From Huelga! to Undocumented and Unafraid!: A Comparative Study of Media Strategies in the Farm Worker Movement of the 1960s and the Immigrant Youth Movement of the 2000s.

By

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SUBMITTED TO THE PROGRAM IN COMPARATIVE MEDIA STUDIES/WRITING IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN COMPARATIVE MEDIA STUDIES
AT THE
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

JUNE 2013

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Acknowledgements:

First of all, I would like to thank James Paradis and Sasha Costanza-Chock who were not only advisors for this thesis, but also important mentors during my development as a scholar. Second, I want to recognize two other scholars who were instrumental in the completion of this work: Ed Barrett and Marshall Ganz. I would like to extend my appreciation to all my interviewees, and specifically those cited in this work, for sharing their experiences and writing history through their actions: Nancy Meza, Julio Salgado, Pocho1, Renata Teodoro, Kyle De Beausset, Anahi Mendoza, and Yuechen Zhao. I would also like to thank Molly Jones for supporting me through this difficult writing process from the beginning until the very end.

Dedico este trabajo a mi familia, especialmente mis padres inmigrantes, quienes fueron valientes y responsables en traer a su familia a los Estados Unidos en búsqueda de una vida mejor.
Abstract:

Attention to the use of new media by social movements rose rapidly following groundbreaking global protests: The Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and the "Indignados" Movement in Spain. However, determinism and rhetoric of newness have led to phrases like "Twitter Revolution," while tools and gadgets often overshadow human agency and grassroots efforts. In fact, media and grassroots strategies have worked hand-in-hand and have been pivotal to social movements throughout history. Through a comparative analysis of the Farm Workers Movement of the 1960s and the contemporary Immigrant Youth Movement, this work examines media strategies by emphasizing concrete media practices of movement actors. With a grounded approach that incorporates participant observation, semi-structured interviews, archival research, and literature reviews, this study provides cross-historical insight into media strategies in social movements. Particularly, this work covers external and internal media strategies, media practice, framing, community media practice, and capacity building. It concludes with a comparative analysis of how movement media strategies are related to movement goals, aims, and outcomes.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 1: Links to the Past</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methods and Frameworks</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document Structure</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: The Farm Worker Movement</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pilgrimage</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media and Social Movements in the 1960s</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Context of Organizing Farm Workers in the United States</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Structures of the United Farm Workers</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building a Social Movement: From Labor Dispute to Social Movement</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Dual Media Strategy</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Practice in the 1960s</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Bad Boy</em> and <em>The Buzzing Mosquito</em></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Framing: Cultural Heritage, Religious Symbolism, and Citizenship</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics of Inclusion: Undocumented Immigrants and the Farm Worker Movement</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Media Strategy: Collaboration with Media Professionals</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Media Practice</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Strategies in a Grassroots Movement</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: The Immigrant Youth Movement</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trail of Dreams</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media and Social Movements in the New Millennium</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Context of Immigration Reform</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Structures of the Immigrant Youth Movement</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building a Social Movement: From the Shadows to Undocumented and Unafraid</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Practice in the New Millennium</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Media Practice</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Framing: Shifting Public Discourse Through Symbols</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics of Inclusion: Beyond DREAMer Identities</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Media Strategy: Collaboration with Media Professionals</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggling to be Heard...Again?: The Pitfalls of Mainstream Media Attention</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: Comparative Discussion of Two Movements and Their Media</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It Takes a Village: Skill Sharing, Informal Learning, and Capacity Building in Social Movements</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediated Repertoires of Contention</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5: Lessons from Comparative Historical Analysis</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Directions</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works Cited</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Links to the Past

Figure 1: Undocumented youth and allies at the United We Dream 'Dream Warriors' Congress in 2012 (photo by author).

From November 30 to December 2 of 2012, the national organization for undocumented "Dreamers" United We DREAM (UWD), held a congress in Kansas City, Missouri in order to determine the next steps for the Dreamer Movement. The event was held at Kansas City's enormous convention center located in the Downtown Area. The theme of the congress was "Dream Warriors," in order to acknowledge the hard work and struggle among Dreamers in the fight for comprehensive immigration reform. With over 600 attendees, the UWD congress was a mix of Dreamer veterans, who have been organizing in the movement for years, and their documented allies. But most importantly, the event welcomed a new generation of
undocumented youth from all over the nation (and world) who would carry the Dreamer Movement forward.

I attended this event to introduce Undocutech, a proposed national network of tech-activists and media makers in the Dreamer Movement that would harness shared learning and collaborative creation in order to crowd-source skills in the movement. In partnership with UWD tech-activist Celso Mireles, we held the first ever Undocutech information session during an informal lunch meeting. Using an SMS alert system to disseminate updates and relevant information to Congress attendees, Mireles sent out the following message on the morning of December 2: “UWD Online Team & our MIT partners invite you for a DREAM Tech lunch to talk about technology use in the movement. Text ‘Dream Tech’ to 877877 for the location.”

Close to 15 people attended the info session, which began with Celso’s remarks on the great work that Dreamers across the country have been doing in terms of technology use and media creation: the use of Twitter for updates, Facebook for outreach, video projects on YouTube, online webinars around Deferred Action, and even the SMS alert system being used at the congress. The strengths and abundances of the movement were constantly reiterated, specifically the sheer people power of literally tens of thousands of Dreamers across the nation. Taking this power into consideration, I highlighted how other movements, like Occupy Wall Street, used crowd-sourced collaboration in order to do amazing things with media. In general, people reiterated that the Dreamer Movement could greatly benefit from a collaborative network like Undocutech, especially considering four major factors: the massive number of Dreamers around the nation, the dispersed nature of the movement across geography, a general lack of monetary resources, and the new-media-savviness of Dreamers. Finally, we promised to keep in touch with those present at the meeting, and Celso and others at MIT held the first Undocutech Google “hangout” in December of 2012.
As the congress came to an end participants convened at a closing ceremony. In the habit of documentation, the youth held up their phones, cameras, and other devices to record the event. At this time, leaders took turns reflecting on the congress and the direction of the movement overall. One particular organizer linked the current Immigrant Rights Movement with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, specifically mentioning Civil Rights leaders and their influence on current leaders: Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, Dolores Huerta, and Cesar Chavez. The comments of this movement actor are noteworthy because it is common practice to frame the current struggle using the lenses of the Civil Rights Movement, underscoring how the past continues to influence the present.

Keeping social movements of the past in mind, on Easter Sunday, March 31, 2013, Google sparked a social media outcry with their doodle of the day, honoring the 86th birthday of the late Cesar Chavez, a prominent Latino leader of the Civil Rights Movement. The "twitterverse" erroneously associated the name "Chavez" with the late Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, and was up in arms over Google's "un-American" display. The threats of "switching to Bing" underscored a general lack of awareness of the contributions of Cesar Chavez and the impact of the Farm Worker Movement on the United States. Ironically, only a few weeks prior, President Obama had erected a monument to honor Cesar Chavez and publicly met with his surviving wife, Helen Chavez ("President Obama to Establish César E. Chávez National Monument" 2012).

Helen Chavez will be portrayed on screen in the upcoming film Chavez, directed by Diego Luna, and by actress America Ferrera, a celebrity voice involved in the Immigrant Rights Movement. Alongside her, Rosario Dawson will portray United Farm Worker co-founder and Farm Worker Movement leader Dolores Huerta. At the same time as the Undocubus arrived at the Democratic National Convention on September 5, 2012, Dawson stood in support of
undocumented immigrants to denounce the separation of families outside of the event.¹ According to news sources, she addressed a crowd and said, "After four years our families are still being separated. It’s enough! You should not be afraid, things will change in this country" (Sabaté 2012).

Dolores Huerta herself, at 83 years old, has been actively involved in the Immigrant Rights Movement. In 2008, she visited the Fast for our Future camp, a 21-day hunger strike in support of the human rights of undocumented immigrants, in order to show solidarity and support for the cause. In 2012, she attended a protest of a CNN Republican debate to stand in solidarity with immigrant rights activists (Khan 2012). Dolores Huerta is not the only Civil Rights figure currently collaborating with undocumented immigrants. A few months earlier across the country in East Boston, United Farm Worker veteran organizer and Harvard Professor, Marshall Ganz received an award from the Student Immigrant Movement (SIM) for his involvement and mentorship.²

The intertwining nature of the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement, particularly with media, highlight the continued influence of the Civil Rights Movement on contemporary activists. Social movement actors are inspired by past struggles and leaders who serve as role models: Chavez, Huerta, Larry Itliong, Philip Vera Cruz, Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, and Bayard Rustin. The principles of nonviolence have carried into the Immigrant Rights Movement as a whole, and undocumented youth have widely adopted nonviolent civil disobedience tactics. Much of the grassroots repertoire of contention from the Civil Rights Movement has persisted into contemporary social movements: marches, sit-ins, boycotts, picket lines, hunger strikes, and walkouts (Tarrow 1993; Costanza-Chock

¹ The Undocubus was part of the "No Papers, No Fear" campaign, where dozens of immigrants and allies
² Informed by participant observation of the event by the author.
In addition to these methods, a mediated repertoire has also played an important role in social movements, both of the past and present.

Scholars have highlighted the importance of media in the Civil Rights Movement and into the movements of today. In his work, *Media in the Chicano Movement*, scholar Francisco J. Lewels talks about the essential role that media played in the Farm Worker Movement and the Chicano Movement at large (Lewels 1973). The work *Eyewitness* further establishes this idea, as the collaboration with media professionals was of great importance to the United Farm Workers' cause (Treviño 2001). Marshall Ganz gained experience alongside Farm Worker Movement leaders and has emphasized the value of media to the successful creation and dissemination of movement messages (Ganz 2009).³

For the contemporary cases, Sasha Costanza-Chock has discussed how undocumented youth have been particularly resourceful at adopting Information and Communication Technologies in activism and organizing (Costanza-Chock 2010, 2011). In her dissertation titled *Undocumented, Unapologetic and Unafraid: Discursive strategies of the Immigrant Youth DREAM Social Movement*, Claudia A. Anguiano draws connections between the movements and traditions from the Civil Rights Movement with particular emphasis on communications theories (Anguiano 2011). Since undocumented youth are disenfranchised from electoral politics, other scholarly work has focused on the civic engagement of undocumented youth using new media platforms (Zimmerman 2012; Jenkins 2012).

This thesis draws from literature that examines the role of media in the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement in order to provide direct comparison. There is much linking both movements, even though they are fifty years apart. Anguiano's work, which directly compares two movements, is a rarity in scholarship, especially in regards to media

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³ Marshall Ganz, meeting with author at Harvard University on April 23, 2012. Cambridge, Massachusetts
strategies across time. While her work examines the Immigrant Youth Movement from a communications perspective, it does not provide a Media Studies approach that gives emphasis to the uses of media platforms and their impact on people. The pertinent research questions that guide this thesis are:

1. How are social movement actors developing media strategies and learning tactics?
2. How have mediated repertoires from the past persisted, evolved, adapted?
3. What is the role of human agency and culture in the development and employment of media strategies?

Methods and Frameworks

This thesis first introduces two case studies, the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement. These case studies are not meant to be the “final word” on the topic, but instead highlight what I consider to be key points in understanding how media work in these social movements. While the length of each movement historically is disputable, I will focus largely on the first decade of each movement, which are both tied to key legislation: the end of the Bracero Program in 1964 and the introduction of the DREAM Act in 2001. Additionally, it must be noted that the United Farm Workers were only one of many organizations involved in the Farm Worker Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The scholarly “master narrative” places particular emphasis the UFW and its leaders while overlooking other key organizations, leaders, and community members that were involved in this struggle. An overemphasis on the contributions of Latino leaders in the Farm Worker Movement has supported a problematic master frame, which has historically left out the contributions of many important communities and leaders, such as Filipino communities and leaders Larry Itliong, Pete Velasco, and Philip Vera Cruz (Brown 2012). At the same time, an exploration of a variety of
organizations proved challenging for the scope of this thesis, especially considering the little attention given to media strategies even within the numerous works that comprise Farm Worker Movement literature and scholarly works. Focus on the UFW is a good starting point for future research about media strategies in the broader Farm Worker Movement because academic works have studied multiple dimensions of the organization in order to understand what led to its prominence and success.

Also, while scholarship on media and communications strategies in the Immigrant Youth Movement is relatively small, signs of a new master narrative around DREAMers are already beginning to form. As with the Farm Worker Movement, situated within a broader Civil Rights Movement, the Immigrant Youth Movement is situated within a broader Immigrant Rights Movement. Undocumented youth have indeed been leading figures in the employment of media strategies in the fight for immigration reform, but older non-DREAMer immigrants are also actively with media. The Voces Móviles (Mobile Voices) project, a blogging platform for low income immigrant workers in Los Angeles, provides an excellent example of how older generations of immigrants are involved in designing, creating, and sustaining important media strategies (VozMob Project 2010). However, contributions of undocumented immigrants to the study of communications and media are still largely lacking, which underscores the importance of this study, especially as the struggle for comprehensive immigration reform continues. The specific time frame that will be considered for the Immigrant Youth Movement begins with the introduction of the federal DREAM Act in 2001 until the present day.

Some of the core concepts that frame this thesis are - media practice, popular education and repertoires of contention. Media practice is a framework that places emphasis on the regular uses of media in everyday context and settings, which grounds media strategies in the lived experiences of social movement actors (Couldry 2012). Popular education speaks directly
to informal learning in community settings and consciousness building through social actions, which speaks to how media strategies are developed and shared in social movements (Freire 1970; Desai 2002; Zimmerman 2012). Repertoires of contention, sets of tactics and techniques used to achieve movement goals, are also pertinent (Tarrow 1993; Costanza-Chock 2001, 2010). Furthermore, influential Critical Race Theory and LatCrit Theory scholars Daniel G. Solórzano, Dolores Delgado Bernal, and Tara Yosso have shaped my understanding of important dynamics among immigrant communities, low-income communities, and communities of color.

A variety of methods inform this project: literature reviews, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, content analysis, and archival investigation. The literature that grounds this work comes from many different areas of study, including media studies, communications, ethnic studies, and education. The semi-structured interview protocol, created in collaboration with Assistant Professor Sasha Costanza-Chock, consisted of 58 questions with an average completion rate of one-hour. The topics covered include: organization, personal engagement, daily communication practices, tracking media use, networks and alliances, access and relationship to the media. Archival investigation at the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University, which contains one of the largest Farm Worker Movement collections in the U.S., was instrumental to developing historical context and comparative analysis. Also, movement produced media are considered in addition to traditional scholarly sources. These include online news websites, blogs, and videos. Furthermore, participant observation with immigrant organizations, particularly with media creators, tech-activist, and online organizers via Undocutech has grounded and situated this work, bridging theory with practice.
The first case study will cover the use of media in the Farm Worker Movement of the 1960s, with particular emphasis on the United Farm Workers. This chapter establishes important historical context to consider when examining labor social movements in the United States and the attempts to organize farm workers. I discuss the United Farm Workers, their organizational structure, and how they built a social movement in detail. Internal and external media strategies are also important to this work, and I contextualize them within the day-to-day operations of the Farm Worker Movement. Some of these operations included the regular dissemination of the UFW newspaper *El Malcriado* and leaflet series *El Mosquito Zumbador*. Additionally, I consider notions of framing, especially the way in which they are informed by cultural and religious symbols in the Farm Worker Movement. I discuss politics of inclusion and the role of undocumented immigrants. Politics of inclusion addresses inclusion, exclusion, and belonging in social movements, and speaks to how identity and frames are created. I also examine external media strategies, collaboration with media professionals, community media practice, and media use within organizations in local community settings, before a concluding section on the role of media strategies in the overall context of the movement.

The chapter on media in the Immigrant Youth Movement largely mirrors the structure of the Farm Worker Movement case study. I briefly examine relevant literature and review history and legal cases. A conversation about organizational structures and movement actors sets the stage for analysis of media strategies developed by undocumented youth. A brief history on the phases of the Immigrant Youth Movement precedes a section on media practice in contemporary movements. As with the Farm Worker Movement, community media practice, framing, and politics of inclusion are emphasized. Finally, the case study concludes by
highlighting external media strategies and the pitfalls of mainstream attention and professionalization.

The comparative analysis section brings the case studies directly into discussion and highlights popular education and mediated repertoires of contention. The section on popular education focuses on skill sharing, informal learning, and capacity building. The section on mediated repertoires underscores continuity, updating, and contextualization.

In the concluding chapter, I provide an overview of key findings from the comparative study. I also discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the comparative approach. Finally, I suggest future directions for research and key questions.
The Pilgrimage

In the spring of 1966, a group of 67 farm workers from Delano, California began their journey northbound toward the state capitol in Sacramento (Ganz 2009; Bardacke 2011). They were the United Farm Workers, and their mission was to gain public support for the Delano Grape Strike and the unionization of farm workers in the United States. Led by the image of La

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Virgen de Guadalupe and united under the banner of _peregrinación, penitencia, y revolución_ (pilgrimage, penitence, and revolution), this mix of men and women prepared to embark on a 340-mile pilgrimage to improve their working and living conditions as some of America's most exploited and vulnerable agricultural workers (Jensen et al 2002). With the proclamation of _El Plan de Delano_ (The Delano Plan), these 67 brave souls, most of them of Mexican descent, outlined the long history of their struggle for equality as a racial minority in the United States and their reasons for seeking social justice (NFWA 1966; Jensen et al 2002; Chavez 2008). This struggle became _La causa_, “the cause.” Juxtaposed against the rows of grapevines and dirt roads of California's Central Valley was a throng of television crews, local radio professionals, journalists and photojournalists, and filmmakers standing by with their new technologies: tape recorders, and 16mm film cameras with magnetic sound. These media professionals meant to capture the commencement of the March to Sacramento, as it would come to be known, but instead captured a row of helmeted, club-wielding police officers ready to thwart the pilgrimage as an unlawful parade without a permit, though no law had been broken (Ganz 2009). Evoking imagery reminiscent of African American struggles in Alabama only months prior, the media professionals present were able to bring the confrontation between farm workers and police to national attention. In the end, through the harnessing of media forces, the farm workers were able to continue their journey to Sacramento and alter the course of their own history and that of countless others.

**Media and Social Movements in the 1960s**

The presence of media in the _Peregrinación_ to Sacramento underscores the United Farm Workers' external media strategy, which created relationships with professionals working in media industry. Upon arrival in Sacramento on April 10, 1966, television crews captured a
powerful speech by UFW co-founder Dolores Huerta, and KQED reporter Mel Wax interviewed Cesar Chavez. Caught on 16mm black and white film with magnetic sound, Dolores Huerta said the following in a speech to countless television viewers: "The developments of the past seven months are only a slight indication of what is to come. The workers are on the rise. There will be strikes all over the state and throughout the country because Delano has shown what can be done and the workers know that they are no longer alone" (Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez in Sacramento 1966). Huerta was correct in her prophetic statement that workers would no longer be alone, because over the course of several years the UFW orchestrated an intricate media strategy that raised awareness about the struggle in the fields, which served to captivate national attention and support for the Farm Worker Movement.

It's no secret that the United Farm Workers developed media strategies alongside their grassroots efforts, and scholars have pointed out the components of these practices (Lewels 1973; Ganz 2009). However, a dedicated and in-depth examination of the media strategies of the UFW is not as readily available, with the exception of the early work of Lewels (Lewels 1973). One notable place for investigation, however, is the Farm Worker Documentation Project a web-based archive and collections of materials. The Farm Worker Documentation Project is a testament to the amount of media that came out of that movement: dozens of interview transcripts, every issue of the UFW newspaper El Malcriado, New York Times articles about the movement, television reports, songs and ballads, photography, and documentary films, among many others.

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5 The Farm Worker Documentation Project is an web archive containing a variety of materials and content from the Farm Worker Movement, including many primary source accounts. The website's collections include essays, glossaries, music, oral histories, videos, photos, art, and full digital versions of El Malcriado. Leroy Chatfield, a UFW and Farm Worker Movement veteran, created the website for educational and historical purposes in 2004, to commemorate the 50-year anniversary of El Movimiento (Chatfield 2004).
Historical works about the Farm Worker Movement tend to focus on the content of media the transmitted messages, and rarely examine the platforms that channel such content (Hammerback et al 1998; Jensen et al 2002; Anguiano 2011). There are exceptions though, such as works that address the importance of both El Malcriado and Luis Valdez’s Teatro Campesino in building community and consciousness among farm workers (Broyles-González 1994; The Struggle in the Fields 1996). But beyond these few examples, an entire media ecology was navigated, negotiated, and contested in the Farm Worker Movement of the 1960s. It is significant that this movement was so well documented using many different forms of media. However, merely listing the tools does not begin to address the depth of their use, which is why a discussion about media practice is central to this analysis. This case raises many questions: How did a small agricultural town in Delano California and its people, virtually invisible to the nation, gain so much attention? What can this particular time in history tell us about the role of media in social movements? There are many ways to answer these questions, and this work will specifically examine how the UFW’s media strategies were central to keeping the nation focused on their cause.

Historical Context of Organizing Farm Workers in the United States

While United Farm Workers and Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee spearheaded the unionizing farm workers with the Delano Grape Strike, the fight for workers’ rights in agricultural industries in the United States extends far beyond the 1960s. Efforts to organize farm workers date back to the early 1900s, but few cases were of national interest and rarely garnered attention in mainstream media. Japanese and Chinese laborers, in addition to

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6 The Delano Grape Strike was initiated by Filipino leaders of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), specifically Larry Itliong, Pete Velasco, Benjamin Gines, and Philip Vera Cruz, in 1965. Seizing the opportunity, the NFWA joined AWOC in a multiple-year struggle that eventually led to the first Farm Worker led union in U.S. history in 1970 (Ganz 2009; Pawel 2009).
Mexicans, carried out much of the organizing in agriculture at the turn of the century (Ganz 2009). These efforts were disrupted, however, with discriminatory legislation like The Immigration Act of 1924, which drastically limited Asian immigration. The decrease in Chinese and Japanese labor was largely counterbalanced by an influx of Filipino workers, as the Philippines became a U.S. possession in the first quarter of the 20th Century.

Media attention remained low as Pacific Islander and Mexican workers remained in the fields, but peaked slightly in the 1930s. It was the plight of Anglo farm workers in California that became newsworthy to the Anglo dominated mainstream media, reaching national attention through literature, film, and photography, such as John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) Carey McWilliams in *Factories in the Field* (1939), and *American Exodus* (1939) by Dorothea Lange and Paul Taylor (Ganz 2009). However, even Anglos were excluded from the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which protected countless industrial workers across the nation except farm workers.

By the 1940s, California's agricultural field workers became overwhelmingly comprised of Mexicans and Filipinos, and discriminatory race relations in the United States left these groups vulnerable to exploitation by Anglo employers. Demographic shifts in the fields also diminished the headline potential for farm workers in mainstream media, as agriculture changed from "Okies" to "ethnics" and from "Americans" to "others" (Ganz 2009). Furthermore, in 1942 the U.S. enacted the Bracero Program, a guest worker program between the U.S and Mexico, in

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7 The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act) is a restrictive immigration law that established quotas for immigrants based on their country of origin. Earlier versions of the act introduced literacy tests and increased taxes for new immigrants. The act especially limited Asian immigration by introducing an "Asiatic Barred Zone," which effectively prohibited entry for most Asian immigrants with the exception of Japanese and Filipinos. Information provided by the U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian: [http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/ImmigrationAct](http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/ImmigrationAct)

8 The National Labor Relation Act (NLRA) of 1935, also known as The Wagner Act, was effectively signed into law on July 5, 1935, in order to protect the organizing and civil liberties of industrial workers. However "agricultural workers," specifically field workers of color, were excluded from the NLRA by a number of senators, which left these groups vulnerable to continued exploitation (Ganz 2009; p 37-38).
order to alleviate labor shortages during World War II. The Bracero Program ensured the flow of cheap labor from Mexico into the United States’ agricultural industry for nearly 20 years (Ganz 2009). With the Bracero Program in place, agricultural business growers had little incentive to increase the wages and improve living conditions of resident farm workers, which made organizing more difficult.

The decade of the 1960s presented a new hope for organizing for several reasons. For one, the 1960s was the decade that established the United States as a “television nation.” By 1960, roughly 87 percent of U.S. households owned a television, as compared to 9 percent in 1950.\(^9\) Television broadcasting provided Americans with a new visual dimension for understanding the scope and scale of current events and national issues, such as social unrest, political protest, and the horrors of police brutality, transmitted directly into their living rooms like a window framing an often overshadowed world. Scholars note how television broadcasts of police brutality against peaceful protesters in Birmingham Alabama created lasting visages that seared into the consciousness of millions of Americans (Ward 2001). This was particularly powerful for a nation that had been accustomed to understanding national issues through print, radio, and the occasional film newsreel.

By the mid-1950s and early-1960s, leaders emerged from communities of color and other marginalized groups to combat their status as second-class citizens, specifically by challenging discriminatory policies such as Jim Crow in the South, de facto and de jure segregation, and varying forms of intolerance. These battles waged by community leaders and organizers gave rise to the Civil Rights Movement in the American South, which shifted public discourse toward discussions regarding racial discrimination and socioeconomic inequality. What’s more, Cold War politics eventually led to the demise of the Bracero Program, as the

\(^9\) Figures are taken from a study by TVB, a non-profit trade association that focuses on commercial broadcast television in the United States. The study can be accessed at: [http://www.tvb.org/](http://www.tvb.org/).
United States government was no longer able to justify the creation of jobs for Mexican Nationals while U.S.-citizen racial minorities were living in squalor. As such, the Bracero Program officially came to an end in 1964, and with that end came a new beginning for labor organizing among farm workers (Ross 1989; Ganz 2009).

Organizational Structures of the United Farm Workers

The United Farm Workers (UFW), originally the Farm Workers Association (FWA), was co-founded by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, among others, in 1962 in Delano, California. The UFW was distinct from other unions because it involved farm workers and their families in organizational processes and decision-making (Ganz 2009). The UFW also emphasized leadership development among its constituents, with the goal of having the UFW be farm-worker-led to some degree. Scholars compare the UFW’s organizing strategy to the Saul Alinsky Model from Rules for Radicals, which emphasizes consciousness development at a rate of “one individual at a time” and pushes towards leadership development (Ross 1989; Alinsky 1971; Pawel 2009). Ross learned community organizing from Alinsky at the Chicago-based Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) and in turn, mentored Chavez at the Community Service Organization (CSO) (Ross 1989; Jensen et al 2002). Furthermore, the UFW took a distinct approach in its struggle for unionization by including non-affiliated volunteers into its ranks, especially in the 1960s.

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10 Considered the “first major Mexican-American advocacy organization,” the Community Service Organization (CSO) was founded in 1947 by Fred Ross, with the support of Saul Alinsky, in order to address structural inequalities and racial discrimination in barrios (Ganz 2009; 57). Fred Ross described the CSO as a “civil rights-civic action movement among the Chicanos with, at that time, the reputation of being the most militant and effective organization of its kind in the United States” (Ross 1989; p.1). The C.S.O. notably trained Cesar Chavez as an organizer, under the mentorship of Ross, and was known for its collective bargaining methods, democratic governance structures, and the employment of nonviolence (Ganz 2009; Ross 1989; Jensen et al 2002).
The UFW's commitment to exploration and experimentation early in the movement also set them apart from their counterparts and competition (Ganz 2009). This stood in opposition to more conventional labor union methods, such as the circulation of media only amongst workers, and the multi-million dollar marketing and public relations approach of the growers (Ganz 2009; Lewels 1973). It is also significant that as a relatively low-budget organization, the UFW was able to trump its competition with unique and novel media tactics, techniques, and methods (Lewels 1973).

Building a Social Movement: From Labor Dispute to Social Movement

What distinguished the UFW's efforts as a social movement, rather than a labor dispute, was the intentional framing that came from within the organization. This is significant since social movement scholars tend to focus on how industry professionals create frames in mass media, and rarely place attention on how movement actors intentionally influence frames, especially by reframing issues via media strategies. Drawing inspiration from the African American Civil Rights Movement in the American South, Cesar Chavez saw a similar opportunity in Delano to highlight the intersection between economic plight, political disenfranchisement and racial discrimination among Mexican Americans (The Struggle in the Fields 1996; Ganz 2009). UFW leaders were able to shift the conversation about increasing wages and working conditions to the elevation of the entire Mexican American community in the United States, through political engagement and education. As such, the fight in Delano became "la causa" (the cause), the fight for racial equality became "el movimiento" (the movement), and
The Mexican American community at large became “la raza” (“the people” of Mexican descent) (The Struggle in the Fields 1996; Ganz 2009).11

The UFW’s framing of a labor dispute as a movement had profound effects on its organizing, level of public support, and media strategies. Unlike the institutional methods of others’ unions, the UFW was able to open up its ranks and welcome a diverse range of supporters, volunteers, and allies that would not have been possible through a more formal organizational structure (Ganz 2009; Bardacke 2011). Just as the Civil Rights Movement in the American South inspired numerous supporters and participants from African American communities, the UFW’s fight in the fields drew countless numbers of Mexican Americans and Chicanos, as well as people of all backgrounds.

However, contrary a master narrative that overemphasizes select leaders and communities while omitting the contributions of others, the Farm Worker Movement was not limited to Mexicans and Chicanos. As mentioned before, the Delano Grape Strike was initiated by Filipino leaders from AWOC, an organization that eventually merged with the UFW and led to numerous supporters of diverse backgrounds and ethnicities (Ganz 2009). Even the UFW acknowledged this, as they created documents such as “The Calls Which Growers Fear,” which included cries of contention in Spanish, Filipino (Tagalog), and Arabic (Figure 3). Waves of supporters led to the creation of networks that extended across the United States, and even across the world.12

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12 The United Farm Workers were very effective at raising leaders from among the ranks of farm workers, community members, and supporters, and these figures were dispatched throughout the country and world. Through my archival investigation at the Walter P. Reuther Library, I found countless telegrams, letters, and memos between UFW headquarters in Delano and organizers located in Boston, Chicago, Toronto, and London. While focused on grassroots strategies in Delano, the UFW also prioritized spreading its messages and building national support.
Widespread support and networking was especially important during the Delano Grape Strike, because Delano grapes were sold nationally and internationally (The Struggle in the Fields 1996). At one point, growers looked to markets in the U.K. to alleviate challenges posed by the strike, exporting nearly a quarter of their grapes to Europe, which led to collaborations with European labor unions to create an intercontinental movement (Figure 4). At the same time the UFW was able to effectively develop a diverse range of media tactics and techniques, largely with the assistance of students and youth who were artistically and technologically inclined (Lewels 1973).
Figure 3: A UFW document titled "The Calls Which Growers Fear," and it lists common strike terms in Spanish, Tagalog, and Arabic, all with English translations (source: Walter P. Reuther Library Archive).
From the start of the boycott, growers have been forced to look overseas. Now about a quarter of their grapes are exported to Britain and Europe.

The Transport & General Workers Union has asked its members not to buy California grapes.

The National Union of Agricultural & Allied Workers has asked its members not to buy California grapes. So have many, many other unions throughout Europe.

The wages of the Californian grape pickers are the lowest in the United States.

Those are the facts.

Figure 4: A document that highlights how the Farm Worker Movement's organizing efforts extended into Europe (source: Walter P. Reuther Library Archive).
A Dual Media Strategy

Figure 5: The United Farm Workers used a variety of media platforms in their strategies: radio, documentary films, message balloons, megaphones, direct mail, radiotelephones, posters and signs, pledge cards, telegrams, songs, leaflets, fliers, buttons, walkie talkies, typewriters, theater, magnetic tape recorder, newspapers, speaker-mobiles, photography, telephones, and television. (source: graphic by author).

According to veteran civil rights organizer and Harvard Professor Marshall Ganz, the UFW's media strategy consisted of a dual approach: internal and external.\(^{13}\) The internal media strategy consisted of “contextualizing [media and press] in cultural tradition” among those

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\(^{13}\) Marshall Ganz, meeting with author at Harvard University on April 23, 2012. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
directly involved in the movement.\textsuperscript{14} The internal strategy was enacted among organizers, leaders, and regular participants. The external media strategy involved the "development of the story" for those not directly involved in the movement. This translated to building relationships and reaching out to media professionals and specialists working in communications industries. The internal and external media strategies were not mutually exclusive, and some overlap did occur, especially as media professionals came to identify with the movement, as filmmaker Jesus Salvador Treviño recounts in his book \textit{Eyewitness: A Filmmaker's Memoir of the Chicano Movement} (2001). However, it must be noted that much of Treviño's involvement with the movement came during the 1970s, which lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

Much of the external media strategy of the United Farm Workers was influenced by the practices of Mahatmas Gandhi, who was a role model for Chavez. Gandhi didn't do things "for the press," but instead "opened a window for the press" so that they could see what movement actors were doing.\textsuperscript{15} This approach was thus against the creation of "photo-op" moments and largely involved turning reporters into storytellers. In the mid-1960s, for example, Cesar Chavez preferred on-site coverage instead of holding press conferences, specifically during picket lines. As such, the UFW was to take a collaborative stance when dealing with media and focused on building relationships with reporters in the press.

\textsuperscript{14} Marshall Ganz, meeting with author at Harvard University on April 23, 2012. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
Media Practice in the 1960s

While there are scarce specific accounts of media practice from the time, if any, much insight has been derived from the archival investigation and by media content. The day-to-day media operations of the leadership and staff of the United Farm Workers in the 1960s occurred as most would expect: frequent phone calls with organizers and allies, writing and typing letters for direct mail campaigns, reading daily newspapers and listening to local radio stations for updates, sending telegrams for very urgent matters, and circulating instructional memos and
informative newsletters among its staff. For example, a typical day for movement leaders involved much phone and telegram use, and Chavez had both his own telephone and typewriter at his working desk, which can be affirmed by examining the documentary film *Huelga!* and by the countless typed and handwritten documents created by Chavez found in archives, along with numerous Western Union telegram slips (Harris 1966; Figure 6). However, phone communication was relatively expensive in the 1960s and accounted for a sizable amount of the UFW's monthly expenses. The amount of phone call traffic that the UFW had coming through its headquarters led to investments in complex phone systems made by Bell. The UFW also used state-of-the-art electronic typewriters, leased from IBM, when creating documents that were official or needed to be replicated in large quantities. Archive contents show that many letters and meeting notes were handwritten. When it came to developing speeches, Chavez would often create handwritten notes on index cards, although some were also typewritten.

**The Bad Boy and The Buzzing Mosquito**

The UFW created and published its own union newspaper called *El Malcriado* ("The Bad Boy"), which was integral in building a sense of community among farm workers, largely due to its unique style. One of the most striking characteristics of the union newspaper was its heavy use of satirical imagery, especially in the form of political cartoons. Inspired by the Mexican intellectual and political cartoonist Eduardo "Rius" del Río and his "Los Supermachos," *El Malcriado* included the talents of cartoonist Andy Zermoño. Zermoño created a variety of

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16 The leases for the IBM typewriters were found at the Walter P. Reuther Library, with other documents showing communication with IBM employees. Many of the documents on official UFW letterhead were typewritten, while meeting notes, index cards for speeches, and notebook notes were mostly handwritten. Budgeting documents also show how telephone bills accounted for large expenses (UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 14, file 14-1, *Farm Worker Press 1966-1970*).

17 Ibid.

18 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 10, *Cesar Chavez Correspondence 1965-1969.*
satirical characters that represented the figures of the Farm Worker Movement in a mocking nature, such as "Don Coyote," and they were loosely based on the Supermachos characters "Calzonzin" and "Don Plutarco" (Ganz 2009; Bardacke 2011).

One of the main reasons *El Malcriado* used political cartoons to disseminate its messages was because many of the farm workers were illiterate. The same can be seen with Luis Valdez and Andy Zermeno's *El Mosquito Zumbador* ("The Buzzing Mosquito") leaflets and radio spots (see Figure 7). Using a buzzing mosquito as a fictional character that would fly through the fields and gather information related to the movement, *El Mosquito Zumbador* was a form of communication intended for farm workers laboring in the fields and UFW union members organizing during demonstrations. The *El Mosquito Zumbador* leaflets were hand-drawn collaboratively by Valdez and Zermeno, and unlike fliers, they were created and replicated rapidly based on the latest information coming out of demonstrations.

*El Mosquito Zumbador* also took the form of dialogue-oriented radio spots, where the mosquito character would act as an informant and provide information to farm workers about current developments. It is unclear when this evolution toward visual leaflets and radio spots took place, but these examples demonstrate that the UFW had to adapt its media strategy to suit farm workers who could not read. Also, as their names suggest, both *El Malcriado* and *El Mosquito Zumbador* were developed using the Spanish-language, which was the first language of most of the UFW's farm workers. Language barriers were highly influential in the UFW's media strategies, and most of their content was bilingual, often shared through Spanish-language media outlets, for this reason.

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Figure 7: A picture of an edition of *El Mosquito Zumbador* (source: Walter P. Reuther Library Archive).
The UFW was intentional about framing the movement using cultural and religious symbols through its media strategies. Especially important symbols included the UFW "black eagle," September 16th (Mexican Independence Day), and December 12th (Day of the Virgin of Guadalupe). A notable example of religious symbolism appearing in the UFW's media is a booklet for the Peregrinación to Sacramento, which included a an image of the Virgen of Guadalupe on the cover and the black eagle on the backside (Figure 8). Even the use of black
and red in UFW media was symbolic because they were considered sacred for knowledge production in pre-Columbian Mesoamerican indigenous cultures, and the movement was intentional about linking its struggle to cultural heritage. Furthermore, The UFW was also careful to avoid certain terminology in its media due to cultural connotations, such as the term “union” or “campesinos” to describe the organization and the farm workers, respectively. Instead, Chavez and other leading organizers chose the term “association” in the National Farm Workers Association, and the joint terms “trabajadores campesinos” (farm workers) to describe those who worked in the fields, because the term “campesinos” means “peasants” in Mexico (Ganz 2009).

At the same time that the UFW was asserting its links to Mexican culture and religious symbolism, the organization was also highlighting the distinctive “American-ness” of their struggle as Mexican Americans, which established many of the foundations for the Chicano Movement. As with the African American Civil Rights Movement in the American South, the Farm Worker Movement situated its struggle within a framework of Cold War politics. Specifically, both movements underscored the mistreatment, marginalization, and political disenfranchisement of racial minorities in the United States in spite of American citizenship. Structural inequality on the basis of race and ethnicity came head-to-head with the Cold War politics of the 1960s, as the United States’ mission to profess the greatness of democracy on the world stage became sullied by the political disenfranchisement of segments of its own citizenry. Thus, the framing of the Farm Worker Movement exercised the dual effort of highlighting both cultural heritage and American citizenship. In media strategies, this resulted in appealing to both racial minorities and to the Anglo mainstream, specifically by reaching out to, as well as creating both Spanish-language and Anglo mainstream media. However, historians have highlighted how the UFW’s approach excluded non-citizen farm workers, specifically
undocumented immigrants, who composed and continue to compose a sizable portion of the agricultural workforce (Ganz 2009).

**Politics of Inclusion: Undocumented Immigrants and the Farm Worker Movement**

There are several reasons why the UFW did not include undocumented immigrants in their struggle for farm worker unionization. One of those reasons was the legacy of the Bracero Program, in which the availability of Mexican nationals as a workforce largely prevented the unionization of citizen farm workers. While the Bracero Program did grant work permits for Mexican nationals, it upheld the idea that the hiring of cheap immigrant labor, especially over citizens who were entitled to higher pay due to U.S. labor laws, was fair play for growers (Ross 1989, p.143; Ganz 2009, p. 48-49). The UFW took this opportunity to highlight Cold War politics, specifically how it was un-American of growers to hire undocumented immigrants while citizen farm workers were being marginalized. In media practice, the UFW disseminated images of hungry and barefoot farm worker Mexican American children, which both disturbed and captivated Anglo audiences because such imagery usually came from the third world and involved foreigners. A popular image that was circulated by the UFW depicted a barefoot Mexican American girl in tattered clothes, which served to bring the domestic struggle home for mainstream audiences (see Figure 9). With the U.S.-citizen perspective being so central to the movement, the inclusion of undocumented workers into their ranks complicated the UFW's narrative about being struggling Americans.

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20 The Bracero Program was a guest worker that brought cheap labor from Mexico into the United. The Bracero program was established in the 1940s due to labor shortages due to WWII, and ended in 1964 (Ganz 2009; Ross 1989).

The growers have rejected all efforts to negotiate the dispute and have imported illegal labor to break the strike. The Government does nothing or little to stop it. For this reason, with the help of our friends across the nation, we have begun a boycott of ALL CALIFORNIA TABLE GRAPES in order to gain our rights.

We ask you to join us in our common cause. DON'T BUY CALIFORNIA GRAPES until the growers recognize Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. Together we will win the long and difficult struggle for human dignity and social justice.

DON'T BUY GRAPES

UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, AFL-CIO

For more information, contact

United Farm Workers, 400 S. Main St., Salinas, California 93901

Figure 9: A young farm worker girl in tattered clothes was an image that was widely circulated and had a profound impact on the framing of the movement (source: Walter P. Reuther Library Archive).

One of the main reason that the UFW did not include undocumented immigrants in their push for unionization, however, was because growers would often use them as strikebreakers.
In order to prevent a strike from being broken by undocumented workers, the UFW resorted to contacting Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and had workers deported (Ganz 2009; Bardacke 2011). This situation is more complex than it seems, however, because much of the discourse that emerged from the Farm Worker Movement shows a deep sympathy and camaraderie with undocumented farm workers, especially through media practice. For example, anticipating that growers would attempt to hire undocumented workers to disrupt the Delano Grape Strike in 1966, the UFW developed several Spanish-language radio spots. These radio spots were intended for potential undocumented farm workers that might be lured by the growers’ promise for work amidst the strike, so they were broadcast along the U.S.-Mexican Border. It is in these radio spots that we can see the sympathy and sense of camaraderie that the UFW had when reaching out to undocumented immigrants, referring to them as “hermanos,” the Spanish word for brothers. Also, the term “viva la raza” popularly means, “long live the people of Mexican descent,” which was an inclusive declaration regardless of citizenship status:

"Mensaje especial para todos los campesinos: La bandera negra y roja de los huelguistas está volando en Delano, California. Hay una gran huelga en la cosecha de la uva porque están pagando muy poco a los trabajadores, y están trabajando junto a los Mexicanos, Filipinos, y los inmigrantes. Esta vez vamos a forzar a los rancheros que paguen, 1.40 por hora más .25 por cada caja. Pero los rancheros están trabajando tratando de conseguir esquiroles para robarles el trabajo de sus hermanos. Van a venir a su ciudad buscando esquiroles. Si quiere usted evitar problemas y si quiere ayudar a sus compañeros tener mejor vida, no venga usted a Délano, y al rancho Richmond-McFarlane California para trabajar en la uva. Que viva la raza, que viva la causa, y que viva la huelga! Este mensaje fue pagado por la asociación de campesinos."

[A special message for all of the farm workers: The black and red flag of the strikers is flying high in Delano, California. There is a great strike in the grape harvest because workers are being paid too little, and they are working alongside Mexicans, Filipinos, and immigrants. This time we are going to force the growers to pay $1.40 an hour, plus $0.25 extra for each box. But the growers are working on getting strikebreakers so that they can steal work from their brothers. They will

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22 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: NFWA Collection, Box 12, File 12-5.
come to your town looking for strikebreakers. If you want to avoid problems and if you want to help your comrades have a better life, then don’t come to Delano, and to the Richmond-MacFarlane ranch in California to work in the grape harvest. Long live the people of Mexican descent, long live the cause, and long live the strike! This message was sponsored by the Farm Workers Association.23

Growers were known for using “divide and conquer” tactics that aimed to pit different racial and ethnic groups against each other in order to prevent them from organizing together, and undocumented immigrants were no exception. As can be seen through the previous radio spot, the UFW was conscious of these tactics and instead focused on building community across groups, which is exemplified in the statement “they [farm workers] are working alongside Mexicans, Filipinos, and immigrants.” Most notably, the message specifically addresses divide and conquer tactics by underscoring how growers want strikebreakers to “steal works from their brothers.” What’s more, the message uses language of solidarity and highlights the agency of Mexican nationals in enacting change with the phrase: “if you want to help your comrades have a better life.”

**External Media Strategy: Collaboration with Media Professionals**

As with the media ecology today, media creation in the 1960s required varying levels of media literacy. In many cases, the UFW relied on outside industry professionals to create media that was beyond their level of expertise. For example, there were several documentaries created about the Farm Worker Movement during the 1960s and through the 1990s. One such documentary was *Huelga!,* which was created in collaboration with the filmmaker Mark Jonathan Harris (*Huelga! 1966; On Making Huelga,* Harris 2005). The involvement of television filmmaker turned movement actor Jesús Salvador Treviño also underscores the importance of

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23 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: NFWA Collection, Box 12, File 12-5.
broadcast media (Treviño 2001). Also, the UFW would often hire photographers to document marches, demonstrations, and other events, such as photographer George Ballis and John Lewis. However, eventually photographers were able to emerge as part of the UFW’s internal media strategy, and they often looked to the work of Dorothea Lange as inspiration for documenting the Farm Worker Movement. 24 Furthermore, there were media professionals who could be considered part of the internal media strategy of the UFW, including the staff of El Malcriado, the staff of Farm Workers Press Inc., and UFW Press Secretary Terry Cannon. 25 In another notable example, Ramparts magazine featured Cesar Chavez’s first-hand account of the Delano Grape Strike, titled Huelga: Tales of the Delano Revolution, and it also included Tales of the Raza by Luis Valdez, which explained the concept of “raza” within the movement. 26 Both Ramparts first-hand accounts exemplify how media professionals were eager to collaborate with movement leaders, not only by reporting on them, but allowing them to present issues in their own words and perspectives.

25 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: UFW Administrations Files Collection, Box 14, File 14-1: Farm Worker Press 1966.
26 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 10, File Cesar Chavez Correspondence 1965-1969. Document, Ramparts Magazine.
Additionally, faith communities were very important to the UFW's external media strategies, especially Catholic networks and media outlets. Many of the UFW's radio spots were disseminated through faith community radios stations, although not without contention. One of
the most prominent faith community radio stations in the California central valley eventually refused to air UFW radio spots because the wife of a grower manages the station (Ganz 2009). However, given the station’s stake in Farm Worker communities because they comprised the primary audience in the area, the radio station eventually gave in and allowed for continued use by the UFW. Furthermore, due to the UFW’s religious framing of issues, their messages were especially suitable for Christian print publications (see figure 10). In many cases, the UFW even developed radio spots that were deeply rooted in religious tradition, following the style and sentiment of religious prayer, as was the case when Chavez commemorated the death of a farm worker during the struggle to unionize:

*Lamento profundamente el deseo de nuestro querido hermano de lucha, esperando el señor le dé consuelo y tranquilidad, hago al hermano caído en la lucha para el engrandecimiento, en pro del campesino de América. Esperando que el todopoderoso dé la tranquilidad en tan grande pérdida. Atentamente, Cesar Chavez.*

*I profoundly lament the wishes of our beloved brother in this struggle, hoping that the lord consoles him and gives him tranquility, I give to our fallen brother in this struggle for empowerment, in support of farm workers in America. I await for the almighty to grant tranquility after such a grave loss. Sincerely, Cesar Chavez*

In this radio spot, Chavez speaks specifically to the religious context from which the movement emerged and operated. Not only does Chavez mention “el señor,” translating as “the lord” in English, but he evokes “el todopoderoso,” or “the almighty.” Obviously, this example was rooted in religious tradition because it intended to commemorate a fallen comrade. However, this example is not an exception, and the UFW’s context in religion and spirituality, especially through nonviolence and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, made faith communities ideal partners for spreading messages and building support. The Walter P. Reuther Library archive

27 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: The Marshall Ganz Papers, Box 1, Radio Announcements.
contains several publications by the faith community that demonstrate an alignment with the Farm Worker Movement.²⁸

Community Media Practice

While the media ecology of the 1960s did not particularly foster individually created media as it does today, it seemed fertile ground for community involved media practices, such as theater, song, and radio. The UFW’s organizational model allowed for its members to express their creativity whenever possible, and this extended to media. For example, the UFW would often dispatch organizers to major cities around the United States, and even around the world, in order to build campaign support. While campaigns were often centralized at the UFW headquarters, organizers were also given freedom to exercise media tactics and techniques creatively. One example involved the use of balloons with the words “Boycott Grapes” and the UFW black eagle on them. These balloons would be given to children outside of supermarkets that were targeted for boycott, and on some occasions, the balloons would be released inside of stores in order to gain the attention of shoppers (Lewels 1973; Ganz 2009).²⁹

One of most notable examples of community media practice, however, came through the creative efforts of Delano native Luis Valdez, specifically through theater, radio spots, and leaflets. Valdez may be known today for his major motion pictures Zoot Suit and La Bamba, but he is perhaps most esteemed for his Teatro Campesino, or Farm Worker Theater (Broyles-González 1994). Teatro Campesino was a theater troupe led by Valdez that combined performance, comedy, and satire with political and social commentary. Through Teatro Campesino, Luis Valdez was able to reach out to farm workers and other allies by portraying the

²⁸ See Walter P. Reuther Library Archive sources: UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 10.
plight of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the fields. These performances often occurred at the site of strikes and demonstrations, and they served to both build consciousness of issues and to diffuse tense situations through laughter.

Additionally, *Teatro Campesino* became one of the many ways to directly speak to farm workers in a way that didn’t require print literacy, which was important as many of the farm workers were illiterate (Ganz 2009). Furthermore, *Teatro Campesino* played a central role at the UFW’s “Friday night meetings,” which were carried out in a festive spirit that involved music, dancing, food, performance, and laughter, all with the purpose of building community (Ganz 2009).30 Valdez’s influence on media practice was not limited to *Teatro Campesino* either, as he was involved with the creation of the documentary *Huelga!* (Harris 2005). Specifically, Valdez was featured in the film talking about his first-hand experience living in the poor working and living conditions in Delano, his hometown (*Huelga!* 1966).

**Media Strategies in a Grassroots Movement**

On November 9, 1969 *Fresno Bee* journalists and long-standing UFW supporter Ron Taylor wrote an article titled “Public Relations: A Key Weapon in the Grape Battle.”31 In this article, Taylor outlined the centrality of gaining public support through communications in the struggle for farm worker unionization in California. Taylor specifically addressed how growers hired the “highly successful and high priced public relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter” in order to improve their public image and to sway congressional votes in their favor. If “public relations” was a key weapon in the “Grape Battle,” then media were the essential ammunition. Furthermore, Taylor observed the fierce tension between the UFW and growers, and noted how


31 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: UFW Administrative Files Collection, Box 10.
"the struggle between UFWOC and the growers has not been a polite give-and-take affair; rather, it is a no-holds-barred power struggle, a contest where economic and political power are the prime weapons" ("Public Relations: A Key Weapon in the Grape Battle," Taylor 1969). It was not much longer in 1970 when the Farm Worker Movement successfully reached farm worker unionization, despite great challenges.

Ron Taylor’s article underscores the importance of the UFW’s media strategies in the 1960s, specifically the importance of the external media strategy in building relationships with media professionals and gaining public support. However, while the multi-million dollar grower public relations campaigns were mentioned in Taylor’s article, little account is given on how the UFW, a relatively low-budget and volunteer based organization, was able to outmatch its competition. The Grape Battle in the 1960s was fought on the UFW’s terms due to two interrelated components: framing and networks.

Much of the framing in the Farm Worker Movement occurred within organizations like the UFW, and the ultimate aim was to appeal to mass audiences through carefully selected cultural and religious symbols. The dissemination of messages across the nation, however, could not have occurred without the technologies that were utilized by the UFW: television broadcasts, direct mail, telephones, telegrams, and radio. These technologies served the dual function of dispatching instructions to UFW organizers spread across the country and also collaborating directly with media professionals. This idea is further exemplified in a memo from Marshall Ganz to Juanita Brown sent from the Toronto Boycott Office in 1969, where Ganz writes the following:

"Press...press...press...this is key, of course. The UAW is hiring a guy to take pictures but there will be a time problem and we need glossies to be ready to be taken back by the delegates to their home communities. Therefore, if there is someone around, like John Lewis or George Ballis — who could do photos that will be useful quickly. ALSO — T.V. people here will show any film that's good that
we bring back with us. Can you – perhaps thru Schrade or other friends in L.A. – arrange for someone who can shoot some movie film of the trip. Let me emphasize that this may seem peripheral, but in terms of the potential mileage to be gained from this trip, it could go a long, long way – please do what can be done. The delegation will be issuing a statement on departure, it will have something to say at the press conference you are arranging in Delano, and it will have a final statement for reading on departure and arrival back here.”

In repeating the word “press” multiple times, and by mentioning that it was “key,” Ganz attributed great significance to the role of media strategies in his organizing efforts in Canada. Ganz’s memo also underscores the significance of collaboration with media professionals, specifically photographers and filmmakers, when creating content that would be shared at press conferences.

At the same time that Ganz expresses the importance of press, he also states, “Let me emphasize that this may seem peripheral...” which may indicate some skepticism among his fellow organizers concerning a focus on media. This statement highlights an important debate about the importance of media strategies in grassroots social movements, which is a debate that also characterizes scholarship on the movement (Ross 1989), with few exceptions placing emphasis on the role of media in La causa (Lewels 1973; Broyles-González 1994; Treviño 2001; Ganz 2009). In short, although scholars do not seem to completely deny the relevance of media strategies to the movement, there is dispute as to how important these methods were in relation to grassroots strategies. However, what is certain is that grassroots strategies took primacy in the Farm Worker Movement through the 1970s, with actions and nonviolent civil disobedience considered the most effective means for enabling social change (Ganz 2009).

32 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: Marshall Ganz Papers, Memo from Toronto Boycott Office.
Chapter 3: The Immigrant Youth Movement

The following chapter provides an examination of media strategies in contemporary Immigrant Rights Movements, with specific emphasis on the Immigrant Youth Movement, often called the DREAMer Movement. As with the Farm Worker Movement case study, this chapter will explore a variety of topics and factors regarding the role of media in social movements, including internal and external media strategies, community media practice, and framing. Set nearly 40 years apart, from 1965 to the early/mid-2000s, it goes without saying that there have been many technological developments between the time of the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement. However, as with the Farm Worker Movement, overemphasizing tools can overshadow important social, cultural, and economic contexts, which are arguably more important than technological affordances in terms of developing media strategies in social movement. I conclude the chapter with a discussion about the potential challenges of working with media industry professionals, and what it could mean for social movement actors.

Trail of Dreams

In January of 2010, a group of four undocumented youth from Miami, Florida began their journey northbound towards the nation’s capitol in Washington D.C. United under the banner "Everyone has a story...but not all are heard," this mix of undocumented young men and women prepared to embark on a 1500-mile trek to share their stories and hopefully spark movement on comprehensive immigration reform. Named after the "Trail of Tears," the Native American trek of forced-relocation due to the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Trail of Dreams meant to evoke a sense of displacement within the United States as a result of broken immigration policy. The Trail of Dreams was the way that these four youth chose to step out of the shadows as
undocumented immigrants, urging discussion and action around a path to legalization and amnesty.

Along their path, these youths encountered varying media professionals, television reporters, journalists, and local radio hosts, who helped give visibility to their cause. However, in order to document their own struggle, these youths did not solely rely on media professionals working in industry to present their stories. Using a variety of media forms, from the Internet, photography, videos, blogs, and social media, the Trail of Dreams was presented from the point of view of those involved. From the group's website, the Trail of Dreams was able to gain monetary support through donations, share stories through blogs, showcase imagery from the ground through Flickr, update followers with an interactive map, and track all news articles that were being published in legacy media about the march. While the Trail of Dreams, and its media campaign, were not able to ensure the enactment of the DREAM Act in 2010, the campaign is exemplary of the Immigrant Youth Movement, which has embraced symbolic and culturally situated grassroots strategies that are interwoven, expressed, and amplified through a variety of media.

Given the strong emphasis on the amount of user created media, made possible via new media platforms, some may pose the questions: Have new media affordances revolutionized media strategies in social movements? Have social movements finally reached the point where they can fully represent themselves on equal footing with legacy media? In the U.S. context, utopian rhetoric would lead us to answer "yes," but the reality is far from utopian. As demonstrated by the presence of media professionals and activists' continued relationships with them, especially through the remediation of content, the media ecology has become incredibly

33 A website created for the Trail of Dreams campaign: http://trail2010.org/
34 In this case, "legacy media" is used interchangeably with "traditional media."
complex and legacy media continues to wield immense power (perhaps more power than ever before).

In many ways activists must work harder to harness both new media affordances and to gain attention from legacy media as a means to reach mainstream audiences. When compared to the Farm Worker Movement of the 1960s, new media affordances may stand out because of the increased freedom and control of media that users get from new media affordances. Participatory, democratizing, and inclusive are descriptors attached to the media platforms of today (Shirky 2008), but in many ways, these concepts predate the latest tools and instead ground their roots in cultural practices and contexts. While the Farm Worker Movement did not have Facebook or Twitter, their participatory, democratizing, and inclusive media took the form of movement songs, Teatro Campesino, and Friday Night Meetings, many of which continue to persist in some form in the Immigrant Youth Movement. What layers can be peeled back to reveal the cultural underpinnings that most influence media strategies in the Immigrant Youth Movement? Such questions guide the following case study that concentrates on the role of media in contemporary social movements.

Media and Social Movements in the New Millennium

The Trail of Dreams highlights how the contemporary Immigrant Youth Movement continues to use external media strategies of old, particularly by building relationships with mass media and industry professionals, while at the same time harnessing the power of new media platforms. Since 2006 (and well before), undocumented youth have been at the forefront of developing new media tactics and techniques and incorporating them into media strategies, with a notable beginning seen in 2006 during the fight against the “Sensenbrenner Bill,” H.R. 4437. With over 80,000 participants, Latina/o high school youth in Los Angeles, many of them
undocumented, organized the largest student walkouts in the history of the United States, notably using the social networking website Myspace along with other grassroots strategies (Velez, et al. 2006). However, despite their new media savvy methods and groundbreaking mobilizations in support of their immigrant parents, these Angelino youth were portrayed as “uninformed truants” by mainstream media (Velez, et al. 2006). The negative portrayal of Latina/o immigrant youth as politically apathetic continues to be a problem since 2006, and is contrary to the findings of scholar Arely Zimmerman at USC Annenberg. Zimmerman found that the Immigrant Youth Movement has benefitted greatly from high rates of political involvement, activism, and civic engagement from undocumented youth (Zimmerman 2011).

Disenfranchised politically due to immigration status, undocumented youth have primarily used grassroots strategies, such as protest and civil disobedience, to achieve political goals. These political goals have included building support for the DREAM Act and other immigration legislation. The work of Claudia A. Anguiano covers the grassroots strategies of the Immigrant Youth Movement and how they have combined communications and rhetorical strategies with traditional methods (Anguiano 2011). Media strategies have worked in tandem with grassroots strategies, especially communication with “press,” and these methods have not only persisted into contemporary organizing, but they have been updated and modified to account for the new media ecology.

However, new media tactics are often detached from a continuity of practice that stems from media strategies of past movements, making them insufficiently contextualized in social and cultural contexts. Is rhetoric of newness at play here? Can rhetoric romanticize participatory and democratizing media, while simultaneously overlooking media ownership concentration? These are key questions that this case study aims to address. The Immigrant Youth Movement is a prime candidate for tackling such concerns because it is contextualized within traditional
grassroots strategies, employing much of the same repertoire of contention that was used by
the Farm Workers Movement. As such, it becomes an excellent case study for understanding
how media strategies evolve and adapt with the emergence of new media affordances.

**Historical Context of Immigration Reform**

The last effective push for immigration reform for undocumented immigrants, not just
undocumented youth, in the United States occurred in 1986 with the Immigration Reform and
Control Act (IRCA). After nearly a decade of struggle, the U.S. Congress enacted IRCA as a
means to exercise control over rising numbers of undocumented immigrants in the country,
specifically by offering two key policy programs: 1) it established civil and criminal repercussions
for employers who knowingly hire undocumented immigrants and 2) it authorized one-time
benefits and pathways for undocumented immigrants already present in the United States
(Gonzalez Baker 1997). The beneficiaries of IRCA’s naturalization program are estimated to be
close to 3 million (Gonzalez Baker 1997).

Since IRCA, millions of new undocumented immigrants have arrived in the United States
which creates an interesting dilemma because millions are living as Americans. Undocumented
immigrants hold jobs, raise families, are actively involved in their communities, and pay taxes,
yet most must live in the shadows, under constant fear of deportation, and without the legal
protections granted by U.S. citizenship. In 2013, an overly complex question remains: How
should the country address immigration reform?

Scholars rightfully point out the legal precedents that directly inform the current
Immigrant Youth Movement: *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) and *Leticia “A” v. Board of Regents of the
University of California* (1985). Both cases directly address educational attainment for
undocumented youth, a theme that is foundational to DREAMer identities and the Immigrant
Youth Movement at large (Anguiano 2011). *Plyler v. Doe* was a groundbreaking case that overturned legal ambiguities regarding the access of public education for undocumented minors by effectively granting them protection under the Fourteenth Amendment and subsequently an entitlement to a public K-12 education (Anguiano 2011; p.79). However, *Plyler v. Doe* did not stipulate protection of undocumented minors into adulthood, which created a legal gray area regarding the attainment of higher education. It wasn't until 1985 with *Leticia "A" v. Board of Regents of the University of California*, a court case involving five undocumented students who were denied admission by the University of California system due to their legal status, that the fate of numerous undocumented high school graduates and potential college students was directly addressed, specifically by granting them in-state tuition and even access to financial aid (Anguiano 2011). The benefits of *Leticia "A" v. Board of Regents of the University of California* were short lived, as it was overturned in appeals court only five years later. However, the cultural impact among immigrants was immense, as dreams of higher education were seeded in the minds of many. Additionally, there are many state-level bills\(^{35}\) that have provided important benefits for undocumented youth, most notably in-state tuition, but only federal legislation can provide a pathway towards naturalization and citizenship.

For nearly a decade, the undocumented youth population remained in the shadows as an invisible segment of society. However, these bright youths did not remain in the shadows for long, as their plight was soon illuminated by stories of exceptional students, of immigrants with "good moral character," reaching politicians in the new millennium (Anguiano 2011; Zimmerman 2012). This illumination of undocumented youth did not come by chance, but was the result of much advocacy and grassroots organizing by immigrant rights groups pushing for comprehensive immigration reform, especially through the experience of veteran organizers that

\(^{35}\) In California, Assembly Bill 540 (2001) allowed students that were educated in the state's high schools the opportunity to attend state colleges while paying in-state fees (Anguiano 2011).
defeated Proposition 187 in the 1990s.36 Recognizing an issue that involved hundreds of thousands of undocumented youth, Senator Richard Durbin wrote the federal Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act, and it was first introduced to the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate in 2001 (Anguiano 2011; Corrunker 2012). Essentially, the original version of the DREAM Act aimed to provide a pathway to citizenship for undocumented youth in three key ways: attainment of college degrees, military service, and community service (Anguiano 2011). While the DREAM Act held much promise, its movement was halted before it could be put to vote in 2001, following xenophobic and anti-immigrant backlash after 9/11, and new revisions of the bill have been introduced into every congress since, with the latest being introduced in 2010 (Corrunker 2012).

Scholars have noted that the desire to enact the DREAM Act has been the single most important driving force for the Immigrant Youth Movement, as numerous undocumented youth have mobilized across the nation in support of a path towards legalization (Anguiano 2011). These youth called themselves “DREAMers,” denoting their eligibility for the bill, and they largely comprise the Immigrant Youth Movement, also known as the DREAMer Movement. DREAMers have been quite versatile in their grassroots repertoire of contention, employing a variety of traditional tactics and techniques: occupations, candlelight vigils, marches, civil disobedience, and sit-ins (Tarrow 1993; Costanza-Chock 2001; Anguiano 2011). These tactics and techniques will be examined, along with mediated repertoires of contention as a whole, in the following chapter. In addition to grassroots strategies, the Immigrant Youth Movement uses media strategies to achieve a variety of goals.

36 In an interview with Favianna Rodriguez, an immigrant rights movement artist and organizer, she mentions becoming politicized at the age of 16 in the movement against Prop 187, the “Save Our State” (S.O.S.) bill and she regularly collaborates with Dreamers (Kutner 2013).
Organizational Structures of the Immigrant Youth Movement

Organizational structures in the Immigrant Youth Movement have been influential in the development of media strategies. Some of the earliest research about immigrant youth and media, especially new media, came from Critical Race Theorists who examined how mainstream media generated discourse about politically active immigrants and youth of color that misrepresented them and reinforced stereotypes about apathetic youth (Velez, et al. 2006). As with any movement, the social movement actors and organizations that comprise the Immigrant Youth Movement are many and varied: individuals, student groups, community groups, and formal/informal organizations. Through networks and the assistance of media, these decentralized and ad hoc groups were able to connect and create a movement. Networked and ad hoc models are fertile ground for innovation, creativity, and exploration. More formalized structures tend to place greater responsibility on fewer individuals, and while more dedicated and expert, they tend to focus on tried and tested conventions as opposed to trial and error methods among larger groups of novices.

How have these organizational structures affected media strategies? For one, the decentralized and networked nature of the Immigrant Youth Movement has afforded many freedoms, particularly leadership opportunities for those wanting to step up, and has also resulted in imaginative and creative exploration of media use. However, it seems that new media savviness and media literacy in any given group comes down to several factors: 1) whether the organization has the leadership, funds, and support base to have dedicated communications or media specialists; 2) whether the organization has participants with existing media skill sets and can apply them to a movement; 3) whether a group is specifically media
geared and focused. It must also be noted that new media savviness does not automatically translate into the effective media strategies.

How is the Immigrant Youth Movement organized? The Immigrant Youth Movement is part of a broader Immigrant Rights Movement, with a variety of participants, actors, and organizations (Anguiano 2011; Zimmerman 2012). In the early days of the Immigrant Youth Movement, organizational structures functioned in a dispersed, informal, decentralized, networked, and ad hoc fashion. However, in recent years, the movement has adopted more formalized structures that mirror non-profit organizations, like United We Dream for example, with a greater reliance on centralization, networked collaboration, professionalization, and monetary support in the form of large scale donations and grants (Jenkins et al 1986). The Immigrant Youth Movement follows an identity based affiliation model, in the fashion of new social movements theory, where the narrative of the college-bound “DREAMer” has been most prominent, and has been directly tied to the federal DREAM Act. While most organizations have emerged in an ad hoc and decentralized fashion, national networks, which are largely facilitated through the web and other forms of new media, are able to share in that narrative. For example, the United We Dream national network uses interactive maps to keep track of their affiliates across the United States. However, as easy as the web and new media have made the possibility of networked collaboration, mediated networks have a long history in social movements, including through direct mail campaigns, telegrams, and phone calls. The United Farm Workers, while more centralized that the Immigrant Youth Movement, also organized via mediated networks. For example, many UFW leaders were regularly dispersed throughout the

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37 For example, the creators of both Dream Activist (dreamactivist.org) and Dreamers Adrift (dreamersadrift.com) contribute to movement goals largely using media skills (Zimmerman 2012).
United States, and even in Canada and the UK, in order to spread movement messages and build support.  

Building a Social Movement: From the Shadows to Undocumented and Unafraid

Veterans in the Immigrant Youth Movement will often tell the same story of how the “DREAMer Movement” emerged: First, DC Immigration groups and politicians became aware of the countless immigrant youth who were being kept in the shadows, which led to the creation of the DREAM Act (Anguiano 2011). Second, the DREAM Act failed to come to vote shortly after 9/11, in part due to a xenophobic backlash against those perceived to be un-American, including both documented and undocumented immigrants (Chavez, Leo R., 2008). This anti-immigrant sentiment culminated in the middle of the decade with the introduction of H.R. 4437 in 2006, known as the Sensenbrenner Bill, which created a new generation of immigration activists (Chavez, Leo R., 2008; Anguiano 2011). Following the defeat of H.R. 4437, attention then shifted towards the population of youth in the shadows, made up of countless undocumented K-12 youth and college students, with the latter being known as “underground undergrads” (Madera et al 2008).

However, while more attention was being paid to the plight of undocumented youth, people were still speaking on their behalf and their voices were largely ignored and overshadowed (Anguiano 2011). “The people who came in the debate either pro or against were not undocumented immigrant youth,” mentioned Nancy Meza from Dream Team Los Angeles.  

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38 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: Marshall Ganz Papers, Box 5: Canada Trip 1969.
39 Nancy Meza, interview with author, Fall 2011.
undocumented youth "came out of the closet" and declared their voices under the banner of "I exist." As undocumented youth came out of the shadows, the Immigrant Youth Movement came into full force with a new generation of leaders, determined to reclaim their narratives and to speak for themselves (Anguiano 2011). The new banner was "Undocumented, Unapologetic, and Unafraid." For nearly 5 years, this has been the direction of the movement, until now, 2012-2013 where DREAMers are being de-emphasized in order to include entire families.

**Media Practice in the New Millennium**

![Media Practice of the Immigrant Youth Movement in the 2000s](source: graphic created by author).

Figure 11: Media employed by the Immigrant Youth Movement in their strategies, including: digital art, (online) radio, digital video, megaphones, feature phones, posters and signs, social media, music, blogs, world wide web, open web platforms, buttons, personal computers, theater, podcasts, digital newspapers, websites, digital photography, smartphones, television. (source: graphic created by author).
Media practice from the Immigrant Rights Movement is mostly understood through the analysis of a dozen interviews from media creators, online organizers, and communications' directors. These interviewees were between the ages of 19 to 28, with a perfect 50/50 gender balance and some identifying as Queer, and demographics included Latinos, Asians, and Caucasians. Interviewees were selected because of their notable work using media, and others were selected by their organizations and referred. A close examination of media practice gives insight into how the most media-savvy and expert practitioners use media on a daily basis and in real world situations. Many of these interviewees had experience with media, such as web development or photography, and many of them had been involved in some form of training specifically geared for media use in the Immigrant Rights Movement. Furthermore, many of the interviewees were working for an organization specifically to harness their expertise and talents around media. Also, although there are more people using media overall when compared to the 1960s, my interviews with contemporary activists and organizers further demonstrated that there is a continuity of media literacy and experience. In many cases those with the most training tend to theorize the use of media in strategic capacities. That is, ubiquitous and participatory media have not diminished the role of media experts.

In some ways, the new media ecology has posed challenges to outdated media tactics and techniques that mainly operated through a press release and earned media coverage model from the broadcast era. It is much easier to have a voice in new digital spaces, but getting heard is in many ways more challenging. A sea of voices can create much noise and distort messages. While the media industry continues to marginalize, misrepresent, and generally exclude communities such as immigrants and people of color, activists are aware of their influence and power and also strive to develop strategies geared toward traditional outlets. The result has compounded media roles, and fewer people are doing more things because they
fall under the larger umbrella of media or communications. In short, the rise of "new media organizers" has not completely diminished the importance of traditional "communications strategist" roles from the broadcast era.

As can be expected, organizers in the Immigrant Youth Movement spend much time communicating with supporters, collaborators and allies via email, social media, and text messages. An organizer at the Student Immigrant Movement (SIM) mentioned writing numerous emails everyday, staying updated with networks on Twitter using Tweetdeck, staying informed with blogs via RSS feeds, and managing a list of 30,000 people. This single organizer's daily activities demonstrates how broad the role of "online organizers" can be, as movement actors navigate ever expanding online and mobile platforms which are part of their duties. Another leader at SIM signaled the importance of communicating with staff on a daily basis using text messaging, particular through the use of GroupME. This leader also went on to discuss how communication among leadership and staff in the organization often takes place on a daily basis which can underscore how formal organizations must rely on sophisticated media strategies in order to build operations to scale. That is not to say that communication with a broader membership is not important. On the contrary, organizers mention how regular updates through Facebook, Twitter, and email play a central role in keeping supporters and allies connected, especially through "message blasting." These "blasts" are termed as such because they involve mass messaging of contacts, whether through the use of email lists, Facebook friends, or Twitter followers. Furthermore, organizers correlate the dissemination of regular content,
whether blogs, videos, or general updates, with higher levels of online engagement in the movement, although this is largely speculation and would require further research.

Community Media Practice

As covered in the Farm Worker Movement, community media practice gives emphasis to media use in community settings, and with collective efforts group dynamics (Couldry 2012). This includes activists, community organizers, and a variety of media practitioners. Must these social movement actors identify as DREAMers or undocumented youth? Many do, but this distinction is not the essence of community media practice. Instead, community media practice stands as a counterpart to the external media strategies involving media industry and professionals. However, that is not to say that community media practice necessarily aims to establish a dichotomy of "amateur" or hobbyist opposition.

Unlike the case study on the United Farm Workers, I did not find a community developed print publication in the contemporary Immigrant Youth Movement that can stand as a counterpart to *El Malcriado* (Lewels 1973; Ganz 2009). While literacy is still as important as ever today, focus seems to have migrated away from print and towards online sources, especially among youth. That is not to say that prominent news sources have not grown from the Immigrant Youth Movement, because scholars commonly cite websites like Dreamactivist.org and Presente.org due to their influence (Anguiano 2011; Zimmerman 2012). Activists, organizations, and supporters rely on a variety of digital sources to stay informed with developments concerning immigration reform, including dedicated websites, blogs, social media daily emails, videos, and text messages. However, much like *El Malcriado*, which included a variety of content that touched upon journalism, humor, and community building, the content
created within the Immigrant Youth Movement is also quite diverse. One particularly notable example is the website Dreamers Adrift.

Dreamers Adrift is an online website that was created by four DREAM Act-eligible youth to humanize the experiences of undocumented college graduates (Anguiano 2011). Much of the focus of Dreamers Adrift has been related to the DREAM Act because of the long relationship the founders had in the years trying to pass the legislation. The video “The Science of DREAM” specifically portrays this relationship that DREAMers have to the DREAM Act in an imaginative and allegorical fashion (Science of Dream 2.0 2011). The aim of Dreamer’s Adrift is to create content that speaks directly to undocumented immigrants. “Undocumented folks can see themselves in this [Dreamers Adrift]” stated Julio Salgado, one of the founders. Content featured on Dreamers Adrift includes visual artwork, videos, music, and blogs. In this sense, the site is “almost like an art project,” said Julio. Furthermore, Julio spoke about being intentional in relating Dreamers Adrift to the broader Immigrant Rights Movement. For example, Julio mentioned how the site can be a “tool for people to use in their presentations.”

In terms of staying informed and updated during actions, ala El Mosquito Zumbador, activists and organizers have relied largely on mobile technology. SMS and MMS alerts systems and services (GroupME) have been at the center of keeping on-the-ground social movement actors informed with updates and developments while engaged in demonstrations, actions, and marches. Additionally Twitter is often highlighted for its rapid dissemination of news, and activists in the Immigrant Youth Movement use the platform to communicate with media professionals and to provide quick on-site updates from grassroots demonstrations and actions. However, the importance of Twitter to social movements has been the topic of debate

45 Julio Salgado, interview with author, fall 2011.
46 Ibid.
47 Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.
(Hounshell 2011; Zuckerman 2011), especially as the platform tends to be overemphasized by journalists and academics.

Along with SMS enabled platforms, youth of color, many who are immigrants, are a leading demographic for smartphone adoption and the access of web content through mobile devices (Lopez 2013), allowing for the use of a variety of web enabled applications ("apps") on various handheld phones and devices. Some apps that have been particularly effective at keeping activists and supporters informed about actions and demonstrations have been mobile live streaming platforms, that essentially allow users to broadcast video onto the internet through the use of cellular service or Wi-Fi. It wasn’t long before these technologies were applied for activism and civic purposes (Dougherty 2010). In fact, undocumented youth were at the forefront of embracing live video streaming platforms, such as Ustream and livestream.com, during actions and demonstration. Before the Occupy Movement made live streaming fashionable in 2011, undocumented youth had already employed such technologies during sit-ins staged at offices of government officials in July of 2010, noted as the first time such media tactics were used for this kind of nonviolent civil disobedience (Costanza-Chock 2011.) In the same year, DREAMers held sit-ins at the headquarters of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in Los Angeles, building an online audience of hundreds of supporters within a matter of minutes (Zimmerman 2012).

Media Framing: Shifting Public Discourse Through Symbols

Gaining public support, shifting debates, and creating collective identities are common goals of social movements, and they are often carried out through intricate media strategies.

48 See the website for Ustream, a live video-broadcasting platform: http://www.ustream.tv/
49 See the website for Qik, a video platform that support live streaming, video uploading, and video chat and email: http://qik.com/.
The Immigrant Youth Movement has employed intentional framing in order to effectively disseminate their messages throughout the media ecology and public discourse. Framing by movement actors emphasizes values, metaphors, and symbols that are intended to shift social, cultural, and political discourse about immigrants and immigration reform. For example, perhaps the most salient symbol to emerge from the Immigrant Youth Movement has been the use of graduation regalia, caps and gowns, during demonstrations and actions. Particularly powerful images have shown undocumented youth in full graduation regalia while being arrested and/or in handcuffs, or being escorted into law enforcement vehicles and headquarters while in handcuffs. These portrayals of undocumented youth, as high-achieving college graduates, American in every sense but citizenship, has been the essence of the “DREAMer identity,” which has been extensively defined through media.

That is not that say that there is a single DREAMer identity. With an estimated 2 million undocumented youth in the United States (not all of whom are involved directly in the Immigrant Youth Movement), much diversity exists along dimensions of gender, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Largely framed by mainstream media as a predominantly “Mexican issue,” countless ethnic groups have used media in order to counter such totalizing portrayals and to assert their identities. For example, Dreamers Adrift ran a series of online videos that talk about the experiences of undocumented Asians and Pacific Islanders, which differ greatly from that of Latina/o undocumented immigrants. Furthermore, highlighting the diverse complexity of undocumented immigrants, Queer DREAMers have been leading voices not only for LGBTQ cross sections of the movement, but for the movement at large (Lal 2013; Undocuqueers Y El Movimiento Pro-Dream Act 2013). As such, much of the framing that has emerged from the Immigrant Youth Movement has benefited from internal dissent and self-critique, promoting a culture of inclusion across multiple dimensions of marginality.
There have been many media tactics and techniques in the Immigrant Youth Movement, with some of the most influential approaches focusing on narratives and symbols. One organizer from the Student Immigrant Movement in Boston emphasized the "power of narrative," recounting the effective use of DREAMer stories.\(^50\) This power of narrative reflects a dual effort: 1) informing the public and becoming empowered via self-representation and 2) reducing reliance on traditional mass media. In the words of an activist and media organizer from SIM: "They don't have to tell our story, we're going to tell our own story."\(^51\) The need for self-representation in media extends beyond increased independence and self-reliance, particularly because of the continued misrepresentation of undocumented youth and families in mainstream media. An organizer from Dream Team Los Angeles discussed the need to create campaigns in order to counter far reaching mainstream narratives that misrepresent immigration experiences, often employing principles outlined in George Lakoff's *Don't Think of an Elephant* (Lakoff 2004).

An example of such campaigns involved combating the common misconception of "the model immigrant" used by alleged undocumented immigrant supporters. The model immigrant narrative proposes that immigrant youth "came to the U.S. at no fault of their own" and places blame on parents for emigrating children against their will, deeming children as "innocent" and parents as "guilty." Undocumented youth disagree, rejecting such narratives in order to stand with their parents. In the words of Nancy Meza: "We were brought here by our courageous parents who are responsible parents and wanted their children to have a better life. We don't have to criminalize our parents."\(^52\)

\(^50\) Kyle De Beausset, interview by author, October 2011.  
\(^51\) Kyle De Beausset, interview by author, October 2011.  
\(^52\) Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.
Reframing efforts are often carried out via the dissemination of sound bytes in mass media, which are skills that activists often learn through peer-facilitated trainings and workshops.\textsuperscript{53} Sound bytes are essentially short and concise messages, and they are particularly effective because they allow activists to touch upon key themes and values when communicating with media. An example of the kind of learning spaces in the Immigrant Youth Movement is Undocumedia, a gathering of undocumented media creators and artists in Los Angeles, where a peer facilitated and skill sharing environment provided training for a variety of media strategies: framing, sound byte development, effective social media message dissemination, and the creation of digital art and video.\textsuperscript{54} Similar approaches extend into the creation of a variety of media content, both online and in public spaces.

**Politics of Inclusion: Beyond DREAMer Identities**

As mentioned before, the undocumented youth in the movement began as a largely marginalized demographic, even within the Immigrant Rights Movement, with many adults speaking on behalf of youth who were assumed to be helpless. As the DREAMer narrative began to take hold and as the movement gained traction, politicians and mainstream media divided immigrant communities, and families, by disseminating "model immigrant" narratives (Anguiano 2011). Alleged support for undocumented youth in public discourse came by dividing immigrant communities into categories of worthy and unworthy of legalization; by pitting children against parents who brought them to the United States "against their will" and of "no fault of their own," as if they were kidnappers, not caretakers (Anguiano 2011). These narratives have been damaging not only to families, but to entire communities who have experienced the tearing apart

\textsuperscript{53} Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.  
\textsuperscript{54} This is informed by participant observation by the author with Undocumedia on December 19, 2011 in Los Angeles. The Undocumedia workshop was held at the UCLA Labor Center by organizers from Dream Team Los Angeles, Dreamers Adrift, and other media creators and activists.
of families and deportation of parents. By 2011, the mass deportations of undocumented immigrants rose to record levels, with annual average deportations at 400,000 since 2009 (Lopez 2011).

Scholars have pointed out that not only is the "model immigrant" narrative divisive, but so too are certain aspects of DREAMer narratives constructed by undocumented youth themselves (Anguiano 2011). Specifically, such narratives are said to underscore assimilationist meritocratic, and nationalistic overtones, which strengthen the argument that citizenship should be provided to immigrants who show the most potential in "being American": hard working, entrepreneurial, well spoken, well educated, masters of the English language, and patriotic. Educational attainment has been the centerpiece of DREAMer identities and narratives, and many of the most visible DREAM activists attend the most elite universities in the United States. Additionally, higher education among undocumented youth has correlated with a mostly positive image in mainstream media (in many cases even thwarting deportation), and it has also infused immigration debates with meritocratic overtones, which deem college-educated immigrants as most desirable. This facet is particularly interesting, considering the pathway to citizenship through military service that has been present in every version of the DREAM Act, which will likely funnel undocumented youths into barracks rather than classrooms. The enactment of Deferred Action (DACA) by President Obama on June 15, 2012 was a celebrated victory for the estimated 1.7 million eligible undocumented youth, the result of years of pressure via activism and civil disobedience. However, DACA also inherently reinforced "model immigrant" discourse, as undocumented youth were favored due to age, educational attainment, and their admirable and exemplary "Americanness."

However, as has been mentioned before, activists work consistently to challenge divisive and skewed narratives in the mainstream, especially by employing media strategies. Specifically
rejecting criminalizing lenses and focusing on family cohesion and responsible parenting in media message formation are ways including immigrant parents into narratives. In 2013, United We Dream challenged divisive immigration discourse by shifting the focus from DREAMers to the 11 million undocumented immigrants that are not DREAM Act eligible. This shift involved capturing photographs and videos that featured the parents of undocumented youth, and then disseminating them using social media. Following Twitter nomenclature, UWD and other organizations developed hash tags to reflect the inclusion of all immigrants in comprehensive immigration reform. The “#11million” hash tag represents solidarity with non-DREAM-Act-eligible undocumented immigrants, while “#notonemore” is a call to end the mass deportations being carried out by immigration enforcement on a daily basis. Another notable effort for inclusion via media tactics can be seen through the Meet My Immigrant Mother blog on Tumblr, a dedication site that encourages youth to post pictures and write stories that honor their immigrant mothers. As with the UFW expressing their solidarity to undocumented farm workers and contesting divide and conquer tactics, the undocumented youth in the Immigrant Youth Movement also challenge problematic internal and external frames in order to be more inclusive of non-DREAM Act eligible immigrants.

External Media Strategy: Collaboration with Media Professionals

As democratizing and participatory as the new media ecology may be, traditional and professional media industries continue to exert tremendous influence on society and in the shaping of public discourse, especially as the concentration of media ownership among


56 It must be noted that the Meet my Immigrant Mother blog was created by the National Domestic Workers Alliance, a national advocacy organization committed to serving domestic workers in the United States. The Meet My Immigrant Mother Blog can be seen at: http://meetmyimmigrantmom.tumblr.com/.
conglomerates places vast control in the hands of few elites. As such, activists and organizers engaged in social movements must learn to navigate media ecologies dominated by power players, building relationships and leveraging influence when possible. There are many reasons for collaborating with media professionals:

1. To create high production value media projects and campaigns.
2. To involve professionals when scale of campaigns exceeds capacity of organizations.
3. To reach mainstream audiences.
4. To "legitimize" messages by channeling them through "credible sources."
5. To overcome audience fragmentation.
6. To build community to some degree, especially with so called ethnic media.
7. To leverage support from celebrities and public figures.

In some cases, activists desire to employ high production value media techniques that require professional craft, equipment, and resources, for a variety of reasons. A notable example separate of the Immigrant Youth Movement was the KONY 2012 campaign launched by Invisible Children, which created a high production documentary with professionally trained filmmakers (Zuckerman 2012). A counterpart in the Immigrant Youth Movement is perhaps the organization *The Dream is Now*, which partnered DREAMers with Academy Award winning filmmaker Davis Guggenheim to create a high production value documentary, an advocacy website, and a "grassroots movement." Since its completion, *The Dream is Now*’s documentary has been available for viewing on the organization’s website, it has been broadcast on national Television stations, it has been shown at screenings across the nation, and there is even an extended cut of the film on *Netflix* (*The Dream is Now* 2013). Another notable example is the crowd sourced documentary *Limbo*, which was directed by Eliot Rausch and produced by Mark
Schwartz and was funded by a 25k grant from the Vimeo Awards (*Limbo* 2012). Three undocumented “DREAMers” who were given camcorders to document their daily lives captured the footage for Limbo collaboratively, and Rausch and Schwartz later edited this footage. *Limbo* was then shown at the 2012 Vimeo Festival + Awards in New York City, broadening its reach (as of May 15, 2013, the film received 41,800 thousand views) (Weinberger 2012). Reaching broader audiences, especially tapping into the mainstream, is a common reason for building relationships with industry and media professionals.

In other cases, activists may collaborate with or even hire media professionals when a proposed media project is beyond the scale of what an organization or group can output. For example, in Los Angeles, professional photographer Pochol collaborates with immigrant youth organizations to capture events and actions, and these photographs have even been displayed in exhibits at the UCLA Labor Center. Support from public figures and celebrities have garnered media attention for social movements throughout history, leveraging their spotlight to highlight any given cause. The Immigrant Youth Movement has received a boost in media attention thanks to support from public figures like Dolores Huerta, Pulitzer Prize Awardees Jose Antonio Vargas and Junot Diaz, and actresses Rosario Dawson and America Ferrera, just to name a few. Once in awhile, such figures will become fully dedicated in social movements, albeit in their own way, as was the case with journalist Jose Antonio Vargas after he came out as undocumented and began the *Define American* project. However, it must be noted that organizations in the Immigrant Youth Movement can be tight for monetary funds, and working with or training in-house media creators and organizers from among their ranks seems to be preferred. Beyond monetary limitations, activists today are more inclined to create their own media in order to maintain independence from outside entities and to build capacity.

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57 Pochol, interview by author, Spring 2012.
Undocumented activists in Boston and Los Angeles have reiterated the idea that earned media coverage in mainstream media, particularly in printed news, serves to add a certain degree of "legitimacy" to their cause. "When they see you in the paper, they're like, 'oh these kids are real,'" said a leader from SIM. At the same time, others are quick to dismiss the relevance of mainstream media to the goals of the movement, especially as misrepresentation and blatant discriminatory attacks continue to marginalize undocumented immigrants. Some may be quick to dismiss their in-house media because of a perceived bias, but it becomes harder to ignore more powerful media structures, such as the New York Times and Boston Globe, that are considered pillars of credible information. As such, earned media coverage in mainstream media, both at local and national levels, continues to be an important avenue towards the annals of history. Media organizers in Los Angeles mentioned how new media is allowing for more rapid communication with media professionals, such as by sharing press releases directly to journalists online via Facebook and Twitter.

These social media relationships with various news sources have helped activists coordinate media coverage of their actions and events. Collaboration through Twitter often involves direct communication to individuals working in traditional media. "I could send a Twitter message to a reporter and that reporter will respond ten times faster that if I send a press release, and it's ten times less work," comments Nancy Meza, a media organizer at Dream Team Los Angeles. These changes in outreach underscore a shift in the news coverage media ecology: mainstream media outlets are using (new) social media to find information deemed worthy of coverage. As Nancy puts it: "Even mainstream news sources are using Twitter and Facebook as a way to pick up stories, [to] pick up what's popular [and] pick up

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58 Renata Teodoro, interview by author, November 2011.
59 Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.
what's trending." The 140 character limit of tweets may seem constraining when transmitting press releases, which is why Dream Team LA uses twitter to amplify their blogs by sharing links instead. These blogs are sent out to different news sources often re-tweeted on Twitter and reposted on other social media sites. Nancy notes that this social media amplification strategy has had a greater impact and is more efficient than would have been possible if news sources were contacted one at a time through phone calls or direct mail, not to mention more costly. The resourceful alternative that Twitter provides is greatly welcomed among organizers who operate on constrained budgets: "All of the organizing we do is on our time and we have zero budget."61

Despite the high adoption of new media among activists when developing media strategies, the powerful spotlight of legacy media continues to be an effective way for social movements to gain mainstream attention, especially through earned media coverage. This tradition of gaining media attention through actions, specifically through nonviolent civil disobedience, can be traced back to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, which were brought to the United States and effectively employed during the civil rights movements in the 1960s (Scalmer 2011). Drawing inspiration from history, undocumented youth in the Immigrant Youth Movement stage sit-ins at ICE headquarters while wearing graduation regalia, they block major street intersections in protest, and they disrupt major political events (Democratic Convention) in a dual effort to create immediate impact among those present and also to earn mainstream media coverage.

Lastly, the Immigrant Youth Movement chooses to collaborate with professional media industries due to fragmentation in media consumption and language barriers. For example, leaders from the Student Immigrant Movement in Boston expressed how many of their older supporters continue to rely on traditional media, particularly newspapers and broadcast news, in

60 Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.
61 Ibid.
order to stay informed with immigration debates. A leader from Dream Team Los Angeles explained how many parents are indeed on Facebook, but they do not rely on the social networking giant as their primary source of news, and instead look to legacy outlets.62 Additionally, many of older generation parents, supporters, and allies of the Immigrant Youth Movement are immigrants themselves, and many look to non-English Media, especially Spanish-language media, to stay up to date with worldly events. Spanish-language radio talk shows have been credited for assisting in the record setting mobilizations of 2006, when millions poured into the streets against H.R. 4437 and in support of undocumented immigrants (Mora-Torres 2006; Watanabe et al 2006). Contrary to popular belief, undocumented immigrants in the United States are not solely comprised of Spanish-speaking Latin Americans (Mexicans), but of people from all over the world. In Boston, a Brazilian undocumented leader of the Student Immigrant Movement mentioned the importance of working with Brazilian Portuguese-language radio stations in Boston, the Spanish-language newspaper El Mundo, and local Chinese newspapers.63

Furthermore, all of my interviewees mentioned an overall better working relationship with non-English-language media, specifically because journalists and reporters from these sectors are willing to communicate regularly with community organizations and activists. With an emphasis on local communities and culturally situated approaches, many Spanish-language media outlets, such as Los Angeles newspaper La Opinion, have high stakes in immigration debates, especially as much of their readership is comprised of immigrants (Kannegaard 2008). Moreover, the dissemination of messages in mainstream media alone is not enough to achieve movement goals, as mentioned a media organizer from Boston, but more importantly how those

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62 Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.
63 Renata Teodoro, interview by author, November 2011.
messages are framed. This dynamic aligns with academic assessments of Spanish-language media, which highlight the sympathetic framing of immigrant issues and a commitment to accurate representations of community voices (Kannegaard 2008). This has been the experience of movement actors in Boston, as Telemundo and Univision were specifically mentioned as important for Spanish-speaking immigrant communities in Massachusetts. Furthermore, organizers mention the importance of content bridging between older and younger generations, parents and children, through the remediation of content in social media. Meza from Dream Team Los Angeles recounted the intentional remediation of traditional media coverage to Facebook and Twitter, so that undocumented youth are aware of the content that is catered to their parents.

What is gained and what is lost when such partnerships with media professionals occur, and how do activists evaluate such risks? The following section will examine how visibility in mainstream media can bring its own set of challenges for social movement actors.

Struggling to be Heard...Again?: The Pitfalls of Mainstream Media Attention

Can social movements ever be too successful in their media strategies? As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, undocumented youth have indeed gained national attention and converted public figures into allies and supporters. These victories were achieved through well-developed and executed goals and increased professionalization. Some of the goals of framing and messaging of media campaigns are to build support, to challenge misconceptions about undocumented youth, and to humanize the immigrant experience through narrative. At the same time, undocumented youth must challenge forces that may jeopardize their long sought self-

64 Renata Teodoro, interview by author, November 2011.
65 Kyle De Beausset, interview by author, October 2011.
66 Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.
sufficiency, visibility, and self-determination. It took undocumented youth years to reclaim their narratives, and consequently their lived identities, from those who would rob them of their voices by speaking on their behalf. So, to pose the opening question differently: do social movement actors risk losing their capacity for autonomy and self-representation by placing certain media methods, techniques, and tactics in the hands of industry professionals?

There are certainly tradeoffs that are made when collaboration with professionals occurs and this may include the overshadowing of community media practice that stems from within social movements. For example, multi-million dollar projects like The Dream is Now aims to create in support of undocumented youth, and in turn, comprehensive immigration reform. Given the stature of Laurene Powell Jobs The Dream is Now has received immense mainstream media attention, which would have likely taken the Immigrant Youth Movement months, if not years, to replicate. At the same time, there seem to be key differences that do not contextualize cultural and social realities, such as how it took nearly a decade of sacrifice, hard work, and tenacity to build the momentum of the Immigrant Youth Movement that can be seen today. These differences include the employment of outdated movement narratives, problematic compromises of movement and immigrant priorities in order to gain mainstream and bipartisan support, and the desire to build entirely new grassroots movements instead of supporting the existing movement. The Dream is Now primarily focuses on DREAMers at a time when the Immigrant Youth Movement is shifting focus towards parents, families, and older generation undocumented immigrants (exemplified best by the #11million campaign).

Furthermore, The Dream is Now may inadvertently over a decade of organizing in their efforts to build their own “grassroots movement” and hire community organizers to further their cause. A more effective approach may have involved support for existing organizations and groups in the Immigrant Youth Movement, especially with media trainings and monetary support
However, it seems that industry level organizations often avoid such visible support because de-
politicization (of politics deemed too radical and too left leaning) is seen as the key to main-
stream and bipartisan support, so it becomes “safer” to simply build an entirely new grass-
roots movements.

Overall, this section does not attempt to dismiss the collaboration that has taken place between organizations like *The Dream is Now* and United We Dream, and the resulting visibility extended into mainstream media, which will undoubtedly reach new potential supporters for comprehensive immigration reform. Instead, a nuanced approach guides this examination, because there are indeed tradeoffs and compromises that are made when collaborating with industry professionals. As different and potentially damaging as these differences may be to activist approaches, the true danger may lie in an over reliance on industry professionals, because history shows professionalization and technological sophistication do not necessarily equate to more effective media strategies. And even if more effective media strategies are achieved, they do not necessarily reciprocate into more effective grassroots strategies.
Chapter 4: Comparative Discussion of Two Movements and Their Media

This chapter is divided into two sections: 1) popular education 2) repertoires of contention. The first section on popular education examines how social movement actors learn and share media tactics, methods, and techniques. The second section emphasizes mediated repertoires of contention, specifically with concepts about continuity, updating, and cultural contexts.

It Takes a Village: Skill Sharing, Informal Learning, and Capacity Building in Social Movements

This section attempts to answer a single question: how do social movement actors learn their media strategies? The farm worker and immigrant youth movements are not as distant as they may initially appear, especially as UFW veterans Dolores Huerta and Marshall Ganz continue to mentor undocumented youth in organizing strategies. Many contentious tactics from the 1960s, employed in the Farm Worker Movement, have persisted into contemporary social movements. For example, the Fast For Our Future in 2008, a 21-day hunger strike to end mass deportations and the inhumane detention of immigrants, directly recalled the Farm Worker Movement in strategy and in spirit, evidenced by a call-to-action video that linked the fast to Cesar Chavez ("Fast For Our Future" 2008; Costanza-Chock 2010). Rhetoric of newness tend to reinforce notions that with new technologies and affordances come entirely new media strategies, part of which is undeniably true. On the other hand, there is the persistence and

67 This insight comes from participant observation and is informed by experiential knowledge. During my involvement with the Fast for Our Future in 2008, a 21-day hunger strike to end deportations and the inhumane detention of immigrants, UFW co-founder Dolores Huerta paid a visit to our camp, which boosted morale ("Fast For Our Future: Day 7" 2008). Additionally, as an undergraduate I took a course taught by Dolores Huerta herself, called "Boycotts, Picket Lines, and Action Plans," and many of my classmates were DREAMers actively involved with IDEAS at UCLA. Furthermore, I first met Marshall Ganz in the fall of 2011 during a fundraiser event for the Student Immigrant Movement in East Boston, where he was receiving an award from undocumented youth for his commitment to the movement.
continuity of media methods, tactics, and techniques across social movements over time, many which are learned in community settings and passed down from experienced organizers to new generations of activists.

Popular Education is an important concept to contemporary social movements, but is relatively new to United States. Many contemporary cases draw from the work of Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire and embrace key tenets such as "organizing the unorganized, developing new leaders and activists, strengthening neighbor and community alliances" (Freire 1971; UCLA Labor Center). While social movements may not explicitly follow the works of Paulo Freire in their approach, which is certainly the case with the Farm Worker Movement because it predates Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, popular education is a valuable lens for analysis nonetheless, because many of the basic tenets are applicable (1971).

In particular, the Freirian popular education notion of *conscientización*, the process of developing critical awareness of social and political oppressive structures through informal (extra-institutional) learning, comes to mind. In similar fashion, consciousness building among social movement actors, which mirrors *conscientización*, has been central to both the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement. For example, a key goal of *Teatro Campesino*, in addition to humor through satire, was to build consciousness of social and political issues among farm workers with its themes. This was particularly effective because many of the farm workers could not read but were attuned to relevant issues in their communities. What's more, Luis Valdez asserts that the participation of farm workers as actors in *Teatro Campesino* inadvertently developed their leadership capacities and many new leaders emerged from this experience (*The Struggle in the Fields* 1996). Even among college attending undocumented youth, informal learning outside of institutions has been prevalent, especially through peer facilitated workshops, webinars, retreats, and many other formats. An activist
mentioned the importance of media oriented training conducted by United We Dream in developing the capacities of the Student Immigrant Movement in Boston. 68

Furthermore, constantly raising new leaders was a priority of the early days of the United Farm Workers, and it is central to the Immigrant Youth Movement. These processes have provided fertile ground for the development of media strategies in both the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement. It is true that expert users from among the ranks of social movement actors spearhead media strategies, and knowledge is further acquired through collaboration with media focused organizations. However, I have found that popular education best accounts for how these practices become widespread, especially among those not formally trained as media creators and media organizers. Additionally, in contemporary ecologies, DIY and skill sharing cultures have further led the push towards self-sufficiency in social movements.

For this study, capacity building is the most relevant aspect of popular education. Capacity building in the context of media strategies is developing what people can do with media. There are many ways to achieve capacity building, with the most common being workshops, trainings, and retreats. Such trainings usually occur in physical locations in the Immigrant Youth Movement, as was the case with Undocumedia and via Dream Activist, but these types of learning spaces are becoming prevalent on the web as well, especially in the form of online webinars (Zimmerman 2012).

In the Farm Worker Movement, much of the capacity building was inherited from the communication strategies of labor movements prior to the 1960s, such as leafleting and radio spots, which highlight a continuity of practice and mentorship structures. These strategies were passed on through labor unions, organizations, and labor leaders, and the United Farm

68 Renata Teodoro, interview by author, November 2011.
Worker's media strategies early in the movement were largely indistinguishable from the conventions of other labor unions and formal organizations (Alinsky 1971). For example, UFW fliers prior to 1965 were largely comprised of text, based on a previous model that was intended for leaders and staff only. However, this convention proved ineffective among illiterate farm workers. The change and innovation in the UFW's strategy came as they embraced a broader social movement structure and welcomed supporters from all walks of life.

Capacity building for media strategies in the Farm Worker Movement occurred in participatory spaces, like the Friday Night Meetings, and through organizational structures that involved farm workers and community members in decision-making processes. The Immigrant Youth Movement emerged in a different context, including a very different media ecology, and since the emergence of the movement in 2001, much has changed. In the early days of the movement, largely predating Web 2.0, there were fewer technologists, but they made an impact nonetheless. The organization Dream Activist was one of the earliest to embrace the web as a site for engagement and skills sharing, and the late undocumented leader Tam Tran, an early pioneer of the movement, used media and filmmaking to raise awareness, build community, and achieve movement goals (Zimmerman 2012; Wong et al 2011). However, it must be noted that as the movement became more formalized, organizations like Dream Activist were perceived as overly radical and were thus marginalized in the movement to make way for relationships with "D.C. groups," whose collaboration came with formalization. 69

Mediated Repertoires of Contention

Repertoires of contention persist over time, especially if they are deemed effective (Tilly 1978; Tarrow 1993). Scholarship has focused on these repertoires because they encompass

69 D.C. groups are individuals and organizations in Washington D.C. that are important players in the political side of the immigration reform debate, especially with lobbying.
the methods and techniques employed by social movement actors to enact social change (Tilly 1978; Tarrow 1993; Costanza-Chock 2001). The grassroots repertoire of contention that has persisted in both the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement includes tactics such as: marches, sit-ins, boycotts, marches, hunger strikes, picket lines, and candlelight vigils (Anguiano 2011, pp. 184-185). These movements have also inherited the ideology of nonviolence, with nonviolent civil disobedience being key (Anguiano 2011). While effective methods of the past carry into the future, new social contexts also call for new tactics and techniques, which is the case with the Immigrant Youth Movement. Some additions to “traditional” tactics and techniques from the 1960s include “coming out” (a technique learned from LGBTQ movements), street blockade (blocking street intersections with physical bodies), and institution infiltration (undocumented youth purposefully get detained in order to report the conditions of detention centers).

How do repertoires of contention function with media? The work of Sidney Tarrow includes repertoires that specifically function with media, such as the dissemination of leaflets (Tarrow 1993). Other scholars have expanded the idea of repertoires of contention to include electronic methods, especially as the Internet became important to social movements (Costanza-Chock 2001; Rolfe 2005). Electronic repertoires of contention outline methods that came to fruition with the Internet, with conventional methods being too numerous and widespread to give them special attention individually. Much of the repertoire covered in this work, for both the Farm Worker Movement and Immigrant Youth Movement, are conventional in nature, so only few will be examined in this section. Instead, Sasha Costanza-Chock’s

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70 Largely adapted from LGBTQ social movements, the Immigrant Youth Movement embraced coming out as a strategy of civil disobedience and empowerment, especially using YouTube videos.
'subgrouping of purposes' will be employed in order to contextualize repertoires in the Farm Worker Movement and Immigrant Youth Movement (Costanza-Chock 2001).

While electronic repertoires of contention have been informative to this thesis, the framework's specific focus on the Internet has proved limiting when applied retroactively and to other forms of media. The term electronic can indeed comprise a variety of traditional media, such as radio, film, and television, but I found that the framework leaves out important non-electronic media that are central to this thesis, such as print, spoken word, songs, and theater. Similar constraints occur with the term digital, which exclude important analog technologies. As such, I propose mediated repertoires of contention, which encompass a larger array of digital, electronic, analog, print, and otherwise miscellaneous technologies, tools, and techniques in order to allow for a more direct analysis across time, and irrespective of media affordances.\(^7\)

The notion of 'mediated' actions, activity carried out through media platforms that impact the media ecology, is not new. While not exactly the same concept, Leah A. Lievrouw's notion mediated mobilization seems relevant, specifically how new media and Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) used in social movements do not simply amplify grassroots activity, but they constitute their own sites of contention, a relevant point for movements that originate and remain in mediated spaces for most of their activity (Lievrouw 2011).

Before diving into the dynamics of mediated repertoires of contention in the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement, it is important to know what they are and how they function. Distinctions between conventional, disruptive, and violent repertoires

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\(^{7}\) Sasha Costanza-Chock disputed the use of the term "computer-mediated" and considered the term "electronic" to be more inclusive. I have also considered "media repertoires of contention" or "repertoires of contention with media," however the adjective form was preferred. Furthermore, this work does not fully theorize all three forms of repertoires of contention presented by Costanza-Chock: convention, disruptive, and violent. Instead, few examples are given to begin a conversation about the applicability of these forms to a wider range of media beyond the web (Costanza-Chock 2001).
have been helpful in understanding how they work (Tarrow 1993; Costanza-Chock 2001). For the most part, the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement have used a conventional repertoire, with few candidates for disruptive, and virtually no cases of violent forms. Furthermore, I use Costanza-Chock's 'subgrouping of purposes' among conventional repertoires as a means to manage the multitude of methods and techniques by placing them into categories (Costanza-Chock 2001). These categories are: representation, information distribution, research, artistic production, fundraising, lobbying, and tactical uses (Costanza-Chock 2001). I have found that these subgroups are often overlapping, especially in the new media ecology. For example, community produced media, such as newspapers and blogs, can serve the dual purpose of representation and information distribution. An in-depth comparative examination of media repertoires, subgroup purposes, and outcomes in the Farm Worker Movement and Immigrant Youth Movement would constitute its own dedicated thesis. As such, this section only means to discuss three key topics as a prelude to future study: 1) repertoire continuity 2) updating repertoires 3) contextualizing repertoires.

Much of the mediated repertoire from the Farm Worker Movement has persisted into the Immigrant Youth Movement, which social movement scholars have often called 'diffusion' (Tarrow 1993). The Internet remains a central site for repertoire diffusion, "the dissemination of dissent tactics among movement organizations and between movements" (Costanza-Chock 2001). Some of the enduring forms in the repertoires are phone banking, filmmaking, photography, and performance of songs and theater, picketing, and the dissemination of print materials. Other notable examples, such as the use landlines and radiotelephones, were important to UFW operations, with the former being regularly used by staff at the central

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72 When explaining conventional repertoires, Tarrow says the following: "In each period of history some forms of collective action are sanctioned by habit, expectations, and even legality, while others are unfamiliar, unexpected, and are rejected by elites and the mass public alike" (Tarrow, 1993, pp. 289). The definitions for disruptive and violent are taken from Costanza-Chock instead of Tarrow because of their greater degree of applicability to media forms (Costanza-Chock 2001).
headquarter and the latter during on-site demonstrations when information distribution was pressing. Similarly, organizers in the Immigrant Youth Movement emphasize the importance of "old-school" phone calls when reaching out the parents, and the importance of SMS alerts during actions and demonstrations. There have been technological advances in phone technologies, video and film cameras, and print, since the 1960s that the Immigrant Youth Movement has embraced: smart phones and VOIP, inexpensive high definition digital cameras, widespread on-demand printing.

At the same time, it seems that certain tactics and techniques are becoming less prevalent in social movements, at least in the two case studies examined, such as the press conference. These methods can be challenging to characterize because they evidently signal continuity by virtue of functions through newer versions of pre-existing technologies (with exceptions perhaps being songs, theater, and poetry). At the same time, these newer versions of tactics and techniques do not seem significantly different enough to warrant their categorization as entirely new or original. For these reasons, I have chosen a framework that takes into account technological advancements and purposes through an updating dynamic rather than complete originality. However, original new tools should get the attention that they deserve. Along with the continuity of media repertoires, the Immigrant Youth Movement has been able to develop entire new methods, tactics, and techniques that take advantage of new media affordances: media bridging strategies, the use of live video streaming, social media icon changing, message blasting, and deportation thwarting with massive phone calls to politicians. A key question may arise from this discussion: how is continuity reconciled in the context of

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74 Renata Teodoro, interview by author, November 2011.
constant technological advancement? Thinking of these forms in terms of updating has proved helpful.

Comparative historical analysis highlights how new tools do not necessarily equate to new and original methods, tactics, and techniques. In many cases, new tools are conceptualized with previous iterations of technology as reference, meaning that media affordances change while pre-existing strategies remain. In this sense, the repertoire may undergo “updating” to tap into emerging affordances, as opposed to being completely discarded or replaced. Many media methods, tactics, and techniques have received updating since the 1960s, and some have even kept their purpose and semantic understanding. Notable examples are pledges and petitions, press releases, and the “live broadcast shield.” Pledges and petitions were well established by the time the Farm Worker Movement emerged, and the UFW would often use three-part pledge cards. One part of the pledge card was sent to the UFW HQ with supporter information, a second part was sent to local representatives, and a third would often contain instructions for consumers on how to support the Boycott, and all three components could be easily torn into individual pieces for mailing and the latter for storing in a wallet.⁷⁵ The Immigrant Youth Movement has also used petitions and pledges, however these have mostly left behind their print format. Instead, undocumented youth create online petitions, twitter petitions, and SMS petitions.⁷⁶ Additionally, press releases that were once typed and mailed to media professionals, or presented at press conferences, in the 1960s are now created digitally and are disseminated through social media.⁷⁷ Furthermore, “live broadcast shielding,” the harnessing of live video broadcast feeds to deter situational repression, has shifted from a function of traditional media to independent use through live video mobile streaming apps.

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⁷⁵ These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: National Farmworkers Association Collection, box 8, file 8-24: Strike Leaflets and Notices from 1965-1966.
⁷⁶ Kyle De Beausset, interview by author, October 2011.
⁷⁷ Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.
(Costanza-Chock 2001; Dougherty 2009; Ganz 2009; Zimmerman 2012). However, it must be noted that media repertoire updating should be further conceptualized in order to account for possible inconsistencies and misapplication. For example, it would be a quite a stretch to say that email is the updated form of direct mail, which is not the case at all, since they are different methods.

Finally, social, economic, and cultural contexts matter when discussing media repertoires of contention. For example, the mediated repertoire employed by the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement, and arguably those of any social movement, are directly influenced by monetary resources. While the UFW was indeed a formal organization that collected fees from farm workers, they had a relatively low budget strategy, especially when compared to the hundreds of thousands of dollars that growers poured into their countermovement (Lewels 1973; Ganz 2009). In the Immigrant Youth Movement, activists and media organizers reiterated consistently how monetary constraints had a direct impact on their media strategies. Additionally, cultural contexts matter for several key reasons. For example, the Farm Worker Movement developed innovative tactics and techniques specifically to address conditions in agricultural settings, such as flatbed pickup trucks with large speakers as a means to get messages to farm workers while they were working in the fields, and a similar setup that placed altars in pickup trucks in order to allow farm workers to pray during actions. This speaks directly to the importance of *immediacy* in the development and employment of media repertoires of contention. Furthermore, both the Farm Worker Movement and Immigrant Youth Movement took into account media literacy and language barriers when developing their media

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78 Nancy Meza and Renata Teodoro, interviews with author, fall 2011.
strategies, with the Farm Worker Movement using visuals and radio campesina\textsuperscript{80} as a primary means of information distribution, and both movements have embraced media in languages other than English (Ganz 2009).\textsuperscript{81} Further still, the Immigrant Youth Movement must take into account audience fragmentation in order to reach older generations who primarily receive their information from legacy media.\textsuperscript{82} In short, context is important: the media repertoire cannot be imported in wholesale fashion. Also, the effectiveness of media methods, tactics, and techniques are largely dependent on a variety of factors, so there is not a single "master repertoire toolkit" that works under any condition and setting.

\textsuperscript{80} Like with the Farm Worker Press Inc., which was the UFW’s own printing corporation, radio campesina was an important radio station established during the Farm Worker Movement. See the radio campesina website at: \url{http://www.campesina.com/}.

\textsuperscript{81} Nancy Meza, interview with author, fall 2011.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
Chapter 5: Lessons from Comparative Historical Analysis

Despite the prevalence of media strategies in the Immigrant Youth Movement, movement actors are wary of over-relying on tools to enact social change. In the words of Kyle De Beausset, "There is sometimes an illusion of making a difference, but you're not really making a difference." De Beausset offered a hypothetical example of a Facebook status urging supporters to call their senator, with some supporters simply clicking the "like" button instead. The idea that media strategies negatively affect direct action is not new, as seen at the end of the Farm Worker Movement case study with Marshall Ganz’ memo to movement leaders. However, media strategies and grassroots strategies are not mutually exclusive and the United Farm Workers were able to address concerns in insightful ways. For example, the UFW would often receive letters via direct mail from supporters instead of direct action. It seems that grassroots involvement was preferred, but the UFW also welcomed mediated forms of engagement, even though they are largely symbolic. In fact, the UFW urged supporters to send more letters in order to present them to strikers and to Cesar Chavez. These supporters were considered to be involved with the movement "in spirit." In short, contemporary social movement actors shouldn’t be so quick to dismiss symbolic forms of support because they do not have to replace direct action, but rather constitute their own form of engagement. These examples underscore the purpose of this thesis, which is to recognize that much can be learned about the present by looking at the past.

This thesis highlights the use of media strategies in the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement, and brings these two cases into conversation with one another.

83 Kyle De Beausset, interview by author, October 2011.
84 Ibid.
85 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: Marshall Ganz Papers, Memo from Toronto Boycott Office.
86 These materials can be found at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive: Marshall Ganz Papers, Citizens Committee to Support Farm Workers, Metro Toronto 1969.
This comparison gives insight into how media strategies are developed, how they persist, how they are updated and how they are shared in social movements. It is important to keep in mind that people are at the center of these strategies, and conversations about media affordances should not overshadow that. Human agency is key, so this study acknowledges the centrality of community determination, lived experiences, and cultural traditions, when employing media strategies.

Additionally, grassroots and mediated strategies need not stand in opposition with one another, because they are often mutually reinforcing, as in the case with earned media coverage. Overall, a deterministic outlook would have us looking to the future as a means of understanding where technology will take society, but this study has underscored human agency and the importance of looking at the past in order to understand how people cooperate to shape their futures through direct action, often using media to support those actions.

Furthermore, this thesis aims to address another important issue in the academy, which is the inclusion of politically disenfranchised, historically underrepresented, and socially marginalized communities into scholarship, and consequently into history. The Cesar Chavez Google doodle incident mentioned in the introduction of this study is a testament to the continued need for including the histories of communities that are often overlooked. I have tried to highlight the ingenuity, resilience, and resistance of such communities. These qualities are important forms of cultural community wealth that translate into media strategies (Yosso 2005).

The comparative approach used has proved to be valuable in many regards. First, by using a historical comparative analysis, one can examine the factors that contribute to media persistence, covered in the continuity of mediated repertoires. The second valuable aspect is the ability to understand the relationship between media and culture. Looking at the past can accentuate the ways in which tools have changed, but a closer look reveals that many of the
uses and intended purposes of media actually remain the same. Lastly, I have highlighted the enduring impact of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s on the contemporary Immigrant Rights Movement, in terms of both grassroots and media strategies.

What are the most important lessons learned from this comparative analysis? First, mediated repertoires inform how media strategies of the past persist, evolve, and adapt. The mediated repertoire of contention consists of a variety of tactics and methods, and it tends to diffuse across movements, and even across time. In other words, activists learn media skills from peers and mentors. What's more, they learn from those engaged in the same movement, in other concurrent movements, and by looking at examples in history. This idea, the grounds for media continuity, helps explain how certain tactics and techniques persist, like the press release. Furthermore, repertoire updating speaks directly to the question of evolving and adapting methods that change to incorporate new media affordances, yet remain rooted in tradition.

Second, although comparative analysis did indeed highlight technological advancements and new affordances since the 1960s, a more salient finding is the centrality of human agency and culture in shaping media strategies. What this means is that new tools and affordances don't necessarily drive media strategies, but are instead negotiated with immediate community needs and cultural contexts. For example, print was readily available to the United Farm Workers, and tactics such as disseminating information via leaflets and fliers had long since been established by previous labor organizing movements. However, in many cases key affordances of print technologies, such as the mass reproduction of texts and inclusion of large amounts of prose, were not rapid enough during onsite actions and were not useful in reaching largely illiterate farm workers. Similarly, the Immigrant Youth Movement continues to use
traditional media as primary strategies, but has not readily explored disruptive Internet media tactics and techniques.

However, I must also note the limitations of comparative historical analysis. This approach presents many challenges, including scarcity of primary sources, limited fieldwork possibility, and the difficulty of applying contemporary frameworks and concepts to the past. Many of my insights from the Farm Worker Movement came from archival study, especially as scholarship was often limited with respect to media. However, I anticipate that my study would not have been possible without readily available archives and historical documents, so comparative historical analysis requires a well-archived and well-theorized domain in order to be most effective. Second, given the nature of historical comparative analysis, fieldwork methods, such as participant observation and ethnography, are impossible to conduct retroactively. The exclusion of these methods greatly limits insight into media practice and how immediate conditions shape media strategies. Lastly, contemporary concepts and frameworks may not be fully applicable to historic case studies. This as an important consideration when defining media, because phrases like "the press" were dominant in the 1960s when describing mainstream media. As such, scholars should be wary of inconsistencies in the comparative use of concepts and frameworks.

Future Directions

There are many topics and themes involving media in social movements that were beyond the scope of this thesis, and that would be fitting for future research. Some of these topics include metrics and analytics, outcomes and successes, and scalability and sustainability. Activists and organizers in the Immigrant Youth Movement value the use of metrics and analytics when tracking the employment of media tactics on the Internet, especially with readily
available platforms that track user "clicks" and other parameters.\textsuperscript{87} It is still mostly unclear how the Farm Worker Movement tracked the effectiveness of their media tactics. Methods such as front-page analysis could provide valuable insight into how much earned media coverage the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement received in major newspapers. However, it may prove difficult to understand the reach and impact of movement created media, since analytics tools may not be applicable to all aspects of media strategies. Overall, metrics are important because they facilitate conversations about outcomes and successes. A key question is: how do social movements track the success of their media tactics, methods, and techniques, especially in the 1960s (or the past in general)?

Additionally, a deeper examination of transmedia strategies might prove complementary to present day scholarship. The Immigrant Youth Movement has readily adopted transmedia strategies, and activists in that movement disseminate messages and texts simultaneously across a variety of platforms, in order to increase visibility and maximize impact. They also invite the movement base to participate in media production. However, the United Farm Workers also developed transmedia strategies, both cross platform and participatory, for movement ends, even prior to media convergence in new media platforms. A cross-platform strategy in the Farm Worker Movement is best exemplified through \textit{El Mosquito Zumbador}, and participatory media approaches can be seen in \textit{Teatro Campesino}. Key questions are: how did movements in the 1960s distribute movement messages through a variety of media outlets? In what ways were these methods participatory? What can these uses teach us about current transmedia strategies?

Finally, I have touched on popular education, informal learning, and skills sharing of media tactics, techniques, and methods, but these topics could constitute their own dedicated

\textsuperscript{87} Kyle De Beausset, interview by author, October 2011.
research study. In particular, it would be revealing to determine the effectiveness of learning and skills sharing in different contexts. These forms of learning have included workshops, online webinars, and training sessions. With Undocutech, we are moving towards collaborative and participatory spaces. Future studies could examine which forms are best suited for any given purpose. Is a webinar the best way to learn computer programming? Is a hackathon the best environment to learn about video production? How are these tactics and methods best learned, shared, and maintained?

Overall, this thesis has covered media practice, framing, and internal and external strategies, all while attempting to situate them within their relevant cultural and historical contexts. Additionally, I have examined the organizational structures, the politics of inclusion, and the complexities of working with media professionals in the United Farm Workers and Immigrant Youth Movement. Furthermore, my considerations of popular communication, transmedia strategies, and mediated repertoires of contention have brought the themes of each case study into a productive comparison. My hope with this study is to highlight the contributions and lived experiences of the people behind the movements. The rallying cries of 'huelga!' and 'undocumented and unafraid' of the Farm Worker Movement and the Immigrant Youth Movement respectively, encapsulate the spirit of each movement; self determination and empowerment of the community.


*Collections of the United Farm Workers of America.* Woodbridge, CT: Primary Source Media, 2009.


**Online Newspaper Articles, Blog Posts, and Web Articles**


Davis Guggenheim's New Immigration Documentary, 'The Dream Is Now' *Politico.* 7 May


Websites


Films, Videos, Documentaries


Interviews:


Pocho1. Interview with author. April 2012.


Zhao, Yuechen. Interview with author. Nov. 2011.

Ephemera


Archival Sources

The following collections, boxes, folder, and, files were consulted when informing my thesis on the media strategies of the United Farm Workers in the 1960s. I have taken many notes and use this content to build arguments that are central to my study. I would like to personally thank Kathleen Emery Schmeling at the Walter P. Reuther Library Archive at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, for her assistance with this study. All quotations, photos, and other materials are used with permission.


11. National Farmworkers Association Collection, box 12, file 12-8: Title Radio Station KXEX 1966.”
12. UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 10: Title Cesar Chavez correspondence 1965-69 November 24, 1969. Document title “For immediate attention to newspapers radio television and wire services in Fort Worth and Dallas.”


14. UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 10: Cesar Chavez correspondence 1965-69, Title Engage


19. UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 10: Cesar Chavez Notes for Speeches and Press Conferences from 1969.


21. UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 14, file 14-1: Farm Worker Press 1966.


23. UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 14, file 14-1: Farm Worker Press 1966. Document title “United Farm Workers Committee El Malcriado Correspondence.”

24. UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 14, file 14-1: Farm Worker Press 1966. Document title “Minutes for Special Meeting of Board of Directors of Farm Workers Press Inc.”


28. UFW Administration Files Collection, Box 14, file 14-1: Farm Worker Press 1966-1970. Document title: "Correspondence from Farm Workers Press and administration manager at IBM."

29. NFWA Collection, Box 6, Folder 6-20: Boycott, Leaflets, and Fliers. In this folder, there are several three-part pledge cards.

30. NFWA Collection, Box 6, Folder 6-2: Boycott Newsletters from 1966. Most of the documents are titled boycott newsletters or boycott memos, and they are from January 1966 and March 1966, and February 1966.


32. The Marshall Ganz Papers, Box 1, File: Titled Radio Announcements, Radio Spot by Chavez:

33. Marshall Ganz Papers, Box 5: Las Canciones de NFWA/UFW. This folder contains many documents about movement songs and lyrics.

34. Marshall Ganz Papers, Box 5, file 5-35: Labeled Canada Trip 1969. This folder contains important notes by Marshall Ganz, as he discusses media strategies while in Toronto Canada.


40. UFW Administration Department Files Collection, Box 10: Cesar Chavez Correspondence 1965-1969. Document title "For immediate release."