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# Wired Nation: How The Tea Party Drove an Anti-Immigrant Campaign

Louis Edgar Esparza  
*California State University—Los Angeles*

Judith Blau  
*University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill*

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## **Wired Nation: How The Tea Party Drove an Anti-Immigrant Campaign<sup>1</sup>**

**Louis Edgar Esparza & Judith Blau**

California State University—Los Angeles; University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill

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### **Abstract**

Emails written by activists mobilized by organizations affiliated with the tea party and supporting anti-immigrant legislation illustrate two primary kinds of tea party activists. Most activists articulate economic grievances and employ paralogical argumentation that, for them, resolves real grievances with anti-immigrant state policy. A smaller set stands against illegal immigration, a priori. Surprisingly, we also find that this email mobilization attracted a significant number of counter-protest emails. We conclude that tea party activists have channeled energy originating from legitimate grievances into scapegoating immigrant groups in Arizona in the campaign to support SB 1070. On the tenth anniversary of SSF, we hope the article also illustrates the continued importance of organizations such as Sociologists Without Borders and its scholarly interventions in behalf of human rights objectives in the United States and abroad.

### **Keywords**

Tea Party; Immigration; Social Movements; Latinos

Emails written by activists mobilized by organizations affiliated with the tea party and supporting anti-immigrant legislation illustrate two primary kinds of tea party activists. The emails were sent to Sociologists without Borders / Sociólogos sin Fronteras (SSF), which then provided the emails to the author for analysis. Most tea party activists in the dataset articulate economic grievances and employ paralogical arguments that, for them, seem to resolve real grievances by supporting anti-immigrant state policy. A smaller set stands against illegal immigration, a priori. Surprisingly, we also find that this email mobilization attracted a significant number of counter-protest emails, encouraging SSF to continue their opposition to SB 1070. We end with a discussion of these findings.

In this article we first discuss Arizona SB 1070, its effects, and the response from civil society organizations in the United States. After explaining the response of tea party activists to these civil

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society organizations, we turn to a description and discussion of the email data obtained from Sociologists Without Borders. We then describe the implications for understanding the tea party movement. On the tenth anniversary of SSF, we hope the article also illustrates the continued importance of organizations such as Sociologists Without Borders and its scholarly interventions in behalf of human rights objectives in the United States and abroad.

In April 2010, the Arizona state legislature passed the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (SB 1070), the broadest anti-immigrant measure in recent US history. The bill would have required police officers to request documentation from persons who they believe may be undocumented immigrants. Under the guise of community autonomy, SB 1070 discourages Latinos and Latin Americans from reporting crime in fear that police will target them. Latinos and Latin Americans are under-reporters of work related crimes to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and SB 1070 discourages this further. Under-reported crimes, such as domestic violence and sexual assault, would also be even less likely to be reported by Latinos and Latin-Americans.

Beyond these secondary effects on already-existing inequalities, SB 1070 encourages law enforcement officials to participate in selective discriminatory action. Having experienced previous patterns of discriminatory police behavior, Latino groups, including La Raza and others organized marches to take place on May 1, 2010, just two weeks after the passage of the bill. They called for an economic boycott of businesses in the state. Over the course of the next few weeks and months, several businesses, city halls, towns, non-profit organizations, and scientific societies lent their support to the boycott. Many more, stopping short of advocating for an economic or travel boycott to the state, voiced their concerns about the law.

In response, Sarah Palin and Arizona Governor Jan Brewer launched a website to mobilize tea party activists to help in targeting these organizations to get them to end their boycotts.<sup>2</sup> Mobilizing behind Ms. Palin's pronouncement, "We are all Arizonians now," tea party activists were mobilized to contact over two dozen organizations and persons listed on this website. Sociologists without borders was among those organizations who had an email, phone, and contact person listed for activists to contact.

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In solidarity with other groups opposed to SB 1070, SSF launched a petition to boycott businesses in the state of Arizona. Circulating primarily among social scientists and doctoral students, the petition received 491 signatures. SSF is an organization of academics who study the sociological significance of human rights, but it is comprised of individuals who also take seriously the Code of Ethics of the American Sociological Association and do not tolerate discrimination or the violation of human rights. Several members of SSF felt that SB 1070 constituted a dangerous disregard for the rights of human beings and that this legislative behavior merited normative reproach. Ten years into its activism, Sociologists without borders continues this important combination of scholarship and moral action.

Other social science organizations joining SSF in condemning the law and passing resolutions of their own included the Peace and Justice Studies Association, Sociologists for Women in Society, the Society for the Study of Social Problems, the American Studies Association and several others that saw a barrier to research and an attack on the civil liberties of scholars and others.<sup>3</sup> The SSF petition addressed to Arizona Governor Jan Brewer read,

Sociologists without Borders (SSF) strongly condemns Arizona Law SB1070 which requires police officers to request documentation from persons who they believe may be undocumented immigrants. SSF calls on state and federal authorities to prevent the law from going into effect. In addition, SSF will refrain from holding any meetings or soliciting the services of any entity, public or private, located in the state of Arizona. We call on SSF members and Sociologists to boycott travel to or soliciting the services of entities located in the state of Arizona unless absolutely necessary until the law is repealed or deemed unconstitutional.

SSF believes that Arizona Law SB1070 is a form of racial profiling and discrimination because

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officers will likely rely on appearance, phenotypes, language and accents to make judgments that will lead to the unnecessary harassment or detention of US citizens and residents, including SSF members and other Sociologists. SSF does not tolerate racial profiling or discrimination in the United States or elsewhere.

SSF recognizes that this law is part of a larger trend of discrimination against immigrants in the state of Arizona. We regret this trend and encourage local, national and international efforts to intervene through the use of non-violent tactics such as political organizing and economic boycotts. Matters of enforcement for immigration law is best handled by authorities that are specifically trained for this purpose and should remain that way in the state of Arizona. We regret that SB1070 was signed into law and hope that it is quickly repealed or deemed unconstitutional.

The Brewer campaign and Securetheborder.com capitalized upon statements such as this one and other expressions coming from the San Francisco City Council, Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villarigosa, national sports figures and others. The mobilization of tea party activists was an important base of support for SB 1070. Specifically singled out among professional academic organizations for their early and assertive stance, Sociologists Without Borders received hundreds of emails from tea party activists as a result of this campaign, described in the Data section of this article. Surveys of the tea party movement reveal that the movement is largely white, conservatives, educated and financially well-off. (Zernike 2010) Some analysts of the tea party movement locate the source of tea party emergence and influence in libertarian elites such as the Koch brothers. The Koch brothers finance the tea party Express and other libertarian outlets associated with tea party activity. While certainly a facilitator, it is not at all clear that Koch brother participation is the primary source tea party activism.

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Arizona has experienced a dramatic demographic shift over the past several decades which could be a factor in explaining some of the mobilization in the state. The Latino population, both of foreign origin and of domestic origin, has risen in the state over the past thirty years. Whites are also significantly older than Latinos in the state, perhaps contributing to a fear in the demographic shift within political institutions. (Saenz, et al 2011) This demographic shift is not unprecedented. Each wave of immigration to the United States has an associated shift in local demographics and an accompanying wave of anti-immigrant sentiment among natives.

Tea party activists, more likely to vote republican, less likely to support gay marriage, more likely to believe that blacks would do better if they just tried harder, oppose democrats and moderate republicans with almost equal fervor. Tea party activists are significantly different from many other Americans, many of whom, for instance, believe in many of the tenants of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (Esparza 2011) Although our data is limited to activists' responses to immigration, polling data of tea party activists suggests that tea party activists are more likely to have negative feelings about immigrants and have negative feelings about Latinos in general. (Blau 2011)

#### THE WIRED RIGHT

Immigration has proven to have a positive associative effect on development in the host country. This is particularly true in the United States with a decrease in the numbers of working-age people. The dependency ratio of the US and Western European countries is expected to increase dramatically in the coming years without intervening waves of immigration. However, this increase has also led to the support for repatriation of immigrants from these countries in Western Europe and the United States. Although these attitudes have been attributed to economic change, and increasing political inequality, Ivarsflaten shows that the overarching mobilizing frame that unites recent European right-wing populist movements has been opposition to immigration. (2008) Politicians that have effectively linked immigration to crime in Western Europe have seen electoral success. (Rydgren 2008) This trend suggests that recent right-wing

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movements are more interested in protection of a culture that is perceived to be being lost or eroded by increasing immigration over the economic development of the nation. (Oesch 2008)

There are different forms of Internet activism and the kind of Internet activism we analyze in this paper is what Jennifer Earl calls fully “online organizing.” (Earl, et al. 2010) This is opposed to offline activism that is aided by online information, online participation of offline campaigns, or online facilitation of offline movements. Online organizing is Internet activism that is located entirely online. This is in contrast to, for instance, the Occupy movement, which uses the Internet as a tool to support physical occupation of geographic space.

Like other online right-wing movements, tea party activists support each other in online communities such as tea party Nation and other online portals. (Caren, Jowers & Gaby. 2012) The hyperlink to Securetheborder.com was posted to these online community portals, with comments supportive of the online campaign. While radio and television have been important elements of “old media” that have helped to build up right-wing movements in the US, the Internet and “new medias” may be fragmenting a now larger movement (Frazier-Crawford 2011). The rise of right-wing insurgent political campaigns aided by such right-wing online presence is increasingly popular. (Dentice 2011)

Wright argues that racial-nationalism has been on a marked uptick in the United States ever since the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing. (2009) McVeigh and Cunningham show that right-wing activism can have enduring consequences, destroying community cohesion, undermining institutions, and unleashing violence that leads to sustained and high levels of homicide. (2012) In Waisanen’s study of an anti-immigrant movement in the United States, he finds that the movement’s disruptive communication style undermines a collaborative democratic process, preferring instead the creation of a destructive counter-public. (2011)

A study by Cho, Gimple & Shaw (2012) tracking tea party movement activity according to density of Meetup.com tea party events organized by active chapters is not evenly distributed throughout the country, but is instead clustered in four distinct geographical regions: 1. New York/Connecticut 2. Florida 3. Pacific Northwest 4. Arizona and Southern California. They also found that

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areas with high foreclosure rates are highly correlated with tea party presence. This supports the economic motivation for tea party activism.

Because this data is self-selected, it is unclear what the proportion of anti-immigrant concerns within the grander tea party movement is. Immigration is not a significant issue among tea party activists in Cho's study. We find that even among those tea party activists for whom immigration is a serious concern, it is so primarily because of its perceived impact on economic concerns.

An analysis of tea party groups on MeetUp.com showed that tea party chapters were more dense in areas with high rates of home foreclosures, suggesting an economic argument for the prevalence of tea party groups. (Cho, et. al. 2012) The tea party has pursued a strategy of intentionally sowing mistrust in public institutions as a way of undermining its policies. This online strategy is a form of low-risk activism which stimulates participation. (Tarrow 2011) Online activists communities used by the tea party use them mostly for news aggregating from other sources than they do for mobilization. Mobilization accounts for just a portion of what the Internet is used for. It is only this portion that we are interested in describing here.

While most scholars agree that politics and economics idiosyncratic to Arizona help to formulate the breed of hatred in the state, some go so far as to argue that this regionalism should also justify a decentralized immigration policy. (Aoki and Schuford 2010) We do not agree. The issue of centralization or decentralization is secondary to the issue of protecting minority rights, for it is merely a means to achieve the responsibility to protect.

The tea party movement has been framed as a form of popular constitutionalism. (Schmidt 2011) While we have been advocates of popular constitutionalism (Blau 2011; Esparza 2011), this is not what we mean. As above, the protection of human rights is a necessary precursor to popular constitutionalism. Levinas argued that ethics comes before reason.

The continental philosopher, Emmanuel Levinas has argued exactly this—that it is our duty to help others. That in fact “ethics” is not derived from “reason,” but the other way around. (Lévinas 1998) Importantly, this is consistent with Kropotkin's conclusions that humanity exists in mutual aid for one another. Levinas reasons that it

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is our ontological duty to be for others, not an ethical responsibility over and above our existence. This must be so, since we cannot exist without mutual aid.

#### DATA & METHODS

Our data is the content and character of 170 emails received by SSF during the initial week of a tea party email campaign directed against organizations opposing SB 1070 and boycotting or considering a boycott of the state of Arizona. These political lobbying emails were freely sent to SSF, who in turn released the data to the author for this article to be published in the organization's journal. Tea party activists may differ as a population from the sample of persons who respond by email to a tea party email campaign. Those that actively participate in the email campaign may hold beliefs that are more ideological than those that do not respond. Activists that respond to email campaigns, such as participants of MoveOn.org, have been shown in other cases to compose about one-tenth of all participants who hear about the campaign. (Fisher 2010) However, the online activists that participate in campaigns at one point in time seem to overlap largely with those at any other given point in time. Therefore, we believe that the tea party activists in our sample represent some of the most active tea party activists interested in the topic of immigration. Although the data came to us with identifying information, we removed all of this information before the analysis and discarded it. We coded text contained in the body of the emails.

Of the 170 total emails received, 29 emails were sent in support of the organization. 149 emails were sent by persons critiquing the position of SSF and one email could not be coded in either direction. Fifty of these emails referred to undocumented persons as "illegals." Thirty emails levied an insult at the organization. Only eight emails argued that all persons should be mandated to prove citizenship upon request. Twenty-two emails argued that SB 1070 is consistent with federal immigration legislation and does not constitute a change in immigration policy. Five emails specifically made arguments against amnesty for immigrants. Five emails found the need to point out they are not racists. Thirty-eight emails argued that immigrants reduce safety in the neighborhood. Twenty-two emails argued that they would boycott SSF. Three emails argued that

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other states that disagree with Arizona policy should feel free to take the immigrants that they have in Arizona. Nine emails demanded that SSF stay out of the debate on immigration. Two emails offered to support undocumented immigrants if SSF would provide the funds necessary to support them but they did not want Arizonian tax dollars to support undocumented immigrants. Seven argued that boycotting the state of Arizona is an act of treason. Eight emails levied a threat against SSF. Four felt that the matter should be left for the courts to decide. Eight expressed that they felt personally insulted that SSF was boycotting their state. Eleven emails employed statistics as part of making an argument in their email. The average length for emails was 138 characters long, or approximately a paragraph. The average person for SB 1070 used 2.89 arguments coded. Twenty people argued that immigrants reduce safety and increase the tax burden. Despite the media frame that immigrants take American jobs, none of the emails received by SSF argued that they were taking their jobs.

Table 1: List of organizations targeted by tea party activists

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity  
American Educational Research Association  
American Immigration Lawyers Association  
Asian American Justice Center  
Center for Community Change  
Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights  
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)  
Major League Baseball Players Association  
The National Council of La Raza  
National Urban League  
National Puerto Rican Coalition (NPRC)  
Sociologists Without Borders

Activists involved in the online campaign emailed the organizations listed on the website. Table 1 contains the list of organizations included that were targeted. This list shows a wide variety of targets ranging from the Major League Baseball to Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity. They also targeted city councils and mayors offices. The site, organized by Jan Brewer and Sarah Palin, put up the names, phone numbers, and email addresses for each of the

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organizations. For SSF, they chose to put the email address and phone number for Judith Blau, the President of SSF at the time of the campaign. Because SSF was listed near the end of the list of organizations, we assume that other organizations on this list received at least as many, likely more, and perhaps many more emails than SSF received.

We coded the first week of emails, numbering 137. We believe that this data captures a wave of e-activism from activists associated with the tea party during the height of their non-institutional form of mobilization in the spring of 2010. The data that was collected was during a brief period in the lifespan of this movement. This is a limitation of the data and it should not be read to interpret the movement at other times in the cycle of the tea party movement, or of the tea party movement campaigns on other issues. Collecting data around special events, such as a boycott campaign, makes the data not representative of the movement as a whole. We feel, however, that the data do reveal tea party rationalizations on a single web campaign and that the data is sufficiently important to report.

Data collected around a specific event will differ from data collected during other moments in a movement campaign. For that reason, the content of the emails may differ from the content of emails at other times in a campaign. This is also a population of activists that are engaged in this campaign and a sample of the most active people involved in a campaign more broadly. These emails thus represent the more active actors within the tea party. Another limitation of the data is that the emails may differ from the kinds of emails received by other organizations that were targeted in this campaign. Although there is no specific reason to believe that the emails sent to this organization varied in any substantial way from the emails sent to other organizations, this cannot be verified. It is likely that SSF received fewer emails in quantity, but without a significant difference in quality. Nearly half, or eighty-two of the emails that were sent to SSF were also sent to the other organizations. Of the remaining eighty-eight emails on which SSF was the only recipient, activists may have also sent the same or similar text to other organizations in the list under separate cover.

The arguments coded were derived inductively from hand-

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coding. This is an empirically-driven approach on self-reported data that was made available by SSF.

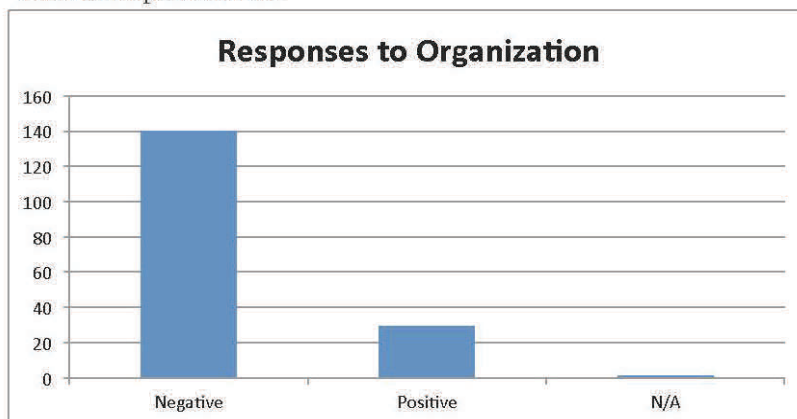
### FINDINGS

Table 2 shows that twenty-nine (17%) of the emails received by Sociologists Without Borders were positive in nature. These activists discovered the mobilization orchestrated by right-wing elites and elected to send supportive emails to SSF. This is an important finding, both because it means that political responses on the Internet are mixed, including emails from activists from both sides. The magnitude of the response by supportive individuals is also striking. Activists supporting the SSF boycott wrote emails such as the following:

I would like to applaud you for boycotting or considering a boycott against Arizona. SB1070 is legalized racism, plain and simple. If Arizona wants to ‘secure their border’ I can respect that, but they need to go about it a different way. Being asked to prove you’re a citizen just because of the way you look is nothing more than racial profiling.

Social movement scholars interested in Internet campaigns should conduct further research in order to understand how and why activists engage in this way.

Table 2: Responses to SSF



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Many tea party activists expressed legitimate grievances in their emails. For instance, activists admitted to having someone in the family lose a job, their home, or observing an increase in crime or violence in their community. Those that mentioned one or more of these grievances affixed the reason for their problem, however, to the increasing presence of immigrants or undocumented immigrants. Many express legitimate grievances but also mix correct information with incorrect analysis or they mix incorrect information with legitimate concerns about those assertions. Figure two shows that the most discussed arguments were the impact of undocumented immigrants on safety, taxes, and adherence to the law.

Table 3 shows the breakdown, speed and composition of the campaign wave. On the day of the site launch, SSF received just one negative email. The peak day comes next, on Day Two. SSF received 76 emails critical of their boycott stance. By Day Three, the number of emails were cut in half, down to 32 emails. In the following days, the emails steadily decreased to 8, 6, 1, and 3 respectively. The supportive emails followed a similar pattern. SSF received no supportive emails on the first day. Day Two saw 21 emails. Then, 4, 3 and no other emails for the rest of the week. By the end of the week, SSF had received 170 emails as a result of this tea party campaign.

**Table 3: Initial Week of Campaign**

day	pos	neg	n/a	Tot
15	0	1	0	1
16	21	76	1	98
17	4	32	0	36
18	3	8	0	11
19	0	6	0	6
20	0	1	0	1
21	0	3	0	3
Tot	28	127	1	170

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Table 4 shows a word count of the emails along the x-axis. The y-axis shows the number of coded responses from Table 5. One might expect for emails with more arguments to be longer, but this seems not to be the case. The longest emails focused on just three arguments.

Table 4: Word Count by Arguments

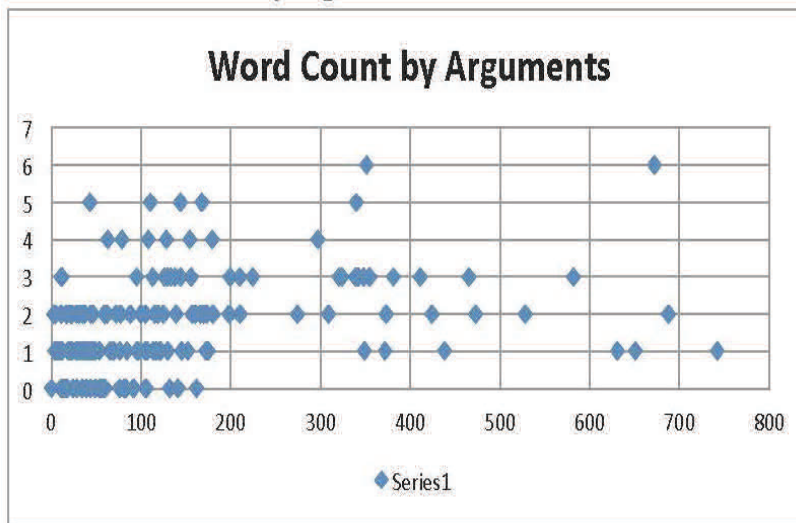
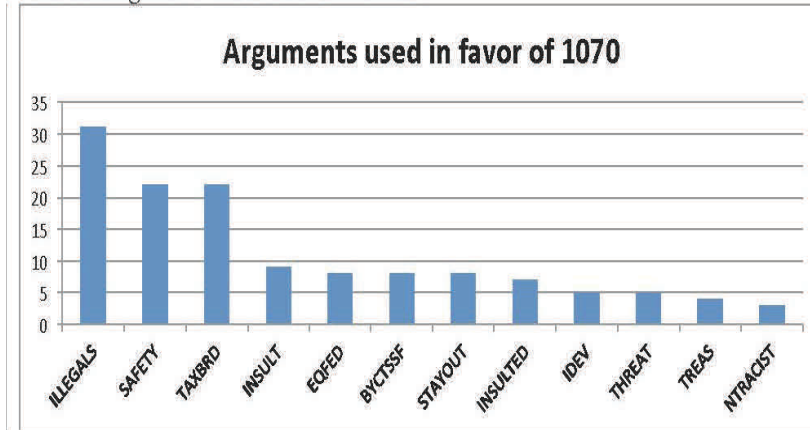


Table Five shows the frequency distribution of arguments contained in the emails sent by tea party activists. The word “illegals” was by-far, the most used word by activists in the campaign. This is reflective of the label “illegals” that has been tossed around in the right wing media to describe persons who are in the country without a visa. The next most common word used in tea party emails related to arguments in the emails is “safety.” tea party activists were concerned with crime and safety in their communities, which they perceived as having gone up in recent years. Many individuals attributed this concern with safety to the spike in the presence of “illegal” immigrants.

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Table 5: Arguments Used in Favor of SB1070



The next most common argument was that illegal immigration should be curbed because it is a tax burden. Examples of this was because they were not paying taxes, that their health care would have to be covered in emergency rooms, or that their children would have to be educated in US schools. They also claim that they do not pay taxes in their paycheck.

The third most common argument that tea party activists used was not an argument, but rather levying an insult against the organization, such as “stupid,” or other such banter. Other arguments contained in the table include that the law is equivalent to the federal law, that they would boycott SSF, that SWB should stay out of AZ anyway, that they felt personally insulted by the boycott, they threatened the organization, they called the boycott an act of treason, and defended themselves as not being racist. For instance, one activist wrote,

You will begin to feel the effects of your ignorance once the dollars stop flowing in, and your precious \*BOLSHEVIC UTOPIAN DREAMS \*are \_strangled to death \_right before your eyes ! First there is a war of words and wits. Then comes economic measures and counter-

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measures. The third and final stage is civil warfare. It will be that moment in history that the \*\_LEFTIST TRASH\_\* in America will see their much deserved annihilation ! There be nothing left but the ashes of another failed totalitarian movement ! [formatting kept from original email]

Another tea party activist wrote:

Your behavior is childish, shameful, disgraceful and completely incongruous with the best interests of the future of the United States of America. As such and at YOUR instigation, my family and I are boycotting your organizations AND the localities you represent.

A complete list of coded variables is listed in Appendix 1.

Having the Jan Brewer campaign mobilize activists against progressive organizations likely contributed positively to her re-election in November. The positive traffic seen in the SSF emails was likely driven by stories in progressive news outlets such as in The Huffington Post, Christian Science Monitor and other similar websites.<sup>4</sup>

Although most activists communicated with SSF over email, Judith Blau also received phone calls to her office, her home, and a letter to her office address from Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords (AZ-D) from the 8th district sharing a border with Mexico. Some analysts of the events leading to the shooting of Congresswoman Giffords blamed this inflamed tea party rhetoric for producing an environment that was unsafe for defenders of immigrant rights.

#### ANALYSIS

Many of the participants in the tea party believe that their country is under attack. Many believe that they have more of a right to be in the country and to reap its benefits than certain other groups, such as immigrants and minorities. Many believe that many of the problems that have occurred in the country stem from the activities or mere presence of immigrants. Tea party activists represented in these

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emails often assert their positions, rather than argue them, or rationalize their statements using paralogical argumentation as the data illustrates. They also make extra-legal arguments about this. They also use *ad hominem* attacks.

Political email campaigns have the desired effect of generating a large amount of email to the target within a limited amount of time—as little as hours. It also generates a large minority of positive, supportive email. More research is needed to understand the mechanism of how this occurs.

Giffords argued that a boycott of her state would do harm to the economy of the state of Arizona and that this would hurt immigrants in the state as much, if not more, than it would hurt those that support SB 1070. While this is true, it was the decision of major immigrant rights groups and grassroots organizations composed of immigrants themselves to undertake the boycott tactic and they were willing to endure any impact of a boycott in order to also inflict pressure on the state. SSF followed the lead of these groups in solidarity with them. Immigrant and Latino organizations and populations were the strongest proponents for a boycott, despite the economic harm it produces among these groups. This is often the logic of economic boycott campaigns, famously used in South Africa to oppose apartheid despite also hurting black South Africans and in a variety of other successful settings.

## CONCLUSIONS

While descriptive statistics of an online campaign is not sufficient in order to understand the complexity of tea party dynamics, we feel that this data illustrates the logic of active online tea party activists in an anti-immigrant campaign at the peak of their non-intuitive phase of activity in the spring of 2010. Future research of political lobbying emails might build upon this descriptive approach by perhaps comparing the data to content analyses of arguments in the media. Descriptive statistics of these emails, however, are already used within target organizations, and particularly by the staff of political party officials. (Mahler 2007) As this repertoire continues to gain more importance, this is a research methodology that may increase in use, particularly when organizations release data to the public. Further research methodologies of Internet activism might

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find ways to understand how activists use this form of action in conjunction with other online tools such as social networking websites as well as offline tools such as marches and demonstrations.

We chose an inductive approach because there is not much theory currently available about the dynamics of the tea party or homogeneity in the research methods used to study them. The inductive approach we took to understanding activist emails shows that the tea party activists are upset mostly about undocumented immigrants, their affect on taxes, and their affect on safety. Negative emails to SSF were longer than supportive ones and the longest emails touched on several themes. Activists sending long emails may be motivated to convince the target of their political position. This is opposed to the shortest emails received by SSF, which were more likely to refer to undocumented immigrants as “illegals.” Activists who refer to undocumented immigrants as “illegals” may be less interested in convincing the target than expressing their feelings. Yet others were so offensive toward undocumented immigrants that the motivation may have been part of a deliberate campaign of fear.

We conclude by saying that those activists that use non-logical reasoning should be distinguished from tea party activists that use slurs to describe undocumented immigrants.

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### **Endnotes**

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2. <http://www.securetheborder.com>. Accessed May 16, 2010. Although the website is not longer active as of the date of this publication, a video from the campaign is still available at [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lxnNeGTU8U8&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lxnNeGTU8U8&feature=player_embedded).
3. See the press release for the Consortium of Professional and Academic Associations condemning the Arizona immigration law at <http://www.commondreams.org/newswire/2010/05/18-1>. Accessed June 5, 2012.
4. [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/05/15/sarah-palin-were-all-ariz\\_n\\_577671.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/05/15/sarah-palin-were-all-ariz_n_577671.html)

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### Appendix 1: Coded Variables

VARIABLE	
JSSF	Was the email sent just to SSF, or were there several recipients
INSULT	Did the email contain an insult levied against SSF or persons within SSF?
ILLEGALS	Did the sender refer to undocumented immigrants as "illegals"
IDEV	Did the sender advocate the position that everyone should have to prove citizenship
EQFED	Did the sender argue that SB 1070 is the same as 287g or other federal statutes?
NOAMN	Did the sender express opposition to amnesty for undocumented immigrants?
TAXBRD	Did the sender argue that undocumented immigrants are a tax burden?
NTRACIST	Did the sender explain that they were not a racist?
BYCTSSF	Did the sender threaten to boycott SSF?
TAKEM	Did the sender argue that SSF or sympathetic states should take the undocumented immigrants?
SAFETY	Did the sender argue that the presence of undocumented immigrants makes the country less safe?
STAYOUT	Did the sender argue that SSF should stay out of this issue?
SENDMON	Did the sender argue that SSF should send money to support undocumented immigrants?
TREAS	Did the sender believe that SSF's position on SB 1070 is treasonous?
THREAT	Did the email contain an explicit or implied threat against the organization or individuals within the organization?
COURTS	Did the email plead that the courts handle the legality of the law, without SSF interference?
INSULTED	Did the sender express that they felt insulted by SSF's position on SB 1070?
STATS	Did the sender cite statistics in their email?
WC	Wordcount of the BODY of the email (do not include signature or headers)
NEG	Did the sender express disagreement with the SSF position on SB1070?
DAY	What day (1-31) in May was the email sent?
MONTH	What month (1-12) was the email sent?
ID	Whom was the email coded by?
STAR	Email is of particular interest and should be read for deeper consideration
NOTE	Notes from the Coder

**Louis Edgar Esparza** is Assistant Professor of Sociology and Latin American Studies at California State University at Los Angeles and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Sociological Association Section on Human Rights. His work focuses on grassroots social movements, their organizations and their strategies. Louis has received grants and awards from the National Science Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Oxfam America and the American Sociological Association. He has previously been a Visiting Scholar at Sophia University in Tokyo, an affiliated researcher at the Luis Angel Arango Library in Bogota, and has also taught on these topics at Stony Brook University and the University of Denver. His research appears in *Sociological Forum*, *Environment & Society*, *Qualitative Sociology*, and *Societies Without Borders*. His essays have appeared in *The Progressive*, *In These Times*, and *Human Rights & Human Welfare*.

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**Judith Blau** was founder and President of the U.S. chapter of Sociologists without Borders, and co-founder of its Think Tank, an international interactive site devoted to human rights, and founder and director of the Human Rights Center of Chapel Hill & Carrboro. Her most recent books are *Human Rights: Beyond the Liberal Vision* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), *Justice in the United States: Human Rights and the US Constitution* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), *Freedoms and Solidarities: In Pursuit of Human Rights* (2007); *Human Rights: A Primer* (Paradigm Publishers, 2009); *The Leading Rogue State* (2110); *Human Rights and Sociology* (Sage, 2011). Her earlier books include *Race in the Schools* (recipient of Oliver Cromwell Cox Award in race studies). She helped to launch human rights sections in the International Sociological Association and the American Sociological Association. She was awarded the 2012 Distinguished Practice Career Award by the American Sociological Association.

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