CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY SANCTUARY MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This research observes how discourses of belonging and citizenship manifest in media coverage. I combine both the theoretical framework of postcolonial and coloniality, and a close critical discourse analysis of various media coverage about sanctuary. I observe how nonprofits who work with the immigrant community, municipal government media, and local and national mainstream news media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco cover the concept of sanctuary. The inauguration of President Donald Trump in 2017 marked a new iteration of executive orders, that barred much of the immigration population that sanctuary policies are attempting to keep safe. Therefore, observing the sanctuary during the Trump administration generates new data to analyze.

Through a critical discourse analysis of media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, I found that the conceptualization of sanctuary is convoluted. I argue that without a precise definition, it offers the Trump administration space to deem the practice of sanctuary as dangerous. The mainstream news media relies heavily on placing immigrant groups in deservingness frames, translating that some immigrants belong while others do not. In my analysis, I also found that nonprofits and municipal media use media to create welcoming atmospheres through multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric, so the immigrant population feels like they belong. While these welcoming practices are helpful to building an immigrant community, these practices were reliant on these strategies, which I argue could overshadow the complex relationship between those supporting the immigrant and the immigrant.

For mom and dad,

who couldn’t be here for the finish, but were with me every step of the way.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The 2017 inauguration of United States President Donald Trump brought in a wave of immigration executive orders within the first days of the presidency. Trump focused heavily on the topic of immigration in his presidential campaign. And on January 25th, 2017, only five days after being sworn into his presidency, Trump signed to order Executive Order 13767. Known as “Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Improvements,” the order stated:

> The recent surge of illegal immigration at the southern border with Mexico has placed a significant strain on Federal resources …Transnational criminal organizations operate sophisticated drug- and human-trafficking networks and smuggling operations on both sides of the southern border, contributing to a significant increase in violent crime and United States deaths from dangerous drugs. (Exec. Order No. 13767, 2017, p. 8793)

In this executive order, the Trump administration explicitly targeted the Mexican border, which connected Mexican immigrants as being illegal and dangerous. The executive order would not be the only order that targeted immigration. Executive Order 13780, known as “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States,” states that, “These jurisdictions have caused immeasurable harm to the American people and the very fabric of our Republic” (Exec. Order No. 13780, 2017, p. 8799). This official government order single-handedly called out sanctuary cities as being illegal. While the Trump administration signed executive orders that focused on countries that the U.S. government argued as dangerous, the administration also focused on sanctuary cities as a driving factor to why these orders were imperative to protect the American people. Because Trump blatantly targeted sanctuary cities, I believe that observing the conceptualization of sanctuary during the most recent 2017 inauguration of the U.S president generates new data to sift through.

My dissertation research looks at the conceptualization of sanctuary by observing media created by a nonprofit working alongside immigrant communities, local and national mainstream news media, and municipal media. This dissertation is unable to clearly define sanctuary, as here is no concrete legal definition of the term (Paik, 2017; Villazor & Gulasekaram, 2018). While the federal government does not recognize sanctuary as a legal action, there are municipalities and states that call themselves a *sanctuary jurisdiction,* which muddies how the term is used by the federal, state, and local governments. In addition, this term is used at a social movements and nonprofit level, which often includes a more religious justification to why sanctuary is important. Therefore, this research does attempt to understand why this term is used in such differing ways. To understand this complicated term, I observe the media from three different sanctuary jurisdictions; Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. This data reveals more extensive conversations around how messages about citizenship and belonging manifest in this media using a critical discourse analysis. This proposed research does not aim to understand media use, but focuses much more on how discussions within the movement are shaping more extensive current conversations of belonging and citizenship.

This introductory chapter offers a brief overview of sanctuary in the U.S., starting with the 1970s through the Trump administration, and includes previous research on sanctuary and immigration. The chapter defines the language I use in this dissertation, especially about immigration. I define terms pertaining to U.S. immigration. The final section of this introduction briefly overviews my dissertation chapters, including a theory chapter, methodology chapter, analysis chapters, and a final discussion.

History of the Sanctuary Movement

The history of the sanctuary in the U.S. is a story that brings together immigration discourse, social movements and activism, and religion. The foundation of the political and faith-based movement was to offer sanctuary to immigrants, refugees, and asylees seeking safety from immigration policies and regulations (Newman, 2018).

The municipal concept of sanctuary began in the 1970s. Cities began to adopt the term *sanctuary* to declare themselves spaces of refuge. In 1971, Berkeley, California, became the first city to declare itself a *sanctuary city* (Barron, 2017). Cities that declared themselves as sanctuary jurisdictions protect those in danger of deportation. These cities became spaces where immigrants, refugees, and undocumented asylees could feel safe without government authorities outing their immigration status to the federal government, claiming protection under the fourth amendment. While the concept of sanctuary cities arose before the movement, not all cities adopted the jurisdiction simultaneously. San Francisco became a sanctuary city in 1989 (*Sanctuary City*, n.d.). Whereas Philadelphia became a sanctuary city in 2016 and Minneapolis as a sanctuary jurisdiction in 2017 (Fhima & Strathman, 2017; Zorrilla, 2018).

The activist conceptualization of *sanctuary* originated in the 1980s (Newman, 2018). The Sanctuary Movement arose when Guatemalan citizens faced political upheaval and sought refuge in the U.S. Due to high crime rates, Latin American citizens attempted to flee their countries. In response to pleas for political asylum, the U.S. government instead refused them entrance into U.S. territory. In the 1980s, the Reagan administration implemented regulations that only allowed individuals from countries not ideologically aligned with the administration to enter U.S. borders (Barron, 2017). The U.S denied entrance to Guatemalans asylees because there were some Latin American countries that supported the reactionary movement (Barron, 2017). American humanitarian groups and religious institutions created sanctuary spaces for Latin American immigrants fleeing the U.S. supported wars (Barron, 2017; Newman, 2018). The Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Arizona, was the first congregation to take on the community action of sanctuary. The church members provided shelter, employment support, and legal representation to Latin American asylees (Barron, 2017). The collective action of these institutions throughout the U.S. lead to a growing national movement.

In the 1980s, the U.S. government began to infiltrate the movement. The U.S. government accused Reverend John M. Fife and other Southside Presbyterian Church members of participating in transporting undocumented immigrants into the U.S. from the Latin American border (Barron, 2017). The government argued that these activists were illegally transporting Latin American migrants into U.S. territory without legal means. The Justice Department found the congregation guilty, but none of the plaintiffs ever spent time in jail. This landmark trial brought national attention to the movement (Barron, 2017).

By the 1900s, municipalities put in place non-cooperation policies, which differed based upon location and state laws (Vrasti & Dayal, 2016). These policies, otherwise known as “don’t ask, don’t tell” policies, allowed city officials not to report undocumented citizens to U.S immigration authorities. However, federal officials would argue that these policies were unlawful. On the other side, federal officials put in place detainer policies, which allowed ICE to detain undocumented immigrants on U.S. territory for up to 48 hours, so they could build upon their extradition case (Barron, 2017). The Obama administration stated that even with sanctuary jurisdictions put in place by the municipalities, the administration could detain previously charged undocumented immigrants (Fhima & Strathman, 2017; Zorrilla, 2018).

The inauguration of Trump ushered in the new wave of immigration executive orders. The executive orders impacted larger populations of immigrants. The Trump administration’s stated purpose of Executive Order 13769 was to prevent terrorist attacks on the U.S. (Connor & Krogstad, 2017). To enact the order, the U.S. government banned immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers from seven different countries from entering and re-entering the country (Connor & Krogstad, 2017). Connor and Krogstad (2017) found that in 2017, a record low 33,000 refugees resettled in the U.S. The year before, under the Obama administration, the U.S. resettled 97,000 immigrants and refugees (Connor & Krogstad, 2017). By September of 2017, a record number of people were detained by ICE officials, including in Philadelphia, where 107 immigrants were detained, the most of any other city (Irby, 2017).

In addition to the new executive orders, Senator Pat Toomey argued for the Stop Dangerous Sanctuary Cities Act, which would defund sanctuary jurisdictions including San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis; this led to a number of lawsuits in sanctuary jurisdictions against the Department of Justice. In a historic move in 2017, the Philadelphia supreme court judge ruled that it is unconstitutional to withhold funds (Irby, 2017). An appeals court in San Francisco also ruled the president does not have the authority to withhold funds from the city. However, a second U.S. circuit appeals court ruled against seven states, including Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Virginia, and Washington, who sued the Justice Department declaring that withholding funds from sanctuary cities was unconstitutional (Williams, 2020).

Beyond sanctuary cities, some states adopted a sanctuary state policy. In 2017, the California Senate passed Bill 54, known as the California Values Act, which limited how much authority federal authorities have on immigration enforcement. The bill would ultimately divide the state, where some cities accepted the laws while others opposed. Opposing views argued that the bill broke the law and put citizens in danger. In addition to suing California over the bill, the Trump administration focused its attention on sanctuary cities. Like Philadelphia, Trump would threaten federal funding to San Francisco. In 2018, the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled the act unconstitutional.

In the U.S., the Sanctuary Movement has transformed alongside changing immigration policies and regulations. Activists in the faith-based Sanctuary Movement focus now on changing preexisting ideas about vulnerable communities. Changing xenophobic and racist discourse surrounding documented and undocumented immigrants are how activists contribute to the movement (K. Barron, 2017). Around the U.S., activists actively resist stereotypes by distributing media materials to the broader public to support undocumented immigrants. The Mijente based in Chicago, the Puente based in Phoenix, and the Georgia Latino Alliance wrote the “Community Defense Zone Starter Guide” to create a step-by-step manual to help the public defend against stereotypes and better support vulnerable communities (K. Barron, 2017).

A nonprofit active within the Sanctuary Movement is the New Sanctuary Movement. The NSM stems from a coalition-based organization that grew out of the original Sanctuary Movement. Some of the other coalitions are nonprofit based organizations that run public events. The coalitions work closely with networks of religious congregations that provide hospitality immigrants seeking refuge. Most congregations that work within the Sanctuary Movement are closely intertwined in the NSM, and provide guidance and assistance to the organization (Freeland, 2010).

Since the 2016 election, the Sanctuary Movement has also spread onto university campuses. The Sanctuary Campus Movement gained momentum in the U.S. (Newman, 2018). The Sanctuary Campus Movement followed similar principles to the Sanctuary Movement and sanctuary cities. Those on university campuses decided to either enforce or not enforce disclosing the community’s citizenship status. Sanctuary Campuses also use their legal resources to help and support their community that may be under threat of immigration detention.

Since the establishment of the Sanctuary Movement in the U.S., the movement has disseminated into neighboring countries. Overall, the City of Sanctuary in the United Kingdom is a parallel movement that is much akin to the movement in the U.S. Varying factors like that of governmental policy and law that make each Sanctuary Movement different. For example, in the U.S, the Sanctuary Movement initially focused on creating safe spaces for vulnerable communities. In the U.K., the goal of the Sanctuary Movement has always been about changing public discourse around the immigrant, refugee, and asylee communities (Bagelman, 2013).

There have been many iterations of the Sanctuary Movement since the 1980s. The ties to governmental policy guide and change the goals of the movement. Currently, the executive policies surrounding immigration in the U.S. have led to evolving concepts of sanctuary. This research looks at this most recent wave of the Sanctuary Movement as a backdrop to better understand how media content creators manifest discourses around citizenship and belonging. This study observes nonprofits alongside the Sanctuary Movement and how cities and news media support or undermine these communities.

Prior Sanctuary Research

Prior research on the Sanctuary Movement spans many differing disciplines. This research overviews the vast landscape covered about the Sanctuary Movement. In the U.S., research on the Sanctuary Movement focuses on how media is being used mainly by the NSM (Freeland, 2010; Yukich, 2013). Freeland (2010) reported on first-person accounts of those who worked within the NSM in Los Angeles and undocumented immigrants in sanctuary. Yukich (2013) also used ethnography to observe the NSM and the framing practices used in their media materials. Framing analysis is a popular lens in research about the NSM. In Finland, Horsti (2013) uses framing analysis to observe how activists campaign for pro-immigrant policies.

In Europe and the U.K., theoretical frameworks about space and belonging guide research on the Sanctuary Movement. In political studies, Squire (2011) observes how the networks City of Sanctuary and Strangers into the City campaigns engage citizenship and question approaches made by the U.K. on best integration practices. Additionally, Darling (2017) observed politics of presence as a foundational lens to understand the relationship between sovereign authority and a Sanctuary City. Vrasti and Dayal (2016) also observe the relationship between belonging and citizenship. Belonging is not tied to citizenship, but public spaces where communities can interact and can bind groups together. Past research presented displays the variety of research already associated with the Sanctuary Movement, from specific research observing how nonprofits frame their messaging to how communities create places of refuge and hospitality.

Immigration Definitions

I believe immigration terminology to this dissertation are essential to cover prior to my analysis. This section defines *sanctuary jurisdiction, citizenship, undocumented and document immigrant, refugee, asylum seekers,* and *migrants.*

The first term to define in the context of this dissertation is *sanctuary jurisdiction*. Local and state officials declare a sanctuary jurisdiction, which is when municipalities do not follow federal detainer demands by ICE officials. Sanctuary jurisdictions then constrain what role ICE departments play in policing and enforcing detainer policies (Garcia & Manuel, 2015, p. 7). Sanctuary jurisdictions will not necessarily follow detainer requests. ICE led detainer requests order sanctuary jurisdictions to detain suspected non-citizens. However, ICE often will also ask for the detainment of the alleged person of interest for 48 hours to build an immigration case against them. Jurisdictions that follow sanctuary ordinances may choose to also comply with ICE, or the municipalities may deny ICE's request. Municipalities that claim sanctuary protect immigrants in their cities from unlawful detainment. Sanctuary jurisdictions in 2010 only amounted to a few dozen, but by 2017 during the Trump administration there were over 600 throughout the U.S. (Paik, 2017, p. 8). Paik (2017) argues this increase in sanctuary cities was due to the need to protect immigrants from the Trump administration's focus on deportation.

In this dissertation, my overlying research question focuses on the discourse of citizenship and belonging. Though *belonging* is not a term with a legal definition and is much more malleable, I think there are legal definitions of citizenship and immigrant status that are important to define. In the U.S., the Fourteenth Amendment defines citizenship as "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the U.S., and the State wherein they reside" (U.S. Const. amend. art. XIV). The concept of *citizenship* relies on this jurisdiction and legality of who gets to belong and who does not belong in U.S. territory. Those who are not citizens of the U.S. are defined as *immigrants*.

The differing labels of immigration status are at risk of being confused, and therefore, defining them is important. According to the Cornell Law Center, *undocumented immigrants* are foreign-born nationals "who lack proper authorization to be in the United States." While *documented* or *legal immigrants* have proper authorization to be in the U.S.

Refugees fall under the umbrella term, documented immigrants, meaning that they have proper authorization. Refugees are legally recognized by the migrated country and protected under the Refugee Act (*Refugee*, n.d.). U.S. code of regulation then defines a refugee as the "well-founded fear of persecution" and human rights violations, and have been granted legal authorization into the U.S.

Undocumented immigrants are sometimes categorized as *asylum seekers*, who are those who left their country due to persecution and human rights violations. Asylees are not recognized legally by the country where they are seeking safety (Establishing Asylum Eligibility, n.d.).

Amnesty International (n.d.) refers to *migrants* as “people staying outside their country of origin, which are not asylum-seekers or refugees” (*Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrants*, n.d.) The legality of a migrant is not the focus of the term. Migrants usually seek work, education, or visiting family and are not necessarily leaving because of persecution in their country of origin (*Definitions*, 2016).

In much of this dissertation, I use the term undocumented immigrant, which includes asylum seekers. However, because my arguments cover a multitude of experiences, I do use *undocumented immigrant* as an overarching term. I do acknowledge that immigrant experiences differ, but also, at the same time, wanted to encapsulate how the U.S. immigration system treats immigrants. Defining these terms grounds this dissertation and better assists in following my analysis. Though the focus of my dissertation stems from media and communication studies, the project covers immigration discourse.

Following Sanctuary Through Media

This dissertation research builds upon a theoretical foundation and methodology, which is also grounded in past research about sanctuary and the implications on belonging. I look at the history of immigration in the U.S., and how many past colonialist laws were reconceptualized by the Trump administration. Each of my analysis chapters observes one facet of a media organization, either municipality, nonprofit organizations that work with the immigrant community, and local and national news media. I analyze this media to better understand how these entities talk about sanctuary, which speaks to more extensive conversations around citizenship and belonging.

The second chapter of my dissertation lays out the theoretical framework that grounds this project. I use postcolonialism and coloniality to understand concepts of belongingness and citizenship. Postcolonialism assists in creating a foundation about the conceptualization of belonging and why some may belong, and why some may not. Though postcolonialism offers a helpful framework in understanding belonging and citizenship, coloniality grounds these concepts by considering structural racism and the impact of slavery on experience and belongingness.

Chapter Three of this dissertation overviews my methodology and the theory I use to build upon this dissertation. I use the procedure by Hall (1975) called the preliminary soak to delve into my large dataset. Van Dijk (2008) offers me a methodological framework to understand how microlevels of interaction, such as observing local news articles, can speak to larger conversations about belonging and citizenship. My dataset consisted of various media from Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, specifically observing municipal, nonprofit, and local and national mainstream news media.

My Chapter Four, entitled “Sanctuary as Protection,” observes how the sanctuary cities Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis use media to express their protection of the immigrant community. I use coloniality as a theoretical guide to uncover the role sanctuary has played in belongingness and citizenship. The first half of the chapter observes the evolving conceptualization of sanctuary in a more historical context. I also observe the role of religion in understanding belongingness and the role religion and sanctuary have in accepting immigrants. I later detail how the municipality uses media to create protective personas to connect with the immigrant community.

Chapter Five of the dissertation, “Sanctuary as Deservingness,” observes how local and national news media talk about the deservingness of sanctuary. In this chapter, I specifically point out how the local and national news media depend on framing immigrants as deserving or not deserving of protection. I further look into how the local and national news media use media techniques to frame the good immigrant. Though most of this chapter focuses on the deservingness frame, I also observe how the local mainstream news media talk about belongingness and how that can be used as a counter to deservingness frames.

The final analysis of Chapter Six, “Sanctuary as Welcoming”, is a dive into how nonprofits that work alongside the immigrant community create a welcoming environment through their media. I observe the differing media techniques nonprofits make to display a welcoming image and also discuss the implications of these techniques. I also observe nonprofits with religious ties and delve into how religion brings on feelings of welcoming.

The final Chapter Seven, is my conclusion and discussion. I observe why sanctuary remains a complicated term during the Trump administration. I specifically discuss how sanctuary cities, nonprofits, and local and national mainstream media play a part in the discourse surrounding sanctuary. I look at attempts made by the nonprofits and municipalities to counteract negative connotations of sanctuary, through creating welcoming and protective environments by using the media techniques that encapsulate multiculturalism, assimilation, and religion. I discuss how these techniques remain colonialist projects. I finish up my conclusion with a section discussing my limitations and further research. This dissertation is not to chastise nonprofits for the work that they are doing for the immigrant community, but I focus the ending of the dissertation, on how these groups can improve their relationship with the immigrant community.

Conclusion

I use critical discourse analysis to observe and unwrap the complicatedness of sanctuary in the U.S, specifically focusing on Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. Though it is just a singular term *sanctuary*, the history behind the term is ingrained in U.S. immigration and race history. Because the term sanctuary is used by the Trump administration, the local and national mainstream news media, and nonprofits, it is convoluted and confusing. Therefore, one of the significant findings of the dissertation is how sanctuary remains unclear. The second important finding is how mainstream news media relies on the deservingness frame to represent immigrants. This frame feeds into the Trump administration's disdain for immigrants, in particular Latin American immigrants. The final findings are how nonprofits and municipalities use media to create a welcoming environment through multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric.

These findings in this dissertation help to better understand discourses of citizenship and belonging. In the next chapter, I highlight the theoretical grounding, specifically observing postcolonialism as it offers a foundation to understand belonging. I use coloniality to understand the colonial agendas that remain embedded in modern society. I summarize that chapter by looking at social movement theory.

CHAPTER 2:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter overviews core aspects of my theoretical perspective, which I use later in my analysis. I look to postcolonial and decolonial theory to provide a background and understanding of belonging and why some immigrant groups feel like they belong and why others do not. In addition, I observe theories around social movements and collective identity to understand how activists and nonprofits that work alongside the immigrant community mobilize to get their message out, specifically observing how these messages and actions can lead to feelings of recognition. In particular, I look at how the politics of belonging and decolonial theory are rooted in inequity and racism, which seeps into U.S. immigration policy, everyday social interactions, and media representations. I use postcolonialism and coloniality throughout my analysis to better uncover structures of belongingness. Both these theoretical perspectives would help understand the contemporary inequity in the U.S. and better uncover how these structures work for and against certain immigrant groups.

Origins of Postcolonialism

The politics of belonging observes the inner connections between emotional belonging, political belonging, and why dominant culture leaves out specific individuals, while maintaining physical and imaginary boundaries and borders. This discussion of boundaries and borders begins with Said’s work on *Orientalism*. Said’s take on the term Orientalism becomes the catalyst for better understanding the construction of us and them and the implications of this distinction.

Said (1979) observes how dominant structures and media creates rhetoric and imagery that leads to dominant ideology setting the West as superior. Said (1979) writes that Orientalism is the “style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the *Orient* and the *Occident*” (p. 10). The West created unequal relationships between the West (the Occident) and the East (the Orient), Said (1979) finds that this distinction becomes ingrained in the construction of knowledge and perpetuated through language, literature, and media. Said (1979) uses the example of 19th-century literary novelists, poets, and artists who created images that depicted the East as inferior and exotic, which separates Europeans from the East. Said (1979) notes that these Western scholars do not even know they are making a dichotomy between the Orient and Oriental. Instead, this construction of knowledge is duplicated through media, texts, and images. Said (1979) argues then that these representations contribute to the Western belief that there exists an inside group and an outside group.

Adding to Said’s work on Orientalism, Spivak (1985/2010) criticizes the role of the Westerner’s gaze in the construction of knowledge. For Said, the main concern was to unravel why and how the West creates a dichotomy between us and them. Spivak (1985/2010) delves deeper into how this distinction operates and who gets to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. Spivak (1985/2010) focuses much of this work on the voice of the inferior rank, a concept originated by Gramsci. In world politics, the wealthy and educated speak for the voiceless. Spivak (1985/2010) referred to the voiceless other as underrepresented and oppressed, lacking political power and influence. Spivak (1985/2010) called these groups the *subaltern*. Spivak (1985/2010) writes:

> The texts I read are not ethnographic and therefore do not celebrate this figure. They take for granted that the "European" is the human norm and offer us descriptions and prescriptions. And yet, even here, the native informant is needed and foreclosed. (p. 6)

When Western scholars tried to speak for the subaltern, the constructions would create barbaric and uncivilized representations. The scholars would ignore alternative stories because they did not fit the Eurocentric mold. Spivak (1985/2010) refers to the misinformed assumptions by Western scholars who critiqued the culture of husbands who burned alive the sati women. Spivak (1985/2010) argues that this analysis created a barbaric view of the Hindu community. Even though the colonist's intervention saved the lives of many women, the creation of an inferior subject dispersed into Western consciousness.

The construction of knowledge by Western literature and media makers has created a dichotomy between the West and the East. Western epistemology of *otherness* creates assumptions about who is barbaric and savage, creating a separation between us (the West) and them (the East). As Said and Spivak both point out, there is an unconscious bias by the West onto the other. Even with the best intentions to support the subaltern, Western academics view the other and subaltern as different and inferior. Both theorists argue that Western media makers and scholars have to look internally and self-reflexively at how their Eurocentric viewpoint impacts their analysis of the other. The postcolonial perspective tries to unravel and bring forth the colonial world's damage on thoughts, values, and attitudes. This dominant ideology structures the politics of belonging within a community undercutting laws that control citizenship.

Boundaries and Borders in Postcolonial Studies

There are physical and unseen borders and boundaries impacting feelings of belonging. In the U.S., who belongs and who does not belong is deeply rooted in the racial, cultural, and ethnic structural inequities that guide political decision-making (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). Yuval-Davis (2011) uses the *politics of belonging* to understand the construction of boundaries and how these boundaries impact different groups of people. The foundation of belonging is an emotional state of feeling a part of a group or left out of a group (Yuval-Davis, 2011). To belong is to be loyal, having solidarity to the group, shared values, a common language, culture, and citizenship (Yuval-Davis, 2011). If lacking these areas, the individual may not feel like they belong. As Hall (1997a) observes, part of an individual's identity is a community. Yuval-Davis (2011) describes belonging as being part of physical and mental space. Belonging is not just an emotional process but is political, cultural, and confronts hierarchical boundaries (Yuval-Davis, 2011). The boundaries of who belongs and who does not belong are not permanently fixed but are ever-changing. Anderson (1991) observes the boundaries of the Nation as "finite" and "elastic" (p. 50). Nevertheless, with ever-changing and elastic boundaries, feeling like one does not belong impacts their relationships with others and ultimately how one sees themselves. This means that the Nation and its people are ever-changing due to transnational flows governed often by political rules and regulations (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Anderson (1991) sums it up by saying that the Nation is "a deep, horizontal comradeship," meaning that its borders do not define the Nation, but rather the people connected in solidarity (p. 50). People feel connected when they find solidarity in a community of like-minded people. Anderson (1991) points out that many individuals who feel part of a Nation will never know one another yet feel connected. The Nation is a social construction and cultural artifact, binding together a community (Anderson, 1991). Originally, nationalism grew out of religion, where people came together based on shared beliefs, values, and language (Anderson, 1991). These commonalities gave groups of individuals something to connect on. Anderson (1991) argues that this concept of belonging grew to a national scale. Therefore, the Nation is what Anderson (1991) refers to then as an *imagined community*.

The concept of an *imagined community* argues that a Nation is how people from that community can connect beyond the physical borders. Anderson (1991) further describes the Nation as limited, meaning that the Nation has boundaries between other Nations, for example, one country is distinctively different from another (p. 49). At the same time, these borders are still permeable. Looking at the relationship between the Nation and community, Anderson (1991) emphasizes both the imagined community that maintains the Nation and the physical borders that represent the Nation. The concept of imagined communities helps to broaden understanding about communities and the conceptualization of national identity. At the same time, the imagined community offers insight into the permeability and potential for transformation of who constitutes us and them. Boundaries are not just to keep people in a community, but are also helping to maintain social and political hierarchies (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

An individual's citizenship has a significant role in feelings of belonging at both a personal and political level. Citizenship is then not just the legal and physical way to belong to a Nation, but also a lived experience beyond the physical border and boundary Johnston (2014) adds that the characterization of citizenship "struggles over recognition, inclusion, redistribution, and space" (p. 125). This means that granting citizenship does not imply that a person feels like they belong to the dominant society. Regulated legal status controls a community. Legal membership in a community is still a meaningful way to feel recognized within the political environment (Squire, 2011). Having legal status in the U.S. allows individuals the right to vote. On the other hand, Gandy (2000) points out that people may identify as Asian or Australian, but they are still the other when they enter the country, even if they hold U.S. citizenship (p. 51). Bhabha conceptualizes in-betweenness as *Third Space*.

Bhabha (1996) argues that the in-between space impacts identity and place within the dominant culture. *Third Space*, a term rooted within postcolonial studies, describes the in-between space as the fluidity and malleability of identities. Much like the borders and boundaries ever-changing and malleable, identity too is not fixed. Bhabha (1996) writes that the Third Space is "this interstitial passage between fixed identification opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains different without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (p. 4). One's identity and sense of belonging changes based upon the cultural, ethnic, and racial surroundings that assist with fitting in. The dominant culture is malleable. Therefore, Bhabha argues that it is no longer concretely evident who is the colonizer and the colonized. A *hybrid identity* that exists in Third Space does not involve assimilation (Bhabha, 1996). It is more about the cross-pollination of language, culture, beliefs, and policies (Bhabha, 1996). It relies not on fixity but change and malleability (Bhabha, 1996). The construction of the old identity was around class, the new identity has many more cross-pollinated characteristics (Hall, 1997a). Identities form and change depending on the individual's situation and how they relate to the others around them.

Bhabha’s hybridity and Third Space lays out a foundational theoretical lens to understand how identity is malleable. Though their immigration identification impacts undocumented and documented immigrants, refugees, and asylees, this identification can manifest itself in many differing ways.

Though these groups’ lived experiences are not fixed, there is an influence immigration status has on feelings of belonging. Immigrants, refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers all fall under an uncertain situation, meaning they do not have the same immigration rights as U.S. citizens when on U.S territory. Their opportunities and likelihood of legal stability are not concrete. The space they currently inhabit is ambiguous and unstable, due to the existing potential of deportation. This precarious relationship between legal immigration status and livelihood influences their experience and feelings of belonging within U.S. communities. This leads to debates about who is deserving enough to belong.

Integration policies and initiatives assimilate the other into U.S. communities, building on feelings of belonging. However, state and national citizenship determines the opportunities available only for particular others (Ong, 1999; Yuval-Davis, 2011). For example, in the U.S., integration policies and initiatives are more oriented towards immigrants and refugees, often leaving out undocumented immigrants and asylees (Squire, 2011). Integration policies and initiatives are essential to integrate new members into an existing stable community, allowing faster and more responsive assimilation (Squire, 2011). These programs and initiatives offer symbolic capital like language and job guidance and other skill-based opportunities to further the assimilation process (Ang, 2001). This symbolic capital gives those deserving more opportunities to succeed in the

U.S. Society (Ang, 2001). It offers a chance for those on the outside to feel they could be part of the inside community. Yet, these programs are only helpful to some groups. Those left out are not given a chance or essential tools like language assimilation to feel part of the dominant community better.

Deservingness in Postcolonialism

Mainstream media and the U.S. government push forward and popularize polarized rhetoric that influences certain groups to feel more deserving of citizenship. These rhetorical choices used by the media and the U.S. government, influence how the general public determines who deserves and does not deserve citizenship, and who should or should not belong within their community. An example of othering a group of people and marking them as underserving is using the phrase “illegal Mexican aliens” (Yukich, 2013). Yukich (2013) observes that this three-letter phrase negatively represents Latin Americans documented and undocumented immigrants and asylees as dangerous, holding onto different qualities than U.S. citizens. Using the term *illegal* diminishes the reasoning why many Latin American asylees are entering the U.S. Instead, the phrase immediately provokes the interpretation that illegal activities relate to migration. This image blends alongside negative representations like the smuggling of drugs and other unlawful activity into the U.S.

On the other hand, policymakers and the media construct an image of deservingness of citizenship, which has original linage back to the *model minority* stereotype (Yukich, 2013). Historically, the stereotype has been attributed to Asian immigrants. The stereotype infers that Asians are better at math and sciences and polite and hardworking. These attributes assume Asian immigrants can contribute better to society and deserve U.S citizenship and opportunities (Yukich, 2013). Model minority stereotypes harm groups by pitting them against physical qualities (i.e. skin color and nationality) that are manufactured. In an in-depth study of the NSM, Yukich (2013) observed how nonprofit organizations framed the deservingness of citizenship through their imagery and language. Yukich (2013) found that NSM uses the frame of deservingness in their media materials. On the one hand, Yukich (2013) argues that the NSM uses the model minority frame to point to groups of immigrants as deserving. The NSM chose to position all undocumented immigrants as deserving of citizenship based upon their model behavior (Yukich, 2013). NSM unintentionally cycles through the model minority stereotypes creating differences between the deserving and undeserving migrants. Another frame embraced by the NSM is the “keep the family together” frame (Freeland, 2010). Freeland (2010) found that the NSM strategized using the “Keep the family together” frame to explain the importance and deservingness of these vulnerable communities.

Immigrant activism displays the well-intentioned support of these vulnerable communities. A way in which activists support documented and undocumented immigrants are through a culture of hospitality. According to Vrasti and Dayal (2016), a *culture of hospitality* is when the host wants to create a welcoming space for those who are non-legally secure but are seeking a community to belong to. This frequently happens within the relationship between the host, the citizen, and the non-citizen. The host looks to help the guest by often opening their community. A space of refuge creates a community of hospitality. In the Sanctuary Movement, it is common for religious congregations to open their space to undocumented immigrants seeking refuge from deportation.

The culture of hospitality is not just a concern of small organizations and communities. Throughout the U.S., cities are enforcing state rules and regulations to support a culture of hospitality. A municipalities' role in citizenship discourse are increasingly important when studying culture and belonging (Kang, 2013). The state controls much of the immigration rights and laws. The city becomes a space beyond the nation-state, where pro-immigrant and migrant organizations support those at risk of deportation (Johnston, 2014). Therefore, regulated by national law, the city becomes a space where those who do not feel recognized nationally, can feel recognized as part of a city.

In both small organization settings and at the city level, the relationship between citizens and non-citizen is not equal. Instead, the relationship in these situations becomes a connection between the guest (non-citizen) and the host (the citizen). Vrasti and Dayal (2016) point to the unequal relationship between the host and the guest, and though good in nature, hides the structures that are in place. For one, there runs the risk that there may be too many guests or not enough room within the sanctuary spaces. This increased human presence can disrupt the hospitable environment (Vrasti & Dayal, 2016). In addition, the host may attempt to help and support the guest, but runs the risk that the host could misinterpret immigration law or misinterpret the guests' needs (Vrasti & Dayal, 2016). Early in postcolonial theory discussion, Spivak critiques those who got to speak for the subaltern. Vrasti and Dayal (2016), in the present day, bring up the concerns of Spivak observing the relationship between host and guest. Hosts must acknowledge their privileged position of holding citizenship.

The *politics of ease* looks at the role the Sanctuary Movement plays in the lives of those affected by the immigration policies and how charitable practices mask inherent uncertainties. Bagelman (2013) argues that temporary space leads to uncertainty that clashes with feelings of safety and hope. The ease of sanctuary normalizes and focuses on masking the reality and promising bright futures (Bagelman, 2013). Another critique Bagelman (2013) has of sanctuary is the overlooked power relations between guest and host. The Sanctuary Movement and sanctuary rely on a host and a guest position (Vrasti & Dayal, 2016). These power relations often create what Vrasti and Dayal (2016) argue as a "bland culture of hospitality," which is the host ignoring the underlying dynamics of power relations.

Another way immigration activists are supporting the migrant and immigrant community is by creating an inclusionary image. Squire and Darling (2013) refer to this act as *rightful presence*. Rightful presence is the belief and acknowledgment that everyone is equal, no matter their immigration status. Legal status does not obscure someone from taking part in citizen action. *Acts of citizenship* have become a driving force into feeling part of a community (Squire, 2011). Squire (2011) argues that acts of citizenship are a collective mobilization of peoples to claim rightful presence. Acts of citizenship, voice and support individuals' opinions, and do not require legal citizenship. Squire (2011) observed how sanctuary groups in the U.K. could mobilize using social media technology to protest, run activities and events, which support inclusionary policies. Another way to contest exclusionary tactics is by highlighting inclusion. For example, activists and bloggers attempt to create imagery that does not differentiate between legal status to counteract exclusion policies. Instead, they try to create images that include individuals, while demonstrating that legal status should not divide people.

The early works of postcolonial theory lays a foundation to understand the dynamics between us and them. Understanding us and them in immigration discourse is important, as it provides a context to the complexity and differing levels of belonging. From an emotional state of wanting to fit in, the feeling of belonging is not just subject to internal factors like a need to be part of a group, but is also influenced by hierarchical status. Belonging within immigration discourse is not simple but relies heavily on immigration status while borders and boundaries are not fixated. At the same time, the privilege of holding citizenship gives access to rights and legality that those without full citizenship are not privileged. Having citizenship then creates a complicated relationship in the Sanctuary Movement between the host (citizen) and the guest (non-citizen). However, postcolonial scholarship only slightly touches upon the role in which race and ethnicity are factors that underly feelings of belonging and citizenship in the context of the U.S.

Citizenship in the Context of Coloniality

As a modern refocusing of democracy, politics use multiculturalism as a way to demand recognition for all, no matter race, ethnicity, sexuality, or beliefs (Ang, 2001). In informal and formal environments, multiculturalism is sought out (Ang, 2001). Multicultural strategies are used to create a chance for both racial and ethnic minorities to feel recognized and feel like they belong to a nation-state (Ang, 2001). Using the perspective of multiculturalism creates an even playing field between these different groups and communities (Bhabha, 1996). Multiculturalist perspectives develop policies that benefit and support underrepresented communities (Yuval-Davis, 2011). However, Bhabha (1996) argues that multiculturalism is not a reality in a democratic state.

The criticism of multiculturalism observes the inequities that manifest in modern society. Bhabha (1996) calls multiculturalism a, “floating signifier whose enigma lies less in itself than in the discursive uses of it to mark social processes” (p. 55). As a signifier, multiculturalism avoids the complicated debates about societal inequity (Bhabha, 1996). Ang (2001) observes that multiculturalism, though it seems like the structure pushes down boundaries, in actuality puts up boundaries. Kang (2013) argues that these boundaries are colonial hierarchy systems that are grounded in immigration policies. Individuals seeking citizenship confront beliefs, values, and norms rooted in Western Christian epistemology. Therefore, those in power judge the actions of the other.

The theory of coloniality refocuses the power that is lacking in multiculturalist work. Multiculturalism becomes the likable term that enables those in power to remain in power, by covering up colonialist agendas (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Coloniality is a theoretical framework that link together colonialism and modernity. The main focus of decolonial scholarship is to understand the hierarchies and positions of power that exist in a modern time that relate to colonialism. Decolonial scholars argue that within the Latin American context, the embedded hierarchies are within the production of knowledge through the guise of modernity (Lugones, 2007). Unlike postcoloniality, decolonial scholars argue that colonial projects did not stop at the end of colonialism. Instead, Mignolo (2011) argues that coloniality and modernity are the same, meaning that the two are inseparable. Mignolo (2011) argued that the Renaissance and the Enlightenment of the 1700s became a moment when the modern world was creating new political structures. The introduction of new structures like democracy granted a new modern approach to creating and establishing societies (Mignolo, 2011). Modernist projects like democracy legitimize the expansion of Western epistemology under the guise that innovation was leading to a better future (Taylor, 1992). What it meant to be human during the Enlightenment relied heavily on the relationship between what it meant to be modern.

At first glance, modern humans are autonomous and independent, different from their colonialist predecessors (Taylor, 2013). The colonial structures and powers control the conception of the modern human (Taylor, 2013). In modern society, to belong in relation to the state goes beyond independence. In decolonial scholarship, scholars observe the relationship between the modern human and the hegemonic ideal of man (Taylor, 2013). Taylor (2013) argues that the white Christian man reigns superior in modern society. Anyone who does not conspire to this image is other or outside the dominant position. There is a need to fit in with the hegemonic view of man, which continues into the 21st century. When women want to gain power, they must fit into this mold and act like the ideal man, which is a modern restructuring of a colonial power structure. Modern projects like democracy camouflage hierarchies that still have roots in colonial epistemology (Taylor, 2013). Ignoring these hierarchies and inequities ignores the roots of colonialist epistemology in the disguise of modernism.

Much of the discussion around colonialist projects surround the discourse of the Latin American, and West African slave trade. Decolonial scholars argue that embedded in immigration policy are colonialist systems of power. During colonialism, humans were financial commodities that benefited the colonial economies. In the U.S., this commodity of selling humans is now referred to in the past tense during a post-colonialist era (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). The influence and impact of the economic and consumerist practices behind slavery continue to flow into current practices. For example, in the U.S., a settler versus colonized/enslaved distinction arose during the transatlantic slave trade in the 1600s. The distinction was necessary for those in power to justify and legitimize owning property, meaning people (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). The colonizer could own land and slaves, and working slaves worked the slaveowner's land. To enable and legitimize this power structure, whiteness was normalized, while Blackness became other and different from whiteness (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). Therefore, this legitimized the actions against slaves by white slaveowners and the practice was deemed acceptable. This distinction remained a fundamental biopolitical tool that forced people of color into low-ranking positions, while whiteness remained the norm and ideal (Taylor, 2013).

The U.S. used citizenship laws to continue colonial projects. In the 1790's the Naturalization Law excluded enslaved people and indigenous people from becoming citizens, differentiating the colonizer from the colonized. The state regulated the existence of freedom and the right to own land based on hierarchical racist and sexist policies (Taylor, 2013). In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act bared Chinese immigration to the U.S. (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). Though the U.S. government eventually lifted these exclusion acts, Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2018) argues that the regulation on immigrants, refugees, and asylee has roots in Western colonialism. Rodriquez argues, "coupling nationality and the right to asylum" is a modern way to keep racial groups from recognition within the restricted country (p. 24). In addition, Western governments argue that securing borders is essential to ensure the distribution of wealth, labor, and safety to those who have citizenship. Yet, immigration policies are more forgiving to white immigrants than immigrants of color, as many countries see people of color as barbaric and dangerous (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). This coincides with assumption that European countries and those with larger white communities are safer and can benefit the U.S. This decision-making is all under the guise that the U.S. is a capitalist society, and therefore immigrants deserving of citizenship and shelter are those who can contribute. Those who can contribute to community fit the white hegemonic mold.

Coloniality is a helpful framework to unwrap the complicated web that connects citizenship policy, race, and belonging. Ignoring the colonial projects in the context of belonging would leave out political endeavors. Decolonial scholars believe that colonialist projects are not in the past but wrapped within the concept of modernity. Morgan (2020) writes that emotion towards migratory immigrants, the feeling of caring and empathy, are the actual structures needed to change immigration and migratory systems for refugees. Morgan (2020) argues that emotions are complicated, they also impact the reality of the running of politics. Therefore, Morgan (2020) suggests that understanding these emotional responses and connections are important for humanitarian groups to assist better those they are helping.

Both postcolonialism and coloniality are theoretical frameworks that guide the proposed dissertation and are also ways to better understand the emotional dynamics. The use of both theoretical frameworks is important, as postcolonial scholarship offers a guide to understanding belonging to the Nation. On the other hand, colonialism provides a framework that considers the role the democratic state plays in belonging and citizenship.

Collectivism in Social Movements

In this section, I overview scholarly perspectives on social movements and collective action. While my dissertation goes beyond just observing the sanctuary as a movement, this theory is particularly helpful in understanding the role of the community in supporting immigrants, and how their actions of welcoming and protection translate into feelings of belonging. This section defines the concept of social movement, and the differing ways in which a social movement may or may not appear. In particular, I view how nonprofits interact in these movements and how the community uses media to further these movements. I specifically define *collective identity* to understand better how nonprofits can connect to broader concepts of sanctuary, and what it means to support immigrant groups.

A common thread amongst social movement scholars is that a social movement is a collective action to promote social change (Brunsting & Postmes, 2002; Johnston, 2014; Khoshneviss & Benford, 2018; Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991). A common addition to the social movement definition is the role of institutions. Social movements seek justice against political and/or institutional powers (Khoshneviss & Benford, 2018; Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991). Together, citizens collectively fight and resist these institutional and political powers to make a change, connecting power with social actions by the citizens (Khoshneviss & Benford, 2018; Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991). Politics and change do not remain within institutional boundaries. This is why scholars who work in the field of social movement discourse refer to social movements as a “politics to other means” (Khoshneviss & Benford, 2018). Rucht (2017) points to social movements as making a fundamental change in a society by the citizens instead of the institutions (p.

39). This action does not have to be political or institutional but guided by the need for citizens to make a change (Rucht, 2017). However, the definitions used to describe social movements are often “nominal” (Rucht, 2017. p. 39). Rucht (2017) reminds social movements scholars that this is because movements are “moving targets,” and conceptualizing a social movement to one definition is too “precise” (p. 39). This precision tends to ignore the difference and malleability of each social movement.

The actions that citizens do not have to pertain to the movement’s ultimate goal directly. Instead, participating citizens pursue tactful actions so that the movement can make a social change (Rucht, 2017). Protests and marches are everyday collective actions taken by those participating in the social movement, and bring together citizens into more prominent groups to fight against institutional and political powers. Protest and marches are small acts that overtime can benefit the social movement. However, activism can include actions that are not as centered around gathering in a large formation. Acts of activism can be more individualized. In the context of social movements, *collectivity* links together collective and individual action. Brunsting and Postmes (2002) give the example of writing a letter. Writing a letter is first seen as an individual, act but writing a letter can also serve the purpose of the social movement goal. Overtime, many personal letters create change. This is considered a collective action.

To build upon the theory of social movements, collective identity works alongside collective action. Collective identity helps to explain why and how citizens participate in social movements. As a term used in this research, collective identity is essential as it better helps understand discourse around belonging within social movements. However, Flesher Fominaya (2010) explains that collective identity is abstract in the context of social movements. Melucci (1995) helps break down the concept of collective identity. Melucci (1995) writes that collective identity is the:

> Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientation of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place. (p. 44)

Therefore, collective identity is not fixed but is elastic, and these identities are ever-changing. Boundaries and borders within postcolonial scholarship better help lay a foundation for elastic identities.

Melucci (1995) highlights how language, creators of meaning, and the emotional connection construct a collective identity within a social movement. Melucci (1995) argues that cognitive definitions, like language, culture, practices construct a collective identity. There is an interaction between those who work within and those who speak about the movement (Melucci, 1995). The media and nonprofit organizations all play a part in the collective identity of those participating in the movement. Melucci (1995) adds the construction of a collective identity is through emotional investment. Emotional investment is the binding factor to why people feel connected. Melucci's definition and concept development are helpful to this research, and to understand the process of the collective identity within the Sanctuary Movement.. This research observes the interaction and discussion of belonging and citizenship in nonprofit organizations that work within the Sanctuary Movement.

Media and Social Movements

Mainstream and local news media assists in the construction of a social movements' collective identities (Melucci, 1995). Johnston (2014) observes 2011 as a critical time period that brought together social movements, protesters, and the media. In 2011, the citizen-run oppositional movements took down regimes in Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria (Johnston, 2014). At the same time, the Occupy Movement rose to popularity within Western countries (Johnston, 2014). Johnston (2014) points out that even though these movements had different success rates in fulfilling their goal, they all had a strong relationship with the media. The network connection between media makers, the public, and news outlets gave new strategies for social movement activism.

Studying the media then is not just about studying mainstream news but other forms of media. Rohlinger and Earl (2017) observe the role newspapers play in constructing movement messages and the new approaches needed in social movement research to include other text forms. Rohlinger and Earl (2017) criticize only observing the circulation of newspaper and mainstream media texts. Research about social movements often only focus on one text, leaving out other mediums, which listen to only one group of voices (Rohlinger & Earl, 2017). There has been discussion around social media's role in creating networks within the social movement in more recent years. Penney and Dadas (2014) found that Twitter was critical in mobilizing networks due to the structure and ability to keep texts concise and immediately available. This research explores social movements through various texts, including social media, to avoid the criticisms made by Rohlinger and Earl (2017).

Conclusion

In this theoretical chapter, I observe postcolonial theory, decolonial theory, and collective identity. Though each of these theories independently helps understand concepts of belonging, this project works together to understand better the connection between social structures, history, and recognition. In the postcolonial section, I focus on how recognition and Western influence intersect with belongingness. Using coloniality allows this research to further look at the role of race and racism in the U.S. to define who belongs and who does not belong. Though postcolonialism and coloniality are two different theoretical perspectives, they offer this dissertation a more well-rounded theoretical argument. I also brought into this chapter social movement theory, especially looking at the collective identity. This perspective helps to understand how nonprofits and sanctuary cities work together to support the immigrant community.

In the following analysis chapters, I use postcolonialism and coloniality to guide my methodological approach of discourse analysis. I specifically use the theory to understand broader discourse of belonging and citizenship. Observing municipal media, local and national mainstream news media, and nonprofit media, and using postcolonialism and coloniality offers a basis to analyze these different forms of media. In the next chapter, I will detail my methodological approach, which is followed up by my analysis chapters.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation, I use critical discourse analysis through a sociopolitical lens to guide my methodological research. I was particularly interested in the relationship between power, citizenship, and belonging, using a postcolonial and decolonial theoretical lens to guide my findings. This research observes the interpretation of messages about the conceptualization of sanctuary and the broader context of U.S. society. This methodology combines Hall and Van Dijk's work on discourse analysis.

Hall (1997b) lays the foundation to understand better the text's discursive practices and how it relates to my supporting theoretical lens. In addition, Van Dijk (2008) guides the methodological approach on micro and macro positions. This project observes the representation of citizenship and belonging in media texts by looking beyond the linguistic structures, and towards the media construction by nonprofit organizational media, municipal media, and local/mainstream news media. The project observes these texts and how they relate to the larger conversations surrounding citizenship and belonging. To clarify, this dissertation project does not explain how the audience interprets the media, but instead, I analyze the discursive practices by the media makers. In this chapter, I detail the methodology that guided my approach. I overview how I collected and analyzed each of my data sets and my theoretical approach to drawing my conclusions.

Critical Discourse Analysis

For my methodological approach, I use discourse analysis. Discourse analysis analyzes how the community speaks about sanctuary. Critical discourse analysis considers the role of power, which guides my theoretical framework of postcolonial theory and coloniality. Hall (1997b) writes:

> Discourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society. (p. 6)

Therefore, discourse analysis does not just observe one perspective or formation of the conceptualization of sanctuary through media. Instead, discourse analysis pushes this research to look at varying ways in which media makers and the media itself talks about aspects of citizenship and belonging. The presented theory then helps guide me through answering the following research questions.

R1: How do discourses of citizenship and belonging manifest across various modes of media representations?

R2: How does municipal government media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco represent sanctuary (i.e., local government television, press releases/ news, city run social media)?

R3a: How does local news in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco represent sanctuary (i.e., broadcasting news, newspapers, local radio)?

R3b: What local news stories have risen to national attention?

R4: How do immigrant and refugee nonprofit advocacy organizations in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco use media (i.e., online communication- social media, homesite) to represent sanctuary?

Sample

This research observes media practices in three different areas within Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. This project analyzes how nonprofits, municipalities, and local and national news outlets use media to support immigrant groups. I chose Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco as sites of interest because all three sites are sanctuary jurisdictions.

This project looks at media made by nonprofits, municipal government, local news media, and mainstream news outlets. The media presented looks at media texts between January 2017- January 2020. This time period covers the inauguration of President Trump and the 2020 election proceedings.

Archive for Chapter 4

This project looks at local municipal government press releases, town hall meetings, and social media use when observing municipal government media. For Minneapolis, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, all sites have an open record of their press releases and recorded town hall meetings. To gather my sample, I went on each government website, the mayor's dedicated website, and the municipalities' social media pages (i.e., Facebook, Instagram, YouTube). I visited the city's official dedicated website as well as the mayor's website. In each search function, I used the keywords' *undocumented*, *refugee*, *sanctuary*, and *immigrant* to find media content (See details in Appendix A for a list of sources), as well as the time constraint January 2017- January 2020. Though each city provided differing materials on their webpages, I still tried to constantly observe press releases to see how the local government speaks about sanctuary across the three cities.

Archive for Chapter 5

My dissertation goals were to find news representing sanctuary and how these conversations move to national attention. Therefore, at the local level, this project looks at local mainstream news media, which comes from local mainstream news corporations (i.e., ABC, NBC, CBS, FOX, NPR) articles, local newspaper articles, and local radio shows. This project also observes mainstream broadcast television and print media (i.e., daily newspapers and magazines) to supplement the local news. By observing these varying texts, this project can observe how local news connects to mainstream news. I used the keywords *sanctuary*, *Sanctuary Movement*, *sanctuary city*, *refugee, undocumented* to search for articles and narrow the sample based on the time constraint of January 2017- January 2020. See Appendix B for a more detailed list of local mainstream news sources, and Appendix C for a more detailed list of national mainstream news sources. To further break down the news media sources to a more manageable amount, I only analyzed articles with 200+ words. Therefore, I did not explore articles that had less than 200 words. In the end, I analyzed 524 local mainstream news articles found all online. I also analyzed 53 news articles from national news sources including ABC, NBC, CBS, and NPR and one cable network news source, FOX. I consciously chose to include FOX, as I had also been using their local affiliate news stations. I narrowed down the source list by focusing on articles that mention Philadelphia, San Francisco, or Minneapolis.

Archive for Chapter 6

The sample is from Charity Navigator, which is the U.S. largest nonprofit database. I plugged keywords into the Charity Navigator search engine. The research guided the keywords to help formulate which nonprofits supported the communities of interest. The keywords *sanctuary*, *Sanctuary Movement*, *sanctuary city*, *refugee, immigrant*, *immigration*, *undocumented*, *asylee*, *asylum seeker*, *migrant*, lead us to 50 possible nonprofit 501c3 organizations. To narrow the search down, I placed sample constraints onto the 50 possible organizations. I narrowed down the organizations by 1) if the focus of the organization we're supporting refugee, immigrant, and asylee communities 2) if the organization has a clear staff. These constraints brought the sample down to 17 nonprofit organizations. I then narrowed down my sample even further, requiring an advisory board. These constraints left me with eight nonprofits. See Appendix D for a more detailed sample list.

Analyzing and Interpreting the Text

The initial phase of this research observes the data before analyzing it. The first approach to the research was to take what Hall (1975) calls "a long preliminary soak" of the text (p. 15). By looking closely at all the text and becoming extremely familiar with the contents, I was able to find preliminary themes and categories in the text (Hall, 1975). To approach the preliminary soak, I observed every source I had compiled, from news articles to videos on municipal YouTube pages. I used a preliminary coding sheet to become more familiar with the text (see Appendix E for more detail). The preliminary soak of the material allowed me later to create a more comprehensive coding process. This project does not rely on quantifiable results but is much more about uncovering what Hall (1975) says is "noting and taking account of emphasis" (p. 15). Therefore, I wanted to understand how these differing samples reflected and hit against one another, leading to my final analysis. I observed the entire sample to better get a hold of themes and consistencies in the text. After the preliminary soak, I was able to better create a coding sheet that helped me to focus on themes within the text. For a more detailed coding sheet, see Appendix F.

After the soak, I begin to analyze my texts using the software MAXQDA2020. The software assisted me in keeping track of my sample and codes assigned to the text. I used a more detailed coding sheet, based upon my preliminary soak. After the initial coding process, I went through this process in three rounds. I noticed that I had to refine the process so it would not become overrun with inconsistent themes. However, as I made clear earlier in this chapter, this is not a quantifiable dissertation. Therefore, I did not only rely on just coding. I took notes of themes and ideas in a separate Word document to think through each text. I especially found myself writing more detailed notes about my nonprofit findings. As the nonprofit online space goes beyond news articles, I focused on understanding the organization's online presence more holistically, observing the entirety of the website. Therefore, I did not rely heavily on a coding system for my nonprofit interpretations but rather on my written notes. After this process, I began to write.

After the preliminary soak of the research, I used the work of Van Dijk for a more consistent observation of the data. Research questions 2, 3, 4, and 5 assist in uncovering the main umbrella question R1. Using the framework of Van Dijk (2008) macro, meso, and micro levels, research questions 2, 3,4, and 5 observe media use within specific nonprofit organizations and municipalities, and how the mainstream news media reflects these messages. This research observes citizenship and belonging at the macro, meso, and micro levels through the methodology of critical discourse analysis. Van Dijk (2008) argues that “the microlevel of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro level” (p. 354). Therefore, this project observes the relations to larger macrosystems, and at how the text stands alone as well as speaks for the organization it represents.

I used the theoretical practice of micro, meso, and macro levels to help guide my interpretation of the text. To find the micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis, Van Dijk (2008) breaks them down by looking at four areas. The first category presented by Van Dijk (2003) is the *members-group*. Members-group observes the language used by members. Van Dijk (2008) refers to these groups as “social groups, organizations, or institutions” (p. 355). In this research, the membership groups are the nonprofits that work alongside concepts of sanctuary and members of municipal government groups. The second category discussed by Van Dijk (2008) is the *actions-process*. Van Dijk (2008) argues that a member’s actions are reproductions of the larger social group that they are a part of. Therefore, this research looks at the connection between membership groups and the wider society. The next category is the *context-social structure*, which observes the “discursive interaction” (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 355). Van Dijk (2008) also looks at the systematic relationship between the text and context. The context in this research looks at interpretation as an individual experience, but at the same time, it is a shared experience and is “grounded in social rules and strategies” (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 130). Therefore, as Van Dijk (2008) argues, while these rules and strategies guide the creation of discourse, while taking in personal beliefs and understanding of the world. This then leads to a need to better understand structures that guide this understanding. To help inform the structures that guide beliefs and understandings of individuals, I used concepts from postcolonial and decolonial theory discussed in chapter three.

After gathering my dataset and making an initial interpretation of the media from each city, I wrote three chapters, each chapter dedicated to one of the cities. In each chapter, I focused on answering my research questions. One chapter focused on the findings in Philadelphia, the next was about Minneapolis, and the final chapter focused on San Francisco. I used postcolonial and decolonial theory to inform these chapters but still focused on the singular city to write my interpretation of the text. After singularly observing my findings of each city, I noticed similar observations across each chapter. This process allowed me to observe findings within each city and then cross-examine the findings against one another. This process would guide my final analysis. I argue that because I could observe each city alone and then cross-examine against the other two cities, this helped my interpretation process, which offered me a chance to see themes across the three cities.

Using Van Dijk (2008) micro, meso, and macro levels of analysis allowed me a holistic approach to this research. Beyond just looking at one aspect, I made a conscious effort to look at the role of municipal media, local and national news media, and nonprofit media to understand discourse surrounding belonging and citizenship. At first, I focused on how these cities individually talked about these discourses, which allowed me to see a larger picture of discourses of belonging and citizenship across sanctuary cities.

Conclusion

For my dissertation, I gathered media from Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis. I gathered a large sample of media from the local municipality, local and national news media, and local nonprofits and compared it against national coverage of sanctuary. I also pulled media from nonprofit websites and social media pages, as well as municipal websites.

Using the methodology of critical discourse analysis offered me guidance in how to approach my research. I used Hall's preliminary soak to guide the analysis process and Van Dijk's micro, meso and macro levels. These processes grounded my interpretation, so that I could understand how these different media pieces came together. To further guide this process, I also used theory to help contextualize my interpretation beyond a personal understanding and make sense of structure systems that play into discourse. In the next three chapters, I discuss my analysis pertaining to my findings. I open up discussions of belonging and citizenship, focusing in on media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. My first analysis chapter observes how the municipal media and the local and national mainstream news conceptualize sanctuary.

CHAPTER 4:

SANCTUARY AS PROTECTION

The three cities, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, outwardly created a welcoming representation through their municipal press and websites. For example, a Philadelphia nonprofit visitor's website proclaims Philadelphia is "The City of Brotherly and Sisterly Love" (*Official Philly Tourism and Visitor Information - Visit Philadelphia*, n.d.). San Francisco also has a welcoming persona, the first major West Coast port of entry into the U.S. for immigrants. In Minnesota, the phrase "Minnesota Nice" is seen on memorabilia describing the community value system, where the state is known to welcome outsiders (Brunswick, 2014; Hickey et al., 2016). In addition to these spaces being characterized as welcoming, the municipalities also describe themselves as *sanctuary cities*. This chapter discusses how the Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco municipalities use media to portray themselves as sanctuary cities. The three municipalities promote an identity of protecting diverse communities by calling themselves *sanctuary cities*. The name *sanctuary city* infers that the city follows a non-compliance policy regulated by the city, not the federal government (Villazor & Gulasekaram, 2018). While the municipalities refer to each city as sanctuary cities, I observe how they portray themselves, and how the mainstream local and national news media support and reject this image.

I began exploring how the concept of sanctuary has evolved over time, to help to understand better how both the municipal press media and the local and national mainstream news media drive these personas. I believe that this is important to include in this chapter because there is no clear definition of sanctuary (Paik, 2017; Villazor & Gulasekaram, 2018). Therefore, this research better zones into why different groups (i.e., the mainstream news media, the municipality, participants in the Sanctuary Movement, impacted immigrant communities) use varying definitions of sanctuary. I found there is a basic conceptualization that *sanctuary* means to provide space for those who need protection (Rabben, 2016). I argue sanctuary is a well-meaning act. Still, historically, the religious structures that inspire immigrant belonging also have a history of pushing racist and sexist agendas, paradoxically adding to the unprotection of certain groups. To explain this point further, I bring together literature about sanctuary and turn to the perspective of coloniality, to better understand how the past colonial agendas in the U.S. have perpetuated inequity in the modern-day. I argue that these agendas influence the contemporary immigration executive orders by the Trump administration. U.S. immigration law is not the only entity to establish who belongs and who does not. It is also reflected and instated in how the municipalities and local and national mainstream news media coverage portray themselves.

I break down the chapter into three sections. The first section, "Sanctuary-Ancient to Modern Civilizations," lays out the past and current conceptualizations of the term sanctuary as used in the context of protection. The second section further builds upon the first, exploring sanctuary in the U.S. and religion's paradoxical relationship with protection. I pull from my theoretical lens of postcoloniality and decolonial theory, to understand the underlying structures that create an environment where some groups are protected while others are not. To further move into my analysis, I take this ever-evolving conceptualization of sanctuary and try to I look at how municipalities in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis and local and national mainstream news media in these cities, display sanctuary as protection.

Sanctuary in Ancient and Modern Civilizations

The concept of *sanctuary* is rooted in providing protective spaces for those in need (Rabben, 2016). Sanctuary is used throughout ancient and modern civilizations consistently crossing between the community and the internal need to help others, which often clashes with external regulations by governing forces (Rabben, 2016). Historically, sanctuary is attributed to the religious need to be altruistic (Rabben, 2016). In more modern conceptualizations of the concept, the action of sanctuary is used in social justice movements, though there is no legal definition to the action (Paik, 2017). Therefore, the concept can be interpreted differently when speaking about sanctuary, depending on who uses it and what time in history it is used (Paik, 2017). While the concept shifts away from the religious meaning, sanctuary as an act of protection remains consistent throughout civilizations.

Modern movements' use of the basic conceptualization of sanctuary as protection is like ancient and medieval civilizations. Though sanctuary changes depending on who uses it, where it is used, and what period it arises, there is much to say about comparing the similarities and differences between past and current uses (Paik, 2017; Rabben, 2016). The structure and understanding of the concept changes upon the society it is perceived in. I found that the intermixing of religion, resistance, and authority remains the foundation. Religion as a legitimization for sanctuary is historically the most common reason to offer refuge (Rabben, 2016). According to Rabben (2016), as far back as ancient Greece fugitives were found huddled near the temple of Ephesus. The community did not arrest them, because the temple was considered a sacred space (Rabben, 2016). Historians have also traced the more modern Catholic conceptualization of sanctuary back to medieval history (Rabben, 2016). Before Henry VIII's reign, the law protected religious spaces, which meant that authorities could not permeate the space and arrest those seeking refuge. Henry VIII's abolished of the church's ability to protect fugitives in their religious spaces. However, even Henry VIII used the Old Testament to decide that eight towns would remain sanctuary spaces (Rabben, 2016).

In the U.S., sanctuary appeared in social movements inspired by religious calling. In 1933, Dorothy Day established the Catholic Worker Movement, where the focus was to provide those in need who were suffering from the Great Depression. The church was a place to get food and shelter. The Catholic Worker Movement used its religious foundation to legitimize its objectives. Day said it is important to provide sanctuary space because of religious calling, meaning religion guiding decision-making. In other words, Day's interpretation that God would want people to help one another. Day (1969) writes in one of her letters, "If your brother is hungry, feed him, shelter him. How can you show your love for God except by love for your brother? He who does not love his brother, whom he has seen, how can he love God, whom he has not seen". Beyond just providing shelter, the Catholic Worker Movement community extended the concept of movement from protesting unfair conditions to fighting against injustices like homelessness and unfair wages, which helped to extend their reach across several churches.

Like the Catholic Worker Movement, the Sanctuary Movement in the 1980's also combined social justice for immigrant communities with physical protection. This movement used religion to legitimize the work that they did. Religious congregations led the movement, which focused heavily on providing refuge for undocumented immigrants from Latin America (K. Barron, 2017). Congregations throughout the U.S. would provide Latin American immigrants physical protection from deportation (K. Barron, 2017). The contemporary Sanctuary Movement differs as it expanded its focus beyond ground support and providing refuge (Yukich, 2013). Nowadays, the movement looks at more long-term support, including integration support and immigration policy reform (Yukich, 2013). Even though sanctuary has differed overtime, even the most contemporary Sanctuary Movement still is associated with religious grounding (Freeland, 2010).

Though a community's laws and beliefs may differ depending on the time, the baseline concept of sanctuary throughout ancient and modern civilizations stays the same. The meaning of sanctuary dances between the altruism, community need to help others, and the authorities who regulate these communities (Rabben, 2016). At the same time, religious calling has continuously played a part in reasoning why sanctuary is important. Therefore, while there may be no clear contemporary definition of sanctuary, the conceptualization seems to rely on stressing the importance of assisting those in need through religious calling. Pew Research Center in 2015, studied the varying religious affinities between cities. In Minneapolis, 70% of the population identified as Christian. The study also found that 68% of Philadelphia's population was Christian, and in comparison, only 48% of the population was Christian in San Francisco (Lipka, 2015). These statistics are important when it comes to my discussions around religion. All three cities have populations that lean heavily towards the influence of Christianity. Therefore, while I discuss how religious calling benefits belonging, I also consider its role in creating an us and them dynamic.

Progression of Colonialist Projects

To understand the central component of sanctuary protection, it is essential to understand why some groups are not protected. In the context of studying sanctuary cities, observing the construction of protection in the past and present immigration policies, media, and public rhetoric allows us to uncover the systematic human-made framing of belonging. I use a decolonial lens to uncover these structures and focus on how colonialist and imperialist projects seep into the modern day. I bring this theoretical lens to this analysis chapter, as it sets up how cities that call themselves sanctuaries are not isolated from the colonialist past.

Who belongs and who does not belong is justified and contrasted against the artificial conceptualization of the ideal. The ideal is constructed through classifying individuals to either fit a mold, relying heavily on maintaining structures that benefit Western ideology and epistemology (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). By controlling knowledge structures while maintaining white masculinity as the ideal, colonialist and imperialist projects reinforce current policies and laws that disenfranchise many women and people of color (Lugones, 2007). Colonialism could thrive because these distinctions have been allowed to classify white Christianity as the ideal (Mignolo, 2013). Those in power made these distinctions, to ensure that the ideal man would find differences between themselves and others who did not fit the frame of white Christianity (Mignolo, 2013).

The role of religion can justify the importance of sanctuary but is also used to control the hegemony of white Christian Western epistemologies. Western Christianity continues to push racist and sexist colonialist agendas present in modern times (Kang, 2013; Lugones, 2007; Maldonado-Torres, 2014; Mignolo, 2006, 2013; L. Taylor, 2013). This then creates a paradox. While the Sanctuary Movement is supported and maintained by religious leaders who advocate for the protection of outsiders, religion has also shaped specific communities as outsiders. Therefore, while hospitality to a stranger in religious institutions is a moral expression of being kind and faithful, it is also important to note that Christianity in the West has provided structures to support racism which ultimately has contributed to certain groups feeling unprotected (Pohl, 1999).

Though sanctuary history relies heavily on protection and refuge toward people in need, I also point to the role Western Christianity has played in the inequality structures that exist in the modern day. According to Mignolo (2013), “Christianity formed the Master Voice through which the people, regions of the world and other religions would be classified” (p. 325). This perspective means that Western Christianity is at the center of the modern understanding of importance. This is highly problematic as this perspective would classify white Christian heterosexual men as what everyone else should aspire to be (Lugones, 2007; Maldonado-Torres, 2014). Binaries were created to solidify Christianity as the Master Voice (Maldonado-Torres, 2014). Maldonado-Torres (2014) writes how this comparison places individuals into binaries, either you are “of clergy/laity, nobility/non-nobility, abilities/uninhabitable, and celestial/terrestrial” (p. 695-696). Therefore, to keep remaining in power, it is essential to define someone as not belonging. The usage of binaries allows colonizers to determine who belongs and who does not. Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2018) argues that these binaries are tools which ultimately spread and promoted their dominance by grouping those who do not fit the mold as ‘other.’ An example of this occurrence was in Minnesota when the government allowed

Christian missionaries to take young indigenous children from their homes and force them to attend a Christian institution. The indigenous children were forced into boarding schools to assimilate into ‘civilized’ European life (Ratsabout, n.d.). Because missionaries and the U.S. government deemed indigenous people as uncivilized, this rationalized the kidnapping of children. However, even with the indoctrination of indigenous people into white Christianity, the color of their skin would still prevent them from the status of their white predecessors.

During the Trump administration, religion, immigration, and politics once again came together. According to Margolis (2020), the Trump administration focused on the recruitment of conservative white evangelicals, blending politics with religion. Trump played into the traditionalist role of conservatism, focusing much of his campaign on taking on an extreme conservative perspectives on immigration and abortion, which aligned with traditionalist evangelicalism (Margolis, 2020). In the Trump era, this is mainly a cause for concern because the role of religion and state became incredibly clouded. During the Trump administration, Ülgül (2021) found that their deeply rooted relationship with conservative religious evangelicals not only connected with white nationalism but pushed white nationalism and religion into foreign policies.

The conceptualization of power projects the white man as the ideal, which promotes and stabilizes otherness into modern U.S. society (Mignolo, 2013). The expansion of Eurocentricity and acceptance of the West African slave trade in the U.S. is tied to contemporary U.S. immigration policies and racial and gender inequality. Mignolo (2013) argues that “slavery exploitation, appropriation of land all of which will supposedly be ‘corrected’ with the ‘advance of modernity and democracy when all arrive at the stage in which justice and equality will be for all" (p. 320). The establishment of binaries that counter the ideal man helps rationalize why certain races, nationalities, and genders are considered less than and undeserving of protection.

I observe how slavery has contributed to current immigration policies, structural inequality, and modern advocacy work. On the one hand, the Underground Railroad network has roots in sanctuary practices, where abolitionists guided enslaved people between houses to avoid arrest. The houses were spaces of refuge, while the action also supported the anti-slavery movement. Sanctuary spaces were needed because of the national and worldwide acceptance of slavery. What guides this dissertation is the concept of modern equality not being equal, meaning that the Western African slave trade and constructions of otherness impact experiences of people of color in modern society. Slavery in the 1800s was an act of forced migration and exploitation of the labor of African people. Slaveowners and the states were able to legitimize the imprisonment of African people by claiming they were sub-human, juxtaposing traits like skin color against whiteness, English against non-English language, and Christianity against other religions (Mignolo, 2013). Modernism attempts to steer away from these colonialist practices like slavery and argues that these practices no longer exist. However, exclusionary immigration policies established by the Trump administration can be traced back to slavery.

While contemporary sanctuary advocacy connects to the practices of abolitionist advocacy, colonialist projects also seep into contemporary state-enforced control of immigration mobility. Sharma (2020) uses the phrase "freedom to move", which helps better paint the connection between slavery, modern immigration, and mass incarceration

(p. 3). The control of mobility arose in the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which allowed for the capture of slaves, breaking away from the Fourth Amendment, which would protect enslaved people from “search and seizure”. However, the common belief was that slaves were less than human (Roy, 2019). “Search and seizure” enabled local police to kidnap those thought to be runaway slaves (Roy, 2019). Sharma (2020) argues that maintaining this structure after abolition allowed for “carceral methods of control and discipline were enacted against formerly enslaved people”, so that people of color would have a more challenging time questioning and protesting about these policies (p. 2).

Like the Fugitive Slave Act, Jim Crow Laws regulated and restricted people of color movement within a so-called free and equal nation (Foner & Alba, 2010; Sharma, 2020). Roy (2019) argues that the Trump administration’s executive orders regulating immigrant migration can be “understood in relation to antebellum fugitive slave laws” of enforcement of mobility of undocumented immigrants (p. 765). The executive orders like the Fugitive Slave Act criminalized and demonized immigrants of color, by taking away their rights and demeaning them illegal not just in the law but through anti-immigrant rhetoric and representation (Roy, 2019). The executive orders by the Trump administration mimicked the Fugitive Slave Act by okaying ICE to detain suspected undocumented immigrants, breaking again from the Fourth Amendment, which protects people from illegal search and seizures (Roy, 2019). According to Roy (2019), the Trump administration forwarding negative stereotypes about immigrants of color, pushes forward agendas connected to slavery.

The control of industry is another way colonial projects seep into contemporary inequality (Mignolo, 2013). Immigration laws from the 1800s allowed white immigrants to take ownership of land, while the government did not offer people of color and other immigrants the same rights (Ratsabout, n.d.). In Minnesota, the Homestead Act of 1862 allowed 480,000 European settlers to take ownership of occupied indigenous land. In contrast, by the mid-1800s, the U.S government exiled the indigenous people off the ground into reservations. At the same time, the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux allowed European immigrants to move onto the Dakota and Ojibwe land (Ratsabout, n.d.). According to Minnesota Magazine, the governor Alexander Ramsey said that “The Sioux (Dakota) Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond Minnesota’s borders.” In the following months, residents found several indigenous men hanging, pushing the belief that indigenous people were not welcoming in Minnesota.

The role religion has played a part in belonging but is often missing from conversations about sanctuary. Often the role of religion is commended as a legitimization for providing sanctuary. However, my argument is that religion has assisted in creating feelings of not belonging and reclusiveness, which has trickled into racist immigration policies. This is important when it comes to conversations about sanctuary jurisdictions, as much of the discussion about sanctuary is in the realm of secularism. However, I argue that religion, racial biases, and immigration are all interlinked. Therefore, as much as the U.S. law calls for a separation of church and state, the influences by Western religious institutions, based on white Christianity, still penetrates these laws and policies.

Rise of Sanctuary Cities

The term *sanctuary* and *sanctuary city* balance between religious calling and secular governing when discussing sanctuary. Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, the three cities discussed in this research, are all considered sanctuary cities and have religious sanctuary history. For example, sanctuary can be traced back to the 1980s when churches would provide safety for undocumented immigrants in San Francisco and neighboring Bay Area cities. In contrast, the municipal policy of sanctuary added additional protection. Jose Artiga, known as one of the first undocumented immigrants in San Francisco, found sanctuary in the Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church. Artiga had initially fled from El Salvador, escaping government-supported assassins. As the city applied sanctuary protection, the church added physical protection (McDede, 2018).

Unlike San Francisco, who has had a long history with religious and municipal sanctuary, Minneapolis' sanctuary policy and religious spaces did not appear simultaneously. The religious sanctuary has been active longer than the city's sanctuary policies. Prior to Minnesota becoming a sanctuary city, Minnetonka, Minnesota, a small town right outside of Minneapolis, became known in the early Sanctuary Movement for the case of Gonzalo de Jesus Larin-Lara, known in the national media as the pseudonym Rene Hurtado[1]. Even though Hurtado's case received significant media coverage, the city did not become a sanctuary city until 2016 (Brewer, 2007). In 2003, Minneapolis became a sanctuary city officially through a city council vote. The jurisdiction prevented the city police from asking individuals to see their immigration papers (Hirsi, 2016).

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[1] Larin-Lara claimed that he had tortured prisoners under a U.S led government program during his life in El Salvador. Larin-Lara found sanctuary in the Presbyterian Church. However, ICE officials refused Larin-Lara's residency, as they claimed that he had participated in horrific crimes against people.
On the other hand, Larin-Lara was also was a stark critic of the U.S involvement in these crimes. He also argued that law enforcement misinterpreted his crimes when they interviewed him. It took 25 years until the U.S Department of immigration granted Larin-Lara permeant residency (Brewer, 2007).

In Philadelphia, like Minneapolis, the rise of the sanctuary movement happened prior to the city becoming a sanctuary city. In the 1980s, Quaker churches agreed in solidarity to protect undocumented immigrants and refugees (Hirsi, 2016). The Jewish community also became active in the Sanctuary Movement. Mishkan Shalom, a local synagogue in the area, became involved in the original Sanctuary Movement. Christian congregations like the Central Baptist Church were also present in the 1980s original Sanctuary Movement. Though the Sanctuary Movement in Philadelphia was present, it was not until September 11, 2001, that a resurgence of xenophobic immigration executive orders brought attention to the Sanctuary Movement. (Vitiello, 2019). By 2007, a resurgence of an offshoot of the original Sanctuary Movement, termed the New Sanctuary Movement, began to transition into a U.S. coalition, popping up in numerous urban cities including Philadelphia (Vitiello, 2019). Though each sanctuary organization had a differing strategy, the NSM focused on connecting the immigrant population with the local congregations' activist work. The nonprofit worked alongside the religious congregations who in the past participated in the older movement, but in Philadelphia, the movement began to center around NSM. Though the movement and activist had a history stemming from the 1980s, it was not until 2010 that Mayor Nutter stated that Philadelphia officials would not include identifying information of witnesses and criminals (Irby, 2017).

By 2014, Nutter signed the anti-deportation executive order making ICE holds no longer mandatory, but later rescinded the order after leaving office (Irby, 2017).

However, Jim Kenney reinstated the order two weeks later after entering office in 2015. The following year the Obama administration stated that even with executive orders put in place by the municipality, the administration could detain previously charged undocumented immigrants (Irby, 2017). While the municipalities of San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis called themselves sanctuary cities by the time the Trump administration entered office, the federal government argued that the cities were breaking the law and threatened to take away funding from them.

In the first part of this chapter, I laid out the complex meaning of sanctuary and sanctuary city. I look at how these cities historically have participated in the religious sanctuary and calling the municipality a sanctuary jurisdiction. I argue that though sanctuary offers protection, underneath the concept of both religious and secular sanctuary, not belonging based upon race, religion, gender, and nationality has limited certain immigrant groups from feeling like they are protected. So, while my research is looking at municipal media and local and national mainstream news media during the Trump administration, I argue that these systems of inequality are not new. However, the Trump administration has fueled these systems of inequality by blaming sanctuary cities for inciting danger towards U.S citizens. The Trump administration is trying to keep these colonial systems of power in place. I bring up the colonialist history of sanctuary cities because the local and national mainstream news media often delineates sanctuary as either protective of immigrant groups or disobedient of the federal government, even though the conceptualization of sanctuary is much more complicated. Therefore, I believe that the meaning and history of sanctuary is lost, which ultimately rears away from the original meaning and overlooks the colonialist past that reinforces inequality in the U.S.

Sanctuary as Protection or Disobedience

In this research, I observed how the Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco municipalities claim sanctuary jurisdictions, representing themselves as sanctuary jurisdictions. Earlier in this chapter, I displayed how the Trump immigration policies interconnect with past antebellum slavery laws. Combining my dissertation findings with the decolonial perspective uncovers the complexity of what protection is in U.S. cities, especially in cities that follow sanctuary jurisdictions. To uncover this, I observed if and how the local and national mainstream news media and municipalities represent sanctuary cities and how that aligns with sanctuary goals. I found that the local and national mainstream news relies on either the cities' protection towards immigrant communities or disobedience towards federal government policies. Because the local and national mainstream news media shows sanctuary in two different images, disobedient or protective, this contributes to the confusion about who is protected in a sanctuary jurisdiction.

I noticed in my discourse analysis that the local and national mainstream news rarely reported on the implications of racial and sexist inequality on protection, which are at the core of sanctuary policies and immigration executive orders. Instead, the mainstream news media would focus on how the federal government and the sanctuary cities clashed over the legality of the policies and who controls these policies. While historically sanctuary jurisdictions mean protection, I found that the concept transformed to meaning disobedience. The clash between the municipality and the federal government, which is present in the local and mainstream news media, is important to point out because it not only blurs the meaning of what it is to be a sanctuary jurisdiction, but also has the potential to confuse the immigrant community about who is truly protected by the city that claims their protection. Therefore, I found that there were two significant areas that contributed to the changing meaning of sanctuary, from protection to disobedience. The first was the emphasis by the local and national mainstream news on sanctuary cities as disobedient spaces. The second was how the municipal government defined the city as sanctuary.

When looking at municipal media versus mainstream news media, I found differences between the two. Municipal media often created an image to seemingly be open to immigrant communities, while the local and national mainstream media balanced between the image of sanctuary cities as both protective and disobedient spaces. One way the local and national mainstream news media confronted these two different interpretations of sanctuary and sanctuary cities, was focusing on the role of the mayor and how the mayor represented and fought against the Trump administration's immigration policies. Focusing on the role of the mayor in these debates was a common theme found in mainstream local and national media across all three cities. Because mayors are elected officials by the public, their intentions and beliefs can be seen as generally representative of the broader population and reflected in their actions (Einstein et al., 2020).

The local and national mainstream news media focused much more heavily on the legality of sanctuary, using the mayor as a symbolic tool that fights against the federal government. The local and national mainstream news media in Philadelphia heavily reported on the role of Mayor Kenney and how he advocates for sanctuary city status while contrasting this stance against the Trump administration. For example, on June 6, 2018, an article from the local Philadelphia mainstream news channel CBS focused on the relationship between the Trump administration and the municipality. On the one hand, the article points out that the federal government fears that sanctuary cities offer the chance for undocumented immigrants to reoffend. The article also covers Mayor Kenney's stance and quotes him, arguing that, "This country was not created to be divided, it was created to be united" (CBS Philly, 2018). In another article by the local CBS in San Francisco, the report covers Trump repeating his views on undocumented immigrants, where he outwardly tweets out the racist viewpoint, "Due to the fact that Democrats are unwilling to change our very dangerous immigration laws, we are indeed, as reported, giving strong considerations to placing Illegal Immigrants in Sanctuary Cities only" (CBS SF BayArea, 2018). While the report does include a quote by a spokeswoman of Nancy Pelosi that argues the Trump administration is, "using human beings- including little children- as pawns in their warped game to perpetuate fear and demonize immigrants," little explanation or background is provided on the demonization of immigrants. Reporting sanctuary cities as both protective and disobedient spaces also occurs in national mainstream news media. In a similar article by NBC national mainstream news entitled, "Sessions Targets Four 'Sanctuary Cities' for Punishment," quotes Jeff Sessions, who calls sanctuary jurisdictions "protection of criminal aliens." The article later points to the mayors as the protectors of immigrant rights under sanctuary jurisdictions. Therefore, though these news reports indicate contrasting views about sanctuary cities, covering both views also displays how divided people are on the subject. Sanctuary then becomes a concept embedded in protection and rooted in disobedience, which the local and national mainstream news reinscribes in their media.

To further cloud the meaning of sanctuary, the local news media in Minneapolis expressed the confusion, because the leaders of the cities refrain from adopting the title 'sanctuary city'. According to a local news article in the Star Tribune, the Minneapolis mayor again does not always call the city 'sanctuary'. Belz (2018) covers views of whether Minneapolis is truly a sanctuary city and what constitutes a sanctuary city in an online news article entitled, "Minneapolis to hire immigration staffer amid federal crackdown" (Belz, 2018). Belz (2018) explained that though the city has ordinances that disallow Minneapolis police officers and city authorities from acting as immigration officials, there remains confusion about sanctuary. Because the municipalities and the local and national news media are unclear about which cities are sanctuary city, and what it means to be a sanctuary city, this can lead to questions about who is genuinely protected under these ordinances. In my analysis of municipal media, I found that because mayors do not always express the city as a sanctuary city, this gives space for negative conceptions of sanctuary to come through, as the cities themselves do not necessarily call themselves the term 'sanctuary city'. In Minneapolis, only 46 out of 117 articles even included talk about sanctuary cities.

I found that the mayor in Philadelphia bounces between calling the city a 'sanctuary city' or a 'Fourth Amendment city.' I argue that this is problematic, as a different name adds to the confusion of what constitutes a sanctuary city. Though a Philadelphia municipal press release from March 15, 2017, indicates why sanctuary cities are and should be legal spaces for refuge, it also indicates how Kenney bounces between the language of the Fourth Amendment and sanctuary city (Office of the Mayor, 2017). In local news, Kenney uses the language of 'Fourth Amendment city'. He is quoted in

The Philadelphia Inquirer article from December 6, 2016, saying, “We will continue to be a Fourth Amendment city, abiding by the constitution” (Vargas, 2016). Because cities control much of the immigration process, it benefits the immigrant community when mayors are firm about their immigration laws and policies (Ho, 2017).

Unlike Philadelphia’s Mayor Kenney, who tends to call the city a Fourth Amendment city, in San Francisco, Mayor London Breed is clear about the city as a sanctuary city. On the San Francisco municipal website, the phrase “We Are a Sanctuary City” is central (*Sanctuary City*, n.d.). In the subtext, the city claims that San Francisco has proudly been a sanctuary city since 1989. Also written on the website is the sentence, “We will stand shoulder-to-shoulder with our immigrant communities and fight for the progress we’ve achieved in this city. We are a sanctuary city, now, tomorrow, and forever” (*Sanctuary City*, n.d.). The symbolism of standing in solidarity with the immigrant community displays how the city conceptualizes itself as a sanctuary city that protects the immigrant community. Using this supportive rhetoric towards the immigrant community pushes forward the image that San Francisco is a culture of hospitality which Vrasti & Dayal (2016) argue is important to feelings of belonging. This also demonstrates how San Francisco municipality considers itself a sanctuary city. The news media captures the city as a sanctuary through stories that centered around the mayor.

Later on, in the municipal press media, the mayor’s support of sanctuary cities is blatant. For example, Mayor Breed, stated on January 30, 2019, press conference that “San Francisco is proud to stand as a sanctuary city... We are a city that is surrounded by bridges, not divided by walls” (Breed, 2019a). This quote symbolizes that San Francisco is a sanctuary city and what sanctuary means to the city, which is welcoming and protecting newcomers. Later in a June 21, 2019 press release, Mayor Breed (2019b) said:

> It is unconscionable that the Federal administration is targeting innocent immigrant families with secret raids that are designed to indict as much fear and pain as possible. Here in San Francisco, we will always demonstrate our values of diversity and inclusiveness by being a sanctuary city that stands up for all our residents and neighbors. (Breed, 2019b)

Again, this statement is an example that sanctuary policies help and support the immigrant community and protect them from harmful and discriminatory policies.

Though San Francisco's mayor is outspoken about sanctuary policies, the Philadelphia mayor's stance is broadcasted in the national mainstream news media. In my analysis, I found that all the primary national mainstream news sources ABC, NBC, CBS, and FOX, mention Mayor Kenney as a supporter of sanctuary policies. At the same time, Mayor Edward Lee[2] and Mayor Breed are invisible in the conversations and are mentioned less frequently. During the Trump administration, Mayor Lee and Mayor Breed were both outspoken against immigration policies, and that San Francisco was a sanctuary city. Mayor Lee and Mayor Breed are both people of color, and Mayor Breed is an African American woman. I noticed that the mainstream national media spoke about Mayor Kenney, a white man, more often, where Mayor Kenney was mentioned 15 times, Mayor Lee four times, and Breed was not mentioned at all.

Though Mayor Breed's municipal website is much more outspoken about using sanctuary rhetoric than Mayor Kenney, she is not mentioned in any national news articles that I observed. There are many different indicators of why this maybe, but to mention that Mayor Kenney is a white male political figure versus Breed, a woman of color, is important, especially when discussing whose voice is considered necessary in these issues. According to Gershon (2012), women of color in politics are far less likely to get news coverage of their messages. Unlike white women and men of color, the women of color face a double barrier, which Gershon (2012) attributes to the media bias of those reporting the news. The reporters may unconsciously see that a white man may be more representative as a stereotypical political figure. In this case, I believe this is important to acknowledge. The San Francisco's mayor is the most outspoken in favor of calling the city a sanctuary city, but it is Philadelphia's mayor that gets much more mainstream national news coverage. I would argue that the implications of this once again cloud the meaning of sanctuary. Not reporting on a mayor that firmly stands by being a sanctuary city opens space for more negative connotations of sanctuary.

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[2] Edward Lee was the mayor of San Francisco from 2011-2017. London Breed is the current mayor of San Francisco from 2017-.

In my observations of local and national mainstream news media and local municipal press media that cover sanctuary cities, the concept of sanctuary remains unclear. The concept of 'sanctuary cities' can be taken from many different angles, leading to the possibility of confusion about what sanctuary real means. While the mayors' support of sanctuary indicates that the city is protective of the immigrant population, I also found that in both Minneapolis and Philadelphia, the mayors do not directly use the term *sanctuary city* to describe their city. Though the mayors may comply with sanctuary ordinances, they use descriptors like "Fourth Amendment city" in their rhetoric. I argue there are implications of not embracing the label of sanctuary city completely like in San Francisco, as it can confuse the local consumers of media about who these ordinances protect, which include the immigrant population who are directly impacted by these policies. As the municipalities are unclear about their stance towards sanctuary cities, the local and national news media would frame sanctuary cities as either protective or disobedient. While the news informs about sanctuary policies, it also gives space for arguments against sanctuary policies that are grounded in racist beliefs towards immigrants of color.

Multiculturalism Instead of Protection

As I discussed in the previous section, the concept of sanctuary is observed from many angles, often making it detrimental to understanding who is truly protected. In my analysis, I found that the municipalities in Philadelphia and Minneapolis do not always use the direct language of sanctuary, but instead gear their municipal press media towards a multicultural identity, and though cities may claim sanctuary, their representation through their press media leans more towards a welcoming persona. While San Francisco uses media to promote a protective representation using direct language in conjunction with sanctuary, I argue that Minneapolis and Philadelphia lean towards a multicultural representation to refrain from fully embracing a sanctuary identity. I found that the cities would create a welcoming persona instead of displaying protection. This section observes how, even with good intent, cities embrace the multicultural identity giving into colonialist projects.

The municipalities claim they are sanctuary jurisdictions that are protective of immigrant communities. However, they are not detached from the colonialist agendas that I overviewed at the beginning of this chapter. In my analysis of municipal press media in Philadelphia and Minneapolis, city officials use artificial ways to represent their community as protective. The cities focus on creating this protective persona by promoting multiculturalism through city-sponsored events. Relying so heavily on this persona could shield the inequity within these municipalities and the complicated nature of sanctuary policies. I explain that while municipalities use multiculturalist events to highlight differences, these events also simplify immigrant communities. The immigrant community can never fully become part of the dominant community. On the other hand, without these cities representing themselves as sanctuary, immigrant communities are left in a potential space of limbo, thinking there are no communities open to them.

All three municipalities rely on welcoming partnerships with organizations that promote protective environments for immigrants. The collaboration puts forth the image that the municipalities are welcoming by supporting events showing the different immigrant groups in their city. I would argue that the guest and host relationship between the municipality and the immigrant is centered around creating a culture of hospitality. Philadelphia and Minneapolis are associated with the Welcoming America Network. The Welcoming America Network is a nonprofit organization that works directly with cities to build programming to better welcome immigrant populations. In a quantitative study of the Welcoming America Network, Huang and Liu (2018) found that participation in the network allowed higher recognition of the immigrant population, evolving into feelings of belonging. For example, in Minneapolis, the city participates in Welcoming Week and World Refugee Welcoming Day. In the Welcoming Week celebration video, the narrator explains that the week brings together immigrants and refugees and the local community through multicultural activities, like cultural dancers, art, and food (Office of Immigrant Affairs, 2019; Office of the Mayor, 2016). This kind of event is a way for the local municipality to demonstrate their inclusion and the diversity of different cultures.

In Minneapolis, the municipality uses video to help establish this welcoming relationship. The 2011 video *Hello Neighbor* introduces the 2010 municipal-supported program that displayed how welcoming the city was to outsiders (City of Minneapolis, 2011). The municipality hangs onto images of diversity, representing its stance on who belongs to the local community. This video is found on the City of Minneapolis YouTube page and only is two minutes in length. The video begins with the establishing shot of Minneapolis. The video cuts to images of different people walking around the streets of Minneapolis. The people range in race, age, and ethnicity, heralding a multicultural aesthetic. The background narrator explains how Minneapolis municipal programs greet outsiders from diverse backgrounds, specifically calling out the Burmese, Ethiopian, and Somali residents, hinting towards the established refugee communities. The narrator goes into explaining that the program connects current residents with new residents. The municipality put together gift bags for new residents to symbolize welcoming, including a local map, water bottle, and information to help them settle into the community. Though the program no longer exists, the Hello Neighbor sentiment has continued to be present in the refugee and immigrant community's municipal outlook.

In addition, on the walls of city, a mural on the third floor of City Hall is entitled "El Camino del Corazón," translated to "The Journey of the Heart" (Pheifer, 2018). The mural is colorful and centers around two individuals flying with monarch wings in opposite directions. The mural symbolizes "the movement across borders, barriers, and boundaries to reach their aspirations." Frey dedicates the mural to members of the immigrant community (Pheifer, 2018). Another mural in the Wellstone International High School depicts the welcoming of refugee students. This mural has painted faces of teenagers surrounded by the Minneapolis landscape. Words in different alphabets surround one teenager. These murals demonstrate how Minneapolis institutions portray themselves as a space of refuge and support to immigrant communities.

Similar to Minneapolis, Philadelphia uses events to connect to the immigrant community. In a press release in 2016 entitled "City of Philadelphia Recognizes World Refugee Day 2016," the municipality stated that the day was to "Create a welcoming community." Mayor Kenney said in a press release:

> Philadelphia welcomes refugees from diverse language and cultural backgrounds from all over the world…In our city, each of these new communities can find safety, acceptance, and a community of faith, and a government that is working to create access to necessary services in their native language. (Office of Immigrant Affairs, 2019)

Akin to Minneapolis, this statement offers a glimpse into how Kenney's office hopes to welcome immigrants through the acceptance of multiculturalism, displayed through the language of diversity. In a statement found on the Philadelphia Office of Immigrant Affairs, Kenney refers to the municipality as a "welcoming city". In 2019, Love Park was used as the location of Immigrant Heritage Month and offered a symbolic message that Philadelphia welcomes immigrants (Office of Immigrant Affairs, 2019). These events are a form of recognition of immigrant and refugee groups in the cities on the surface. A multicultural community runs on celebrating the uniqueness of each culture (Ang, 2001).

Promoting and building a multicultural environment helps outsiders feel recognized (Bhabha, 1996). These events are a way to demonstrate and celebrate the diversity of the city. To employ the image that the city is welcoming and protective towards immigrants. Bhabha (1996) refers to multiculturalism as a "mosaic plurality," which means that there must be a balance "between diversity and unity" (Gilroy, 2009, p.

671). Multiculturalist structures allow for an emphasis on diversifying a community instead of segregating the community into distinctive groupings (Lentin & Titley, 2011). However, though these events highlight various cultures that make up the city, multiculturalism can hide the inequality that manifests in U.S. society (Bhabha, 1996).

Taylor (1992) argues that one's identity and belonging are impacted by being recognized or not recognized in society. Recognition is a strategy to help create a culture of hospitality. A culture of hospitality is when the host, which would be the municipality, can create civic welcoming and inclusion (Vrasti & Dayal, 2016). The consequences of relying solely on creating a culture of hospitality are that inclusion ignores the power structures that exist between host and guest (Vrasti & Dayal, 2016). In this case, those who hold citizenship and those who do not have very different experiences. Though multiculturalism aims for everyone to be recognized, in fact, specific groups are more recognized than others (Taylor, 1992). Taylor (1992) argues that recognition plays into how one feels towards belonging. For example, a day highlighting another culture can seem like the community diversifies and celebrates cultures outside of Americanness. For Philadelphia's municipality and Minneapolis' municipality to hang onto these events to establish a space for diversity, on the one side opens feelings of recognition to the immigrant community.

On the other side, these municipal acts risk glorify events and holidays. These events display that the municipality may be welcoming but masks modern culture's structural inequality between outsiders and insiders. Taylor (1992) points out that the hegemony remains in power even when multiculturalist strategies exist. Though these events are, at face value, how the cities embrace recognition of otherness, they also can glorify stereotypical aspects of culture. Bhabha (2006) questions the concept of multiculturalism by pointing out, “Cultural diversity is the recognition of pre given cultural “contents” and customs, held in a time frame of relativism; it gives rise to anodyne liberal notions of multiculturalism, cultural exchange, or the culture of humanity” (p. 206). Bhabha argues that reliance on the conception of cultural diversity ignores the privilege that exists. According to Parekh (1997), “respect for a person involves locating him against his cultural background, sympathetically entering into his world of thought and interpreting his conduct in terms of its system of meaning” (p.240–241). Parekh’s (1997) takes on the epistemological normality and how the multicultural acts can objectify a different culture as other. The events allow the other to be visible but passive and speechless, meaning they are relying on these events to be recognized.

This section discusses how Philadelphia and Minneapolis’ municipalities promote welcoming through multicultural participatory activities like city-wide cultural events. Though these events recognize and lead to feelings of belonging for immigrant groups, the event also risk promoting otherness. I added this section into this chapter, because San Francisco’s municipal media relied heavily on stating that the city was a sanctuary city and provided many supporting materials for those seeking sanctuary. In Minneapolis and Philadelphia, the municipal press releases focused more heavily on using welcoming language signifying immigrant support but rarely mentioning sanctuary. I also added this section, as sanctuary is associated with protection closely relating protection to welcoming.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the complicated meaning of sanctuary and sanctuary cities. While the sanctuary cities are protective spaces for those seeking refuge, I argue that without a clear definition and clear support by municipalities, those who need protection are left potentially with a chaotic understanding if they belong or do not belong to their host city.

The concept of sanctuary is rooted in protective spaces for those seeking refuge and legitimized through religious calling. As I displayed in this chapter, sanctuary has been used throughout civilizations to shelter those in need (Rabben, 2016). While sanctuary is portrayed as a progressive approach to protect outsiders, I used the first part of this chapter to overview the paradoxical relationship between religion’s role in belongingness. I observed how modern racial inequalities are attached to slavery and other colonial agendas that justified inequity. I used a postcolonial and decolonial lens to discuss the role of modernism, which has allowed these acts of hospitality to cover up the inequality that exists and has existed in contemporary immigration policies in the U.S. Using a decolonial lens, I argue that religion is used to legitimize otherness, which has continued through modern practices how current inequalities are not dissolved from the past (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018; Mignolo, 2013). Therefore, I argue that in modern terms in the U.S., the term *sanctuary* on the surface often is thought of as either being protective or disobedient. Still, calling a municipality a “sanctuary city” does not disseminate them from the colonialist projects in modern immigration policies.

I observed municipal government media and local and national mainstream news media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco to understand better how these so-called sanctuary jurisdictions represent themselves as protective spaces. I wanted to see how these cities attempt to display their acceptance of the immigrant population and protection of the communities. Instead of focusing on providing sanctuary, I noticed that Minneapolis and Philadelphia presented themselves as multicultural. Though this does help to celebrate different cultures, it also can paradoxically stereotype them. Multiculturalism is not simply an acceptance of the multitude of cultures, but also is a colonial project can be used to cover up the structured racist and sexist immigration policies that exist (Lugones, 2007).

While the municipalities represent multiculturally, the local and national mainstream news media reduces sanctuary cities to protective or disobedient spaces. The mayors are used as symbolic representations of sanctuary cities and are either trying to protect immigrant groups or be disobedient against the federal government. Still, mayors from Philadelphia and Minneapolis refrain from directly referring to the city as ‘sanctuary’. In contrast, in San Francisco, the mayor outrightly calls the city sanctuary. I argue this adds to the confusion about the meaning of sanctuary and who sanctuary protects. Therefore, when the mainstream news media and municipalities gloss over and ignore the more complex histories, the complexities of protection in sanctuary cities are overshadowed by the simplification of either being protective, disobedient, or multicultural. Exploring how the concept has evolved assists me in uncovering the in-between space where colonialist projects in the modern day still influence racist and sexist immigration laws and policies.

CHAPTER 5:

SANCTUARY AS DESERVINGNESS

During the Trump presidential campaign and into his 2017-2021 presidency, the administration relied heavily on using negative rhetoric towards undocumented immigrant communities to reinforce the stereotype that these communities are dangerous (Gonzalez O'Brien et al., 2019). Trump used the concept of not deserving to fuel negative portrayals of undocumented immigrants, which the administration would reiterate throughout his campaign and into his presidency. In his 2016 campaign speech in Arizona, Trump said that undocumented immigrants in sanctuary cities caused crime and harm to U.S. citizens. Before Trump's inauguration, he focused much of his campaign around this argument that undocumented immigrants were a threat to U.S. citizens, focusing on the impact of sanctuary cities (Hooghe & Dassonneville, 2018):

> Then there is the issue of security. Countless innocent American lives have been stolen because our politicians have failed in their duty to secure our borders and enforce our laws. I have met with many of the parents who lost their children to Sanctuary Cities and open borders. (Trump, 2016)

In this tweet, Trump (2016) contrasts the "innocent American lives" to the "lost their children to Sanctuary Cities and open borders," inferring Americans are chaste, and immigrants put them in danger. Focusing on sanctuary cities is a way for Trump to point the finger and blame the mayors who declare sanctuary jurisdictions. Trump's anti-immigration rhetoric towards the border demonstrates the deeply rooted stereotypes of people of color, particularly people from Latin America (Yukich, 2013). While I observed sanctuary cities in the previous chapter and how municipalities use media to portray themselves as protective spaces, in this chapter, I wanted to delve deeper into how mainstream local and national news media reacted and responded to the Trump administration pushing forward anti-immigrant rhetoric.

I used discourse analysis and analyzed 332 local San Francisco mainstream local news reports, 75 reports from Philadelphia, and 117 news reports from Minneapolis. I also analyzed 53 national mainstream news articles and reports. I pulled the sample from traditional local news media outlets, ABC, NBC, CBS, and FOX. I also observed national mainstream news media articles and reports from NPR, ABC, CBS, NBC, and the cable news network FOX. Additionally, I observed local online newspapers based in the three cities (See Appendix B for a more detailed list). By finding consistencies and inconsistencies between how the mainstream local news talks about the immigrant population and sanctuary cities, and how the mainstream media discusses themes of deservingness.

In some instances, I observed that particular immigrant groups were left out of this narrative entirely. While these news media outlets characterize certain immigrant groups as either “undeserving” or “deserving,” critical coverage about the Trump administration’s new immigrant regulations are not as popular. This is problematic, as the heavy coverage of the deservingness frame camouflages the Trump administration’s racist and authoritarian views towards particular immigrant groups. Though Trump relied on this harmful rhetoric, these stereotypes are not new but have historical roots in racist immigration regulations.

This chapter breaks down my observations and findings about deservingness of protection in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco local mainstream news media, as well as a look at which stories arose into the national news. The chapter first focuses on the association between crime and immigrants, and immigration history that has contributed to stereotypes about certain immigrant groups. I discuss how specific media framing techniques contribute to deservingness, focusing on the family frame, model minority frame, and vulnerability frame. While much of this chapter focuses on how the mainstream local and national news media use framing to display deserving protection, I further discuss the potential ramifications towards the immigrant community and the conception of sanctuary when relying on this framing method.

Framing Deservingness Through Latino Threat Narrative

How the mainstream news writes about deservingness and not deserving of protection varies across news production companies, local and national coverage, and states[3]. In this research, I looked extensively at the news media and how stories about sanctuary arose in the news. I noticed that local and national mainstream news media used framing as a technique to tell a story. Framing a story in a particular way assists in explaining why there may be a positive or negative public perception towards an immigrant community. In this chapter, I focus heavily on the conceptualization of deservingness, and how the news media would frame immigrants as either deserving or undeserving of protection and citizenship. I use past research on deservingness frames to better support my findings. I noticed that both local and national mainstream news media employed a variety of frames, which also offer a look into how the news media perpetuates characterizations of immigrant groups. This short section overviews the framing technique, and then furthers dives into previous research about the deservingness frame.

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[3] I had to adjust for variances in the uses and understanding of sanctuary within each of the city I observed. For example, Philadelphia was the only sanctuary city that currently had undocumented immigrants in sanctuary spaces. Therefore, this would impact the coverage of immigrants in Philadelphia who were currently in sanctuary which was not brought up in news in San Francisco and Minneapolis.

Framing in the news media aids in understanding how journalists influence the presentation of certain information (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Entman (1993) argues that frames are used to construct and mold a “perceived reality” by selecting particular perspectives and using text and media as ways to keep this information salient. Journalists then use frames to push forward a story through a perceived lens, often in the appearance of objectivity but are in actuality artificially constructing the reality to fit a particular perspective (Entman, 1993). Journalists and press organizations choice of framing can be both unconscious and conscious (Gamson et al., 1992). Gamson et al., (1992) write, “Social constructions here rarely appear as such to the reader and maybe largely unconscious on the part of the image producer” (p. 382). Framing information can influence cultural assumptions while not always grounded in conscious decision-making (Gamson et al., 1992).

In other words, the press organization and the journalist’s beliefs and perceptions about communities can influence how they frame a story and can shape public perception (Entman, 1993). The influence may be from bias towards particular partisanship. Groeling (2013) argues it is difficult to parse out media bias in news corporations. According to Groeling (2013), media bias is “a portrayal of reality that is significantly and systematically (not randomly) distorted” (p. 133). This influence is problematic when a media network or a journalist use framing techniques to misrepresent a particular group of people, perpetuating dangerous stereotypes (Gamson et al., 1992). Coe et al. (2008) argue that, in particular, partisanship influences cable news organizations. In this research, the only cable network I observe is FOX News. Coe et al. (2008) found in a quantitative study observing cable news and partnership; cable news is far more likely to be influenced by the corporation's partnership. Therefore, while this research observes the framing of the news, I observe the news sources themselves to better understand why a news source may frame a story in a particular way. The other networks, ABC, NBC, CBS, and PBS, are considered less influenced by partisanship (Coe et al., 2008). In this chapter, I look at the role deservingness frames play in perpetuating negative stereotypes.

Framing Deservingness

Deservingness of protection breaks down into bad immigrants who are undeserving of the protective rights, while those who are good are deserving. The determination of good or bad is based on the individual or community's merit (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016). Merit in this context is defined as "qualities and behaviors" that determine who is deserving and who is undeserving of "a reward or punishment" (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016, p. 1042). The "qualities and behaviors" can be observed in two ways. A neoliberal perspective assumes that merit of deservingness is measured objectively or on an equal playing field, meaning work is rewarded (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016). The public and news media determine if an immigrant is good by their ability to prosper economically (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016). However, the reality is that underlying structural forces exclude some from ever being considered deserving (Dhaliwal & Forkert, 2015; Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016)). In this research, I observe how the colonialist perspective of race, nationality, and gender seep into who qualifies as deserving. According to Brader et al. (2008), the reality is that the general American public bases their beliefs about immigrants' deservingness upon their emotional and potentially stereotypical assumptions towards particular immigrant communities.

Framing immigrants as either deserving or undeserving does not fit just one structure. There are several methods in which the news media frames the immigrant as either good or bad. There has already been a substantial amount of research on deservingness and immigration. Overall, Alamillo et al. (2019) found that immigrant stories are either within equivalency framing or episodic framing. Equivalency framing is used to frame immigrants as not deserving of protection, which pits immigrants against one another. Equivalency framing is when two pieces of information are said in different ways (Olsen, 2020). For example, reporters can put immigrant stories into two categories, either that of immigrants as illegal or undocumented, which can negatively depict them as undeserving of protective rights or immigrants as good and needing protection (Alamillo et al., 2019). In their research, Alamillo et al. (2019) found that news media uses episodic framing less frequently, which moves the immigrant experience away from a statistic and towards an individual experience, which can help to humanize the individual experience (Alamillo et al., 2019).

Another way to frame deservingness of protection is through the family frame and the model minority frame. According to Freeland (2010), the news media uses the family frame to explain why immigrants deserve protection. Using this frame connects individuals who may appear very different but can find common ground through focusing on the family (Freeland, 2010). Another popular frame attributed to the Asian American immigrant community is the model minority frame. Yukich (2013) used the model minority frame while analyzing the NSM in California and noticed that the nonprofit group categorizes some immigrants as deserving, arguing that they were properly assimilating into society. The model minority framework assumes that certain groups of immigrants have positively assimilated into the dominant society. However, framing certain immigrant groups this way stereotypes them, reducing their success down to specific aspects, as well as creates a category of immigrants as undeserving (Yukich, 2013).

Framing Crime

Designating the immigrant as either good or bad is not a contemporary nor modern phenomenon by the Trump administration. Immigrants of color have systematically been stereotyped as bad by U.S. government officials, solidifying immigration policies and regulations which exclude them from citizenship. In the 1800s, Chinese immigrants faced a backlash from the American community marking the Panic of 1873. The public shamed Chinese immigrants as bad. The U.S. citizens became resentful and blamed the Chinese immigrant population because of the lack of employment. The Naturalization Act of 1790 and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited Chinese immigrants from obtaining citizenship and later employment options. Chinese immigrants are not the only immigrant groups to be considered bad. During the Trump administration, much of his focus was on Latin American undocumented immigrants. Yukich (2013) argues that Latin American immigrants are today stereotyped as bad immigrants. While this section explores how these stereotypes have historical roots in U.S. society, this section also displays how the local mainstream news media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco repeated and perpetuated these ‘bad’ frames. I use Chavez (2013) to understand the origins of relating immigrants as bad.

Chavez (2013) investigated the origins of Latin immigrants' characterizations and how the news media perpetuates these racial stereotypes. In the 1920s, the U.S. government categorized Mexican immigrants as white. However, as Chavez (2013) demonstrates, European immigrants saw Mexican Americans as other and did not welcome them. White Europeans did not see Mexican immigrants' race and ethnicity conform to whiteness (Chavez, 2013). Therefore, the Mexican community remained on the outside of whiteness (Chavez, 2013). The public would subject Mexican immigrants to discrimination, which including mob lynching (Chavez, 2013). The U.S. government adjusted immigration laws to allow undocumented European immigrants the status of "citizen quickly." However, the government gave Mexican immigrants other criteria fixed against solidifying their citizenship (Chavez, 2013). In the 1970s, a growing number of media outlets like American Legion magazine highlighted the threat of illegal immigration, fueling Mexican immigrants associated with harmful unlawful immigration (Chavez, 2013). In the 1980s, Time Magazine, U.S. News and World Report, and the New Republic all referenced an outside immigrant invasion from Mexico (Chavez, 2013, p. 32). It was not until post September 11, 2001, that the U.S. border control severely heightened their security at the Mexico U.S. border. The push to guard the Mexican border from migrants helped further the image that Latin American immigrants were dangerous (Chavez, 2013).

According to Chavez (2013), the result of these racist images of Latin American immigrants as dangerous has created a "Latino Threat Narrative". The Latino Threat Narrative groups all Latin Americans into one immigrant group, becoming the symbolic image of dangerous immigrants (Chavez, 2013). This narrative continues because of its historical roots in American culture (Chavez, 2013). “The Latino Threat Narrative works so well and is so pervasive precisely because its basic premises are taken for granted as true” (Chavez, 2013, p. 45). The narrative uses ethnicity and race to stereotype a group of people but masks these stereotypes as the truth. Latino stereotypes include the belief that immigrants are unwilling to assimilate into U.S. society and are lazy and not deserving of U.S. protection (Chavez, 2013). These characterizations about immigrants Chavez (2013) calls “virtual imaginaries,” which is a reality perceived to be true while having no real empirical data to back up the claim. To maintain these virtual imaginaries, I found that the local and national mainstream news media pair together immigrant and criminal acts to fulfill the belief that immigrants cause crime.

Observing how the news media frames deservingness through media texts uncovers how the negative stereotypes about immigrants of color. Though the mainstream news media I analyze may not blatantly argue that immigrants cause crime, I found that consistently coupling these two subjects together further progresses this narrative. Because the Trump administration used a large allotment of his campaigning and presidency to connect crime and immigration, I found this a salient topic for news media outlets. A common theme found in both local and national mainstream news media in San Francisco was the claim that sanctuary cities were prone to immigrant-related crime, which was displayed through a handful of murder cases revolving around Latin Americn immigrants. Though the local and mainstream news media refrained from blatantly taking a side either in support of sanctuary policies or against them, the frequency of crime, sanctuary, and Latin American immigrants connected the three subjects, adding to salience of these topics.

Compared to Minneapolis and Philadelphia, San Francisco is unique. As I found, the city's municipality is very outspoken about being a sanctuary city, so I assumed that the news media would focus less on the crime frame. I found instead that the local news media and national news media heavily focused on murders by Latin American undocumented immigrants. In particular, and the murder of Kate Steinle[4] was used in the debate about the safety of sanctuary policies. The local and national news media mentioned the Bologna murders[5] less than the Steinle murder. The information provided about the murders was similar. In the local and national mainstream news, the description of the murderer, their immigration status, and sanctuary city was present in the articles. In particular, the mention of Steinle was mentioned 63 times in San Francisco local mainstream and mainstream news media and 13 times in national mainstream news media. In a 2016 local FOX News article entitled "San Francisco's Sanctuary City Controversy Flares Up Again," a photo of Steinle is juxtaposed against the mugshot of Zárate. Not only does this article bring together sanctuary, immigration, murder, and danger, but it also visually connects between what an innocent American and the dangerous immigrant. A mainstream news article, "Kathryn Steinle killing: San Francisco defends 'sanctuary city' status amid criticism," again connects immigration status and crime. In the first sentence, Arkin (2017) writes, "The acquittal of an undocumented Mexican immigrant in the fatal shooting of a woman on a Northern California pier reignited a bitter political debate over illegal immigration," mentioning the continuing connection between how immigration status and murder.

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[5] In 2008 three Bologna family members Tony, Matthew, and Michael, were shot and killed in June when coming home from a family barbecue. Soon after the murders, police concluded that an El Salvadorian undocumented immigrant Edwin Ramos Umaña committed the crime. Umaña was on U.S. probation as a teenager for assault and robbery. The opposition argued the local policy should have turned over Ramos Umaña to ICE officials, bringing about overall questions on how the city should be handling cases of undocumented juveniles (Ho, 2017).

Trump weaponized Steinle's death to promote and reaffirm the Latino Threat Narrative, and the news media would report on his racist opinions about immigrants from Latin America. On November 30, 2017, Trump legitimized his executive immigration orders by tweeting out about the Kate Steinle murder case[6]. Trump (2017) wrote in a tweet, "A disgraceful verdict in the Kate Steinle case! No wonder the people of our country are so angry with Illegal Immigration". San Francisco's mainstream and national news bring the Trump administration's beliefs about undocumented immigrants further into prominence. San Francisco local FOX News often would use the murder to highlight the dangers of sanctuary policies towards U.S. citizens[7] to amplify this threat. Though this is popular in many local news and national mainstream stations, in my analysis, FOX News local more heavily connected crime and immigrants.

The connection between danger and San Francisco's sanctuary policies is also highlighted in national mainstream news, as these stations also point heavily towards murder and Latino undocumented immigrants. In an NBC Associated Press article, the report points to the suspect Vilchez Lazo in San Francisco, who was suspected of the rape of a rideshare user (Associated Press, 2018). In this article, the author points back to the suspects' current immigration status. The article refers to the local authorities' fears that Lazo would not be turned over to ICE if released from jail because of sanctuary policies.

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[6] In 2015, Steinle was shot and killed by the accused José Inez García Zárate. García Zárate had previously been deported five times from the U.S (Ho, 2017). Steinle's lawyers blamed sanctuary policies directly for her murder. In the end, the jury acquitted García Zárate of all murder and manslaughter charges, which brought even more opposition towards sanctuary laws.

[7] 16 out of the 37 articles from FOX local news mentioned Steinle's murder in regard to sanctuary policies. Whereas, CBS local news which also had 37 articles that met my research criteria, only mentioned Steinle's murder in five articles.

The author writes in the first sentence of the article, “A suspected serial rapist charged with posing as a Northern California ride-hailing driver to prey on his victims was living in the country illegally, federal immigration authorities said Tuesday” (Associated Press, 2018). This article again connects the crime to illegality. Steinle’s murder is later referred back to as an example of when sanctuary policies failed. The consistent references to a few undocumented immigrants’ crimes feed into the stereotype that undocumented immigrants are dangerous and criminals. The media’s perpetuation of these narratives then strengthens these images by highlighting the stereotypes that follow the Latin American community (Chavez, 2013).

As the Latino Threat Narrative exists in the U.S., the public acts upon their anti-immigrant sentiment, garnering news media attention. Though the news media may not directly declare an association between immigration status and crime, the local mainstream news media would report these messages’ impact. In my analysis of San Francisco, I found numerous reports in local news media about the illegal signage on state and city borders that arose after Trump’s inauguration. The local CBS News reported that the public had posted a sign at the border of Mexico and the U.S. Under the Welcome California sign, another sign read “Official Sanctuary State. Felons, Illegals, and MS13 Welcome! Democrats Need The Votes!” Earlier that year, a banner hanging from a San Francisco bypass was hung reading “Danger, Sanctuary City Ahead” and signed by the white nationalist group Evropa (CBS Los Angeles, 2018). The signs are evidence of a view that sanctuary policies lead to undocumented immigrants’ crime, which feeds into the narrative that undocumented immigrants are undeserving of protection because they add to crime. This further demonstrates the news media’s role in continuing on the Latino Threat Narrative.

The local and national mainstream news media also connected Philadelphia’s sanctuary policies with crime by immigrants. This seems familiar, putting together the legal status, the crime they committed, and the potential connection with sanctuary. FOX national news, for example, reported on the relationship between sanctuary cities and undocumented immigrants’ violent crimes in an article written by Fedschun (2018) entitled “Previously deported illegal immigrant who raped a child after Philadelphia release, pleads guilty to reentry.” Fedschun (2018) connected Juan Ramon Vasquez’s story to sanctuary policies’ role in his original release from immigration detention. Vasquez was later charged with charged multiple times with the rape of children.

In Minneapolis local mainstream news media, I found that crime towards an immigrant was present more in the press than crime done by an immigrant. FOX national news and the Star Tribune reported an illegal incident on the local Minneapolis transit, where the immigrant was the victim of police intimidation (FOX News, 2017; Otárola, 2017). A transit officer approached a passenger and asked for their immigration status. All caught on a citizen’s cellphone footage. The next day the passenger was arrested by ICE officials. MPR and CBS also reported similar illegal questioning and harassment of undocumented immigrants (Collins & Feshir, 2019; Littlefield, 2019). Both news outlets reported on how officials illegally broke a window and arrested an undocumented immigrant. These reports of unlawful searches and interrogations of the undocumented immigrant community paint a different picture than the overwhelming number of reports in San Francisco that center around undocumented immigrants’ discourse about crimes.

Yet, even though these stories do not focus on the immigrant as a criminal, the heuristic association between immigrants and crimes is present (Harris & Gruenewald, 2019).

In my analysis of Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, the local and national mainstream news media connected crime with immigration status and sanctuary policies, which the Trump administration used to accuse sanctuary cities further of being dangerous spaces. In each city I observed, I saw immigrants with Latin American names connected to the crime, which is problematic because, Van Dijk, (1989) argues, the media is responsible for spreading these messages. I also found that even though the news media does not directly state who is undeserving and deserving of protection, their reporting reflects and perpetuates the stereotypes about immigrants of color, particularly immigrants from Latin America.

How the news media contributes to who is designated as good and bad is judged through legality. As seen previously in this chapter, the mention of undocumented or illegal in the local and national news media is juxtaposed against legality. The lawfulness of the immigrant is a determinant of someone's deservingness for protection (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). According to Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas (2014), the public considers immigrant groups more deserving of protection if they hold legal immigration status. On the other side, those considered undocumented or do not hold legal status are less likely to be seen as deserving of protection (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014).

Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas (2014) layout that illegality is judged at differing levels of conceptualization. While illegality may be associated with the legal status one holds, on the other hand, illegality also means how one acts (Chauvin & Garcés-

Mascareñas, 2014). For example, someone may not have legal citizenship status, but they may not break the law. While this may be so, the public holds undocumented immigrants at different standards than those who have citizenship (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). Because the public may perceive undocumented immigrants' citizenship as illegal, undocumented immigrants' petty crimes are often considered worse than those with legal status who would commit the same crime. Understanding the relationship between legality and deservingness is important to my study as it better displays why I found in Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Philadelphia that undocumented immigrant experiences were concealed by other immigrant narratives. The news media contributes to keeping the undocumented experience covered, which is problematic. The undocumented community's stereotypes are highlighted and scrutinized in national media and by the Trump administration.

In my analysis of Minneapolis, I found that refugees' stories follow a different narrative than undocumented immigrant stories. While the refugee narrative often focuses on support from the municipality and the local community, the undocumented narrative focuses on the narrative of crime. The local mainstream news media focuses much more on why refugees are deserving of protection, and the potential harm they may encounter while on U.S. soil, which is very different than how the news media reports on the experiences of the undocumented immigrant.

When reporting on the refugee experiences, Minneapolis' local news would focus on the impact of Islamophobia and xenophobia on refugee communities. In an NBC local mainstreaming news article, Croman (2015) wrote about the fears Syrian Americans in Minnesota have after the Paris attacks in November 2016. In 2017, another news article by FOX local news article entitled “Minneapolis nonprofit ‘troubled’ by Trump administration returns $500,000 grant,” observed how immigration executive orders impact the refugee community. The mainstream news media highlighting refugees’ experiences helps the public understand why refugees migrated and legitimize their place within Minneapolis society (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014). However, ignoring undocumented immigrants in these spaces ultimately conceals the undocumented community’s specific needs.

The undocumented experience is complex but reduced down to a simple narrative. Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas (2014) explain the lived experience of undocumented immigrants is *camouflaged*. The undocumented immigrant is not invisible but is the “invisibility within visibility” (p.425). Like those who hold legal status, undocumented immigrants are visible at their jobs and how they may interact with others. Though the story of the undocumented immigrant is perceived as invisible, meaning they are staying hidden, Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas (2014) call this “the myth of invisibility”, and write it is “a condition of camouflage: if the “illegal” is believed to be invisible, then anyone who is visible is perceived as legal” (p. 425). The undocumented immigrant is faced with the difficulty of balancing between being visible and integrating into society while hiding their status. The disentanglement for undocumented immigrants is about finding a space where they can be their unique selves.

In the three cities, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, undocumented immigrants constantly were connected to a crime narrative. While these narratives have varying degrees of criminality, these stories consistently related to some sort of crime. I found the local and national mainstream media associated crime with immigrants in all three cities, particularly immigrants from Latin America. On the other side of the legal system, I saw a different focus on immigrants with legal status. Mainstream news stories would focus more on their struggle in their homeland, pointing to why they are deserving of protection.

The Good Immigrant

In my analysis, I noticed that local mainstream news media coupled deservingness with either the model minority frame, the family frame, or the vulnerability frame. These three frames help to explain why an immigrant or immigrant community deserves protection. I argue that understanding how journalists use these frames is essential to know why some immigrant stories are featured, while other narratives are left out of news media coverage. Therefore, this section focuses on these frames because it helps determine how the local and national news media portray immigrants as good. In this section, I go more in-depth into longer-length articles that focus on immigrants. I look at how news media frames deservingness of protection. I also establish why the news media conceals some immigrant groups in media coverage and why this can harm these communities.

In Philadelphia, the local mainstream news media would focus on the undocumented experience through the family frame. The family frame taps into the narrative of deservingness, focusing on the importance of keeping family units intact. According to Freeland (2010), using the family “crosses cultural, political, and social lines”, and brings together commonalities between the guest and host (p. 492). Local news outlets would often report on the story of Carmela Hernandez’s life in sanctuary. Hernandez first entered sanctuary with her children in Philadelphia in December of 2017.

Hernandez fled to the U.S. from Mexico after drug criminals killed her family members (Gammage, 2019a). I noticed that a variety of local mainstream news media outlets focused on moments throughout Hernandez's sanctuary stay, placing her experience through a family frame. For example, in Philadelphia the local mainstream, CBS covers the moment Hernandez found sanctuary at the Church of the Advocate (Gregg, 2017). The article mentions Hernandez's children and how they too must enter sanctuary. WHYY and The Philadelphia Inquirer also briefly reported Hernandez's decision to fast on Thanksgiving Day to remind the Philadelphia public that families remain in sanctuary (Conde, 2019; Gammage, 2019a). Reporting on undocumented immigrants through the family frame sympathizes the public using the family. However, though this frame relates the viewership to the subject, the family frame, if overused, and can dilute the undocumented experience to only a variety of narratives.

Another story in Philadelphia is through the vulnerability frame. In 2016, Javier Flores Garcia took shelter in a Philadelphia sanctuary to avoid deportation. Flores Garcia's case became newsworthy because he uniquely applied for a U-Visa after witnessing and being a victim of a violent crime. Two other undocumented immigrants had beaten Flores Garcia and his brother. Because Flores Garcia was in a unique position as someone who assisted in the arrest of two violent offenders, Philadelphia's sanctuary community was upset that the judicial system was positioning Flores Garcia as a criminal. Not only did local news outlets report on Flores Garcia's story, but the story rose in national news. ABC mainstream news and CBS mainstream news covered Garcia's story and gained recognition after taking sanctuary and was later granted a U.S. visa (Forde, 2017; Pelley, 2017). The story of Flores Garcia relied heavily on understanding who is deserving and undeserving of U.S. protection. Flores was in a vulnerable position pushing forward that he is a good immigrant for helping the U.S. government.

I found that within Philadelphia and San Francisco, the local mainstream news media use longer in-depth narratives to humanize undocumented immigrants' stories, offering reasoning as to why the immigrants were deserving of protection. The practice of reporting more in-depth mainstream news articles, and using deep descriptions provide the public a more comprehensive understanding of why the immigrant deserves protection. The local and mainstream news media reports that I discussed earlier were short and often ranging from 200 to 500 words. These articles are longer and much more detailed. They follow a story-like framework, which Eastmond (2007) argues is "a way for individuals and communities to remember, bear witness, or seek to restore continuity and identity, can be a symbolic resource to enlist to alleviate suffering and change their situation" (p. 251). These stories offer a different perspective, taking on the framework of why this immigrant is deserving of citizenship. So, while I found that the stereotypes about specific immigrant populations are recurrent in the news media, I also found that immigrants' positive stories help explore perceptions of deservingness and counter anti-immigrant sentiment.

Stories that would frequently humanize immigrants also fall into framing the immigrant as the model minority. The model minority is an assimilation narrative, according to Yukich (2013). However, much of the scholarship of the model minority centers around the Asian community. Yukich's (2013) exploration of the NSM organization in Los Angeles, found that the model minority became a nonprofit strategy to counter undeserving arguments. In my analysis the news media also took this approach. The mainstream news media that countered anti-immigrant sentiment would use writing techniques to push forward a model minority agenda. Frequently these stories explain why this immigrant group is deserving of protection, and how they have contributed to the broader society. To counter arguments about why certain immigrant groups are undeserving of citizenship, I found alternative methods were used to frame immigrant groups as deserving of protection.

Local mainstream news media used humanizing narratives of deservingness when encountering an individual immigrant experience following a similar standardized format. They start by explaining the circumstances that lead to how and why the immigrant resides in sanctuary, leading to a discussion about citizenship's deservingness. In addition, much of the discussion focuses on whether the individual should receive citizenship and who should determine this belonging. Usually, the reports rely on a mix of sources, including the immigrant themselves, someone from the federal government or ICE, and someone from the local community (i.e., lawyers, nonprofits, members of local congregations).

One example of this type of narrative is a mainstream news article in The Philadelphia Inquirer from 2019. Reporters Gammage and Benshoff (2019) follow Oneita and Clive Thompson, and their daughter Christine residing in sanctuary at the First United Methodist Church of Germantown. The reporters use the family frame and deep description to push forward the theme of deservingness. The reporters use several markers to bolster reasoning why the family deserves protection. The article focuses on the couple coming from a dangerous situation in Jamaica. The couple and their daughter lived in New Jersey for over 14 years to find a job, shelter, and community. The U.S. immigration department denied the Thompsons asylee status. However, this story's introduction did not immediately focus on the tribulations with the asylum system. Instead, the mainstream news article takes a further deep dive into their daily life. The mainstream news article starts with a description of sending Christine off to school. Christine, an American citizen, gets dressed and leaves for school, and when she arrives, she is required to call home to check in. Photos accompany the mainstream news article of this daily situation and later dive deeper into the circumstances that lead to fleeing Jamaica. A picture of Oneita's brother, who was killed by a Jamaican gang, accompanies the story of his death. By including this information, the writer informs the audience about why Christine would want to come to the U.S. and why she is deserving of that right. The mainstream news article then briefly covers the flaws in the asylum system and focuses heavily on the community supporting the family, reasoning that families should stay together. Using this family frame allows readers to feel the common ground with the subject (Squire, 2011). This mainstream news article offers a glimpse beyond mainstream local news coverage of families in sanctuary. Instead of just focusing on why the family is in sanctuary, the mainstream news article focuses on acts of citizenship to demonstrate merit that the family has positively contributed to U.S. society (Squire, 2011). The reporters describe the family as assimilating into the New Jersey community where they held jobs and their children went to school, which is an example of assimilation. Including a description of the brother's death again points back to the family frame, allowing readers to find common ground with Christine.

In San Francisco, I found a series of in-depth articles centered around those who have already been deported from the U.S. These in-depth articles focus on the emotionally draining process of leaving one's home country, facing deportation in the new country, and then being deported back. In one article about the Mendoza family, though it varies in detail, I found that the story is very akin to Thompson's story. Aleaziz (2017) reports on the deportation of Maria Mendoza and her husband. but begins with a more in-depth analysis of her life in Mexico, looking beyond why she decided to migrate to the U.S. (Aleaziz, 2017). Instead, the reporter start's with Maria's childhood, where she found herself alone at age 14, looking for work in Tijuana. The story follows her move to the U.S. to be with her family friend and later husband, Eusebio Sanchez, and expands to San Francisco, where they had their children. Focusing on broadening family life again creates a familiarity between the reader of the article and the Mendoza family. Later, the mainstream news article goes into their immigration experience under the Obama administration, where the family felt like they could camouflage into the San Francisco community. However, after Trump's inauguration, the family feared that ICE officials would deport them. ICE officials tell Mendoza and her husband they only have three months until deportation. Though protests occur in Mendoza's support, the article ends with her settling back into her hometown in Mexico. The mainstream news article adds current photos of Mendoza, her children, and pictures from her childhood.

Both articles rely heavily on the family frame to explain why Mendoza's story is important and why they deserve protection. The article also focuses heavily on the family frame, which better connects the reader to their experiences. As well, both the stories of the Thompsons and Mendoza's hits upon the model minority frame. According to Yukich

(2013), the model minority describes that those deserving can quickly assimilate into the dominant white middle class, while those undeserving are associated with immigrants' negative stereotypes (i.e., criminals). However, assimilation is not just based upon the ability to fit into the dominant group, but also is deeply engrained in colonial structures of hierarchy that keep whiteness in power (Taylor, 2013). While these two families did what they could to blend into U.S. society, their legal status and racial makeup would not allow them to fully fit in and solidify themselves into precarious situations of the unknown. Therefore, though they are seemingly deserving of protection, the unwritten reality that structures of inequality prevent immigrants of color from fully assimilating into U.S. communities due to the power of whiteness.

The mainstream news article allows for a deeper exploration into an individuals' life, offering reasoning as to why they may have decided to come to the U.S. and how they have contributed to society. These stories appear far less frequently than narratives centered around crime. However, a deep analysis of these articles explores how reporters are still dependent on the frames seen in shorter reports by mainstream news. While the family frame is present in both the local mainstream news media and the longer mainstream news articles, I found that including more details about the family offers readers a chance to sympathize and understand why the family is more deserving of protection. In the end, the use of the model minority frame complicates this analysis. Though the model minority frame explains why the family is more deserving of protection, it also requires an immigrant who is not the model. Therefore, this feeds directly into opening up the stereotypes that immigrant groups are undeserving of protection.

Belonging in the News Media

While much of the chapter focuses on deservingness, I am not necessarily concluding that this is the only angle taken by the news media. I found instances where the local news media focused on the angle of belonging. While the national news media relied heavily on deservingness frames, the local news media would also include stories of community support. Deservingness does not exist without someone undeserving, but belongingness is seeking recognition (Sirriyeh, 2020). I bring in this point as there is a way to hit back against the framing of deservingness. While I would argue that the framing of deservingness is highly present in the news media, I would also argue that some articles do not fall within the deservingness frame. These articles move more towards the argument that all immigrants should belong.

Across news networks in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, local protests that supported the immigrant community arose. On June 23, 2018, local San Francisco KQED article, the reporter observed how Black Lives Matter organizers support the protests supporting the immigrant community. Sepulvado and Hossaini (2018) write, “the protest sought to unify white women opposed to Trump’s policies, Black Lives Matter activists protesting mass incarceration and conservative Latino evangelicals appalled by the separation of undocumented families,” demonstrating the support of the immigrant community. I found similar articles in Philadelphia local news. In a 2017 Philadelphia Inquirer article entitled “At Phila. Airport (Philadelphia Airport), protest, detentions, anger, and hope” displays a photo of protesters at the airport (Shaw et al., 2017). They are holding up signs that say, “Refugees Welcome,” “Let them in,” “Philly Stands with Immigrants,” and “Stop Profiling Muslims!” These signs signify the local community that stands by an immigrant, claiming a right to belong. Another story that arises is the role of the city support. In a headline in The Philadelphia Inquirer, "'Sanctuary city' of Philadelphia joins the program to provide migrants with lawyers — a key to who stays or gets deported," Gammage (2019b) focuses on the supportive programs that the city provides to assist in the legal representation of undocumented immigrants. In the M.N. City Pages publication, the article "The Kindness Revolt: A not-so-secret plot to make a better Minnesota" overviews the different programs that are in place to support the immigrant community (Kotz, 2019). In particular, in the article, Kotz (2019) writes, "municipal I.D. law, allowing undocumented Mexicans and Guatemalans to open bank accounts and at least prove where they live." Like the others presented in this section, this article displays an alternative perspective of deservingness. While I would argue deservingness displays two sides, one deserving and one not deserving, these articles offer a differing perspective on how the community drives the narrative of belonging.

Conclusion

Because of the Trump administration's heavy anti-immigrant rhetoric, I was particularly interested in understanding how the news media would report on this intolerance. This chapter analyzed how the media in the three sanctuary cities, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, reported about the immigrant community during the Trump administration. I found that the local and national mainstream news relied on framing to bounce between the opinions of those who oppose sanctuary policies and those who protect immigrant communities.

I found in my analysis that deservingness frames often pit one immigrant group against other groups. If using a frame to display someone is good, then someone else has to be bad. Though this framing method was present in the current news media, these frames are not new. Instead, Chavez (2013) argues that framing immigrant groups, especially Latin American immigrants as bad, can be traced back to U.S. anti-immigrant policies and regulations (Chavez, 2013). The frame of the model minority has roots within racial stereotypes about particular immigrant groups (Yukich, 2013). The model minority frame assumes that some immigrants better assimilate into a dominant society based on their race and ethnicity (Yukich, 2013). I found that these frames were used to explain why certain immigrants are deserving of citizenship through what comes off is objective reporting. However, while some reporting successfully discredits stereotypes about certain immigrant groups, much of the reporting I found fell into the stereotype that immigrants, primary immigrants from Latin America, are dangerous. These frames have dangerous implications as they continue to sustain stereotypes about particular immigrant groups. Even though the three cities I analyzed are sanctuary cities and jurisdictions, the local news media and national news media often fail to protect these immigrant communities from harmful stereotypes by their local news sources using these framing methods. Also, relying on these stereotypes gives into much of the rhetoric pushed forward by the Trump administration.

While in all three states, I saw varying deservingness frames in the local news media. In Minneapolis, refugee immigrant groups are seen more frequently in the local news, while the news media hides undocumented immigrants’ stories from these narratives. This does not necessarily pin down who is undeserving or deserving of protection. Still, the implications are that the refugee story is seen as salient while the undocumented immigrant story becomes invisible. In Philadelphia, the only city where specific undocumented immigrants were in sanctuary, stories of undocumented immigrants relied on the vulnerability frame and family to express deservingness. Though this frame may expose the public to new stories about undocumented immigrants, it also contributes to the position that an undocumented immigrant fits into either the mold of good or bad, deserving or undeserving, or vulnerable or not vulnerable. This paints a very one-dimensional picture of the immigrant experience and preserves stereotypes that exist about these communities. In the end, this creates a contradiction for the cities that attempt to protect immigrant groups. While the sanctuary jurisdictions are meant to protect immigrant groups, the local news media perpetuates these stereotypes about the same groups.

I ended the chapter by discussing briefly how belonging narratives are an alternative to the deserving frame. Though the deservingness frame was much more of a center to this chapter, the local news media did offer insights into how communities in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco are creating spaces of belonging for the immigrant community. So, while the national news media and even the local news media relied heavily on the deservingness frame, news content also focused on community building.

CHAPTER 6:

SANCTUARY AS WELCOMING

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, nonprofits have been integrating immigrant groups into U.S society by offering supportive programming and organizations (de Graauw, 2016). These nonprofit organizations act as the in-between to build a relationship between immigrant communities and the U.S. government, by focusing not just on the assimilation process but advocating for the rights of these groups (de Graauw, 2016). Nonprofits work alongside social movements to legitimize a social movement (de Graauw, 2016). This chapter centers around how nonprofits contribute to the perception of welcoming and sanctuary through their media use, and how the nonprofits promote a welcoming identity towards local immigrant communities.

In Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, nonprofits that work alongside the immigrant community create media that establishes a sense of welcoming to those who view it. These nonprofits embrace the variety of belief systems and experiences of the immigrant communities, and media offers the chance for these groups to display their beliefs. The sample of nonprofits observed comes from various nonprofit disciplines, from legal assistance, sanctuary support, deportation and detention support, and resettlement support. In this discourse analysis, I observe eight nonprofits that support immigrant communities. In Philadelphia, I observed the media of the New Sanctuary Movement (NSM), HIAS Philadelphia (HIAS), Juntos, and the Pennsylvania Immigration and Citizenship Coalition (PICC). My sample in San Francisco consisted of the National Network of Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR), Refugee and

Immigrant Transitions, and Arrive Ministries. Due to the confines of my methodology measures, my sample in Minneapolis is smaller and consists of two nonprofits; the ISAIAH Network, headquartered in Saint Paul, but also operates in Minneapolis, and the the Immigrant Law Center of Minnesota (ILCM) (See Appendix D for a more detailed list of the nonprofits).

I found that nonprofits who indicate a relationship to sanctuary or pro-immigrant rights develop a sense of welcoming through three media strategies, the embracement of 1) multiculturalism, 2) assimilation, and at times 3) religious rhetoric. I also argue that though these nonprofits may not work directly with the Sanctuary Movement, their identity as pro-immigrant nonprofits help to establish a community of welcoming within the state, city, and nation. Though these several approaches attempt to create a welcoming environment and identity, the relationship between the nonprofit (host) and the immigrant (the guest) remains unbalanced. This unequal relationship ultimately may impact the welcoming atmosphere.

Discourse Coalition

While some nonprofits that work alongside the Sanctuary Movement and immigrant community may work together, others may not. Still, even if these nonprofits are not directly connected, they continue to contribute to a welcoming identity related to pro-immigration discourse and the cities they represent. When analyzing the nonprofits in three different cities, I found in each city, nonprofits contribute to the perception that the local community was welcoming to immigrant groups. This would make sense, as each city has designated itself as sanctuary jurisdiction. Though the organizations are structurally very different, each of the nonprofits' strategies help to contribute to this overlying theme of welcoming.

To compare and contrast these nonprofit strategies, I frame the network of nonprofits as an overlying *discourse coalition*. Using this framework is a way to understand how these nonprofits tangentially work together, contributing to pro-immigrant discourse. According to Hajer (1993), discourse coalitions are an "ensemble of a set of storylines, the actors that utter these storylines, and the practices that conform to these storylines, all organized around discourse" (p. 65). Nonprofits and nonprofit initiatives act as the actors in the storylines, and when they come together, they add to the discourse of welcoming. Though these nonprofits may help different immigrant groups with differing volunteers, they are nevertheless working together to promote welcoming messages. These environments are to welcome immigrants but also to counter anti-immigrant sentiment. Though these nonprofits' approaches may differ, the nonprofits contribute and interact using similar strategies.

On the outside, understanding how nonprofits in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis work together in creating a welcoming environment is difficult. For example, the contemporary Sanctuary Movement in Philadelphia is uniquely structured around the nonprofit SMO, the NSM. NSM is a social movement organization (SMO) whose goals align with the contemporary Sanctuary Movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The NSM connects to similar organizations throughout the U.S., including New York City, Atlanta, and Tulsa. In Philadelphia, the NSM is at the city's center for the sanctuary protection of immigrants and an interfaith organization. However, the NSM is not the only organization to support the same immigrant groups. Other nonprofit organizations have the same mission of sanctuary rights and resettlement assistance. Yet, the NSM seems to be interlocking local nonprofits and local congregations that withhold a similar mission.

In contrast to the structure of nonprofits working in Philadelphia, I found that in San Francisco and Minneapolis, nonprofit networks do not center around a singular SMO. Though all nonprofits I observed work with the immigrant community, only a few are religiously linked, including Arrive Ministries in San Francisco. Instead, more nonprofits focused on fighting for immigrant rights by focusing on detention and deportation policies. Similarly, in Minneapolis, nonprofit work focuses on legal assistance and resettlement. It came up that finding a nonprofit organization that fits within the confines of my methodology; I did not find any organization headquartered in Minneapolis directly associated with sanctuary policies. However, the ISAIAH Network does offer sanctuary spaces. Though the nonprofit networks across the three cities differ by mission, programming, and structure, they all contribute to an overlying pro-immigrant discourse using media. Overall, in my analysis, many of the nonprofits in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis organizational structures may be different, but the organizations share an overall mission of supporting and welcoming the immigrant community.

As I laid out in this short section, nonprofits may have differing missions, but the sample of nonprofits presented in this research collectively work together to support and welcome the immigrant community. Though some may not directly work within a Sanctuary Movement or network or provide sanctuary spaces, they nevertheless use media to contribute to immigrants’ welcoming discourse. To further explore the nonprofits that work alongside the Sanctuary Movement, I observed strategies that helped to open up welcoming spaces. I wanted to uncover if and how nonprofits use media to help support welcoming. In the next section, I specifically look at the strategies of multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric to guide my analysis.

Welcoming Environment

Nonprofits use media as a way to create welcoming environments that can contribute to their pro-immigrant identity. To do this, nonprofits turn to create an atmosphere that can embody what appears to be welcoming. According to Vrasti and Dayal (2016), "atmospheres create shared experiences without the need for shared verbal and conceptual agreement" (p. 1002). This means a welcoming atmosphere is about formulating space by verbalizing a need for a welcoming environment and finding other facets that symbolize welcoming. These organizations are attempting to find a way to create a hybrid atmosphere that bring together cultures. On the surface, hybridity, according to Bhabha (1996), is bringing together differences without established power relations. Therefore, using Bhabha's (1996) concept of *hybridity*, the nonprofit and the newcomer are mixing together their cultural differences. To establish and celebrate a relationship between the nonprofit and the newcomers, nonprofits use multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric tactics to further persuade and push sanctuary hospitality. These strategies pursue an atmosphere towards the ideal of acceptance and welcoming. However, Bhabha (1996) also articulates that though hybridity interactions occur between two groups, those in power translate and control the blended identity.

Therefore, though the welcoming atmosphere breaks down barriers, the organization's ultimate privilege takes over and questions the general organizational conception of diversity. Hence, while the organization intends to welcome the immigrant community, other facets related to power should be considered by these organizations. This section overviews these three media strategies, multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric in nonprofits in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis. I further explore the role of power and how the power of nonprofits shifts the relationship between the immigrant and the organization.

Multiculturalism

The first media strategy I discuss is how nonprofits in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis use multiculturalism to provoke welcoming. While assimilation strategies highlight the embracement of sameness, multiculturalist strategies embrace the difference. The concept of multiculturalism in a nonprofit push forward symbols of diversity. Gilroy (2009) refers to multiculturalism as a “mosaic plurality,” which means that there must be a balance “between diversity and unity” (p. 671). For nonprofits, this is about finding ways to embrace diversity while still maintaining a community. Multiculturalist strategies allow for an emphasis on diversifying a community instead of segregating the community into distinctive groupings (Lentin & Titley, 2011).

Media making to provoke multiculturalism allows nonprofits to display this outward identity of diversity to the masses. They are building a multicultural image to forge a community unbounded by in-person interaction. There is an acceptance of inclusion and difference central to feelings of comradeship (Ang, 2001). Finding tools to embrace this imagined community through multiculturalist strategies and values, allows these nonprofits to feel this deeper comradeship with the immigrant community as they become acceptable to their differences. By nonprofits taking on a multicultural perspective, the media embraces an immigrant's identity by recognizing the uniqueness of their experiences and culture, making them feel welcomed.

Taylor (1992) argues the concept of *recognition* is about the feeling of belonging. The recognition of the newcomer's culture and language can increase feelings of belongingness to the new community. For nonprofits, these multiculturalist strategies attempt to find the perfect balance between finding a way to recognize an immigrant's original culture's uniqueness while blending with the settled community. In my analysis, I discovered that across Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, nonprofits attempted to use visual and readable media strategies to push forward multiculturalism. Using distinctive voices of immigrants and community members pushes forwarded the organizational identity of multiculturalism.

Highlighting Individual Experiences

In my discourse analysis, I found that nonprofits would highlight individual experiences to embrace multiculturalism. Through differing forms of media like blogs, I found that nonprofits often encapsulated assimilation strategies, but found segments of multiculturalism from time to time. Hearing from the immigrant community can focus on the uniqueness of a specific immigrant community. In addition, using the first-person language adds uniqueness, which can "mark our different racial, generational, and cultural perspectives," differentiating one experience from the entire overarching label of 'immigrant' (Barron & Grimm, 2002, p.55). Therefore, first-person accounts seemingly are more ingrained with unique perspectives. In a blog post on the NSM website in Philadelphia, Sister Anna Tran reaches out to the community of advocates working with the nonprofit. Tran discusses her own individual experience of being a Vietnamese immigrant in the U.S. Tran (n.d.) writes:

> The needs of Vietnamese immigrants are different than those of Latino immigrants. In my understanding, most of us came to this country freely and under different circumstances… But they know nothing about separations at the border. (Tran, n.d.) the adults have no knowledge about the mistreatment of children in detention centers because they only speak Vietnamese… But they know nothing about separations at the border. (Tran, n.d.)

Tran's outreach to the NSM community refocuses those who see "immigrants" as a category. Tran argues that using these generalizations is misguided, as it is best to see each immigrant group's uniqueness. The usage of the first-person perspective also grips onto the importance of hearing from someone who works directly with the community and understands their individual needs. These blog posts show how nonprofits can directly engage with a community's uniqueness and display the organization's ability to embrace this uniqueness.

The immigrant's individual experiences using a multiculturalist strategy help reveal a unique perspective, which celebrates individualism. The embracement of individualism allows for a celebration of distinctiveness and a recognition of difference (Lentin & Titley, 2011; Taylor, 1992). I did find using a first-person multicultural narrative as a strategy rarer than individual stories that centered around the assimilation process. Taking on the multiculturalist approach does have the potential of disconnecting the organization from the individual's experience. Because these blog posts are ways for nonprofits to promote themselves as welcoming, using a multicultural approach may not benefit the nonprofit's goals.

Embracement of Language

A more common approach to multiculturalism that I found in my analysis was the usage of language. After analyzing various texts by nonprofits that work alongside the immigrant community, I noticed how language symbolically represents a model of multiculturalism. Language ties immigrants to their home country, and also is a tool to integrate into the new culture and preserve the culture they left behind (Sugimara, 2015). Therefore, language transcends boundaries and opens doors for immigrants to feel like they belong or do not belong to their new culture (Sugimara, 2015). A way for the immigrant community to understand the messages conveyed through the nonprofit media is through the ability to translate. Though it may seem like the immigrant is not offered tools to integrate into U.S. culture, it allows the immigrant to choose between a language they may feel more comfortable with, versus a language that may be more strategically beneficial to them.

The common way nonprofits embrace individual cultures is to create media in other languages beyond relying completely on English. Nonprofits across the three cities often translate information into multiple languages and create artwork that embraces those languages. Translation tools add a level of usability for those who are native in a language outside of English. Translation and the usage of languages outside of English provides a level of cultural diversity, which can be left out if the website is subject to only English (Kerr et al., 2018). An example of a nonprofit that went out of its way to embrace language was the NNIRR website in San Francisco. The website affords non-English speakers a chance to explore a multiple-language translator’s key feature to make the process easier. NNIRR also represents language as a visual tool that embodies multiculturalism. A post on their Facebook page, a visual statement in red and white reads, “Migrant rights are human rights!”. The phrase is translated into a variety of different languages, including Arabic, Korean, and Spanish. The varying translations circle around the English translation, symbolically represent diversity. The NNIRR uses an image of overlapping languages to demonstrate how welcoming they are to different immigrant groups.

In addition to providing translation, the organizations also focused on providing videos in Spanish. The ILCM uses these Spanish language videos to build the community by providing information. The language tools do not shut out the communities that may be more comfortable in Spanish. Using translation tools is key in creating a welcoming environment (Kerr et al., 2018). Instead of forcing integration onto immigrant populations, nonprofits balance conveying information as clearly as possible to focus on their mission of supporting the immigrant community. In a short video posted on YouTube by the ILCM, “Informacion sobre los nuevos programas de inmigracion -- DAPA y DACA expandida,” the nonprofit offers an information about the new programs available to the immigrant community. One presenter is on the left side of the screen where they read the information in Spanish. The information is also written in Spanish and organized in bulleted lists on the right side of the screen. These videos provide a more comprehensive understanding of the policies and educate them on how they may impact the community, including the next steps for applying to these programs. There is no English translation, but it demonstrates how the nonprofit is recentering itself around the immigrant’s needs by focusing on the language they may be the most comfortable using.

Another example of a nonprofit embracing language as a multicultural strategy is NSM's use of Spanish in their social media content. The NSM's use of Spanish opens up the community representation, solidifying that they do work with individuals who do not just speak English. In a series of posts on Instagram, the NSM parallels photos against images of those quoted in Spanish and backs onto an English translation. For example, in an Instagram post, the caption reads, "Mil gracias al grupo danza azteca Campatlenezi por accompanar @vamos_juntos_ y NSM a la protesta hoy para #BlackLivesMatter el poder del pueblo nos da la esperanza para seguir," which translates to thanking the Aztec dance group Campatelenzi for accompanying the NSM to the Black Lives Matter protests. The photo connected to the post has nine individuals in traditional Aztec clothing. A skull is painted on one of their faces, while another individual wears a mask of a type of bird. Other participants are adorned with feather headpieces and brightly colored woven attire. Not only does this post linguistically encapsulate a strategy of openness, but the photo establishes that the organization appreciates working alongside organizations that have roots in other cultures.

Language is used as a physical symbol to encapsulate multiculturalism. Language goes beyond just translation tools, but becomes a symbol to demonstrate how open a nonprofit is to outsiders. Being able to translate media into multiple languages opens up the ability for nonprofits to reach wider audiences. Therefore, language is a way to symbolically demonstrate how open a nonprofit is to other cultures and how much they are willing to embrace diversity.

Blindness of Multiculturalism

Though these strategies welcome immigrants' experiences, it is also important to acknowledge how multiculturalist strategies can hide the inequality that manifests in U.S. society. As discussed in Chapter Four, multiculturalism has implications, and I would argue this would be particularly important for nonprofits to explore further before relying heavily on these tactics. According to Bhabha (1996), there are limits to the idea of creating a diverse environment through multiculturalism. Bhabha (1996) argues that multiculturalism assumes there is a balance between all groups. The desire to make everyone equal overshadows any concern for inequality. In agreeance with Bhabha, Taylor (1992) points out that under the surface of what seemingly is a multicultural environment, power is still a factor in relations between individuals. Bhabha (1996) takes this concept further and argues that multiculturalism is mimicry at its very form. The host mimics the guest, and the guest mimics the host, yet this relationship is not equal. This is inauthentic, though it seemingly attempts to seem authentic. Therefore, while multiculturalist strategies are well-meaning, often those who implement them are unaware of their privilege.

Multiculturalist strategies cannot undo a host and guest hierarchy. For example, the hosts (the nonprofit employees) are privileged as many of them hold protective citizenship (Vrasti & Dayal, 2016). In addition, their race, class, and sexuality also play a part in their privileged positions. The immigrants, the guests, do not hold these protective positions, and therefore, their lived experiences can be very different. Nonprofits can then run the risk of overusing multiculturalist strategies while ignoring the inequality between the guest and host. Even though these strategies are supposed to impose a welcoming environment through the appreciation of diversity, there is the fear that the inequity of experiences between those who hold citizenship and those who do not can, in the end, impact the more vulnerable community.

Nonprofits across the three cities use multicultural strategies to push forward a more welcoming atmosphere. Using blogs and language offered these nonprofits a chance to add to the welcome atmosphere towards the immigrant community. These tools allow the nonprofits to seem more welcoming to diversity by recognizing and acknowledging immigrants' uniqueness. At the same time, I did find that my analysis did not entirely rely on multicultural strategies. Though nonprofits took on multiculturalist strategy, they also would depend on assimilation strategies. I would then argue that the multiculturalist strategy set the stage for advancing a welcoming atmosphere. At the same time, the organizations would rely more heavily on an assimilation strategy to establish a more concrete welcoming atmosphere.

However, with the best of intentions, nonprofits cannot ignore the privilege that exists in a nonprofit and immigrant relationship. Though multiculturalism is a way to embrace diversity, privilege eliminates a truly equal playing between the nonprofit and the immigrant. Therefore, nonprofits face either turning a blind eye to this inequity, or finding ways to balance diversity and uniqueness while ultimately knowing that the nonprofit can never truly embrace the immigrant's experience.

Assimilation

To push forward a welcoming atmosphere, the nonprofits I analyzed used assimilation strategies. In the context of this research, assimilation is the road to becoming “American” (Rumbaut, 1997). To achieve this, nonprofits use media strategies to assist in acculturation so that the immigrant community can feel like they can belong to the broader U.S. society. Generally, these nonprofits use these media strategies to assist in the enculturation of these immigrant groups. Through my analysis, I uncovered two major ways the nonprofits across Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco use media to create a more welcoming environment. One way for organizations to represent their assimilation is through using media to display the positive assimilation experience. The other way is to use media to further the immigrant's symbolic capital. Assimilation is full of paradoxes, which is touched upon later in this chapter. As assimilation strategies attempt to offer the immigrant community skills to feel more welcomed by broader society, nonprofits can overlook their advantaged position and assume they understand the immigrant's experience.

Symbolic Capital

Organizations that offer programs for immigrants to gain symbolic capital assist in the assimilation process (Squire, 2011). The nonprofits I analyzed offered classes, resources, and education to the immigrant community, while these materials were highlighted on their website and social media. This form of symbolic capital gives the immigrant a chance to gain the skills so they can feel part of the community. In the context of this dissertation, symbolic capital is assimilation skills offered to immigrants. In Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minnesota, I found all three states had nonprofits that assisted in building symbolic capital for immigrant groups. In San Francisco, the nonprofits Refugee and Immigrant Transitions and the NNIRR used online media to help promote their programming that supported immigrant groups in learning English and other lifestyle support. For example, online Refugee and Immigrant Transitions publicized these classes, making statements like, “We help students improve their English, literacy, and other skills on their pathways to schooling, employment, and citizenship. We create safe and welcoming spaces that honor students’ cultures and build a vibrant community”. This quote explicitly promotes their programming to further the welcoming process, pointing towards the skills to learn English as a second language furthering their assimilation into the community. Offline, Refugee and Immigrant Transitions created a physical community space in Oakland California, to welcome those they support. Within this space, the organization offers skill-based symbolic capital, such as language classes that allow refugees to assimilate more comfortably into the community. The courses focus on skill-building, including language and citizenship classes. Like Refugee and Immigrant Transitions, NNIRR uses educational classes to use their building to assist those they support in assimilation to transition into U.S. Society.

The nonprofits do not just focus on promoting the programming to gain symbolic capital, but also promotes the community that assists in the programming. Volunteers and other members of the nonprofit community help in gaining symbolic capital, offering additional support in language skills, community skills, and occupational skills. Throughout my analysis of the three cities, I noticed the blended relationship between volunteers and immigrants within their social media content. Photos of the two groups offered a visually symbolic pairing, displaying the importance of the relationship between the newcomer and the community. For example, a series of photos on the PICC Facebook page features the 2019 Statewide Immigrant and Refugee Rights Convening. The series of photos display, “130 immigrants and refugee leaders, activists, and allies from across Pennsylvania.” The noticeable feature is the reoccurring logo that says, “PA hearts immigrants," where the heart is the actual image of a red heart. These photos demonstrate how volunteers and other activists of the immigrant community are working to support the community. There are several photos where groups of individuals are talking with one another, and against the backdrop of the photos is the slogan "PA hearts immigrants." These images of volunteers and other members represent the community that supports the immigrant community.

However, symbolic capital is not distributed equally to all newcomers. In fact, Ang (2001) argues that symbolic capital can restrict other groups from having the same opportunities. Rumbaut (1997) writes that, "The result is not "like-mindedness"… race and place become critical structural determinates of the degree of assimilation" (p. 994). A person's race and where they come from factor into their assimilation process. Nonprofits may regard symbolic capital as a way to give all immigrants opportunities to assimilate. However, the reality is that U.S integration policies are usually more oriented away from undocumented immigrants and asylees, benefiting one immigrant group over the other (Squire, 2011).

In addition to bias and other stereotyping that may go into the political distribution of symbolic capital, Vrasti & Dayal (2016) emphasize the role of citizenship in interactions between those who have citizenship and those who do not. This means that though volunteers and nonprofit employees may come with the best intentions, but their citizenship position ultimately changes their perspective and interactions with the immigrant population. When analyzing PICC, I found that the organization provides educational tools to inform volunteers about the community. Still, the toolkit does not include information about helping facilitate these interactions between the volunteers and the communities they intend to support. For example, PICC started a Toolbox of educational information for the differing community members. PICC focuses on information directed towards either allies, community activist, educators, and youth. The Toolbox includes talking points describing the rights of the individual and essential information these groups need to know about education around sanctuary policies, and how to stop stereotypes about immigrants. While this Toolbox includes substantial information for the community member to use, it misses a discussion about the role of citizenship. Vrasti and Dayal (2016) argue that though hosts often attempt to create an equal relationship with the guest, the relationship remains unequal due to their immigration status positionality.

Symbolic capital is a strategy for nonprofits to assist in integrating newcomers. Much of the work done is on the ground in offline spaces assisting newcomers in building skills. To highlight and acknowledge the importance of symbolic capital, nonprofits promote their programming and support online through websites and social media. Though volunteers may want to build their relationship with the immigrant, they do not fully understand their privileged position. Therefore, the relationship between volunteers, staff, and immigrants is not as flawless as it may seem in the media projected by the nonprofits. If those in positions of privilege ignore the systems that keep them in these positions, inequity continues (Applebaum, 2007). Applebaum (2007) fears that white activists who claim allyship may then see themselves as being able to, “transcend systems of oppression and privilege; rather, they remain collectively responsible for continually challenging such systems” (p. 467). Applebaum (2007) refers to how activists need to be aware of power systems. There is a complicated relationship between solidarity practices, oppression, and privilege. Still, those who are in privileged positions must understand how their position impacts the communities. White volunteers and activists who stand in solidarity with immigrant communities can support them by assisting in symbolic capital gain. Still, their assistance does not eradicate them from being in spaces that may oppress immigrant groups.

Symbolic capital allows nonprofits to assist immigrant groups in the integration process and add to the welcoming atmosphere. Granting the community access to these skills offers them more opportunities to integrate faster. In my discourse, the nonprofits I analyzed use media to highlight the integration process, particularly focusing on the relationship between volunteers, staff, and immigrants. However, privilege and inequity are still present in the relationship, and therefore, this imbalance may impact the relationship between these groups.

Telling the Immigrant Story

Telling the immigrant story is a way for nonprofits to illustrate how the immigrant assimilates. In all three cities, nonprofits take the time to highlight a singular experience of an immigrant. While touching upon their immigrant experience’s uniqueness, the nonprofit would highlight their assimilation into U.S. society. While I discussed earlier, individual stories can assist in disassociating from the label of ‘immigrant’ and add a unique perspective, an individual story can display a perspective that is about trying to find a community between newcomer and immigrant. I less frequently observed individual multicultural stories in nonprofit online spaces, the assimilation stories were much more present.

This short section briefly displays how different organizations approach individual immigrant stories that celebrate assimilation. For example, Refugee and Immigrant Transitions created a video entitled *Languages of Hope*. The story centers around Santa, a Guatemalan refugee (Refugee & Immigrant Transitions, 2018). The video briefly covers Santa's traditional weaving expertise, but focuses much more heavily on her language and vocational studies journey. The video displays how Santa assimilates into American life, leaving out her original career as a weaver. As the video explores vocational classes like cafe skills, the video falls short of expanding Santa's home career. This video is much more of an example of how Refugee and Immigrant Transitions assists in the assimilation process, than a video that focuses on Santa's life before immigrating.

A similar instance is written on Arrive Ministries' webpage. Arrive Ministries uses blog posts to delve deeper into the refugee experiences and offer commentary about how immigrants could assimilate to the U.S. A blog post called "Forced to Flee Three Times, a Heart Remaining Two Places" covers the experience of Jawed, who fled from Afghanistan with his family after being threatened by the Taliban (Arrive Ministries, n.d.). The blog post bounces back and forth between first-person quotes and a third-person narrative. In the second section of the blog post, after explaining why Jawed and his family left Afghanistan, the blog later highlights how the staff at Arrive Ministries welcomed the family. Jawed says, "I was introduced to five families here who were all very welcoming and friendly people. Now, I don't feel alone here. They are my best friends in Minnesota, I always enjoy being with them, it is how I learn the culture." This quote encapsulates the assimilation process, and the mode nonprofits take to enhance the process. The nonprofit assisted in connecting the family to community members. Connecting people in the community to Jawed’s family helps the family better learn the culture while feeling welcomed. Jawed’s story offers a glimpse into how nonprofits help create an atmosphere where immigrants feel a sense of belonging.

In Philadelphia, this approach is used again through the mode of blog posts. The blog post highlights a refugee who the nonprofit has assisted. In one post by HIAS entitled “From abuse to self-sufficiency: An Indonesian woman’s path to independence,” the author highlights the struggle and perseverance of the individual to gain independence and seek refugee status (HIAS PA, 2019). The blog post centers around the refugee Merie, who was in an abusive relationship until she decided to flee and apply for refugee status. The post highlights how HIAS helped with the citizenship process, which has helped her children succeed in their American education. Like the other two experiences highlighted in these chapters, the organization’s role and assimilation strategies display how the organizations are welcoming and can offer assistance to blend into U.S culture.

I also noticed a very western centered narrative within the creation of this media by the nonprofits. Throughout these blog posts, a common narrative is that after the immigrant integrates, their life is better than before getting help from the nonprofit. However, this becomes problematic as it also disguises the unease of resettlement. Bagelman (2013) argues that highlighting only the ease of assimilation can ultimately hide the uncertainty for those who recently arrived in Western culture. Much of the time, those who control sanctuary policies believe that placing the label of ‘sanctuary’ is enough, but this only contributes to what Bagelman (2013) refers to as the politics of unease. The problem with this scenario is that relying on embracing happy and joyful moments is that the community these organizations are supporting are in vulnerable positions with their citizenship, so these stories do not always express the reality of the their status. Without acknowledging the potential difficulties faced by the immigrant in integrating, the message comes that it is easy to assimilate into U.S. culture. Therefore, though the nonprofit is painted positively for creating a culture of hospitality, at the same time, these blogs run the risk of contributing to a culture that leans on a politics of ease, even though the reality is uneasy for those who are in a precarious space because of their citizenship status.

The blog posts often center around the Western perspective. In the video post about Santa, the content creator quickly touches upon Santa's life as a weaver but hastily moves into how the social capital she has gained in her education classes has led to her developing skills to become a barista. Like the story of Santa, HIAS also re-tells the story of the refugee. What seemingly occurs is that the creator, editor, and director focus more heavily on the Western experience, like focusing more heavily on Santa's assimilation than truly listening to Santa's perspective. Spivak (1985/2010) argues that the Westerner's gaze often misinterprets the subaltern's needs. Therefore, when a Westerner attempts to speak for, or in this case, create media for an immigrant, they risk misinterpreting the immigrant's story. On the other hand, in this case, I would argue that the framing of Santa's story sets up realistic expectations for immigrants and refugees.

I can see how the narrator was trying to offer skills that are more prevalent in Western society. Still, this video lacks the celebration of how immigrants can benefit our society, focusing much more on how the host can benefit them. Though these stories offer a more in-depth glance into the immigrant experience, the content creators rely heavily on their interpretation of experiences. The blog posts and video posts are either told in the third person, translated, or edited. Therefore, it is unknown how much the blog is written in the immigrant's voice versus the interpreter's. Spivak (2010) observed the subaltern in India and questioned if they can speak for themselves. Spivak (2010) found that the academics in the West bring in Western bias, which clouds their interpretation of the subaltern experience. Focusing on Spivak's criticism of colonialist systems that other the subaltern, the blog post could act as a way to other the immigrant experience. The posts written in the third person indicate interpretation by the writer. Without the immigrant's first-person account, the authors' interpretations create a past impoverished image of the refugee. The blog post then acts almost as promotional material that hides the experience of the immigrant.

Nonprofits that can balance assimilation and multiculturalist strategies can construct a more welcoming environment for the immigrant. Assimilation strategies highlight the relationship between the nonprofit and the immigrant. At the same time however, assimilation strategies can hide the inequity that exists between the pairing. Writing in the voice of an immigrant or highlighting how they assimilate may on the outside seem like a strategy to display the benefits of integration. However, the nonprofits I analyzed often relied on Western interpretations of the immigrant's stories and rarely put out first-person accounts. This may mean that nonprofits leave out the true story in their interpretations. While creating a welcoming atmosphere is important, also finding a way to ensure nonprofits do not lose the immigrant perspective.

Religious Rhetoric

Within the landscape of immigrant rights, religion was used as reasoning to create welcoming spaces. As discussed earlier in the chapter “Sanctuary as Protection”, these different cities have varying levels of religious influence in their city population. In a Pew Research study from 2015, Minneapolis and Philadelphia were more religiously affiliated than San Francisco (Lipka, 2015). Therefore, this may be why I found that there was much more religious nonprofit affiliation in Philadelphia and Minneapolis than I saw in San Francisco. However, though these cities have varying religious affiliation levels, I found commonality in using religious rhetoric. The use of religious rhetoric and imagery is a way to connect with those in the immigrant community and legitimize why the organization is trying welcoming to them. Overall, religious calling use is the basis of how nonprofits make sense of and do meaningful work, otherwise thought of as an “intrinsic motivation or passion to a type of task or set of work characteristics” (Neubert & Halbesleben, 2015, p. 861). Identity with religion also plays a role in spiritual calling, as one’s association with being religious plays into the motivation to welcome outside communities (Neubert & Halbesleben, 2015). Minneapolis’s religious nonprofits use this religious calling to look beyond immigration law and use Christian rhetoric to justify the community’s belonging and welcoming.

Religious rhetoric highlights the nonprofit missions and justifies providing sanctuary to the immigrant population. Minneapolis’ religious nonprofits use this religious calling to look beyond immigration law and use Christian rhetoric to justify the community’s belonging and welcoming. For example, the ISAIAH network uses the Old Testament in Matthew verse 25, “For I was hungry, and you gave me food, I was thirsty, and you gave me drink, I was a stranger, and you welcomed me," to justify welcoming immigrants to the community (New International Version, 1973, Matthew 25:35). On the ISAIAH network website, the organization writes:

> They take the call seriously to "love thy neighbor" and "welcome the stranger." (ISAIAH, n.d.) they have decided to be Sanctuary or Sanctuary Supporting in this network by committing to walk a path together, standing against evil and hate in all its many forms and embracing radical, tangible love (ISAIAH, n.d.).

Like the ISAIAH network, Arrive Ministries also use the word of God to defend their religious calling. Arrive Ministries writes on their website that their organization's purpose is to "Live out God's command to welcome refugees and immigrants." The religious call to action, on the surface, is beneficial to the organization. It gives everyone a common identity to feel connected and pushes forward a social justice-focused agenda.

Organizations use religious rhetoric to construct their outreach media, which justifies creating a welcoming atmosphere towards immigrants. In a post written by a member of ISAIAH, the writer focuses on Islam's role in the organization. ISAIAH uses a passage from the Quran in a blog post entitled "Just Like One Body In the Face of Injustice". The blog post looks to Islam to explain how injustices impact the body and the nation in which you belong, writing, "you cannot turn a blind eye for their suffering is also yours" (Chebli, 2019). Inviting other religions into the organizations tells me that the members' collective identity is not Christian. Instead, by extending to other religions beyond Christianity, religious identity is not the center of belonging to these organizations, but religion is a justification for being welcoming.

The NSM and Juntos in 2013 focused on using the medium of video to showcase first-person accounts of the 40 Days of Action Fasting and Prayer, a campaign organized by the NSM (NSM Philly, 2013). Peter Pedemonti, the NSM executive director, said that the videos connect with the movement and protest the injustices faced by undocumented immigrants. By using prayer, Pedemonti explained, one could participate in the campaign. Members from PICC offered their support and joined in with the fast uploading of a series of videos to their YouTube page. The videos are short, only ranging from 30 seconds to a minute, and are uploaded to YouTube. Pedemonti's video describes how fasting becomes a religious metaphor and action to describe standing up for the injustices, and becoming aware of the injustices faced by refugees and undocumented immigrants. Members of the NSM also contributed similar videos speaking about why they are fasting. These videos at the surface represent collective action among the organizational community and the discourse coalition of attempting to create a community supporting immigrants' rights. The driving force within each video is the collective identity-forming across organizations which is the use of religion. Each video relies on prayer to fuel the connection between organizations.

While the NSM and Juntos videos intend to assist in helping the immigrant community, I think it is important to bring in the perspective used earlier to discuss the implications of religion on belonging. While religious calling is supposed to inspire a welcoming atmosphere, there remains a paradox of exclusiveness. In all three cities, some organizations focused on religious rhetoric to add to the welcoming environment. These organizations in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis are centered around the benefits of religion, overshadowing how religion has segregated groups of people, creating an us and them mentality. The underlying history of religion presents a narrative of unwelcoming (Maldonado-Torres, 2014). Though religion offers a basis to justify welcoming the “other,” the historical foundation based on where they came from, what they look like, and how they identify brings forward religion’s paradox. In this video campaign, NSM uses prayer as the call to action. The call to action leaves out those who do not participate in the act of worship. Therefore, though these organizations rely heavily on positive Christian rhetoric to further the organizational agenda, it also hides how religion perpetuates the us and them mentality. In the case of the NSM campaign, those how to pray can participate. At the same time, those who do not take on this activity may not feel welcomed.

I found that these nonprofit organizations do not always associate with religious rhetoric. On the ISAIAH and Arrive Ministries social networking site Instagram, the role of religion is less evident. There is much more of a strong emphasis on voting and democracy for the ISAIAH network overwhelms the page. ISAIAH uses social media to open the nonprofit to a broader audience focusing less on religion while using its blog to connect deeply with faith. Therefore, for these religious organizations creating a culture of hospitality may be encouraged by religious calling. It also requires them to center social media in broader terms to accomplish their goals.

In my analysis, the nonprofits that use religious rhetoric center their mission around the theme of welcoming. They use this language to guide their organization towards being open to immigrant communities. The nonprofits promote their position in online spaces. Though the rhetoric is often welcoming, the history of religion also wears a different façade. Critics argue that religion has also created spaces of unwelcoming. Therefore, nonprofits working with the immigrant community must determine how to acknowledge this paradox between following a religious calling based on welcoming, while working in a system with historical roots in exclusiveness.

Conclusion

In my discourse analysis in Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Minneapolis, I found that nonprofits that work alongside the immigrant community and the Sanctuary Movement use similar tactics to push forward a welcoming atmosphere. Though many nonprofits rarely worked directly together and had differing missions, a consistent finding was how they used social and online media to establish this atmosphere. Through multicultural, assimilation strategies, and religious rhetoric, the nonprofits use these tactics to create a welcoming atmosphere supporting the immigrant community.

Nonprofits use multiculturalist practices far less across the three cities, but those nonprofits that embraced this strategy found ways to recognize the uniqueness of the immigrant community. Nonprofits that highlighted the individual experiences and embraced language expressed the uniqueness of the immigrant community. Though the individual experiences in a multicultural framework were not as common as experiences that fit more of an assimilation framework, this strategy celebrated the individual cultural experience. Language became a way for nonprofits to show that they embraced diversity as a representational and symbolic tool. Another strategy that arose in this research to forge a welcoming atmosphere was creating media that highlighted assimilation. Nonprofits were able to display the importance of social capital as a way to help immigrants assimilate into U.S society. Through social media, outreach materials, and blog posts, nonprofits would emphasize the beneficial relationship between the nonprofit and the immigrant.

The last strategy discussed was the use of religious rhetoric. A handful of nonprofits analyzed have religious foundations. Across the three cities, all of these nonprofits referred to religious calling to reason why they welcomed the community. Using this rhetoric pushes forward that the organization is open and desires to welcome the immigrant community. Though these strategies are seemingly helpful to establishing a positive atmosphere for nonprofits, there remains a more complex imbalance between the nonprofit and immigrant communities.

Though each of these strategies at the surface seems beneficial to creating a welcoming environment, these strategies also do not admonish the unequal relationship between the nonprofit staff and the immigrant community. I found that though multiculturalism, assimilation, and religion can seem welcoming, these strategies can also hide the immigrant community’s difficulties. When coming to the U.S. identity inequity is something that immigrant communities experience. The immigrant community often resides in the space of limbo, where their citizenship status changes their experiences. In contrast, the nonprofit staff often will not have to face these experiences themselves. Therefore, while nonprofits try to create welcoming atmospheres, there remain foundational colonialist systems that nonprofits must acknowledge and dismantle to create a welcoming atmosphere.

CHAPTER 7:

CONCLUSION

On April 19, 2019, Cher, the celebrity singer-songwriter, tweeted out:

> I Understand Helping struggling Immigrants, but MY CITY (Los Angeles) ISNT TAKING CARE OF ITS OWN.WHAT ABOUT THE 50,000 + Citizens WHO LIVE ON THE STREETS.PPL WHO LIVE BELOW POVERTY LINE, & HUNGRY? If My State Can't Take Care of Its Own (Many Are VETS) How Can it Take Care Of More. (Cher, 2019)

Though Cher does not directly state Los Angeles' sanctuary city status, associating the city with taking care of immigrants points towards the city's immigration policies. In response to this tweet that sanctuary cities should be supporting citizens of the U.S., Trump responded, "I finally agree with @Cher!" (Trump, 2019). This tweet exchange between Cher and Trump opens up a critical connection between belonging and citizenship in the Trump era. On the one hand, Cher argues that citizenship is vital to get assistance, care, and consideration of belonging. Assistance, according to Cher, should be given to veterans, which are not, according to Cher, immigrants. This points to a belief that those who represent and defend the U.S. are not immigrants, which is not true. Non-citizens are allowed to join the U.S. military, and the Nationality Act of 1952 offered serving non-citizens a chance to get an expedited route to citizenship. However, in 2017, Trump used his authority to put up barriers, making it harder for these military serving non-citizens to participate in the program (ACLU, 2020). Therefore, this tweet by Cher only encourages the agenda of the Trump administration, seen through Trump's response. Cher connecting deservingness with citizenship glosses over how modern colonialist agendas by the Trump administration are wrapped within discourses of belonging and citizenship.

I present this tweet exchange to conclude my dissertation as I believe it sums up the agenda of the Trump administration, to reduce belonging and citizenship to what seemingly is strictly defined by simplistic characteristics and qualities. Yet, these qualifications are based on colonialist agendas, that are rooted in racist ideologies about immigrants of color. As I discussed in this dissertation, the administration used deeply seeded stereotypes to fuel and muddy the conceptualization of sanctuary by deeming the policies an enemy. Because Trump was so blatant about his dislike for sanctuary cities and sanctuary policies, I wanted in this research to understand how different aspects of the sanctuary jurisdictions like Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco (municipal office, local news media, and nonprofits that work with the immigrant community) respond to the Trump administration's immigration executive orders, and what does this say about discourses of citizenship and belonging.

While it is difficult to narrow down my findings into a few words and thoughts, I noticed three significant points which is covered more in depth within this chapter. The first finding is that the concept of sanctuary does not have a clearly defined meaning. The implications of this can be confusing to those immigrant groups impacted by these policies. Even though these are sanctuary jurisdictions, the level of protection offered to immigrants may remain unclear. The news media and even municipalities, particularly the mayors, add to the confusion around the meaning of sanctuary and sanctuary city. The second significant finding is that the mainstream news media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco use the frame of deservingness to designate who belongs and who does not belong. The final significant finding observes how municipalities and nonprofits promote protection and welcoming through multiculturalism, assimilation strategies, and religious rhetoric. And though these are important to building a thriving immigrant community, entirely relying on these strategies ignores the politics of ease. To finish off these findings, I discuss how belongingness is engrained within questions about morality and what it means to be human. In this conclusion, I also go over the limitations of this study and point to further research that I would like to pursue and recommendations for practitioners, meaning those who wish to support the immigrant community.

Murky Conceptualization of Sanctuary

In my dissertation research, I found that sanctuary is not clearly defined, as the meaning changes depending on who is using it. Historically, sanctuary on the most basic level means spaces of refuge for those in need (Rabben, 2016). However, I found that sanctuary can mean protection or illegality, or even disobedience in a contemporary political atmosphere. Observing media in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco opened up the disconnect between the local and national mainstream news media’s usage of sanctuary and the municipalities. On the one hand, local and national mainstream news media displayed the Trump administration’s animosity towards sanctuary jurisdictions and policies, exhibiting how sanctuary can mean disobedience and illegality. On the other hand, sanctuary cities and nonprofits that work alongside immigration policy and sanctuary cities use media to expose how sanctuary can mean welcoming. Therefore, the meaning of the contemporary conceptualization of sanctuary transforms from just meaning refuge, but is also heavily engrained in structures that guide immigration policies.

The local and national mainstream news reporting on sanctuary exposed two varying ways of understanding sanctuary. The local and national mainstream news focused heavily on the relationship between the Trump administration and mayors in sanctuary jurisdictions. The reporting about the Trump administration revealed the argument that sanctuary is illegal and, therefore, those cities participating in sanctuary are disobedient against the federal government. However, when also observing the mainstream news media, municipalities were represented as a counter to the Trump administration’s stance, which meant that the cities were protective instead of disobedient.

When observing municipal government and their response to sanctuary, even sanctuary jurisdictions have varied how they identify with the label. I found in the municipal media that while the San Francisco mayor is blatant about claiming to be a sanctuary city, in Minneapolis and Philadelphia, the mayors were not as heavily embracing the label. By observing the local news media as well as the municipal media, I found that San Francisco mayor was very clear about the city’s stance towards sanctuary policies. Mayor Breed stands proudly by being a sanctuary city, even including the statement “We are a sanctuary city” on the city webpage (*Sanctuary City*, n.d.). In contrast, the Philadelphia mayor referred to sanctuary jurisdictions as Fourth Amendment cities in their press releases, which I argue can cloud whether the city is truly a sanctuary jurisdiction. I could not find a clear press release or mention of sanctuary on Minneapolis’ municipal website.

While the news media defines sanctuary in terms of a political stance towards immigration policy, either as disobedient and illegal, or protective, those who adopt the term sanctuary, sanctuary city, or sanctuary jurisdiction are developing the undeveloped meaning of sanctuary. Even those who are supporting the policy add to the unclearness of the term. Without having a precise definition there is the possibility that members of the immigrant community may be confused about who and what kinds of protection sanctuary policies afford. Therefore, in the context of citizenship and belonging, the vague and everchanging definition of sanctuary is problematic. While cities may want to seem like protective environments that welcome immigrant communities, finding blatant ways to demonstrate they are a sanctuary city appears to be important to developing a clearly defined understanding of sanctuary.

Good and Bad Immigrant

In this dissertation, I also observe how the local and national mainstream news media reflect belongingness. I found that the local and national news media are participating in discourse about who deserves protection. Other scholars have looked at how news media frame immigrants as deserving and undeserving of protection (Alamillo et al., 2019; Freeland, 2010; Yukich, 2013). Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas (2014) already acknowledged the implications of the mainstream news media reliance on deservingness frames, which divide some immigrants as good or bad. In this research, I found that the local and national mainstream news media across the three cities show that some immigrants were not deserving of protection and others are, otherwise meaning, some immigrants belong, and others do not. The local and national mainstream news media framed the good immigrant versus bad immigrant through news media techniques.

One way in which the news media displays bad immigrants is through the crime narrative. I found that local news media cover stories of undocumented immigrants, mainly from Latin America, through the crime narrative in all three cities. In the local and national news media in San Francisco, Trump took advantage of the murder case of Steinle, which also occurred in more high-profile cases in Philadelphia. Though the news media may seem unbiased, the consistent narrative of crime and deservingness plays out across local and national news coverage. According to Van Dijk (1989), the news media is responsible for spreading the message. Therefore, for the mainstream news media to consistently use the deservingness narrative is problematic, because connecting murder and immigration further the Trump agenda of painting immigrants, particularly Latin American immigrants, as dangerous, which are grounded in anti-immigrant racism.

While there are some immigrants seen as bad, there must be a good immigrant. Historically, good and bad immigrants were categorized based on their nationality and race. In Minnesota, the U.S. government gave white European immigrants indigenous land and opportunity when they came to the U.S. (Ratsabout, n.d.). During the Trump administration, non-European countries were added to Executive Order 13769 (2017), which banned primarily Muslim countries. Later on, Executive Order 13780 (2017) limited visas from several countries, including Venezuela, reasoning that this order was “to protect its citizens from terrorist attacks”, directing that some countries are bad and dangerous (p. 13209). I did find that local news media across the three cities used different ways to express a good immigrant. The local and national news media used the family frame, vulnerability frame, and the model minority frame to seemingly display that these immigrants belong. The family frame, which embraced a sameness amongst different cultures, focused on the family, and the model minority frame, which explained how the immigrant contributes to the community, displayed deservingness. These frames are an alternative way to portray the immigrant from the undeserving stories. However, while local news media would find ways to talk about the immigrant experience in more humanizing ways, like going more depth into the personal journey into the immigrant’s life, I did not find national mainstream news media articles that cover these stories.

The use of deservingness in local and national media distinguishes immigrants that belong and immigrants that do not belong. I came across instances where the local and national mainstream news media praised immigrants for their contributions to their community and how the community welcomed and advocated for immigrants. However, these instances were much rarer. Instead, stories about immigrants and crime seemed to be much more present. I believe this is important to bring attention to the implications of the deservingness frame in this dissertation, because these stories contribute to the narrative that immigrants bring crime. The news media demonizes sanctuary policies protecting immigrants, especially in sanctuary jurisdictions like Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. So, while policies may protect immigrant groups, the public perception towards certain immigrant groups is tarnished.

Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Religious Rhetoric as Welcoming

The final finding was observing how nonprofit media and municipal media connect with the immigrant community. I believe it is important to understand this relationship because these organizations and municipalities in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco support these communities. Therefore, I wanted to see how these groups displayed that support. I found that the municipalities and nonprofits that work alongside the immigrant community use the concept of multiculturalism and assimilation to show their support. In addition, I found that some of the nonprofits used religion to justify why sanctuary is important.

The municipal media and the nonprofits both relied on multiculturalism in their media to display a welcoming environment. Multiculturalism is about finding an equilibrium between diversity and coming together (Gilroy, 2009). Celebrating differences displays that the organization is welcoming to different groups. In addition, I found that nonprofits used media to highlight assimilation, which meant how the organization would support the immigrant into integrating into U.S. society. Nonprofits also embraced religion as reasoning to shelter and provide refuge to immigrant groups. While municipalities and nonprofits pursue a welcoming persona, I also bring the implications of relying on these strategies into this dissertation. While nonprofits may support the immigrants and push for multiculturalism to pursue equality between citizens and non-citizen, the power of citizenship weighs on those in a precarious space. Therefore, I believe that multiculturalism and assimilation strategies can divert away from the politics of unease. The politics of unease is the unease felt by immigrants, and remains an integral part of their experience (Bagelman, 2013).

On top of it, the religious rhetoric used encourages acceptance, but I argue that it is also important to understand religion's role in creating and perpetuating difference. Mignolo (2013) argues that religion created a Master Voice embedded with Eurocentric epistemology. However, this dissertation does not say that multiculturalism, assimilation, and religion are bad for the immigrant community. These groups are there to welcome and support the community through belonging. Yet, in this dissertation, I wanted to understand the role citizenship plays in the relationship between the newcomer and those trying to assist them. The reliance on religion, though helpful, can cloud its role in preparing difference and not belonging.

These three overlying findings I present in this chapter display how complicated researching and observing sanctuary are. Therefore, while I did an in-depth look into the media coverage of the sanctuary during the Trump administration, I also believe there are limitations to my study and further research that I hope to pursue one day.

Limitations and Further Research

In this section, I briefly go over the limitations of this study and further research that I believe would be interesting to enhance this research. I also include recommendations for practitioners. Firstly, I acknowledge there are limitations in my study. The first and foremost limitation is that I only observed media in this discourse analysis. Though my method is grounded in theoretical guidance from Van Dijk and Hall, moments in this dissertation could have been enhanced by talking to those who created the media. I also know that these are my interpretations. Though they are grounded in theoretical background and a detailed methodological plan, I did not have another peer to evaluate my findings. I would argue that, even with these limitations, my goal of this dissertation was not to uncover a scientific finding. Instead, my goal was to understand how municipalities, local and national mainstream news media, and nonprofits interpret sanctuary and, in the larger context, how these responses reflect discourses of belonging and citizenship. My goal then was not to get a definitive scientific answer.

The major limitation of this study is that I only gathered data until January 2020. A further investigation past January 2020 until the end of the Trump presidency would be the next steps in this project. The changing atmosphere of 2020 would have brought ample data to explore. On May 25, 2020, an African American man George Floyd was murdered in Minneapolis by a city police officer. How the community reacted would have been crucial in understanding a more developing notion of belonging and citizenship. The rise of COVID-19 would be essential to know how the municipality, local and national mainstream news media, and nonprofits reacted to these changes. As well, I am interested in how these immigrant groups connected with the Black Lives Matter movement. There has already been a scholarly analysis of the reaction of immigrants during the rise of BLM. Horse et al. (2021) observed how Asian American immigrants perceive belongingness in the rise of BLM. The quantitative study found that some Asian Americans had connectedness with the movement, while more foreign-born Asian immigrants had nativity towards the movement. Therefore, there is cause to wonder how municipalities, mainstream news, and nonprofits reacted to the movement. Other future research, I also believe this investigation could go further in the changing immigration landscape, observing the 46th president elect Joe Biden and his administration and the newest immigration policies.

I believe nonprofits and municipalities should be aware of the politics of unease when creating media materials in my recommendations to practitioners, specifically those who support immigrant groups. Understanding citizenship and its role in feelings of belonging could open up more strategies that rely on multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric. Those who are writing stories about the immigrant community understand the reliance on either pitting an immigrant as good or bad and strategizing other ways to talk about the immigrant community. My final recommendation would be for Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco to observe how they are using media to display that they are a sanctuary jurisdiction. The term has many meanings, therefore clarity about being a sanctuary jurisdiction seemingly would be necessary to help better define the term, so that those immigrants who find refuge in the city may understand better how they are protected.

In this dissertation, I observed municipal media, local and national mainstream news, and nonprofits that work alongside the immigrant community in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. I wanted to understand the discourse surrounding belonging and citizenship within the context of sanctuary. I found that though the Trump administration's immigration executive orders and anti-immigrant rhetoric claimed concern for U.S. citizens' protection, I argue there are underlying racist and sexist beliefs that ground these executive orders to deem immigrants of color as not belonging. These racist and sexist beliefs are also present in mainstream news media through the frame of deservingness.

I also observed the relationship the sanctuary jurisdictions and the nonprofit volunteers and staff have with the immigrant communities they are supporting. I found in this research that the interaction between a person with protected status may have a very different experience than those with semi-protected or undocumented status, therefore citizenship does play a part in the belonging process. In all, understanding belonging and citizenship in the context of media about sanctuary is very difficult and convoluted. The definition of sanctuary at the end of this dissertation remains murky. Yet understanding why this murkiness exists and how to make sense of it may offer those who support the policies a chance to advance the concept to better support the immigrant community.

Limitations of Moral Appeals

Immigration, at the most basic level, is deciding who belongs and who does not belong, and therefore, who is allowed protection, and who is not allowed protection, which is then a moral appeal faced in immigration discourse. The morality of immigration grapples with the understanding of how to decide who gets protection and sanctuary. Should everyone be allowed into the U.S., or should some barriers enable some to remain outside and potentially in danger? Moral appeals can be redefined into techniques like multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric, which attempt to lean towards the hope that everyone could be let in. Yet, as displayed throughout this dissertation, even these appeals have limits. Those who talk about the benefits of sanctuary must decide to use these tools to demonstrate their moral beliefs about belongingness. I found, no matter what side, either it being those against or for sanctuary policies, must in some way distinctively grapple with the question, who is deserving and not deserving of the protection and refuge? This decision is not exclusively a debate in the Trump administration, but how different groups understand deservingness of protection differs, blending into their deeper beliefs about what it is to be human.

Human, in my research, is judged at different levels, and not a clear defining practice, that everyone, no matter where they came from, deserves to be protected. While belongingness is derived from being recognized and feeling part of a community. The choice of who is offered these foundational tools of belongingness is not based on merit or good faith merit (Nagel & Ehrkamp, 2016). Still, it is derived from a belief that an ideal citizen is entrenched and compared against a framework of white Christianity (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018). This framework comes from the European hierarchy that continues those in power must remain in power. To legitimize this is to make up a human-made delineation between who belongs and who does not belong, which in turn means who deserves protection and who does not deserve protection. To bring back the example of the U.S. government in Minnesota giving white European immigrants indigenous land (Ratsabout, n.d.). The government forced the indigenous community off their land and diminished their status to not belonging to the U.S. community, deeming them as uncivilized and other (Ratsabout, n.d.). This would continue the narrative that the U.S. government gave land to deserving people instead of the truth, stealing land from indigenous people.

Therefore, with all of the efforts made by the nonprofit institutions and sanctuary jurisdictions to create spaces of belongingness, the role of belongingness and citizenship only works when there is a delineation between not belonging and not being a citizen, and therefore, not deserving of protection. So, while modernism seems to grasp the joys and benefits of multiculturalism, assimilation, and religious rhetoric as all ways to belong, the undercurrent remains that discourses of protection in the U.S. immigration landscape are entrenched in this delineation. Therefore, there is no contemporary deservingness, belongingness, and citizenship discourse that can be disconnected from colonialist agenda; parsing these appeals from colonialism is impossible.

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APPENDIX A

MUNICIPAL MEDIA SAMPLE

City	Minneapolis	Philadelphia	San Francisco
Press Releases	http://www.minneapolismn.gov/news/newshome http://www.minneapolismn.gov/ncr/oira/immigration-news	https://www.phila.gov/the-latest/archives/#/?templates=press_release https://www.phila.gov/departments/office-of-immigrant-affairs/	http://sfmayor.org/news https://sfgov.org/oceia/sanctuary-city-ordinance-0 https://sf.gov/departments/city-administrator/office-civic-engagement-and-immigrant-affairs#news
Government TV	https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLcNuebgSUruB8iW0p4QTOluMKw1ZsBy1t http://www.minneapolismn.gov/tv/citycounciltv	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCHrro57kEHOCo7XAxYKD6-A/videos https://phillycam.org/	https://www.youtube.com/user/SFGTV/videos https://sfgovtv.org/

City Social Media	https://www.facebook.com/cityofminneapolis/ https://twitter.com/CityMinneapolis	https://www.facebook.com/cityofphiladelphia/ https://twitter.com/PhiladelphiaGov	https://www.facebook.com/SFGovTV https://www.facebook.com/SF/ https://www.facebook.com/SFOCEIA/ https://twitter.com/sfgovtv https://www.instagram.com/sfgovtv/ https://twitter.com/sfgov?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Eembeddedtimeline%7Ctwterm%5Elist%3Asfgov%3Aofficial_agencies&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fsf.gov%2F https://www.facebook.com/sfgov.oceia https://www.instagram.com/sf_immigrants/ https://twitter.com/OCEIA_SF

APPENDIX B

MAINSTREAM LOCAL NEWS SAMPLE

Local News		Article Count
Philadelphia	Philadelphia Inquirer	23
n=75	Philly Tribune	1
	WHYY	27
	NBC	4
	FOX	4
	CBS	16
San Franciso	FOX	36
n=332	NBC	26
	CBS	28
	ABC	2
	SF Chronicle	128
	SF Examiner	45
	SF Weekly	9
	KQED	42
	KALW	16
Minneapolis	FOX	43
n=117	CBS	12
	ABC	13
	NBC	12
	Star Tribune	15
	City Pages	2
	MPR	20
Total N=		524

APPENDIX C

MAINSTREAM NATIONAL NEWS SAMPLE

National News	Article Count
NPR	6
FOX	16
ABC	13
NBC	11
CBS	7
N=	53

APPENDIX D

NONPROFIT SAMPLE

City	Nonprofit	Website	Religious Affiliation?
San Francisco	National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR)	nnirr.org	No
San Francisco	Immigrant and Refugee Transitions	reftrans.org	No
San Francisco	Arrive Ministries	arriveministries.org	Yes- Christianity
Philadelphia	New Sanctuary Movement (NSM)	sanctuaryphiladelphia.org	Yes- Interfaith
Philadelphia	HIAS PA (HIAS)	hiaspa.org	Yes- Interfaith
Philadelphia	Pennsylvania Immigration and Citizenship Coalition (PICC)	paimmigrant.org	No
Minneapolis	Immigrant Law Center of Minnesota (ILCM)	ilcm.org	No
Minneapolis	ISAIAH Network	isaiahmn.org	Yes- Christianity

APPENDIX E

PRELIMINARY CODING SHEET

Preliminary Soak Coding
Sample:

A. Non Profits
B. Municipal Government Media
C. Local News
D. Mainstream News

Source:
Creator/ Writer:
Format:

A. Press release
B. Online article
C. Print article
D. Blog post
E. Social Media Post
F. Radio Transcript
G. Television News Clip
H. __________

Intended audience:
Headline:
Main objective of the media:
Makes mention of

A. Sanctuary Movement
B. Sanctuary City
C. Sanctuary
D. Hospitality

Makes mention of

A. Documented Immigrant
B. Undocumented Immigrant
C. Refugee
D. Asylum Seeker

Makes mention of

- ☐ Social movement
- ☐ Protest
- ☐ Activism

Points of reference to belonging:
Points of reference to citizenship:
Describing words of subjects in media:
Statistics mentioned:

APPENDIX F

FINAL CODING SHEET

Coding System

National & Local News

- What is sanctuary? : I noted if the text tried to define or question ‘sanctuary’ and ‘sanctuary cities’
- Children of Immigrants: Using children to describe deservingness
- Crime of immigrants: Using crime to describe deservingness
- Individual stories or overview: Does the article focus in on an individual, or is it more focused on the situation as a whole
- ICE, Trump administration & city relationship: Discussion of the city and ICE or the Trump administration
- Role of churches: Discussion of religion
- Support of the community: Focus on the support
- Source of information: Where are the media outlets receiving their information

Municipal Media

- City supported holidays
- Sanctuary definition
- City Programs in support of the immigrant community