los Angeles is the best example of this patterns of ethnic settlement). In Chicago, however, the patterns of ethnic concentrations were enhanced under the housing policy through the urban model called pie slices (Suro, 1998; Wilson and Taub, 2011).

This era has been well described by Robert Suro (1998). He has referred to Chicago as "The city that worked", citing the claims of Richard J. Daley. Daley was mayor of the city during the period 1955–1976, and a descendant of Irish immigrants. He promoted an urban policy based on neighborhood organization to avoid conflict. Presumably, this urban model was projected to empower ethnic

groups and to strengthen the existing social life and associative activities of groups in the city. Regarding this period, Suro has commented:

> The English language and American ways worked fine out in the city beyond the neighborhood, but inside the enclave, immigrants used their native languages and old customs to good purpose. The neighborhoods served as incubators… They developed political power within these enclaves. By living together, they controlled precincts and wards because political power in a representative democracy flows from geography and concentrations of people... Daley's city worked because it was a complete ecosystem, in which every group had its niche. (Suro, 1998, p. 228)

Precisely, political power enclaves in ethnic neighborhoods and the ethnic control of precincts and wards had characterized racialized politics in Chicago. These forms of ethnic organization are important antecedents that persist in Chicago's contemporary politics and had shaped Latino political incorporation. Ethnic neighborhood segregation also has effect until today on the drawing of electoral precincts and political redistricting in the city enhancing racialized politics in representative organisms such as the City Council and the County Board of Commissioners.

Another important episode in the history of Chicago regarding the organization of ethnic minorities was the election of the first Black Mayor, Harold Washington, in 1983. He won the election due to an ethnic coalition between Latino and Black electors, and he was an important stakeholder who influenced Latino organization and politicization. According to Betancur and Gills (2000), the posterior failures of Washington in implementing progressive policy relating to immigrants accelerated a pan-ethnic identity conformation and the organization and understanding of the political potential of Latino immigrants in Chicago during the 20th century.

The political incorporation of minorities elucidates the universal dilemma of political pluralism that centers on how to achieve both diversity and equality (Dahl, 1961). Alba and Nee explain "The American mainstream encompasses a core set of interrelated institutional structures and organizations regulated by rules and practices that weaken, even undermine, the influence of ethnic origins per se" (2003, p. 12). The political incorporation of a minority implies the contestation of the ideas and institutions of the dominant mainstream.

In this process, the demographic weight of the "communities of color" can help them to position minority claims in the local political agendas in representative systems. Their demographic growth progressively increases the share of the total number of citizens and their possibilities for direct representation in decision-making institutions. Several authors have highlighted the urban demographic change caused by Latino immigration and its consequences for the their political situation and further immigration appeals in the public sphere (Segura and Rodrigues, 2006; Ramakrishnan and Wong, 2007; Reny, 2017).

Chuy Garcia is the most influential Latino politician in the city, former mayoral candidate and Mexican immigrant, who is running for the US House of Representatives in 2018. He describes *"In Chicago, institutional segregation persists, public offices and the police do not treat people of color equally. But socially, I think there is higher respect for Latinos..."* (J. Garcia, interview in UNAM Chicago, April 2017). Moreover, Latinos externalize in their community forums that they perceive themselves as "*desired labor, but silent workers*" and *"US citizens who don't belong*" (field notes from leaders' meeting "Michoacano Presence in the Midwest", Casa Michoacan, June 2017) despite the fact that many

of them are already naturalized and others were born in the United States. The lawyer and immigrant leader from PASO and ICIRR, Mony Ruiz, explains that *"They call us first, second, third, and even fourth generation migrants. So, when are we going to stop being called immigrants and become from here?"* (M. Ruiz, interview in PASO, Chicago, May 2017).

The process of forming a Latino group consciousness[5] has been widely studied in the United States (Suro, 1998; Stokes, 2003; Masuoka, 2006). Latino is a constructed ethnicity with several intragroup differences in terms of nationality, class, race, migratory status, etc. (Sanchez, 2006; Schildkraut, 2015). Latino pan-ethnic identity has been instrumental in organizing and mobilizing in US politics (Garza, Abrajano and Cortina, 2008; Junn and Haynie, 2008). But the most important contribution of these studies for this research had been how ethnic-based discrimination and "unique circumstances" have been fundamental criteria for Latino politicization (Barreto, 2007; De Sipio, 2011).

Only through collective organization and ethnic leadership, Latino immigrants have found pathways to transmit messages in the public sphere and put topics on political agendas. As Lieberman (2013) has explained, the political game in the US cities offers points of access to minority groups who seek to influence the polity. This is a product of decentralized institutional structures, which fragmentation

[5] It is important to mention that, for Latinos, "*raza*" has a totally different connotation than "race" has for the majority of US society. For Latinos (particularly for Mexicans and Mexican-Americans), it is a similar term to "our people." In fact, during my fieldwork, the National Council of La Raza, the DC-based and biggest national Latino coalition, founded in 1968, changed its name to *Unidos US* because of the different connotation of the term "*raza*" in the United States.

enables access. “Accordingly, multiple points of access have not generally been empowering for racial and ethnic minority groups in American politics, but neither have they been uniformly restrictive” (Lieberman, 2013, p. 87). These points of access and fragmented institutional structure can be a double-edged sword when the minority is positioned on the losing side in mainstream politics. It can truly facilitate incorporation, but, in the meantime, it could increase the risk of becoming a political clientele.

Latinos perceive that politics are still binary in the United States: differentiating and excluding between the mainstream and the outsiders. Rosa Carrasco, the immigrant leader from Organized Communities Against Deportations, has described how

> Things have changed a lot here, but they still call us ‘immigrants’, although here we call ourselves ‘communities of color’, because we are talking about the Black community, the Muslim community, the Asians, the women, and all the undocumented workers who have been the most impacted by racism in this country (R. Carrasco, interview in UNAM Chicago, April 2017).

Through their organizations and mobilizations, they are looking for the spaces that difference makes (Keith and Holmes, 2009) and they are pushing the boundaries of mainstream politics.

On the same theme, Oscar Chacon, immigrant leader and CEO from Alianza Americas, has explained:

> We believe that a central motivation to organize ourselves is to see where our community is in the system of racial oppression in the United States. And in this sense, the Black community, the African-American community, emerges as the most important historical subject of racial oppression in the United States.

> But today there are other groups that are living the experience of being oppressed from racial logics. Currently, our Latino communities are the main subject of attacks by the Trump administration because we are an ethnic minority and because we are immigrants. (O. Chacon, interview in Alianza Americas, April 2017)

It is, precisely, the most conservative sectors of the mainstream that have suggested that Latino immigrants, with their contrasting profiles, disturb the normalized order by opening up questions about who should be granted rights (Huntington, 2004). In many other issues, Latinos are politically invisible and the legitimacy of their collective claims is constantly questioned (Alba and Nee, 2003). We have seen how politicians in the United States are increasingly using the social effects of demographic change for electoral gains. The most famous case is President Trump, who attributes stigmas and openly disqualifies Latino immigrants (and Mexicans in particular) as a threat. For example, immigrant leaders are concerned with how

> Trump was elected because he manipulated very effectively against minorities to a large part of the White working class population… But we, the migrant community, the Latino community, we have not been able to articulate a discourse to build alliances with these sectors that have been also the object of class oppression (O. Chacon, interview in Alianza Americas, Chicago, April 2017).

Latinos are often approached as part of a broader immigrant rights movement where the agency is claim-making. Immigrant claim-making implies a collective and public articulation of political demands. However, beyond calls to action, it occasionally incorporates alternative proposals and institutional engagement. This only positions them as objects of politics but in the specific case of Chicago immigrants are becoming political agents. Nevertheless, in the concrete case of

Chicago, after a century of presence in the city, with a constant and progressive process of collective politicization and with a consensual strategy for collective engagement, Latino immigrants are already agents of governance.

3.4. Machine politics and immigration governance in Chicago.

Chicago politics have been described by media, politicians, activists, and scholars as "machine politics" since the emergence of the concept in the 1960s (Simpson and Kelly, 2008). Political machinery is a contextual factor shaping the empowerment potential of any minority in the polity. These machineries also shape the political incorporation of ethnic and immigrant minorities in localities with this dynamic. In this subchapter, I briefly describe how political machines are structured in Chicago, emphasizing what is called the "*Chicago style machinery",* built on the symbiosis of migration and industrialization. Then, I analyze how this model influences local politics by opening political spaces for the Latino immigrants when they allocate resources and power in interest coalitions. Finally, I explore how the consciousness of their place in the political machine has served as a "*school of politics*" for Latino immigrant leaders, and as a prelude for their characteristic multifaceted political incorporation.

Machinery politics is the term given in the US political argot to the particular form of clientelism that characterizes local governance in some cities such as Chicago. According to Sites (2012), analytic vocabulary, such as "machinery politics", emerged after the post-1970s neoliberalization, although the practices and institutions were working that way in Chicago for a very long time.

Political machines are supposedly dominated by one political party with support networks structured around strategic assemblages involving economic elites and social organizations. At this point, important questions emerge about how the activation, politicization, and engagement of an immigrant minority can be related to urban political dynamics such as the political machineries. Moreover, these dynamics emphasize the need for analyzing how this kind of political clientelism affect the disputes about boundaries in the public sphere and the local distribution of political power.

In effect, political machines also imply the politics of exclusion and inclusion because they include arrangements concerning the distribution of benefits and resources for loyal supporters of the group in power. Simpson and Kelly have described Chicago's political machinery as

> …an economic exchange within the framework of the political Party and an economic growth machine that married that political Party to big businesses in a public-private partnership. Patronage jobs at city hall begat patronage precinct captains who contacted voters and persuaded them to trade favors or city services for votes for the party's candidates. Government contracts from city hall convinced otherwise Republican businessmen to give the campaign contributions necessary to fund campaign literature, walk-around money, and bribes. (2008, p. 229)

Hence, an understanding of this criticized model is important for this research because, in ethnically segregated cities such as Chicago, the political machinery has been crucial for influencing the political arenas and for generating spaces of political participation. These machineries have shaped local governmental responses towards the politicization of Latinos in the city to a significant extent.

For example, during the consolidation of the Democratic Party locally in the 1930s, Andersen described how: "…the organizational and geographic density of Chicago's ethnic groups allowed Anton Cermak's Democratic organization to more easily educate and mobilize foreign-born citizens in Chicago" (2008, p. 19). The strategy consisted in the Democratic Party supporting immigrants' naturalization in exchange for mobilization of the ethnic vote. Supposedly, these immigrants were the most predictable voters and their activation implied new, but episodic, entrants in the local polity. Therefore, in order to keep the machine working, immigration policy was periodically on local agendas dominated by machine politicians.

Latinos are the only ethnic group in the city of Chicago capable of mobilizing significant numbers of voters through their ethnic organizations. For this reason, the factions of the Democratic political Party have changed the old strategy for attracting Latino sympathy. Instead of naturalization campaigns to increase predictable democratic voters, now they have incorporated Latino leaders into the political machinery. The most common method used are the leadership academies. For example, the Metropolitan Leadership Institute trained local Latino politicians, such as Proco Moreno, Richard Rodriguez, Many Rodriguez, all of whom are officials strategically elected in the more ethnically diverse wards. Meanwhile, in dominant Latino wards, the elected officials belong to political machineries developed since the election of the first Black Mayor Washington, such as Luis Gutierrez, Chuy Garcia, and Dany Solis.

According to Brennet and Theodore (2002), the neoliberal mechanisms of local policy in the U.S. cities has provoked urban dynamics such as the rise of in-state decentralization and entrepreneurialism, the imposition of austerity and the

increment of non-state resources in public finance, networked forms of governance based on public-private partnerships and direct elite influence (also see Leitner, Peck and Sheppard, 2007; Sites, 2012; Sternberg and Anderson, 2014). In this context, Latinos are generally considered by the political mainstream as the *"last Major-League players in machine politics"*[6]. This position rests on the fact of their being the "new poor" in the city considering per capita income (Jonathan Grabinsky and Richard Reeves, 2015), and the Latinos' main assets are their social and demographic wage. Therefore, if they want to participate in local governance, they have no other option than playing "Chicago style politics" by mobilizing voters and protesters, particularly in the face of the influence of the politics of money deployed by the economic elites.

In her study about political efficacy in Pilsen, Michelson (2000) has found that the Latino vote in this Latino neighborhood is influenced by the promised benefits for their communities, but what really determines the vote among Latinos is a sense of loyalty, obligation, and duty to their leaders. Immigrant organizers frequently argue in the meetings of their ethnic coalitions: "*We know our immigrants best, we are the ones who face the needs of our neighborhoods*" (field notes, immigrant leaders' meeting at Casa Michoacan, June 2017).

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[6] This analogy is used in the local political argot, taken from the "*US Baseball World Series*", means that Latinos at least play in politics, but they are considered the most disadvantaged "team" of the league. In other words, in cities of political minorities, most of the groups do not have influence in politics. For example, among the big four racial categories, Asians do not play in Chicago politics, only the Chinese have one representative, conversely, Latinos are underrepresented in numbers but at least have voice and vote in the city hall.

In this context, the allocation of resources directed to immigration services, bilingualism, and affirmative action, reinforce ethnic coalition and discourage stronger inter-ethnic collaboration with other vulnerable non-immigrant minorities. For example, when the city launched the Municipal ID during the documented period for this research, Latino politicians and activists supported the campaign. In contrast, several Black Aldermen criticized the program:

> I just think this is a horrible idea, a waste of taxpayers' money. I don't know why we're trying to create something that's not an issue for the entire city of Chicago and to throw a couple of million dollars at it? A waste of money, a waste of resources and a waste of effort (Alderman Anthony Beale, speech in the Mayor's 2018 Budget hearing, Chicago, October 2018)

As a consequence, some members of the Black community sometimes resent Latino advancement in city governance, but as Dominguez (2016b) has suggested, the lack of uniformity and cohesion of the African Americans in comparison with Latinos in Chicago avoids political conflict in the city. Additionally, the social borders of the neighborhoods, reinforced by urban segregation, limit the arenas for meeting and confrontation. The only ground for encountering each other is in local governance where both groups are seen as colored minorities in the face of the white mainstream. In fact, Latino politicians sometimes appeal to inter-ethnic coalition in their campaigns. For example, 'Chuy' Garcia tried to replicate this formula in his mayoral campaign against Rahm Emmanuel. During my fieldwork, I found that the younger Latinos are concerned with the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, and frequently Dreamers and BLM participated in joint rallies as communities of color.

As I explain throughout this thesis, the precinct work[7], the political negotiations, the politics of money in which private fundraising is fundamental in political campaigns, and leadership through voter mobilization are still a fundamental combination of factors for winning elections in machinery politics. However, I have found signals and political episodes showing some change and the remaking of the mainstream in Chicago's local governance. For example, during the 2008 elections, Barack Obama endorsed the immigrant leader Artemio Arreola from Chicago as his speaker for Latinos. Since Obama was a Chicago senator, he mobilized the Latino vote from the city and promised immigration reform during his first year in office. However, four years later, when he tried to mobilize Chicago's Latino machinery for his re-election, he encountered hostility because he had failed to accomplish immigration reform. This demonstrates that Latinos in the city have a critical mass and are more skeptical of government and conscious of their position in the city. Moreover, they are willing to contest local immigration governance and display contentious actions "*by the force of the circumstances*" (Latino leader speech, Casa Michoacan, May 2017).

Another example of the remaking of local governance in Chicago happened during the documented period, in May 2018, when the Mexican immigrant 'Chuy'

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[7] In the United States "Precinct work-including door-to-door canvassing, check-off registration lists, transportation to the polls, babysitting services, and various other interpersonal electioneering techniques-has two goals: getting the maximum number of favorably inclined people registered and then to the polls, and convincing voters to support the right ticket" (Wolfinger, 1963, p. 387). This characteristic dynamic of machine politics is fundamental in ethnic neighborhoods that correspond to electoral precincts.

Garcia won the Democratic primaries for the nomination of candidates for the US House of Representatives with a significant margin. In response to this, the *Chicago Tribune* wrote a column called *How Latinos in Chicago bested machine politics* (Marans, 2018). During this campaign, a group of immigrant activists led by Artemio Arreola (ICIRR Politic Deputy Director and leader from Casa Michoacan) was *"sacando el voto".* They walked through the streets of Little Village, Pilsen, and Back of the Yards, encouraging Latino citizens to vote (regardless of their candidate preference) for the 2018 Democratic Primaries.

In this context, the Latino community have won some battle. It seems that granting some civic rights for immigrants and mandating higher wages does not represent an overwhelming threat for the reconfiguration of the local state apparatus and reinforces machinery politics. These demands for local rights and arenas for political participation are the new realms of the political agenda in Chicago. This political context has generated positive ground for a display of agency. This research argues that a combination of contextual factors and contingent variables has contributed to the articulation of an active, purposeful, and politicized community that is increasingly gaining ground at national level for Latino politics by rooting their political incorporation in Chicago.

3.5. The process of political maturation and the adoption of political causes locally.

Latino immigrants have lived in Chicago for almost a century and there have been renovating migratory flows[8]. The dynamics of these migratory flows have contributed to the constitution of a solid but diverse minority in terms of status, class, origin, and generation. However, despite the demographic and social consolidation of this minority in the city, they are still claiming their "right to the city". The politics of place suggest that *spatialities* help to better understand politics and identity than temporal changes. By placing the politics of identity, we can inquire about the locations of struggle and the communities of resistance (Keith and Pile, 1993, p. 5). Thus, with the aims of contesting public space, a politicized segment of Latino immigrants from Chicago are organizing, mobilizing, and trying to influence their immediate political arenas to expand the spaces for substantive citizenship and to maximize their political access.

In 2006, the United States experienced the largest and most spontaneous political mobilization in the history of the country, and those public demonstrations were organized by Latino immigrants. Based on media estimations, several authors (Robinson, 2006; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008; Vonderlack-Navarro, 2014) reported that between March 10 and May 1, around 3.5–5 million people mobilized.

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[8] See *"Steel Barrio: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago*" (Innis-Jiménez, 2013) and *"Y nos vinimos de mojados: Cultura Mexicana en Chicago"* (Dorantes, 2007) for further information on the settlement of immigrants in Chicago and the characteristics of the different streams.

Overall, the most important fact for this research is that this movement started in Chicago, where around 100,000 people marched to Daley Plaza on March 10 and more than 300,000 marched on May 1 in protest against the Sensenbrenner Bill[9] (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008; Pallares and Flores-González, 2010; Betancur and Garcia, 2011). Suddenly, the civic paths of a long-standing process of immigrants' politicization reached visibility in central cities across the United States. The Latinos in Chicago, a traditionally uncontentious and discrete minority, were leading a new stage of the immigrants' rights movement[10].

The political process that led to the 2006 mobilizations and the historical review of the movement are out of the scope of this study and there are several existing studies analyzing these phenomena in depth (Barreto, Manzano and Ramírez, 2009; Pallares and Flores-González, 2010; Betancur and Garcia, 2011). Instead, the main concern of this section is to explain how the 2006 mobilizations were crucial for

[9] The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act (HR 4437-2005) was a controversial Republican proposal passed by the US House of Representatives, which was highly criticized for criminalizing immigrants, obligating employers to use E-Verify, fining undocumented immigrants $3,000 before deportation, intending to build a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border and commissioning a study for a U.S.-Canada border, and to penalize employers for hiring immigrant workers. Full text available at Sensenbrenner Bill, https://www.congress.gov/bill/109th-congress/house-bill/4437, consulted January 2018.

[10] Authors such as Robinson (2006), Zlolniski (2008) and Pallares et.al. (2010) denominated the 2006 mobilizations as the New Immigrant Movement to distinguish it from the Cesar Chavez Chicano mobilizations, and to place it in clear relation with the New Social Movements paradigm.

the political maturation of Latinos in Chicago, which is a necessary reflection to situate the agents in this study.

After the "*Spring of the Immigrant*" (as it was named by the U.S media), this 2006 episode of politicization had the effect of encouraging Latinos to adopt their own political causes in the United States. Barreto et. al. have explained that the "HR 4437 [Sensenbrenner law, see footnote 8] represented a powerful external threat that activated multiple Latino constituencies, including the Latino citizenry and organizational elite, to come together in solidaridad, or group solidarity, for immigrant rights" (2009, p. 738). These coalitions enhanced the actual organizational network in Chicago.

Vonderlack's field notes (2014) of the meetings have recovered some of the discussions during the organizing of the mobilizations. In the case of HTA's leaders, they were very conservative and signaled that immigrants were workers and, they were not organizing to change US laws. Instead, community organizers pointed out that immigrants were expecting the passing of the Mexican vote abroad while "Mexico is very far from here, many kilometers. Here is where we are, here is where we are living, and they are at the point of passing a law that is going to make you a criminal – and you continue thinking about voting in Mexico's next elections?" (Vonderlack-Navarro, 2014, p. 94).

The 2006 movement was directed by the "*Comité 10 de Marzo*", a board set up to coordinate further national marches and protests from Chicago. It aimed to organize a massive mobilization and national multi-sited protest for May 1, and did mobilize 300,000 people in the city. In the presentation of the book *Voces Migrantes*, three of the main organizers of the 2006 marches, Carlos Arango, Jorge

Mujica, and Omar Lopez narrate how everything began in California when a UCLA professor organized a conference to discuss the effects of the Sensenbrenner Bill. Many of the activists from Chicago were sponsored by unions and advocacy organizations to attend the conference. There, immigrant organizers started what they call: *"el año que pasamos en las calles"* (the year we spent in the streets).

Later divisions inside the coalition were caused by different perspectives on methods. One fraction (the workers' organizers) wanted to coordinate a transnational immigrant workers' movement, while the dominant sector of immigrant leaders only wanted to display focalized political pressure on migration laws. However, the main gains of this coalition were testing and strengthening the organizational network in terms of platforms for spreading information, the constitution of horizontal forums, the need for alliances, and to work at the different governance levels.

During my fieldwork, I asked immigrant leaders about the limited involvement of the national level Latino organizations such as La Raza in the organization of the 2006 mobilizations. Carlos Arango, one of the three main organizers and the leader from Casa Aztlán answered that

> They develop another type of work in formal politics, where they are growing. They are not groups of grassroots. They have other strategies and arenas of action. They risked a lot then. We are closer to the community and, therefore, we are the ones who have to organize and mobilize the community (C. Arango, interview in Casa Aztlán, Pilsen, March 2017).

This perception about the role of Chicago-based organizations in the politicization of Latinos sustained by a direct relation with community has been a key factor for the political maturation of the collective in the city. The contemporary

city, however, is often referred to as containing one of the most organized immigrant communities, and Latinos in Chicago are described as one of the most participative and progressive collectives in the United States (Zabin and Escala, 2002; Duquette-Rury and Bada, 2013; Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites, 2013).

Although the main slogans in the marches were general and broad claims, such as *"We are America too"* and *"Today we march, tomorrow we vote",* the discussions in the *Comité 10 de Marzo* demonstrated an increased awareness of how US politics affected their lives. This discussion persists until today. Chuy Garcia, the immigrant politician, declares "*Among Mexicans in the United States, nationwide, there is still a need to develop a culture of giving our own political causes to the community, but here in Chicago it is different. Chicago has led a movement to empower minorities led by us*" (J. Garcia, interview in UNAM Chicago, April 2017).

As the organizer Jorge Mujica states,

> The marches were a higher point of the immigrant movement, but the immigrant movement is still present, and it will continue to be present in different and diverse modalities… We have expanded our fields, we are organizing workers and also working in public offices (speech in the Mexican Museum of Art, Pilsen, March 2016).

After the 2006 mobilizations, Chicago immigrants were more conscious of their social condition in the United States and in the city, and they learned through mobilization about how Latino immigrants were willing to create pressure through contentious actions for policy change. According to the survey coordinated by Pallares and Flores (2010, p. xix), 56% of the participants marched in 2006 for legalization and 27% for immigration policy changes. If we compare this with the

latest Pew Hispanic survey about the Latino political priorities in 2017, we find that although only 16% think that their situation is better in the country, they think that the priorities of Congress should be: 1. Education, 2. Terrorism, 3. Economy, 4. Healthcare and, in fifth place, immigration (until 2016 immigration was ranked 3) (Lopez, Rohal and Manager, 2017). These data are clear indicators of the adoption of local political causes.

This process of politicization contributed to the formulation of specific political goals by the larger group and to pressure for localized policy change. Erendira Rendon, who is responsible for National Programs for The Resurrection Project, explains:

> I think there is a tremendous demand for power, and to use that power in defense of the most vulnerable out there, and it is important to be informed that we can play a significant role to promote the leadership of immigrants…. In English, we say “you can start by the acting". We are starting by giving to immigrants a public life. That is empowerment. (E. Rendon, interview in TRP offices, Little Village, June 2017)

Latinos are now an integral part of the political and social fabric of Chicago. Their postures and demands have a more vibrant tenor and more policy content than ever before. But this expansion into urban immigration governance is far from being a cumulative and linear process. The lessons learned from the Spring of the Immigrant, from the pro-immigrant rhetoric of Barack Obama (the former Chicago senator), and, recently, the presidential election of the openly anti-immigrant and anti-Hispanic Donald Trump, have tested the political agency of Latinos and have created ambivalent forms of incorporation that are grounded locally. For example, Artemio Arreola urged the organizers in a meeting of Latino leaders:

> We must be aware because this year we have the intermediate elections, and next comes the census with redistricting. We cannot allow that 'gerrymandering' steals districts from us or miss the opportunity to send more representatives of Latinos to the city council, the county, and in the State Congress. For that reason, we have to keep involved. (A. Arreola, Speech in Chicago Hoy Conference, Chicago, June 2017).

3.6. Concluding remarks

The indicators about Latinos presented in this chapter coincide with previous findings about the socio economic gap between them and the social mainstream across the US cities (De Genova, 2005; Levine, 2008; Walker, 2014). In addition, they are still political outsiders in the United States, but there are clear variations of their political position between the US cities. When Latinos from Chicago argue "*Chicago is not Hazleton, Illinois is not Arizona*" (immigrants' chant, May Day March, May 2017) they are making reference to the city and the state with the most anti-immigrant legislations in the country to show how anti-immigrant ordinances had never taken place in the Chicago city agenda. However, in this chapter I explained some contexts that position Latinos in a disadvantaged position in Chicago Politics. The lack of citizenship of the mixed status community and the median age of a young collective are causing the statistical representation (process that will be analyzed in the next chapter in detail). -Other conditions such as public disinterest in immigrant neighborhoods, are reflections of lengthy postponements in perceptions of equality on the part of the dominant mainstream of Chicago.

Describing the racialized politics of the US cities has allowed me to situate the patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the host polity, in addition to considering

other more generic factors of the immigration experience. It is precisely the effects of racialized politics that are motivating these immigrants to engage in politics, but they are doing it collectively as an ethnic group reproducing the scheme of racial politics. As Alba and Nee (2003) have explained, it is expected that people with similar cultural, racial, and class interests join and articulate representational structures.

Some issues are frequently specific to a minority and bring them to public sphere. In the case of Latinos, the emphasized issue is how their political identities are automatically related to immigrants and therefore to outsiders. In addition, Latino immigrants are incorporating into US politics from the losing side because this discrete and disadvantaged minority are the new poor in the US politics dominated by the dynamics of the politics of money (Levine, 2008). Latino immigrants are collectively seeking access to a polity in which they are excluded, which does not necessarily result in the creation of parallel political systems, but is aimed at achieving immigrant social justice.

This chapter has described the local contextual factors of political incorporation for Chicago Latinos. I explored the dynamics of a collective of political outsiders trying to become insiders from a disadvantaging position in terms of SES, citizenship and voter turnout that contrast with their civic engagement, activism, and progressive political conquests that will be analyzed in the following chapters Chicago Latinos still have important social struggles in a political context dominated by the Democratic political machinery, which is a double-edged sword for the critical mass leading the collective. Latinos from Chicago are an attractive constituency due to their organizational networks and their increasing share of

voters but being brought to the political sphere by the mainstream implies enhancing political machineries. In this context, placing the Latino politics was the starting point for the study of the contemporary influence of Chicago's immigration governance on the political incorporation of this group.

Chapter 4.

Latino Organization and the Dilemma of Mainstreaming versus Autonomy.

4.1. Introduction

Across the process of political learning, Latino immigrants in Chicago have advantaged their demographic, civic, and political assets to collectively position themselves through their organizations as active agents in the immigration governance of the city. Several studies have described how the United States offers a positive ground for immigrant organization (De Sipio and De La Garza, 1998;

Bloemraad, 2006; Lieberman, 2013). Numerous works have explained the role of hometown associations on the immigrants' binational civic and political engagement (Rivera-Salgado, Escala-Rabadan and Bada, 2006; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2008; Ramakrishnan and Viramontes, 2010). Other authors found that organizations are instrumental for the articulation of a political minority based on dynamics such as group consciousness and linked-fate (Masuoka, 2007).

However, more research is needed to explore diversity within the Latino immigrants' organizations, their intra-group dynamics, and networking processes. In addition, it is necessary to inquire about their interactions with other political allies and social stakeholders to find niches of participation. It is necessary to analyze the influence of all this organizational context on the nature of political participation of the Latino minority in US cities[11]. These goals are motivations behind the discussions of this chapter exploring Latino organization in Chicago.

In this chapter the characteristics of immigrant organizations of Chicago Latinos are explored with particular emphasis on the strengths and weaknesses of their network. Then, organizing as agency is addressed by exploring the nature of their interactions in the local polity with particular emphasis in the alliances with political insiders. This process of bounding with mainstream organizations and

[11] In the case of the European cities, for example, Fennema and Tillie (1999) found that denser networks of associations increased the political trust of an ethnic group and this motivated to more political participation. In the same direction Jacobs and Tillie (2004) coordinated a volume of the Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies testing this relation in other European Cities. However, in the case of the United States, research has been dominated by the role of negative contexts such as anti-immigrant local laws on immigrant organization.

other stakeholders enable political access but also shape organizations' goals, interactions, and their relationship with grassroots. Following this process, the analysis of how are Latinos in Chicago balancing these challenges leads to the closing discussion about organizations' dilemma of mainstreaming versus autonomous political incorporation.

4.2. Complementarity and convergence in the organizational landscape

During this century, immigrant organizations in Chicago have grown exponentially in numbers and in organizational scale (Duquette-Rury and Bada, 2013; Bada, 2014). The Chicago Community Trust reported in 2013 that around 205 Latino ethnic organizations were registered in the metropolitan area of Chicago. In contrast, the census of the Mexican Consulate in Chicago registered 275 immigrant organizations (Mendoza and Bada, 2013). The explanation for such difference is found in that according to the US laws, it is not mandatory to register every non-profit organization. Immigrant associations such as small clubs and hometowns are not obligated to register in city or national records. In addition, the transnational focus of many of these groups, especially of the Mexican immigrant organizations, translates in that most of their activism is not reflected in the US statistics and reports (Bada, 2013; Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites, 2013).

The diverse organizational landscape of the Chicago immigrants is characterized by the presence of various kinds of associations but convergent in scope and approach. The organizational landscape of Latino immigrants in the city

comprises a diverse set of clubs, hometown associations, ethnic federations, rights defense leagues, as well as state and national level coalitions. This diversity leads to the analysis of how is this network formally and informally structured and what are the effects of this organizational landscape on the political incorporation of Latinos in Chicago.

The motivations behind the development of this diversity are found within the characteristics of the Latino constituency and in their position in the city. First, in factors related to characteristics of the group such as the mixed-status within the larger community and inside the family households that also have the effect of different generations co-working within the organizations. In addition it is important to consider the higher education levels of organizers and leaders, above the average of immigrants and the media of the country as Shutze (2016) found in her study about the political trajectories of Chicago immigrant organizers. These characteristics of the group pair with other contextual and structural variables such as urban segregation, disinvestment[12] and the huge ethnic character of Pilsen, La Villita and Las Empacadoras. All together, these factors have led to the diversification of the scope and nature of the civic and political engagement of Latino Chicago.

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[12] For example, the report "A tale of three cities: The State of Racial Justice in Chicago Report" describes how "educational opportunities and resources in Chicago's public schools are unevenly distributed along lines of race and ethnicity. Struggling schools are concentrated in communities of color, while white students are overrepresented in the district's most advantaged educational environments" (Henricks *et al.*, 2017)

Based on the analysis of the immigrants' motivations to engage in community organizing, this research sustains that the more immigrants involve in politics is the least confident they are about that the US political institutions will solve the needs of their ethnic minority. For example, Rosa Carrasco, immigrant leader from the Organized Communities Against Deportations, argued in a binational forum:

> When people's rights are violated, they have to organize and fight for them. Then, we think that the solutions are not only institutional. We must organize ourselves and work together from the grassroots (R. Carrasco, interview in UNAM Chicago, April 2018).

In addition to growing of threats (anti-immigrant positions and laws) in nearby localities and at the federal level, the opportunity to influence local politics motivates the collective engagement with the nearest arena for discussion of immediate issues affecting immigrants' daily lives. The Michoacano immigrant organizer and political deputy from ICIRR, Artemio Arreola, describes his motivations to engage in organizations as follows: *"We must inform immigrants about their rights, educate our community, involve in politics, and prepare to defend ourselves when this is necessary, all these by organizing our communities"* (A. Arreola, speech in Casa Michoacan, Little Village, November 2016*).*

Immigrant organizations have differentiated scope and functions in organizing Chicago Latinos. However, organizations frequently work together in programs, in establishing common forums, and launching joint campaigns. The next figure summarizes the Latino organizational landscape participating in the immigration governance in Chicago:

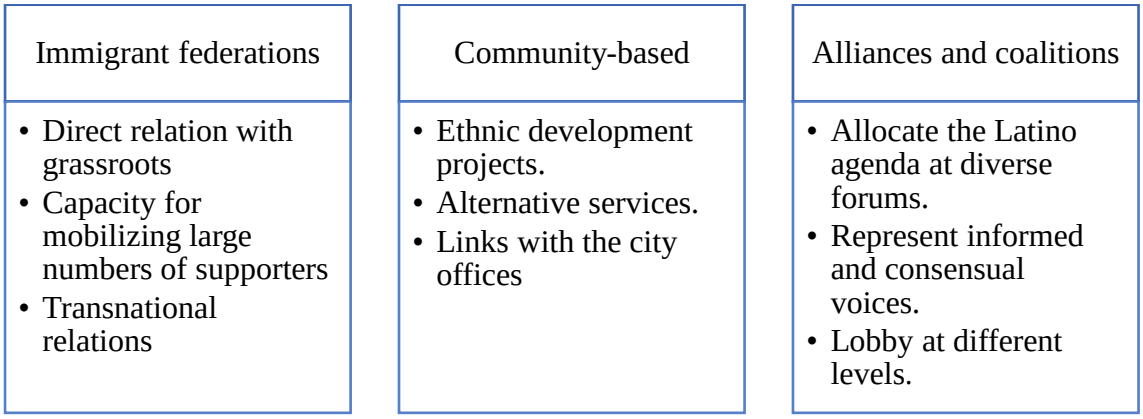

Figure 4.1. The Organizational Landscape in Chicago

Source: Own elaboration with data from fieldwork

The first kind are the numerous *immigrant federations* that originate and reproduce immigrant organization in Chicago[13]. The second kind of Latino organizations in Chicago are the *community organizations* working to solve problems at the neighborhood level through developmental projects grounded in community work and voluntarism. Community organizations frequently partner philanthropic organizations, advocacy groups, and governmental institutions for their campaigns. The third type are *alliances* and *coalitions* working as interest groups. Alliances and coalitions' main function consist in addressing the Latino agenda at the different political levels. For example, the Chicago-based coalitions

[13] Schutze (2016) explains how since their arrival (circa 1917), Mexicans formed immigrants' associations, the first registration of a hometown association was in 1970 (the Miguel Hidalgo club) by Michoacano migrants. Several works have studied the transnational activities, agenda, and interactions of Mexican immigrant federations (Massey, Goldring and Durand, 1994; Michelson and Pallares, 2001; Rivera-Salgado, Escala-Rabadan and Bada, 2006).

have participated in important forums organized by the White House and the US Congress.

Regarding to the federations of hometown associations, this kind of organizations are formed by immigrants from the same town or state. HTAs are aimed at maintaining roots with their communities of origin, channeling the involvement in civic, social, cultural and philanthropic projects in their hometowns grounded in the country of settlement[14]. The main subject of study for this research is the political incorporation of the Latino immigrants' in Chicago and not their transnational politics. However, it is important to mention that several studies had demonstrated the importance of hometown associations and transnational politics in the process of political engagement of their members in the countries of settlement (Espenshade and Ramakrishnan, 2001; Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003; Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2003b). This dynamic is fundamental to understanding the degree of politicization of Mexicans in Chicago. Immigrant politicians and leaders in every case engaged first in HTAs and then in formal politics.

In the case of Chicago, hometown associations are politically the weakest sector. Immigrant leaders highly involved in transnational politics such as Zoraida Ávila (Casa Michoacan and Mujeres Latinas en Accion), Carlos Arango (Casa Aztlán and Mexican political parties), and Artemio Arreola (FEDECMI and

[14] In the case of Chicago, several studies have been conducted about transnationalism of immigrant organizations, especially about the Michoacano HTAs. It is estimated that around 1 million live in the U.S., Illinois and California are the main places of settlement. Mendoza, Bada & Rivera (2006; 2013) and recently Schutze (2016) documented the numbers, structure, projects of these transnational organizations.

Institute for the Mexicans Abroad) argue how conflict persist only at this level of organization. They explained how home country politics cause conflict between HTAs when political parties involve instigating patronage politics. However, these controversies occur under the level of federations where conflict is mediated and deviant voices silenced. In addition, only HTAs federations have enough political influence to be considered as agents of immigration governance in Chicago.

The most representative example in the Chicago case is *Casa Michoacan.* Casa Michoacan is described by their leaders as a cluster of hometown associations from at approximately 56 Mexican localities present in Mexican Chicago (Pilsen and La Villita). This federation of transnational organizations frequently works with the Mexican Consulate and with hometown governments. Besides, in the words of immigrant leaders:

> Casa Michoacan is house for everybody. We are firmly rooted in Chicago with our heart in our communities in Michoacan and Mexico. But we are open for all the community in the city. People from many countries (Central Americans, Ecuadorians, Caribbeans, even Polish) have participated in our activities" (Z. Avila, interview in Casa Michoacan, Little Village, April 2017).

They also work in all the US Midwest, the immigrant leader Zoraida Avila (Program Director, Casa Michoacan) emphasized during the interviews:

> ...we are approaching small groups from other communities that do not receive information. We recently did a little tour in Tennessee and probably you are going to say: Why Tennessee? Because we also have Mexican and Michoacano population there ... then we're trying to organize those spaces too (Z. Avila, interview in Casa Michoacan, Little Village, April 2017).

In fact, Zoraida Ávila is heading the team training immigrant organizations in the US Midwest about procedures for legal constitution, mechanisms to register in the country, and facilitating ways to improve fundraising under the US law.

The activities developed by *Casa Michoacan* are directly related to the provision of alternative social services such as healthcare, education, legal assistance, and financial workshops. This function of services providers creates a direct relationship with the immigrant; for this reason, this kind of organizations have a higher capacity to mobilize substantial numbers of people. Demographics play a key role in representative democracies, Latinos are faster growing minority and are increasingly involving in politics (Ramakrishnan, 2005; De Sipio, 2011). For this reason, Casa Michoacan, which is capable of massive mobilization, is always represented in consultative councils and campaigns organized by the city government. In the same direction, other immigrant organizations work with Casa Michoacan in partnerships for large-scale campaigns. For example, in campaigns such as citizenship workshops, for providing health and mental care services, in voter registration programs, and for spreading information. Casa Michoacan is increasingly working with the government of the city of Chicago and US civic organizations. For example, before launching the Municipal ID, the city clerk visited Casa Michoacan to present the project to the leaders of Little Village.

These collaborations lead the analysis to the second kind of organizations in the local immigration network: the community-based organizations. These organizations are dedicated to advocacy, rights defense and provision of alternative and affordable social services in immigrant neighborhoods and ethnic communities. Community-based organizations constitute a network of support for the residents,

while the community itself acts a source of support for their infrastructure in the local polity (Vermeulen, Minkoff and van der Meer, 2016). Levine (2016) compares the role of these community-based organizations as non-elected neighborhood representatives because these groups solve service-delivery problems, act as lobby groups, and have appropriated local political language in their daily work.

Organizational life shapes community, but the degree of structuration of organizations is directly related to how minorities manage resources available in the locality (Ramakrishnan and Viramontes, 2010). In Chicago, urban segregation and inequalities enhanced by underserved neighborhoods coincide with the opportunity of reaching resources from the city and private fundraising. This is possible only through organizations considered legitimate by the mainstream. Under these circumstances, a well-structured network of community organizations flourished in immigrant neighborhoods from Chicago. The best examples are groups like *The Resurrection Project*, *Enlace Chicago*, *Centro Romero,* and *Proyecto de Accion de los Suburbios del Oeste* (PASO). These organizations focus on solving concrete needs of Latino neighborhoods in La Villita, Pilsen, and Las Empacadoras.

The Resurrection Project is the biggest, the most recognized, and most active community organization in the Chicago area. Their campaigns are oriented to improve the quality of life in La Villita. The Resurrection Project, as many other immigrant organizations, emerged from faith groups from the Latino

neighborhoods[15]. This organization channels resources from the city government and is committed to solve the Latino minority needs with programs for adult and early childhood education, financial education for Latino entrepreneurs, legal advice, immigration services and citizenship workshops. Highlights the labor on fair housing for Latinos and housing opportunities for undocumented immigrants. The Resurrection Project is famous for opposing to the gentrification of La Villita and Pilsen neighborhoods, process caused by the increase in house prices and the suburbanization of the Latino immigrants (Sternberg and Anderson, 2014). Recently, the Resurrection Project won funds of the New Communities Program to create 800 affordable housing units in the next five years.

The Resurrection Project has less capacity for mobilizing large numbers of persons. In contrast, one of the main assets of community-based organizations is their capacity for fundraising. For example, the 2016 Report of the Resurrection Project informed that they worked with an annual budget of 25 million dollars invested in their model of development to create healthy communities in Latino Chicago. The CEO Raul Raymundo explained in interview that The Resurrection Project has access to the Chicago Community Trust (Partnership of local government and philanthropic groups for project funding). They received logistic and financial support from local advocacy organizations such as the Heartland Alliance, Immigrant Justice Alliance and the Kennedy Center, among many other private sponsors. In the documented campaigns, they worked in partnerships with

[15] Cano (2009) and Schutze (2016) highlight the role of churches in organizing Chicago's immigrants. Faith groups are crucial to understand civic engagement but they barely involve in their political participation.

those groups mainly in programs oriented to poverty reduction, family services, and education improvement.

The Resurrection Project works with a small professional staff and with around 1000 "*community navigators*". Community navigators are volunteers trained by the organization. They go door to door spreading information, actions, and campaigns, they explain how this work is fundamental for reaching undocumented people. Their delimited areas of action are: community ownership, wealth building, stewardship of community assets and leadership.

The third type of Latino immigrants' organizations are the *civic associations and alliances* from Chicago and the local branches of large DC-based organizations. These organizations have determined fields of action and restrict their participation to events related to their causes (Cano, 2009). They act as interest groups, they are large national and transnational focused alliances whose main function is addressing the Latino agenda in different forums at the national level (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008). The role of these groups in the organizational network is to give an informed and unified voice for the Latino's issues outside their communities (civic organizations promote pan-ethnicity). Besides, they have stronger political ties and relationships, they have developed political affinities with some sectors of the mainstream (Boruchoff *et al.*, 2010; Betancur and Garcia, 2011).

The *civic rights defense leagues* flourished in Chicago during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. These organizations were embraced by Latinos and founded branches of recognized organizations such as the Mexican American League of Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the League of United Latin American

Citizens (LULAC), the former National Council of La Raza (Unidos US), the National Appointed and Elected Latino Officials (NALEO) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). These organizations are focused on national level immigration agendas and have constrained influence and action ratio in the localities. These coalitions differ from local immigrant organizations because they do not base their agenda on individual membership. Alliances and civic leagues display consultation among member organizations but the key decisions rest on deliberative committees.

The most important *alliance* from Chicago is *Alianza Americas* (formerly the National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities). This organization of civil rights defense was founded in 2004 to advocate for social justice, equity, immigration and quality of life in all the Americas from the city of Chicago. They play vocal roles in official and governmental forums and they give advice to Caucuses and politicians while lobbying in Washington DC. Alianza Americas has commissioned important studies and reports to generate trustful information about Latin American topics of interest in the country. In 2017, the organization visited the White House to advocate against racism and attacks to Latino immigrants. They defended the continuity of migratory programs such as the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals and the Temporary Protection Status for Central Americans. In the concrete case of Chicago immigration governance, Alianza Americas resemble for their role on mediating leadership tensions. The immigrant leader Oscar Chacon (Alianza Americas CEO) has been a key promoter of horizontal leadership for Latino organizations in Chicago.

In the case of coalitions from Chicago, the most notable example is precisely the Illinois Coalition for Immigrants and Refugee Rights. ICIRR is an umbrella organization for the immigrant organizations in the city. It was articulated for joining forces of diverse ethnic and immigrant organizations with pro-immigrant and advocacy groups such as churches and labor unions working across the state of Illinois. Networking enables capacity for displaying large-scale campaigns and channeling large amounts of resources for ICIRR. For example, just from the State of Illinois, this organization received annually $3 million for assisting immigrants in the citizenship process[16].

Once reviewed the focus and scope of the different organizations, it is important to analyze how complementarity and convergence of the organizations facilitate politicization of Latinos. Immigrant leaders simultaneously participate in the board of different organizations and grassroots are invited to participate at the same time in campaigns and activities organized by distinct groups. They believe in a model of horizontal leadership, Oscar Chacon, Alianza Americas leader, explains *"We are all in the same boat, we do not need a new César Chávez here, there is no place for individual leaders, whoever wants it, go and run for a public office"* (O. Chacon, interview in UNAM Chicago, June 2017). With this example Chacon rememorizes the conflict caused by individual leadership during the Chicano movement that caused divisions of the movement. In the case of the contemporary organizational

[16] This amount is similar to the budget of the Office of the Mayor of Chicago on immigration services. However, ICRR often claim defunding on immigration services. See ICIRR, "The Devastating Impact of Defunding Immigration Services,", available in http://www.icirr.org/news-events/news/details/1023/icirr-details-devastating-effects-of-proposed-cuts, consulted in February 2018.

network in Chicago, complementarity and convergence in common grounds avoids intragroup competition.

Umbrella coalitions and interest groups have been fundamental to enhance horizontal leadership, for prioritizing agenda setting on common grounds, and for implementing decision-making models where every organization member has a voice. For example, in alliances, such as ICIRR, every organization (represented by their leaders) has the same voice and vote, and important decisions are taken only through consensus. In contrasts, federations use proportionality in decision-making, meanwhile in the advocacy and in community organizations the decisions are taken by the board. These conditions of horizontal leadership and complementarity in organizing Chicago Latinos have been pivotal to strengthen organization in the city.

Chicago Latinos case coincide with other cases in which immigrant organizations want to stand as the immigrants' expression of mobilized resources and ambitions (Zincone, Penninx and Borkert, 2011). Several studies have found that immigrant organizers had understood the importance to insert their claims and demands in policy-making organs (Bakker, 2011; De Sipio, 2011). The pathways to incorporate their political outsider agendas is longer than the urgency of the needs. In this context, the only way to achieve urging political causes faster is by alliances with local political stakeholders.

The degree of structuration of the key nodes described before increases the positive perception of the mainstream about Latino organizations. Institutional arrangement controlled by the mainstream affect immigrant organizations because may: a) Make groups more attractive to develop some kind of practices than others, b) reward groups with certain structures, c) determine access to funding and

information (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001). In the following section I explain how each one of these dynamics had worked in the process of political incorporation of Latinos in Chicago.

4.3. "*Dejemos de hablar sólo entre nosotros*". Alliances and political stakeholders.

Political insiders, allies, and stakeholders are fundamental partners for reaching resources, to increase political learning, and are crucial niche-openers (Koopmans, 2004; Caruso, 2015). These stakeholders are even more relevant in the case of immigrants because they are often outsiders in the polity. Organized immigrants find in their political allies the sponsors for the trajectories of the immigrant leaders. The influence of stakeholders often extends to provision of legal advice, sponsorship of leadership academies, and assessment for the structuration of the organizations. These interactions are explored in this section with a special focus on the effects of alliances with political insiders on the nature and degree of structuration of immigrant organizations.

In the recent history of immigrant agency in Chicago politics, there are important antecedents to be reviewed for analyzing the relation between political mainstream and immigrant leaders. In 2008, the Chicago-based National Association of Latino Elected Officials endorsed as his presidential candidate to Barack Obama (the former Senator from Chicago). That year Obama visited La Villita to meet Latino organizers. He nominated the immigrant leader Artemio Arreola as his official spokesperson for Latinos in his presidential campaign. Subsequently, Chicago immigrant leaders worked to mobilize the Latino vote nationwide in support of Barack Obama. Then, the presidency of Obama was

characterized for failing his promises to Latino constituencies. He miscarried immigration reform and deported 2.5 million of immigrants[17].

Chicago Latino immigrants have encountered numerous negative experiences while mobilizing grassroots in support of political candidates who failed to accomplish their promises on policy change such as the described cases of H. Washington and B. Obama. Moreover, leaders frequently face distrust of grassroots when they ally with Mayor Emmanuel and engage to Task Forces with Chicago politicians. Under these circumstances, what explains alliances between Latino leaders and political insiders?

The existence of immigrants' organizations does not automatically guarantee the accumulation and use of social and political capital. In many occasions, opportunities for civic and political participation are shaped by legal frameworks, openness, political priorities, and conventions of political life in the city. The agency of Latino immigrants does not depend exclusively on the commitment and willingness of their organizations and leaders. There are other actors involved that facilitate immigrant participation and who contribute to enhancing local responsiveness in the polity. Figure 4.2. illustrates the categorization of the political stakeholders for Latino political incorporation in Chicago.

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[17] The Chicago Tribune interviewed the leaders about his perceptions on the political position of Latinos after the reelection of Barack Obama. See Espinosa, *Luego de dos años, desilusión con Obama*, The Chicago Tribune, at http://www.chicagotribune.com/hoy/ct-hoy-7975657-obama-chicago-story.html, consulted on January 2018.

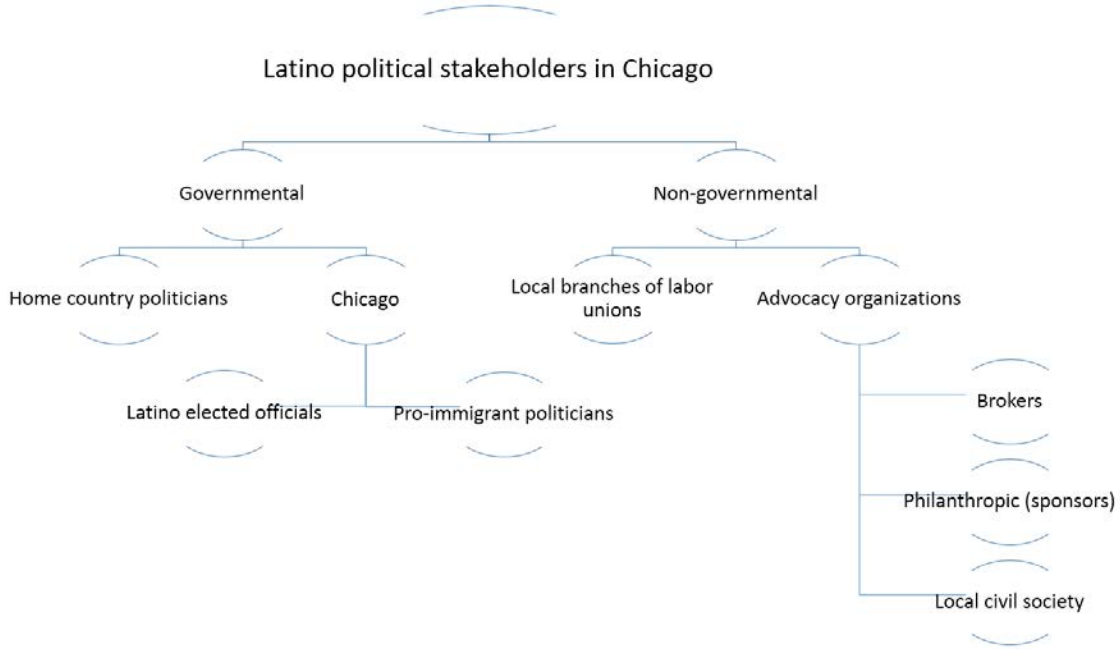

Figure 4.2. Political stakeholders of Latinos in Chicago
Source: Own elaboration with data from fieldwork

Political insiders such as elected officials, political parties and host society organizations are institutional gatekeepers who control access to venues of political participation available to immigrants along defined lines (Ireland, 1994). Political allies and other contextual factors from host society modify the access to dispositional political opportunities. The increasing dependency between societal actors motivates cooperation rather than steering (Teisman and Klijn, 2002). In this context, it is necessary to discuss the extent to these partnerships between organized immigrants and political stakeholders effectively represent new schemes of immigration governance or are merely rhetoric. In the following sections the nature and effects of this interactions are explored case by case.

In many political contexts stakeholders are signaled as the responsible to politicize immigration and to bring immigrants to the public sphere (Hopkins, 2010; Siemiatycki, 2011). However, in cities like Chicago, immigrants were brought to the local immigration governance when they were already organizing inside their

community. As consequence, the relation between immigrants guided by a critical mass and political elites is structured in a different way in Chicago because it is mediated by local stakeholders which are political insiders. In the following sections many examples are discussed, like the case of political sponsorship of Latino politicians from the Chicago machine that bested even bested the machine, the ethnic change of some labor unions in a unionized city and their logistical support for Latino causes, and the interactions with brokers and home country stakeholders. These stakeholders in many cases are engaged in non-profit causes, or in other cases like politicians, they have intentions to gain political support of the Latino community in Chicago by targeting pluralism as the constitutive base of the American politics and as their own political principle. Each of these allies have developed differentiated functions within the organizational network. Stakeholders provide differentiated opportunities and develop interactions that need to be analyzed case by case.

4.3.1. Advocacy organizations from the host society.

Non-profit organizations have a privileged political position in schemes of urban governance persisting in Chicago (Sites, 2012; Sternberg and Anderson, 2014). Advocacy organizations from the host society affect the distribution of political resources and facilitate access to private funds when they partner immigrant organizations. There is a huge gap in the analysis of the formation of alliances between Latino organizations with other non-governmental actors. Immigrant organizations from Chicago are increasingly interacting with brokers, advocacy groups and private sectors to reinforce strategic positions in the polity.

These alliances help to provide alternative services and increase public assets for the immigrant community.

It is important to point out that economic elites tend to support immigrant participation only in certain low political risk sectors. For example, Google Chicago sponsored two conferences. The first meeting discussed alternatives for safe provision of healthcare services to undocumented immigrants. The second conference addressed poverty reduction in Latino neighborhoods. At the inaugural discourse, Google's CEO from Chicago stated

> We are passing through a hard time for immigrants. But Google supports immigrants because we know how they contribute to this country and to Google's mission. We depend on them at every single level in these facilities in Chicago (S. Pichai, speech in Google Chicago Headquarters, May 2017).

In the case of high political risk issues such as immigration reform and deep social reforms, both sectors, immigrants and economic elites, privilege partnerships with political allies. From the immigrant organizations' perspective, economic elites have a different kind of power in the polity enabled by their impact in the politics of money. In contrast, immigrants have more social capital to mobilize voters, dynamic that directly impacts machine politics. This balance of power is important for social and economic agents' access to decision-making organs in the city politics. In addition, alliances with stakeholders from the host society enable scalability for immigrant campaigns.

The role of advocacy organizations of the host society can be differentiated depending on their functions between *philanthropic organizations*, *broker*s, and *partnerships.*

In the case of Chicago, the main source for fundraising of the community organizations are private donors from philanthropic organizations. In the documented campaigns during fieldwork the main sponsors were the Shriver Center on Poverty Law, the Kennedy Center, and the McArthur Foundation. These foundations offered grants and donations directly to initiatives related to culture, early childhood and adult education, neighborhood improvement, housing and neighborhood revitalization. Their contributions financed many initiatives of the immigrant organizations to improve the development of the ethnic neighborhoods. However, few times philanthropic associations involved directly in the work of the organizations, they limit their roles to fund initiatives. For these reason, they had limited roles on fostering politicization, political engagement, and incorporation of Chicago Latinos.

In second place, *brokerage* refers to the work of organizations which main function is stimulating connections between community organizers and funds offered by philanthropic organizations or governmental entities (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001).

In Chicago, highlights the *Chicago Community Trust*, an organization primarily dedicated to joining funds. The Chicago Community Trust offers grants for projects on three different basis: topic (community, education, health), identity (Black, Latino, Asian, etc.), or geographic (different neighborhoods and communities). This organization was one of the main sponsors of the Illinois Trust Act (state sanctuary law) and they offer grants for providing immigration legal services to several ethnic organizations in the city. Other important contribution of the Chicago Community Trust consists in generating information about the organizational

context in the city. For example, this organization commissioned the first study to document the Latino organizations registered in the city (Mendoza and Bada, 2013) and has sponsored important reports such as *Latino Immigrants in the Windy City: New Trends and Civic Engagement* (Boruchoff *et al.*, 2010).

Another important broker for the immigrant organizations have been the *Heartland Alliance*. This organization is based on Chicago, their main goal is to support struggles for social justice, action for ending poverty and to provide alternative social services. This organization founded the National Immigrant Justice Center to help immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in the United States. The Heartland Alliance in partnership with Enlace Chicago periodically trains HTAs' leaders on immigration law and policies. Recently, the *Heartland Alliance* approved funds for the Citizenship Workshops and the New Americans Initiative in partnership with the Chicago City Government and ICIRR.

The third kind of advocacy is through *partnerships* that work under a practical and realistic rationale that has worked fine in the US context. In Chicago Latino neighborhoods, problems such as income inequality, poverty, and gentrification persists (see Wilson, Wouters and Grammenos, 2004; Curran, 2017). These problems pair with lack of state budget to social programs, urban development projects excluding Latino neighborhoods, and budget deficits of city funds. This broad context make necessary for immigrant organizations to seek for alternatives of social services and to participate in private partnerships aimed at improving the conditions of the ethnic community. These partnerships are not only service providers in a racialized society, they are changing living conditions of underserved communities. Critics appoint that these partnerships are a neoliberal response to

social demands, this because the scheme consists in sustaining the achievement of social needs in non-governmental sectors, sometimes with lucrative aims (Sites, 2012; Sternberg and Anderson, 2014).

One of most successful cases working under this scheme of partnerships is the *National Museum of Mexican Art*. The museum is located in Pilsen and since 1980s was opened to offer a space of resilience for the immigrant community. In addition to its art collections, the museum offers workshops, educational programs, and conferences. The Museum of Mexican Art is registered as a not for profit organization in the State of Illinois that depends on private donations. According to the legal regulations this kind of partnerships can spend 25% of the budget on non-partisan political issues. In these regards, the Mexican Museum has organized several activities related to civic engagement, pro-immigration advocacy, and citizenship workshops in alliance with Latino immigrant organizations, advocacy associations and Latin American consulates.

Another institution working through this scheme of public-private partnership is the *Instituto del Progreso Latino*. This center offers bilingual education programs in areas such as English, nursing, manufacturing technology certification, retail training and other work training for Latinos regardless their legal status. This Institute works with mixed funding public and private donations to offer low-cost courses and certifications for the Latino immigrant community. Sometimes Instituto del Progreso Latino involves in political activities. For example, they work in citizenship workshops and voter registration campaigns as part of his mission to empower Latinos in Chicago.

These examples show how bridging with host society increases legitimacy reaching the sympathy of public opinion and local political elites. In many cases the support of advocacy groups to immigrant organizations translate in trust among the host society. Working together in campaigns increase the perception of host society about shared interests, common values and similar concerns; for example, urban development, civic engagement, reduction of poverty, and youth and minority improvement. However, fostering community development do not necessary translates into political empowerment and leadership for Latinos in Chicago.

In the analysis of alliances with mainstream organizations, it is important to discuss if these stakeholders contribute with development work or deep change in the local power relations. For example, Gonzalez (2017) explains that

> Development work not necessarily confront power relations. Rather, it often focuses on empowering residents within an existing power structure… Conversely, leadership development within a community organizing framework operates to both, empower residents to achieve greater economic gains, and to challenge root causes of exploitation and oppression… (p. 1141).

In the case of study, organizations from the host society few times are committed to politically empower immigrants. However, Chicago Latinos had taken advantage of the support to their community and social projects while redirecting their own resources to aspects related to political participation. For example, when brokers sponsor education and healthcare services, immigrant organizations invest their own material and human resources in higher political risk actions such as displaying campaigns for electoral registration, rallies, citizenship workshops and political leadership academies.

4.3.2. The appointed and elected Latino officials.

Chicago immigrants differentiate between politicians and activists and they have ambiguous perceptions about formal politics. There is a general perception that when a leader runs for office, they tend to take distance from the more contentious agenda of the communities. Immigrant leaders frequently discussed this inside working groups of their meetings. For example, one organizer addressed the role of Latino politicians in the following way

> They have duties with us but also with others in their constituencies. They are worried to raise enough money for their campaigns. Donations always come with particular interests. That is the way politics are here. (Field notes from leaders' working group, Casa Michoacan, June 2017).

Certainly, Latino politicians run for office, their decisions and positions are shaped by the broader local political context and by duties with their electorate. However, substantive representation in formal politics translates into the increment of opportunities for immigrant political incorporation. In this context, it is necessary to analyze the extent to what Latino constituencies from Chicago are represented by Latino politicians. It is crucial understanding how Latino agendas influence decisions and positions of Latino officials.

According to the National Association of Latino Elected Officials, 75% of Latino elected officials in Chicago hold positions at the local level. This group of politicians from immigrant origin are representing districts with large numbers of Latino immigrants. In the US political system, there are several formal political positions available for immigrants regardless of their undocumented status. The

lowest political position elected are the school district boards. These boards frequently serve as platforms to other offices because are positions of prestige and influence. School district boards decide many day-to-day issues and count with an assigned budget. However, the level of analysis for this research is the city and not the neighborhood. The lowest position for the analysis of Latino political incorporation are commissioners at the city level.

Aldermen are political representatives from each one of the 50 districts in the Chicago Council. Currently, 13 city commissioners are Latinos and some of them are 1st generation immigrants[18] (see chart 4.3.).

Latinos in the Chicago City Council	
Ward	Alderman
1	Proco Joe Moreno
10	Susie Sadlowski Garza
12	George Cardenas
15	Raymond Lopez
22	Ricardo Muñoz
23	Silvana Tabares
25	Dany Solis
26	Roberto Maldonado
30	Ariel Reboyras
31	Milly Santiago
35	Carlos Ramírez Rosa
36	Gilbert Villegas

Table 4.1. Latinos in the Chicago City Council

Source: Own elaboration with data from the Chicago Hispanic Caucus

[18] In 1974, Irene Hernández was the first Latina to be appointed in a political position in the city as member of the Cook County Board and later in 1992 the first Latino Congressman was sent to Washington.

Electoral districts are drawn considering population. Latinos represent almost 30% of the population in Chicago and Latino Aldermen only represent a quarter of the council. Aldermen from Chicago funded the Chicago City Council Latino Caucus to increase Latino representation in further elections and because caucuses can fundraise in US politics.

Chicago is located in the Cook County. At the county level, Latino's are even more underrepresented. Until 2017, of the total of 17 commissioners in the board only two were Latinos: the former mayoral candidate Chuy Garcia and the son of the Puerto Rican Illinois representative Luis Arroyo Jr. The Mexican immigrant Garcia is running for the US House of Representatives in 2018. He explained in conference at his offices after the 2018 Democratic Party Primary Elections that Latino candidates are expecting to win 3 seats at the Cook County Board of Commissioners after the 2018 elections.

Latino Officials give a formal voice for the minority in the government at every level. For example, during the documented period, 11 out of 15 speeches of Congressman Luis Gutierrez (D-IL) in the House of Representatives were about immigration issues (fieldwork notes). He also introduced a bill in the House to give a *Blue Visa* for the regularization of undocumented agricultural workers. Representative Gutierrez is a Puerto Rican immigrant that won the election mobilizing the Mexican vote in Chicago. He has been the main advocate for a comprehensive immigration reform in the US Congress. Gutierrez is an active member of the Hispanic Caucus. Furthermore, the pro-immigrant work in the US Congress of Gutierrez and Durbin (senior Senator from Illinois, father of the Dream

Act) have been fundamental for policy change on immigration in the United States and their legislative labor is grounded in Chicago.

Congresspersons have broader obligations than legislating, they help individuals to reach governmental agencies, they channel federal resources to their districts, and are responsible for monitoring the implementation of the existent public policy (Schildkraut, 2015). Latino elected officials represent their co-ethnic electorate through varying legislative mechanisms, addressing issues of housing, civil rights, social welfare, and sponsoring bills on immigration (Ocampo, 2017).

The political trajectories of the Latino politicians in Chicago are tied to the Democratic machine politics in the city. In the case of first-generation immigrants, before participating in Chicago politics, they had previous political experience in their countries of origin. First generation immigrant politicians were involved in political activities in their hometowns, and later, they used this political experience in Chicago to organize labor unions or communities. After careers as community organizers, they became professional politicians sponsored by other political insiders. In the case of second-generation immigrants, they accompanied their parents to mobilizations during their childhood and later they engaged in organizations. Then, they became social leaders and ended working in offices of other Latino officials or in the public offices as link between the city government with immigrant communities.

Chicago Latino politicians are linked with the Latino activism but their political trajectories are also tied to Harold Washington. He was the first Black mayor who won election based on an alliance between African American and Latino minorities in Chicago. The Cook County Commissioner, Chuy Garcia, a Mexican immigrant,

tried to replicate this formula in 2015 when he contended for city mayor against Rahm Emmanuel. He articulated a network of support based on Latino grassroots. This Progressive Democrat ran a second round for the first time in the history of the city. In 2018, Chuy Garcia was endorsed as the successor of Luis Gutierrez to Congress.

Chuy Garcia often states "*I know how to solve the community problems as an insider and an outsider. I have played both as a community leader and as a politician*" (J. Garcia, speech in UNAM Chicago, April 2017). In the 2018 Primaries that in a democratic bastion are more important than the final elections, the ballot of Chuy Garcia defeated the ballot of Edward Burke "the alderman of aldermen" and head of Chicago machine politics. Politico Magazine reported "The Windy City's most powerful ward boss is in trouble for the first time thanks to the rise of a new brand of ethnic politics. In fact, Latinos may become to 21st century Chicago politics what the Irish were to the 20th: masters of the city" (Mcclelland, 2018) . Garcia is leading a young group of Latino politicians from Chicago and the left wing of the Democratic Party in the city. Chuy Garcia became the flag of reform politics in Chicago.

The Progressive Democratic faction has attracted to most of Latino politicians. During the 2016 presidential elections, Gutierrez and Garcia worked as Bernie Sanders' spokespersons for the Latino Community in the nation. There is another faction of Latinos also belonging to the Democratic Party but in a different branch. Alderman Dany Solis and Pepe Gutierrez belong to the New Democratic Party. Pepe Gutierrez is the former leader of Casa Michoacan and current Director of the New Americans Office. He was nominated by the Governor in a clear

rapprochement gesture of the Illinois Governor to the Mexican community. This branch is the dominant at the national level, New Democratic work closely with the current local and state administration.

Recently, some Latino politicians, particularly the younger are becoming part of the leftist Democratic Socialists of America. The most notable case is Alderman Carlos Ramirez Rosa (35th Ward), he introduced himself as follows:

> I am proud to represent more than 55 thousand people who live in the Northeast of the City of Chicago, as the alderman of the 35th ward, a 70% immigrant community. My mother was born in Coahuila, Mexico, and my dad is from Puerto Rico, they met here, and I am not a Mexican, nor am I Puerto Rican, I am confused, well "trinational" (C. Ramírez, interview in Chicago, April 2017).

He worked as a community organizer, he was the leader of the Illinois Coalition for Refugee Rights. Ramirez Rosa worked in Congressman Luis Gutierrez office helping families facing deportation. Now he is the youngest politician lobbying for immigrant and Latino agenda in the City Council. In 2018, Ramirez Rosa was invited by the Illinois State Senator Daniel Biss as his running mate for governor. However, when Ramirez Rosa allied with the *Democratic Socialists of America,* he dropped off the campaign for governor.

Higher levels of information in the environment boost political knowledge for all, although more educated individuals learn disproportionally more (DeSante and Perry, 2016). In addition, Latino officials in the case of Chicago, mostly all have previous experience as community organizers and this relationship with the grassroots is important for understanding their election, re-election, and relationship with the immigrant community. The key challenge for Latino officials

is keeping support and enthusiasm of Latino constituencies without alienating other groups in the city. For example, Reny (2017) explains that contemporary Democratic campaigns appeal to racial minorities meanwhile they display programs for 'moderate' whites[19]. This strategy is observable in Chicago when Latino and other pro-immigrant candidates are running for state and federal positions that require support of mainstream society and Black minorities.

4.3.3. The City that works and the role of labor unions.

At the dawn of the XXI Century, Unions were one of the first sectors to raise their voices and denounce that the migratory system in the United States was broken. In the political debates, Labor Unions, mainstream and progressive, both fiercely oppose to both undocumented migration and guest workers programs. They argue that cheap labor often implies unfair competition for low-income workers who nourish their basis. Unions state that undocumented immigration undermines the conditions at workplaces and that migration hinders their struggles. For these reasons, at the national level, Labor Unions adopt controversial positions towards immigration. On the one hand, they support higher restrictions to irregular

[19] In their analysis of the Latino vote in the 2012 presidential campaigns, Collingwood, Barreto & Garcia-Ríos (2017) found that Democratic candidates find more incentives to mobilize Latino vote when these voters represent larger populations. Conversely Republicans try to mobilize the opposite segment, the anti-immigrant voters in disputed or close elections. Illinois is a Democratic bastion, but it is the only blue state in the Midwest where immigration is a divisive topic.

immigration and support employer penalization for hiring undocumented immigrants. On the other hand, they support regularization and amnesty for undocumented residents already settled in the country. This way, they are increase their socio-political capital in the United States by attracting resident immigrants as new members while addressing the demands of their US born members[20].

Chicago is an "unionized city", meanwhile 10.7% of wage and salary workers in the United States are unionized, in Chicago 15% of that share are union members (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2017). "The city that works" was a key place for the 1960's labor and civil rights movements. Labor Unions in Chicago not only advocate for workers' rights, they are fundamental to explain the struggles for racial justice in the city (Doussard and Lesniewski, 2017). Latino workers who arrived in Chicago around the 1920s found that they were outsiders in the binary racial makeup of society, economy and labor chains (Dorantes, 2007). However, they found in organizing at the workplace a space for group interest and the roots for the further ethnic organization. From being excluded from unions because the lack of documents, Mexican workers organized *mutualistas* (mutual aid associations) for immigrants who could not benefit from workers' rights at their workplaces. Mutualistas consisted of dues in a general fund to help their *paisanos* in cases of

[20] The best example of this controversy is found in the history of the Chicano Movement of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, these famous Mexican American activists founded the United Farm Workers; although many of the participants in the movement were undocumented immigrants working in the San Joaquin Valley fields in Central California, the official position of this Union was restricting immigration and their mobilizations caused the ending of the Bracero Program between Mexico and the United States in 1964.

repatriation for injuries and deaths. Later, mutualistas funded immigrants' social projects independently in their home countries and became antecedent of hometown associations from Chicago (Bada, 2013).

During the 1940s unions from Chicago invited Mexican activists, primary college student leaders, to organize and mobilize Latino workers in the city (Innis-Jiménez, 2013). This episode was fundamental for immigrant organization in Chicago. Besides their experience with grassroots, these activists had higher education levels and paths for their own regularization (Schutze, 2016). Consequently, they took higher risks on involving in civic participation in the United States. By the decade of 1980's, these activists became Latino leaders of key local unions and found niches for participation at the local level.

During the century of their presence in Chicago, Latino Immigrants have been related to worker rights mobilization in Chicago. The participation during the labor movements in the last century translated into political experience for immigrant leaders. Latinos learned from unions about organizational strategies, collective structuration, and decision-making process in plural groups. Besides, labor unions paid for the travel expenses of Chicago's immigrant leaders to California for coordinating the 2006 mobilizations (Boruchoff *et al.*, 2010).

Labor movements were crucial for immigrants and for the emergence of important Latino leaders. From the 1980s workers movement emerged important

figures such as Rudy Lozano[21]. In addition, the political trajectories of Congressman Gutierrez, Commissioner Chuy Garcia, and Alderman Dany Solis can be traced back to the collaboration between unions and immigrant organizers. The current leader of Chicago Labor Union Federation is a Mexican American and he supported the Chicago is With You task force. Another example is the successful case of Artemio Arreola, a well-known Latino Leader in the city. He started as deputy director of the Service Employees International Union. Then he became the vice president of FEDECMI-Casa Michoacan and a representative of the Consultative Council of the Institute for the Mexicans Abroad. He is also the Political Director of the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights.

Nowadays, 11.9% of the Latino workers in Chicago are unionized, this is the lowest rate between the ethnic groups in the city but is above the average for Latinos in the United States (Manzo, Bruno and Parks, 2017). Another important dynamic consists in the growing ethnic character of several Unions in the area caused by labor markets. Packing, maintenance, construction, healthcare, among other sectors are the main labor market for Latino immigrants. Consequently, the main allies in Chicago are the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), UNITE, Teamsters, and the Chicago Teacher's Union. One of the principal annual marches of Chicago Immigrants is the May Day (on May the 1st, for the International Workers' Day). During these marches, labor unions inform employees about the no

[21] Rudy Lozano was the most famous immigrant leader from the 1980s. He started as a student organizer to demand Mexican History lessons in Chicago Latino. Later he became a worker organizer. Pilsen residents assure that he was assassinated for his labor and political activities

penalization for marching. In addition, unions supply with signals and voluntaries who organize logistics and security.

SEIU is a famous Democratic Party supporter, and being Chicago an important bastion for that party, the alliance between Latino organizations and SEUI is an important stakeholder for grassroots mobilization in the city. SEUI's leaders and board in Chicago are mostly Latino. SEUI's organizers stated in the rallies to be ready for pressuring immigration reform in legislative campaigns. This compromised is not feasible considering that the legislative power in the United States has been controlled by Republicans since 2012. In the best scenario for immigration reform, Republicans and business chambers would request guest worker programs. As explained before, Unions oppose to this. Another discrepancy of unions with chambers of commerce and businesses is the mandatory *E-verify*[22] for hiring employees. Economic sectors oppose to that system while unions support it.

The collaboration between labor unions and organized immigrants in the City of Chicago has resulted on the construction of several workers' centers. The main organization serving and mobilizing Latino workers is *Centro de Trabajadores Unidos.* This organization is fundamental to understand the sources of information for immigrants about their labor rights in Chicago. Centro de Trabajadores Unidos

[22] E-Verify is an electronic system of the US Department of Homeland Security created by the immigration enforcement laws of 1996 available for employers to check the immigration status of their employees in some counties is a mandatory tool. For more info see: *About E-Verify*, https://www.e-verify.gov/about-e-verify, consulted May 2018.

participated in every immigrants' demonstration, march and rally and acts as a group of pressure for favorable legislation on topics such as immigration reform, affordable healthcare and fair budget.

Another successful collaboration between Chicago's immigrants and labor unions has been the "Fight for 15" campaign. According to the movement, 61% of Latino workers in the city are paid less than $15 an hour. This campaign struggles for raising the minimum wage in the city to 15 dollars an hour. This joint campaign is still in progress with slow conquests in Chicago.

Latinos perceive Labor Unions as more structured and bureaucratic institutions where resolutions move slowly (Vonderlack-Navarro, 2014). The reaction of unions towards threats for their immigrant members are often delayed and soft. Labor Unions are often criticized for not being representative organizations. Sometimes Latino immigrants refuse to involve in these organizations and privilege their membership to ethnic, faith and community organizations. In this context, the role of worker centers like Arise Chicago and Centro de Trabajadores Unidos in long-term work place improvement andategic campaigns in alliance with community and immigrant organizatins enhances cooperation.

For Latino immigrants in Chicago, the broad agenda of their organizations advocates for human and civil rights, and few times addresses labor rights. Although immigrants trust more in their ethnic organizations, they cooperate with unions in topics and aspects traditionally related to workers' rights defense. In the meantime, unions have flexibilized their positions towards immigrants as a result of demographic change and the raising of Latino leadership (Reny, 2017). For Labor Unions immigration is a labor issue, Unions in Chicago, principally SEUI

and Chicago Teacher's Union have included issues related with race and immigration in their labor. This strategy has inspired other unions to support immigration reform. For example, the Chicago Federation of Labor, in 2013, was the first local branch of the American Federation of Labor to defy the official position of the biggest labor union in the United States.

4.3.4. "*Estar bien aquí, para poder hacer algo allá*". Links with politicians from the home country.

In the City of Chicago, Mexican immigrants have a long tradition of participation in hometown associations. The Mexican Consulate has registered hundreds of hometown associations, 14 federations, and the Confederation of Mexican Federations[23]. In addition to these independent organizational efforts, the hometown governmental representations are fundamental for providing services and advocating for Latinos in Chicago. In the Mexican case, the Consulate and the eight state-level representations offer transnational programs for Mexican immigrants, Dreamers, and their "binational children" (Mexican Americans).

Several works have explained the formation and expansion of hometown associations and their transnational practices in economic, social and political fields (Massey, Goldring and Durand, 1994; Zabin and Escala, 2002; Portes, Escobar and

[23] There is not information about the HTA's of other Latin American countries. Puerto Rico is a territory of the United States, consequently there are not transnational institutions. The following national group is Guatemalans who represent only the 2% of the immigrants in Chicago.

Arana, 2008; Bakker, 2011). However, there are several critics to these studies. Vonderlack & Sites argue that

> Scholarly approaches that employ transnational lens, though focusing appropriately on the cross-border political ties between HTAs and their sending societies, fail to explain why the Mexican HTAs in Chicago became increasingly involved in US-focused activities and why government officials in Mexico, as well as the USA, might actively support such activities (2013, p. 142).

In Chicago, the transnational politics of Mexican immigrants have a long tradition. The Mexican consulate and politicians have encouraged immigrants to engage in civic activities in Chicago. More recently, they became stakeholders for political incorporation of Latinos in Chicago.

Around the 2006 mobilizations many factors discouraged immigrant organizations from Chicago to involve in hometown politics. Mexican immigrants were discouraged by their leaders. They argued that Mexico was far away and US laws were the ones affecting their daily lives (Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites, 2013). Notwithstanding, the material and logistic support of the consulates to the new immigrant rights movement reconciled immigrant organizers with Mexican politics. For example, according to the Consulate the participation in Mexican electoral politics mobilizes Mexicans in Chicago, like it doesn't in other cities of the United States with more immigrants (Press conference "Voto en el extranjero", Mexican Consulate in Chicago, January 2018).

Many of the immigrant leaders in Chicago expressed in the interviews and leaders' meetings that an excessive closeness with hometown governments risks their autonomy on political positions and the further alliances with other US non-governmental agencies. Despite the critics of the immigrant organizers, the Mexican

government is the main external source for funding projects for hometown associations based in Chicago. For example, the building that hosts Casa Michoacan/FEDECMI was donated by the Mexican State of Michoacan. This was the main headquarter for planning the 2006 mobilizations in the city (Rivera-Salgado, Escala-Rabadan and Bada, 2006) and during the documented period Casa Michoacan hosted leaders' meetings, visits of Chicago officials, and several campaigns.

In the forums organized by Chicago's immigrants, leaders always approach US immigration policy and homeland transnational politics as separated and unconnected grounds. Besides, immigrants criticize and challenge the policies of both countries towards migration. For example, the immigrant activist Rosa Carrasco questioned:

> Why the Mexican government do not denounce in the international courts the violations to the dignity of migrants by ICE and "la migra"? They come and tell us that they want to help us. Well, that is something that we cannot do... (R. Carrasco, Interview in Pilsen, May 2017).

Notably, the Mexican Consul in Chicago has been an important stakeholder for Latino political incorporation in the United States, his efforts have gone beyond providing consular assistance for Mexicans in the region. He facilitates political connections and infrastructure for the organizations within the city. Consul Carlos Jimenez, is an important politician, he was a Mexican Governor from a main immigrants' source state. The Mexican Consul has developed close relations with the Latino Officials and pro-immigrant politicians of Chicago.

The Mexican Consul resumes Chicago's political context as follows:

> Here in Chicago there are politicians of Mexican origin and very important migrant activists, what we must do is strengthening other alliances with the local civil society, alliances with the academic sector, alliances with the business sector ... with all those sectors of this North American society that does not share the views of the current president (C. Jiménez, interview in Mexican Consulate in Chicago, April 2017).

He supported the Consular Concertation Forum on Immigration between Mexico, Guatemala, and El Salvador. As well, he has sponsored binational (U.S.-Mexico) consultation forums on immigration with the participation of immigrants' organizations, scholars and hometown governments in Chicago.

The Mexican Consul in Chicago organizes periodical meetings and workshops with the Chicago Mayor, local officials, representatives, with the US Latino Caucus, with interfaith groups, chambers of commerce and unions. In all these activities, he advocates for immigrants and advice their leaders.

Mexico has entered to a new stage as "creative state"[24], an episode in which a nation is encouraging and even financing to their expats to become full citizens from other State. The reformulation of the Mexican policy has strengthened and revived transnational politics in Chicago. The Mexican Consulate allied with the Resurrection Project and they were granted with $175 000 from Citibank (through their foundation Citi Community Development) for offering binational financial advice to Chicago's immigrants.

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[24] Iskander (2015) developed the thesis of the creative state to describe the pragmatic changes in the transnational policy towards diasporas in her comparative study of Mexico and Morocco.

Chicago's Leaders are forging important connections with Illinois' government, nonetheless, the political opportunities in Mexico are still a topmost concern for ethnic organizations (Vonderlack-Navarro, 2005). The restructuration of the Mexican consulate, the willingness to listen to immigrant activists' demands, and their involvement in paving the way for immigrants' incorporation, is a pragmatic response towards the growing political power of the Latino population in several US cities.

4.4. Enhancing local responsiveness through strategic recognition and defiance.

Local political responsiveness refers to the willingness of the city to respond to the demands of constituencies, it implies structural malleability for policy change and it is achieved only collectively (Lyons, Velez and Santoro, 2013). The political responsiveness of migratory urban governance translates into the politicization of migration, its continuum in the public sphere, and the adoption of progressive immigration policy. Chuy Garcia encourages immigrant trust in the political responsiveness even in hostile context towards Latino immigrants by explaining

> In the facts the new president has not been able to fulfill many of the things he promised their voters. My learning from this, is that in this country institutions work, and work well, and are above the power of anyone, even above the president of the United States, and this can only be changed by organized people…" (J. Garcia, interview in UNAM Chicago, May 2017).

The process of structuration of civil society networks results from long-standing cooperative relations and it is reinforced by organizations with well-established structures. Latino organizations active in politics have found that being an agent of governance is often more compelling that remaining as a political

subject. Artemio Arreola, ICIRR Political Director and Casa Michoacan leader explained this challenge as follows:

> Our organizations have worked hard to get a name, to create areas of influence, it has been a work of years at the county, at the state and at the national level. We are doing it very well. It will be seen in two years with redistricting, when we are going to have more Latinos from Chicago at every political level. But we must get involved in the issues that are key to our community. Why? Because that is the way to learn politics, learning by doing (A. Arreola, speech in Hoy News, March 2018).

In their debates, immigrant organizations found that only collective commitment with a common political agenda will reproduce the complementarity and convergence of their organizations.

The plurality in terms of group composition and political views of the Latino Chicago has effects on the organizations. Along the process of politicization, deviant voices emerge within ethnic communities. In the case of Chicago, deviant groups barely find traction because when their claims are accepted by the grassroots, those demands are adopted by the critical mass. Immigrant organizers scarcely appear outside the organizational landscape. When it happens, those activists are absorbed by the organizational network. A good example is the case of Dreamers in Chicago, when the movement grew independently of the immigrant organizations, Latino leaders incorporated the National Immigration Youth Alliance (NIYA) to the broader organizational network.

The degree of organization has made of Chicago an important epicenter of the Latino immigrant organization in the United States. Chicago Latinos have articulated a cohesive minority and a political force. Their organizations flirt with machine politics and ally with the mainstream for some political causes. Although,

the critical mass is conscious of the value of their independency and their duty to grassroots. These remarkable dynamics are activated by local political opportunity structures such as supportive stakeholders, strategic political alliances, open access to funds and forums.

This leads to the closing discussion of this chapter. Latino immigrant organization resembles for the dilemma between mainstreaming and standing autonomous. In the first case, they understood that the easiest way to advantage political opportunities is by playing with the rules of mainstream politics. For example, the interactions with political elites and playing their rules enable contact with influential officials, grants to low political risk issues, and access to high-level political forums. However, they know that immigrant grassroots are the main source of their legitimacy and they pressure for the adoption of contentious action in higher political risk issues such as immigration reform and stopping deportations. Collective action of Latino immigrants in Chicago requires the highest levels of autonomy.

4.4.1. Mainstreaming for inclusion.

Alba & Nee sustain that historically the American mainstream pushes immigrants towards a predicament, "either they maintain their cultural and communal distinctiveness, thus selectively acculturating while keeping some distance from the mainstream, or they will be forced into the position of racial minorities, imposing great disadvantages on themselves and their children" (2003, p. X). In this context, Latino immigrants' in the United States have become a disadvantaged minority. Their segmented incorporation, even in the subsequent

generations, positions them and their children at the bottom of the social and economic hierarchy. Latino immigrants describe how because of the complexities of this contested minority, *"Latin American immigrants became the nightmare of the American Dream*" (immigrant leader, speech, May Day March, 2017).

If this predicament about their political identities is not enough, O'Brian (2015) describes how often the most controversial and salient issues in public debates are related to power struggles between residents of underserved neighborhoods and local public authorities. O'Brian argues "But the larger significance of these struggles is that they remind us that we live in a nation whose constitution dictates that the quality of our lives will be determined to an important degree by our influence in local decision-making" (2015, p. 4). This situation coincides with the motivations of the alliances between Latino immigrant organizations and mainstream organization in Chicago.

In response to provisions of the political systems in the US localities that open niches for the participation of organized groups, immigrant leaders sometimes try to convince grassroots to play an insiders' game. For example, Artemio Arreola explains:

> Our community should know that not participating only benefits to the structure, to their machinery. For example, not to inform, not to organize, not to run, or not to vote. They already have the numbers of who are participating and who have influence, and sometimes politicians only work to make those 4 or 5 thousand happy in a geographical area where up to 100 000 people can live (A. Arreola, speech in Casa Michoacan, Little Village, March 2018).

Accordingly, the local polity is often a more pluralistic political arena with more possibilities of action and higher access to institutional politics, *"Politics, the*

lower the level, the more impacts your life, the higher, it gets out of your hand" (leader speech, Casa Michoacan, Little Village, June 2017).

In this context, mainstreaming in politics implies that organizations and leaders pressure to the Latino community for being consistent with the values of host society (Pilati and Morales, 2016). Alba and Nee (2003) define political mainstreaming as a process of convergence of minorities with the range of normative behaviors within the mainstream to create a composite culture that becomes incorporated. In other words, mainstreaming in formal politics is related with forging representations that resonate with the values and norms of the dominant political elites to gain a voice in hostile citizenship regimes (Nicholls, 2013b, p. 103).

Mainstreaming for immigrants implies the transit from the political margins to the political mainstream. It includes following the political rules, pursuing non-contentious methods, and trying to fit in the local polity. Immigrants display mainstream politics for using and generating the opportunities in minimal risk and less divisive political issues such as naturalization campaigns, urban regeneration, education, and DACA.

An example of mainstreaming happened in 2017 when the city approved 'Municipal ID' for undocumented residents. The city clerk (Latino politician) met immigrant leaders at Casa Michoacan and launched the program. Although in previous meetings, organizers criticized the program as "*bureaucratic responses to structural problems*", in the meeting with the clerk they committed to collaborating with the diffusion and logistics of the campaign (field notes, meeting of leaders with the city clerk, Casa Michoacan, June 2017). In the same direction, immigrant

leaders often criticize Mayor Emmanuel and call him "*the Mayor of the 1%*", but he was the keynote speaker in the 2017 annual meeting of the Latino organizers.

Therefore, the effects, the perceptions, and advantages of mainstreaming are contrasting. In the case of Chicago Latinos, these contrasts can be summarized in the following situations.

a) Learning the political languages and conventions of the mainstream can derive on adopting neoliberal rhetoric and political values contradictory to the claims that sustain organization.

The opponents of immigrants' political participation argue that their organizations lack of political competencies. In response, immigrants' organizations position their minority in the public sphere by demonstrating that they can fit into the rules and values of the social and political life of the city. As a result, immigrant leaders are often invited as speakers in fundraising events and for the launching or task forces. Immigrants with stronger institutional links have higher possibilities to secure resources, to build alliances with influential stakeholders, and to complete the expectations their followers (see Vermeulen, Minkoff and van der Meer, 2016). Nevertheless, in this chapter I discussed how advocating for immigration reform often reproduces "meritocratic" and "family-centered" arguments of the "hardworking immigrant". This rhetoric often displace deeper debates about inequalities, racism, and exploitation derived from structural problems of the US migratory system.

b) Across the process of seeking legitimacy among the mainstream, immigrant organizations sometimes have to exclude their most radical claims and deviant demands.

When immigrants use organizational models with solid internal structures, professional staff, and accountability, they reach opportunities usually known only by the mainstream. One of the outcomes of the partnerships with home society organizations and local government is the trust among the social core. Mainstream political activities concern to the population at large, this way they link their causes with the locality and reach the sympathy of other social sectors. Conversely, mainstreaming implies not giving public space in the central local polity to those discourses considered radical or damaging for the image of the collective, despite the legitimacy of these claims for the grassroots. I will analyze this dynamic in detail in the discussion about contentious and uncontentious mobilization in the next chapter.

c) Access to more fundraising options that may have the effect of constraining fields of action.

Mainstreaming increases fundraising from private donors and prestigious philanthropic organizations. However, when organizations are constantly participating in mainstream campaigns, the more they adapt their structures, positions, and programs that resonate with the cultural values and political cultures of the mainstream organizations, is the more they will be rewarded with opportunities on selected fields that could be of more interest for mainstream society than of the interest of the Latino minority. In consequence, for the grassroots, mainstreaming is negatively associated with the fails to distinguish the

need of contestation to push for more meaningful changes in urging issues affecting the more vulnerable sectors of the Latino collective.

4.4.2. Autonomy for legitimacy among the grassroots.

In Chicago, the structuration of the local polity encourages self-organization. The only way to enter, or at least to influence, the core of power is through group action. In this context, autonomous organization enables immigrants to transit from the simple acquisition of the local political culture to the articulation of strategic assemblages responding to immigrants' interest. In this context, organizational persistency is crucial and the autonomous reproduction of organizing depends on the immigrants. This section closes the chapter by explaining the situations in which autonomy enables, or conversely, barriers Latino local political incorporation.

It is important to point out that immigrants do not speak directly about autonomy, however in their meetings and speeches they highlighted the importance and need to establish their own voice in public, it is the ability to self-direct with their own norms. This capacity rests on the support and recognition of an organized minority that partially delegates their political cause to committed organizations conferring them legitimacy. Autonomy enables them for self-directing their grassroots in the immigrants' rights movement. This capacity implies developing their own decision-making infrastructure as outsiders and displaying independent advocacy.

Tarrow (1994, p. 28) suggests that common goals, a collective identity, and clear tasks are needed components for organizing. Ethnic leadership and collective

empowerment are the more important goals for immigrant organizations in Chicago. For them, organizing is the best way to become agents of influence, channel representation, and generate sources of information. Organizational persistency and autonomous civic engagement are found crucial to build resilience. The immigrant leader and Dreamer, Erendira Rendon describes

> I grew up in a very small town ... near to the border of the next state. So, I also have the prospect of growing in an area where there are no organizations like the ones that exist here, and the difference they make in the well-being of the communities is enormous" (E. Rendon, interview in TRP offices, Chicago, April 2017).

In his study about the ideas and institutions influencing immigrants' political incorporation, Lieberman (2013) explains that in a country with marked racial minorities such as the United States, the understanding of the structuration of the political power is important for a minority's political incorporation. In addition to this political knowledge, in this chapter, we can find several examples of how Latinos now are critical about their collective political position in Chicago. Leaders state in the rallies *"Not matter who is in office now, we were here before them, and we will be here after them*" (leader speech, Daley Plaza, June 2017)

Immigrant organizations in Chicago are simultaneously embedded in multiple environments and fields. They are involved in high political risk campaigns and issues such as the immigration reform and the inequalities in the United States. The political agenda of the organizations is an overlapping set of local, national, binational and transnational topics with separated arenas of action for each demand. Organized immigrants are willing to challenge prevailing ideas and pressure for political change. They realized that immigration in the United States is not

ephemeral, immigration is increasingly a salient and more divisive issue in the polity. For Chicago Latinos, immigrant social justice is not only about gaining legal-juridical rights, their demands go further to exclusion, disinvestment, racism, poverty, and exploitation. All these topics require capacity of free speech and liberty to display contentious actions.

Autonomy implies contesting the linear assimilation accounts described above by Alba & Nee (2003). Autonomy is the locus of the ethnic organization of collectives that have hybrid identities and multifaceted agendas (Gerstle, 2013). It helps them to keep their transnational synergy, its crucial for advancing their non-partisan agenda and diversifying their spheres of action (Bada, 2014). It is the main strategy to avoid paternalism and clientelism from both sides of the border, and that is their way to challenge normative arguments and to transform governance arrangement.

Several examples have been highlighted in this chapter about autonomy, in particular when they ally with governmental stakeholders. In Chicago politics there is only one party, all the Latino politicians belong to the Democratic Party. In this context, immigrant organizers encourage political participation but organizations did not endorsed a candidate officially. The doors of their organizations were open for debates and campaigns for all. In addition, autonomy enables organizations to cooperate with the city government but also play roles of critics.

Autonomy also was crucial in building alliances with mainstream organizations. For example, I described how the Resurrection Project often won important funds for their programs from organizations of the economic and political establishment. However, targeting those alliances to low political risk issues such

as community development, poverty reduction and housing opportunities do not cause conflict or criticism from the more contentious organizations. Precisely autonomy has been fundamental for Organized Communities Against Deportations and their more radical demands and contentious mobilizations that will be explored in the following chapter about mobilization.

Autonomous incorporation requires political maturity, critical masses generating trustful sources of information, and leaders with political experiences, these characteristics allow them to distinguish the advantages of maintaining autonomy. For example, Artemio Arreola, Mexican immigrant and ICIRR Political Director, stated in a meeting:

> *"There are many people wanting to speak for the migrants in this city, even the mayor of Chicago, but we are the ones who must 'take the reins' and speak for our people*" (Oscar Chacon, May 2017).

As they often mention, *"Latinos must be the responsible for the failures and success of their mobilizations"* (leader speech, Casa Michoacan, June 2017).

4.5. Concluding Remarks

In Chicago, social life is associated with the local community, daily life happens attached to the neighborhood. Even city politics encourage the solution of needs at the community level. This scheme has two main consequences. Firstly, it caused varying levels of inequality in life quality between the ethnic neighborhoods. Second, neighborhood segregation motivated the flourishing of

community organizations aimed at solving minority needs. The most important function of these organizational networks is acting as a solid spiral of trust and support for the mixed-status Latino community in the city.

Two characteristics of immigrant organization were described in this chapter to explain why and how Latinos became a proactive and resilient minority in Chicago. The first was the complementarity and convergence of Latino organizations. This quality resulted from the experience of organizing grassroots with different characteristics in term of migratory status, age and class in structural contexts of institutional deservingness and invisibility. The second characteristic of Latino organizing was the articulation of alliances with governmental agencies, advocacy organizations from the host society, labor unions, and hometown institutions to achieve their causes faster.

The outcomes of these interactions described in this chapter that can be summarized in: fostering leadership, adoption of effective organizational and decision-making models, and access to external sources of political and economic resources. These political assets enable Latino organizations to be taken seriously in Chicago politics. The alliances enhance the roots of the immigrant organizations with the city. In this context, immigrant organization is reproduced and bested to keep their access to the political opportunity structures.

Constituting a political minority for these organizations means that immigrants have articulated unified political agendas in Chicago with recognition of their differences. When these clusters reach consensus, they are able to speak with one voice at least in grounds of common interest such as immigration reform, racism, and exclusion. The lack of competition has propitiated the articulation of horizontal mechanisms of communication and decision-making platforms. These structures

enhance the willingness of organizations to participate in joint campaigns, to articulate alliances, and to agree common interests.

Latino Immigrants have found that political systems reward civic participation when it occurs through certain uncontentious organizational structures (ethnic and community organizations, political parties, political action committees) perceived as positive by the dominant political elites. Alliances with political insiders in mainstream politics facilitate access for the minority to resources and niches of participation generated by the city. In the meantime, immigrant organizations are aware of that support from grassroots is their source of legitimacy. This paradox leads to the dilemma of "mainstreaming" versus "autonomy". In the first case, networking with local government and economic sectors broadens the spectrum of available funds. In the second, autonomy facilitates access to key forums of negotiation in the local polity such as task forces, working groups, and advisory councils. Alternatively, other immigrant organizations working directly within immigrant neighborhoods, recognize that standing autonomous is necessary for addressing the most divisive topics, for taking controversial positions, and developing policy change from below.

In the interviews, leaders denounced a contradictory response of the mainstream towards their organizations. They are frequently encouraged to articulate groups and to pressure for policy change through institutional mechanisms, but in the meantime, their claims are often disqualified as illegitimate and contentious. Chicago Latino immigrants found that in high political risk topics, such as immigration reform, the conventional political strategies can be easily ignored. For this reason, they enhance responsiveness of the local immigration

governance through a twofold strategy. They consent "mainstreaming" for political inclusion. Simultaneously, they reinforce their autonomy. They have enough political experience to understand that the massive support of their grassroots keeps legitimacy of their political causes. They are conscious that their socio-political wage is their main resource for policy change.

Chapter 5.

Contentious and uncontentious mobilization in the sanctuary city.

5.1. Introduction

Chicago has displaced other cities such as Los Angeles and Suburban New York as an epicenter and forefront of activism of the Latino immigrants in the

United States.[25] Notably, Chicago is only the sixth Metropolitan area with most immigrants and it has not one of the biggest shares of undocumented population in the country (PEW Hispanic Center, 2014). Moreover, Chicago's immigrants have higher protections than immigrants in other cities. Chicago is a sanctuary city for immigrants and the local government has important welcoming ordinances. These policies include: "*don't ask, don't share migratory status*" in public offices. The City police does not cooperate with Immigration Enforcement Officials in massive raids and deportations in Chicago. Besides, there are many immigration services available in the city provided by the local government, advocacy groups, ethnic organizations and partnerships between them. In this welcoming context many questions emerge: Why are friendly local political contexts such as Chicago experiencing immigrant mobilization? How contentious are their mobilizations?

Other organized immigrant communities from Chicago such as the Chinese, Philippines and Muslims are mobilizing from the city against racism, segregation, and political attacks. However, Latino mobilization is the most distinctive because of the size of the minority and the characteristics of their organizational network. These collective efforts are transforming social arrangements in the city and are converting isolated impulses into massive demonstrations.

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[25] This conclusion is shared by several authors, Schutze (2016) and Pallares & Flores-González (2010) highlighted how the biggest immigrant mobilizations in the history of the United States started in Chicago and were coordinated in the city by *Movimiento 10 de Marzo*. In the same line, Bada (2010; 2014) collected a database of the daily demonstrations in the city between 2006-2008.

Mobilizing is the action to induce others to participate, mobilizing implies collective action. It includes a set of actions such as spreading awareness, to request participation, joining support and resources, etc. (Tarrow, 1994). Mobilization is a systemic account because it is an aggregated characteristic of the civic participation that often depends on the developing, or not, of democratic practices and institutions in the polity (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001). As Betancur & Garcia (2011) suggest, context, structure or circumstances beyond organizations' control are unpredictable factors influencing mobilizations in highly interactive polities. This means that the mere presence of immigrants' organizational infrastructures -even with the support of advocacy coalitions from the mainstream- is not enough to explain why immigrants mobilize locally.

This chapter is focused on exploring the concrete concatenated processes shaping collective mobilization (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001). Organized immigrants from Chicago are responding to the hostility towards Latinos and immigrants extended across the United States. In this chapter the campaigns and the independent efforts "*to resist and fight back when immigrant communities are under attack*" (immigrant's chant in their mobilizations) are described and analyzed.

The chapter is divided into three parts. First, the community capacity for mobilizing Latino Chicago is problematized. Immigrant leaders are convinced that community is a collective asset build outside institutions. Latinos in Chicago have learned to display insider and outsider tactics of mobilization, this capacity is galvanized by a broader political context characterized by the contrasting and overlapping threats (racism, segregation, disinvestment) and the existence of local

opportunities (local tolerance, networks of support, immigration services and sanctuary ordinances). In other words, the political opportunity structure in Chicago have rooted immigrant mobilizations in the city.

The second section explains how Latino mobilizations in Chicago are neither spontaneous nor unconnected strategies. Public demonstrations and grassroots collective action are perceived by immigrant leaders as necessary skills to push in their favor the political boundaries. In consequence, their mobilizations oscillate between exerting pressure, confrontation, and cooperation. Pressure occurs mobilizing community through conducting rallies, collecting signed letters and petitions, and massive callings to representatives. Confrontation is often displayed for vindicating social justice and involves practices of civil disobedience. Alternatively, cooperation happens when organizations mobilize grassroots in partnerships with mainstream.

Third, this chapter concludes by explaining why and how Latinos in Chicago are self-identified as a contested minority. Latino critical mass has developed a capacity for distinguishing between contexts that urge contentious mobilization and issues that open niches for uncontentious activism. Contentious mobilization are "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when: (a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a Party to the claims, and (b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interest of at least one of the claimants" (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001, p. 5). Contentious mobilization of Chicago Latinos is episodic and takes place in the public space. It occurs within an uncontentious, long-term, collective struggle. Conversely, Latino uncontentious mobilizations in Chicago are perceived as necessary to develop political

competences. Bot strategies of mobilization coexist in the process of political incorporation of Latino immigrants in Chicago.

5.2. The collective ability to mobilize political outsiders

Few contexts unite immigrants from different backgrounds (class, nationality, status and generation) as the combination of anti-immigrant legislation, enforcement, and punitive policies (Cordero-Guzman *et al.*, 2008). Political hostility and policy threats capitalize frustration of immigrant groups (Ramakrishnan, 2005). These conditions explain Latino movements at the national-level, but this hostile political context alone does not explain local mobilizations, in particular, mobilization in immigrant-friendly political contexts such as Chicago.

Immigrant leaders from Chicago are increasingly more critical about their position in the local political system. For example, Zoraida Avila from Casa Michoacan explains:

> We are experiencing a dynamic of bullying against our communities and that was discouraging many people. What do organizations have to do? Empower, raise self-esteem. So, we are raising our voice and explaining in our campaigns who we are in Illinois and how we contribute to this country with taxes, workforce, and socially…" (Z. Avila, interview in Casa Michoacan, Little Village, May 2017).

Convergent vulnerabilities are acting as grounds for connecting with similar people and to constitute a platform for social impact. Social movement actors engage in the construction of collective identity to foster solidarity and purpose. Unity is the precondition for collective action. Lacking institutional routes of

exerting power, collective action is central to immigrant political engagement (Meyer and Fine, 2017); for this reason, political participation frequently occurs in the realm of informal politics. Immigrant organizers have learned that these limitations can be collectively diminished by group action.

Community capacity is the collective ability of mobilizing political outsiders in response to the flow of regular institutional politics. Chaskin (2001) suggest that community capacity includes the cultivation and transference of knowledge, skills, and resources necessary to foster leadership. The reproduction of community capacity is a dynamic that requires enduring organization and displaying strategic mobilization. Immigrant leaders are concerned with keeping the political responsiveness of the community by displaying collective action.

The worsening of the political climate and the tenor of the immigration debates catalyst mobilization, the immigrant leader from OCAD, Rosa Carrasco explains:

> We are organizing the resistance, the right to live with dignity for all wherever we are living, and that is something fundamental for us, because today one of the tools used by this administration and other anti-immigrant sectors against colored people has been the criminalization of our communities to justify the use of xenophobic and racist policies... (R. Carrasco, interview in UNAM Chicago, April 2017).

The lack of citizenship and underrepresentation in formal politics constrain various venues of political participation in which Latino immigrants are interested. Social movement actors engage in the construction of collective identity to foster solidarity and purpose, motivating unity is a precondition for collective action. Immigrant activists perceive mobilization as necessary to achieve social justice Mobilization increases their trust in the future of the community (Pallares and

Flores-González, 2010). However, immigrant leaders urge immigrants to involve, become a source of proposals, and participate to *"awake the sleeping giant"* (metaphor used by the immigrant leaders to explain how Latinos are demographically a giant, but in politics are still underrepresented).

In Chicago, Latino immigrants want to play instrumental and not only expressive roles. The organizational network of Chicago Latino has developed the capacity of influencing the local public opinion. The Mexican American attorney and activist of ICIRR, Mony Ruiz is convinced of

> We have to educate our Representatives about how to generate political trust through ordinances such as the Trust Act. We have to call and write to officials. We have to rally and to pressure. We must engage in every place where politics that affect us are happening… (M. Ruiz interview in PASO, Chicago, May 2018).

They have learned that their political activities are not restricted by the ethnic boundaries of Chicago Latino. Immigrant leaders urge in their rallies: *"We must take our movement to the city center because there is where power is" (leader speech, May Day March, Chicago, May 2017).*

Grassroots mobilization has been the principal ground for learning about the efficacy of their networks and to foster the development of new leaders. Latinos in Chicago believe that local victories have stronger implications on their well-being than the national concessions. In the following subchapters, the three-way strategy of Latino immigrant mobilization in Chicago is explored. The self-generating collective action that oscillates between pressure, confrontation, and cooperation, is analyzed to understand whether disruptive or uncontentious mobilizations are influencing Latino political incorporation in Chicago.

5.3. Activism as a mechanism for pressure.

Political capital is not cumulative, only mobilizing turns it into political assets. Immigrant grassroots activism became a political school for learning collective skills. Civic skills refer to knowledge and abilities needed for effective participation in the civic and political life (Almond and Verba, 1963). Giugni (2016) argues that protests are aimed at obtaining the attention of power brokers in government and also public attention. In Chicago mobilizing is seen as a collective skill needed to pressure for political responsiveness, for pushing political boundaries when institutional venues are stretch. Mobilizing is a strategy for influencing policy change and it helps to incorporate their minority agendas in the locality.

Immigrants struggle collectively for the right to have rights in the places of settlement. Immigrant leaders argue

> Being an immigrant should not be a condition for us to be denied rights, neither here nor in my country Mexico. Freedom, health care, education, and other rights are denied to us here and there (Z. Ávila, interview in Casa Michoacan, Chicago April 2017).

Immigrant activism involves mobilizing, coordinating, and displaying activities to improve the lives of immigrant communities in multiple fields and scales. There are two distinct types of public demonstrations displayed by Latinos in Chicago.

The first case is more unusual and spontaneous, it is galvanized by external factors such as anti-immigrant laws (federal and in nearby localities) and salient

positions threating the minority such as discrimination, racism, hate crime. These contexts cause massive manifestations showing the responsiveness of the community and proving the efficacy of their networks. Examples of this kind of demonstrations were the early marches in 2005 that worked as a prelude to the 2006 mobilizations. Another example were the dispersed protests and rallies during the President Trump Inauguration Day. Also in 2018 organized the massive mobilization Families Belong Together to protest the "zero-tolerance" policy of ICE. These are primary *ad-hoc* manifestations involving spontaneous participation of many individuals who are not permanent activists.

The second case relates to the broader political strategy of an organized minority to achieve concrete political causes. In this case, public demonstrations are projected as mechanisms of pressure. The critical mass leading Latinos is conscious of the effect of public opinion in politics, about the influence of demographics in representative democracies, and of how mobilizations increase trust within organized communities. Chicago Latinos are politically more mature after the articulation of *Movimiento 10 de Marzo*, they adopted political causes locally, gained knowledge about political rules and conventions, and found niches for rooting their activism in the city.

Latino leaders have forged alliances that engage other sectors with their movement. Naturalized immigrants and US born Latinos support their struggles. Pallares & Flores (2010, p. xvi) had found in their surveys that only 28%-30% of the participants in the marches and demonstrations were undocumented immigrants, the rest two thirds were documented immigrants, their children and other members of the host society. The activist and politician Mujica explains *"The*

new generations who marched with us in the 2006 mobilizations now have their movements. They learned the value of mobilization with us" (speech, Museum of Mexican Art Chicago, 2016). In addition to the intragroup support, they have constituted interethnic coalitions. Latinos are mobilizing with other organized immigrant communities such as the Philippines and Koreans in Chicago. Young Latinos are forging alliances with other colored communities, Dreamers from Chicago (90% Latino) and Black Lives Matter leaders have talked in rallies together in protest police brutality in the city.

The articulation of the movement has been facilitated by platforms of communication. Ethnic media platforms are fundamental to reach individuals and to spread information. The constitution of horizontal platforms serves to create common discourses and templates to pressure with one voice and unified strategies. Latinos in Chicago have radio shows, TV channels, newspapers and diaries that serve as platform of discussion and diffusion of information for the minority. Demands and messages circulating through this network are simple to circulate easily between the diversity of interest.

In addition, a coalition of activists led by the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights launched *"Indivisible Chicago"* motivated by the necessity to "*resist the regressive policies and promote progressive policies"* after the election of Trump. This electronic platform includes a website, a phone app, and podcast where activist post daily collective actions. Indivisible Chicago has worked to spread information about rapid response activities such as rallies, phone banks, and vigils. These activities seek to influence the most salient issues in local and national politics from Chicago.

5.3.1. *"Today we march, tomorrow we vote"*

Immigrants in Chicago have higher levels of mobilization than in other US cities. During the documented period, there were dozens of rallies in separated places of the city. Over a hundred episodes of immigrant mobilization happened in Chicago in the first semester of 2017. The organizers were mostly Latino immigrants, there were speeches in Spanish in every public demonstration, and Latinos were carrying Mexican and Puerto Rican flags. These periodic marches are part of a long-term movement, these manifestations are held every year. The long tradition of these events enables eager participation of organizations and individuals. Massive public demonstrations are displayed by the organizational network as vehicles of pressure and to foster civic engagement in the city. For instance, three Latino mobilizations held annually had revealed capacity of mobilizing grassroots in Chicago.

The Day Without Immigrants takes place every February and commemorates the start of the 2006 mobilizations against the Sensenbrenner Law. In 2017, organizations reported that around 10 000 immigrants marched to the Federal Plaza. That year 50 restaurants closed in downtown in solidarity with immigrants. Students organized classrooms walkouts and workers from sectors such as meatpacking, construction, child and senior care and nurses did not work. Jorge Mujica, the worker organizer and Latino politician from suburban Chicago argued in the march:

> The United States economy needs international workers, there are not enough unemployed US citizens to take over all the jobs we do. If they deport

> every immigrant they are going to have a deficit of people. Immigration is not the problem, solve the problem, solve the visa system. We fight for so much today, immigration rights, labor rights, respect as workers and not more deportations" (J. Mujica, speech in Federal Plaza, February 2017).

This massive manifestation includes an economic boycott, organizers call Latinos to either rally or to stay home from work and school. A speaker argued: *"immigrant community is ready to use its labor and consumer power to fight in a new chapter of the immigrant rights movement"* (speech, Federal Plaza, February 2017).

The *March 10 Mobilization* in Mexican Chicago is organized by the organizations members of the *Movimiento 10 de Marzo*. This coalition of organizers funded in 2006 to coordinate the actions of the movement. March 10 mobilization takes place in Mexican Chicago to congregate leaders, organizers, activists, and Latino elected officials from the city. At the inaugural discourse, leaders recognized that the main goal for this congregation of organizers was *"...to force people in power who is not doing nothing to respond and to find ways for incorporating new perspectives"* (speech, Little Village, March 2017). This is a local event, but its importance for the community rests on its role on the reproduction and redefinition of the immigrant movement from its roots in Mexican Chicago.

The *May Day* is the biggest march held every year in Chicago. Latino immigrants have done the Immigrant Workers Day of the International Workers Day. May Day march is charged of symbolism for Latino immigrants, the march departs from the southwest side of the city (near to their neighborhoods) to the city center. Thousands of people occupy the streets of the Loop protesting for ending deportations, urging regularization for all, and claiming for respect and dignity. In

the Daley Plaza, influential politicians and activists from Chicago were invited as speakers. An immigrant leader *stated "What are marches for? To express ourselves. Chicago is a city with many challenges in terms of representation but this is not an anti-immigrant city"* (speech, Union Park, May 1).

In the same direction, Artemio Arreola said in his speech: *"May Day is the people's march. Is the march of the immigrants demonstrating through a civic way how we contribute to make great this country"* (A. Arreola, speech in Daley Plaza, May 2017). During the 2017 May Day manifestations, around 20 000 people marched from Union Park to Daley Plaza against anti-immigration policies. Immigrant organizations nationwide called Latinos to unite and to rise up against deportations, discrimination, and racism. Despite constituting a well-nourished mass, immigrant leaders attributed lower participation than their expectations to the fear of undocumented immigrants against ICE presence in the neighborhoods, and, due to growing cases of deportations of family members and individuals without previous criminal record.

It is important to point out that solidarity is what joins Chicago Latinos. Ethnic solidarity is key for understanding and interpreting the socio-politic dynamics beyond protest (Barreto, Manzano and Ramírez, 2009). During May Day, the biggest Latino business closed, encouraged their employees to participate, and supported the march with suppliers. The surveys show that the contingent usually includes Latinos from diverse backgrounds, there is not a pattern in terms of immigration status, income and generation (Pallares and Flores-González, 2010, pp. xvi–xx). Around 47% of the Latinos are worried by the possibility of

deportation of a close family or friend (Lopez, Rohal and Manager, 2017). These factors explain why immigration is a political priority for Latinos in Chicago.

In the mobilizations, there are no concrete demands like in the "old immigrant rights movement" where they claimed for labor rights, fair wages, education, etc. The demonstrations in the "new immigrant rights movement" are platforms for voicing broader concerns. There were three kinds of claims in the marches:

a) The first kind was about dignity and fair treatment such as: *"Stop racism, stop White supremacy", "No human being is illegal"*, "*America is a land of immigrants. We are America*", and *"No somos uno, no somos cien, somos un chingo cuéntanos bien".*
b) They also protested against segregation and disinvestment of their communities through demands such as: "*Resist, reimagine, rebuild community*", "*Give immigrants a fair chance. Fair budget*".
c) Finally, the most important concern was about immigration, racism, and the Trump election by chanting: "*Sacaremos a ese güey de Casa Blanca*", "*No hate, no racism, no Trump"*, and "*Here to stay*" or "*Aquí estamos y no nos vamos, si nos sacan, nos regresamos"*, and "*You can't deport a movement*".

However, the claim *"Today we march, tomorrow we vote"* is the one that better blurs boundaries between contentions and uncontentious action. Marching implies mobilization but the expected outcome is participating in normal politics, for non-citizen immigrants marching is like voting with their feet (Cordero-Guzman *et al.*, 2008). As Meyer & Fine (2017, p. 330) found "Intense 'street heat' is combined with close attention to electoral politics in a way that does not fit conventional distinctions". Immigrants have learned that protest rarely damages the

establishment because rarely occurs during elections, protest only shows community capacity in front of threats and few times mobilizing addresses concrete demands (Zimmermann, 2015). Marches as a mechanism of pressure found more traction to channel immigrants' frustration. Mobilizations capture media and social mainstream attention for influencing public opinion.

5.3.2. Rallies and manifestations

In addition to the massive demonstrations held every year in Chicago, immigrants organize daily rallies in the city. The main difference of these periodic rallies and manifestations consist in that participants are mostly regular activists of the organizations. These kinds of mobilizations are conducted "by immigrants" and "on behalf of immigrants" by advocacy organizations (see Koopmans *et al.*, 2005, p. 3).

Rallies, boycotts, vigils and other demonstrations constitute a delimited political strategy displayed on the support of specific political causes. In Chicago, demonstrations against US immigration enforcement take place outside the regional office of Immigration and Costumes Enforcement located in suburban Chicago. Meanwhile, rallies related to immigration reform and against anti-immigrant federal legislations happen in the Federal Plaza in Downtown Chicago. Finally, rallies for pressuring local government take place in the City Hall or the Daley Plaza. This implies that immigrants are capable of distinguishing between the sources of migration policy, law, enforcement, and immigration policy.

Although immigration is the main issue in the rallies, organized immigrants frequently mobilize for pairing labor rights with immigrant rights. This way they incorporate labor unions to the movement as the section about alliances with labor unions already analyzed. Many of these unions are now dominated by Latino members and Latinos have earned the sympathy of other sectors such as teachers. Social and political consciousness of Latino immigrants had its roots in the labor movements. For example, in January 2017, around Trump inauguration day, Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) organized a rally in the city, the main speakers were immigrant activists who gave testimony of the fear that the elected president was causing in immigrant communities. Unions such as CTU and SEUI committed to pressure for ordinances to protect immigrant workers and their families. *Centro de Trabajadores Unidos* and the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights were often involved in worker rights struggles. In addition, rallies around campaigns such as "Fight for 15" and "Support Affordable Care Act" are good examples of pressure for worker rights.

Immigrant organizations involved in rallies in support and alliance with other vulnerable sectors in the local polity such as ethnic minorities, young, and "queer". This dynamic has increased under Trump administration and his attacks to minorities. For example, Latino immigrants led by ICIRR participated in the March to O'Hare in solidarity against the Muslim Ban. This protest took place in the Chicago Airport to protest detention of people from Muslim countries. Groups such as *Mujeres Latinas en Accion* traveled to Washington for the Women's March. In the same topic, in September 2017, around 500 demonstrators rallied at the Federal Plaza to demand protection for the *Dreamers* and a path for regularization of the DACA recipients. The same week around 2000 people marched to the ICE facilities

in suburban Chicago. Groups such as Black Lives Matter and Interfaith Coalitions were also present supporting manifestations and demonstrations organized by Latinos.

Immigrant issues affect families and communities, for this reason, it is common to see children in strike lines, rallies, and marches. Coalitions such as *La Villita se Defiende* informed that it is estimated that half of the families living in the neighborhood of Little Village are mixed status. During the 2016 elections, there was a campaign called "*A sacar el voto"*. Activist called younger Latinos to vote in representation of their non-citizens co-ethnics. Intergenerational work enables transmission of Latino political expertise between activists and politicians. Most of the immigrant leaders and politicians interviewed described how they engaged in activisms as children in the old immigrant rights movement.

The presence of politicians is common in the rallies and demonstrations. The city of Chicago has involved in pro-immigrant activism. For this reason, Latino representatives and officials were often speakers in the rallies. Perhaps, there were important non-Latino politicians attending immigrant events. The pro-immigrant Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL) gave a speech in the 2017 May Day March at Union Park. Emmanuel Rahm the city mayor was a speaker during the 2017 Day Without Immigrants. In 2018, the Republican governor of Illinois signed the Trust act in a Mexican restaurant in *La Villita* surrounded by Latino immigrant activists.

Numerous rallies were organized in 2017 to pressure for the Trust Act that converts Illinois in a sanctuary state. In continuity, during 2018 immigrants are rallying in support of the Safe Zones Act that proposes a state level strict prohibition of ICE detentions in public spaces such as schools, hospitals, public libraries and

courts. Latino immigrants from Chicago are conscious of the power of their communities. For this reason, rallies are appointed in their meetings as an important mechanism of pressure in support of legislations or to show disagreement with hostile political contexts.

Another important characteristic of Chicago highly tolerant political context was that during the rallies, even in cases of detentions for civil disobedience, the migratory status of activists was not verified. It is noteworthy that Chicago was one of the few places in the United States where anti-immigrant groups never were present provoking activists in the Latino rallies. In 2017, the Southern Poverty Law Center launched a map of hate groups in the United States. According to this map, there are 10 hate groups in Metropolitan Chicago and 32 in the state of Illinois, but not one of these groups was considered openly anti-immigrant[26]. As Carlos Arango, an immigrant leader from *Casa Aztlán* rememorizes *"...the only time, when they wanted to open a Minuteman chapter in Chicago, "la raza" immediately mobilized and that was quickly over"* (interview, Casa Aztlán, February 2017).

5.4. Confrontation for vindicating immigrant social justice.

Across this thesis, I have discussed how political incorporation of Latino immigrants in Chicago implies contesting political arenas. This way, they are pushing the boundaries of the US political system. De Genova (2005) had explained that "illegality" and "deportability" are constructed by the laws, and reinforced by

[26] See SPLC, Hate Map, https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map, consulted in February 2018.

discourses of nativist groups and by other strategies of racialization of the establishment. In the context of this research, immigrant activists have argued that "undocumented" or "illegal alien" are constructed categories charged with nativism given to segregate society. Coutin (2003) describes how for undocumented immigrants "On a day-to-day basis, their illegality may be irrelevant to most of their activities, only becoming an issue in certain contexts…". Those certain contexts in the case of Chicago are related to rights claiming, protesting inequality, segregation, exclusion, and exploitation.

Immigrant social justice advocates for just relations between ethnic minorities and social mainstream, reconciling their cultural differences and working on common concerns (Newman, Hartman and Taber, 2014). Social justice is a broad concept that often refers to the claims for a fair balance of power. In the words of Harvey (1992), struggles of social justice consist of denouncing oppression based on group differences and claiming for politics of inclusion. This is possible only by breaking barriers such as racism, segregation, inequality, exploitation, and enforced clandestinely. In other words, claims of immigrant social justice challenge dynamics that stigmatize immigrant communities. Immigrant leaders often use immigrant social justice claims to motive civic engagement:

> Fighting for immigrant social justice is fighting against dehumanizing practices that terrorize our communities. Hard working immigrants contribute to make this country great and deserve to live with respect and dignity. Our communities deserve social justice (leader speech in Union Park, Chicago, May 2017).

Shared identity is a nuclear component of immigrant social justice, it is about collectives affected by similar problems. Artemio Arreola encouraged immigrants in a Latino radio show

> We must close rows in support of the most vulnerable. The forms they [anti-immigrant politicians] are using to denigrate our people anger community. And we are not going to stay doing nothing. It is a fierce fight but Latino community is courageous (speech, Sin Censura, Chicago, February 2017).

Marginalized groups unite in solidarity for common struggles. Vindicating immigrant social justice, in the own terms of organized immigrants, is about dignity and fair treatment for 'colored communities' in the United States. According to Rosa Carrasco, the leader of OCAD, *"colored communities are now organizing to exercise the human right of living with dignity"* (R. Carrasco, speech in Daley Plaza, Chicago, June 2017). Immigrant activists argue that collectives such as African-Americas, Asians and Latinos have been historically relegated through deprivation policies that enhanced inequalities.

Immigrant social justice is related to challenging the dominant norms by publicly denouncing the paradox of the demand of foreign labor versus limited paths for immigrant regularization. The Latino Lawyer, founder of PASO, and activists from ICIRR, Mony Ruiz explains:

> …there are policies that still have our communities undocumented because the two political parties and the oppressive system benefits of us. For example, here in Chicago we depend on work that is not well paid and of immigrant work. Some of them say: "I am in favor of immigrants", but do nothing to help. Others say: "I am against immigrants", and affect our communities. This way, both parties can mobilize their bases on our name (Mony Ruiz, interview in UNAM Chicago, May 2017).

Political concerns of the Latino immigrants in Chicago are mostly vindications to change power relations. Contesting political niches would drive a vulnerable (in the case of undocumented immigrants) and traditionally uncontentious minority (in the case of Latino organizations) to take risks by displaying confrontation even in friendly local political contexts like Chicago. When political venues are closed or restricted to the political influence of citizens, political elites or mainstream society, frustration channels in displaying tactics of confrontation. Latino immigrants. Changing power relations often involves the deployment of high-risk activism.

Immigrant activists believe that tactics of confrontation have a legacy of expressive value for the invisible. For them, confrontation is necessary when anti-immigrant positions attempt against human dignity. Confrontation is aimed at blurring boundaries of segregation by force, at pressuring through contentious activism for deep transformative justice (Wimmer, 2008). In the history of the United States, social justice movements, such as civil rights movement and the anti-war mobilizations, included episodes of civil disobedience and confrontation tactics.

5.4.1. Making the right to immigrant civil disobedience.

Frequently, immigrants are not seen by host governments as persons with inalienable rights protected by law like natural citizens. Instead, their lives depend on arbitrary decrees known as migration and immigration policies (Agamben, 1998). Theoretically, the United States was built following Liberal theories that sustain that every individual has fundamental rights and that social justice is the virtue of institutions (John Rawls, 1999). Following this rationale, barring immigrant claims as illegal means a pervasive formulation of the subject (De

Genova, 2002). The political discussions in the country are characterized by the division of public opinion between inclusiveness and nativism. Although localities are more willing to grant rights and opportunities for all residents, federal laws are superior and migration policy depends on national level institutions (Varsanyi, 2011).

The struggle for "the right to have rights" of the immigrants often implies to put their bodies in the front of the line to challenge unjust laws. Civil disobedience, in their own perspective, is non-conventional political action needed when political deadlines are approaching and time is stretching. Civil disobedience means the direct action in protest, "the creation of visual disturbance, the disruption of business as usual" (Negrón-Gonzáles, 2015, p. 98). Civil disobedience actions are ultimate strategies when discursive threats enforcing clandestinity combine with anti-immigrant laws and institutional closure. Immigrant activists show a deep knowledge of US political rules. Leaders explained that "*civil disobedience is some form of unlawful or transgressive public action undertaken to protest for a perceived unjust law or policy*" (speech, Mony Ruiz in Casa Michoacan, Chicago, May 2017).

Community organizers explain that civil disobedience bases on the first constitutional amendment that guarantees their right to protest. Supposedly, civil disobedience is justified in cases when there is not an available institutional way to achieve a cause. In their speeches during the rallies, Latino activists often link their struggles with the 1960s movements for racial justice and civil rights. They explain that civil disobedience demonstrations are part of the legacy of these non-violent mobilizations. An important difference between the response to protests during the

civil rights movement consist in fewer incidents of repression and police brutality in the public demonstration of the immigrant rights movement. Immigrants believe that this happens because ICE has other ways to target undocumented activists through deportation.

The growing hostility against immigrants increased frustration and had motivated civil disobedience actions. Measures such as ending DACA, removal of TPS for Central Americans, "zero-tolerance" migration policies, and the discourses of criminalization of communities, catalyst deployment of high-risk activism. Latino immigrants' civil disobedience includes strategies such as hunger strikes, looking for sanctuary in churches, occupation of public buildings, blocking ICE raids and deportations, among other abrupt public demonstrations.

Civil disobedience had been supported by many stakeholders in Chicago. Scholars, politicians, lawyers, activists, and priests have involved in public demonstrations and have been arrested for this kind of activism. For example, Pallares & Gomberg (2016) document how in 2013, a group of activists (Professor Amalia Pallares from the University of Illinois among them) blocked the road of a bus taking undocumented immigrants for deportation to O'Hare Airport. When activists were questioned about their reasons to participate in civil disobedience actions, participants argue that *"this is the way in which some of us refuse to be part of the complicity of the establishment with unfair laws"* (immigrant leaders' workshop, ICIRR, May 2017).

Alderman Carlos Rosa has involved in many actions of civil disobedience because of his previous experience as a community organizer. He described the strategies of confrontation happening in Pilsen and *Las Empacadoras*:

> Next Saturday we are having a training on civil disobedience and about how we are going to stop deportations by using civil disobedience. This is not a new tactic, this tactic has already been used by society in Arizona, in the South, and elsewhere where deportation regime was fierce under the presidency of Obama. One thing they must understand is that every time that individuals have used their bodies to stop deportations and they have succeeded, it is the other command of the State, the society, who comes and helps to that person. For me, it means that when the residents of my district are organizing and participate in the resistance, I will be there supporting them (C. Rosa, interview in Chicago, May 2017).

Similarly, a group of activists and immigrant leaders from Chicago marched to Washington. They were received by Congressman Luis Gutierrez at the doors of the White House. In the meeting, Rep. Gutierrez denounced Congress inaction on immigration. Then, he invited activists to block Pennsylvania Avenue in an act of civil disobedience. All the participants including the politicians were arrested by the police. Later that year, Congressmen members of the Congressional Latino Caucus, Luis Gutierrez (D-IL), Adriano Espaillat (D-NY), Raul Grijalva (D-AZ) joined by immigrant activists were arrested for civil disobedience actions in front of the Trump Tower in New York while advocating for DACA and clear immigration reform. Congressman Gutierrez from Chicago had been called by the US Congress to explain his arrests for civil disobedience. All these actions were transmitted via live streaming by activist and were followed in the organizations' headquarters.

Actions of civil disobedience have limits in the view of Congressman Gutierrez. For example, he broke with Chicago-based National Immigrant Youth Alliance (NIYA) because he considered re-entry as a radical measure (Mena Robles and Gomberg-Muñoz, 2016). This strategy consists in self-deporting and trying

massive undocumented reentries through the U.S.-Mexico border. In 2013, a group of 9 Dreamers, reentered to the United States and were released for immediate deportation by ICE. They requested the support of Luis Gutierrez but he denounced that radical actions taken by NIYA were risking his legislative efforts (Nicholls and Fiorito, 2015; Mena Robles and Gomberg-Muñoz, 2016).

In the same direction, in 2017 groups of immigrant activists went on hunger strikes and deployed radical demonstrations to avoid the building of more detention centers in Metropolitan Chicago. The same year many undocumented detainees started hunger strikes inside ICE facilities alleging conditions of deprivation. Similar fasts were repeated by groups of DACAmented in Chicago.

Faith leaders also have involved in acts of civil disobedience by consenting sanctuary in religious buildings, by participating in demonstrations outside detention centers, and in massive "sat" for blocking deportations. In May 2017, activists supported by faith leaders and nuns blocked access to the federal prison facilities in suburban Chicago. They denounced that around two-thirds of ICE detainees are in city and county prison, but the rest are in federal and private jails where they do not have access to services offered by civic, advocacy and religious organizations. In the same theme, in January 2018, Father Gary Graf, a Pilsen Priest, joined a group of Dreamers in a fast in defense of DACA.

It is important to point out that civil disobedience and other forms of confrontation had not shown substantial results. Civil disobedience and confrontation had fewer effects on policy change than other mechanisms of pressure such as rallies, community innovations and many other actions included in the multipronged strategy of political incorporation of Latinos in Chicago. However,

as the OCAD leader said in her speeches to the members of this organization: *"Sometimes civil disobedience action is the only power left to marginalized communities"* (Rosa Carrasco, speech outside ICE facilities, Chicago, March 2017).

5.4.2. "Defund the police, dismantle ICE"

Immigrants denounce that in the United States they are desired as silent workers but not as citizens. The political establishment with their passivity on immigration reform reinforces their "clandestinity" by segregating immigrants to "spaces of non-existence" (Coutin, 2003). When the immigrants politicize and become political subjects, their claims provoke dissensus because "they destabilize the consensus over the proper methods of administering people in space" (Uitermark and Nicholls, 2014, p. 3).

After Trump's inauguration in 2017, there was an increased preoccupation in Chicago caused by the recurrent attacks to sanctuary cities, the increment of raids and the raising of deportations. Alderman Ramirez-Rosa explains:

> Trump promised to bring back jobs from China, to build his border wall, and to deport 3 million of immigrants. He is failing in economy and the Congress is divided with respect to the wall. The only way he can accomplish something is through immigration enforcement. But, ICE and the Border Patrol have not enough effectives, for that reason he tries to force local police to cooperate (C. Ramírez, interview in Chicago, June 2017).

Ethnic and advocacy organizations in Chicago denounced that after Trump's election even documented immigrants were afraid to go to work and many were

considering a voluntary return to their home countries. This context was affecting the vitality of "The City that Works". For example, the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights reported that exceptions in Chicago sanctuary ordinances were causing that communities refuse involve with city police in any case. This organization explained that immigrants living in violent neighborhoods informed to community organizers that they have stopped calling emergency services because they were unable to differentiate between ICE officials and the city police (ICIRR leaders, press conference, May 2017).

Relationship between immigrants and local polices is a delicate issue in Chicago. The growing criminalization of minorities had affected Latinos. Sanctuary cities are big cities and have higher crime rates in the United States. Chicago is one of most criticized urbanities in that direction. For example, on January 24, 2017, Trump tweeted *"*If Chicago doesn't fix the horrible "carnage" going on, 228 shootings in 2017 with 42 killings (up 24% from 2016), I will send in the Feds [slang for federal law enforcement agencies]". This in a clear response to Chicago Mayor Emmanuel Rahm, who that week reinforced welcoming ordinances and introduced a lawsuit in a district court to protect sanctuary ordinances.

Uitermark & Nicholls (2014) argue that immigrant activism is first politicized and later policed in urban spaces. Several studies have demonstrated that local political context can have a large impact on how the police treats immigrants and other minorities when they contact with them (Chand and Schreckhise, 2015). In Chicago, there is willingness of the police department to fix the conflictual relationship with colored communities. In contrast, immigrant leaders cite *"the statistics show that in Chicago Latino and Blacks are twice more likely to*

arbitrarily be stopped, searched and questioned by the police than Whites" (speech in rally at Daley Plaza, Chicago, April 2017).

According to Alderman Carlos Ramirez Rosa, nearly 40% of city budget goes to police in Chicago. Ramirez Rosa explained that in his experience working with police officials in Chicago, they are more worried to enforce local law than in persecuting undocumented immigrants. Protections provided by sanctuary ordinances prevent local police to ask migratory status and to share information with immigration enforcement officials. City police do not contact ICE in the case of detentions for felonies allegedly committed by undocumented persons, they apply the rule of local law independently of the immigration status of the suspect. This means that Chicago o not assume immigration enforcement tasks out of their jurisdiction and functions.

One of the main examples of mobilizing immigrants through confrontation is the "*Rapid Response Networks"*[27]. These groups of volunteers are aimed at defending undocumented immigrants against dehumanizing enforcement activities. Alderman Carlos Rosa explains how rapid response networks work in Chicago as follows:

> We know that the federal law is supreme, and that ICE agents - although the city of Chicago is a sanctuary - can still enter our neighborhoods… Then the other thing I am doing right now, is to organize a network to stop deportations

[27] Rapid Response Networks and Immigrant Hotlines surged in Arizona during the persecution of the anti-immigrant sheriff Joe Arpaio to the undocumented immigrants in the state (Varsanyi, 2011). The difference in Chicago consists in that this rapid response networks are displayed to fulfil the gaps of the sanctuary policies.

> called Community Defense Committees. We have more than 100 members, the vast majority are citizens of the United States who have committed to activate and use civil disobedience when immigration presents in my district to detain someone. They will use their bodies and say to ICE "you will not detain this honorable member of our community ... (C. Ramírez, speech at UNAM Chicago, June 2017)

Sanctuary ordinances helped to redirect immigrant activism towards ICE. Organized immigrants found that the criteria to list undocumented immigrants in criminal alien databases was unclear. They found that even toddlers were listed in those lists guiding priority deportation. Organizers argue that arbitrary criteria of criminal databases used by ICE are causing denial of citizenship for permanent residents who never had been involved with gangs. These statistics joined to the reports of raids at workplaces in suburban Chicago. Violations of due process and disinformation caused that undocumented immigrant workers who were not the primary target were detained and deported-

In this context, they organized contentious rallies outside police and ICE facilities claiming for the long-term demand to "Defund the police, dismantle ICE". They argued that the if the money spent in immigration enforcement, were instead invested community development for creating equal opportunities for all the residents, naturally the rate of violent crimes would decrease in the United States. In these mobilizations immigrant organizers criticized the many exceptions and gaps of the sanctuary ordinances in Chicago.

The results of this quick contentious campaign happened at the local level. In the Day Without Immigrants March, the City Mayor compromised to reform the police. Emmanuel Rahm promised that two thirds of the new members of police

must belong to an ethnic minority. In his discourse Chicago Mayor also committed to officially inquire to the US Department of Homeland Security about the criteria for their criminal alien databases by introducing a lawsuit in federal courts (field notes, Daley Plaza, Chicago, June 2017).

Movements to dismantle the US Immigration and Costume Enforcement agency has growth in 2018. Activist from Chicago in alliance with Latinos from other cities founded a national coalition called “Chinga la Migra”. This radical movement is looking to increase social pressure about anti-immigrant actions through civil disobedience actions. Their activities had resonated among the Latino community in Chicago. In the 2018 Families Belong Togheter March one of the main demands was to defund immigration enforcement. Therefore, the branch of progressive democrats introduced a bill to abolish ICE in the US Congress. This demand has resonated in Latino Chicago for a long time.

The last examples coincide with conclusion of past sections about confrontation. Civil disobedience and has not shown substantial results as other forms of minority pressure aimed at pushing changes from bottom to top with traction of political insiders.

5.5. Cooperation and engagement with local government.

In chapter 4, the dilemma of the Latino organizations between mainstreaming and autonomy was discussed. In this section, the conditions under which immigrants are more willing to engage in mobilizations with governmental entities are analyzed. A strategy of incorporation including activism with local governments

has political effects for immigrant mobilization. Cooperation implies a previous recognizance of mutual sympathies and commitments. Cooperation differs from other strategies because it privileges connecting their mobilizations with external agents with the aim of empowering and benefiting from their human and financial support (Veronis, 2013). Engagement and cooperation with local government are fundamental for developing "institutional interlocution*"* (Landolt, 2008). However, mobilizing Latinos in support of governmental activism also implies enforcing the political machine in Chicago.

De Graaw, Glenson & Bloemraad (2013) found that joint campaigns are more prevalent in municipalities where immigrants represent a substantial part of the electorate, and when non-immigrant voters tend to support immigration more than enforcement. These dynamics explain while local governments sometimes involve in immigrant grassroots mobilizations. This helps to explain why in Chicago politicians speak in rallies and involve in acts of civil disobedience. For example. Congressman Gutierrez participating on civil disobedience actions, Senator Durbin participating as speaker in immigrant rallies, and Mayor Emmanuel defending sanctuary cities in federal courts.

In addition, it is necessary to analyze the opposite case. The discussion of why Chicago Latino immigrants engage in joint mobilizations with the city government, the reasons to mobilize grassroots in cooperation with the "mayor of the 1%". Cordero et al. (2008) had found that organizations mobilize with local governmental entities to increase their organizational capacity, organized immigrants join the activism of local government to publicly challenge state and federal level policy. Chicago Latinos develop uncontentious mobilizations because

they are aware that political mainstream actors can confer legitimacy to their mobilizations. Immigrant leaders are critical with the city government but they also are conscious that the advancement of the community has advantaged of activism of the city government.

5.5.1. Joint Campaigns, Partnerships and Task Forces

Immigration is a topic of common interest in all the US cities, few issues are more divisive between the public opinion in the United States today. Without regard to individual positions on the topic, economic and political elites recognize that anti-immigrant environments had affected the urban development in the United States. Chicago built its foundational narrative in immigration. Social mainstream and political elites from Chicago had recognized that political context charged of racism towards Latinos and bigotry against immigrants is threatening urban vitality. In this context, they pressure local government and engage in activism in support of immigrants. Local governments have posed the most aggressive challenge to national immigration reform with "insider" measures that are actually working (Gilbert, 2009; Gutiérrez, 2012). These political processes involve facilitating mobilization of immigrant organizational networks.

Governance partnerships are public-private strategic alliances aimed at giving a quick response to immediate and urging problems threating the vitality of the city. The local partnership approach corresponds to the policy solutions field and includes collaborative association between business, community and non-profit organizations, in agreement with governments to outline alternative options of

policy-making (Teisman and Klijn, 2002). Partnerships base on reaching agreements between local agents of different nature and capital. These collaborations are often influenced by local politicians and economic elites to direct and orient legislation about emerging and controversial issues in the polity (Benington and Geddes, 2013).

In partnerships, there is a marked difference between the political weights of the actors. Purdue (2001) argues that the existence of partnerships does not automatically guarantee collaborative social capital, he argues that in partnerships funding is fundamental because leading partners are who control financial schemes. For this reason, power inequalities persist between the local authority and community organizers. Latino leaders often accept these schemes because the goals motivating the mutual association are reached faster than through autonomous collective action.

The main kind of partnerships in US local immigration governance are the *task forces*. These are *ad hoc* working groups aimed at solving particular and urging needs. *Task forces* are formal alliances between governmental and non-governmental groups committed to display concrete actions; for example, citizenship campaigns, information spreading campaigns, legal defense of pro-immigrant ordinances, etc. The election of Trump motivated the emergence of many task forces with the objective of counteracting his threats on migration policy. In the case of Chicago, the principal examples are: New Americans, Chicago is with you, and One Chicago. These partnerships are headed by the city government and the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights.

The most successful case has been Chicago is With You task force, a partnership launched by Mayor Emmanuel, Representative Gutierrez, Senator Durbin, and Alderman Solis, three labor unions, six advocacy organizations, three interfaith alliances, three chambers of commerce, and five immigrant organizations. It was launched in 2016 after Trump's election for immigrant support. This partnership compromised to support naturalization for permanent residents in the city, litigation at the federal courts to protect Chicago's Sanctuary and welcoming policies, to provide free mental health care and legal services for mixed-status families. Partnerships are joint uncontentious mobilizations on behalf of immigrants against threats such as hate crimes, racism, and segregation.

These kinds of campaigns show that there are opportunities for associational activity motivated and sponsored by the local government. There is a willingness to collaborate in shared interests and common grounds between immigrants and the city, but these issues are framed only in the city priorities. This is important because it means that in partnerships, there is a tendency of local governments towards a discursive change about immigration, local security, and economy. Cities like Chicago favor procedural change and the implementation of confidentiality laws. But in the view of Latino immigrants, this do not solve their problems.

In other words, partnerships do not imply deep policy change, task forces usually frame policies that already exist. Partnerships on immigration are seen by local government as a way to demonstrate that they are working in the topic. For immigrants, the main gains are the access to city services and generation of information. Immigrant leaders describe it as a *"set of good intentions more useful*

to back up campaigns and make their organizations present in the city hall" (speech, leaders meeting in Casa Michoacan, Chicago, June 2017).

For example, when the Trust act was signed by the governor, immigrant leaders from ICIRR anticipated that the success of the initiative would be used by many politicians as a personal achievement. The Trust Act was the result of mobilizing protesters in Chicago and the State Capitol. Organizations collected signed postcards and organized phone banks in support of the initiative. However, political insiders used the law to promote their political careers between their Latino constituencies.

In sum, mobilizing with government enhances immigrants' influence in decision-making, are vehicles for visibility and cooperation, but also increment the risk of political clientelism and community segmentation. Mainstreaming generates critics between some sectors that believe that politicians have the opportunity and do nothing for deep structural changes. However, most of Chicago Latinos believe that local victories have immediate effect on the quality of life of the community. For this reason, they keep mobilizing community through rallies, collecting signed postcards and organizing phone banks in cooperation with representatives to pressure for pro-immigrant laws such as the Safe Zones Act and the Not Registration Act.

5.5.2. Lobby and Caucuses

Legislative power in the United States favors ethnic organization and recognizes the collective capacity of the pressure of minorities in legislative and

policy-making processes (Ginieniewicz, 2010; Reny, 2017). Immigration lobby is displayed by advocacy organizations and alliances, legislative caucuses and several economic sectors (such as technology, agriculture, services, etc.) to push legislation on their interest, for influencing the public opinion through campaigns, by commissioning studies and professional litigation in both directions pro-immigrant and anti-immigrant.

For immigrants, lobbying implies that their interests will be represented in the political and legislative processes. In her study about the role of lobbies on the immigration reforms in the US legislative history, Wong found that "Several ethnic organizations representing Latinos and Asian Americans found ways to influence policy outcomes even though they commanded far fewer economic resources than business and union lobbyist" (2006, p. 3). These ethnic mobilization through uncontentious mechanisms implied casting their demands for rights in universal terms. Ethnic minorities paired their struggles with other civil right organizations, immigrants formed alliances. "It was this coalition that helped them sway the votes of moderate and undecided lawmakers" (Wong, 2006, p. 3) In the concrete cases of migration law and immigration policy, Facchini, Mayda & Mishra (2011) studied the statistical effects of lobbies on immigration policy at the different levels in the United States. They concluded that lobbying for Latinos means developing external and professional sources of pressure while playing an "insiders' game". Latinos in Chicago are a representative case of this dynamic.

Lobbying is another symptom of the constitution of a Latino critical mass in Chicago. The immigrant organizer from ICIRR, Mony Ruiz explains

> Our organizations here in the state of Illinois have a double responsibility. We are responsible for organizing immigrant resistance and also for creating legal frameworks to defend immigrants in both fronts, from the inside of our communities, but also in the city hall, the courts, and the capitols (M. Ruiz, speech in ICIRR, Chicago, April 2017).

Lobbying represents a collective understanding of the need for a polycentric politicization of the collective and for adoption of mainstream political practices. For Latino immigrants in Chicago lobbying implies mobilizing financial resources. Latino lobbying also mobilize collective political skills such as pressure on public opinion, influence of testimonio and their basis of voters.

Pragmatic immigrant organizations in Chicago have professional staff and resources dedicated to organizing delegations to meet organizations and officials in DC. Lobbying helps them to gather and disseminate strategic information and speak in floor hearings. Their professionalization grants them routine access to legislation and litigation happening in the Congress of the United States and the Capitol of Illinois in Springfield. For example, ICIRR Political Deputy Director, Artemio Arreola explained

> We have to be connected, in Springfield, in City Hall, in Washington. We must be present in all the places where decisions are taken. This visibility is important to empower our community. For example, Lisa Hernandez who is running this year for State Representative, she has been permanently lobbying for our community in the Capitol, building alliances, making connections (A. Arreola, speech in Voces Migrantes, Chicago, May 2018).

Lobbying is a costly political strategy, it means playing politics of money. Lobby is often paid by investing part of the correspondent 25% of the immigrant organizations' budget that according to the US law is permitted to spend in non-

partisan political activities by non-profit organizations Immigrant organizations in Chicago have higher access to financial resources because of cooperation with brokers and through partnerships. This allows them to pay for professional staff lobbying permanently in policy-making organizations.

On the other hand, the pro-immigrant lobby of legislative caucuses, officials, and representatives pursue political support and vote. This is happening because constituencies such as Chicago have a considerable share of immigrant and pro-immigrant voters capable to influence elections. This helps to understand why non-Latino officials and representatives support immigration policies and reforms. The most notable case is Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL) the father of the Dream Act. Congressman Gutierrez (D-IL) is the main representative advocating for immigration reform in the US Congress. He is part of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. In the US Political System, a Congressional Caucus is a legislative group pursuing a common legislative agenda.

There are other forms of lobbying, for example, the influence of "testimonio" is an important strategy in the case of undocumented youth and families, testimony is mainly used in courts, they use their meritocratic and deserving stories to influence public opinion in favor of immigration reform. For example, the Mexican American League Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) is litigating in federal courts by mobilizing testimonies of Dreamers and other immigrants. Lobbying campaigns in Chicago have made possible the access to funds for education, ESL and workers' training, for immigration services, legal advice, naturalization campaigns and other provisions contained in the US Law.

In addition, the two stronger protections for the immigrants in Chicago, the sanctuary policies and the Illinois Trust Act, were possible because of the Latino Lobby in the city and state legislative organs. Organized immigrants' work did not stop after the introduction of the Trust Bill in the Illinois Senate, they displayed all the political competences previously described, they worked in the legislative lobby, organized rallies and conducted a campaign to make society aware of the common benefits of the Trust Act. ICIRR and Casa Michoacan lobbied in Springfield (Illinois Capitol) with the support of the Illinois Latino Caucus to reach the legislative votes for the initiative. Artemio Arreola, FEDECMI-Casa Michoacan leader and current Political Deputy Director of the Illinois Coalition for the Immigrant and Refugee Rights was the main organizing lobbying in the Illinois Congress during the whole legislative process. He even broadcasted the final voting and was part of the group that delivered the act in Governor's Office for signing.

There is a close relation between mobilizing human and financial resources for lobbying and incorporating in formal politics. Immigrant organizers highly involved in lobby often run for public offices and political positions. This reinforces relations between immigrant activists and Latino politicians but conditions the nature of protest. In sum, uncontentious mobilizations have similar rewards and costs of mainstream for immigrant organizations.

5.6. The contested minority: Between contentious and uncontentious mobilization.

Latinos in Chicago perceive themselves as a contested minority. This implies that their claims are frequently disqualified, their rights are questioned, their public

legitimacy is doubted, and their political identities are stereotyped by the mainstream. This chapter reviewed several situations demonstrating how political identities of Latinos in Chicago are contested in the public sphere. Immigrant organizers explained the automatic association of Latino political identities with immigration. They described the structural reproduction of a system maintaining "illegality" and "deportability". Leaders claimed how both political parties use immigration to mobilize constituencies.

Conditions such as failures on implementation of pro-immigrant political promises, the continuous struggle for "the right to have rights", and vindicating their contributions to the vitality of the city, are important motivations to keep Chicago Latinos mobilized. As Bada et al. (2010) had suggest "they often find that the skills and repertoires that worked so well in the street need to be retooled if and when the opportunity arises to try to reform the state". Precisely this chapter explored this ability of Chicago Latinos to transit between protest and proposal. Their strategy of mobilization is characterized for displaying contentious and uncontentious actions. The focus of their collective action oscillated between pressure, confrontation, and cooperation.

With the examples of mobilization described in this chapter, we can infer that community organizers, immigrant leaders and Latino politicians in Chicago realized that "Creating compelling discourses is therefore just as important as producing disciplined messengers" (Nicholls, 2013b, p. 96). Discourses of leaders in the neighborhood and their speeches in public demonstrations are charged with contentious topics and positions. Meetings of immigrant organizations are characterized by discussing strategies with informed opinions, discourses of leaders

show deep empirical knowledge of the problematic. Then, once they reach the officials, they become "front stage" organizers, they privilege the community agenda and take more moderate positions to obtain resources.

Immigrants in Chicago have learned to avoid divisive topics (such as immigrant social justice and clear immigration reform for all) in the formal political spheres dominated by political elites. They address the most divisive and salient issues within organizations, in their manifestations, in the community, and the streets. This dynamic coincides with Nicholls (2013b) findings about immigrant protests in which "Producing a subject with a 'voice' therefore depends as much on producing a strong message as it does on producing disciplined people who can deliver the message into the public sphere*"* (Nicholls, 2013b, p. 95). This implies that leaders and organizers privileged moderate topics such as basic human rights, labor rights and social justice in mainstream forums. Meanwhile, they displayed strategic pressure and lobby for immigration reform, opposition to immigration enforcement, and civil disobedience attacks towards immigrants are displayed to show community capacity.

The racialization and marginalization in the US politics keep most of the immigrants trapped in invisibility, forcing to organized immigrants to mobilize and push the political boundaries through mobilization. Pallares & Gomberg (2016) explain that when immigrants transmit messages as hard-working, family members, deserving immigrant, or other labels related to the "merit trap", they reinforce the hegemonic rhetoric on immigration that requires them to prove their merits to become worthy members of the US. Certainly, most of the immigrants have accepted the stability and normativity of these cultural frames and boundaries of

belonging, instead of criticizing or questioning their validity and effects. However, only political contexts of attack against Latinos and bigotry towards immigrants in combination to political opportunity structures in the locality catalyst mobilization.

This leads us to a recurrent discussion between immigrant organizers in the meetings for the preparation of public demonstrations. Leaders had struggled to find the best way to transform the energy of the marches into enduring mobilization and continuous engagement.

Using massive public demonstrations as a mechanism of pressure found more traction to channel immigrants' frustration and to capture the attention of the social mainstream than as an effective mechanism to pressure for pro-immigrant legislation. Organized immigrants support more risk in public action only when they perceive raising threats. In other words, massive protests only work when they are part of a broader political strategy that includes litigation and effective mobilization of political assets (insiders' political practices). Consequently, the main achievements and social conquest for immigrants have been done by the organizations that take advantage of existent uncontentious mechanisms for civic engagement and political participation. In addition, these organizations have also displayed civil disobedience and confrontation in cases where there is not a legal option or an institutional via.

Confrontation grows with the worsening of the extreme conditions under which most of the Latino immigrants are living today. Some organizations are convinced of the need of confrontation because immigrants are in disadvantage. They argue immigrants lack of political and labor rights, social services, fair budget, and the American society is increasingly plagued of segregation and racism. Only extreme

situations such as institutional discrimination, rise of hate crimes, escalation of deportations, and threatens against undocumented immigrants, activate contentious mobilization through confrontation tactics in Chicago.

Immigrant leaders are critical with the city government but they also are conscious that the advancement of the community has advantaged of activism of the city government. The complex strategy of political incorporation developed by Latinos in Chicago recognizes the value of institutional stakeholders for their movement. Chicago critical mass has learned that political mainstream in Chicago believes in that organizations must expend every institutional mechanism before deploying contentious action. Joint campaigns have worked for Chicago immigrants, its success motivates continuity and the increment of interactions between political insiders and challenging agents.

This helps to explain why contentious and uncontentious activism coexist in the political incorporation of Chicago Latinos. Uncontentious activism reinforces the legitimacy of the movements reaching the sympathy of the core society. That confers the power to resonate with a broader and diverse public. In contrast, contentious activism *"sometimes is the only power left to colored communities"* (Rosa Carrasco, interview April 2017). Contentious mobilization enables support and engagement of marginalized, excluded and stigmatized basis nourishing the grassroots of the immigrant rights movements. Consequently, ethno political leaders in Chicago believe in *"do something by the force of circumstances" (O. Chacon, speech in Alianza Americas, Chicago, April 2017). T*his means that they had adopted the characteristic US political pragmatism and are eager to mobilize either voters or protesters.

This also suggests that, meanwhile, Chicago immigrants have different perspectives about needs, demands, and agenda of Latino immigrants, these differences have not been divisive. The priorities in the mobilizations are similar, the variation is found in the approach and the methods and this causes the coexistence of contentious and uncontentious action instead of fragmentation. In fact, I found that the leaders belong to several organizations boards and staffs at the same time. For example, OCAD members who ask to "*Dismantle ICE and defund police*" are also members of Casa Michoacan, ICIRR, and work actively within Chicago's government in joint campaigns such as the task forces described in this chapter.

5.7. Concluding remarks

At the national level, political rules, codes, and risks of detention and repression, often discourage immigrant mobilization. However, at the local level, their status as outsiders has been more normalized by the city. To overcome the inertia of the political system, to be taken as serious political players, immigrants must mobilize themselves first (Bloemraad, 2006). This chapter demonstrated how the nature of immigrant mobilization is influenced by the characteristics of the local polity. In this chapter, the motivations of Latino mobilizations were discussed in detail.

Today immigrant marches in Chicago are not the spontaneous massive manifestations that paralyzed the city in 2006. A decade later, immigrant public demonstrations are mostly part of a broader political strategy. Marches are

projected as tools for pressure through established mechanisms, but also as unconventional contentious activism. These dynamics helped to change the perceptions of Latinos about public demonstrations. Mobilizations turned into a political strategy consciously directed to pressure for political causes. Mobilizing became a variable to understand the nature of the political incorporation in Chicago. Latino mobilizations are not simple demonstrations, are complex and extensive public pressure campaigns.

Latino immigrants in Chicago are a contested minority contesting local politics to attain influence and create compelling representations of them and their political causes. Precisely, the distinction on the direction of their activism and the ability to distinguish that mobilizing community is just a part of a broader political strategy, lead us to the closing remark of this chapter. The political opportunity structure described in this chapter has contributed to the articulation of resilient and proactive minority capable to display either contentious or uncontentious mobilization. Otherwise, Latinos would not reach the political resources and they could not find the gaps in the polity to pressure for immigration politics locally. Therefore, these political opportunity structures reproduce immigrant mobilization.

Chapter 6.

Policy incidence in the local immigration governance

6.1. Introduction

In the United States, the contestability of migration law resides in how the Constitution mandates that federal government is responsible for maintaining strict border and costumes control, and also mandates that every individual in the country has rights despite their national origin (Wells and Wells, 2013). This is a paradox between an exclusionary citizenship regime and constitutional guarantees of equal protection. The mandate of enacting incorporation policies has been attributed to state and local governments under restricted conditions and in very delimited fields (Varsanyi *et al.*, 2012). Localities have jurisdiction over accommodation policies but they cannot legislate on immigrant regularization. This way, local welcoming policies overlap with federal migration policy. This paradox generates

contradictions and conflict that organized immigrants and their allies are trying to address in the case of Chicago.

In this dissertation two characteristics about the agency of Latino immigrants on their process of political incorporation have been already analyzed. First, the articulation of solid organizational networks within a mixed-status community and the alliances with political insiders. Second, their capacity to protest with proposal mobilizing either voters or protesters depending of the nature of the struggle. Now, this chapter aims to explain policy incidence as the third dimension of the agency of Latino immigrants in Chicago.

Policy incidence is the dimension framing the multifaceted agency of Latino political incorporation in a context like the contemporary political environment filled with contradictions such as the coexistence of welcoming policies with structural inequalities that catalyst immigrants' agency. Policy incidence is related with the ultimate aims of immigrants' political engagement that consist in influencing policies of the host locality in their favor. Whilst the previous chapters explained the strategies to constitute a reactive minority, this chapter looks at the positioning of Latino immigrants as a proactive minority in Chicago.-

The first section corresponds to the contextualization of the paradox of hostility and immigration enforcement at the federal level that sharply contrasts with local willingness towards immigrants. Gateway cities are increasingly engaging in activism to protect and incorporate immigrant minorities. However, local governments lack of means and have restricted budget to counteract the political hostility towards immigrants. In this context policy incidence campaigns are crucial efforts born inside immigrant organizations. In this first section, I explore how immigrant leaders define and implement their policy incidence.

The second section of this chapter describes how the defense and expansion of the sanctuary ordinances of Chicago are the better examples to illustrate the third dimension of Latino immigrants' political incorporation locally. Sanctuary ordinances were born as community innovations of resistance and resilience that influenced policy change in Chicago.

In the same direction, the third and nuclear part of this chapter aims to explain empirically how migratory status and citizenship became the main grounds for policy incidence of Latino immigrant organizations in Chicago. Initiatives such as *Conozca sus Derechos* (Know Your Rights) and *Hágase ciudadano* (citizenship workshops) are explored. The main argument of this section consists in analyzing how trustful information and civic knowledge spread through these campaigns of policy incidence is influencing political incorporation.

Finally, the closing section addresses how autonomous efforts for solving needs of vulnerable minorities have translated into two scenarios. The first relates to how campaigns of policy incidence have delayed permanent solutions and meaningful structural reforms such as integral immigration reform and fair investment in immigrant neighborhoods. In contrast, the second scenario is when community innovations had been supported and adopted by the polity. In many cases, the campaigns developed by immigrant communities have inspired ordinances and policies from below. In the meantime, campaigns of policy incidence facilitate the access to local policy-making organs, pivotal dynamic for immigration policy change in Chicago.

6.2. The effects of hostility and policy deficits on immigrant incorporation.

Political hostility is affecting immigrants' local conquests, making difficult claim-making, and complicating to gain support immigrants vulnerable in socio-economic status and underrepresented because of factors such as age and citizenship. Three generalized dynamics increase political inhospitality. First, the increment of nativist discourses and anti-immigrant movements pressuring for suspending access to public benefits and to increase repression towards immigrants. Second, the overlapping mandate on immigration governance characterized by federal hostility and local willingness, conflict that reinforces the broken migratory system[28] and barriers the exercise of civic and political rights. The third case is directly related to urban migratory governance and refers to local policy deficits, this means that, voluntarily or involuntarily, institutional exclusion of mixed-status Latino neighborhoods is enhancing disenfranchised communities.

In the case of Chicago, the city is a Democratic bastion but the state government is Republican. The Cook County is surrounded by Republican counties in the agricultural US Midwest that perceive immigration differently, and in some cases

[28] Immigrant organizations, labor Unions, Congressmen, and even the openly anti-immigrant president have recognized that the migratory system in the United States is not working. The country depends on foreign workers but the labor market preserves illegality and deportability to secure cheap immigrant labor (De Genova, 2002).

oppositely than the political mainstream from Chicago[29]. Nicholls explained how "Immigrants face increasingly inhospitable environments characterized by the proliferation of stigmatizing discourses, the rollback of basic rights, and the rollout of repressive measures to detect, detain, and deport undocumented immigrants" (2013a, p. 23). Nativist groups are portraying immigrants and their children as cultural threats and public charge. For example, nativists recently influenced migration policy in a negative way for permanent residents, now for green card holders benefiting from non-monetary public programs such as Medicaid and Food Stamps can be a condition for losing their migratory status. Nativist sectors are increasingly using labels such as "alien" and "illegal" to pressure formal politics and public opinion for suspending basic rights and to increase repression towards immigrants.

Cities like Chicago are advantaging of the conflict between the federal government and local immigration governance that can serve as a vehicle to spotlight the political vibrancy and leadership of the city. For example, the fights around sanctuary policies between President Trump and Chicago Mayor Emmanuel had resonated across the United States. Local immigration governance is aimed at

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[29] In 2016, NBC News collected the reactions of Illinois politicians towards Trump's "zero tolerance" migration policy. The note highlights how Chicago politicians had fiercely opposed to those measures, this has influenced to the Republican state government to address immigration despite the opposition of some Republican state representatives.
See full note in Bremer Shelby, *Here's How Illinois Politicians Responded to Trump's Immigration Order*, NBC News, January 30, 2017, available at https://www.nbcchicago.com/news/local/illinois-representatives-senators-react-trump-muslim-immigration-order-412185383.html.

mediating the tensions between, on the one hand, the lack of migratory reform at the federal level and the federal immigration enforcement laws barring the exercise of civic and political rights for non-citizens. And, on the other hand, the local need of accommodating immigrants.

As Riverstone describes: "When governments fail to act on important social and economic issues, local governments often step into the breach, pairing legislation that reflects local conditions, needs and desires" (2017, p. 418). Local immigration policy of localities challenges national constraints and measures against immigrants, and implies engaging in activism when local governments see immigrants as an asset more than a liability (Filomeno, 2017, pp. 13–15). Progressive policy experimentation contributes to the visibility and prestige of the locality (Riverstone-Newell, 2017).

Certainly, there is local willingness to incorporate immigration policies in Chicago. The enactment of laws and plans such as the 2011 New Americans Plan, the 2012 Welcoming City Ordinance, the 2017 Chicago Municipal Identification Program, and the numerous state level initiatives introduced by the Chicago area representatives reflect this local good will toward immigrants. Though, the recurrent deficit in Chicago's budget, the urban segregation, and local restricted political fields of action in federalism constrain the scope of the immigration policies in Chicago. Localities are frequently positioned in dilemmas of knowing that undocumented immigrants need services that they cannot easily deliver. In this context, local governments accept and motivate generation of alternatives. As Cattacin explained "…the world of undocumented immigrants is characterized by self-help and social service networks that the local state may acknowledge, or at least tolerate, but does not operate" (2009, p. 252).

In addition to these problems of local immigration governance in Chicago, the access of immigrants to political arenas and decision-making organisms have been slowly progressing considering their century of presence in the city. Mixed-status communities often attract fewer interest of representatives for policy reforms needed by their residents, especially in terms of distributive justice. This lack of interest enhances inequalities between immigrant neighborhoods and the rest of the ethnically segregated city (see figure 3.2. Chicago's race gap in concentrated poverty). Latino immigrants' invisibility is reinforced because they are not proportionally represented in key policy-making organs, for this reason, their needs do not resonate in the City Hall on a permanent basis (Winders, 2012).

This situation of abandonment and lack of services corresponded for many years to the reality of immigrant neighborhoods Chicago (Back of the Yards, Pilsen, and *La Villita*) as the documentary My neighborhood Pilsen (Andries, 2017) describes. For example, residents explained in the presentation how in the late 1990's "There were silos in here, we had crime, insecurity, fires, everything. We missed many city services. Once we had a snowplow, and that was because the driver was lost, he said: «This is Pilsen?, we don't' come here», and no, they never came here" (speech, Towh Hall and Documentary Presentation, Pilsen, April 2017). Chicago Latinos had figured out that they have two possibilities. The first was remaining silent, trapped in clandestinity, and condemned to invisibility. The second option was to become a source of proposals and agents of change. As the immigrants' banners stated in their mobilizations, they believe that it is necessary to *"resist, reimagine and rebuilt community" (*immigrants' chant, May Day March, May 2017*)*.

Latino immigrants are increasingly adopting pragmatic positions in their political incorporation. They adopted the belief that political restrictionism and conflict of interest are inherent values to the US politics. Across the political maturation of the collective, organized immigrants have understood that the solution to their problems is not only institutional. Carlos Arango, the former union organizer and leader from Casa Aztlan, explained that in his view

> The problem with formal politics is that they spend the time only introducing bills to partially regularize immigrants, and they keep failing anyway, but few times politicians introduce reforms for deep structural change needed in this country (C. Arango, interview in Casa Aztlán, Chicago, March 2017).

Hence, organized immigrants also think that they can pressure local political responsiveness through self-organization and self-empowerment. This process implies acting as a proactive minority, becoming a source of proposals with the aim of overcoming structural segregation and institutional inequalities.

The problem is that the needs of the immigrant neighborhoods are often different from the general needs of the Chicago inhabitants. For example, in Chicago local budget goes to projects of urban development and dormitory areas are often excluded of great investment projects. Projects such as the expansion of the University of Illinois, the building of El Paseo (community garden and urban corridor), and the commercial vibrancy of 26th street in Mexican Chicago had the effect of gentrification. Latino immigrants living in Little Village and Pilsen are struggling to find affordable housing in the area and when they cannot afford the increment in house prices they move to the suburbs. These dynamics affect the identity of the neighborhood and risk substantive representation in the city council. Immigrant organizations faced the problem and created a campaign of urban resilience called *"El barrio no se vende, se ama y se defiende".* There are numerous

examples like this of social resilience projects of Latino immigrants in Pilsen, Little Village, and Back of the Yards. It is important to analyze the extent to which these campaigns are increasing political engagement.

In this context, the influence in the policy-making process or, as they call it, the policy incidence, is crucial to understand how Latino immigrants are incorporating in Chicago politics. Policy incidence is related to intersectional campaigns born within immigrant clusters. These broad campaigns are transversal initiatives covering many issues such as immigration services, ethnic affirmative action, and community development issues. Policy incidence is influenced by the political context. It implies a reflection about the local power structure for identifying decision makers and available channels to display collective pressure. Policy incidence stresses the capacity for becoming convergent and purposive political actors by allocating their own initiatives in institutional urban development projects, non-profit large-scale campaigns, and common interest topics of political insiders.

Policy incidence forms part of the political argot of immigrant organizations in Chicago. In addition, national-scale Latino organizations such as Alianza Americas, the Washington Office on Latin American Affairs (WOLA), and the League of United Latin American Citizens use models of policy incidence for explaining their mission in their leadership academies. Immigrant leader from Arise Chicago, Jorge Mujica explained in his discourse how the agenda of Latino organizations in Chicago involves transversal commitments involving many issues:

> The fight is not only for immigration reform, as things are now, it would be a bad reform criminalizing and punishing our communities. We are gathered here to raise up against labor exploitation. Because if you work at a McDonalds,

> they will pay you $ 8.25 an hour and it does not matter if you're White, Black, or Latino. We are here because our children cannot afford college and the public schools in our neighborhoods are impoverished. Our struggle is for the right to live with dignity and respect for immigrants and for all (J. Mujica, speech in May Day March at Daley Plaza, Chicago, May 2017).

Immigrants described in their forums how, for them, politicy incidence is the process of influencing immigration and public policy by becoming a source of proposals through "*campañas amplias*" (broad campaigns) that potentiate existent institutional programs. Policy incidence means that independent efforts and community innovations inspire policy change. Oscar Chacon from Alianza Americas explained:

> The broad campaigns are those that collect both racial identity and class identity in the United States ... We believe that as people who pay taxes daily at the local level, at the state level, and at the federal level. We need to involve ourselves in processes that allow us to tell any other person, it does not matter if he was born here or was born elsewhere, that we are in the same boat. That we are in the same situation and that just as they are concerned about issues of economic justice, we are too. Education, health, citizen security, are areas in which public resources should really be going and not to persecute migrant workers (O. Chacon, interview in Alianza Americas, May 2017).

Policy incidence refers to the collective efforts of organized immigrants to influence public policy formulation and implementation by displaying political persuasion and collective pressure. Policy incidence is aimed at facilitating policy change on the basis of concrete experiences resulted from real-context political learning of immigrant organizations that face the problems daily. A model of policy incidence circulates on the meetings of immigrant leaders, in specialized horizontal forums and leadership academies of Latinos in Chicago. The first step consists in identifying urging problems. Then questioning who is the responsible of the issue

and who else in the polity can help. Subsequently, immigrants outline proposals and display campaigns to impulse initiatives from below.

The following sections explore two campaigns of policy incidence that have resulted of the advantaging of the local political opportunity structure. The first case is a campaign developed independently that became into the enactment and expansion of the local sanctuary ordinances. The second case relates with the campaigns that had monopolized Latino policy incidence in Chicago, it includes the contemporary efforts to protect immigrants locally from anti-immigrant policies. Both cases encompass the process of policy incidence described above. In the first case the independent efforts derived in the institutionalization of sanctuary law. In the second case, the community innovations on the grounds of immigration status and substantive citizenship are motivating policy change from below.

6.3. Real Sanctuary or Rhetoric?

Sanctuary cities have captured public attention because caused important political debates and legal disputes on immigration governance between federal and local governments in the United States. However, the relevance of the sanctuary movement in Chicago resides in that it is one of the contemporary campaigns emerged from local community organization that has reached policy incidence even at the state level. In addition to policy incidence, the community efforts for expanding sanctuary illustrate the organizing and mobilizing dynamics analyzed in this research.

The sanctuary movement in the United States dates from the 1980s. It surged rooted to the ending of the Temporary Protection Status for Central American

refugees, growing denials for their applications and increment of deportation orders during that decade (a situation that is repeating this 2018). This early Sanctuary Movement was related with the use of religious infrastructure by faith-based groups to provide "safe harbor" for undocumented immigrants because ICE officials cannot operate inside religious buildings. The sanctuary movement disseminated quickly in Chicago, the interfaith coalitions in the city (advocacy religious coalition dating from 1930s), quickly joined the sanctuary movement spreading nationwide[30]. In the decade of 1980, at least 20 Chicago-area churches self-declared sanctuary. Pro-immigrant rallies and advocacy demonstrations continued in following years.

Another important episode in the history of Chicago regarding for the sanctuary movement was the election of the first Black mayor Harold Washington in 1983. He signed the first executive order in the United States that ended with the practice of asking migratory status to job and license applicants. The order included a provision of "equal access" and limited the cooperation with federal immigration enforcement authorities (Paik, 2017). Later, in 1989 after taking office, Mayor Daley signed an executive law reaffirming "equal and fair access" for all the residents of the city without regards to their migratory status (Collingwood, El-Khatib and Gonzáalez, 2016).

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[30] The archives of the Chicago Tribune, describe how in 1982 the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America constituted a movement to inform about their mission with Salvadoran refugees and conducted several rallies in the city.

The diary compiles the history of the Sanctuary Movement in the city in: http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1983/05/30/page/6/article/refugee-underground-leads-to-chicago-area

Almost two decades later of the emergence of the sanctuary movement, the *2001 Patriot Act* associated immigration enforcement as a priority of national security, motivating the increment of deportation rates. This period of enforcement was followed by launching the Secure Communities Program (S-Comm), in force during 2008-2014 (in the presidency of Obama), and restarted by Trump in 2017. S-Comm was an important trigger for the emergence of the new sanctuary movement because it required city police to detain undocumented immigrants enlisted in ICE databases. The justification of the program was based on crime reduction, although, statistics showed that around 50% of immigrants detained had a not-prior criminal record (Chand and Schreckhise, 2015). It is important to mention that Chicago adopted S-Comm but it was the first city in the country to drop out the program in 2011.

In 2006, there were many episodes of immigrants, primary parents, that sought refuge in churches after the increased deportations of low priority undocumented immigrants by ICE Officials (Paik, 2017). Many of these cases reached national media attention. For example, Elvira Arellano and his U.S.-born son found sanctuary during one year in a Methodist church of Humboldt Park, Chicago (Cook, 2013). The case ended in deportation, but she became a famous activist in the United States when she returned with a humanitarian visa to Chicago. That year, the Chicago City Council passed unanimously laws that guaranteed the equal access to services, opportunities, and protections.

The new sanctuary movement has been starred by city governments. There is not a concrete definition about how exactly to define the sanctuary cities. Sanctuary policies range from lack of enforcement as an unofficial practice to passing

resolutions banning city police to assume tasks of ICE and prohibiting the assignation of city budget to immigration enforcement (Collingwood, El-Khatib and Gonzáalez, 2016). Sanctuary cities sustain that constitutional standards of personhood, equal protection and, due process, are over the faculty of the federal government to exclude, expel or discriminate on the basis of non-citizenship status (Varsanyi *et al.*, 2012). This has open possibilities for progressive localities, conscious of their need of foreign labor, for finding institutional ways to protect undocumented immigrants from deportation under the sole basis of lack of documents.

When Emmanuel Rahm was reelected in 2015 against the Latino immigrant candidate Chuy Garcia in Chicago, immigrant leaders were afraid that this could erode the relationship between the city hall and the community. Dominguez (2016b) describes how Emmanuel was not an immigrant advocate when he worked in the White House as part of the cabinet of Obama, and this raised distrust on him between Latino immigrants. However, being Chicago a tripartite constituency (Withes, Blacks and Latinos) and being Latinos a fundamental part of the political machinery, the office of the Mayor enacted the Chicago Welcoming Ordinances and the New Americans Plan in 2011. These ordinances expanded immigration services offered by the city. It included legal advice, English as a second language free courses, business incubators and early childhood education (Chand and Schreckhise, 2015). In 2012, Chicago with New York, Los Angeles, and Boston launched the coalition Welcoming Cities Network. This coalition advocates for the valorization of the immigrants' contributions to the local economies and pledges for local incorporation policies (Huang and Liu, 2016).

During the Trump's presidency, there have been constant battles in federal courts between the White House and the Sanctuary Cities. In the first case to seek for legal ways to cut federal funds such as the Byrne Grants[31]. In response, local governments are litigating to protect their ordinances. Chicago has sought for legal resources, the City Mayor introduced lawsuits in the Federal District Court to protect sanctuary ordinances and keep access to federal grants. Chicago city government argued in courts that because of the lack of a legal definition of sanctuary city, federal government cannot cut funds to cities. In a second lawsuit, Chicago argued that immigration enforcement is a federal prerogative and forcing local governments to assume this task is unconstitutional. S. Altman, a legal advisor from the Shriver Center explained *"…there are several ways in which we can prevent government to cut money to sanctuary cities, there are good legal ways to protect us from Washington… Now, to what extent it will be legal? That is a little hard to say"* (S. Altman interview, Google Chicago, May 2017).

Immigrant organizations had defended and supported the expansion of sanctuary city, but they also are critic about the limitations of these ordinances. Latino leaders explain that this legal framework constitutes only a *"set of good intentions more useful to back up campaigns and make their organizations present in the city hall"* (speech, leaders meeting in Casa Michoacan, Chicago, June 2017). This critic sustained in that a policy without adequate budget has only discursive

[31] Byrne Grants are federal funds available for the cities to combat crime violence, the only way found by President Trump to legally yarn money from local governments was banning cities contained in an ICE list from competing for these grants. Chicago was one of the most affected cities because the city has a high crime rate and was one of the main beneficiaries of these funds.

effects. In addition the effects of sanctuary policies are constrained by contexts of local austerity and disinvestment in immigrant neighborhoods. Immigrant leader and lawyer Mony Ruiz, who is advocating for sanctuary policies in cities close to Chicago, explained:

> You see how everyone speaks in the cities about how to have "sanctuary policies", but that is not a solution to everything. We know that sanctuary is a tool that we are using to prevent and resist. Especially, to prevent that local resources can be used for more deportations instead of urban development (M. Ruiz, interview in UNAM Chicago, April 2017).

Sanctuary ordinances contain many gaps and exceptions. For example, government of Chicago was internally and externally pressured to reduce crime rates. In consequence, the sanctuary ordinances of Chicago permitted to verify the migratory status of people who had police record. The problem is that under the law of Illinois, using false documents can be considered a felony. Frequently, undocumented immigrants have used false social security numbers to be hired. Immigrant advocates insist that using false documents is a consequence of the lack of regularization pathways.

Alderman Ramirez Rosa, the former immigrant activist, explained:

> For me as Alderman it is very important to guarantee that Chicago is a real sanctuary city, not only sanctuary rhetoric, because you cannot fight anti-immigrant policies with pro-migrant rhetoric, you must fight it with pro-immigrant policies (R. Ramirez, interview in Chicago, May 2017).

Becoming sanctuary implies a pivotal policy change only when ordinances go beyond practices of "*don't ask, don't share migratory status*". Only in few cases, sanctuary cities include any exception for release undocumented individuals, a fair budget for legal assistance available for immigrants, and other incorporation

strategies at the city level. The pressure of organized immigrants for expanding sanctuary led immigrants' advocates and Latino politicians to introduce the Illinois Trust Act. This was the most advanced ordinance in the United States it implied a huge effort to scale local sanctuary to sanctuary state law.

Latino immigrants recognize that there is still a long way to go, for this reason, they keep enhancing protections for undocumented immigrants. In 2018 the joint efforts of the representatives from Chicago and the grassroots mobilization led by ICIRR, have translated into stronger laws. The Safe Zones Act prohibits at state constitutional level the action of ICE officials in hospitals, schools, public libraries, courts and public offices. In addition, the Not Registry Act bans the creation of lists based on ethnic origin and migratory status. The Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights from Chicago is spreading information, seeking support, and lobbying for this policy change.

Another strategy to enhance sanctuary ordinances from Chicago has been the creation of "digital sanctuaries". Immigrant leaders denounced that after the cancelation of DACA, immigrants do not want to provide personal information about their status and of their families. Activists denounced that undocumented immigrants do not want to apply for programs such as the Municipal ID because they believe that ICE can obtain access to databases of this public programs. Organizations such as Arise Chicago, Casa Michoacan, PASO and ICIRR asked the city council to consider the possibility of creating "digital sanctuaries". Latino alderman George Cardenas said in an interview for a Latino radio news segment in Chicago:

> I recommend all residents of Chicago to apply for Municipal ID. We are evaluating options such as destroying databases. Right now we cannot assure that we can legislate on digital sanctuaries. But the city of Chicago will be responsible for all received data of city residents (A. Arreola, speech in Voces Migrantes, Chicago, July 2017).

Immigrant organizations are looking for the best practices of other cities, they are generating proposals and pressuring for pro-immigrant legislation. For example, Artemio Arreola, leader from Casa Michoacan and political deputy of ICIRR, described how

> Recently the mayor of Oakland alerted residents of an ICE operation in northern California, which possibly prevented some 800 detentions. That is the least we expect from our representatives. We want them to share information with community if they know when ICE operates in workplaces (ICIRR Press Conference, June 2018).

All these sanctuary campaigns have completely illustrated what immigrants call 'campaigns of policy incidence'. The critical mass leading immigrants identified a policy gap to allocate their movement, organizations in alliance with political stakeholders analyzed political circumstances and power relations to test the context. In addition, expanding the sanctuary implied persuading public opinion and mobilizing grassroots to pressure for the institutionalization of the initiatives. Policy incidence for expanding sanctuary in Chicago has largely monopolized immigrant activism linked to the city government.

6.4. Immigration status and citizenship as grounds for policy incidence

Agamben argued that "The separation between humanitarian and political that we are actually living is the extreme phase of the cleavage between human rights and civil rights" (1998, p. 169). Accordingly, Latino immigrants are facing contradictions between formal components of citizenship restricting their civic and political rights in the United States, and the daily exercise of substantive citizenship locally. Historically, periods of political closure affect immigrants by making difficult to seek for regularization paths and discouraging naturalization[32]. However, after 2016 presidential elections, the opposite is happening. The risk of deportation and the possibility of increase empowerment by expanding the number of citizens within the Latino community was perceived as the most viable mechanism to increase resilience. Consequently, migratory regularization and citizenship are the main areas of independent efforts related to policy incidence of Latinos in Chicago.

Chicago Latinos are a highly politicized collective, the century of their presence in the city is full of examples, initiatives, and innovations that show their proactive participation and increasingly resilient communities in Chicago. Regarding Latino presence in the agenda and public opinion of the city. Immigrant organizations had raised their voice to let Chicago mainstream know how important are their

[32] The most studied example is the voluntary return and discouragement of naturalization derived of the California Proposition 187 that in the 1990's banned state social services to undocumented immigrants.

contributions to the local economy and how they dynamics proffer revitalization to the city. They called this strategy *"tributary justice campaigns"*.

Bleeden, Gottschalk & Citrón (2010, p. 148) suggest that one of the main arguments of anti-immigrant groups is the *"hypercitizen"* fallacy. It surges from misconceptions of nativists about that they are the taxpayers, and for that reason, they are the owners of government. Accordingly, this grants them rights to exclude immigrants as political subjects. In response, to these myths, around the *Tax Day* (US deadline for tax return), Chicago organizations launched "tributary justice campaigns*"* in local media to make aware society about how immigrants contributed with around $12 000 million annually to social security systems. Many of them cannot use these public benefits because of the lack of documents. They also argued that 6.8% of entrepreneurs in Chicago are undocumented immigrants. Organizations demonstrated that just after the Magnificent, "La 26 de la Villita" (26th St. Little Village) is the second largest commercial strip of Chicago with over 1000 businesses, 15% of them are owned by undocumented immigrants according to the Little Village Chamber of Commerce.

These efforts to value immigrants in the city reached support locally. Chuy Garcia, the Mexican immigrant politician, expressed that in Chicago

> Socially, I think, there is great respect for Latinos, the migrant community here has come to revitalize the region economically, there is a great appreciation for the ethics of hard work, for the semblance of dignity of migrants for refusing to be a 'public charge' for this country (J. Garcia, interview in UNAM Chicago, May 2017).

S. Altman, a legal advisor at Shriver Center, explained

> Public Charge, so quickly, in our immigration law, it means that if you are likely to become dependent of funds of government for support, then you might be banned of either entering to the United States or, if you are already here, you

> will be unable to move to a more permanent status, and in fact, you might be deported as a result of being a public charge (S. Altman, interview in Google Chicago, May 2017).

Precisely, this topic of public charge was a common issue among leaders, politicians and advocacy organizations, because there is an executive order issued on public charge to increase deportations.

6.4.1. "Know your rights", "Nada-Nada", and deportability.

The US migratory system preserves the condition of deportability of most of the undocumented immigrants working in the country. Robinson had explained that "Employers …want to sustain a vast exploitable labor pool that exists under precarious conditions, that does not enjoy the civil, political and labor rights of citizens and that is disposable through deportation" (2006, p. 84). In addition to the few pathways for regularization, other factors such as using false documents and social numbers, unauthorized employment, several misdemeanors and practically any felony might cause citizenship ineligibility. Mony Ruiz from ICCIR argued "*there are "policies" that still have our communities undocumented because the two political parties and the oppressive system benefits of us…"* (M. Ruiz, interview in PASO, Chicago, May 2017).

Immigrant regularization is a complex process in the United States. Leaders and legal advisors coincided in that every single case is like a labyrinth due to the several details involved. Details make every profile unique, for example factors such as if they arrived with a visa or not, the length of residence, if they used false documents such as driving license and social security numbers. Legal conditions complicate the cases, such as having police record, being listed on ICE records, and

the existence or not of an order of removal complicate more the cases. In sum, immigrant leaders had agreed that for most undocumented immigrants there is not a legal option to regularize their status and that had increased risks for fraud by legal services firms.

During his presidential campaign, Donald Trump promised to deport 3.5 million of the 11 million undocumented immigrants living in the United States. To accomplish this, he ordered to the Department of Homeland Security an increment of massive raids. For example, between September 2017 and January 2018, ICE conducted raids and detentions in six states against sanctuary cities in an operation called Safe City. According to ICE informs, 82 immigrants were arrested in the Chicago area, 40 of them had no previous criminal record[33]. Rights defense leagues informed that ICE is detaining fewer criminals and deporting more family members and workers without previous orders of removal during Trump's presidency.

In some neighborhoods, Latino immigrants are organizing groups of volunteers who put their bodies in front of ICE to oppose to deportations of recognized community members. In addition, they organized *Rapid Response Networks*, in these campaigns trained volunteers alert of raids and observe due process during ICE operations. Another innovation related to community mobilization against immigration enforcement is "Voluntary ICE Check-in". Organizations found that low priority profiles for deportation can be used in favor of undocumented immigrants. The Department of Homeland Security informed that undocumented workers and students, who are family members, persons that have committed only

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[33] For details see: ICE, Operation Safe City, available in https://www.ice.gov/news/releases/ice-arrests-over-450-federal-immigration-charges-during-operation-safe-city, consulted on February 2018.

felonies and have not criminal record, they are not the main target for deportations. In consequence, OCAD and ICIRR encouraged influential undocumented community members without any order of arrest or removal, to go every year with good will to report their undocumented presence in the city. The difference consists in that they go accompanied with crowds of other community members who are lawful residents that pressure outside ICE offices to avoid their detention. This strategy was displayed mainly for immigrant activists in four cases during fieldwork in Chicago, one of these cases failed.

In addition to these strategies, immigrant communities have developed other innovative responses aimed to developing political skills and competencies of the Latino Community. A key example has been the *"Know Your Rights"* or "*Conozca sus Derechos*" campaign. Immigrant leader and union organizer Jorge Mujica explained:

> It is incredible that the community still does not know the enormous amount of rights we have in this country. It is incredible that they keep mistaking in the procedure and that condemn them to deportation. Then they come with us to ask for help when nothing else can be done (J. Mujica, speech in citizenship workshop, Chicago, June 2017).

"Conozca sus derechos" has been fundamental in the contemporary context of deportations. Organizations from Chicago such as ACLU Chicago, leagues of legal defense, the National Immigrant Justice Center and ICIRR noticed irregularities in the ICE detentions in Chicago and other US cities. They denounced illegal practices and violations to the due process on immigration enforcement action, for example ICIRR informed in press conference (Field notes, ICIRR, Chicago, April 2017) the following situations:

- Immigration officials sometimes arrived at workplaces and homes without a warrant signed by a judge.
- ICE officials were asking for the immigration status without an order of detention. This is unlawful because implies profiling on the base of race. Besides, sometimes this caused the detention of people who originally was not the target.
- They were asking detainees to sign voluntary deportation formats without explaining its content. This is an expedited and irrevocable action and it means renouncing to legal advice and to their right to a trial.

Consequently, immigrant organizations supported by the Mexican Consulate and other US civil rights organization, created "Know Your Rights" campaigns training people to be informed and prepared in case of deportation. These important campaigns explained to immigrants and their families:

- Who are the officials authorized to detain people for their undocumented status (for example, how to differentiate between police and ICE).
- The difference and contents of all the documents that Immigration Enforcement Officials could present to the immigrants: a search warrant, arrest warrant or ICE warrant. The videos and presentations of the workshops included samples of each document.
- Their constitutional rights, particularly the Miranda Ruling, their right to a lawyer, and their right to not sign anything without legal advice.

This campaign included radio and TV segments in Latino media in Chicago, thousands of pamphlets and signals were printed and distributed in bus stops, shops, public schools and the headquarters of the organizations (see figure 6.1. Sample of Know Your Rights sign). The success of this campaign resides in that organizations are appealing to due process and human rights in immigration enforcement

practices. Using this mechanism allows organized immigrants to avoid confrontation with criminalizing discourses of nativist groups.

Figure 6.1. Sample of Know Your Rights sign

Source: ICIRR, Community Resources, available at http://www.icirr.org/about/get-involved/know-your-rights-and-organize

In order of helping undocumented immigrants, organizations in Chicago and nationwide printed thousands of bilingual pamphlets with the "nada-nada" quote, this was based on the Miranda Warning as follows:

To whom may it concern.

Right now, I am choosing to exercise my constitutional right under the 5th amendment. I will remain silent, and I refuse to answer your questions. If I am detained I have the right to contact an attorney immediately. I refuse to sign anything without advice of an attorney. Thank you.

Figure 6.2. Rights Card Sample

Source: ICIRR, Community Resources, available at http://www.icirr.org/about/get-involved/know-your-rights-and-organize

Non-English speakers are supposed to handle this card, do not resist and remain silent in case of detention. They also launched a ringtone for their cellphones containing the "*Nada-nada*" quote and local business and buses were displaying the "*Nada-Nada*" song in immigrant neighborhoods.

With the escalation of deportations also immigrant campaigns expanded, in less than a year, around 20 smartphone applications were available for free downloading. Some examples are: “ICE radar”, “Estoy siendo arrestado”, “Redadalertas”, “La Migra”, “Immigo” and “Notifica”. These Apps explain step by step to undocumented immigrants how to act in case of any official knocks their doors. Some apps had the option to send a text message to the school of their children and their family in case of being detained by ICE. Notably, consulates and some US local governments sponsored the development of these tools. For example, the Mexican Consul in Chicago reported that in only one month they had 800 downloads of their application (Carlos Jimenez, interview Mexican General Consulate Chicago, June 2017).

Organized immigrants also encouraged *“Family Preparedness Plan”* or “*Tenga un Plan*”. These campaigns aimed to reduce stress and trauma derived from the increment of ICE raids. These workshops included migratory legal advice to explain immigrants about their conditions and limitations. In the case of undocumented immigrants, they were encouraged to protect their patrimony, they learned how to buy a house despite their undocumented status, and to nominate a legal guardian for their children in case of deportation.

As part of the campaign to protect undocumented immigrants, many Latino officials and organizations sponsored “*Know your rights workshops*”, for sharing trustful information. These campaigns are contributing to the civic and legal literacy of the Latino immigrants. The significance of these innovations for the immigrants’ political incorporation is vast. Through this citizenship education, immigrant organizations are increasing civic culture of Latino immigrants and their families.

Few US citizens know their constitutional rights and much less the content of the 4th (right to privacy) and 5th (right to remain silent and to a lawyer) constitutional amendments. Currently, immigrant organizations and civil rights leagues are spreading rights literacy among the Latino community. Besides, immigrants are more politically aware of the litigation and lawsuits introduced at the District Courts and by following the trajectories of the bills introduced in the Congress. Probably, all these knowledge and assets will affect US politics in the long term, but without any doubt, the effects on the Latino civic culture of these campaigns will be seen in the medium term. "Conozca sus derechos" campaigns are increasing civic and political gains, this way Latino immigrants have a fairer position in the local polity, and this influences their agency in political incorporation in Chicago. The significance of Know Your Rights campaigns is summarized in the generation of trustful sources of information about the laws, the developing of civic skills, the increment of knowledge about rights, and the developing of political experience.

6.4.2. *"Es hora. ¡Ciudadanía ya!":* Citizenship clinics

Brubaker explained "Only for a marginal or minority part of the population there is no doubt or contestation about their substantive membership or their citizen status" (2010, p. 64). For the rest of the individuals, their affiliation and identity are constantly contested. In this context organized Latinos in Chicago are struggling to exercise citizenship in the generalized context of hostility overcharged of anti-immigrant positions and nativist arguments.

Several authors have studied the weight of Latino vote in the United States (De Sipio, 1996, 2011; Stokes, 2003; Barreto, 2007), these studies predicted the growth of the share of eligible Latino voters but also they found out lower rates of

naturalization among Latino permanent residents[34]. Few months before the 2016 election, immigrant leaders started to talk in their horizontal forums about how to increase the Latino vote. They found reports showing how many eligible citizens do not naturalize to obtain full political and civic rights (see Gonzalez-Barrera, 2017). Nevertheless, the time until the election was stretching and the responses emerged late.

Latino leaders nationwide attended seriously the after-elections reports that demonstrated that nearly 3.5 million of Latino immigrants were eligible for citizenship in the United States (Pew Hispanic Center, 2016). It is estimated that in the State of Illinois there are up to 370 000 legal permanent residents eligible for citizenship, of which 213,400 are concentrated in Chicago (Lee and Baker, 2017). Community leaders explained that the high cost of naturalization (application fees and taxes make a total of $880), and attitudes such as the underestimation of their English level, and risk of failing the civic knowledge tests, are important barriers for naturalization that only can be overcome with community support. Organizers reported that with the increment of political hostility even immigrants who are permanent lawful residents are afraid of anti-immigrant policies, for this reason, the only way to protect their rights was encouraging others to naturalize. This context has forced immigrant organizations to act and they are supporting immigrants with *citizenship workshops*. Similarly, they are organizing DACA workshops with the same mechanisms that citizenship workshops but only oriented to DACAmented (see footnote 3).

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[34] Particularly Mexicans, who are the largest national minority but with the lower naturalization rate, approximately only 42% naturalize, meanwhile the average is 67% (Gonzalez-Barrera, 2017)

Citizenship workshops are events organized by immigrant organizations, pro-immigrant politicians, consulates, and advocacy organizations, in which permanent residents are invited to "*dar el siguiente paso*" (take the next step) by naturalizing. These are non-profit workshops working under the model of legal clinics that provide logistical support and legal support for reviewing the eligibility of the candidate. Citizenship workshops offer pro-bono legal services for migratory regularization and explain in detail legal procedures of the long pathway to become a citizen. Moreover, organizers offer funding options and they are trained to prevent fraud cases.

In the case of Chicago, the first step for this ambitious campaign consisted on recruiting and training volunteers. Immigrant organizations in coalition made a public call for citizens in Chicago to help permanent residents to become citizens. These volunteers accompanied immigrants during the complete process, they were trained to help immigrants to fill the formats, to offer free options for English as Second Language classes (organized by the Chicago Public Libraries, Instituto del Progreso Latino, and other organizations) to help them to past the language test, and they practiced in mock examinations with applicants for the civic tests.

Notably, many second-generation immigrants participated actively as volunteers in citizenship workshops. Many young Latinos are engaged in community organizations, leadership academies, and rights defense leagues in Mexican Chicago. Latino intergenerational work is not a new dynamic in Chicago. During the 2016 elections first generation immigrants (undocumented and permanent residents ineligible for citizenship) who could not vote started a campaign called "Voting with my feet". They offered as volunteers for voter registration to the Latino voters. Both cases, the Latino vote registration campaigns

and the citizenship workshops help to explain why Chicago has the biggest growing of Latino vote in the country (see data from section 3.2. A benchmark of the Latino socio-political capital).

The second step of citizenship workshops was fundraising. In this stage, the government of the city of Chicago assigned one million dollars extra for immigration services. Organizations such as the Slim Foundation from Mexico and the Kennedy Center from the US offered money, funded language courses, created education and work training scholarships, and payed for the application fees. As well, the Office of Congressman Luis Gutierrez assigned a budget to train volunteers and pay application fees.

Several of the weekly citizenship workshops were documented during fieldwork. The first was organized by Casa Michoacan in the Mexican Consulate. The second was conducted by the Resurrection Project at *Instituto del Progreso Latino*, also ICIRR organized one in the Orozco Academy. Representative Luis Gutierrez conducted personally one workshop in the Juarez Community Academy, and recently Chicago Public Library joined organizing citizenship clinics. In every documented workshop around 300 persons among staff and applicants participated. In every case, a volunteer (often activists and law students) was signed for reviewing the application in detail, then they were informed in detail about the legal procedure, and after mailing citizenship applications organizations compromised to give accompaniment along the entire process.

About the profile of the participants, the organizations in Chicago reported that 60% of them did not finish high school and many of them did not have English language proficiency. This data coincides with of the 2015 National Survey of Latinos that found that language is the main obstacle to apply to citizenship

(Gonzalez-Barrera, 2017). Organized migrant communities express how through these citizenship workshops they pretend to make other migrants aware that they are not alone in the process of incorporation. Leaders encouraged applicants to can use their cultural values and their Latino identity as assets for finding opportunities for civic and political engagement.

According to the Immigrant Services Fund of the City of Chicago between 2016 and 2017, 96 000 people have attended the citizenship workshops. The results cannot be immediate because the naturalization process takes time. In fact, the United States Costumes and Immigration Services reports a delay in the processing of applications. However, in 2016, USCIS reported that citizenship applications submitted had increased by 14%. For now, the only available information about the results is provided by the immigrant organizations. For example, *Erie House* in association with the Chicago Public Libraries report that they have helped 492 people obtain citizenship through their workshops, the *Instituto del Progreso Latino* reported 200 beneficiaries. However, these data cannot be taken verbatim because a person is likely to use services from more than one organization.

Citizenship workshops are working well because of the political opportunity structure grounded locally. Threats such as increment of raids at workplaces, deportation of low priority undocumented immigrants, and nativist arguments and policies risking non-citizens had a catalyst effect on the agency of Latino immigrants in Chicago. The support of allies such as the backing of city government, the funds and logistic resource of advocacy organizations and the transnational support of their hometown consulates had been pivotal for the campaigns. Citizenship workshops started as small meetings to encourage

naturalization to increase the number of Latinos with full civic and political rights, and transformed in big campaigns of policy incidence in Chicago.

Citizenship Workshops had been crucial to enhance the social and political capital of Latino Immigrants in the city. As Zoraida Ávila, leader from Casa Michoacan and Mujeres Latinas en Accion explained:

> We now know that education about rights is not enough. It is not enough to tell someone "this is your right". We must give them the necessary tools to know how to defend those rights and how to exercise those rights in an extreme situation such as the one we are facing ... And we must know how to make local defenses, national defenses and if we can, also binational defenses to protect our rights (Z. Avila, interview in UNAM Chicago, April 2017).

The involvement of the organizations in “campañas amplias” such as citizenship workshops had resulted in a more pragmatic vision of citizenship exercise of Latinos in Chicago. Sartori (2001) explained how the pluralistic political culture that dominates the US political system is based on the idea that difference must serve as the foundational basis to encourage groups with similar interests to engage collectively. Latino immigrants from Chicago had taken advantage of this dynamic by privileging collective affiliation. Oscar Chacon explained:

> For us, building citizenship is more than becoming a citizen of the United States. In the United States, there is more increasingly an idea that to solve problems it is enough to become a citizen and vote, and then your problems will magically be solved. The truth is that if it would be true, you could ask people from Pennsylvania, to the people from Ohio, mostly Whites, who vote in each election, if their problems have been resolved. So, we believe that it is very important to understand that citizenship exercise contains the issues of naturalization and vote, but citizenship is also to get involved, to organize ourselves around our communities (O. Chacon, interview in Chicago, May 2017).

Citizenship workshops had been used to increase political trust of Latinos and to engage new members with their organizations. Citizenship workshops had contributed with Latino political incorporation by motivating acquisition of political rights and fostering political consciousness. Citizenship workshops educate citizens about their possibilities in the public spheres and increase political awareness of Latinos of public debates and legislative process in the city.

6.5. Politicize immigrants to avoid depoliticization of immigration.

The city mandate has expanded in the United States due to processes of federal devolution and decentralization in in the field of immigration (Varsanyi *et al.*, 2012). Progressive interest groups tend to approach local immigrant incorporation and enact policies to spotlight the city in national debates (Harwood and Myers, 2002). Following this, granting civic and political rights to immigrants is considered positive by the Chicago economic and political elites. Even the city Mayor, who was not an advocate of immigration when he was part of the staff of Obama at the White House, is defending sanctuary in federal courts. Rahm Emmanuel declared after filling lawsuits to protect sanctuary ordinances: *"Chicago will always be sanctuary, Chicago won't ever be blackmailed into changing its values, and we are and will remain a welcoming city"* (discourse, City Hall, August 2017).

The reality is that this is happening under restricted conditions such as budget deficits in the city government and disinvestment inequalities. In addition to the lack of interest of policy-makers because many Latinos cannot exercise their political rights, internal opposition of nativist sectors (which are not present in the

public sphere in Chicago, but are influential in the state of Illinois) and constrained fields of action generated by local-federal antagonism. The initiatives of organized immigrants and their day to day activism can affect but cannot transform dramatically these structural conditions. In addition, this political context can transform immigrant agency and shapes political incorporation.

In their meetings organized immigrants often declared their intentions to become as agents of change because "*they just don't talk about it, they take action*" (field notes, organization meeting, Casa Michoacan, Chicago, May 2017). Immigrant organizers describe *"We must see where there are successful efforts and replicate them, because with governments there is a huge difference between speeches and reality" (Z. Avila, interview Casa Michoacan, Chicago, April 2017).* Under these circumstances, they needed what is called collective efficacy, a combination of mutual trust and the collective willingness to act under shared goals that enhance social cohesion (Browning, Dirlam and Boettner, 2016). Organized immigrants in Chicago bet on bottom to top process. They outlined "broad campaigns", as they call to their collective action when it is explained to grassroots, or policy incidence, the message that circulates among leaders and horizontal forums to explain their mechanism for influencing policy change from below.

Examples of policy incidence were described in this chapter such as strategies to pressure for real sanctuary policies, articulation of rapid response networks, citizenship workshops, and campaigns for rights literacy. These are some outcomes of the overlapping context of federal hostility and immigration enforcement. The success of those campaigns rested in a politicized minority able to find niches and local support. Policy incidence campaigns have been crucial in the actual conjuncture in which immigrants are experiencing political closure in many arenas.

Chicago Latinos used their political experience about how to lobby for pro-immigrant laws, the mechanisms to pressure Latino representatives and to persuade politicians like the City Mayor for support, and also, organizations channeled their own resources to generate their own initiatives.

The political gains of generating their own initiatives under these experimental schemes, can be summarized in professionalism of their activism and autonomy when their community innovations are independent efforts to solve community needs (like in the cases of citizenship workshops and rights literacy campaigns). In addition, when their initiatives became institutionalized or inspired policies, this traduced in the increment of their influence in local policy change , and from there to the state and federal levels like in the campaigns for the expansion of the sanctuary ordinances.

However, when immigrants solve an urging problem with their own political resources, it might cause that their needs do not resonate in the city hall. In other words, community innovations often delay deep institutional change. Immediate responses emerged from organized communities offer punctual and ad hoc responses that could transmit the message to the political elites that the problems of the minority are already solved, this can have the effect of turning off the issue of the public sphere. This situation has also been the main critic of the critical urban theorists studying community contestations in Chicago (see Leitner, Peck and Sheppard, 2007; Sites, 2012; Sternberg and Anderson, 2014).

In the opposite scenario, when local governments address immigration issues, it is easier and faster to solve conjunctural problems. Frequently governments tend to convert immigrant demands into technical issues by simplifying solutions, proposing ad hoc or punctual responses, and avoiding to solve the real sources of

the problem. In this context, it is important to understand to what extent the responses of local governments are contingent, instead of meaningful structural reformulation of the immigration governance from above. Moreover, these dynamics have had the effect of eroding organizational efforts and confining immigration to depoliticization. Depolitization is the political strategy whereby a divisive or conflictual issue is removed from the public sphere through political mediation (Kunz, 2011).

For example, the local campaigns for the expansion of sanctuary ordinances allocate immigrants in the public sphere temporary. The problem is that other debates related to immigration enforcement such as security, crime, and federalism, displace the broader demands of the immigrants related with segregation, inequality, disinvestment, and vulnerability. In this case, local governments enacted sanctuary laws that are described by the immigrants as “sets of good intentions”. They mobilized community to join other local stakeholders in community development programs. Then, only through collective action, Latinos pressured local governments to create sanctuary policies with concrete programs and fair budget.

For organized immigrants convinced that the solution for immigrant needs is not only institutional and committed with campaigns of policy incidence, the less desirable result for their struggles is achieving policy change that in a final instance would cause their depoliticization from the public sphere. In this context, the main concern for mixed-status organized immigrants is how to maintain and to increase the capacity of resonating in the corridors of power. This process is complex, as I concluded in the chapter related with organization, it often means mainstreaming in their political alliances and excluding radical discourses when they have access

to the city hall. And, as I concluded in the chapter of mobilization it implies a rational use of uncontentious and unconventional collective action depending of the issues.

In the view of immigrant leaders, the depoliticization from the city hall only can be counteracted by the process to keep Latinos engaged and to increase political awareness. The critical mass leading Latino immigrants is convinced that immigration, even if it is a divisive issue among society, must remain in the center of the political debates. In the contemporary context of hostility, Latino leaders are encouraging civic engagement and political participation. Carlos Arango from Casa Aztlan urged in the mobilizations: *"Now, more than ever, when some criminalize our community, we must be proactive, organize, be constructive and claim: it is enough!"* (C. Arango, speech in Chicago, March 10 march, March 2017). In the same direction, Jorge Mujica argued *"That is true, fear paralyzes to us. Well, trustful information organizes us. We had circulated information and we are organized. We are in the right way"* (j. Mujica, speech in May Day March, Chicago, May 2018).

Strategies of policy incidence such as citizenship workshops and know your rights had increased political knowledge about the political rules and practices in Chicago. Moreover, immigrants are more politically aware of the litigation and lawsuits affecting their community that are introduced in District Courts and they are following the trajectories of the bills introduced in the Congress. Immigrant leaders insist in maintaining political causes locally. For example, they are lobbying for favorable legislation such as the Safe Zones Act and Not Registration Act (described in this chapter). All these strategies are having effect at the medium term in Latino political

incorporation because of the circulation of political knowledge and the civic engagement is capitalizing politicization of Chicago Latinos.

Another, component to keep immigrant politicized is increasing political maturation of the collective. The own mechanism of policy incidence show this maturity because it includes the analysis of local power structures when leaders question: "who is the official responsible for this?" and "who can help this initiative?" (Field notes from the model of policy incidence, Alianza Americas workshop, June 2017). Immigrant leaders encouraged immigrants *"We must question our government, we must be critic with the political system, we must demand our rights, but also we must propose initiatives"* (speech, Zoraida Ávila, Casa Michoacan, June 2017).

Latino immigrants from Chicago have incorporated the politicization of the community to avoid depoliticization in their multipronged strategy of political incorporation. This explains why Chicago became an important epicenter for the Latino activism in the United States. The political system in the US cities moves slowly but at least it is malleable, this means that deep policy change on immigration is taking too much time but Latino policy incidence has contributed to this process. Across this process, Latino immigrants in Chicago have concluded:

> We must be participating in all possible arenas, big and small. ¡El pueblo callado jamás será escuchado!, ¡El pueblo callado jamás será escuchado!, The silent people will never be heard!" (A. Arreola, speech in May Day March, Chicago, May 2017).

6.6. Concluding remarks

The case of Chicago has demonstrated how governmental offices and unities sometimes engage in local activism by defending sanctuary, providing municipal ID, and financing immigration services. However, the Chicago case coincides with

the argument of Sites that "one challenge to understanding neoliberal urban politics, then, is to disentangle how modes of engagement, activation, participation, and incorporation may coexist with mechanisms of exclusion, suppression, and marginalization" (2012, p. 2575). In Chicago the support of the city and political concessions resulted from machine politics, coexist with urban segregation and pauperization of colored communities. This helps to explain why despite Chicago has progressive welcoming policies, immigrants in the city are still facing vulnerabilities and policy deficits.

In this hostile context, Chicago Latinos have developed strategies of policy incidence. In many cases, these campaigns are grounded in the local opportunity structures generated by the sanctuary ordinances, the network of support with political stakeholders and brokers, and the availability of political and economic resources. Immigration status and citizenship as grounds for policy incidence incorporate strategies to help and protect undocumented immigrants, to encourage naturalization and political engagement of permanent residents, and organizations have worked to recruit and train younger Latinos in their activism. This multipronged strategy of policy incidence of Chicago Latinos have had effects in community trust, it had expanded their political influence, and it has inspired policy change.

Policy incidence is a reflection of the interactions between immigrants' agency and the local opportunity structure because it involves understanding local politics, it motivates reflection about the power relations and the aggregated value of alliances. These processes imply for immigrants to become aware of the possibilities of the American civic life to participate in the public sphere, to make community by practice. In the Chicago case, policy incidence rooted their collective

action implies a reflection about their actual position and their possibilities in the local polity.

However, these indicators of political incorporation have also been taken carefully by Latino critical mass. From their political experiences taking their initiatives to the City Hall they have found that "…*with governments there is a huge difference between speeches and reality…" (Z. Avila, interview Casa Michoacan, Chicago, April 2017),* and from the history of their previous struggles such as the 2006 spring of the immigrant, they became aware of the risk of depoliticization and of its consequence for Latino immigrants struggles. In this context, the efforts to keep the community engaged and politicized have been crucial in the process of political incorporation of Latinos in Chicago

Chapter 7.

Conclusion

7.1. Introduction

In this research, I inquired about how and why Latino immigrants developed a multifaceted strategy in their political engagement in the city of Chicago. I explored the development of a multifaceted agency, which is characterized by contrasting but coexistent political positions and actions in each one of the participatory dimensions of the process of political incorporation. In this final chapter, my empirical findings are summarized, the theoretical implications of this research are revisited, and the recommendations for further research are discussed.

The dynamics developed by immigrants in their process of political incorporation were examined by developing an extended case study in Chicago, a contemporary epicenter of the Latino immigrant activism. Using the political opportunity structure (POS) approach, I proposed an analytical model considering both variables: the immigrants' agency and the political structure in Chicago. The agency had three dimensions of analysis: organization, mobilization, and policy incidence. The structure included, on the one hand, the contextual factors that are the lasting characteristics of the polity having its roots in the social and historical processes. On the other hand, the structure included as explanatory variables the political opportunity structures that refer to the political circumstances that barrier or catalyst immigrant incorporation.

The research design consisted in in-depth study of a critical case. Chicago offered a critical case study because of several reasons. It has a mixed-status Latino collective, cohesive by the development of complex organizational networks that

therein are characterized by complementarity and convergence. Moreover, Latinos in Chicago have accessed to the local corridors of power, and from there to national politics, through conventional and contentious political actions. This thesis presented not only a successful case of immigrant political incorporation but also a case of capitalized immigrants developing complex political processes. The primary research agenda based on explaining how Latinos are a challenging group in urban immigration governance in Chicago.

This qualitative study followed a multi-method strategy. The preliminary study consisted in the documentation of statistical data, reports, and previous research about the case. Then, the nuclear part consisted on participant observation and elite interviews. The development of situated analysis on the field led to the structuration of the theoretical proposal, to the empirical results and the subsequent theoretical inference.

My basic findings show that the city, as the urban space containing political interactions, matters on the nature of local immigrant political incorporation. Then the research focus was redirected towards paying attention to immigrants' position within the social fabric. In addition, the reflection considered immigrants' position in the political structure and the explanatory variables are found in the interactions with local stakeholders.

I examined how Latinos are becoming a more participatory and less disadvantaged group in Chicago by displaying their agency across a political structure characterized by the existence of stakeholders for mobilizing, available incentives for organizing, and political niches for their community innovations. The main finding rests precisely in how the degree of political inclusiveness of the city and other contextual factors collide with immigrants' attainment of agency. This

resulted in several dilemmas, particularly I discussed the following three: mainstreaming or keeping autonomy, displaying contentious and uncontentious mobilizations, and how to keep resonating in the city hall to avoid depoliticization.

7.2. Recap of Empirical Findings

In this thesis, I approached a group led by a critical mass with enough political knowledge built on the basis of experimenting and experiencing. Their dynamics represent the highest political aspirations of the Latino experience across the US cities. Studying the politics of Chicago and placing in that context the dynamics of Latino immigrants led to explore how this group is incorporating through a multipronged agency. This agency is shaped by two assemblages, one contextual and the other circumstantial, that collide in the local political opportunity structure. The analysis based on exploring how these schemes of local immigration governance constrain political agency, and conversely, how political agents are shaping the polity.

This analytical model led to four main empirical findings, one for each one of the three dimensions of the agency of Latinos (organizing, mobilizing, and policy incidence) in their process of political incorporation, and one more framing the complete research.

The *first main empirical finding* framing the whole research was the following:

Latino immigrants' agency is characterized by contrasting and coexisting strategies that oscillate from playing as disruptive forces

trough contentious collective action to the opposite extreme of aligning with the local political machinery.

Chicago is a city built on the symbiosis of industrialization and immigration, and it has articulated a welcoming narrative to spotlight the political vibrancy of the immigration governance of the locality in the generalized context of hostility towards immigrants across the United States. Chicago is an important example of the contemporary immigrant resistance. In Chicago the city government engaged in immigrant activism, the local political elites took contradictory directions with respect to the anti-immigrant and anti-Latino presidency of Trump. This caused that in the US media, the mediatic fights between the Chicago Mayor (who is defending sanctuary ordinances) and Trump (who is trying to block funds to the city) have captured more public attention than the immigrant responses.

However, we cannot ignore in the analysis that Chicago is also characterized by urban segregation and there are strong inequalities between the ethnic groups in the city. These problems have been voluntarily and involuntarily enhanced for decades through housing policy, neighborhood development investment, and recently, urban gentrification affecting immigrant neighborhoods (Sites, 2012; Sternberg and Anderson, 2014). Although Latinos are not in the bottom of the socioeconomic scale in Chicago, in politics they are incorporating from a disadvantaged position because they are young and many of them lack of citizenship, dynamics that reproduce underrepresentation in formal politics.

In addition, it is essential to keep in mind that Chicago style politics is machinery politics, in which Latinos are often seen as an influenceable political clientele by the political establishment. However, Chicago, with its marked political

and economic elites, can be a school of politics for groups attempting to engage and influence the polity like the Latino minority.

Latinos are struggling to become politically compelling by structuring representations as an organized minority that can display insider and outsider political strategies. Attaining political agency has led the process of articulation of a mixed-status collective into a political minority led by a critical mass. These community organizers, in many cases, were brought into the public sphere by political insiders and allies such as politicians, unions, advocacy organizations and other stakeholders. Departing from these interactions immigrant leaders became aware of the Latino political agency and its possibilities in the local polity by experiencing and experimenting in real political settings. In the case of Chicago, some immigrant leaders have jumped into formal politics, whereas others have made of activism a professional activity.

Latinos in Chicago today represent organized groups that protest, resist, and rebuild community. They are capable of generating their own community innovations, and they have inspired policy change from below. This process happening through Latino organizations was initially aimed at building resilience within community, and after the political maturation of the collective, it was directed towards learning politics by practice.

Precisely, the characteristics of Latino organization and its alliances with local political stakeholders constituted the first dimension of this model of analysis. The convergence (merging goals) and complementarity (differentiated scope and fields of action) that characterizes the organizational network of Chicago Latinos has facilitated the alliance with local stakeholders that provided insiders' institutional

access. These dynamics of the Latino organization in Chicago led to the *second main empirical finding*:

> Immigrants' alliances with local political stakeholders, the salience of their needs,
> the level of contestation of their agendas, and the pressure of grassroots
> have led to balance both, mainstreaming in formal politics to achieve causes faster and keeping autonomy in grassroots activism to address higher risk political issues.

In this thesis, I highlighted the strengthens of the complex organizational network of Chicago Latinos ranging from classical HTAs to highly structured alliances that are vocal even in the Illinois capitol, the US Congress, and the White House. I also signaled the characteristics of Chicago organizations that avoid intragroup competition and help them to present themselves as a cohesive minority. I described the differentiated scale and arenas of work within the organizational network. I also explained how when dissident positions find traction in the grassroots, Latino leaders absorb their proposals and demands incorporating this to their movement under the idea of a colored community compromised with the common struggle of "navigating the same boat" (as immigrant organizers state in their meetings).

This strong structuration has been crucial to enhance legitimacy within their grassroots, to maintain vocal representation in front of the establishment, networking with host society organizations, and bridging with political insiders. Latino immigrant alliances are important stakes, particularly the case of brokers who provide access to funds, while labor unions that support with logistics, and advocacy organizations open niches in the public sphere.

The most important value of this organizational network is acting as a spiral of trust and channeling collective agency. Organizations are grounds for connecting people with similar convergent vulnerabilities and constitute a platform for collective impact. Immigrant leaders often state that being a foreigner (even in the cases of second generation immigrants) paired with growing in poor, violent, and underserved neighborhoods can be barriers to civic and political engagement. However, for Latinos leaders in Chicago, this context instead of discouraging engagement, inspired them to transform and rebuild their communities.

The political maturation of the collective has been a gradual process filled with successes and failures characterized by the continuous struggle for the right to have rights in the city of settlement. The weaknesses of this organizational network could be found the development of Latino political elites and the reinforcement of political clientelism, although these processes take longer to develop and are worthy of further research. In the short term highlights the dilemma of mainstreaming in formal politics, dynamic analyzed in detail in this thesis.

Immigrants found that the US rewards civic participation when it occurs through certain channels seen as positive by the mainstream, the use of these mechanisms facilitates access to funds and forums. However, mainstreaming in formal politics also has political costs, such as the adoption of a neoliberal rhetoric, the silencing of deviant voices, and the erosion of struggles for social justice in the face of addressing the political agenda of the establishment.

In the meantime, organizations are the live expression of the Latino immigrants' political aspirations and the legitimacy of these organizations rests in the recognition of their grassroots. As a consequence, they are expected to lead Latino struggles that, in many cases, are aimed at disrupting the order of the

establishment by pressuring for civil rights and labor rights for all. In addition, organizations are expected to enhance ethnic resilience and channeling collective efforts.

In this context, I found that Latino leaders have conciliated both mainstreaming in formal politics for inclusion and keeping autonomy in their grassroots activism for legitimacy. This ambivalent direction that characterized the interactions of immigrant organizations with political insiders has been sustained by creating compelling representations of the Latino political minority.

In the interviews and the meetings, Latino leaders always stated how, in Chicago, many people want to speak for immigrants (even the City Mayor), but they expressed that they wanted to be the ones responsible for their own political successes and failures because they know the community better. Latino leaders found that topics perceived by political elites as risky, such as in-depth structural reforms favoring minorities and the immigration reform, are easily avoided in the city hall. In this contrasting context, engaging in conventional politics with the mainstream is as necessary as keeping the autonomy of their organizations. However, immigrants also expressed their awareness about that grassroots are their main source of legitimacy over the support of their political allies. The massive support of Latino immigrant grassroots is the source of their causes and this support is their main resource for policy change in representative democracies. This way, they want to be vocal in local politics by using the two foundational pillars of the US political system: organization and representation.

The *third main empirical finding* is found in the mobilizing dimension of Latino agency in Chicago and it is summarized as follows:

Latinos in Chicago have developed community capacity for mobilizing both: voters and protesters. The Latino immigrant mobilizations are part of a broad political strategy that combines contentious and conventional collective action.

In this thesis, an important question initiated the analysis of Latino mobilization. If Latinos in Chicago have more legal protections, find more sympathetic voices in formal politics, and have more political allies than in other US cities; then, why is Chicago the new epicenter of Latino activism with daily public demonstrations?

Latinos in Chicago expressed in their discourses that they mobilize to keep political responsiveness. They externalized how they have understood that their struggle needs to display collective action in the streets and to work also in the city hall with insiders' political strategies. In both cases mobilizations were aimed at spreading awareness about immigrant issues and other topics related to vulnerable sectors in Chicago. In public demonstrations they requested participation of the community and sought for support and resources from their allies. Their mobilizations had the goal of pressuring for policy chance from below. Latinos displayed contentious and uncontentious mobilization with differentiated goals ranging from cooperating, pressuring, to confronting politics and policies depending on the arena and the issue involved.

For instance, leaders cooperate in joint campaigns with governmental and mainstream organizations to enable faster achievement of urgent objectives, for example in front of the escalation of deportations. Organized immigrants mobilized in join campaigns in cases of litigation to defend sanctuary, to receive funds for

immigration services, and in other partnerships that brought the Latino minority to the public sphere.

In contrast, public demonstrations and civil disobedience intrinsically have had a legacy of expressive value for the invisible. In the case of Chicago, even politicians, scholars, faith leaders, and other public figures are involved in civil disobedience on behalf of immigrants. It is interesting to see how immigrants were aware of the fact that confrontations have no substantial effect on policy change. However leaders described that boycotts, fasting, blockage of roads, massive walk-outs, and other examples of civil disobedience have served to channel the frustration of the powerless. Unconventional political action, in the words of immigrant leaders sometimes is the only power left to the marginalized.

By contrast, immigrant leaders have found that mobilizing works better when it is a part of a broader political strategy, when the goal is to display the strategic pressure rooted in the city, scale in which immigration is more normalized by society. In other words, Latino mobilizations are neither spontaneous nor unconnected collective action. Instead these demonstrations of community capacity are perceived by the community and by leaders as necessary civic skills to push the political boundaries in their favor while keeping the responsiveness and engagement of the community.

The understanding of power relations, as well as the capacity for identifying gaps and niches, is crucial for the incorporation of the political minority. The demands in their mobilizations tend to be simple because of the size of the collective, this way, the message circulates easily among the grassroots.

In fact, immigrant social justice is their main demand, which is based on the claim that illegality and deportability are constructed by the law, and immigrants

are welcomed as foreign labor but not as citizens. Vindicating immigrant social justice is about dignity and fair treatment for colored communities. In their immigrant social justice struggles, they are not just asking for the recognition of their rights, they want host society to acknowledge their contributions for avoiding labels criminalizing the community. Latinos from Chicago perceived themselves as a contested minority because they must keep reiterating their contributions, permanently defending their rights, legitimating their place in the public space, and contesting stereotypes.

The *four main empirical finding* of this research resulted from the analysis of the strategy of policy incidence and consist in the following:

Latinos have learned that in order to keep the political potential of the collective
they must reproduce their influence policy change. This way,
immigrant leaders are working to increase politicization of the grassroots
to avoid depoliticization from mainstream politics.

This situation leads us to recap the third dimension of Latino immigrants' agency, which consisted in empowerment to potentiate the institutional opportunities through independent efforts born in community with the broader goal of influencing policy change. In Chapter 6, I discussed how Chicago immigrants call *incidencia política* to the broad campaigns that collect their focal political identities and specific claims by linking their demands with the common concerns of the host societies. This means that immigrants expose their contributions to their place of settlement, they refuse to become a public charge, their community organizations generate their own services, their organizations outline proposals, and then they engage with other political insiders to potentiate their initiatives.

I found that welcoming ordinances and accommodation policies (such as the municipal ID) are perceived by politicized immigrants as bureaucratic responses to structural problems that have the effect of converting immigrants' claims into technical issues by granting them some rights while avoiding in-depth reforms. Immigrant organizers explained how this also tends to depoliticize immigrant claims from the polity. Once their agenda reaches the city hall and the policy-making organs through the mobilization of grassroots, from the perspective of the political elites there should not be any reason to keep the community mobilized and engaged within the local polity.

In this context, the critical mass leading Latinos have learned that the solution to immigrant needs is not only institutional. Instead of falling in depoliticization, they are increasingly critical of their position in machinery politics, and they are more aware of the political potential of the collective.

In other words, Latino organizers have adopted pragmatic positions to advantage the opportunities provided by the city government. In the meantime, they channel their own resources to campaigns of high political risk. For example, they advantaged the protections of the sanctuary ordinances and organized fundraising campaigns in alliance with organizations from the host society organizations to projects of community development (education, poverty, safe neighborhood, etc.). Meanwhile, they are using their own resources in political activities, such as professional staff lobbying in decision-making organisms, to foster immigrant political leadership in campaigns such as *Conozca sus Derechos,* citizenship clinics, and voter registration.

In this thesis, I deeply analyzed these responses and community innovations, all these are part of the strategy that Latino immigrants in Chicago denominate as

"exercising rights in extreme situations." I explained how they are informing undocumented immigrants and residents about their rights, monitoring the due process, and spreading information about the actions to take in the face of possible deportation. They are encouraging permanent residents to become citizens to exercise their civic and political rights in support of the Latino minority. Besides, they are encouraging young Latinos to volunteer in these campaigns and to engage in local politics.

The effects of this increment in the flow of trustful information and the capitalization of the minority through campaigns of rights literacy will have effects in the medium term, possibly this will change dramatically their political position in Chicago politics in the long term. Latino leaders have high expectations about the empowerment of the minority in the locality, even in the generalized hostility towards immigrants and in particular Latino. They are already projecting the strategies for the upcoming census in 2020 and the subsequent process of redistricting, this dynamics will inevitably open political spaces for greater Latino representation in formal politics in Chicago.

However, the effect of these strategies on political influence grounded in local opportunities is questionable for many reasons. First, when immigrant organizations solve the problems and needs of the community, they tend to reproduce segregation, inequalities, and political passiveness because for local governments, it is easier to let others offer the services that they cannot provide (one of the critics of the schemes of urban governance). Besides, the rapid response of organized communities implies punctual and ad hoc responses that solve urgent needs but turn off the problem of the public sphere. Thus, community innovations can delay deep institutional change. Alternatively, their gradual access to formal

politics and local policy-making organs could change this by potentiating their autonomous efforts, but they are still in this process because they are a mixed-status and young collective.

It is important to point out that the local progress of Chicago Latinos is turning into ethnic political gains that are indirectly exerting their effect over the broken migratory system in which the need of foreign labor contrast with the few pathways for regularization. The outcomes of Latino politics locally are fundamental considering that Chicago is the new epicenter of Latino activism. However, organizations are often focused more on priorities related to becoming a political minority and achieving local causes than on pressuring for deep structural solutions such as a comprehensive immigration reform. The positive part of this is that their campaigns of policy incidence incorporate other social sectors, for example the alliances with unions and influential civic leagues in the country. By contrast, the negative effect is that vulnerability is reinforced for the most marginalized segment of the group that often is not politically active.

7.3. Theoretical implications and Contributions

The Chicago case is a fertile soil for analyzing Latinos' multi-faceted incorporation within a large-scale ethnic community that have developed complex forms of collective engagement in formal politics. In this dissertation I concentrated on analyzing both, intra-organizational dynamics and Latino immigrants' interactions with non-immigrant stakeholders. This case study also demonstrated that cities cannot be analyzed isolated from national and transnational dynamics. Although the locality is the nearest sphere for political actions and local politics

affects immigrants' daily life. US cities are complex layers of historical and social dynamics, where Latino immigrants are political outsiders trying to become insiders by articulating their interests with other social sectors and building representations of politically compelling groups. This dissertation addressed the contemporary stage of this process.

The empirical findings discussed before show how the theoretical apparatus used by this thesis makes possible to understand immigrant political incorporation at the local level in a way that is not possible when the analysis focuses only on groups or institutional explanations. That is why I privileged a focus on the interactions between agents and the trade-offs between the agency and the structure exploring both bottom-up and top-down dynamics. I complemented this with a final reflection about how both sides were transformed along the process of political incorporation of Chicago Latinos.

In this thesis several new venues were explored, some of them regarding Political Opportunity Structure approach will be recap in the following paragraphs.

POS approach recognizes the importance of alliances between political insiders and outsiders (Meyer and Imig, 1993; Meyer and Minkoff, 2004; Mahler and Siemiatycki, 2011), particularly in the process of political incorporation (Cappiali, 2016; Triviño-salazar, 2017). However, in this research I explain that alliances do not traduce only in the increment of power, alliances also shape the nature of the agency. Particularly in context like Chicago characterized for racialized politics and Machinery Politics, and a context characterized also for a diversity of stakeholders ranging from governmental officials to not for profit organizations.

In the same direction, the POS approach explains that political resources and venues for access translate in political opportunity structures only in cases in which

are perceived by the challenging group (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004; Nicholls, 2013a; Caruso, 2015). This was demonstrated in this research, but I also found that in some cases groups are critical about advantaging these resources and venues of access facilitated by stakeholders, in particular when they risk their own resources and the autonomy of their agency.

This study demonstrated how the political opportunity approach helps explain long-standing immigrant movements and not only conjunctural mobilizations, such as in the case of the works of Koopmans (2004), Nicholls (2013a, 2013c), and Uteimark and Nicholls (2014). Besides, the relation between machinery politics and immigrant incorporation has been barely explored. For example, Dominguez (2016b) superficially studied political machineries in his analysis of the Latino vote. Other studies had placed mobilizations in Chicago under machinery politics but do not directly aimed at analyzing Latino political incorporation (Sites, 2012; Doussard and Lesniewski, 2017). This gap of research in local political incorporation studies is important because as Chicago media reported after the 2018 primaries, Latinos in Chicago have bested the political machinery.

In this thesis, I addressed scholarly debates about rescaling research on immigrant incorporation at the city level (Glick Schiller and Çaglar, 2009; Filomeno, 2017) and framing these dynamics by critical urban studies (Leitner, Peck and Sheppard, 2007; Varsanyi, 2011; Walker and Leitner, 2011; Sites, 2012). The broad implications of these debates are the analysis of new forms of power struggles and immigrants' role in the reconfiguration of urban life. These debates fit with analysis of the political incorporation of groups attaining agency in their own process of political incorporation, particularly in cases when this agency has transformative effects in urban dynamics.

In sum, this research contributes to the field with the argument that we cannot oversimplify the local context of reception as welcoming or anti-immigrant because polities are characterized by overlapping interactions and changing concerns. In the same direction, I demonstrated that positive political contexts do not automatically lead to political integration. Furthermore, I argued that analyzing interactions beyond the existence of barriers and incentives for entry to the public sphere is necessary. This thesis provides a good starting point for understanding political incorporation through an in-depth analysis of the complex interactions between behaviors, resources, and contextual accounts (such as the conduciveness of political rules and institutional settings).

In addition to the strengths and contributions of this research presented in this section, it is necessary to point out the limitations and challenges of this study.

First, like many of the studies exploring the political dynamics of immigrants, in this study the segment active in politics is small in comparison with the total share of immigrants in the city. Although Chicago Latinos have higher participation rates than the average among the US cities, the dynamics described in the findings were only developed by the leading critical mass. Following this, further generalizations must be taken carefully.

Second, also a limitation of this study in the empirical ground consist in that during the fieldwork I prioritized the inquiry of the processes developed by Latinos in the city over acknowledging perceptions and subjectivities of the immigrants. This because other studies focused in political trajectories of Latino organizers have based on their perceptions about the political context Chicago (Schutze, 2016; Curran, 2017) but the interactions are the variables that better help to explore

agency in immigrant political incorporation. Further research must consider the possibility of comparing perceptions of immigrant organizers with the direction and characteristics of the dynamics found by this research.

Third, this research was articulated from the real-context and the dynamics taking place in Chicago. For this reason, many of the dynamics explaining immigrant incorporation are specific to Latinos and to the U.S. cities. These conditions limit the impact of the empirical findings. However, the theoretical apparatus proposed can be applied to other cities. Following this motivation, this study was projected for further scalability. The research proposal can be applied either to approach the political incorporation of other ethnic minorities in Chicago or to study Latino political incorporation in other US cities.

Finally, in previous studies using POS approach to study immigrant mobilizations there is a tendency for developing comparative studies (Koopmans, 2004; Nicholls, 2013b; Uitermark and Nicholls, 2014; Cappiali, 2016). However, as I explained in the theoretical chapter, POS approach emerged in 1970s to study social movements and it is not strictly comparative. In addition, the condition of critical case of Chicago and the complexity of the dynamics happening there justify the focus in a single case. The theoretical model guiding this research opens a niche for further comparisons in other geographies, in both directions, in cases with similar or sharply contrasting characteristics.

7.4. Final Remarks

In this dissertation, I developed a reflection of immigrants' agency in political incorporation mediated by the environment and explained by the more static characteristics of the contextual structure, as well as by contingent and often-volatile political opportunity structures. I explained how political incorporation can be shaped by immigrants depending on their political capital, motivated by strategic alliances with political insiders, affected by political machineries, and influenced by political conjunctures. The salience of immigrants' needs is what brings them to the political sphere, the changing contexts charged with opportunities and threats are what activate their agency. Conversely, the nature of immigrants' incorporation also shapes the local polity.

In Chicago, the modes of engagement and incorporation for Latinos coexist with the dynamics of exclusion and marginalization. For example, Chicago Latinos have achieved political gains derived from political machinery concessions, gains that coexist with the dynamics of urban segregation, disinvestment in their neighborhoods, and underrepresentation in formal politics. Besides, their political agency, in many cases, is shaped by contingent and volatile opportunities, as well as by external political resources provided by their allies.

However, this political environment is complemented by a complex agency. Few immigrant collectives, such as Chicago Latinos, have developed an agency in their process of political incorporation that is characterized by the complementarity and convergence of their complex organizational network, their consciousness of the value of autonomy, and the collective capacity of mobilizing either supporters or protesters. Latino organizations from Chicago are working to spread trustful political information, leaders are increasing political awareness, and they are

constituting a creative community to enhance their resilience. In summary, Chicago Latinos have developed a multipronged strategy in their process of political incorporation because the local polity is also filled with paradoxes.

This research outlined a theoretical and methodological proposal to study the political incorporation of politically capitalized minorities in the global contemporary context, which is characterized by welcoming cities versus the growing national hostility and political closure toward immigrants. Future research should consider following this theoretical proposal to analyze multifaceted agency (using the dimensions of organization, mobilization and incidence) in the study of the contemporary stage of political incorporation of Latinos. In-depth analysis are crucial to understand and predict the future of Latino politics (the biggest minority in the United States) and these studies also help to understand the variations of the immigrant political incorporation.

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