2011

The Insecurity of "Secure Communities": A Case Study of an Advocacy Campaign To Protect Immigrant Rights in Santa Barbara, CA

Tina Pia Peirano
SIT Graduate Institute

The Insecurity of "Secure Communities":

A case study of an advocacy campaign to protect immigrant rights in Santa Barbara, CA

By

Tina Pia Peirano

PIM 69

A capstone paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for a Master of Arts in Intercultural Service, Leadership, and Management,

at the School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont, USA

September 15th, 2011

Advisor: Jeff Unsicker, Professor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On my journey to accomplish my master's degree, there are many people I am deeply thankful to have walked with; it all began when Nancy Jo Zinner (PIM 54) who brought my attention to this program.

First, to Professor Jeff Unsicker, who was both my practicum and capstone advisor, for his tremendous support and encouragement. This capstone paper might not have been completed, if not for a "checking in" note from Jeff that landed in my inbox back in the spring of 2011. Jeff made me realize that someone was expecting me to accomplish this paper. Next, I thank librarian Eden Terrell (PIM 61), for handling countless requests, and also for driving me to campus every morning throughout the writing process. I also thank Jose E. Alfaro (PIM 70), for doing all of the Spanish translations. To Christine Allers, (MAT 41), for always being there to proofread and edit my portfolio while we were drank good coffee and had fun. And special thanks to Lasse Schmidt (PIM 63), Susie, and Gabriel, who I lived with during the writing process. This capstone would have lacked important resources if not for Samuel Greg Piento, Department of Sociology UCSB, who shared his dissertation proposal with me. I'm proud to have had the chance to work with and learn from an incredibly talented team at PUEBLO, who were dedicated to policy advocacy for immigrants in the center of a capital paradise. Forever, I'll be thankful for the organizational skills I gained while doing community organizing with Grecia Lima, Antonio Rivera, Daniella Rodriguez, and Laura Ronchietto. Especially Executive Director Belén Seara who was an incredible role model for the organization. Belén recognized the importance of investing time and education in new interns and volunteers who would then go back to their communities to advocate for social issues that needed to be addressed. To my lovely and supportive family; my parents, my sister and my little nephew Alfred who let me finish this process abroad even though my assistance at home was needed. To Jonathan Valamehr, who from the first day I decided to go to graduate school

believed that one day I would become a “Masterslina”. And here I am! Last, the paper is dedicated to the approximately eleven million undocumented immigrants that live within the United States struggling every day, without any sign on the radar for a new opportunity to apply for proper legal documentation.

ABBREVIATIONS

BoS	Board of Supervisors
CAP	Criminal Alien Program
CARECEN	Central American Resource Center
CHIRLA	Coalition for Humane Immigrants Rights of Los Angeles
CIPC	California Immigrant Policy Center
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DRO	Office of Detention and Removal
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act
LEA(s)	Law Enforcement Agency/agencies
MoA	Memorandum of Agreement
PUEBLO	People United for Economic Justice Building Leadership through Organization
RI4A	Reform Immigration for America
RHR	Rental Housing Roundtable
SBPD	Santa Barbara Police Department
SBSO	Santa Barbara Sheriff's Office
S-COMM	Secure Community / Secure Communities
SIF	Sociological Initiatives Foundation
UCSB	University of California Santa Barbara

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This case study describes and analyzes the work of advocacy work of PUEBLO, a human and immigrant rights organization in Santa Barbara, California. The paper focuses on the ongoing campaigns of PUEBLO and its allies, including national and state-level organizations and coalitions, to influence one of the most recent federal immigration policies, titled Secure Communities. It also addresses PUEBLO's advocacy to change local law enforcement policies or practices which have targeted Hispanic residents, including undocumented immigrants, for traffic citations and car impoundments.

Based on knowledge acquired through my six month, full-time internship with PUEBLO and through various forms of primary and secondary research, the paper discusses different dimensions of the advocacy work. First, following a brief overview of the political, economic and demographic context of Santa Barbara County, the paper discusses PUEBLO's role and capacities as the only one of over 200 local nonprofits in that is focused on immigrant rights. Next, the paper discusses the stated purpose of the Secure Communities policy, which creates relationships between the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and local law enforcement agencies to determine if persons in jail or accused of a crime are undocumented immigrants, leading to deportations. It then describes the immigrant rights movement's critique of that policy, especially how it has been used to deport persons who are outside the policies target group, and some of the federal level changes in response to their advocacy.

The paper then focuses on the local context. After the Santa Barbara County Sheriff signed an agreement to implement Secure Communities without public or even local government input, PUEBLO pressured him to rescind the agreement. The paper describes this effort, as well as parallel efforts to influence the Chief of the Santa Barbara City Police regarding practices that were disproportionately harmful for the local immigrant population. A major focus is a detailed

description of the PUEBLO's advocacy strategy and planning process regarding the above policies and practices, including its emphasis on grassroots education and mobilization.

The paper concludes with a summary of progress in this ongoing effort and an identification of general lessons about advocacy that can be learned from the work of PUEBLO.

"*If you don't have enough evidence*
to charge someone criminally but
you know - you think he's illegal,
we can make [him] disappear"
ICE official James Pendergraph,
quoted in Jacqueline Stevens)

My life is now filled with fear and frustration,
especially during the summer when many
raids are done by immigration.
I feel like wherever I am I cannot live in peace.
Because I was deported, I am in the system and
have a ten-year ban, so that makes it difficult for me
to be able to get my documents"
(Milagros, female, 37, Mexico, PUEBLO, 2008, p. 53)

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. My Background

During my Social Change class in the spring of 2010, we read Samir Amin's, *"The World We Wish to See: Revolutionary Objectives in the Twenty-first Century"* (2008), which outlines a vision for a more equal world. One important piece that was missing was the U.S. history from the McCarthyism period where organizers of the working class had to struggle in the center of the capitalist project. Therefore, in many ways, I've always admired civil rights organizers like Martin Luther King and César Chávez who suffered enormously to create change for the masses. After having worked in the offices of the Danish Refugee Council doing administration, I wanted to experience how to navigate in the field as a community organizer among immigrants during the practicum phase of my internship. I chose the location carefully. After having lived in California, I caught a glimpse of what it must be like to live not only as an immigrant, but also as someone in constant fear of being deported for not having proper documentation. I witnessed these fears among my Latina friends who did not have resident permits and were living in Santa Barbara. California has the biggest undocumented population in the U.S. and is ranked the sixth wealthiest place in the world. Therefore, my interest was sparked; I wanted to be a part of an effort that was creating social change through an advocacy campaign against Secure Communities (S-COMM). The topic

idea for my capstone paper came to me during my internship at PUEBLO (from September 2011 to March 2011) in Santa Barbara, California. There, I experienced how a small Non-Profit Organization developed an action plan for the launch of a campaign advocating against the federal initiative Secure Communities (S-COMM).

One of my contributions was the development of popular education materials for three different trainings on 'Know Your Rights'; immigration rights, car confiscation, and Secure Communities. Furthermore, I put together a presentation about S-COMM, which was used (in whole and in portions) on several occasions.

1.2. Methods and Research

The research for this capstone paper includes publications based on field experiences from a variety of American community organizers and civil rights activists like; Paul Alinsky, Marshall Ganz, Jim Shultz, Rinku Sen, Lisa Veneklasen and Valerie Miller, and foremost César Chávez. In addition, manuals, reports, alert actions, minutes, newspapers articles and weekly staff meetings with both PUEBLO staff and the Immigration Committee were used as research. The section on the Secure Communities campaign is based on materials from the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) & Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) as well as opponents to this program like the Coalition for Humane Immigrants Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) and the California Immigrant Policy Center (CIPC). To illustrate PUEBLO's strategy, there is information based on several meetings with PUEBLO's constituents. For the design part of the three workshops for PUEBLO's constituents, I gained useful inspiration from books like Veneklasen and Miller's and manuals "*Power Tools: A Manual for Organizations Fighting for Justice"* (2003). Furthermore, this capstone paper is cultivated by my participation at public meetings like chapter meetings, trainings, state conferences, forums, class discussions at Santa Barbara City College, a lobby meeting with a congress member and a personal visit with a potential community leader. In

addition, I had the opportunity to attend endorsement interviews for Goleta City Council and be part of the hiring board for a new Executive Director for the organization. While at PUEBLO, I also gained personal experience while doing electoral work and having informal conversations with people who were affected by the lack of opportunity that existed to gain legal status.

After completing my practicum and departing California, I continued to receive messages through PUEBLO's googlegroup. The campaign to Reform Immigration for America (RI4A) organized a national call on August 31, 2011 where I listened with 4,400 others. On the call were Congressman Luis V. Gutierrz, Gaby Pacheco of United We Dream, and attorneys from the American Immigration Lawyers Association. The call was to discuss what the DHS announcement on deportations meant for immigrant communities.

Finally, two useful resources for this capstone were the IPC special report *"The Secure Communities Program: Unanswered Questions and Continuing Concerns"* written by Michele Waslin and *"DHS's "Secure Communities: No Rules of the Road"* by the National Immigration Law Center (NILC).

A powerful tool that documents the harsh living circumstances in Santa Barbara county are testimonies that express how people are affected by the lack of federal policies on immigration reform. Therefore, this capstone presents a couple of public statements that illustrate important perspectives. Other testimonies were gathered from PUEBLO's own publication, which contains interviews from undocumented immigrants living in Santa Barbara County "*In the Shadows of Paradise"* (2008).

This paper does not analyze the debate from a right-wing perspective, however, during the process of writing my Policy Advocacy paper about the campaign for Reform Immigration for America (FI4A), I monitored the Tea Party movement by signing up for their email list server.

Finally, I still receive emails and alerts from some of the advocate groups such as Pew Hispanic Center, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), CHIRLA, CIPC, and RI4A to stay informed on this issue.

2. ADOVCATES

2.1. Geographic and Demographic Context

It is not an accident that the Santa Barbara area has often been called "The American Riviera", its pretty beaches and temperate year-round weather is quite attractive to tourists. There is great wealth. For example, the community of Hope Ranch is one of the wealthiest areas in California; the median home price was $2.61 million in 2006. Yet there is also tremendous poverty throughout the County. Santa Barbara County has "the highest rate of uninsured children in the State," and the economy is dominated by low-wage jobs in the service, tourist, and agricultural industries ("PUEBLO," n.d., para 3). The high cost of living is forcing working families to hold multiple jobs, commute long distances for low-wage work, and live in crowded apartments.

According the 2010 United States Census, Santa Barbara City had a total population of 88,410. The Hispanic or Latino population is 33,591 (38%), of which 29,502 (33.4%) are from Mexico. Non-Hispanic or Latino is counted as 54,819 (62.0%). Furthermore, the make-up of the population also consists of 1,420 Black or African Americans (1.6%) and 3,062 Asians (3.5 %), (US Census 2010).

2.2. The Organization PUEBLO

[1]PUEBLO (People United for Economic Justice Building Leadership through Organizing), incorporated both as 501 (c)(3) and (c)(4) non –profit organization), is a small grass roots organization that is focused on the City and County of Santa Barbara, California. PUEBLO has two offices and four staff members (three full-time and one-part-time) to serve the different parts of

[1] Please see Appendix A for PUEBLO's Organizational Structure

Santa Barbara County. The main office (with two full-time and the one part-time staff member) is located in the City of Santa Barbara. The other office (with the other full-time staff member) is located in the city of Santa Maria, which is an hour drive from Santa Barbara city (in the northern part of the county). The northern part of the county has a more politically conservative scene; for instance, it has a strong group of the Minutemen, while the southern part of the county is seen as more progressive.

PUEBLO (c)(3) Mission	PUEBLO Action Fund (c)(4) Mission
To empower the low-income people of Santa Barbara County through educational programs and civic participation.	To build sustainable community-based economic justice dedicated to creating power and leadership among its constitutions.

The Action Fund structure consists of an unpaid board of directors that oversees the work of the non-profit organization and makes executive decisions about how to run campaigns during elections. The Executive Director functions as the liaison. Members of the board are elected for three years. The major purpose of the Board is for legalities and to have better access to funding actions, which are connected to lobbying and advocacy activities. Furthermore, connected money can be spent on administration and fundraising costs. From January 2008 until the end of April 2011, Belén Seara served as executive director of PUEBLO and PAF. Trained as a farm worker organizer, she continued developing PAF through house meetings, community organizing, coalition building, and political mobilizing. Overall, PUEBLO has plenty of experience in mobilizing the community before elections and local campaigns since Santa Barbara County (in contrast to other states and counties) holds elections every year. Thus, in every election, PUEBLO endorses candidates and has succeeded in getting three progressive candidates elected for Santa Barbara City Council.

2.3. PUEBLO's Immigrant Committee

For PUEBLO, an important tool in organizing supporters to create better living conditions for the county's immigrants, is the Immigration Committee, which functions as the nerve center of the organization's advocacy policy work. Between 8 and 16 activists show up every Thursday evening at 6:30pm to meet in the downtown Santa Barbara office. At the meetings, volunteers get involved and are assigned tasks- preparing rallies or chapter meetings, writing letters to the editor, doing electoral work, organizing house meetings, etc. PUEBLO is an outcome of the labor movement and is therefore based on similar principles and tools as the labor leader César Chávez used to organize Mexican farm worker communities, like house meetings, creating neighborhood committees and mobilizing voters. Chávez taught the farm workers about empowerment and education to build strong leadership skills within the exploited population. Every day I was reminded of this strong connection between the labor movement and PUEBLO when passing by a colorful poster with the quote, "What César started…PUEBLO aims to finish."

2.4. The Rental Housing Roundtable

A big victory for PUEBLO and the other advocacy organizations, including California Rural Legal Assistance, (which provides support to the Santa Maria Housing Committee) was when they prevented 40 families from being evicted from a local trailer park (PUEBLO Action Fund, 2010, p. 9-10). PUEBLO achieved another victory for renters through its role as the lead organization for the Rental Housing Roundtable (RHR). After two years of organizing, PUEBLO pressured the Board of Supervisors (BoS) in December 2010 to approve amendments to Ordinance 4444 that had been proposed by the RHR coalition, expanding the rights of renters in Santa Barbara County. The amended Ordinance provides relocation assistance to tenants evicted due to renovations, rezoning, code violations, and demolitions. RHR consists of 30 organizations including the League of Women Voters of Santa Barbara, University Park Mobile Homeowners Coalition and local

landlords. Together, they mobilized over 1,500 individuals to ensure broad support of the amendments. This exercise in organizing such a broad alliance would be an important tool for PUEBLO in building a new coalition against Secure Communities.

Besides local involvement, PUEBLO also participates in coalition work on regional and statewide levels like CHIRLA and RI4A.

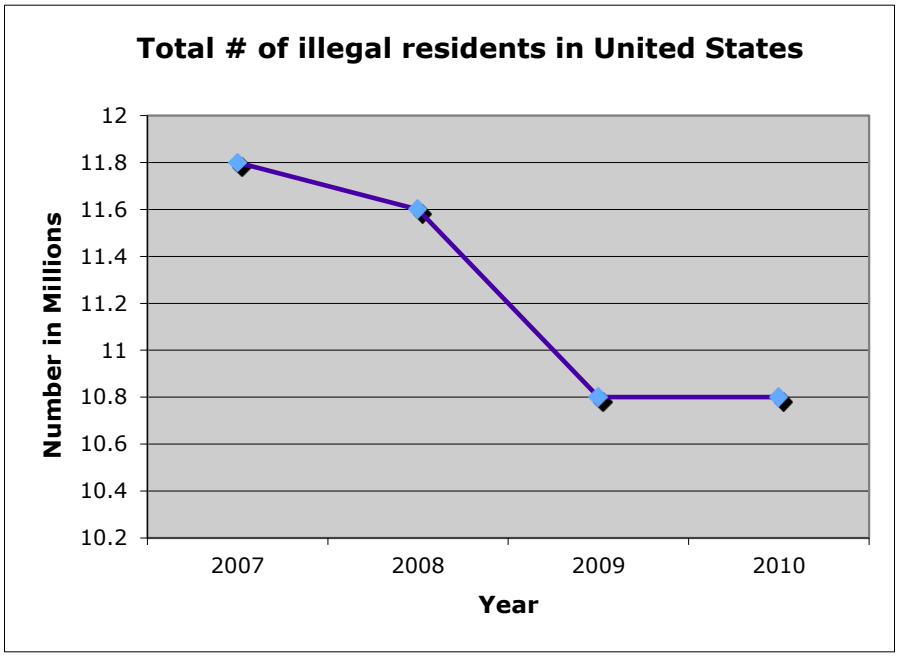
2.5. Electoral Campaigning

Furthermore, PUEBLO identifies leaders and precinct team members, who then take responsibility for contacting low-propensity voters in their precinct. Here, precinct leaders walk door-to-door and educate voters about issues and candidates who are in favor of helping the community. PUEBLO is the only organization in the County, out of more than 200 local non-profit organizations, which actively does policy advocacy work for improving immigrant rights and providing better living conditions for the large working-class Latino community.

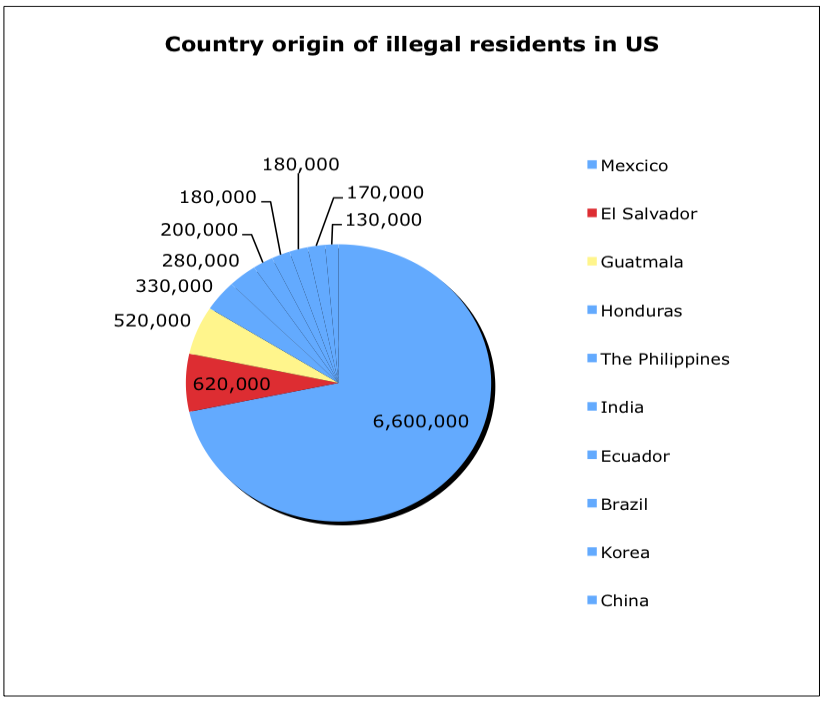
3. SECURE COMMUNITIES (S-COMM) POLICY

3.1. Introduction to Immigration Policy

According to the Department of Homeland Security, "The unauthorized resident immigrant population is defined as all foreign-born non-citizens who are not legal residents. Most unauthorized residents either entered the United States without inspection or were admitted temporarily and stayed past the date they were required to leave." (Hoefer, Rytina & Baker, 2011, p.1). The diagram below represents the decline of the number of illegal residents in the United States over a four-year period. The implementation of S-COMM in 2008 may very well be a factor in the decreased number of illegal residents. In addition, it is possible the strict, new policy is affecting immigrants who were considering coming to the U.S.



The diagram below represents the top countries where illegal residents are from.



California has the highest number of unauthorized immigrants in the U.S., with 2,570,000 million in 2010. This has decreased from 2,840,000 million since 2007. DHS, which publishes annual estimates of unauthorized immigrants, is the same agency that authorizes border control.

This report states three arguments for the decline of immigrants coming to United States; the first two are: the economic recession, and revisions in the question of Hispanic origin in 2008. The third argument is "measurement of net international migration," which is heavily connected to DHS forceful border patrolling. (Hoefer, Rytina & Baker, 2011, p. 2).

Doing advocacy work for immigrant rights is perhaps more challenging now than ever before. The last time undocumented immigrants had an opportunity to gain citizenship was in 1986 when the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) granted amnesty to millions of undocumented immigrants, thereby allowing them to legalize and bring family members to the U.S. This possibility of recognition is almost zero for the approximately eleven million undocumented people who are in this country today. Immigrant advocates at all levels fight against the "immigration policing regime," a brutal system of immigration control built by the U.S. government.

In September 2001, in the days after the terror attacks in New York City and Washington D.C., Anthony S. Tangeman, the director of the Detention and Removal Office (DRO) within the DHS, authorized the Strategic Plan Working Group. This strategic work was later developed into the Endgame, and as the title implies, "DRO provides the endgame to immigration enforcement and that is the removal of all removable aliens" (Tangeman, 2003, p. i). The vision for DRO is "Within ten years, the Detention and Removal Program will be able to fully meet all of our commitments and mandates from the President, Congress and the American people" (Tangeman, p. 1-2). DHS's strategic objective is preventing terrorist attacks within the United States. ICE's strategic goal is deterring, interdicting, removing threats; and policing and securing federal facilities. DRO's primary goal is removals.

3.2. The S-COMM Policy

Secure Communities is a comprehensive ICE initiative that "focuses on identification and removal, including the utilization of advanced biometric and communication technology to share information among law enforcement agencies (LEAs) to identity, detain and remove aliens from the United States who have been convicted of a serious criminal offense, and are subject to removal" (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, p. 1). The implementation of the S-COMM Policy is outlined in a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between DHS, ICE and the State Identification Bureau (SIB). The MOA includes an initiative related to biometrics (fingerprints). The goals are to improve community safety by transforming the manner in which the federal government cooperates with state and local LEAs to identify, detain and remove aliens convicted of serious criminal offenses (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, p. 1).

Since its activation in 2008, fingerprint information sharing has helped ICE identify and remove more than 86,000 convicted criminal aliens from the United States. By the end of June 2011, Secure Communities had 187,311 convicted aliens administratively arrested or booked into ICE custody (ICE, 2011, p. 1). The Secure Communities program allows fingerprints of individuals arrested by state and local law enforcement to be sent to the U.S. Department of Homeland (DHS) in order to identify persons with an immigration history.

Secure Community is part of the Criminal Alien Program, which is meant to target all so-called undocumented aliens.

ICE claims to base action on an individual "hit" in the government database based on the following categories:

Level 1: Individuals who have been convicted of major drug offenses, national security crimes, and violent crimes such as murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery and kidnapping;

Level 2: Individuals who have been convicted of minor drug and property offenses such as burglary, larceny, fraud and money laundering; and

Level 3: Individuals who have been convicted of minor offenses. (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, p. 2-3).

3.3. National Critics against S-COMM

The main policies that immigrant rights advocates have been fighting against are closely connected to the lack of legal methods to obtain citizenship. The situation is widely known; even President Obama chanted about "the broken immigration system" prior to the 2008 election.

S-COMM opponents like immigrant groups and advocates have reacted to how ICE "had no articulated mechanism for ensuring that Level 1 offenses were in fact prioritized, or how resources would be allocated among the three levels" (Waslin, 2009, p. 7).

What immigrant advocates are fighting against is the program's purported targeting of "criminal aliens" who have been convicted of serious offenses. However, Secure Communities applies to immigrants regardless of guilt or innocence, how or why they were arrested, and whether their arrests were based on racial or ethnic profiling.

It is now clear that ICE intentionally misled the public as to the voluntary nature of the program. Thanks to the Freedom of Information Act, 15,000 pages of documents were released and show that "ICE adopted and intentionally misled the public with the use of the word "voluntary" in order to expand implementation of the program before the expected "pushback from localities" (Mauldin, p. 2). Moreover, ICE has backed off the requirement of having states sign an MOA, stating that the MOA is an unnecessary formality," (Mauldin, p. 3).

Since the announcement in March 2008 of the Secure Communities Program, its implementation from October 2008 worked with local law enforcement agencies to deport undocumented serious criminal offenders. Thanks to immigration advocates' tireless work to

document how this program operated without rules, immigrant groups publicly started to question who was really getting deported. In response, ICE started to report fewer non-violent deportations for the purpose of slowing down the campaign against Secure Communities. Unfortunately, as of mid August 2011, policy changes from the Obama Administration have not resulted in any sign of momentum against Secure Communities.

ICE has also intentionally manipulated data, which is a major concern for immigrant rights advocates. According to purported cumulative data collected by ICE between April and June 2010, the actual number of non-criminals deported in many Secure Communities jurisdictions has inexplicably decreased. For example, in San Diego the number decreased by 57 percent (1,374 individuals) and Los Angeles's numbers decreased by 21 percent (401 individuals). Advocate groups like the National Immigration Law Center in Los Angeles has argued that changing the way of categorizing "non-criminals" makes it appear that ICE was deporting more "criminals" (Mauldin, 2011, p. 6).

Another part of the program that is advocated against is the lack of transparency and accountability. The quote that appears at the beginning of this paper was spoken by James Pendergraph, then executive director of the ICE Office of State and Local Coordination: "*If you don't have enough evidence to charge someone criminally but - you know - you think he's illegal, we can make [him] disappear."* The words were spoken in 2008 at a conference of police and sheriffs (Stevens, 2009). Jacqueline Stevens, professor at the UCSB, outlines in her article, "America's secret ICE castles," how ICE's 186 sub-field offices and their locations are not publicly available (Stevens, 2009). Just as Pendegraph implies that there are locations that are secret where arrested immigrants are kept secret from the public, the Stevens article illustrates that ICE publicly states that there are sub-field offices, but when questioned, ICE denies their existence. This issue is evident in many areas of the immigration debate; people who are unable to locate arrested family

members or friends are often given the run around when seeking help from the police. To illustrate how this translates to the local level, Santa Barbara Congresswoman Capps was briefed at a meeting with PUEBLO regarding S-COMM that telephones at the local jail didn't work, therefore people who were arrested couldn't contact their family to let them know where they were.

The lack of transparency has been a serious problem from the beginning when ICE imposed Secure Communities without a congressional mandate and without promulgating regulations through a process that would allow public input. According to advocates, "ICE has simply announced the program's rules on its website and then changed them repeatedly without prior notice," (Mauldin, p. 6).

In one instance, I was asked to call ICE to ask for more information about the difference between level 1 and level 2. After two hours of constant phone calls to ICE officials using numbers posted on their website, I was never able to get in contact with any employees; only disconnected phones or if I was lucky, a voice mail, which gave me ten seconds to leave a message. This lack of openness is contradictory to the instructions given when people want to report something suspicious and dial ICE.

The immigration advocates against Secure Community also target the notion that the program brings stability and safety to communities. In fact, now immigrant communities are scared of contacting law enforcement because when it comes to cases of domestic violence, the police will arrest both parties. In some cases received by PUEBLO, only the victims of abuse were arrested.

The country-wide immigration advocacy coalition put together a response signed by approximately two hundreds organizations, and sent it to Director of ICE, John T. Morton. The response addressed the newly established Advisory Committee that will advise Morton on "ways to improve Secure Communities." (Letter to Director John T. Morton, ICE, July 2011). It stated:

The Committee is a very limited representation since only law enforcement; ICE agents and advocates[2] are on board. The mission for this commission is to come up with recommendations on how to "mitigate impact on community policing, how to best focus on individuals who pose a true public safety and security threat, as well as how to implement a post-conviction policy for traffic offenses within 45 days." However, the advocates have since learned that, in fact, the Committee's scope is limited to recommendations about minor traffic offenses – a significant departure from ICE's earlier announcement and wholly inadequate to address growing concerns about Secure Communities' implementation, negative impact on community policing, and the civil and human rights violations occurring as a result of the program.

- The committee is lacking any accountability to the public and is completely devoid of transparency. In addition, the committee has been established without input and members of immigrant communities have not been asked to join the committee.

Hereafter, the coalition is addressing three major concerns (weaknesses):

- Secure Communities make everyone less safe by driving a wedge between local police and the communities they serve.
- Secure Communities encourage racial profiling and indiscriminately funnels immigrants into an unjust and dysfunctional immigration detention and deportation system.
- There is mounting evidence that ICE intentionally misled the public as to the voluntary nature of the program.

The Task Force advising the Obama Administration on Secure Communities ended up consisting of sixteen members including: Chuck Wexler, Executive Director, Police Executive Research Forum, Jeffery Fagan, professor at Columbia Law School, Adrian Garcia, Sheriff, Harris County, Texas, Benjamin Johnson, Executive Director of the American Immigration Council (an opponent of S-Comm) and Roberto Villaseñor, Chief of Police, Tuscon, Arizona.

[2] It's not ever stated clearly what kind of advocates should had been included. Later several of the sixteen members of the Task Force represented the immigrant coalition.

3.4. ICE's Response to Advocates' Pressure

The response to the immigrant community arrived in the form of a letter from the Obama Administration to 40 governors and local officials who had signed agreements with ICE in the beginning of August. According to John Morton, the director of ICE, the changes outlined in the letter were intended to eliminate widespread confusion over whether the agreements were necessary to initiate Secure Community. Secondly, the intention behind the letter was also to "remove political pressure from local officials who felt uneasy about appearing to collaborate with federal authorities on immigration enforcement." With this announcement, the Obama Administration clearly indicated that the immigration advocates shouldn't expect any suspension or even a slowdown of the program (Semple & Preston, 2011).

Thanks to all the resistance from immigrant advocates and organizations, "ICE was feeling some heat from community," according to an email from Coalition for Humane Immigrants Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), Friday, August 12, 2011 (CHIRLA, August 12, 2011). ICE announced the scheduling of three public hearings. The organizations in California worked hard to make the second hearing a success in Los Angeles on August 15th, 2011. In advance, organizers were asked to "find strong testimonies to demonstrate what Secure Community is doing in our communities" (CHIRLA, August 12, 2011).

At a national conference in July 2011 sponsored by the Latino advocacy group, the National Council of La Raza, President Obama blamed the GOP for not moving forward and "Believe me – believe me, the idea of doing things on my own is very tempting. I promise you. Not just on immigration reform. But that's not how our system works" (Nicholas, 2011). The reaction came promptly from the audience "Yes you can!" a twist on Obama's 2008 campaign slogan.

Across the country there has been resistance to S-COMM. Governors from Illinois, New York and Massachusetts have rejected the program, while the District of Columbia, Minnesota,

Pennsylvania, and Washington have altogether refused to join. Los Angeles, San Francisco and Santa Clara in California and Arlington, Virginia have all passed local resolutions seeking to opt out.

4. S-COMM IN SANTA BARBARA

4.1. PUEBLO's Position on S-COMM

The major policy PUEBLO has been campaigning against is the Federal program, Secure Community which is being rolled out across the country and is scheduled to be in effect nationwide by 2013. On January 5, 2010, Santa Barbara County adopted Secure Community via a memorandum of agreement (MOA) with the signature of Sheriff Bill Brown without notification to the public or the County Board of Supervisors, making the county the sixth in California and one of 116 jurisdictions across the country in 16 states that had accepted the policy. Back then, almost no one in the community knew about this program, but within a short time, PUEBLO, the only one of the County's more than 200 non-profit charity organizations which advocates for immigrant rights, became aware of the situation. Thus, by the spring of 2010, PUEBLO was catching up and educating its constituents on how this program influences their community.

Thus, immigration advocates like the newly hired Executive Director of PUEBLO, Mark Alvarado are trying to shift the discussion from "illegal immigrants" to "working families." Alvarado stated: "The people that PUEBLO serve contribute to the economy, but get the short end of the stick. Who could be more American than the people who pick our fruits and vegetables?" (n.a. New PUEBLO leadership, May 2011). These working families might have come here with their families when they were very young, or have overstayed a visa and now they work, they pay taxes, and their kids are in school. The deportation of immigrants has been an issue several times before, what has made this even worse over the last couple of years is the speed in which ICE exercises deportation cases. Now it is common for people to get copies of a "Deportation Family

Emergency Response Plan" at meetings explaining how families should prepare themselves in case one or both parents do not come home as planned.

4.2. The Impact of S-COMM in Santa Barbara

For PUEBLO and its California allies, a strategy has been to focus on how deportations are tearing families apart. A symbolic act to show the importance of the family matter is when PUEBLO named the new coalition, the Keeping Families Together Commission. This was announced at a press conference on August 3, 2011 outside of Trinity Church in order to build a broad coalition of community members, businesses, churches, and organizations. Plenty of families have been torn apart since the inception of the program in Santa Barbara on January 5, 2010 and more than 964 undocumented immigrants have been removed from the county. Furthermore, 80 percent of Secure Community deportees in the county have been classified as "non-criminal" or low-level offenders, a percentage that is six points higher than the national average (Robbins, August 2011).

PUEBLO is advocating that only people who have committed a crime that are categorized as "serious" should be deported.

4.3. Real Life Example of National Policy Affecting Santa Barbara Resident

An immigration detainer is a tool used by ICE and other Department of Homeland Security (DHS) officials to identify potentially deportable individuals who are housed in jails or prisons nationwide. Also, an immigration detainer is used as an official request from Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to another law enforcement agency (LEA) - such as a state or local jail - to notify ICE prior to releasing an individual from local custody, so that ICE can arrange to take over custody (Immigration Policy Center, Immigration detainers: A comprehensive look, n.d.). On behalf of the immigrant coalition, Melissa Keaney of the National Immigration Law Center (NILC)

in Los Angeles and Issac Menashe of the California Immigrant Policy Center (CIPC) in Oakland wrote a comment to the ICE Draft Policy on Detainers in September 2010.

The problems addressed were based on what advocates and defenders witnessed as the lack of a clear standard, resulting in detainers being improperly and haphazardly placed on individuals. Detainers are based solely on foreign birth – or worse, the assumption of foreign birth due to Hispanic surname, accents, or other invidious criteria (DHS, ICE Comment on ICE Draft Policy on Detainers, 2010, p. 1). Therefore, the three major improvements they are advocating for are to 1) provide clear and stringent standards for the issuance of detainers 2) train LEAs on the limits of their authority with respect to immigration detainers 3) provide notice to affected individuals regarding their rights both with respect to detainers and in any subsequent immigration proceedings (page 1).

Furthermore, the paper from NILC and CIPC ("DHS, ICE Comment on ICE Draft Policy on Detainers," 2010) includes the testimony of 30-year old Samuel, a small businessman from Santa Barbara County who has lived in the U.S. since arriving as a child:

> Samuel was pulled over, ostensibly for having an expired registration, though his registration was up-to-date, and was booked under an erroneous outstanding warrant. Samuel ultimately had the warrants dismissed, but because a detainer was placed on him within an hour of booking, he was never able post bail, and was deported within days of proving his innocence. His U.S. citizen wife and child have joined him abroad because they could not endure the hardship of having their family separated. In this case, the detainer (or possibility thereof) appears to have motivated the police officer – who was subsequently fired as a result of this incident – to make the arrest instead of merely give a citation (DHS, ICE Comment on ICE Draft Policy on Detainers, 2010, p. 3).

4.4. Framing of the Debate

When one looks at the language of this strategy paper, framing is at the centre of the on-going immigration debate. The linguistic framing is striking and is chosen with some clear purposes when the paper uses terms such as "aliens" or "unauthorized aliens". The piece "*The Framing of Immigration"* by Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) outlines the notion of the illegal frame. "Illegal used as an adjective in "illegal immigrants" and "illegal aliens," or simply as a noun, in "illegals" defines the immigrants as criminals, as if they were inherently bad people. In conservative doctrines, those who break laws must be punished," (Lakoff & Ferguson, p. 4). "'Aliens', in popular culture suggests non-human beings invading from outer space – completely foreign, not one of us". In addition, Lakoff and Ferguson pay attention to how the security frame has been connected to undocumented immigrants, and how the so-called war on terror has been connected with the border security around Mexico.

Russell Trenholme, a supporter of PUEBLO, has debunked the three most common myths of what Secure Community stands for. The first is that Secure Communities is about catching and deporting only the most dangerous illegal aliens. Since the program catches and deports relatively few dangerous felons, this has been proven to be false. Most of those deported are only guilty of minor offenses: "almost half are guilty of no offense other than being in the country without legal documents." The second myth is that those who are not guilty of serious crimes should have little to fear of the program. Because anyone can get deported, even for a simple traffic infraction and regardless of their criminal record, immigrants have a lot to fear. The third and final myth is that collaboration between local police and ICE does not involve profiling. This is false since the largest program, Criminal Alien Program (CAP), is never mentioned in ICE press releases. Under CAP, local police or ICE interrogate those arrested, inquiring about their immigration status,

usually without informing them of their rights. Profiling is used to determine who is interrogated. Trenholme states:

> Anyone raising suspicions is reported to ICE. CAP is responsible for more deportations than Secure Communities. Secure Communities is a PR move by ICE to cover-up profiling and the fundamental ICE policy of deporting all deportable aliens – even though both the Bush and Obama administrations favored a path to legalization (Trenholme, personal communication, January 21, 2011).

A fourth assumption is connected to the program's name – Secure Communities. One may question, "which communities have to been secured? And who is actually secured from these initiatives? The current situation is that immigrants are afraid of contacting law enforcement in emergencies cases such as domestic violence. The name 'Secure Community" and this strategy by ICE are in contrast, making communities more insecure, by being a threat to public safety.

Several human rights advocates became complacent and thought with a Democratic President in office, America's broken immigration system would be resolved for the eleven million undocumented immigrants living in the country. Unfortunately, with the Obama Administration, the issue of deported undocumented immigrants has peaked with close to 400,000 people deported in 2010, a 13 percent increase from 2008 under the Bush Administration. An action alert in July 2011 counted more than one million immigrants deported during Obama's presidency (Luna, 2011). This is not quite in harmony with Obama's campaign message in 2008, when he said "he would deal with the issue in his first year." In the absence of new legislation, some congressional Democrats are urging the President to retool deportation policies using executive authority.

The Trust Act legislation (which is mentioned in the Strategy Section), which received no support from assemblyman Das William, was passed in the state assembly on May 26, 2011. Even though the Act was passed by 43-22 votes, many of PUEBLO's constituents felt it was a bitter pill to swallow that a former board member did not vote for this Act. Mr. Williams got overwhelming support from the community when he was elected to the Assembly back in November 2010. Thanks to PUEBLO's precinct leaders, many registered voters living on the East side of State

Street, mostly low income residents, received phone calls or a knock on their doors from supporters of Das Williams. During the process of finding a new Executive Director in February 2011, PUEBLO's former Executive Director, Mrs. Seara wanted to require any candidate who wanted to be endorsed by PUEBLO to take a definitive stand against Secure Community. By not voting yes or even being present for the vote, Williams showed a complete lack of representation for his constituents.

Last November in 2010, PUEBLO rallied behind Das Williams for the State Assembly and Monique Limón for Santa Barbara School Board. With the election of Limón, it was the first time a Latina candidate was elected by public voters to the School Board, and she actually beat the incumbent candidate Kate Parker who came in second.

4.5. Developing a Strategy against Secure Community

This next part of the paper will explain how PUEBLO came up with a strategy against S-COMM and outline some of the public events that were scheduled to both educate and alert the immigrant community.

The advocacy goals for PUEBLO and the other immigrant organizations are:

a) Prevent or rescind the local deployment of S-COMM
b) Monitor the impact and effects of S-COMM
c) Raise awareness of concerns about S-COMM by having local officials speak out to ICE, the Attorney General, and federal representatives
d) End California's participation in S-COMM, i.e. rescind California's Secure Communities Memorandum of Agreement with ICE (CIPC, Toolkit, p. 5).

A year ago, during the Old Spanish Day festival, PUEBLO published a report which was fueled by the advocacy work on racial profiling and car impoundment, which PUEBLO and other immigrant allies have fought to change. In 2011, during the Old Spanish Day festival in August, PUEBLO launched their new campaign tool to fight Secure Communities by building a coalition named Keeping Families Together Commission. The event was scheduled on the first day of Fiesta

to celebrate the contributions of immigrants to Santa Barbara's history. Therefore, the questions which are important to ask; "What are the immigrants policy issues that PUEBLO's advocates and other rights organizations in California are currently addressing? What specific policy changes do they wish to see? What evidence do they have to support their positions?"

4.6. The California Public Records Act Request

Part of my role in the campaign was to put together a request for documentation under the California Public Records Act (California Government Code to the Sheriff of Santa Barbara County Mr. Bill Brown). The words of Shultz (as an important rule of policy research) state 'never waste time creating information if someone else had already created it in a reliable way' (Shultz, p. 86). Since this resistance involves the Federal level, the California Immigrant Policy Center coalition (CIPC) created a section about advocating against Secure Communities within the helpful toolkit "*Public messaging toolkit immigrant advocates."* It includes guidelines to develop and submit formal documentation requests. CIPC's mission is to "advance inclusive policies that build a prosperous future for all Californians using policy analysis, advocacy and capacity building to unlock the power of immigrants in California." (CIPC, "*The Mission,"* n.d.)

The list of documents that were requested:

- Any and all records, documents, communications, correspondence and/or memoranda pertaining to the decision to implement the S-COMM
- Any and all records regarding guidance, rules, policies, procedures, trainings, communications, memoranda (including memoranda of agreement or understanding), and standard operating procedures (SOPs) provided by DHS or ICE to or with the SBSD relating to enrollment in and use of the Secure Communities Program.
- Any and all records regarding guidance, rules, policies, trainings, or communications relating to the use of issuance of immigration detainers or holds pursuant to the Secure Communities Program, including records related to:
    a) Instructions provided by DHS or ICE regarding the legal effect of immigration detainers and time periods for holding detained aliens upon release on bond or completion of criminal charges;
    b) Grievance or redress procedures available to detained aliens to challenge detainers while in the custody of the Sheriff's Department;

c) Procedures for releasing from custody aliens whose detainers have been lifted;
d) Incidents of U.S. citizens having been identified through Secure Communities as subject to removal and/or being places under an immigrant detainer. (Seara, B., September 14, 2010).

The Sheriff's office provided hundreds of pages of lists of data, reports and records spanning five years (Appendix B). While we requested some of this information, there was nothing related to S-COMM with the exception of an agenda from a meeting in 2008. While the PUEBLO office was not surprised by this poor response, it was necessary to formally request this information to allow the Sheriff's office to respond.

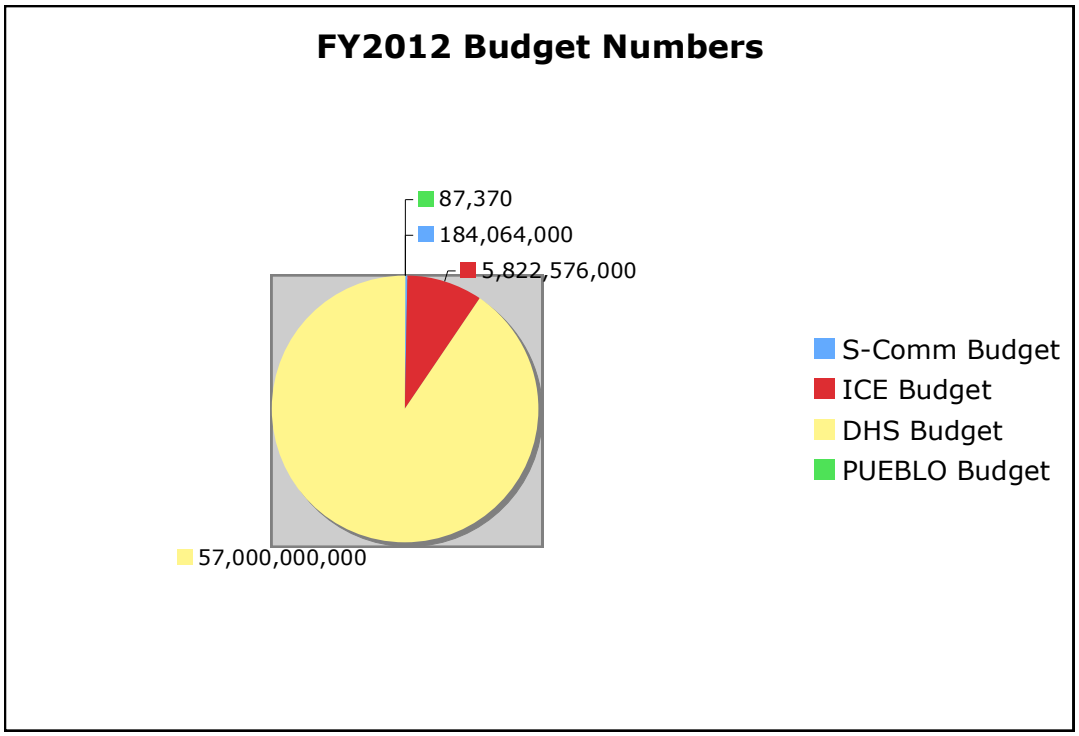
The last paragraph of the letter from the Sheriff's office states: "I have requested and am awaiting a report from the Santa Barbara County Jail that will provide the information that is present as was part of your request. I have been advised that a query for this information has to be built and tested before I will receive this piece" (Miller, W., November 17, 2010 B). Thus, the effort of the Sheriff's Office was limited to solely providing data regarding checkpoints and a County Meeting Agenda back in December 2008. However, without accurate data, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine how Secure Communities is being implemented. This is just another case of how the Law Enforcement makes it so puzzling to figure out what is actually going on within the immigrant community in Santa Barbara. Up until my departure, PUEBLO did not receive any materials from the Office of the Sheriff. This tame response did not astonish PUEBLO, who earlier experienced a lack of openness with the Sheriff. For example, back in May 2010, when PUEBLO organized the Community Values Forum and Secure Communities was to be discussed by Melissa Keaney, from the National Immigration Law Center, Sheriff Bill Brown "refused to attend since he believes these are not issues that relate to his office" (Lima, May 17, 2010).

During an election forum for sheriff candidates in 2006, previous Sheriff Anderson brought up the notion that "local deputies should enforce immigration laws which are currently enforced by

federal Immigration and Naturalization Service agents" (Hadley, 2006), hereby allowing the arrest of illegal immigrants. In conjunction, [the same] Sheriff Brown that signed the AoM in January 2010 stated back in 2006 when running for Sheriff (and at that time Lompoc Police Chief) "My jaw dropped when he [Anderson] said that, "This would put back our relationships with the immigrant community 20 years. People aren't going to call us if they think they are going to get arrested" (Hadly, 2006). Thus, Sheriff Brown at that time was aware of how important it is for law enforcement to have good relations to the immigrant community. Finally, his signing of the MoA is an indication of what a candidate will say when running for an official position, and what is going to occur, after an election.

4.7. PUEBLO's Budget to Fight S-COMM

This next paragraph will discuss the amount of funding the Obama Administration is spending on protecting its borders and deporting "criminal aliens." At the same time, the paper will briefly mention how much PUEBLO is spending on the fight against Secure Communities. According to The President's FY2012 Budget – the overall budget request for DHS is "$57 billion in total funding, $47.4 billion in gross discretionary funding, and $43.2 billion in net discretionary funding" (The President's FY2012 Budget, p. 14). The diagram below shows what organizations like PUEBLO are up against from a budget perspective.



**The President's FY2012 Budget, p.3. The $57 Billion represents $47.4 in gross discretionary and $43.2 in net discretionary funding.*

A quote by Secretary Janet Napolitano, DHS, tells why the government employs that amount of money; "the kinds of threats we now face demonstrate that our homeland security is a shared responsibility. Only a "whole of nation approach" will bring us to the level of security and resilience we require," (The President's FY2012 - Budget, p. 3). As ICE acts as the largest investigative arm of DHS and "uses its unique immigration and customs enforcement authority to prevent terrorist and criminal activity by targeting the people, money, and materials that support terrorist and criminal organizations."

The S-COMM budget was increased by $64 million in order to expand deployment to 96% of all jurisdictions nationally in FY 2012. This is also intended to provide resources to confirm the identification of an estimated 199,000 more criminal aliens through interoperability in FY 2012 and transport more than 44,000 criminal aliens from state and local jails into the custody of ICE following the completion of their sentences. Secure Communities is on track for nationwide deployment by FY 2013. (The President's FY2010 Budget, p. 10-11).

PUEBLO's budget for the campaign against Secure Communities is a mere $87,370.00. To fund this project, donor money comes from the McCune Foundation, Walter and Evelyn Haas Fund, and Santa Barbara Fund. A donation of $20,000 came from the Sociological Initiatives Foundation (SIF) in Boston. SIF is funding the part which is in collaboration with the Institute for Social Behavioral, and Economic Research at UCSB to document the effect of heightened state and federal immigration enforcement policies on Latinos in Santa Barbara, California. The project will explore whether the new policing practices and racial profiling promote insecurity. It will also document

the phenomenon of "turning inward" among documented and undocumented Latinos (PUEBLO, Action Plan, 2011).

4.8. PUEBLO's Approach to Advocacy

According to Rinku Sen who has organized women's groups for economic justice, there are four principals necessary for a coalition to successfully reach its goals. Two of those principles involve coalition building and self-interest from other participants. First, a group has to distinguish between different forms of collaboration and choose the one that matches its goals and capacity (Sen, 2003, p. 136). For PUEBLO, it is crucial for the Coalition for Keeping Families Together to achieve a clear immigrant victory to prove to the constituents that they can speak up and represent them. Interestingly, PUEBLO has gained momentum and is now connected to broader working class issues like affordable transportation and improving renter's rights. From the roundtable coalition for renters' rights, PUEBLO gained practice in collaborating with advocates representing over 30 organizations and landlords, and 1500 individuals. Therefore, for PUEBLO, the change will be to ask local activists to get on board and campaign for primarily an immigrant cause.

The second principle Ms. Sen refers to is substantial self-interest and similar politics (Sen, p. 136). For the coalition, it will be hard to gain support from the political right of the establishment, which usually has a strong voice in improving working conditions for the police forces. This is in contrast with PUEBLO's tactic of using an agenda that targets law enforcement. A fine example is illustrated by city councilmember Dale Francisco, who sees it as a crime to drive without a driver's license. Consequently, since PUEBLO is the only immigrant advocate in the County, the organization has to recruit allies who are willing to support a solely immigrant scope. A good place to find associations is at UCSB where there are several student organizations like Students for Justice in Palestine, Young Democrats of S.B., and Associated Students UCSB. Therefore, a part of PUEBLO's strategy involves engaging students' organizations that may commit to participate with

the coalition. In addition, some students will have a self interest, by simply being undocumented immigrants.

Shultz states it clearly, "organizing is the foundation of public activism". He expands later that "organizing is about creating, with numbers of people, "the kind of political clout that other forces buy with piles of cash" therefore "educating and empowering ourselves to address a problem directly" (Shultz, p. 98). For any organizer who is seeking to change the power of "the Haves", it's important to note the influential community organizer Saul D. Alinsky (1909-1972) who described the Haves as "the authorities and thus the beneficiaries of the various myths and legends that always developed around power" (Alinsky, 1971, p. 99) versus the "Have Nots" [who] have limited faith in the worth of their own judgments. They still look to the judgments of the Haves (Alinsky, p. 99). An organizer's success depends on convincing key people…that he has ideas, and knows how to fight to change things (Alinsky, p. 99). Therefore, an important element of community organization for PUEBLO (and other social organizations) is to identify and education new potential community leaders. In order to build a strong coalition against Secure Communities and other future campaigns, PUEBLO uses a lot of effort to educate and teach their constituents.

4.9. PUEBLO's Training on Its Organizational Structure

As part of the orientation for newly arriving community organizers, I took part in PUEBLO's training on organizational style. This gave me an understanding of how PUEBLO educates, trains and also categorizes its constituents.

During the training, Seara introduced the new organizer and I to some of the tools from Marshall Ganz, a community organizer who worked with César Chávez in 1960s to organize agricultural workers; he is now a professor at Harvard and was also influential in Obama's campaign. Ganz developed the concept of building a strong coalition, which is based on three body parts, related to special actions:

A) Hands — are connected to hands on experiences, learning by doing
B) Head — are connected to relational, connecting constituencies to issues
C) Heart — are connected to common interest, values & traditions, accountability and passion

The orientation training began with a peer brainstorming session. This lasted only a few minutes, yet we came up with several examples:

Our brainstorming topic was: - "What is organizing?"

- ✓ Getting people together and networking
- ✓ Mobilizing community and identifying issues
- ✓ Educating
- ✓ Empowering people
- ✓ Building a movement
- ✓ Knowing your constituents /Opposition
- ✓ Developing democracy
- ✓ Building power

Later, Seara guided us through the leadership cycle created by Marshall Ganz. According to Ganz, leadership development work occurs as a cycle: identify – recruit – develop. The first part is about identifying potential leaders, and things to look for in those leaders, such as: are they connected to an understanding of their constituency? In addition, good listening skills combined with curiosity helps to see the "strange" as interesting, rather than threatening. Another useful skill we covered was the requirement of courage to take risks and make choices. The second and third parts are connected to recruiting new leaders and giving them a chance to develop their opportunities on an ongoing basis. We talked about how educating leaders is not about assigning tasks, but instead about delegating responsibility. As Ganz stated, "the challenge is in learning to motivate people to accept the level of responsibility needed to get the job done," (Ganz, 2006, p. 10).

An important lesson I gained from this training was when Mrs. Seara brought in the organizer's experience which was done by César Chávez. His philosophy was always to create tasks to illustrate that the fight never stops, there will always be something which needs to be done.

Seara pointed out that if there was not anything to give a volunteer to do, PUEBLO would be in a sense, giving up - as if there was nothing more to accomplish. Therefore, we were advised to always have something ready for a volunteer to do; like making phone calls to potential donors, creating visibility for an event, making new signs if the old ones are broken, writing an opinion letter, translating for a meeting or hearing, or showing to support the good cause.

Hereafter, the training continued with a talk about how PUEBLO operates with **three different concepts** for how volunteers are categorized:

The first group (leaders):

- Committed by passion/dedication
- Delegation skills
- Policy understanding
- Fundraising ability
- Collaborative skills
- Networking ability
- Mobilizing/outreaching
- Spends a lot time on critical thinking on how to build community campaigns
- Trustworthiness
- Good talking/listener/mobilize/public speaking/persuasion skills
- Power structure
- Big picture
- Precinct captains
- Strategy

Supporters (2)

- Some networking ability/support
- Gives money to organization
- Issue oriented
- May not have the time but instead gives money or networks when needed
- Identify with the needs of the community

Volunteers (3)

- Often women
- Sees herself in the big picture
- Wants to make a difference
- Knows where there are inequalities/struggles in community
- Gets mobilized
- Attends demos/rallies/marches

- Takes time to think about pressing issues
- Education
- Helps the community
- Brings in her own experience
- Less dependable

4.10. Campaign Power Analysis

The first important tool in creating social change is to make a power analysis to find possible targets. According to the common toolkit "*Power Tools: A Manual for Organizations Fighting Justice*" (Castellanos, P. & D. Pateriya eds., 2003) used by many social organizations, the assumptions of a power analysis are divided into three categories:

1. Power relationships are unequal right now and this is a key part of the reason for the problems & conditions we face
2. There is a political agenda at work causing these problems, and power is being exercised behind it. We have to develop strategies that address these realities.
3. A more systematic way of understanding power and how it is exercised is necessary to achieving long-term social change. (Castellanos, P. & D. Pateriya, Power tools, III Power Analysis, III-A).

The purposes of a power analysis are to understand how (and by whom) power is exercised to cause and maintain the problems & conditions that we seek to change and secondly, to develop effective strategies for:

- Winning progressive social change
- Permanently altering power relationships in favor of the people suffering from the problems & conditions that we seek to change
- Grassroots organizing to build progressive power
- Issue campaigns that BOTH help to build power AND win social change (Castellanos, P. & D. Pateriya, Power tools III Power Analysis, III-A).

Power analysis can be used, for example to develop organizing strategies, select issues and campaigns and create campaign strategies, like the one against S-COMM. The main goal for this power analysis was to find ways for Santa Barbara County to opt-out of S-COMM and in addition, give participants a basic understanding of power, and the ways in which unequal power

relationships are related to the problems faced by their communities.[3] First, in the large group, we brainstormed on how the opposing agenda looked: We came up with a list that included; Fear, Massive deportation, E-Verity, Hysteria, 14th Amendment, S-COMM, Car confiscation, and Profit. In contrast, PUEBLO's agenda looked like this; transparency, Stop S-COMM, 20 minute grace period, Immigration system reform, and visibility.

Next, the group worked on identifying possible candidates for the November 2011 City Council race, since currently there are no opportunities to deal with car confiscation issues at the City Council level. This was due to Das Williams' empty seat, which left the SB City Council with 3-3 conservative-progressive votes. Of the three progressive votes, only Mr. Grand House may be supporting PUEBLO's agenda, (House has already been endorsed by PUEBLO in the 2007 election). Mayor Mrs. Helene Schneider likes to make decisions on a case-to-case basis and therefore, she might not be on board.

The names we came up with during the power analysis for the Board of Supervisors were:

1st District: Salud Carbajal

2nd District: Janet Wolf and

3rd District**:** Doreen Farr, Vice-Chair

Ideally, all three potential BoS representatives would support a more progressive agenda and all three have been endorsed by PUEBLO.

The list of opponents for our agenda:

Sheriff Bill Brown and the Police Officers Association (POA).

From BoS two other members:

4th District: Joni Gray, Chair

[3] The following paragraphs are created on notes from a power analysis evening November 19, 2010 with PUEBLO

5th District: Steve Lavagnino

Both supervisors are elected in the northern part of the county in Santa Maria and are associated with the right side of the GOP.

4.11. The Role of the Santa Barbara Board of Supervisors

The power structure and hierarchy of the BoS in relation to the Sheriff is key to how policies are determined. The role of the Board of Supervisors is a state law requirement for all counties to elect a BoS, generally made up of five members, who serve as the legislative and executive arm for the county. The BoS may pass both ordinances and resolutions. The sheriff is the chief law enforcement officer in all unincorporated territory and is considered a peace officer under California law. The BoS has limited supervisory authority over the sheriff. The BoS controls the sheriff's budget and supervises the sheriff's use of public funds. The Bos also has the power to ensure that county officers faithfully perform their duties. The BoS's authority is limited particularly in any way that their authority would affect or obstruct the investigative and prosecutorial functions of the sheriff. Generally, the BoS cannot take over a county officer's duty or direct the manner in which a county officer, including the sheriff, performs his/her duties. Although the BoS has authority over the sheriff's budget, it cannot govern how the sheriff allots or spends the budget (CIPC, Public messaging, p. 8).

One person who has supported PUEBLO's agenda is Salud Carbajal, who back in May 2010 stated, "I am going to talk to the Sheriff, as I have been doing since the Secure Communities Program started, and I am going to ask him for more details about this program. We have to create efficient programs that keep our communities secure," (Lima, May 2010).

The power of the Sheriff is immense. An obstacle for both the Board of Supervisors and City Council is that putting pressure on the Sheriff related to immigration cases is considered a non-local matter, they both lack authority to pass ordinances on immigration matters (CIPC, Public messaging, p. 10). However, as long a measure does not conflict with federal law or seek to regulate immigration, BoS and City Council can pass limited ordinances. An example PUEBLO wants to push forward with is for Santa Clara BOS to pass a resolution urging local police and sheriff departments to stop using funds to enforce federal civil immigration laws, including inquiring into a person's immigration status or sharing information with ICE (CIPC, Public messaging, p. 10).

4.12. The Campaign Design

Another component we worked on during the Power Analysis was the design and structure of the campaign. The campaign design was organized as:

- Grass roots organizing
- Research & policy
- Media Messaging
- Coalition Building

Each group came up with some great ideas and input:

For the grass roots sub-committee:

- "Know Your Rights" workshops
- Safe driving workshops
- Outreach to students, workers and families:
- Highlight need and importance of involvement
- Highlight how community is effected and how it effects them personally
- Marches and protests and forums
- Information/festivals gatherings
- Tabling/visibility
- Transportation to event
- Organizations on campuses to highlight how we benefit them
- Public meetings
-

Research & Policy:

- String of events >>> what happens when someone is picked up?
- Relevant precedents of how other communities are handling undocumented drivers
- Opinion polls – different populations who may be affected (Latino, Asian, other groups)
- Builds political consciousness plus identifies the current emergency
- Who benefits from "Secure Communities"?
- How much does it cost us to enforce this policy?

Media Messaging:

The group came up with a variety of sources: local newspapers, radio & TV stations.
Other suggestions were:

- School meetings – ask for space to give the message
- Expand the campaign to cities like Carpentaria, Goleta, and Isla Vista
- Website for donations and messages
- Posters and fliers all over the town

Coalition Building:

- MOTT Foundation
- CHIRLA
- Repartir fliers en Las Iglesias/Case de la Raza
- Create a network of support
- Tell our stories
- Fundraising

Many of the ideas that are mentioned above were used in the PUEBLO staff planning meetings and were a vital part of developing a strategy to fight against S-COMM. The following notes are from a staff-planning meeting where we created a SWOT Analysis:

i. Issues:

1. Fear of law enforcement; persecution by the Governor, organization
2. Collaboration between local law enforcement and ICE through S-COMM and CAP
3. Detention and deportations
4. Racial profiling
5. Psychological trauma caused by families' broken apart
6. Economic hardship of car confiscation and deportations
7. Injustices within the criminal justice system (no bail)
8. Lack of legal representation/due process
9. Immigrants do not understand how to exercise their rights/retaliation when they do exercise them
10. Lack of trust towards elected officials/government

4.13. SWOT Analysis

External strengths CA Table - National Coalition (RI4A, Uncover the Truth) – CHIRLA National Day Labor Center - Support of many undocumented people Congresswoman Lois Capps Churches: Unitarian, Episcopalian, St, Marys, Archobispo Roger Mahony, Mark Asman Public defenders - Student organizations – CRLA Mental Health Association (potential allies) - Some business UCSB professors (Howie Winant, Ralph Ambruster, Diane Fojino) The Independent - Univison and Telemundo - Radio Lazer, El Compa, La Buena **Internal strengths:** PUEBLO has a lot of passion and commitment to the issue PUEBLO leaders and staff Russell Trenholme funding programs Strong committee immigration leaders We are informed about the issue Strong research team (Greg Prieto, Laura R, Russell T.) Research partnership with UCSB Partnership with regional and national organizations Momentum from Justice for Renters Victory and its coalition, and small SM victories around checkpoints Information through Public Records Act Request (PRAs)	**External weaknesses**: Lack of willingness from politicians to address the issue Lack of community awareness about the issue Organized opposition locally (Tea party, Minutemen, CAPS – Californians for Population Stabilization) Law enforcement had economic incentive to conduct anti-immigrant programs Lack of coalition and diversity within potential coalition members SM Conservative Council New Supervisor Lavagnino Leaning conservative SB City Council The change to make S-COMM a non-voluntary program **Internal weaknesses** Small immigration committee can burn people out Lack of communication infrastructure Transition when Belen leaves by the end of April Need a staff dedicated to communications Lack of clear strategy Hard to follow up with leaders (frequent changes in addresses and phone numbers) Lack of money for a controversial issue Lack of infrastructure in SM (office too small, copy machine not working properly) No regular updates with the membership The message has been too focused on immigration status, hardship on immigrants rather than the human rights and civil rights violation that exist within these programs Lack of taking points
Opportunities PUEBLO is the only organization in the county working on immigration rights issues The issue has the potential to mobilize lots of people and generate community involvement Can bring awareness about human rights violations on ICE programs Can change public opinion to be friendlier towards officials Potential to improve criminal justice system Can force us to identify our own candidate with a pro-immigrant platform Opportunity to improve relationships with law enforcement	**Threats** Possibility for this issue to be perceived as too radical for some conservative donors who then may abandon their support No large, public immigration victory until now- need to prove to supporters that we can have clear immigration momentum Too controversial issue can hurt PUEBLO's image PUEBLO can be perceived as an immigration organization that only cares about Latinos Hard to fundraise for this issue and resource draining

4.14. "Know Your Rights Worskhops"

The assignment I was asked to develop for PUEBLO was three designs for "Know Your Rights" workshops which were 45-60 minutes each. The subjects were: immigration rights, S-COMM and car impoundments. Since the workshops were scheduled to take place after my departure from the practicum site, I spent plenty of time organizing the trainings and writing out preparation notes for the facilitators. The workshops are a part of the action plan in grassroots organizing and leadership development against Secure Communities (S-COMM), the federal Homeland Security Program that is designed to target the worst undocumented criminals. The overall plan was to conduct six "Know Your Rights" workshops with 50 immigrants in each class in Santa Barabara, Goleta, Isla Vista and Santa Maria by December 2011. The target audience for the workshops was mainly the Hispanic population, who are most affected by law enforcement and who have low English and literacy skills. Furthermore, the participants could include educated adults like UCSB students, some of whom are undocumented immigrants themselves, and community members who are eligible to vote and support PUEBLO's mission to provide education on immigration issues.

For the design, I was told by the Executive Director to create as much atmosphere and visability in the room as possible by using items such as: posters, pictures, video clips, and existing items in the room like walls and chairs. The visibility aspect is an important part of this kind of public training – "people-centered or social justice advocacy" (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2007, p. 1). Most importantly, this approach is in opposition to traditional education where learning is primarily one-way communication, from teacher to student. This popular, people-centered method of education uses the participants' experience as the main purpose and the outcome enables participants to "understand that their situations are molded by systematic inequalities and helps to motivate collective action for change," (VeneKlasen & Miller, p. 3).

PUEBLO has two primary goals that it wants to accomplish. The first is connected to educating participants to be well-informed on the overall themes for the workshops; immigration rights, S-COMM and car impoundments. Another important goal is to build a stronger community that is willing to join PUEBLO's work raising awareness for issues that harm the immigrant community; this could be a volunteer who completes a particular training and goes on to become a notable community leader. Another important source is to have supporters articulated as a "Movement Builder", a coalition which started out with a hundred people, from neighborhood committee members, supporters, precinct leaders, board members, volunteers, and staff who give money on a monthly, quarterly or yearly basis. The long-term goal is to become an important substation for future campaigns and build a political voice for working families.

Some resources which are foundations for PUEBLO's methodologies and trainings are: the manual "*Power Tools: A Manual for Organizations Fighting for Justice"* (2003) and trainings developed by People Improving Communities through organizations (PICO). To focus on building power within the community itself, PUEBLO is based on the idea that "communities where people have relationships with one another have the ability to act" and to build power, "we must build relationship, with one another, with public officials, and with others who have power" (PICO, training on power). The saying among PUEBLO staff was that with all the deportations which take place in the Santa Barbara immigrant community, undocumented immigrants should join the coalition against S-COMM and help out with organizing while they are still here, since there is a high probability they would sooner or later get stopped by law enforcement and end up deported.

The workshops incorporated a broad variety of activities for the participants to learn how to take; such as how to behave toward a law enforcement officer when pulled over, which was scheduled as a role-play in the car impoundment element.

Furthermore, the empowerment aspect touched on how family networks have to prepare for a deportation. An element of this portion is that participants will learn about the deportation family emergency response plan. With this activity, the goal is to build a strong community through education and organization. Based on the emergency plan, published by the Central American Recourse Center (CARECEN), the participants help each other to create a plan in case a family member is going to be deported. The idea is to go through the plan and let participants brainstorm in a large group on actions to take. Participants are also asked to determine if the plan is missing any important questions or concerns that people must take into consideration. Finally, an activity on how participants can get involved in fighting against S-COMM is in the closure portion called "Creating a letter to yourself". The design is meant so everyone writes, draws or participates in any way they choose and document (in some form) three things they can do to create a better, healthier community within the next three months. When the time is up, participants receive a letter in the mail that reminds them about this training and what they promised to do. For this to really work, it is vital that the facilitator remembers to mail the letters.

4.15. Action Plan

The Action Plan was created by PUEBLO to mobilize constituents and build strong a coalition for the purpose of opting out of S-COMM, hereby improving immigrant rights in Santa Barbara.

Issue: Racial profiling, detention and deportation of immigrants

Performance indicators of success/accomplishment were determined to gauge progress.

Objective 1: Develop a strong immigration committee of 15-20 leaders by July 2011 that can train and empower 350 supporters and immigrants by December 2011
Action: Conduct 200 Personal Visits by April 2011
Results: 200 conducted PV and 7 leaders identified for the Immigration Committee

Action: Develop clear 1-year action plan for each subcommittee
Results: Each committee already has a clear plan

Action: Conduct 10 workshops countywide to train 350 immigrants and supporters
Results: Educated 350 community members
Period of time: July 1st – December 31 - 2011

Action: Finalize training curriculum
Results: In progress
Period of time: January 7th – February 28th

Objective 2: Racial profiling, detention and deportation of immigrants
Performance indicators of success/accomplishment were determined to gauge progress.

Objective 3: Collect 60 testimonies that will serve as evidence of racial profiling and unfairness of the current criminal justice system

Action Plan:

Research and Advocacy Policy combating Secure Community:

- Develop a power analysis to identify the three supervisors to vote for the changes of S-COMM and assess these officials' self-interests, identify community allies to broaden the base of support and identify the opposition by December 2010
- Utilize findings from SIF research to corroborate and strengthen our campaign message that collaboration between ICE and local law enforcement is detrimental to public safety:
- Continue to collect 50 testimonies of immigrants affected by pretext policing by April 2011 through PUEBLO immigration committees.

Media and messaging campaign:

- With assistance from California Immigrant Policy Center and using the findings of the research proposed here, design a public speaking workshop to train 20 spokespersons countywide to provide testimonies to community groups and elected officials and write op-eds to local media by June 2011 about the detrimental effect of local police collaboration in immigration enforcement.

Coalition building:

- Organize a diverse immigration rights coalition of 13 organizations that will include community organizations, public defenders, private lawyers, and faith and labor groups by September 2011: Proposed here, conduct a training to equip Public Defenders and private immigration lawyers with better tools to defend immigrants affected by S-COMM.

Grassroots Organizing and Leadership Development:

- Conduct six "Know Your Rights" workshops with 50 immigrants in each in Santa Barbara, Goleta, Isla Vista and Santa Maria by December 2011.
- Host a forum with 300 participants including elected officials, law enforcement, ICE agents and community members to present the results of the research on July 2011. PUEBLO, January 2011, Action Plan against Secure Communities)

4.16. Arizona in Santa Barbara?

One important part of the coalition building and education of the academic community was an evening forum at the UC Santa Barbara MultiCultural Center, called "Arizona in Santa Barbara? Immigration policing and racial profiling in our community." PUEBLO was represented on the panel by Belén Seara who was originally scheduled to speak for 8-10 minutes. A few days before the forum, we were told that the two Professors had agreed to give her as much time as needed to outline the situation in the County related to car impoundment and S-COMM. The advertisement for this event read: *In SB and around the country, police are harassing Latin@s, trying to identify undocumented people for deportation. PUEBLO, a community organization that fights for immigrants' rights, is researching and challenging these practices. At this forum, representatives from UCSB who were professors are working on immigration, and student activists will discuss these problems. You can help! Bring your ideas! Get involved!"*([n.a] 2011, *Arizona in Santa Barbara*?).

The theater was packed and some people were sitting on the floor; the interest was massive from the student community. Professor Ralph Ambruster-Sandoval stood out the most when he referred to a talk with Seara where she mentioned people just "disappeared" when discussing what was happening in the community, This reminded him of what happened in South America in the 70's and 80's where people simply disappeared. Sandoval is a professor in the UCSB Chicano Studies Department at and passionately advocates for the rights of the oppressed.

4.17. Workshop with Public Defenders

An important piece of the education process of PUEBLO's undocumented constituents was to organize a workshop where four public defenders came and answered questions. The preparation included meetings with the lawyers where PUEBLO wrote up approximately 40 questions to be addressed.

The most essential information constituents were educated on included:

- The importance of paying tickets on time and taking care of documents sent from the court
- Never sign any documents and any information given to police officers can be used against the defendant - (unless it is a ticket to show up in court)
- Different approach to domestic violence calls. Police officers will always take or arrest someone when responding to a domestic violence call

The participants were divided into three groups where a Public Defender facilitated a discussion on individual rights such as: the right to remain silent, the requirement of a warrant for police officers to enter and search a home and the right to an attorney. By the end, the Public Defender's contact information was posted on poster board paper so attendees could take notes and write down this information. The last part of the meeting was "The Ask" which solicited testimonies, membership to the Immigration Committee to fight S-COMM, and donations to help the cause. Before the participants left, PUEBLO handed out "Plan de emergencia en caso de deportacion de familiars" or "Deportation family emergency response plan" created by the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN) so people can prepare in advance if a family member is being deported. CARECEN, located in Los Angeles hosts workshops from time to time that help parents come up with individual emergency plans.

5. POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF THE SANTA BARBARA POLICE

5.1. The Car Confiscation Policy

Even though a large component of this capstone paper focuses on the campaign against Secure Communities, there are also some advocacy pieces PUEBLO has done that addresses pre-

textual arrests of undocumented drivers that are becoming more frequent. The issue of car confiscation is also an example an unfair practice that targets the Latino community.

PUEBLO also fights against the cost associated with tow yard fees, tickets and other expenses which run close to $2,000. This places an undue burden on many immigrants who find themselves caught in a very expensive legal Catch-22; in order to survive economically, they have to drive.

For PUEBLO and other advocate coalition partners state wide, the policy focuses on how sobriety checkpoints are administered, which are often in areas with large numbers of Latino immigrants, and result in many car confiscations. Russell Trenholme, one of PUEBLO's supporters, researched and wrote a report which accused the Santa Barbara Police Department of illegally impounding cars of undocumented workers, violating state law, and the U.S. Constitution in the process. The documentation for this report came from a request under the California Public Records Act relating to vehicle impoundments by the SBPD. Trenholme's study involved four years of work and was released on Fiesta Friday in August 2010.

It provided evidence that Santa Barbara police were "targeting" undocumented immigrants for car impounds. From the beginning of 2007 to July 2009, Santa Barbara police impounded 2,911 vehicles belonging to people without a driver's license and an additional 599 vehicles driven by people who had their licenses revoked or suspended (Trenholme, 2010, p. 1). The study showed that the majority of people driving without a license were undocumented immigrants because state law (since 1994) has denied them the ability to legally obtain a driver's license. Trenholme states that this citation has become "the most common citation given by the SBPD over the past two years, exceeding the total of all various moving and equipment citations combined."

The report states that police records indicate that 1.3 percent of all motorists stopped at DUI checkpoints were found to be driving without a license and even less had their licenses revoked.

These percentages provide a snapshot of how many motorists actually drive without a license at any given time. But when city police officers are dispatched on "directed" or "saturation" patrols targeting unsafe drivers (usually paid for with state or federal grants), Trenholme reported they stopped a much larger percentage of drivers operating without licenses than at checkpoints. On the patrols, police records indicated the officers found that 5.6 percent (during directed patrols) and 18.5 percent (during saturation patrols) of the vehicles stopped were operated by people without valid licenses. "If there was a massive increase in bad driving, we would have seen it reflected in the number of other citations issued. In fact the opposite was found." The difference in these outcomes, Trenholme said, could only be accounted for by "targeting", a term he acknowledged was less politically charged than "profiling", and a practice that the SBPD has long denied. Trenholme argued that if the officers on patrol were stopping more people without licenses, there must have been problems with either the drivers' conduct or their cars' road-worthiness to legally justify such stops. If not, the stops would have violated the constitutional requirement that police officers show probable cause. Officers who gave out the most impound citations – and some reported impound rates as high as 48 percent – typically issued the fewest citations (for other causes) versus the officers who issued the fewest impound citations.

In an updated shorter version of the findings, Trenholme compares how often a car gets confiscated in Los Angeles compared to the smaller city of Santa Barbara. It appears that the number of impounds happening in Santa Barbara is approximately the same as those in the entire city of LA. According to the 2010 Census, the Latino population of the city of Los Angeles is 1,789,600 where the number in Santa Barbara is 29,988. Thus, since almost all impounded vehicles belong to Latinos, Santa Barbara Latino residents face 60 times the risk of having their cars impounded as Los Angles Latino residents do (Trenholme, 2011, p. 3).

5.2. PUEBLO Targeting Santa Barbara Police Chief, Cam Sanchez

PUEBLO has therefore asked Santa Barbara Police Chief, Cam Sanchez to consider the approach taken in San Francisco and Richmond, where department policy requires officers to give people who are stopped for driving without a license 20 minutes to get a licensed friend or relative to drive the car away. As PUEBLO argues, the 20-minute rule helps both the police and the people who might otherwise lose their cars. Therefore, officers don't have to wait around for 45 minutes to an hour for a tow truck to arrive, allowing them to get back on patrol sooner.

Police Chief Cam Sanchez said his department would issue a more complete response to Trenholme's findings later, but added, "I'm not impressed with this report. We don't target by ethnic origin or by national origin. We have no idea if a person is illegal or not, and we don't care" (Welsh, 2010). Sanchez said saturation and directed patrols – like checkpoints – are focused on areas with the greatest traffic hazards.

In order to change the car confiscation policy, PUEBLO has specifically targeted Police Chief Cam Sanchez. Not only is Sanchez in charge of the Police Dep., he is also of Hispanic background. Therefore, according to Jim Shultz, in addition to the importance of knowing your opposition's strengths, it is just as important to "understand your opponents' weakness and take advantages of them" (Shultz, p. 78). In January, his response to the idea of introducing a 20 minute grace period for drivers that can't show the requested driver's licenses was only a short email to the newspaper, The Daily Sound, "We have no say in tow rates. City does not have its own tow company, run by private companies" (Rokes, 2011, p. 3). There was no mention of PUEBLO in Sanchez's email. The response was much different a month later when he was interviewed by the Spanish newspaper, Santa Barbara Latino, (Hernández, 2011, p. 5-6). Interestingly, Sanchez used this newspaper to vent out some of his frustrations with PUEBLO. At the same time, Sanchez was very annoyed with PUEBLO, saying that some of its members accused him without reason. "Some PUEBLO people

believe that I personally have directed my officers to stop Latino drivers, and that for me has been the biggest insult, because my parents were immigrants and my mother would cry if she heard it". At an Immigration Committee meeting the same evening, the atmosphere was very heated and people quickly organized a small team to write letters to the editor and deny all of these false accusations. In support of PUEBLO, I never read or heard any of these "rumors". In contrast, I heard frustration that Sanchez would not help stop these car impoundments, which targeted his own people – the Latino community. When a delegation from PUEBLO met with Sanchez and asked why so many vehicles driven by undocumented people were confiscated, the answer was that his officers are afraid that if they let an undocumented driver leave and later the driver causes an accident, the police will feel guilty for not having stopped the vehicle. Regardless, the Fourth Amendment specifically restricts law enforcement from seizing private property without a court order. It's worthy to note the absence of this Amendment in the campaign and discussions with law enforcement. This also emphasizes the importance of PUEBLO education initiatives such as "Know Your Rights" campaigns, which was discussed earlier in this paper.

In Sanchez's next statement, he talks about dealing with racism in his rank and file. "Unfortunately in my 10 years in SB, I have fired four officers for cases like that," said Sanchez. "Being in my position is very difficult. Sometimes I make decisions that even my family does not share, but as the Bible says, 'nobody is prophet in his land.' Let me make it clear that I don't intend to compare myself with Jesus at any time, but that happens to me sometimes. Of course I worry about my people, as I said before, but I'm also the chief of the people and I have to make decisions considering the law first and then the welfare of the community," (Hernández, p. 6).

To get a sense of what the police think of the implementation of the policy, the minutes of the City of Santa Barbara Fire & Police Commission August 26, 2010 general meeting provide valuable insight. At that meeting, Commissioner Parker mentioned the report of PUEBLO and the

impoundment of vehicles and asked how the department was going to react. Deputy Chief Frank Mannix said a press release had been sent out. In addition, the department took exception to a lot of the data in the report since "much of the data was inaccurate" (City of Santa Barbara Fire & Police Commission, August 26, 2010, p. 4). The next piece showed what the reality is for police enforcement when Mannix said "the aggressive enforcement of unlicensed drivers makes traffic safety better in a community." Further, he stated that, "our policies and practices are consistent with state law and these have been in effect for approximately 15 years," (City of Santa Barbara Fire & Police Commission, August 26 2010, p. 4).

5.3. Other Critics against the Car Confiscation Policy

In an interview, Santa Barbara City Attorney Steve Wiley agreed that officers do have to show probable cause for pulling someone over; driving without a license is not a visible offense. But the fact that other citations don't show up, he said, "could be because officers often let certain things slide, while sticking the drivers with the most serious charge" (Welsh, 2010).

An investigation by the Investigative Program at UC Berkeley with California Watch also found that impounds at checkpoints in 2009 generated "an estimated $40 million in towing fees and police fines" statewide – revenue that cities divide with towing firms. Additionally, police officers received about $30 million in overtime for the DUI crackdowns, funded by the California Office of Traffic Safety. The federal government provides the California Office of Traffic Safety about $100 million each year and of that "$30 million goes into programs that fund drunken driving crackdown, particularly checkpoints" (Gabrielson, p. 5). This report also states that officers are not assigned to work checkpoints during regular shifts; however it is common to find more officers at checkpoints than necessary.

5.4. City Council Member Opposed to PUEBLO's Stand

In January 2011, Dale Francisco, Santa Barbara City Council member directly criticized PUEBLO's effort to change the policy on car confiscation: "You won't find a constituency in town that says 'let's enable illegal behavior.' The only people who would consider doing that are the people at PUEBLO." – For Mr. Francisco, driving without a license is simply breaking the law (Rokes, K., January 8, 2011). Mr. Francisco (R) was elected to the council in 2007 for a four-year term. Mr. Francisco's main motivation to run for a seat occurred after the secretary for Santa Barbara SAFE Streets "filed an appeal against mini-roundabouts and other traffic calming devices proposed by the city", which was turned down by the council (Lindberg, E., August 31, 2007). Two years later in 2009, when running for Mayor, one of his four goals was to: "restore lost positions in the Police Department, to bring safety and order back to our streets" (Francisco, D. 2009).

6. EVALUATION

6.1. Questions for Further Research

This capstone paper briefly discuss the lack of political Latino representation in Santa Barbara County, however, more research into this topic is needed since the only publication which is published is Albert Camarillo's (1979) "*Chicanos in a Changing Society*" that covers the time period from 1848-1930. Someone needs to close the history gap so it is current. When one looks at the make-up of the population of Santa Barbara City today, more than a third of the city's overall population is Latino. Therefore, to represent the diversity of the city, there should at least be one Latino member on the City Council. Last time this happened was ten years ago when Gil Garcia served from 1991-2001. In the 2011 November election, a strong candidate such as Cathy Murillo with Latino/American background might rock the boat (Estrada, Z., August 26, 2011).

A second question to investigate; how do you clarify what the long-term effects of this country's demographics will look like if all eleven million undocumented immigrants, who have an overstayed visa or crossed the southern border without inspection, are deported? This is likely not going to happen. However, the purpose with the Endgame initiative back in 2003 was to remove every individual who was deportable. In addition, what about the personal damages for millions of family members being separated from each other?

6.2. Evaluation of PUEBLO's Campaign "the Insecurity of Secure Communities"

The overall purpose for the PUEBLO's campaign "the insecurity of Secure Communities" is to allow Santa Barbara County to opt of the Secure Communities Program. This is not likely to happen in a short period of time since the implementation on a national level is on-going. Even though momentum has been created, this case study also shows how difficult it is for a local immigrant advocacy organization to fight against Federal policies that involve multiple layers of law enforcement. Although the overall goal of eliminating S-COMM has not been achieved yet,

there is now a national dialogue about immigrant rights and the impact of S-COMM. Much publicity and community involvement around the country now exists thanks to organizations like PUEBLO and other immigrant rights organizations.

DHS's goals of having fingerprint-sharing technology in every state as by the end of 2011will inevitably occur. In addition, the whole country may implement S-COMM by 2013, which is the stated goal. However, the National Immigration Coalition gained momentum in August 18, 2011 after "ICE was feeling some heat from community." The Obama administration said it "will review the cases of 300,000 illegal immigrants currently in deportations proceedings to identify "low-priority" offenders" like students who have lived here since childhood, elderly, and crime victims" (Goffard, et al., August 19, 2011). Awareness of this issue and public reaction to actions like the reviews that the Obama administration is planning may be attributed to the efforts of PUEBLO's campaign and other immigrant advocacy coalition efforts.

The Obama response came after the campaign challenging the federal program successfully documented the intention of Secure Communities; to deport as many immigrants as possible, regardless of having committed a crime or not. A daily frustration (which is arbitrary among immigrant advocacy groups and advocates) is the lack of transparency in the law enforcement system from local police officers, to the Sheriff's Office, to ICE. This fosters suspicion about corruption; lack of democracy and public access to archives, which intensifies the assumption that plenty of issues are being hidden from the public. Several times throughout the writing of this paper, responses and reactions have been based on ignorance and abuse of power, such as the resistance from Sheriff Brown's Office when information was requested. Until the day this country fixes its immigration system, the activists of PUEBLO have an important role "to bear witness", in a time like this when a harsh political climate is working against important goals (Shultz, p. 72). PUEBLO and the immigration coalition have worked on educating the broader public on how this

policy harms families, tears them apart and how communities need to work together to create safer communities for everyone. Finally, PUEBLO's efforts for building a coalition comes from hard-working experiences and will help the coalition "Keeping Families Together" grow. PUEBLO has a reputation of being a reliable advocate force effectively mobilizing for a cause in the broad social movement in Santa Barbara County. This should help facilitate a coalition whose focus is to gain an immigration victory.

Sí, se puede!

7. LESSONS LEARNED

7.1. Volunteer logistics

The first block of lessons learned is connected to the challenges of organizing public events and meetings, such as chapter meetings and trainings:

As organizers we have to take a look in the national calendar! The date for the workshop with the public lawyers happened on the same Sunday afternoon as the incredibly popular Superbowl was scheduled. The massive support of people who did show up indicated to PUEBLO that people had a deep concern of the urgency of what is happening in the community. Before any meeting takes place, make sure everyone is one the same page with the purpose of the meeting; for example, have agendas available in all of the languages that are spoken in the room. It's important to have the translation equipments tested – as well as keeping extra batteries on hand. When working in bilingual settings, always make arrangements in advance to have interpreters or translation resources available. Also, recognize the risk that people may be taking by showing up to an advocacy meeting. Local law enforcement can keep constituents from showing up by circling the block where your meeting takes place, looking to questioning. Make reminder calls well in advance so the participants can attend meetings on time - calling the day of the meeting, but just 10-15 minutes before is not effective. As organizers, we spend plenty of time making reminder calls to volunteers. A better idea could be to send volunteers a text message, which enables organizers to reach out more quickly and efficiently to everyone with the same message if the time or meeting location is changed. Make people feel welcome, like remember the names of the constituencies and how to pronounce the names correctly. Before any type of gathering, always try to small talk with as many attendees as possible, ask how the kids

are doing, and also chat a little with any children who have come with their parents. Before having larger events, make arrangements to have one of two people who can take care of children so parents will be able to concentrate and fully participate. It is important to recruit more volunteers, since human nature is that many volunteers are unpredictable, and may cancel appointments at the last minute. Learn to listen how people state a "yes, I'll come". This is a true skill in organizing - having a good sense of who will actually come and who are simply saying yes on the phone to please the organizer. Also, remember to take pictures at events; these can later document your work in publications and newsletters (or your capstone presentation). Finally, be aware that if the weather forecast states it might rain, people will call in and say they will not be able to make it, so it's important to plan for this when arranging things that require volunteer assistance.

7.2. Strategy

The next block of lessons learned is connected to strategies that can help organizations when mobilizing a community:

A successful tool to show the diversity of a coalition is to put together a mix of people that have different backgrounds when it comes to age, gender, ethnic background, and education when preparing for a lobby meeting. It is important for a small organization to build as much local support as possible and sometimes go in new directions. The public defenders were more than willing to come and educate PUEBLO's constituents on a Sunday afternoon, had PUEBLO coordinated this properly. Have patience when you build your coalition. A community leader spent one year to convince a co-worker to join the Immigration Committee's meetings. Some people who were eager to come to meetings were people who had been arrested by the police and therefore had plenty

of inside knowledge of the treatment of the prisoners. These are valuable people to include in the campaign. Always have updates of tool kits and resources available since policies might change and you want to know the changes as soon as possible. Start your coalition building with the easiest to convince about your cause. Several students' organizations already have a positive immigrant agenda that PUEBLO can tap into. Educate your endorsed candidates about your positions and make sure the candidates are updated about your organization's strategy. Have a collection of strong testimonies ready which can be used as evidence in campaigns and when talking to journalists. Create talking points so all your constituents know the terminology and can speak up when needed. Remember to keep local journalists updated with the status of your campaign; this can be done via email and followed up with a phone call. Reach out to the ethnic population of undocumented immigrants by encouraging them to participate in campaign work since their language skills and community involvement can be key factors in building a strong coalition. Never turn down a volunteer; always have tasks ready to give to that volunteer so their efforts are not wasted.

7.2.Overall Lessons Learned

- Study local government and city councils issues carefully so you know the elected officials and their views on the issues.
- Make sure the organization frames its constituents in positive ways. PUEBLO is currently shifting the language it uses from "undocumented immigrants" to" working families."
- Be aware of the gender roles of your staff. At PUEBLO, we experienced lack of female representation among volunteers in Santa Maria since their husbands were scared that the wives would be attracted to the single male organizer.

- It can be difficult to get support from other ethnic groups as they don't see themselves as being part of the struggle, since they have been born here or now have resident status.

8. REFERENCES

Alinksy, S. D. (1971 & 1989). *Rules for radicals: A pragmatic primer for realistic radicals*. New York: Random House.

Amin, S. (2008). *The world we wish to see: Revolutionary objectives in the twenty-first century*. New York: Monthly review.

California Immigrant Policy Center (July 8, 2010). S-COMM: A toolkit for advocates. *Public messaging toolkit immigrant advocates*. Oakland: California Immigrant Policy Center.

California Immigrant Policy Center & National Immigration Law Center (September 30, 2010). *DHS, ICE Comment on ICE Draft Policy on Detainers*. Oakland: California Immigrant Policy Center & LA: National Immigration Law Center.

California Immigrant Policy Center. *The mission*. Retrieved September 4, 2011 from http://www.caimmigrant.org/about_us.html

Camarillo, A. (1979). *Chicanos in a changing society: From Mexican pueblos to American barriosin Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

Castellanos, P. & D. Pateriya eds. (2003). *Power tools: A manual for organizations fighting for justice*. Los Angeles: Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE).

Central American Resource Center [n.y.] "*Deportation family emergency response plan": "Plan de emergenci en caso de deportacion de familiars*". Los Angeles: Central American Resource Center (CARECEN).

CIPC, the mission: website http://www.caimmigrant.org/about_us.html

City of Santa Barbara Fire & Police Commission. Santa Barbara Police Department. Minutes from meeting Thursday August 26, 2010. *City of Santa Barbara Fire & Police Commission.*

Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights Los Angeles. *Letter to Director John T. Morton, ICE*. Los Angeles: Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights Los Angeles (CHIRLA). Received draft dated July 20, 2011, rbarrera@chirla.org

Coalition for Humane Immigrants Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA). *Notes from today's call*. Email received Friday, August 12, 2011, rbarrera@chirla.org.

Estrada, Z. (August 26, 2011). Does Santa Barbara need a Latino on City Council? *Daily Sound*, pp. front page, 2,7,8 and 16.

Francisco, D. (2009). *Dale Francisco*. Retrieved September 8, 2011 from http://www.dalefrancisco.com

Gabrielson, R. Car seizures at DUI checkpoints prove profitable for cities, raise legal questions. Oakland:California Watch (February 13, 2010). Retrieved November 8, 2010 from http://californiawatch.org/public-safety/car-seizures-dui-checkpoints-prove-profitable-cities-raise-legal-questions,

Ganz, M. (2006). *Leadership*. The Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations. Cambridge: Harvard University.

Goffard, C., P. Esquivel & T. Watanabe. The Obama administration said it "will review the cases of 300,000 illegal immigrants. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved August 19, 2011 from http://www.latimes.com/news/local/la-me-0819-obama-immigration-20110819,0,5567080.story

Hadly, S. (April 26, 2006). Sheriff suggests arresting immigrants. *Santa Barbara News Press* Retrieved February 1, 2011 from http://sbpueblo.blogspot.com/2006/04/sheriff-suggests-arresting-immigrants.html

Hernández, C. (February 16 - March 1 2011). Camerino Sánchez: "Es imposible satisfacer a todos". *Santa Barbara Latino.*

Hoefer, M., N. Rytina, & B. C. Baker (February 2011). *Estimates of the unauthorized immigrant population residing in the United States: January 2010*. Washington, D.C.: Department of Homeland Security: Office of Immigration Statistics, retrieved September 2, 2011 from http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_ill_pe_2010.pdf

Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) (August 2, 2011). *Activated jurisdictions*. ICE: Secure Communities. Retrieved August 7, 2011 from Ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/sc-activated.pdf.

Immigration Policy Center. (n.d.) *Immigration detainers: A comprehensive look* - retrieved September 9, 2011 from http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/immigration-detainers-comprehensive-look

Lakoff, G. & S. Ferguson (2006). *The framing of immigration*. Berkeley, CA.: The Rockridge Institute.

Lima, G., (May 17, 2010). *Local elected officials committed to look into car impoundments and Arizona boycott*. Press release. Santa Barbara: People United for Justice Building Leadership through Organizing (PUEBLO).

Lindberg, E. (August 31, 2007). Fairness is key to campaign in *Santa Barbara Daily Sound* retrieved September 8, 2011 from http://sbdailysound.blogspot.com/2007/08/fairness-is-key-to-campaign.html.

Luna, A. (July 26, 2011). *1 Million deportations.* Action alert from America's Voice. E-mail received July 26, 2011.

Nicholas, P. (July 26, 2011). Obama tells Latinos he's not the problem on immigration policy. *Los Angeles Times.*

[n.a.] (May 4, 2011). New PUEBLO leadership. *Santa Barbara Independent.*

[n.a] (2011). *Arizona in Santa Barbara*? Santa Barbara: UC of Santa Barbara. Retrieved September 2, 2011 from *http://www.uccnrs.ucsb.edu/events/arizona-santa-barbara-immigration-policing-and-racial-profiling-our-community*

Mauldin, E. (March 2011). *DHS's "Secure Communities": No rules of the road*. Los Angeles: National Immigration Law Center.

Miller, W. (October 1, 2010 A). *RE:. Request for Records*. Santa Barbara County: Office of the Sheriff.

Miller, W. (November 17, 2010 B). *RE:. Request for Records*. Santa Barbara County: Office of the Sheriff.

People Improving Communities through Organizations (PICO). *Outline of Training on Power #1 - What is Power*? Retrieved August 30, 2011 from http://www.piconetwork.org/congregations/resources?id=0042

People United for Economic Justice Building Leadership through Organization (PUEBLO) (2008). *In the shadows of paradise: Testimonies from the Undocumented Immigrant Community in Santa Barbara. / En las sombras del Paradiso: Testimoninos de la comunidad de inmigrantes indoumentados en Santa Barbara*. Santa Barbara: PUEBLO Education Fund.

People United for Economic Justice Building Leadership through Organization (PUEBLO) Action Fund (May 2010). *Celebrating 10 years of Political Action*. Santa Barbara: PUEBLO Action Fund.

People United for Economic Justice Building Leadership through Organization (PUEBLO) Action Fund (January 2011). *Action plan against Secure Communities*. Santa Barbara: PUEBLO.

People United for Economic Justice Building Leadership through Organization (PUEBLO) official website. Retrieved September 6, 2011 from http://www.sbpueblo.org/Index.html

Robbins, R. (August 4, 2011). Activist group opposes federal arrest. *Santa Barbara Independent.*

Rokes, K. (January 8, 2011). Sanchez nixes tow grace period. *Daily Sound.*

Seara, B. (September 14, 2011). *Request under the California Public Records Act*. Santa Barbara: PUEBLO.

Semple, K. & J. Preston (August 6, 2011). Deal to share fingerprints is dropped, not program. *The New York Times.*

Sen, R. (2003). *Stir it up: Lessons in community organizing and advocacy*. San Francisco: Josseu-Bass.

Shultz, J. (2002). *The democracy owners' manual: A practical guide to changing the world*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Stevens, J. (December 16, 2009). America's secret ICE castles. *The Nation*, retrieved December 6, 2010 from www.thenationa.com/article/americas-secret-ice-castles

Tangeman, A. (2003). *Endgame: Office of Detention and Removal Strategic Plan, 2003-2012: Detention and Removal Strategy for a Secure Homeland*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

The President's FY2010 Budget. Retrieved September 5, 2011 from http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/budget-bib-fy2012.pdf

Trenholme, R. (2010). *Report on impoundment of vehicles driven by undocumented immigrants in the city of Santa Barbara*. Santa Barbara: Trenholme.

Trenholme, R. (2011). *The harassment of Latinos through car impoundments in the city of Santa Barbara*. (updated version of the report's summary). Santa Barbara: Trenholme.

U.S. Census Bureau (2010). *2010 Demographic profile data*: California, Santa Barbara. Last retrieved September 30, 2011 from http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk

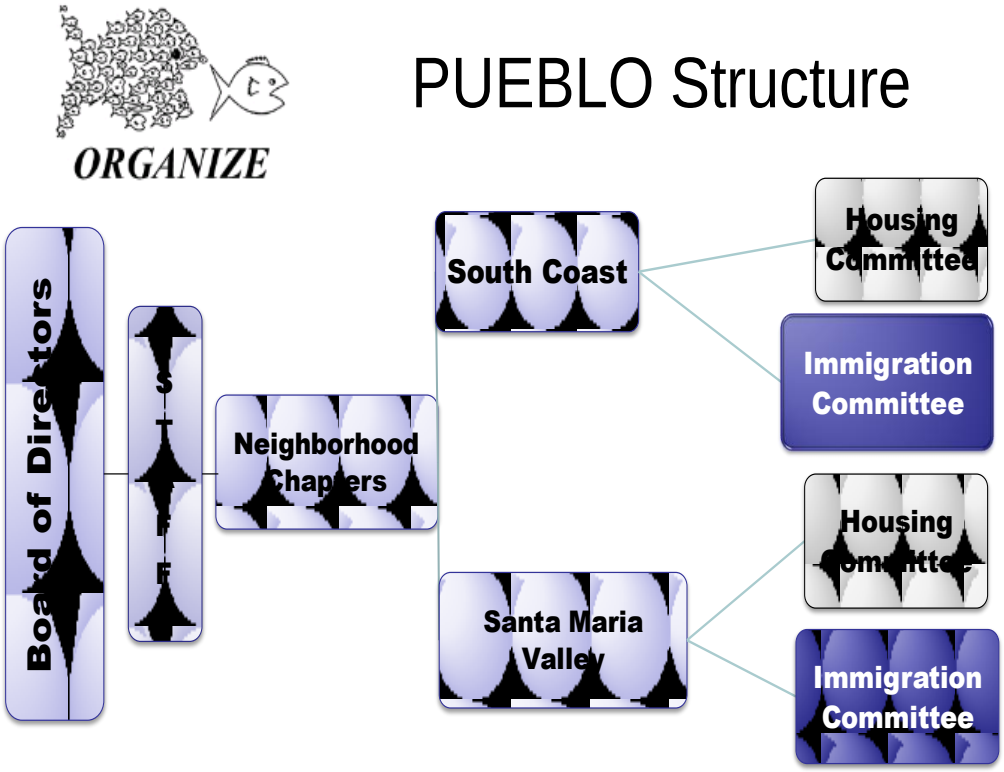
U.S. Department of Homeland Security. *Memorandum of agreement between U.S. Department of Homeland Security and Customs Enforcement and [State identification bureau]* (prototype meno, undated). U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved August 7, 2011 from www.ice.gov/doclib/foia/secure_communities/securecommunitiesmoatemplate.phd

VeneKlasen, L. & V. Miller (2007). *A new weave of power, people: The action guide for advocacy and citizen participation*. Warwickshire,UK: Practical Action Pub.

Waslin, M. (November 2009). *The Secure communities program: Unanswered questions and continuing concerns*. Special report. Immigration Policy Center.

Welsh, N. (August 10, 2010). Towed away. Cops accused of targeting undocumented workers. *Santa Barbara Independent*.

APPENDIX A:


ORGANIZE
PUEBLO Structure
Board of Directors
Neighborhood Chapters
South Coast
Santa Maria Valley
Housing Committee
Immigration Committee
Housing Committee
Immigration Committee

APPENDIX B:

The request went on for two more pages. The first respond came October 1, 2010 from Sergeant William R. Miller and the following were enclosed:

- "Santa Barbara Sheriff's Office (SBSO) Policy and Procedures; Subject: Release Criteria
- January 14, 2010 Memodrandum, Subject: Change in Citation Release Processing
- March 4, 2009, 2009 SOSO Memorandum, Subject: Immigration Hold Policy Clarification Directive
- Secure Communities County Meeting Agenda and materials provided by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement at meeting on December 11, 2008
- Towed Vehicle Report for period January 1 through December 31, 2009
- Towed Vehicle Report for period January 1 through August 31, 2010" (Miller, W., October 1, 2010 A).

November 17, 2010 PUEBLO received following reports from the Office of the Sheriff:

- "Expanded summary information on driving under the influence and driver's license verification checkpoints conducted by the Santa Barbara Sheriff's Department from 2008 through 2010
- Summary crime reporting on records maintained by the Santa Barbara Sheriff from 2005 through 2010

Summary of 911 calls handled by the Santa Barbara Sheriff's Department from 2005 through 2010."