

---

Original Article

# Negotiating place, space and borders: The New Sanctuary Movement

Gregory Freeland

California Lutheran University, Thousand Oaks, California

**Abstract** This article examines immigration and immigrant rights through the activities of the New Sanctuary Movement (NSM). The NSM, which is led by religious activists, responds to the contradiction between the basic principles of freedom that have theoretically grounded the American political system and the practices that have allowed for the current measures taken against immigrants. This article employs narratives from NSM supporters, stories from undocumented individuals in sanctuary, and scholarly work to illustrate how the NSM works as a channel for mobilization and articulation of demands of supportive religious and political activists who seek comprehensive immigration reform, as well as providing sanctuary places for undocumented immigrants faced with deportation. The NSM in Ventura County, Los Angeles County and San Francisco, California, are used as case studies to conclude that the NSM has been effective in creating and taking advantage of political opportunities to improve public policies and immigrants' ability to negotiate local, state and national political structures.

*Latino Studies* (2010) 8, 485–508. doi:10.1057/lst.2010.53

**Keywords:** immigration; New Sanctuary Movement; political opportunity; Latino politics; social movements

---

## Introduction

Justice for immigrants encompasses the fair treatment and meaningful practices established in democratic societies with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of laws, regulations and policies. There is a growing and important body of literature that focuses on immigrants and the immigrant

rights movement (Gordon, 2005; Hayduk, 2006; Buff, 2008). It situates immigrants into the composition of local and international communities, and the unequal social, economic, cultural and political status with which they often have to cope. An important contributor to the discussion and analysis of religion and immigrant rights is Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2008). Her work on religious activists engaged in immigrant rights work indicates that individuals can rely on religious faith and resources to help them navigate the complexities of moral responsibilities and secular laws in ways that enhance their capacities to play a significant role in the struggle for immigrant rights. Observing that undocumented immigrants are being unfairly treated economically and politically, these authors argue that community members, despite a lack of proper documentation, deserve equal treatment under the rules of political systems and universal humanitarian standards. Examining the New Sanctuary Movement (NSM), this article adds to the immigrant rights literature by addressing the intersectionality of religion and politics, as well as undocumented immigrants' negotiation of real life place and space situations.

The NSM is a conduit for mobilization and articulation of the demands of activists whose ultimate objective is comprehensive immigration reform. It participates in the establishment of sanctuary sites for undocumented immigrants facing deportation and as an advocate for political policies that further their protection and rights. The NSM plays a significant role in responding to threats of deportation and the general weakness of laws guaranteeing immigrants civil and political rights. Following an escalation of anti-immigrant social and political attacks fueled by the politicization of international borders and the fluctuation of economic trends, the NSM has emerged to play key roles in constructing the organization strategies and mobilization processes that help sustain an immigrant rights movement. Religious activists and religious institutions are primary actors in the NSM, and any examination of the NSM must address the interrelationships between religion and politics and the attendant adaptation of religious doctrine to political situations. As Hilary Cunningham (1995) observes, the sanctuary process occurs in a "space" outside the hegemony of the US Supreme Court and it threatens the state's authority to define ideologies of religion and politics, which puts NSM activists in direct conflict with government laws and policies.

To demonstrate how the NSM moves its agenda through the local, state and national legal and political systems, Los Angeles County, the San Francisco Bay Area and Ventura County, California, are analyzed through the lens of political opportunity structure, which is defined through the work of several theorists (Eisinger, 1973; Kriesi *et al*, 1992; Tarrow, 1994; McAdams *et al*, 1996). Political opportunity structure is based on the receptivity or vulnerability of a political system to organized protest and challenges by a given oppositional group (McAdams *et al*, 1988, 699). Success in the political opportunity



structure depends on how open or closed the target (government and/or leadership) is to challenges, and what opportunities and constraints a political system places on a movement or group (Tarrow, 1996). It is a useful model to traverse the political and social arrangement of local, state and national political systems that facilitate or hinder the development, objectives and mobilization of social and political movements, like the NSM. John McCarthy and Mayer Zald's (1977) comparison of interpretations of traditional and resource mobilization identifies characteristics of the crucial components of mobilization, including mobilizing supporters, transforming mass and elite publics into sympathizers, meeting with politicians and engaging the media. These components are critical parts of the NSM's themes and strategies that direct its engagement with the political system and immigrant rights demands. This study discusses the 1980s sanctuary movement and international sanctuary movements as comparisons to the NSM. This is followed by an examination of the legal basis (Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law) and framing (Benford and Snow, 2000) of the NSM, including a discussion on the importance of narratives and personal testimonies, which provide clarity about the benefits and costs of participation (Fine, 1995). The final section examines and describes the strategy and variances of NSM through case studies.

The NSM's mobilization techniques and framing strategies have made it successful in numerous encounters with local, state and federal political authorities. And even though, quantitatively, the number of undocumented people living in sanctuary sites is small, the NSM is qualitatively useful because it offers a model that creates political opportunity, as well as one that responds actively to existing openings in the political system.<sup>1</sup> The NSM is a tangible model of a combination of political opportunity and mobilization structures held together by the role of religion, where messages of resistance are embedded in religious influences and there is a commitment to social justice issues. NSM strategies for taking advantage of political opportunities include penetrating the halls of Congress to capture legislative support and engagement with the powers of the US Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) through organized protests and legal strategies.

The community disruption caused by the daily raids that ICE carries out throughout the United States has resulted in family togetherness being the ideological center of NSM activism and a primary message utilized in communications with legislatures and deportation agencies. The combination of family emphasis, religious sensibility and political knowledge are essential components of the NSM. In a country where a healthy family environment is believed to be a fundamental characteristic of democracy, the family is a powerful frame for the NSM to situate its movement strategy, while the basic theological principles of Christianity provide the moral and spiritual justifications for NSM political activities.

1 According to David Thurston, editor of *Sanctuary: National Newsletter of the New Sanctuary Movement*, actual size is difficult to determine because of the fluid and loose structure of the NSM to date. (D. Thurston, 2008, personal communication) In "The New Sanctuary Movement: Protecting and Welcoming" posted by

Religion.link.com  
there are 35  
different networks  
in 10 states, 8  
December 2008.  
[http://www  
.religionlink.com/  
tip\\_081208.php.](http://www.religionlink.com/tip_081208.php)

## Historical Foundations and International Lessons for the NSM

The NSM is essentially the resurrection of the Sanctuary Movement (SM) of the 1980s, formed to protect people escaping the social, political and military repression in Central America by providing them with safe haven. The NSM is a demonstration of how new incarnations of older movements emerge to deal with the political dynamics of contemporary events. Numerous studies came out of the SM that offer important contributions to sanctuary movement studies and the dialogue between the separation of church and state. For example, Hilary Cunningham (1995), who identifies the SM's origins in Tucson, Arizona, in March 1982 during a public declaration of sanctuary by Southside Presbyterian Church, discusses how the SM was a part of a broader divide between church and state in the United States that stretched back to its founding and the constitutional debates. Cunningham's book, *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande*, establishes the roots of sanctuary in church–state culture in fourth and fifth century Roman rule, where civil authority recognized ecclesial sanctuary as a separate jurisdiction under church control. She notes that church sanctuary was first established publicly in the United States on 16 October 1967, by the Arlington Street Unitarian Church in Boston when it claimed asylum for Vietnam war resisters.

During the SM, churches claimed solidarity with the people of El Salvador and Guatemala in their struggles for social justice and in their efforts to change US foreign policy in Central America. According to Renny Golden and Michael McConnell (1986), in *Sanctuary: The New Underground Railroad*, the SM mobilized over 70,000 US citizens to aid Central American refugees by breaking federal immigration laws. Golden and McConnell's description of the movement's origins and direction includes narratives in the victims' own words as illustration of their courage and strength. This account of the SM through testimonials is invaluable for this study of the NSM in that these stories demonstrate what the NSM wants to accomplish: to bring to the forefront the hardships and tragedies people are compelled to endure as a result of the denial of political, civil and economic rights. One of the primary differences between the two movements, according to Reverend Jim Oines, an active member in both movements, is that the NSM deals with immigrants who are our neighbors (J. Oines, 2007, personal communication). In addition, the militant anti-immigration actors are more organized than in the 1980s.<sup>2</sup>

Sanctuary and immigrant rights are an international phenomenon, and broader perspective offers valuable insights into and comparisons with the NSM. Canada and France in particular have active, organized sanctuary immigrant rights movements. Randy Lippert's (2005) analysis of the Canadian sanctuary movement in *Sanctuary, Sovereignty, Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, Power, and Law*, criticizes US authors on the SM for omitting mention of sanctuary movements in countries like Great Britain, France and

2 The United States Congress passed legislation in 1990 to allow the president to grant Temporary Protected Status (TPS) to particular groups needing



Germany. But beyond this criticism, he cites similarities and dissimilarities between the movements in Canada and the United States, such as a shift in responsibility for immigrants from the state to churches and communities. Lippert also notes that sanctuary in Canada constitutes a less sustained national or regional social movement or network and more of a collection of contingent and temporary local incidents primarily disconnected socially and geographically from one another (Lippert, 2005, 18). This contrasts with the NSM, which is connected socially and nationally, but the significance of Lippert's study is its identification of the Canadian sanctuary activists' use of pastoral power to manage the immigrant rights situation through formulation and operation of their own system of moralizing a distinction between the government's political structure and the church, which is relative to and similar to the NSM, and which has moved responsibility for caring and advocating for undocumented immigrants away from the state. This characteristic is critical to the success of the NSM, because it allows the NSM to develop and operate in locales where the political opportunity structures do not permit effectual development.

Europe also has immigrant rights movements that share similarities and differences with the NSM. For example, the immigrant rights movement in France, which has proven to be a useful model to immigrant movements in other European countries, is well represented in an analysis by Mariam Ticktin (2007) of the social movement, *les sans papiers* (the paperless), whose success has resulted in altering French government immigration policy. One fundamental difference between it and the NSM is that most of the *les sans papiers* participants, who are mainly from African countries, had entered France legally, becoming illegal as a result of changed French laws. Ticktin identified a critical moment in the French immigrant rights struggle when police stormed Paris' Saint-Bernard Church, in August 1996, occupied by 300 undocumented workers and deported many of them the same night. There was widespread negative public reaction to this invasion into a religious space, and a few months later, under a newly elected socialist government, widespread amnesty and a law allowing for legalization of undocumented immigrants, were passed.

Ticktin (2007) revealed a 1998 revision to French immigration law, whereby immigrants can receive legal status if they have a life-threatening health problem and are unable to receive adequate treatment in their home countries. Ticktin identifies this as a humanitarian exception that represents the clearest hope for immigrants acquiring legal status papers. The framing of the illness clause was ratified because it was thought to be outside the realm of the political and inside the realm of moral sensitivity (Ticktin, 2007). This approach is an example of one of the intended consequences of the NSM's use of the common humanity of family as a frame for advancing comprehensive immigration reform. The "appeal to humanitarianism and moral sensitivity" strategy has worked before in the United States to pressure the contemporary managers of the political structure to open up to movements demanding political and social change. One

temporary safe haven, although El Salvadorans were specifically designated for TPS status in the immigration act. TPS granted legal temporary protection and work permits. The latest extension of TPS runs out in 2010. The US Department of Homeland Security extended TPS for eligible Honduran, Nicaraguan, and El Salvadoran nationals to continue living and working in the United States for an additional 18 months beginning in May 2007 (Ambassador Glazer confirms TPS Extension, 2007).

example is the Southern Civil Rights Movement where organizers decided to use children in marches, and the newsreel footage of those children being hit with fire hoses and bitten by dogs shifted a massive amount of support for civil rights reform. Experientially, there were numerous religious leaders involved in the SM that had prior experience in the 1960s Civil Rights Movement.

### **Construction of the NSM**

As described by observers like Golden and McConnell (1986) the sanctuary movement of the 1980s was a network of groups working for a common cause, ultimately organizing and coordinating efforts. Mirroring the SM, the NSM is a coalition of interfaith religious leaders and their congregations who have come together to respond to injustices suffered by undocumented immigrants living in the United States. The NSM is an interfaith movement that collaborates with secular immigrant and allied organizations. Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice-California (CLUE-California), along with a coordinating committee of representatives from Interfaith Workers Justice (IWJ) and the New York Sanctuary Coalition/*Asociacion Tepayac*, has been coordinating NSM activities. NSM also has a working group of representatives from participating cities and denominational/interdenominational institutions who participate in the coordination of NSM operations. For example, IWJ assists with coordination in key states and the New York Sanctuary Coalition coordinates the Northeastern cities. In the spirit of democracy and decentralized decision making, each participating interfaith network has the authorization to adapt their activities to their particular situations. The national NSM assists local coalitions in building capacity through an organization designed to increase the effectiveness of local efforts and to provide a context for collaboration on national initiatives. This strategy provides immediate communication and coordination between local congregational networks, supports opportunities for collaboration on specific actions, and ensures the exchange of best practices by providing opportunities for training and technical assistance, including local media/communications training and leadership development/civic participation training for congregational immigrant leaders (NSM Report, 2009, 1).

The NSM's first national gathering in Washington, DC, on 29–30 January 2007, with interfaith leaders from 14 states, nine regional and national denominational offices and two national interfaith coalitions, reached conclusions on the guiding principles and goals of the movement. Included were IWJ, United Church of Christ, Union of Reformed Judaism, and representatives from the Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Evangelical Christian churches and the Muslim faith (NSM, 2007). On 9 May 2007, the first sanctuary congregations and families in Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle and New York were publically launched. The NSM conducts regular conference



calls that include interfaith leaders from around the United States. Interfaith coalitions in over 35 cities in every region of the country have made commitments to become involved in the NSM through involvement in public sanctuary, private sanctuary and advocacy.

NSM activities in Los Angeles, Ventura and San Francisco Bay Area illustrate NSM's organizational framework and strategies. NSM leaders work locally to respond to the needs of families in their communities and nationally in the call for comprehensive immigration reform. The NSM has adopted the strategy of *prophetic hospitality*, whereby congregations publicly provide hospitality and protection to a limited number of immigrant families whose legal cases clearly reveal the contradictions and moral injustice of our current immigration system while working to support legislation that would change their situation. Host congregations sign a Sanctuary Pledge that states that they stand together in believing that every human person, regardless of national origin, has basic rights that must be safeguarded, including the right to earn a living, the right to family unity and the right to physical and emotional safety. The hosting of families is intended to last three months, at which time the host sanctuary site will decide, usually through congregation vote, whether to continue for another three months. The NSM's stated objectives are to protect families from unjust deportation, to change the public debate, to awaken the moral imagination of the country and make immigrant workers and families visible as children of God.<sup>3</sup> The NSM's literature points out that although this form of very public hospitality is entirely legal, faith communities involved in prophetic hospitality will have access to first-rate pro-bono legal services.

Among effective NSM strategies is engagement of the media attention, such as interfaith coalitions in Cincinnati and Kansas City putting up billboards welcoming the stranger, and public prayer vigils in Texas focused on detention center conditions. In the area of education strategies, in New York, for example, congregations have "pew cards" that inform immigrants of their rights, while in Los Angeles, teams of immigrant leaders in evangelical congregations are taught to be peer advocates while simultaneously learning how to tell their stories in non-immigrant congregations (NSM Report, 2009, 3).

3 Most these objectives and interfaith participation can be found on the NSM website: [www.newsanctuarymovement.org](http://www.newsanctuarymovement.org).

## Framing the NSM

Concern about the splitting up of families is a key theme among NSM activists and supporters, because this is often what happens. According to Alice Linsmeier, an NSM leader responsible for arranging sanctuary for an undocumented worker served with deportation papers, the main focus on the breaking of families is because they have seen and heard in their congregations and community the great suffering that this causes both the parents and the children, in addition to the fact that in most religions, the family is sacred

4 Interviews with pastors and Congregationalists were videotaped on 26 October 2007, at the United Church of Christ in Simi, California. These interviews were used extensively in this study.

(A. Linsmeier, 2010, personal communication). Heidi Rockwood, a member of the United Church of Christ, in Simi Valley, California (UCC-SV), stated that she supports sanctuary because she believes that “these children are best served by being raised by the two loving and competent parents that they have”<sup>4</sup> (H. Rockwood, 2007, personal communication).

The primacy of family as framed by the NSM is amplified by Representative Lynn Woolsey (D-Petaluma), Chairwoman of the House Education and Labor Workforce Protections Committee, who held a hearing in May 2008 on how ICE raids affect children and families. She criticized ICE for not enforcing their own voluntary guidelines to ensure humane treatment of people being detained and that call for ICE to coordinate with local social service groups when raids are conducted on more than 150 immigrants (Chairwoman Lynn Woolsey, 2008). Representative Woolsey, whose legislative role can provide assistance to NSM’s attempts to penetrate and take advantage of political opportunities, referred specifically to raids that took place in her San Rafael District and the testimony of a local elementary school principal about the impact on the children of detained individuals.

The NSM has adopted the phrase, “Keep the family together,” to frame their mobilization strategy, and it is at the core of engaging political opportunity structure. According to political opportunity scholars (Snow *et al*, 1986), social movement organizers must frame the world in which they are acting, without falling into what Robert Benson (1997) refers to as becoming a cliché. Focus on the family establishes an effective frame because it is an issue that crosses cultural, political and social lines in ways that strengthens the collective of NSM activists and those they support. Several of the activists interviewed expressed their love and desire to maintain family unity, especially as it relates to children, as a reason they committed strongly to the movement (B. Savage, C. Briner-Schmidt, M. Ornelas, and J. Paton, 2007, personal communications). The family frame creates shared values and compliments spiritual reasons for NSM involvement.

## Narratives as the Vehicle for Mobilization

Narratives are crucial to NSM explaining and delivering the message of fractured family life caused by a broken immigration structure. From immigrants who seek sanctuary and the congregations who support them, narratives describe how real-life situations lead to deportation orders and faith-based or political involvement. Since many people in the NSM do not share the same race, class or language, narratives also operate as frames to foster collective identity, which is a crucial component of political mobilization on a sustained basis. Researchers like Robert Benford and Scott Hunt (1994), and Gary Fine (1995) have underscored how movement stories raise awareness



and inspire and sustain activism. For example, members of the diverse United Church of Christ in Simi Valley (UCC-SV) congregation often mention that stories of one individual in sanctuary at their church, Liliana, influenced their entrance, involvement and commitment to the NSM (C. Briner-Schmidt, B. Savage and M. Ornela, 2007, personal communications). The telling and retelling of stories strengthens the bonds of collective identity and is a strong determinant of NSM action. The NSM uses stories of sanctuary families, and the relatives of sanctuary families as speakers, while NSM coalitions have organized workshops for denominational leaders and congregational networks throughout the United States. This story-based approach has been used, for example, in Wisconsin, where victims of raids give testimonies in congregations, and in Houston, Texas where the coalition organizes weekend immersions for congregants on the realities of the everyday life of immigrant families.

Narratives from NSM church participants, such as UCC-SV members and Our Lady Queen of Angels in Los Angeles, illustrate the adaptation of the church doctrine to real-life situations. Reverend Samuel Rodriguez states that

It's not typical for evangelical churches to be engaged in political activities that have historically been interpreted as walking a fine line between the violation of law and the application of our biblical narrative. However, with the egregious damage caused to the families that are being separated now, we find the church to be the only sanctuary that can accommodate the needs of our people ... There is some resistance in our churches around the "rule of law" issue, but also an understanding of the moral framework that says – at the end of the day – the church is the last safe haven (Rodriguez, 2007, 17).

Reverend Rodriguez exemplifies how individual pastors and churches sympathetic to the NSM blend their inward spirituality and outward social ethic to deal with the problems of immigrant inequalities. One component of the political activism of religious leaders and congregations is the spiritual sustenance it gives to those who often take great risks in order to achieve their goals (Wood, 1994). Richard Wood found that the liturgical experience and the religious symbolism of the congregation influences the success and organization of political mobilization, after interviewing three congregations centered around different liturgical experiences and theological world views (Wood, 1994).

## **Negotiating Legal Terrain**

There are legal risks to sanctuary movement activists and supportive congregations who choose to participate in civil disobedience and/or break

federal laws. In 1986, eight members of the SM were found guilty of 18 felonies, primarily of harboring and transporting illegal aliens, although they were subsequently acquitted, had sentences suspended, or given parole. In “Legal Justification for the Legal Status of Sanctuary Communities” composed by the Center for Human Rights and Constitutional Law, NSM activities are found to be safe from prosecution as long as their sanctuary actions are public.<sup>5</sup> Based on this premise, NSM activists take the position that sanctuary efforts don’t violate the law since sanctuary is offered publicly, there is no effort to hide the immigrants’ whereabouts, and the families tell their stories publicly.<sup>6</sup> Reverend Alexia Salvatierra, NSM activist and executive director of Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE)-Los Angeles, asserts,

as religious leaders, we respect the rule of law as a good and holy gift. However, there are those moments in history – from the Holocaust to Rosa Parks – when the only effective way to change an unjust law is to break it. We also understand that breaking the law should and does carry consequences, but the core biblical concept of sanctuary is a response to situations in which the proposed punishment is excessive (Salvatierra, 2007, 19).

This legal basis for sanctuary is sufficient enough that those who provide sanctuary feel a sufficient level of comfort in practicing NSM goals and strategies.

To be eligible for sanctuary, an undocumented immigrant must be in deportation proceedings, have a good work record, and agree to undergo training to overcome fear of public exposure in order to articulate their cases at news conferences and public gatherings. They also must not have committed any crimes, and they must have US-born children to make the case that to separate them would destroy a family. That more undocumented immigrants are not taking advantage of sanctuary is related to the significant amount of resources a congregation has to spend on each harbored individual and the reluctance of undocumented immigrants to live in confined environments where they are not permitted to leave under the likelihood that they will be arrested.

### **Case Evidence of NSM Action: Ventura County, San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles County, California**

The two main criteria for choosing areas from which to view the NSM were (1) to focus on communities with extensive NSM activity and (2) to include community diversity, such as suburban and metropolitan areas as well as agricultural and service industry sectors. The three chosen areas also have political opportunity structures receptive to NSM demands in varying degrees,

5 [www.newsancuarymovement.org/graphics/documents/LEGAL\\_JUSTIFICATION\\_FOR\\_LEGAL\\_STATUS\\_CONGRE-GATIONS.pdf](http://www.newsancuarymovement.org/graphics/documents/LEGAL_JUSTIFICATION_FOR_LEGAL_STATUS_CONGRE-GATIONS.pdf). It should be noted that if you publicize your activities it does not necessarily make you immune from prosecution. For example, in *US v. Rubio-Gonzalez*, the 5th Circuit found the definition of “harboring” can be “any conduct tending to substantially facilitate an alien’s remaining in the US illegally” (*US v. Rubio-Gonzalez*, 674F.2d 1067, 1072 [5th Circuit 1982]).

6 All cases decided under 1324(a) involved defendants who kept silent about the aliens’ presence, rather than individuals who have reported the aliens’ presence to the ICE (formerly INS) but who have continued to



which the NSM has been able to take advantage of to further local to national goals. In general, California is particularly useful for a study of the NSM because of its long history of undocumented immigration and work-related issues. Immigrants from Latin America and Asia have been recruited and encouraged to immigrate to California since the nineteenth century to build railroads and work in mines and agricultural fields, only to be faced with legislation, mostly state policies, that would deny them citizenship or require their deportation back to their original countries.

shelter them. Therefore, a congregation giving sanctuary to an undocumented immigrant is unlikely to be prosecuted unless they are attempting to conceal the individual from ICE.

### Navigating the NSM through Ventura County, California

Located on the central coastal region of Southern California, Ventura offers an excellent example of current anti-undocumented immigrant operations and the related activities of NSM. Of the estimated 12 million plus undocumented immigrants in the United States, approximately 50,000 reside in Ventura County.<sup>7</sup> This is a county that is associated with the beginning of the farm workers' movement and the emergence of César Chávez as its leader. Presently, Ventura County has numerous nonprofit organizations, political groups, community organizers and funding agencies dedicated to social justice, all of which support the ascendance of an activist community. This works as an effective counter to the conservative elements in Ventura County, which is, for example, home to the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library.

Hispanic residents accounted for 33.4 per cent of Ventura County's population, but this percentage is spread unevenly throughout the county (Census Race Distribution. U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). For instance, Hispanics account for 71.2 per cent of the population of Santa Paula but only 16.8 per cent of the population in politically conservative Simi Valley. In the county, there are approximately 89,000 undocumented or noncitizen immigrants, of whom 68,000 are Latino and approximately 61,000 are from Mexico (Kisken and Klampe, 2006). Farm contractors estimate that an additional 20,000 immigrants picking strawberries, avocados and lemons in Ventura County could be undocumented (*ibid.*). The crucial role that congregations, lay groups and pastors play in mobilizing and sustaining the NSM in Ventura County originates from primary actors, such as Ventura County Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE-VC) and UCC-SV.

While Ventura County cities have not responded to undocumented workers in the same harsh way as many cities, they also have not actively sought legislation that would ease immigrant concerns. This suggests that generally, Ventura County's political opportunity structure tends towards restraint and resistance to favorable outcomes for undocumented immigrant concerns, particularly when considered on a city-by-city basis. The city of Simi illustrates this point. While city law enforcement agencies are paid to protect its citizens' First

7 Out of a total population of 796,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Also, for statistics nationwide, see "Size and Characteristics of the Unauthorized Migrant Population in the US" (Passel, 2006). According to this report, of the estimated 12 million undocumented workers, about 2.5 million live in California, more than in any other state. <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=61>.

Amendment rights, its mayor attempted to bill local sanctuary church UCC-SV nearly \$40,000 to maintain the peace at a rally that included protesters and counter protesters (“Church to be Billed ...,” 2007; “Bill for Protest ...,” 2007). Most of these charges brought by local political leaders and departments have been dismissed as illegal, but the fact that they occur exemplifies the degree of effort local NSM activists have to exert to generate local political support for undocumented immigrant policy reform, while simultaneously countering anti-undocumented immigrant actions.

Two congregations in Ventura County have signed the NSM pledge as official allied groups, and there are members from three Hispanic Ministries at three congregations and other members at more than 10 other congregations.<sup>8</sup> These congregations provide household, spiritual, material and financial support for immigrants in sanctuary and are involved with fundraising, education and pro-immigrant rights actions.

Ventura County’s most noted action took place when UCC-SV provided sanctuary to Liliana, a woman who faced deportation and a separation from her family.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the discernment and decision-making process, UCC-SV had the advantage of being independent, with no church hierarchy or bishop to guide the decision. The congregation voted June 2007 to request a proposal from CLUE-VC to become a sanctuary congregation, and on 8 July 2007, voted to offer Liliana sanctuary. UCC was affected by Liliana’s story and based part of their decision to become a sanctuary site on the position that family reunification is an important aspect of supporting immigration rights. As of the end of October 2009, Liliana was the only individual provided with sanctuary in Ventura County, although several different church denominations throughout the county are active participants in the NSM. This interdenominational support is both strengthening for Ventura County’s NSM activities in general and UCC-SV in particular, and it is also inspirational for individual members of UCC-SV’s congregation, like Brenna Savage (2007, personal communication), who commented that she benefited from “watching all the different denominations come together ... . There is something really right about what we are doing, when you bring people together that probably in other situations would not be working together. That is the most satisfying thing, seeing that.”

Not all churches supportive of the NSM choose to offer sanctuary. First Methodist Church in Ventura is an example. According to its pastor, Reverend Walter Dilg (4 April 2008, personal communication), it has a moderate, mainline, predominately white, upper-class Protestant congregation that prides itself on being socially concerned and theologically open minded. Reverend Dilg was asked by CLUE-VC to take Liliana and her son into sanctuary at First Methodist; his immediate thoughts were that on one hand, making his church a sanctuary church would be perceived as a radical act and would cause fallout in membership and funding, while on the other hand, there was an ethical

8 The NSM Pledge can be found at [www.newsanctuarymovement.org](http://www.newsanctuarymovement.org).

9 Liliana’s sanctuary story began in the May of 2007 when four ICE agents with papers authorizing her deportation arrived one morning at her home. However, Liliana was granted a week to put in order her life, which included her husband and two sons, one seven years old and the other two months old, and a four-year-old daughter.



imperative to care for this family and to speak to the social issues of unjust immigration laws. Reverend Dilg responded by delivering a sermon on the dilemma of the conflicting roles of maintaining the body of Christ and following His teachings, but urging the congregation to consider the issues involved in how their faith informs their social stances (ibid.). First Methodist's decision resulted after three informational gatherings. The last one examined the NSM using a process United Methodists call the *Wesleyan Quadrilateral*, in which issues are viewed from the perspectives of tradition, scripture, experience and reason. At the end, they decided not to take a public stand as an official NSM church and not to shelter someone. Instead, members of the congregation were encouraged to assist in supporting the NSM and Liliana as much as they felt inclined – a compromise between those who felt that taking an unequivocal position on the question of the NSM sanctuary would not be in the church's best interests and those who felt the risks were worth it (ibid.). First Methodist Church's dilemma and response is typical of numerous spiritually but not physically supportive congregations. It is also illustrative of situations that prevent the NSM from expanding its growth in Ventura County and generally in other areas, as well.

Because Ventura County is home to a high degree of NSM activity for a suburban agriculturally based community, it is an excellent contrast in terms of similarities and dissimilarities with the more urban San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles.

## **Confronting Undocumented Immigrant Injustice in the San Francisco Bay Area**

The San Francisco Bay Area is a major financial center with an international port and a robust agricultural economy, handling nearly 30 per cent of all West Coast trade. These facts make it a pull for workers seeking low paying agricultural, technological and service work, all of which are usually staffed by immigrant, often undocumented, workers. In terms of population, Alameda County counts a total population of 1,443,741; Contra Costa 948,816; Marin 247,289; and San Francisco 776,733, of which Hispanic/Latinos make up 273,910 in Alameda; 167,776 in Contra Costa; 27,351 in Marin; and 109,504 in San Francisco (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Since 2000, these numbers have grown, and there are thousands who are not counted in official records. San Francisco, through the efforts of its mayor, Gavin Newsom, has shaped an agenda that has resulted in a political opportunity structure that is supportive of NSM strategies. For example, San Francisco is supportive of immigrant rights and created a sanctuary city ordinance in 1989 for refugees fleeing the Central American crisis, which means that city employees, including police, are prohibited from inquiring into immigration status, nor will the city direct

municipal funds toward assisting federal immigration enforcement unless required by federal or state law or warrant. It also means that the city provides city services to all immigrants, regardless of status. Under the mayor's leadership, San Francisco launched an awareness campaign in April 2008 that includes multi-language brochures and media advertisements of its sanctuary city policy. When Mayor Newsom took a step back on immigrant rights, the Board of Supervisors voted against his decision in 2008 to report undocumented juveniles accused of felonies to immigration authorities.

However, ICE is not deterred by the aggressive and supportive stances on behalf of undocumented immigrants in San Francisco and the Bay Area in general. As a demonstration of this, Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin and San Francisco Counties have been the sites of some of the largest and most consistent raids on undocumented immigrants in California, ranging from the 63 illegal workers detained by ICE on 2 May 2008, when the agency raided a chain of *taquerias* across the East Bay and San Francisco, to 22 May 2008, when 17 undocumented workers were arrested in San Rafael ("Immigration Raids ...," 2008). Of this later group, one arrestee was released because he was undergoing cancer treatments, which is reminiscent of the official humanitarian exercise on illness, explained by Ticktin (2007) in the French case, as well as being illustrative of the flexibility that ICE can exercise on a case-by-case basis.

The Bay Area NSM officially began on 22 March 2007, when a cluster of Bay Area congregations formed as sanctioned members of the NSM. According to Charlene Tschirhart (2008, personal communication), one of the founders of Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights and now media/PR person for the NSM in the Bay Area, the NSM is a "very important place for people of faith to be." Tschirhart also noted that as of mid-2008, the NSM is not as strong in the Bay Area as in other areas of the United States because the people involved in NSM work are also involved in other causes in the area.

One group that has an impact on NSM's growth and activism in the Bay Area is the East Bay Sanctuary Covenant (EBSC), an interfaith organization that emerged out of the SM and dates back to 1982. Veterans of SM have kept EBSC going, and many are also involved in the NSM. EBSC's stated mission is to provide sanctuary – support, protection and advocacy – to low-income and indigent refugees and immigrants, a perfect complement to NSM. One of EBSC's causes is to educate local religious communities about circumstances that push refugees out of their homelands and provide free or low-cost legal assistance to immigrants.

An example of how EBSC acts in support of the NSM is the case of Manuel De Paz, who fled the repressive military regime in El Salvador. He made contact with EBSC who helped him get political asylum until he obtained his residency. According to Sr Duignan, Executive Director of EBSC, "When a stranger sojourns with you in your land, you shall do him no wrong ... we are all sojourners." Sr Duignan went on to say that "there's a law that is higher than



man's law, that compels us to reach out to our brothers and sisters" ("East Bay Sanctuary Covenant ...," 2007). EBSC has been working with undocumented immigrants arrested in Bay Area raids to get them legal help. Because of EBSC's establishment status, it works as a strength for the NSM in the Bay Area and does not function as a competitor but as a complement, supporter and collaborator.

An example of NSM work and strategies in the Bay Area is the case of Maria and her husband Augustín of Concord, California. They have five children, three born in the United States. St Francis of Assisi Catholic Church of Concord, with the support of a Christian church coalition and at least one synagogue and mosque, has assisted Maria as she has awaited a legal process that may allow her to overcome deportation orders. Maria and Augustín originally filed for work permits with the Asylum Unit of the US Citizenship and Immigration Services, but instead, were listed for deportation. This ruling is being challenged in the courts, and in the meantime, through the efforts of Reverend Brostrom and Betty Canton of the Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights, the NSM has provided the family with support. Maria, in a statement directed at legislators involved in immigration reform, said,

You cannot be unjust. I humbly ask you not to be so cruel with us. Please with open mind and heart think about the children who are in the middle of this situation because they are the ones who are suffering the most with the separation of their families. We come to this country to work hard to build and look for a better future for them ("East Bay Churches Form... ," 2007).

Maria's statement captures the importance of keeping families together and the NSM mission to keep them intact.

An effective NSM Bay Area strategy is called *accompaniment*, which is an underground railroad type strategy developed during the SM to escort people out of Central America and into a sanctuary site in the United States, whereby NSM activists and supporters accompany individuals faced with arrest or other legal action to ICE offices or other holding facilities to provide support, legal assistance and any other necessary service. The goal of accompaniment, which is a concept relative to the NSM in general, is to make sure human and legal rights are respected. For instance, when a family was accompanied after ICE arrests, a group including five religious activists went down with them to the holding facility and stayed with them for five hours while ICE went through various procedures and paperwork (C. Tschirhart, 2008, personal communication). This group refused to let ICE arrest the family, and only when threatened with a press conference did ICE let them go, with the provision that they would be arrested in a week, which gave NSM activists time to work out alternatives to deportation.

## Traversing Immigrant Places in Los Angeles County

Los Angeles County officially has the largest Hispanic population of any county in the United States: In 2006, it was 47.3 per cent (<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/06037.html>). Given the difficulty in getting an accurate count of the undocumented immigrants in any area, the Urban Institute (UI) issued a report saying that California has an unauthorized population of almost 2.5 million, which is almost a quarter of the nation's unauthorized immigrants, and that the Los Angeles metropolitan area has about 1 million unauthorized immigrants, which is almost twice the number of any other metropolitan area (Capps and Fortuny, 2007). The report also found that in 2004, about 41 per cent of California's undocumented population resided in Los Angeles, also more than any other metropolitan area in the United States. Mexican immigrants accounted for a higher share of the foreign-born in California and Los Angeles (43 per cent) than in the nation as a whole (32 per cent) due to the proximity of the Mexican border, and while the debate surrounding legalization and sanctuary in California mostly affects Mexican immigrants, the report notes that about one third of the state's undocumented immigrants come from other countries. Since the importance of family is one of the central focuses of NSM, it is significant that 1 in 10 California residents is in a family headed by an unauthorized immigrant, compared with one in 20 nationally. In 2004, Los Angeles had an even higher 14 per cent living in unauthorized households. Almost two thirds of children (62 per cent) have immigrant parents; in 2004, 43 per cent of children in the metropolitan area had legal immigrant parents, while 19 per cent had undocumented parents (Capps and Fortuny, 2007). In addition, the study notes that in Los Angeles, 76 per cent of children of undocumented parents are US citizens. Los Angeles also illustrates why business owners and employers are increasingly involved in the pro-immigrant rights struggle, because undocumented immigrants in 2004 in Los Angeles represented more than a quarter of all workers in production, construction and service occupations (Capps and Fortuny, 2007).

Los Angeles is similar to the Bay Area and Ventura County in having a strong commitment from the religious community to offer support and even sanctuary. Also, in both Los Angeles and San Francisco, police officers are not allowed to inquire about immigration status, in order to encourage victims of crimes to come forward without fear of deportation. Under the City of Refuge ordinance of 1989, San Francisco officials and police are not obligated to provide information to federal immigration authorities when they encounter an undocumented resident. Los Angeles became a sanctuary city with Special Order 40, a policy established in 1979 that prohibits police officers from inquiring about the immigration status of an individual and from contacting federal immigration officials about an individual's immigration status. In May 2006, this practice was challenged: A taxpayer lawsuit went to the Los Angeles



County Superior Court asking to prohibit the Los Angeles Police Department from expending taxpayer funds to enforce and maintain Special Order 40, on grounds that it violates both federal immigration laws and California law by prohibiting full cooperation between police and ICE agents. Special Order 40 was upheld by a three-judge panel of the State Court of Appeals, which agreed with a lower-court decision to throw out the lawsuit in June 2009.

Los Angeles is significantly different from the Bay Area and Ventura County in that it has more undocumented immigrants, and this is one major reason why Los Angeles is a major player in the creation and organization of the NSM. NSM's leaders attribute a speech from Cardinal Roger Mahoney of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles in March 2006 with inspiring the new movement when he called for priests and others to willfully disobey laws that would "criminalize providing humanitarian aid to persons without first checking their legal status" (<http://www.newsanctuarymovement.org/movement.html>). He was specifically asking supporters of undocumented immigrants and citizens in general to disregard provisions included in the 2005 House Bill HR4437, that would criminalize providing humanitarian aid to persons without first checking their legal status. In response to Cardinal Mahoney's speech, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles adopted a policy to leave it up to individual parishes to decide whether or not to participate in the NSM, and several parishes have decided to become involved.

Los Angeles-based Reverend Alexia Salvatierra, Executive Director, CLUE-California, a co-founder of the NSM along with leaders of IWJ of Chicago and the New York Sanctuary Coalition, felt that the immigration issue needed a human face and a connection to God. As a national spokeswoman for the NSM, Salvatierra often uses spiritual and Biblical terms to relate what NSM is doing. One example is *Leviticus* 19:33, which states that when a stranger sojourns with you in your land, you shall not do him wrong and that he shall be as native among you, and you shall love him as yourself since you were strangers in the land of Egypt (<http://bible.cc/leviticus/19-33.htm>). Jim Wallis, editor of *Sojourners Magazine*, refers to this as "the Levitical immigration policy," and it reaches deep into Judaism's Exodus saga for its justification (Van Biema, 2007). Though the Israelites were legal immigrants in Egypt, the Egyptians persecuted them after their numbers grew, and God brought down the plagues. This verse served as a warning to Jews never to turn into the Egyptians, which is a role Salvatierra and her colleagues suggest Americans are now perilously close to playing (*ibid.*).

According to CLUE-Los Angeles organizer Diana Mendoza (2008, personal communication), there are 25 diverse congregations in Los Angeles County committed to offering sanctuary or supporting congregations that do, including Lutheran, Catholic and Jewish. Sanctuary leaders acknowledge that it is not easy persuading churches to become sanctuaries. The type of vocal and physical support advanced by actors like Cardinal Mahoney and Reverend Salvatierra has helped. Los Angeles County currently has three immigrants in

sanctuary: Juan, in North Hollywood's San Pablo Lutheran Church; José, in Santa Monica's St Ann's Catholic Church; and Yolanda, in Los Angeles's Immanuel Presbyterian Church. Juan sought refuge in the United States after fleeing persecution and his father's kidnapping in the Guatemala conflict. Juan, who became the owner of a landscaping business, has two US-born children, and a sister and mother who have received official asylum based on the same persecution that he faced in Guatemala. He is receiving legal advocacy and pastoral support from NSM supporters.

Yolanda, who has been living in sanctuary at Immanuel Presbyterian Church since the end of July 2007, arrived illegally from Guatemala 19 years ago after becoming an orphan there, and has been living in a studio owned by the church since she was taken in by the NSM. Yolanda's story is typical, in that she arrived in the United States illegally in 1989 as a single mother from Guatemala and was issued a work permit to work as a janitor and house cleaner. Several months after receiving deportation orders in January 2007, she attended a press conference announcing the launch of the NSM. Yolanda applied for its support, as, were she to be deported, her daughter would be left alone. Since Yolanda has been in sanctuary at Immanuel Presbyterian Church, she has become a deacon, which allows her to administer communion.

Another deeply involved Los Angeles church is Our Lady Queen of Angels, among the first in the United States to pledge participation in the NSM. Its leader, Father Richard Estrada, had organized a sanctuary in the church 22 years earlier, during the SM for dozens of undocumented political refugees from Central America. A living-quarters addition to the 188-year-old church was built, and according to Estrada, "Here, we're taking our concerns about the nation's broken immigration system to a new level." For Estrada, there are "families broken by broken laws, and churches broken by it all" and "you hear about it happening in churches across the city" (Sahagun, 2007). Like other houses of worship opening their doors as sanctuaries, Our Lady Queen of Angels is seen as a safe place liberated from the tactics and policies of ICE. This church's involvement exemplifies how religious actors and institutions provide material resources and social-political legitimacy for the NSM, and it also illustrates how religious faith shapes NSM political mobilization.

The NSM in Los Angeles has benefited from the structure of political opportunities that range from a supportive City Council to Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, who supported a Council resolution opposing the Secure America with Verification and Enforcement (SAVE) Act introduced in the US Congress that targets employers with stiff penalties for hiring illegal aliens and secures the country's borders by adding thousands of new border patrol agents. In Los Angeles, the structure of political opportunities has tilted slightly to the advantage of NSM activists. Los Angeles is known for being the first official sanctuary city, but no significant laws or policies have been passed to give substantial relief to undocumented immigrants beyond the Special 40 policy.



## Theoretical Implications of the NSM

NSM activities in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles and Ventura County California areas support the proposition that the NSM is an active participant in the struggle for comprehensive immigration reform. The goals of these case studies are to illuminate the struggles of undocumented immigrants and the efforts of the NSM to facilitate their settlement, movement and sustainability within the United States political system, which is fraught with closed to narrow opportunities for immigrant success at these efforts. Much can be learned from NSM's ability to navigate the complexities of political opportunities in collaboration with supporters to attain increased expansion of immigrant rights from local to national levels of government.

Since its inception, the NSM has publically hosted and supported 14 families in five cities, and numerous other families have received private sanctuary, where congregations have provided temporary prophetic hospitality to families facing deportation (NSM Report, 2009, 2). NSM has trained immigrant leaders in 10 cities to tell the stories of the sanctuary families and their own stories, in presentations to non-immigrant congregations (NSM Report, 2009, 2–3).

One of the most effective NSM strategies and accomplishments is creating alliances among congregations, in particular with those who are supportive of immigrants. For example, in Los Angeles coalitions have relationships with local Latinos evangelical networks and have trained over 500 pastors in advocacy. In addition, in Costa Mesa, California, 27 white evangelical clergy engaged in a dialogue with 25 Latino evangelical clergy, which resulted in a commitment to bridge building between the congregations (NSM Report, 2009, 6). Mennonite networks in New Mexico have also begun using the NSM story-based education method in a relationship with an NSM coalition in Albuquerque, and the NSM has been contacted by an evangelical network of 15,000 Latino congregations throughout the United States who would like to obtain education from sanctuary congregations (NSM Report, 2009, 6).

The NSM continues to position the movement to take advantage of political opportunities for political activism as a result of cultivating legislative relationships. As is typical of political systems, opportunity expands and contracts with changing administrations. For example, the George W. Bush administration (2000–2008) pursued more constrictive politics, while the Barack Obama administration (2008–2012) appears to tilt toward politics that can lead to a gradual expansion of opportunities that allow the NSM to more effectively pursue and realize positive immigration reform. The federal agency responsible for approving visas, the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, for example, is planning for the possibility of giving legal status to millions of undocumented immigrants as part of a legalization program that would be part of immigration reform legislation the Obama Administration will propose (Preston, 2009).

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is providing a political opportunity opening for NSM, and for immigration rights activists in general, by holding outreach meetings across the country to obtain input from the public in regards to immigration policy overhaul. In San Diego, California, NSM leaders influenced DHS officials to conduct a workshop for interfaith leaders on the structure of ICE (NSM Report, 2009, 4).

The political opportunity model proves useful in analyzing the NSM because it helps explain the opportunities and constraints on the NSM and how the US political system yielded and responded to challenge. Studying the NSM and its religious element also points to how these theories need to expand beyond assumptions of material resources as the key to mobilizing efforts, to take advantage of political opportunities and into areas such as religious conviction and cultural awareness. The evidence indicates that the commitment of spiritual and physical resources expended by NSM activists would have led them into confrontation with the political opportunity structure, whether or not it yielded the limited opportunities it continues to provide. A problem with models such as political opportunity is that the foundation in instrumental process and rational choice prevents them from capturing the spiritual and emotional inspiration of movements like the NSM. Not all movements seek to advance their own self-interests (Zald and McCarthy, 1979).

Frames such as the NSM's use of family are persuasive devices that can convince individuals that a situation is unjust and that change is possible. But to be effective, frames must be compatible with the values and beliefs of the individuals that NSM activists intend to reach. One of the principle ways NSM activists achieve this compatibility is through the use of narratives. Narratives are effective because they provide a human face to deportation and they personalize the accounts of the injustices committed. The stories told are not intended to transmit ideological messages, but operate in the spirit of the ontological narrative of Christianity, like helping the needy and providing hospitality to strangers. Narratives by undocumented immigrants and testimonials by NSM activists provide inspiration and courage to overcome self-interest and challenge a system perceived to be unjust and immoral. Narratives are more than a tactic for the NSM to frame its movement; they also form an independent religious resource that reveals the moral purpose, in addition to helping make sense of the circumstances of immigrant rights activism.

This study does not definitively establish what scholars such as Susan Coutin (1995) found, that is, that SM activists began to question their own values and those of the United States, or develop a tendency to idealize the non-Western values of the undocumented immigrants they are assisting. But, like other studies, this one found that a degree of value and consciousness shifts do occur among some NSM activists. For example, Coutin (1995, 65) found that shifts in consciousness occurred as sanctuary activists crossed the border



between their own and Central American realities. In the testimonials by NSM activists, there appears to be relevance to what Coutin found in her study of the SM. For instance, Colleen Briner-Schmidt states,

I truly believe you live your faith ... And I think that this has been a part of making me look into myself. What would Jesus do? What is the right thing at this time at this moment? What is the right thing to do? And I believe that it's made my faith more human – again, putting a face on the issue not just speaking the words and quoting the party line. But it has put a face on it and so it has become more real for me. And so it is not just public policy; it speaks to your heart (C. Briner-Schmidt, 2007, personal communication).

Personal changes, such as Briner-Schmidt's, were a significant part of the social changes initiated by the movement. This diminishes the typical line drawn between social and personal change movements, which can underestimate the significance of personal transformation that occurs in the process of protest (Coutin, 1995, 65).

The type of personal transformation exemplified by Briner-Schmidt is significant for the engagement and sustainability of the NSM, especially considering legal obligations, such as the United States Patriot Act, which declares that harboring undocumented persons is an enforceable violation of the law. NSM activists are faced with dealing with the constrictions on undocumented community members to freely move about and participate in the US political system. They also have to deal with their own concept of legal status in the disparity between government laws and their everyday encounters with the legal status of undocumented community members. NSM activists have some leverage in this situation, based on the fact that the US constitutional government is structured to exercise power over free and equal persons. But if people are not free and equal where does that put the authority of the government to exercise power over them? If people are exploited and their families are broken down, and they are generally treated as “illegal aliens” due to government policies, this puts them in a situation where the government is in an unjust relationship with them. This situation gives NSM activists the power to advocate and activate on the side of undocumented immigrants seeking to become subjects of the US political system, thereby adding clarity and confidence in their concept of legal status.

One area where the NSM can improve is to widen its framing of family unity by highlighting the fact that immigrants frequently leave wives, husbands and children behind in their home country. Addressing this issue can strengthen their position on family unity by bringing to light the tremendous sacrifices of compelled separation immigrants make in seeking employment to support and preserve their families.

Another area that the NSM could devote more attention to in strengthening the movement to better penetrate the political opportunity structure would be to establish links to transnational networks and organizations engaged in sanctuary movements and immigrant rights struggles in general. NSM groups working across borders to build new coalitions would add important new resources to the NSM, such as extended international publicity, support and new movement strategies based on lessons from areas, like Canada and France.

This study demonstrates how new movements, like the NSM, evolve out of and take lessons from previous movements, such as the SM, to generate informed organizational, framing and political techniques in defining and carrying out their objectives. Although the evidence here is subject to fluctuating political and economic trends, this study of the NSM aims to contribute to our understanding of the intersectionality of religion and politics, in addition to the ongoing struggle for immigrant rights.

### About the Author

Gregory K. Freeland is Chair of the Department of Political Science and Director of the Center for Equality and Justice at California Lutheran University. He is currently working on a community engagement in redistricting project, “Redistricting by Citizen Task Force: An Analysis of the Impact on Ventura County,” funded by a John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation 2009 Faculty Fellowship. Freeland continues work on the New Sanctuary Movement for immigrant rights and has delivered papers on this topic at the Western Political Science Association and International Studies Association meetings. His most recent publication is “We’re a Winner: Music and the Black Power Movement” (*Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural, and Political Protest*, 2009; 8(3)).

### References

- Ambassador Glazer confirms TPS Extension. 2007. Press Release United States Department of State, 2 May, <http://sansalvador.usembassy.gov/pr-05022007.html>.
- Bakalis, A. 2007. Church to be Billed for Costs of Protest: Simi Wants \$40,000 for Police Presence at Event. *Ventura County Star*, 19 September: A1.
- Bakalis, A. and Z. Barlow. 2007. Bill for Protest Raising Eyebrows. *Ventura County Star*, 20 September: A1.
- Benford, R. and D. Snow. 2000. Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 11–39.
- Benford, R. and S. Hunt. 1994. Identity Talk in the Peace and Justice Movement. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 22(4): 488–517.



- Benson, R. 1997. An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective. *Sociological Inquiry* 64(4): 409–430.
- Buff, R. 2008. *Immigrant Rights in the Shadows of Citizenship*. New York: New York University Press.
- Capps, R. and K. Fortuny. 2007. The Characteristics of Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Los Angeles County, and the United States. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, <http://www.urban.org/url.cfm?ID=411425>, accessed 8 January 2009.
- Chairwoman Lynn Woolsey Statement at Subcommittee Hearing on “ICE Workplace Raids: The Impact on U.S. Citizen Children, Families, and Communities”. 2008. Press Release 20 May.
- Coutin, S.B. 1995. *The Culture of Protest: Religious Activism and the U.S. Sanctuary Movement*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Cunningham, H. 1995. *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande: Sanctuary and the Politics of Religion*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- East Bay Churches Form New Sanctuary Movement to Advocate for Immigrant Families. 2007. *The Catholic Voice* 45(20), 19 November, <http://www.catholicvoiceoakland.org/07-11-19/inthisissue6.htm>, accessed 23 January 2009.
- Eisinger, P. 1973. The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities. *American Political Science Review* 81: 11–28.
- Fine, G. 1995. Public Narration and Group Culture: Discerning Discourse in Social Movements. In *Social Movements and Culture*, eds. H. Johnston and B. Klandermans, 127–143. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Golden, R. and M. McConnell. 1986. *Sanctuary: The New Underground Railroad*. New York: Orbis.
- Gordon, J. 2005. *Suburban Sweatshops: The Fight for Immigrant Rights*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hayduk, R. 2006. *Democracy for All: Restoring Immigrant Voting Rights in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. 2008. *God's Heart Has No Borders: How Religious Activists Are Working for Immigrant Rights*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Immigration Raids Not In Sync With Policies. 2008. *Contra Costa Times* <http://www.cis.org/node/667>, accessed 26 January 2009.
- Kisken, T. and M. Klampe. 2006. *Undocumented Drive Wedge in Ventura County*, *Ventura County Star* 2 April: B1.
- Kriesi, H., R. Koopmans, J. Duyvendak and M. Giugni. 1992. New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe. *European Journal of Political Research* 22: 219–244.
- Lippert, R. 2005. *Sanctuary, Sovereignty, Sacrifice: Canadian Sanctuary Incidents, Power, and Law*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia.
- McAdams, D., J. McCarthy and M. Zald. 1996. Introduction: Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Framing Processes—Toward a Synthetic, Comparative Perspective on Social Movements. In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, eds. D. McAdam, J. McCarthy and M. Zald, 1–20. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdams, D., J. McCarthy and M. Zald. 1988. Social Movements. In *Handbook of Sociology*, ed. N. Joseph, 696–737. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- McCarthy, J. and M. Zald. 1977. Resource Mobilization and Social Movements. *The American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212–1241.

- New Sanctuary Movement. 2007. *The New Sanctuary Movement: The First Six Months*. Paper presented at the Third National Gathering, Los Angeles, CA, November.
- New Sanctuary Movement. 2009. NSM Report, September.
- Oines, J. 2007. Lecture at California Lutheran University, 26 November.
- Passel, J. 2006. Size and Characteristics of the Unauthorized Migrant Population in the U.S. Estimates Based on the March 2005 Current Population Survey. Washington DC, Pew Hispanic Center, 2 March.
- Preston, J. 2009. Agency Plans for Visa Push Made Legal. *New York Times* October 2: A15.
- Rodriguez, S. 2007. The Church is the Last Safe Haven. *Sojourners Magazine* 36.
- Sahagun, L. 2007. L.A. Church in Forefront of Sanctuary Movement. *Los Angeles Times* March 23: B1.
- Salvatierra, A. 2007. Sacred Refuge. *Sojourner Magazine* 36(9): 12 16, 18–20.
- Scherr, J. 2007. East Bay Sanctuary Covenant Turns 25. *Berkeley Daily Planet*, 23 March: P1.
- Snow, D., E.B. Rochford, S. Worden and R. Benford. 1986. Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review* 51: 464–481.
- Tarrow, S. 1994. *Power in Movement: Collective Action, Social Movements and Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, S. 1996. States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements. In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, eds. D. McAdam, J. McCarthy and M. Zald, 41–61. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ticktin, M. 2007. Edited Transcript of Miriam Ticktin's Lunchtime Presentation to SSRC Staff on 22 May 2007, <http://www.ssrc.org/features/view/human-rights-for-the-few-not-the-many/>, accessed 8 February 2010.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2000. *America's Families and Living Arrangements*. Washington DC: US Department of Commerce.
- Van Biema, D. 2007. Does the Bible Support Sanctuary? *Time* July 20. This article is posted at <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1645646,00.html?iid=sphere-inlie-bottom>.
- Wood, R. 1994. Faith in Action: Religion for Political Success in Three Congregations. *Sociology of Religion* 55(4): 397–417.
- Zald, M. and J.D. McCarthy, eds. 1979. *The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics*. Cambridge, MA: Winthrop.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.