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Youth, Social Networking, and Resistance: A Case Study on a Multidimensional Approach to Resistance

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by

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For all of those out there who are frightened by the possibility of creating a work like this, just know that if a person who at one stage in his life wasn't even ready for Kindergarten can do this, so can you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

ABSTRACT

Youth, Social Networking and Resistance:

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This exploratory case study focused on youth and resistance that was aided by the use of technology. The combination of resistance and technology expanded a multidimensional framework and leads to new insight into transformative resistance.

This study examined the framework of transformative resistance based on Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) findings. Specific interest centered on learning how and why youth used MySpace to organize student walkouts in protest of House Resolution 4437 in late March 2006, ultimately amassing 40,000 students in Los Angeles. Another purpose was to create a framework for ways in which educators can meaningfully embrace the combination of pedagogy, technology, and revolution.

The case study method, which involved collecting data by document review, MySpace Group pages, and interviews, produced a comprehensive picture of the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. Thematic coding and social network analysis were used to examine the collected data.

The study findings showed that a combination of multimodal (face-to-face, text messaging, and MySpace) and multidirectional (one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-one, many-to-many) communications contributed to the success of the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. The sub-themes of speed and strategic use of private and public communication channels also played roles. The combination of these four elements created a decentralized, non-hierarchical network that provided significant strengths, but also indicated some weaknesses in the communication process.

An educational framework is proposed that combines pedagogy, technology and revolution. Multidimensional revolutionary pedagogy has been created as a guide for teachers to facilitate student efforts to engage in transformative resistance related to social justice causes.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

A Unified Voice

Envision 500 high school students cheering and chanting at the top of their lungs. Many may assume after this one simple sentence that the next scene would include a ticking clock rapidly approaching 0:00 in the 4th quarter with the home team down by one.

This event, however, had nothing to do with high school sports. It involved a mass of marchers, picket signs, and a student shouting into a megaphone demanding the death of a bill before it reached the floor of the U.S. Senate. The youth of Los Angeles, joined by youth in cities around the country, organized walkouts[1] across the city to protest a bill headed to the Senate that would have completely destroyed the already limited rights of immigrants. The marchers displayed their flags and picket signs and most importantly, a loud unified voice. These were not merely 500 students, but rather 40,000, all of whom walked out of schools throughout Los Angeles on that day (Gorman & Cho, 2006). The energy and idealism of youth were captured in this amazing event. As a result, the bill never made it to the Senate floor. They were heard.

The piece of the puzzle I have yet to reveal, however, shows the true genius of today's youth. Other than the actual rallying on the streets, this protest was virtually theorized and organized through a combination of communication tools including the

[1] There were many walkouts not only across the city but the whole nation. In Los Angeles, the student walkouts took place between March 24-28, 2006.

social networking website, MySpace,[2] even text messaging and face-to-face (Yang, 2007). They used the tools that most adults fear, and with these tools they did all the grunt work to stand up against injustice. All of this occurred right underneath our adult noses; we were none the wiser in the months and days leading up to the walkouts that something so big was about to occur.

So What Exactly Did Happen?

Setting.

Los Angeles is a large, diverse metropolitan city just shy of 10 million people (United States Census Bureau, 2009). Even though it is highly diverse, this diversity is not integrated; that is, the "haves" and "have nots" are distinctly fragmented and separated from one another (Arvidson, 1999; Dear & Flusty, 1998; Pulido, 2000). Divisions, as large as small sub-cities or as small as neighborhoods, split the city along the lines of wealth, ethnicity, socio-cultural values, and job types. In a city that is normally described as spread out, these diverse neighborhoods sit right on top of one another. This brings about what some like Dear and Flusty (1998) see as a unique situation that leads to a heightened self-awareness when it comes to the intersectionality of many issues including, but certainly not limited to wealth and race.

Ethnic diversity is particularly pronounced in Los Angeles, even more so than most other major cities such as New York (Keogan, 2002). This is most evident when viewing white/non-white (minority) dyads. In New York City, approximately 30% of the population is non-white. This group is comprised of many ethnicities, each taking a small

[2] MySpace is an online social networking website which connects individuals with one another.

percent.[3] In Los Angeles, the minority population makes up 44% of the total population, with Mexican-Americans the largest ethnic group at 34% of the total population, more than entire non-white population of New York City. This brings an interesting and unique dynamic to Los Angeles that is for the most part not seen throughout the United States.

Also, throughout the history of California race relations have been strained. The selling of California by Mexico to the United States, the Chinese Exclusion Act, and Japanese Internment are just a few of the root causes (Keogan, 2002). In recent history there has been a strong focus along the US-Mexican border to control the flow of illegal immigration. These and other recent racial tensions have led to moments of mass resistance efforts, including the Los Angeles Blowouts of 1968 and L.A. Riots of 1992.

Throughout the 1960s, Chicano community members in East Los Angeles pushed Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) regarding the poor quality of education and cultural insensitivity of teachers in their neighborhood schools (Delgado Bernal, 1998). Their calls throughout the decade fell on deaf ears. Ultimately, students organized walkouts across several schools in East L.A., which have become known as the L.A. Blowouts. Ultimately, 10,000 students across the span of a week walked out of school. Their efforts led to a few changes such as more Latino/a teachers being hired, but failed on other measures such as better school facilities.

The L.A. Riots (also known as the Rodney King Riots) were a reaction to the acquittal of four White police officers on trial for the beating of Rodney King (Bergesen

[3] Puerto Ricans are the exception to this at 14%. It should be noted that although this is true in discussions about ethnicity, this is a non-issue when discussing immigration status because Puerto Rico is a territory of the United States. Puerto Ricans are already American citizens.

& Herman, 1998; Useem, 1997). These riots represented a build-up of multi-racial tensions that came to a head in April 1992. Ultimately, nothing positive came out of these riots. Over a billion dollars in damage was caused; the police force was scarred for years due to their mishandling of the situation; and racial tensions in Los Angeles did not subside, but rather drew negative attention worldwide.

The overarching division between the haves and have nots continues to this day. The next section discusses a proposed bill that was aimed to address the "problem" of illegal immigration. This proposed bill became a catalyst for the student walkouts examined in this study.

H.R. 4437.

In December 2005, The House of Representatives passed House Resolution 4437 (Immigrant Legal Resource Center [ILRC], 2005; Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, 109th Congress, 2005) in which immigration laws and southern border security were to be drastically changed. To put it succinctly, H.R. 4437 aimed to primarily accomplish three things:

1. Dramatically increase the amount of fences/walls along only the southern border of the United States.
2. Increase the amount of border security patrol and remote surveillance along the southern US border.
3. Make it much easier to deport undocumented immigrants through several means, most notably changing the language of the application of laws to non-residents to penalize them much more strictly than residents, including:

a. Making undocumented status a criminal violation as opposed to its current status as a civil infraction.
b. Putting the burden of proof on the undocumented individual, not the State.
c. Widening the definition of terrorism, when applied to non-residents, beyond the actual realm of any accepted definition of terrorism (ILRC, 2005).

It was this third point that upset individuals concerned about immigrant rights. If this resolution became a bill, it would have severely reduced the rights of immigrants (in a land created by and for immigrants) to almost nothing.

Protests.

After passing the House of Representatives, the resolution needed to go before the Senate to become law. In late March and early April, a series of protests and walkouts took place around the country. The collective effort was ultimately the driving force that killed the resolution before it ever came to the Senate floor. In Los Angeles alone, more than 500,000 protesters took to the streets over the course of a week (Gorman & Cho, 2006).

Walkouts of this magnitude do not just happen spontaneously (Leung Kai Ping, 1983). It is one thing if it were 20, 50, or possibly even 100 people who happened to be at the same place at the same time and decided to walkout; anything larger, however, takes coordination. In the case of adults much of the coordination occurred over Spanish-language radio (Yang, 2007). The success of the student movement, however, came

through the utilization of a combination of the virtual and real-world tools of text messaging, MySpace and face-to-face communication.

Today's Student and Society

With this in mind, the student of contemporary times is very different from the student of previous generations (Prensky, 2001). Commercial and personal use of the Internet has been in existence at this writing, as long as our college juniors have been alive. Their interactions and interconnectedness with the Internet are vastly different from individuals of previous generations; it is the same technology, yet adults and youth are using it in very different ways.

That is merely one side of the equation however. Today's student has also lived and breathed No Child Left Behind (House of Representatives, 2002). Running 8 years strong, our eldest students have gone through at least two-thirds of schooling[4] under this legislation. This legislation and schooling system have created a strict and narrow interpretation of what education is and can be; this has added difficulties to the education process above and beyond the intent of its original incarnation, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The resultant rigidity in standardization of facts as the only important knowledge has led to the decrease in emphasis on critical thinking skills as a vital part of the classroom experience. According to Bowles and Gintis (1977), fabricated systems like this will ascribe destinations for our children based solely on which class they are born into before they even have a chance to choose for themselves how they wish to live their lives.

[4] I use the word schooling in this context purposefully; see Giroux, 2001, p. 169.

Some students however are deciding to rise up against the schooling and societal constrictions placed upon them. Although likely unaware of the term resistance theory (Apple, 1995; Giroux, 2001; Kohl, 1980) which guides their actions, students are resisting against the social norms and mores placed upon them. The above H.R. 4437 protest is just one of several actions of youth standing up for their rights.

This is where technology comes back into play. Youth have naturally gravitated toward new toys and playthings (Prensky, 2001). Starting in the 1970s with the advent of video games, adults have had an increasingly difficult time keeping up with the technology children adopt so easily. When the Internet came around, parental control became infinitely harder; the whole world became accessible right their fingertips. Marc Prensky (2001) coined the term "digital natives" as a blanket statement for all youth born after 1988, for whom the Internet always existed.[5]

Growing up with this technology, today's youth have learned its ins and outs better than most adults and as a result are using different thinking patterns (Prensky, 2001). They are using some of the most recent Web 2.0[6] technologies to navigate the virtual world, both public and private, outside of the preying eyes of adults (Boyd, 2007).

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[5] The term digital divide used by Norris (2001) and others note that the poor of the world do not readily (or at all) have access to the Internet, leaving large gaps in access to information for those who cannot afford it. Millions of youth fall in this category; hence for this reason youth will not be referred to as "digital natives" in this work. The notion of a "digitized" youth, however, does apply to the students in this study.

[6] Web 2.0 is a general term to categorize websites that allow for rich user experiences by providing a platform for usage where the collective intelligence of all users is harnessed for peer-to-peer sharing of information, products, goods or practically anything else as opposed to coming through a select few distributors (O'Reilly, 2005). Examples of Web 2.0 applications include MySpace, YouTube, EBay, Facebook, and Craigslist.

Problem Statement

Although the amount of research to date on youth and their interaction with the Internet in general has been growing, the field is still very much in its infancy. Few studies have been conducted to learn why such significant differences exist between the way youths and adults use technology. Even less research has focused solely on youth and emerging Web 2.0 online social networking technologies. When focusing on youth, activism, and online social networking technologies, the research is drastically reduced to just a few studies (Barberena, Jimenez, & Young, 2007; Yang, 2007).

Youth resistance movements were studied at great length from the 1960s to the early 1980s (see Leung Kai Ping, 1983). As the movements died out, so did the research about them. Since then, significant societal changes have taken place, particularly with the advent of the Internet and other new technologies such as text messaging. Research has started to surface once again on the topics of youth and resistance, but we do not yet have solid answers about how and why the youth of today are stepping up for social justice causes (see Prokosch & Raymond, 2002, as an example). Further, emerging research has not adjusted appropriately to the change in context from the early 1980s, particularly when it comes to the Internet and the advent of user-driven Web 2.0 online social networking tools.

As such, much more research needs to be conducted to learn how youth are using online social networking technology to implement resistance. The work that has been done to date has at best just scratched the surface on both the resistance and technology fronts. As noted before, very little research has been carried out that addresses these two

items in combination with one another and the way blend the virtual and real worlds together. As such, Chapter IV of this work aims to create an exhaustive list of such occurrences.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is three-fold:

1. To explore in depth the historical antecedents of using technology for resistance.
2. Given that youth are using online social networking technologies for the purpose of resistance and implementing their resistance by way of walkouts, this study will examine how and why this is occurring in this format and explore how youth are blending both real and virtual worlds in transformative and multidimensional ways.
3. The last purpose is to create a framework for multidimensional resistance in education. What implications do events like these have on the way educators we approach youth today, particularly in the educational setting that is caught up in a world significantly misaligned with our students' culture and worldview?

Significance of the Study

This study aims to break new ground in the research on youth and resistance that involves technology. Today's world brings new challenges and opportunities that come face to face with both technology and resistance. When combining these two pieces, we are crossing into uncharted territory that deserves serious examination.

In the present world, particularly after the Internet became commonplace and cell phones became ubiquitous, we have not seen an event similar to the H.R. 4437 Walkouts of 2006 that were as large (both in Los Angeles and nationally) and as powerful as these. Regarding the idea of student resistance, we have not seen anything quite like this since the 1960s when events such as the Los Angeles Blowouts occurred.

As incredible as the walkouts themselves were, research concerning these walkouts across the nation has been limited at best (see Barberena et al., 2007; Yang, 2007). Further, no studies are evident that focus solely on examining the blending of the virtual and real worlds to organize the walkouts.

An in-depth exploratory case study that focuses on these intricate matters is needed. Exactly how are our students blending the virtual and real world for social justice causes? More importantly, why are they doing this? What sort of historical precedence has been set that may have triggered these youth to not only resist, but resist in the manner they did? How does something this multidimensional change the way we as educators view the classroom space? These questions can only be answered by deep, focused analysis of an event of this magnitude to get to the core of a crucial piece of a very large puzzle.

Theoretical Framework

It is important for all research to be grounded in a solid theoretical framework to allow both the author and reader to understand the perspective(s) taken by the author when approaching the research. This research is grounded in a continuum of theories, starting with social and cultural reproduction theories (Bowles & Gintis, 1977; Bourdieu

& Passeron, 1990) and moving to resistance theory (Apple, 1995; Giroux, 2001), then concluding with transformative resistance (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Although these will be tackled in depth in Chapter II, a brief overview of each will be provided here for context and background.

Social and Cultural Reproduction Theories

Social and cultural reproduction theories examine how and why society and culture continually replicate themselves. Although there are exceptions, in general, it is often the case that an individual born into a particular class will spend her/his entire life in that class. Bowles and Gintis (1977) demonstrated this exact phenomenon in their study. They attributed this to the social capital acquired by some and not others. Cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) not only confirms this, but more importantly adds the idea of cultural capital as another method of keeping individuals within their own class. The way one walks, dresses, and (most importantly) talks all provide cues that allow some to gain access to higher-class status while leaving others behind. When combined, social and cultural capital leave cycles of reproduction strongly intact across generations.

Resistance Theory

Based on research related to attempts to overcome overtly deterministic strictures of social (Bowles & Gintis, 1977) and cultural (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) reproduction, resistance theory is a model that centers on standing up for human rights and granting respect for human dignity. Taken from Giroux (2001), resistance is the act by which one stands up against the oppression in opposition to the dominant structures

placing those individuals in that state. A major point in resistance theory is the notion of self-actualization expressed by P. Willis in Munns and McFadden (2000). The individual becomes aware of societal oppressions placed on him/her and decides to act upon them to overcome social reproduction and right wrongs performed on her/himself as well as others in his/her position. Without this self-actualization resistance theory, cannot move from theory to action.

Transformative Resistance

To put it simply, transformative resistance is led by critique of social opposition with a strong motivation to ensure social justice (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). It is the type of resistance for change in action. Transformative resistance is different from resistance theory for two main reasons: its critique of social oppression and motivation to ensure social justice. Although some resistance theorists loosely point to one or both of these factors, they do not solidify and separate this conceptual coupling from other methods of resistance that are lumped into one general category of resistance theory. These differentiators are the keys to overcoming social and cultural reproduction. Without the combination of the two, any act of resistance is extremely unlikely to succeed in the struggle to overcome these reproduction cycles.

Research Questions

1. What are the historical antecedents to using technology for the purpose of socio-political resistance?
2. How and why did students use user-driven Web 2.0 social networking technologies, specifically MySpace, to engage in transformative resistance?

3. What new educational framework can incorporate multidimensional resistance for youth?

Limitations and Delimitations

Limitations

Included in this study were certain limitations outside of the scope and control of the researcher. The principal limitation was not having direct access to a mass number of participants. Finding a large number of participants can be tricky, if not impossible, in a major resistance event because many individuals will not outwardly acknowledge their involvement. Also, as noted in the delimitations following, the central nature of the study was exploratory. Although text messaging was also used as a form of communication for the walkouts, the records are nearly impossible to get, and thus could not be directly gathered. Lastly, the phenomenon studied is extremely new and too few case examples are available to draw generalizable conclusions.

Delimitations

I chose to limit this study primarily to historical data and interviews. It was the purpose of this study to focus on cyberspace communications that occurred before and during the walkouts. Also, only the perspective of youth was purposely taken. Future studies may include adult participation and reaction. This study was an exploratory case study aimed to be a starting point rather than an end in itself.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review is intended to examine prior research as a foundation for this work. Part I explores the theoretical underpinnings of and linkages from these theories to implications for educators. Specifically, the literature search proceeds from social and cultural reproduction theories, to resistance theory and ultimately to the idea of transformative resistance. Part II examines social network analysis as both a methodology and theoretical lens. Part III is an introduction to the literature on resistance in cyberspace. The intent of introducing it here is twofold: The first is to provide the beginning links of human and computer networks and their interconnectedness. The second begins building the bridge between the theoretical perspectives of resistance theory, transformative resistance, and social network analysis with user-driven Web 2.0 online social network platforms, which will ultimately enhance and reify the importance and strength of interconnected human and computer networks. This is, however, only a preliminary review; a more in-depth review and critique will be covered in Chapter IV.

Part I: Theoretical Review

This section provides a continuum of theories to explain the events of the walkouts. It begins with the argument that society (Bowles & Gintis, 1977) and culture (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) reproduce themselves. It is important to establish this to understand why those at the top of the socio-cultural spectrum generally stay at the top and those at the bottom generally stay at the bottom. Throughout, there is also a critical

discussion related to education as both a reflection and reifying agent of this system. From there the discussion moves to resistance theory (Apple, 1995; Giroux, 2001) as a method of overcoming these cycles of social and cultural reproduction. It is argued that resistance in itself, however, is not enough to overcome cycles of reproduction, and can in fact play right back into cycles of reproduction. Anyon, (1990), Willis (1977), and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) examined the processes by which this occurs in educational settings. The section concludes with the argument that the methods, motivation and level of critique determine whether or not the act of resistance can be considered transformative in terms of actually changing a person's situationality for the better (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Although theories of reproduction and resistance ultimately fail to adequately frame transformative resistance by student activists, these theories provide a continuum to give a more complete account of the relationship between structure and agency. An overview of reproduction and resistance theories ultimately leads to a more comprehensive understanding of the emergence of transformative resistance, the central theoretical framework that guides this study.

Social and Cultural Reproduction

Social reproduction theory and cultural reproduction theory are two theoretical frameworks that examine how and why individuals, for the most part, remain in a particular socio-economic status (SES) across the span of their lives. Individuals rarely move from one to another, particularly when attempting to move upwards. Starting in the 1970s, the purpose of these two theories was to uncover the specific factors behind cycles

of reproduction. Practically any social or cultural attribute can (and does) reinforce these cycles; however, certain attributes are particularly important when examining reproduction cycles including, but not limited to: economic, social, cultural, and linguistic capitals. These factors guide the discussion in the next section.

Before Reproduction

Prior to social and cultural reproduction theories, it was generally accepted that IQ score was the primary determinant for SES (Bowles & Gintis, 1977). Bowles and Gintis' work *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1977) contested this notion. Through their re-analysis in which they compared similar IQ scores of children of high SES parents to the children of low SES parents, they were able to rule out IQ as a causal effect of SES. Every SES group showed a range of IQ scores that fell along the bell curve. The curve of each SES group was extremely similar.

With this in mind, the authors proposed a counter theory to a notion that was believed at that time to be cold hard truth. Bowles and Gintis argued that multiple structures influence SES beyond IQ (which may or may not in itself be a contributing factor) that greatly contribute to the replication over generations of socio-economic status quo by saying:

> Patterns of inequality, repression, and forms of class domination cannot be restricted to a single sphere of life, but reappear in substantially altered, yet structurally comparable, form in all spheres. Power and privilege in economic life surface not only in the core social institutions which pattern the formation of consciousness (e.g., school and family), but even in face-to-face personal encounters, leisure activities, cultural life, sexual relationships, and philosophies of the world. (p. 148)

This statement gave life to both social and cultural reproduction theories. It also solidified the notion of economic capital.

Economic Capital

Staying with Bowles and Gintis (1977), economic capital is most simply explained by the common phrase "money begets money." In capitalistic societies, money is passed from generation to generation. For example, consider the financial inheritance that has been bestowed upon Paris Hilton from the Hilton Hotel chain created by her grandfather. The money is only on its third generation and there is currently no way to tell exactly how many more generations will be able to live off of this money. Although Bowles and Gintis acknowledge reproduction cycles as multi-faceted, their primary solution to inequality is based in removing the economic inequality inherent in capitalistic societies.

Social Reproduction Theory

Social capital is based in the idea that social connections play a vital role in the cycle of reproduction (Bowles & Gintis, 1977; Willis, 1977). Social capital examines the interconnectedness of individuals along lines of SES status. This is a less overt, yet potentially more powerful form of reproduction than economic capital. For example, even if an individual from high SES falls upon hard economic times, s/he has a higher probability to return to that high SES than an individual born and raised in a low SES status. This is because the individual who previously had the high SES status has made vital connections with other people from that high SES group. It is this informal access

through social capital that allows for potential everlasting connections to economic capital.

Social capital does not just come through economic ties however. Gender,[7] race,[8] sexual orientation,[9] and even age[10] produce even more subtle and devious aspects of social capital. It is through these that both overt and covert means of social reproduction are able to seep through society.

Social Reproduction in Schools

Jean Anyon (1990) argued that public schools in complex industrial societies make available different types of educational experience and curricular knowledge to children born into different social classes. Anyon's study looked at the nature of schoolwork and teacher/student dyads to find ideological messages children receive, which she dubbed the "hidden" curriculum. Anyon found that students of different socioeconomic backgrounds received significantly different educations, which contained strong ideological biases towards the preparation of children for predetermined work roles based upon SES. For example, when looking at classroom rules, Anyon provided the following insights into differences between a working class school and an affluent professional school. In the working class school, "Most of the rules regarding work are designations of what the children are to do; the rules are steps to follow" (p. 3), whereas in the affluent professional school, "The relatively few rules to be followed regarding work are usually criteria for, or limits on, individual activity" (p. 7). Her conclusion,

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[7] See Lorber (1995) and hooks (1995) as examples.
[8] See Omi and Winant (1995) and Collins (2006) as examples.
[9] See Hubbard (1995) and Katz (1990) as examples.
[10] See Lorde (2005) as an example.

simply put, was that schools often implicitly, and in some cases explicitly, say to children that they will work where their parents worked and should be prepared for that role.

Cultural Reproduction Theory

The work around cultural capital stems mostly from Bourdieu and Passeron (1990). Bourdieu and Passeron discussed several attributing factors, the most important of which are field and habitus. Field is the space in which individuals negotiate and position themselves within the greater context in an attempt to either maintain or change their positionality. Habitus explains the way this negotiation and positioning happen. Habitus is both conscious and unconscious. It includes all the cultural elements embedded in each individual that give advantages to some and leaves others behind. How we think, what we eat, what we value, and even how we talk all make up habitus. It is often through these and other cultural factors that cultural capital becomes the driving force behind successes or failures with respect to economic and social capital.

Cultural Reproduction in Schools

Cultural reproduction in education refers to the ways in which schools reproduce inequity through the promotion of specific forms of cultural knowledge. Members of the dominant group create institutions that are based on their values, beliefs, and practices to ultimately serve the interests of their group. Institutions that are developed with the cultural values and practices of the dominant group serve to normalize these forms. The normalization of these forms present in the curriculum, pedagogy, assessment tools, and instruction serve to legitimize all forms that parallel that of the dominant groups and to deem deficient those forms that deviate from the norm. Under this framework every

individual, as a member of a particular class, is the proprietor of certain cultural forms, "cultural capital," as coined by Bourdieu (1977), which they inherit from their parents, social interactions, and school. Schooling particularly leads to the building of one especially important type of capital, linguistic capital, as discussed in the next section.

Linguistic Capital and Schools

Out of the many factors that make up cultural capital, linguistic capital is quite possibly the most influential. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) noted that language skills termed "linguistic capital" are one of the primary skillsets that separate students in high and low SES schools. These skills manifest in the form of vocabulary depth, style, and the negotiation of the English language. They influence knowing in which situations to use which type of vocabulary and style, particularly in critical situations such as interviewing for managerial and executive jobs. The authors went on to state:

> Moreover, language is not simply an instrument of communication: it also provides, together with richer or poorer vocabulary, a more or less complex system of categories, so that the capacity to decipher and manipulate complex structures, whether logical or aesthetic, depends partly on the complexity of the language transmitted by the family. It follows logically that the educational mortality rate can only increase as one moves towards classes more distant from scholarly language, but also that, in a school population constituted by selection, unequal selectedness tends to reduce progressively and even to cancel out the effects of unequal selection. (p. 73)

In sum, the way children of different SES are schooled is determined by their placement in the economic landscape (Achinstein, Togawa, & Speiglman 2004). Schools with high SES students train and educate their students significantly differently from those with low SES students (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Anyon, 1990). Students of

high SES learn subtle, but important, skills in the ways individuals from high SES act and speak as noted in the following quote by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990):

> The perpetuation of the class structure requires that the hierarchical division of labor be reproduced in the consciousness of its participants. The educational system is one of several reproduction mechanisms through which dominant elites seek to achieve this objective. By providing skill, legitimating inequalities in economic positions, and facilitating certain types of social intercourse among individuals, U.S. education patterns personal development around the requirements of alienated work. (p. 147)

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) emphasized the argument that education serves as a primary location for these "funds of knowledge" to deliberately give those students of high SES a distinct advantage when looking specifically at they manner in which language is taught. For example, Anyon (1990) observed that in a low SES school, students were simply told the grammar rules and never truly taught the intricacies of the rules, nor their reasons for existing. The teacher never taught beyond basic punctuation, explaining that is "all they'll ever use" (p. 4); in an "elite executive school" however, students were not only held to the highest standards when it came to mastering grammar, but also held to the same level of standards in the application of their mastery in their own writing and speech. This short, but potent, example shows the way linguistic capital is built through the schooling process.

Ultimately, it is this combination of economic (see also Paulson & St. John, 2002), social (both mentioned by Bowles & Gintis, 1977),[11] and cultural (Anyon, 1990; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) factors that plays a major part in reproducing social and

[11] For other studies focused on social spheres, see Ferguson, 2008 (gender), Pilar Johnson, 2003 (gender), and Hallinan, 2001 (race).

cultural structures generation after generation. Language and schooling play vital roles as vehicles in which economic, social, and cultural forms of capital are acquired. With this in mind, schools not only reflect their particular social and cultural stratifications, but as noted by all the authors above, they are an instrumental element in creating the reproduction itself.

Resistance Theory

Introduction.

Early critical pedagogues have spent significant time identifying systems of inequity and inequality and their components (economic, social, cultural, etc), but have not provided a concrete path toward changing these societal structures. As such, one of the major criticisms about theories of reproduction is that they are overly deterministic. Pure reproduction is fatalistic and completely removes any sense of individual agency.[12]

To cite an example, Giroux (2001) focused much of his book *Theory and Resistance in Education* on looking at the importance of teaching the skills of analysis and deconstruction to students in order to break cycles of reproduction. Providing our students with these tools, however, is incomplete at best. By allowing us to see that reproduction cycles exist, analysis and critiques provide us with a critical mental framework in which we can deconstruct society. These tools, however, do not provide a clear direction about how to change and break cycles of reproduction. Reproduction theories fall short in their ability to provide a pathway for agency and change in the attempt to break reproduction cycles.

[12] Covarrubias (2005) defines agency as "…the ability and intent to impact one's own life" (36).

Schools as Sites of Resistance.

Resistance theorists (Apple, 1995; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Giroux, 2001), however, do leave us with an important notion about the education system. In its role as a piece of society, and not society itself, the educational system both reflects society and at the same time has space for autonomy apart from society. Therefore, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) noted, those who hold to strict notions of social reproduction fail "…to grasp the relative autonomy and dependence of the educational system with respect to the social classes" (p. 194).[13] It is this relative autonomy that allows for space to overcome pure social reproduction and the "unnatural idea of culture by birth" (p. 210). Although Anyon (1996) perceived schools as reproducing agents, their relative autonomy allows for the potential of breaking reproduction cycles. It is within this potential that we must seek agents and places for change.

Michael Apple (1995) also explored the complexities of social reproduction. He argued against the deterministic and mechanistic portrayal of social reproduction offered by Bowles and Gintis (1977). Instead, he suggested the existence of a struggle: "... the very contradictions that students live out in their day to day lives may end up supporting the institutions and ideologies that they seem to oppose yet offer a terrain for action at the same time" (p. 92).

Apple contested passivity and ultimately saw cultural production as a terrain of contestation, resistance and compromise. Society is characterized by contradiction as well as by simple reproduction. He gave examples of student behavior—cultural

[13] Bourdieu and Passeron do warn of taking this idea to the other extreme in which schools have complete autonomy from their social and economic systems (p. 178).

innovations—that allow them to creatively adapt their environments so that they can, for example, get out of class. Students spend most of their time not on schoolwork but on regenerating a specific lived culture such as talking about sports and planning outside activities with friends.

The dynamics inside the school walls create a sense of autonomy from the surrounding community. Immense potential to deconstruct economic, political, and cultural capital exists inside. This offers the potential to give cultural capital to those who "shouldn't" have it. It is the place where resistance can occur. Apple (1995), Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), Giroux (2001), and other resistance theorists unfortunately stop short of solving the problem of reproduction cycles. Their solutions, although critical steps, do not provide meaningful and productive methods for breaking cycles of reproduction. It is not enough to resist based solely upon criticism of a system. As will be discussed in detail in later sections, to be successful, resistance must also be grounded in social justice. The next section is provided as an example of what occurs when resistance is not guided by social justice.

When Resistance Goes Wrong: A Case in Point.

Willis (1977) examined notions of social reproduction and introduced the idea of resistance in his book *Learning to Labor.* He studied a group of male English working class students who self-titled themselves the "lads." These lads often rejected the general school culture that was being imposed upon them. The lads had no desire to turn into "ear'oles" (ear holes) who merely listened to what they were taught and told to do and regurgitated it back to their teachers.

The lads felt they had a leg up on the transition to the adult world by working outside the schooling system. Some of them decided to get part-time jobs in factories and work in lieu of attending school. They would stay out late drinking and hanging out with one another, patterning what they thought was adult behavior. They saw all of this, often modeled by their parents, as acceptable behavior. It was a much more direct and practical means to an end (money for living and play) than schooling.

In doing so and resisting the education system, the lads put themselves in a position to completely reproduce the working-class living in which they grew up. To them, a job was a job and usually it was a factory job; it was merely a means to an end. It did not matter which job it was, seeing as it was non-transferrable un-skilled (or at best semi-skilled) labor. Ultimately, they did not give themselves the tools needed to become anything other than working-class men.

By completely rejecting the system of schooling, the lads' ultimately fate fell prey to the very same cycle of reproduction they were resisting. They chose to buck the system and work outside of it instead of within it. They saw no value in the educational process. Instead they looked toward the end-goal of getting a working-class job and took the shortest and most direct route to get there. Because the end by this point was so close and tangible, it was much easier (and in the short term more desirable since they were earning a paycheck) to resist the system they were in and move towards the end goal of laboring in a working-class job. They were not equipped with the skills to be anything other than unskilled labor. Ultimately, their resistance became a self-fulfilling prophecy and led them back into the cycle of social reproduction.

Toward a More Transformative Model.

As can be seen from the above example, real danger is inherent in unguided resistance. The lads resisted the need for school, but were not guided by principle. Taking this into account, Giroux (2001) provided a solid first step in resistance that is both positive and productive. As Giroux defined it:

> Resistance in this case redefines the causes and meaning of oppositional behavior by arguing that it has little to do with the logic of deviance, individual pathology, learned helplessness (and, of course, genetic explanations), and a great deal to do, though not exhaustively, with the logic of moral and political indignation… I think resistance has to be situated in a perspective or rationality that takes the notion of emancipation as its guiding interest… Finally, inherent in a radical notion of resistance is an expressed hope, an element of transcendence, for radical transformation. (pps. 107-108)

For Giroux, resistance is more than being in opposition to a dominant thought. As seen in Willis' (1977) case, merely resisting the system does not produce results in the effort to break reproduction cycles. Resistance must rather be a hopeful and positive opposition to an oppressive situation of domination with clear (and sometimes not so clear) winners and losers in society.

This perspective gets us closer to a model of resistance that actually has the potential to break cycles of reproduction. It does lack depth in analysis of resistance and the multiple modes of resistance that can exist. Many resistance efforts are self-defeating and are either futile or, in worst-case scenarios, play right into the hands of social and cultural reproduction cycles as was seen with Willis' lads. Out of this limitation comes the notion of transformative resistance.

Transformative Resistance Explanation.

Resistance, depending on how it is carried out, can take one of several forms. According to Delgado Bernal (1997) (and further elaborated in Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001), four types of resistance are identified, based on two criteria: critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice. Resistance theorists, as noted above, explained the importance of critique. They, however, lacked the idea that resistance, in order to create positive change and break cycles of reproduction, needs to be motivated by social justice. The following two paragraphs explain the importance of combining the criteria of critique and social justice and their implications for resistance efforts.

Delgado Bernal (1997) explained that there are four types of resistances based upon the two criteria mentioned in the above paragraph. The first, *reactionary behavior,* lacks both critique and a notion of social justice. A high school student stealing a shirt in an attempt to get his parents to pay attention to him and get a rise out of them would be an example of reactionary behavior. *Self-defeating resistance* possesses a critique of social oppression, but lacks a social justice focus. Willis' (1977) lads are an excellent example of self-defeating resistance. *Conformist resistance* is motivated by social justice, but lacks any critique. Individuals who carry out conformist resistance want to make a difference, but have not spent time analyzing the root of the problem to address the underlying factors that will continue to cause problems until they are addressed.

Delgado Bernal (1997) explained that *transformative resistance* is different from these other forms of resistance because it "… includes both some level of critique of the system (awareness) and some level of motivation towards liberation" (p. 22). These are

two important differentiators in resistance activity noted Delgado Bernal because "With a deeper level of understanding and a justice orientation, transformational resistance offers the greatest possibility for social change" (p. 24). With this perspective, it is time to turn to examples and deeper theorization on the topic.

Transformative Resistance in Action.

How can we tell if resistance efforts are truly transformative? It is important to show examples as models for both analyzing what qualifies as an act of transformative resistance as well as providing a framework for recommendations on how to create transformative acts in the classroom. The following two examples are provided to address these issues.

Leung Kai Ping (1983) studied high school students and their motivating factor(s) for becoming activists during this stage in life. He found that political consciousness arose in individuals most often from a group of influences, particularly parents, high school teachers, and college professors. Taking the step towards activism requires more than just information sharing. Leung Kai Ping found taking the step towards activism requires solidarity, where interests, values, and community merge. It is from this notion that becoming an activist is most often spurred by teachers and professors and surprisingly, not family. The community support of classmates and peers builds the strength to move towards activism. He also noted that the earlier students' exposure to political consciousness occurred, the more politically active they became.

In the second example, Revilla (2004) examined the student activist group Raza Womyn and their experiences as Chicana/Latina's at a white patriarchal university. She

drew from deep roots of critical theory, critical race theory and resistance theory. Although coming to similar conclusions about individual histories and motivations towards activism as Leung Kai Ping (1983), Revilla delved significantly deeper into the lives of the individuals interviewed and the meaning activism gave to members of Raza Womyn. The group is a place for community, empowerment and safety for women who, on a daily basis, are subjected to oppression in the forms of race, class, gender and sexuality in a very real and interconnected manner.

Leung Kai Ping (1983) and Revilla (2004) unmasked the important character traits embedded in youth activists. Noted in both studies was the idea of solidarity. Shared ideals and a willingness to act are imperative for student activism. Significant differences are seen in the role of adults in this process. For Leung Kai Ping, adult involvement seems fundamental. For Revilla, students were able to create solidarity on their own. This could be due to the focus on high school (Leung Kai Ping) versus college (Revilla), but further investigation would be needed to make such claims.

Part II: Social Network Analysis: Methodology and Theory

Background

This section is provides background research on the topic of social network analysis as a methodology for data collection. To answer the research questions of this study, it was critical to examine relationships. Described by Scott (2000), an atomistic study, one that examines individuals acting independent of one another, cannot answer the second research question, "How and why are students using user-driven Web 2.0 social networking technologies, specifically MySpace, to engage in acts of resistance?"

Two items have inherent notions of interconnectedness: acts of *collective* resistance and MySpace, an online *social* network. Only analytical frameworks such as social network analysis, which focuses on relational data, will be able to answer this question (Scott, 2000).

Wasserman and Faust (1994) provided an excellent source for explaining social network analysis in its many forms. Social network analysis is used a methodological tool to examine the social relationships that connect individuals. Social network analysis is particularly relevant to the present study because it explores the topics of "social group, isolates popularity... clique, subgroup… structures of affiliation… exchange, influence…" (Wasserman & Faust, 1994, p 14). In reality, it is not a single methodology, but a set of methodologies that consider groups, individuals, and interconnectivity using theoretical, plus quantitative and qualitative, methodologies that examine a variety of topics such as the ones noted above. These multiples perspectives emerged because social network analysis was developed across multiple disciplines (Durland & Fredericks, 2005).

Although social network analysis covers a wide array of topics and analysis methodologies regarding human interactions, a consistent base ties these factors together. Regardless of methodology, the base of all social networks is the relationship (Scott, 2000). It is crucial to this study to examine how and why relationships were built around a series of events that led up to the walkouts.

Social Network Analysis, Culture and Agency

Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994) examined the notions of culture and agency through the lens of social network analysis. The authors purported that social network analysis has not done an adequate job addressing either culture or agency. As an analytical tool, it has become too ingrained in mathematical analysis and modeling, and does not truly examine the actors themselves and their interconnections. Instead, the authors' stated, "We believe, by contrast, that an adequate approach to historical explanation must encompass both social structural and cultural perspective on social action" (p. 1414). The authors proposed rethinking social network analysis through these deeper lenses.

The authors went back to the 1940s, where social network analysis has its roots, which were heavily tied to other sociological and anthropological fields focused on the analysis of culture and histories, noting "…social facts as *ecologically embedded* within specific context of time and space—that is to say, within particular *interactional fields* composed of concrete, historically specific "natural areas" and "natural histories" (p. 1416, emphasis in original). A decade later, a major shift towards quantifying social network analysis took hold and has been the focus of social network analysis for the better part of fifty years. Only starting in the 1980s, with Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986) and McAdam (1986), did the shift for deeper explanations tied to culture and history once again gain attention in social network analysis.

Snow et al. (1986) brought to social network analysis the important notion of participation in social mobilization as a process. The authors examined how social

movement organizations (SMO's) became involved in particular causes/events. Snow et al. analyzed prior empirical research conducted by each of the researchers focused on SMO's.

The authors identified four means of getting involved in a particular cause by a term they called frame alignments; these alignments are: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation. Frame bridging occurs when groups that have similar interests/concerns, come together to act on their interests/concerns. Frame amplification refers to a clarification of beliefs and/or values that leads to increased participation as a result. Frame extension is the deliberate reaching out of one SMO to individuals/groups to assist with or join the SMO. Frame transformation is a change in values/beliefs that results in an increase in SMO membership.

Prior to this research, process was not discussed in social network research; rather it studied participation as a static phenomenon. This is extremely important when examining micro-social and micro-historical series of events, as this case study does, including means by which individuals have connected (or disconnected) themselves within these contexts. In turn, the process model also allows for deeper analysis of events and explanations regarding how and why connections between individuals are made and broken.

McAdam (1986) examined the factors that play a role in individuals' deciding to join in high-risk activism. His study dissected application data collected about volunteers for the 1964 Freedom Summer project that involved mostly middle-class, white, northern

college students went to Mississippi to work on defending the civil rights of southern African-Americans. McAdam argued that prior work focused solely on inherent values and dispositions of individuals that led those individuals toward high-risk activism. Although not disagreeing with this as one realm of factors, McAdam explored the social aspects of "strong" versus ''weak" ties (a notion theorized by Granovetter, 1973) as another component toward high-risk activism.

McAdam (1986) found that all the participant volunteers did in fact have inherent values and dispositions toward high-risk activism. This, however, did not explain why certain individuals who held these values decided not to go to Mississippi. McAdam found that individuals who had strong ties (close friend, family member, etc) to other participating individuals also decided to go. Individuals who only had weak ties (acquaintances) or no ties ultimately decided against participating in Freedom Summer.

This study was able to expand upon prior research aimed at finding deeper cause as to why certain individuals engage in high-risk activism while others do not. Individuals with strong ties to others who were also willing to engage in high-risk activism were likely to engage in it themselves. McAdam's research validated the importance of an individual's situatedness and context as key elements in social network analysis and pointed to the significances in quality of relationship as well as the position in network.[14]

[14] This research also validated findings of Leung Kai Ping (1983) and Revilla (2004) from the social network analysis perspective.

Computer Networks and Social Network Analysis

Computer networks have exploded over the past few years. For example, in just one month, from January to February 2009, the online social networking tool Facebook grew 12.2% to a total of 276 million users (Arrington, 2009). Although the term social networking (when applied to user-driven Web 2.0 online social networking applications) has no official ties to social network analysis methodology, Wellman (1997) argued that computer networks are social networks. Upon the advent of the Internet, the computer became another medium through which social network analysis can be applied since it allowed individuals to connect to one another virtually and to build relationships.

Supporting the idea that computer networks are social networks, Hampton and Wellman (2000) studied a new housing development deemed "Netville" in which residents had the opportunity for free high-speed Internet connection and a built-in neighborhood online social network in exchange for being part of the study. The authors wanted to see what differences emerged between residents who had these resources at hand and those who did not. Those residents who were wired with Internet were much more likely to know a higher number of neighbors than those who were not. The wired residents reported that being online and having a social network for the neighborhood was an excellent supplement to get to know the people who live in the neighborhood. This extra method for connecting people together provided an exceptional platform for getting to know new neighbors.

Part III: Online Networks, Human Networks, and Resistance

Introduction

The following section explores several instances in which online and human networks come together in efforts of resistance. As mentioned in the previous two paragraphs, the idea of blending virtual and human networks first came about when Barry Wellman (1997) examined "Netville' in Canada to learn the effects of online networks on the community, both between households that were connected virtually through the Internet and household that were not. Finding that households connected to the online network were more familiar with neighbors' lives than those not connected to the online network, Wellman brought about the idea that online networks were truly social human networks. The remainder of this section examines the place the meeting point of online and human networks for resistance causes.

Intersectionality

One of the earliest examples of online and human networks meeting for resistance efforts concerns the Zapatistas fight against the formation of the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) in 1991 (Russell, 2001). In the early days of the commercial Internet, the Zapatistas used a listserv15 to spread the message of the pitfalls and dangers associated with the pending international agreement. Based in southern Mexico, the listserv had a large following in Mexico and the southern United States.

Similar efforts were seen in promoting anti-sweatshop movements against Nike (Bullert, 2000) and peaceful anti big-government anarchist groups (Owens & Palmer,

[15] A listserv is an automated e-mail list used to send mass e-mails to specific individuals and groups of people.

2003). Both of these movements also used mass e-mailings to promote their causes. Both the Zapatistas and Nike cases, attained certain levels of success with their online efforts. This was also true, but to a lesser extent, in the Seattle World Bank protests for the anarchist group until radical anarchists drew negative press.

All three studies (Bullert, 2000; Owens & Palmer, 2003; Russell, 2001) were marked by one major flaw in their implementation, however. Using e-mails and listservs limited their reach to affinity groups. Only individuals already prone to being sympathetic to their causes were signed up on a listserv or email group. It is important to note another vital flaw not noted by the authors, which was the lack of interactivity. The importance of this flaw will become more evident in the next few paragraphs that focus on using online Web2.0 social networking tools for resistance against H.R. 4437.

H.R. 4437: A Case in Point

Yang (2007) and Barberena et al. (2007) have provided notable insight into the field on which this research focused. The authors wrote about the same walkouts as H.R. 4437 except that they examined the movement in San Francisco and Dallas, Texas, respectively.

In San Francisco (Yang, 2007) and Dallas (Barberena et al., 2007), as in Los Angeles, youth played an important part in the marches protesting H.R. 4437. In both locations, without student participants, the movement would not have nearly the impact that it had with them. Similar to Los Angeles, technology played a critical role in the success of the student movement in San Francisco and Dallas. There was a considerable amount of organizing through MySpace, as was the case in Los Angeles Yang, however,

specifically focused on the unique successes that text messaging brought to the San Francisco walkouts. Because cell phones are ubiquitous hand-held devices, text messaging was able to reach youth across the Bay Area like wildfire. To compound the fact that messages could be sent to nearly every youth across the Bay Area covertly, text messaging allows for one message to be sent to a host of individuals who could in turn forward the same message to a host of other individuals. This allows a message from the original source and initial recipients to spread exponentially. The power of this alone is incredible.

Yang (2007) and Barberena et al. (2007) also examined MySpace as a public sphere. Yang argued that individuals have been concerned about the digital divide, looking at technology as another medium in which "compliant citizens" can be created. Yang noted that the user-driven content and socialization aspects of MySpace (and other social networking services), provide the distinct ability to prompt sub-cultural subversion. MySpace provided exactly that forum in the walkouts in San Francisco.

Barberian et al. (2007), expanded on this idea, noting that the power comes with combining the public and private spheres. MySpace provided the person-to-person connections needed to get a movement such as this up and running[16] because of its public face, MySpace also acted as a news agency, giving constant real-time updates of ideas and thoughts about walking out.

[16] Refer back to the discussion on Leung Kai Ping (1983) for the importance of having a strong connection with others in the decision to take part in resistance activities.

Another aspect of Yang's (2007) study that is of particular interest is the idea of student self-directed activism. The students themselves took the initiative for these walkouts. This is yet another, and crucial, difference between this example of youth activism and the trends found by Leung Kai Ping (1983) and McAdam (1986). Yang explained that most who talk about youth activism discuss teacher-led or teacher-assigned activism. It has been rare to see student-initiated activism since the 1960-70s.

One result that has yet to be seen is sustainability in a movement with a strong technological presence. Although platforms such as MySpace and text messaging have the unique advantages of being covert and the potential to spread exponentially, a distinct problem concerns the aspect of strong leadership to initiate the activist work. Even Yang who was intimately tied to the walkouts in San Francisco was not able to pin down a single student leader (or group of leaders) in the movement. Everybody seemed to have received a MySpace notice or text message from somebody who got it from somebody else who got it from somebody else, and so forth.

The primary strength that may counteract the lack of leadership is the empowerment generated by being involved in the walkouts. Take, for example, a discussion brought up by Yang (2007) about a youth named Myra:

> In radicalized moments of mass mobilization, youth like Myra become aware of their personal power within the collective—an intuitive understanding of the material conditions, cultural congruities, and implicit ideologies that empower even the smallest nodes of solidarity in a larger nexus of youth culture. (p. 26)

This power may give strength to individuals to become leaders of a more sustained movement.

One of the major criticisms I have and that Yang has noted for future study is the lack of analysis from the perspective of transformative resistance. The example given clearly shows youth acting upon a motivation to encourage social justice based on a critique of social oppression. Much of my focus in this work has been to identify and more deeply examine the notions about pockets of transformative resistance Yang (2007) and Barberena et al. (2007) mentioned throughout their articles. Much more work still needs to be done to provide solid recommendations for promoting transformative resistance to our youth.

Transformative Resistance and Technology

The examples above show a variety of issues such as laws (Russell, 2001), political affiliations (Owens & Palmer, 2003), sweatshops (Bullert, 2000), and immigrant rights (Barberena et al. 2007; Yang, 2007). These examples show that there is currently a lack of research on transformative resistance and technology. This study aims to break new ground in this research topic. I argue that transformative resistance offers a viable framework to understanding how youth utilize technologies to engage in acts of resistance. There is however, more definition needed, particularly in methodology to provide recommendations for successful acts of transformative resistance. I hope to add to the seminal works of Delgado Bernal (1997) and Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) to craft a more multilayered and multidimensional theoretical framework of resistance that employs technology. This will be addressed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

The methodology and methods section of this paper discusses the design, type of data collected, sample and population, and instrumentation. This section also includes the methods of data analysis, validity and reliability measures, and my positionality as the researcher.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was three-fold. The first was to provide an in-depth document review to find the historical antecedents of technology usage for the purpose of resistance. The second was to explore how and why youth are using user-driven Web 2.0 online social network technologies to engage in transformative resistance. Lastly, a framework was created around the notion of self-driven activism and ways in which educators can harness and promote students to become more self-actualized though the process of resistance.

Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in the theoretical framework of transformative resistance, which emerged from resistance theory. Authors such as Bowles and Gintis (1977) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) introduced the idea that society and culture reproduce themselves from generation to generation. Resistance theory (Apple, 1995; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Giroux, 2001) emerged as a way to overcome these cycles of reproduction. However, when moving from theory to practice, resistance can often be

self-defeating and ineffective in changing cycles of reproduction as was seen with Willis' (1977) lads and the L.A. Riots of 1992 (Bergesen & Herman, 1998; Useem, 1997). Transformative resistance (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) provides a framework that states resistance cannot break cycles of reproduction if the efforts are not led by both social justice advocacy and critique related to oppression. Without these two qualifiers, resistance efforts that resemble ones noted above will fail.

Research Methodology

The overall methodology of this study was an exploratory case study. As defined by Yin (2002), a case study is a type of inquiry which collects empirical data that

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (formatting in original) (p. 13).

To achieve the research purposes, a qualitative case study methodology was the strongest methodology. The study methodology must be qualitative because it aimed to answer research questions about complex situations leading up to and including the student walkouts; quantitative data cannot dynamically explain the events that took place leading up to the walkouts, nor can they capture the voices of the individuals who participated in the walkouts (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Richards & Morse, 2007).

The case study method allows in-depth explorations such as this one to examine single incidents fully enough to make sense of them in the broader context of society (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991). The case approach was a first step at looking at a

single event in the walkouts and the preparation that preceded them. To date public movements have not been studied in depth,[17] with regard to place and youth using technology in the framework of transformative resistance. As such, this study was an exploration that investigated a large event primarily from the perspective of a small subset of participants.

According to Yin (2002), case studies can be designed as a single-case or multiple-cases, and both could be either holistic or embedded. Because this study focused on only one walkout, it is a single-case design. Because of its exploratory nature, it would be unwise to compare this case with another outside of its context. Too many unknown variables need further study before a comparative study can be considered.

Holistic cases only use one unit of analysis within a context; for example, an interview with only an individual or group about his/her participation in the walkout. As I will be focusing on two units of analysis (see the Intermediate Units and Individuals sections under Question 2—Technology and Resistance for specific units) framed within a context, this case will use an embedded single-case design. This allowed me to embed the participants' experiences both as individuals and as part of a group within the context of the walkout and compare across the three levels of macro (context), intermediate (group) and individual.

Finally, unlike other methodologies, the case study design provides a means to build theory (Feagin et al., 1991; Yin, 2002). There is high potential for a new, multidimensional approach to transformative resistance to grow out of this research that

[17] See Yang (2007) and Barberena et al. (2007), for research on the same event.

can only be built by exploring the rich and complex events that allowed the walkouts to occur.

Design

Each research question had its own distinct collection and analysis methodology. To reiterate, the research questions are as follows:

1. What are the historical antecedents to using technology for the purpose of socio-political resistance?
2. How and why did students use user-driven Web 2.0 social networking technologies, specifically MySpace, to engage in transformative resistance?
3. What new educational framework can incorporate multidimensional resistance for youth?

Table 1 explains the methods of data collection and the analytical technique used for each research question.

Table 1

Methods and Analysis

Research Question	Method	Analysis
Q1: Historical Antecedents of Resistance with Technology	Document Review	Thematic Coding
Q2: Technology and Resistance	Exploratory Case Study *Context* Historical Documentation: Internet, books, newspapers, magazines H.R. 4437 *Intermediate Units* MySpace Group Pages *Individual* Individual MySpace Pages and their direct connections Individual interviews	*Context* Thematic Coding *Intermediate Units* Social Network Analysis Thematic Coding *Individual* Thematic Coding
Q3: Recommendations for Educators	Synthesis and recommendations based on analysis from Q1 and Q2	

Research Question 1—Historical Antecedents of Resistance with Technology

The first research question was answered through document review and thematic coding related to resistance efforts that integrally used technology.

Research Question 2—Technology and Resistance

Research Question 2 was truly the heart of data collection efforts for this work. As such, the methods and analysis are explained in significantly greater detail than for Research Questions 1 (an extension and expansion upon the literature review) and 3 (application and recommendations).

Context.

The data gathered for the context came from a multitude of sources. Primarily, these were the Internet, books, newspapers, and magazines. These sources indicated the general culture and climate of Los Angeles at the time of the walkouts. A critical analysis of H.R. 4437 was also conducted to provide context.

Intermediate Units.

The intermediate data collected came from the Web 2.0 online social networking vehicle of resistance (MySpace), which was instrumental in setting up the walkouts across Los Angeles. The data came from Group pages within MySpace. The focus was on understanding context on a micro level of analysis to develop an explanation of the events that occurred.

Individuals.

The individual data (see more information on the participants themselves in the Participants section) was collected though personal MySpace pages and individual interviews[18] of four youths.

Research Question 3—Transformative Technology and the Classroom

Research Question 3 was devised to build a framework around transformative resistance in multidimensional space such as virtual worlds. It was also developed to provide educators with a place of praxis in which theory and practice in modern educational settings merge.

Sample and Population

Participants.

Four youths who were involved in the March 25, 2006, walkouts were targeted as my selected cases. I specifically targeted youth who were currently (four years later) in college, as they were juniors and seniors in high school at the time of the walkouts. It was my goal to gain multiple perspectives from participants. As such, each was accessed through different channels. Each participant signed an informed consent form for the interviews and provided access to their personal MySpace pages (see Appendix A).

Access to Participants.

I called upon several local Los Angeles teachers who have deep connections to the walkouts[19] and youth who participated in them as the first step toward gaining access to the targeted youth. I asked the teachers to place me in contact with students they knew

[18] See *Interviews* section below for more details.
[19] Some of these teachers were even involved in the walkouts.

participated in the walkouts who would be willing to share their MySpace page as well as discuss the events that transpired up to and including the walkouts. I also contacted students through a local university's M.E.Ch.A. (El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano/a de Aztlan) organization after a chance meeting through my job as a technology specialist.

Participant backgrounds.

Marisol.

I first had the privilege of meeting Marisol when I was demonstrating a new software product available to college student organizations. I work for the university's Information Technology Services (ITS) department. Marisol was invited as one of the student representatives to test out one of the campus' new technology products. She was also the student leader of the campus' M.E.Ch.A. organization. After the software demonstration we talked briefly about my study and I inquired whether or not she was involved in the walkouts. Finding out that she was, I asked if she would be a participant in my study. She accepted with a bright smile on her face.

Within a few weeks I emailed Marisol about sitting down for a preliminary interview, mostly to get to know her. We set the time and place through a short exchange of emails to coordinate between our schedules. I arrived at a coffee shop on campus about three minutes before Marisol walked in after a hectic afternoon that included replacing a broken cell phone. I had just hoped that she did not try to call me during that time to cancel. In those three minutes I had taken out every piece of technology I had with me to assist in setting up new services on my phone; this meant 2 laptops, the old cell phone and the new one, all sprawled out over the table next to me. Marisol walked past me in

the coffee shop and then turned around to find me fumbling through all of it. She kindly apologized for being a few moments late, but I was a bit pre-occupied and certainly didn't mind at all. We both got some tea and cookies and walked over to the counter with the sugar, milk, and other condiments. We began chit-chatting about getting-to-know you topics. I began with myself in the hope that she would feel more comfortable with me. I briefly discussed growing up in New Jersey, my undergraduate work in Virginia, back to New Jersey to teach and get my master's and then finally moving to Los Angeles to work and go to school for my doctorate. She added some honey to her tea and we proceeded back to the table with my stuff still spread out all over the table.

After settling in our seats, I briefly explained my intentions and my goals regarding the interviews. My first goal was to get to know her; the second and more specific was about her thoughts and feelings about the walkouts, as well as the nuts and bolts of the organization process.

In turning the conversation toward her, I wanted to know the person she was at the time of the walkouts. She explained that she was as a junior in high school at that time and overall considered herself a good student; she was taking AP courses and getting good grades. She said she also started getting involved in student organizations during her junior year.

She mentioned that she was the child of two immigrant parents and as a result was also very aware of immigrant issues. She explained that she understood at that point in her life, on a very real and practical level, the struggles faced every day by immigrants. Marisol certainly critiqued the system that made life at times difficult for her parent, but

had not quite reached the point of theorizing how to alleviate the problem. Overall, it was quite impressive to realize the extent to which Marisol had thought through these issues without any formal training.

Ruth.

I met Ruth on a rainy afternoon at the beginning of a new semester at the campus coffee shop. I had been delayed by a previous meeting, but still managed to show up 5 minutes early. When I got there, however, Ruth was already waiting at one of the tables outside of the shop. I introduced myself, shook her hand and offered coffee before we started.

I could tell immediately that Ruth is both kind and warm-hearted, but at the same time very professional and driven. Just coming back from winter break, we shared our stories of how we spent the past few weeks. She told me about an amazing trip to Mexico to visit her relatives, showing me immediately that she is a very caring person who truly values her family. I shared my tales of going back to New Jersey and then transitioned to discussing what I would like to do with this study and explained the details of what I wanted to learn from her.

We started with her upbringing, growing up in a fairly tough section of Los Angeles. Ruth told me about various clubs and activities she was involved in during her high school years. She discussed the difficulties in her school, noting there was a strong sense of have and have-nots. A small percentage of students deemed bright enough to go to college and make something of themselves were tracked into honors and AP courses; everybody else sat around waiting to graduate high school and move into the real world.

Although Ruth was among the ones tracked for higher education, she saw what was going on and did not agree with it. As a result, she and some of her friends began an official newsletter for the school during her junior year. They immediately began reporting on the faults of the school. Even without funding, the newsletter spread and became popular amongst students at the school. Not appreciating the negative publicity, the school's administration did its best to shut down the newsletter. Instead of just giving up down and accepting the administration's decision, however, Ruth and the other writers took the newsletter underground. Ruth informed me that it was more difficult to publish the newsletter, but they kept moving forward with it, getting supplies from wherever they could. It ran solidly for over a year, but as Ruth and the other writers became seniors and needed more time for college applications, the newsletter fell by the wayside, ultimately dissolving.

Anahi.

Anahi and I first met at the end of what seemed to be a long Friday for both of us. I was tired, but definitely excited to meet her. Our schedules seemed to conflict every time we had tried to meet up for two weeks prior to that Friday. Sitting in my office, Anahi told me an incredible story of her high school years.

As I learned in this first meeting, Anahi and Ruth were best friends in high school and had continued their friendship throughout college. At this point, I had not met with Ruth yet, but I was planning to about a week later. I knew immediately this was going to provide an interesting and unique perspective. I felt fortunate that two individuals who were so close to one another agreed to participate in the study. I had asked Marisol to do

me a favor and ask her friends in M.E.Ch.A. if anybody else would be interested in sharing their tale.

When I asked Anahi what she was like back then, she described herself as "nerdy athletic." She was in honors and AP courses throughout high school. She was also involved in sports and band. Both she and Ruth described their high school as under-resourced; overall a positive attitude toward learning and bettering oneself was missing.

The top 10% or so of students were tracked in honors and AP courses while the rest of the students merely existed. As Anahi explained it to me, the majority of students were stuck in Freire's warehouse (2000). School was just a place to exist and hold youth until it was time for them to become part of the workforce. Even some of her AP teachers did not seem to care. Anahi told me that she would play cards in some of her classes for the entire year, even though she was supposed to be one of the "chosen" students that were deemed worthy enough to go on to college.

It wasn't all bleak though, as Anahi went on to say. She had some teachers who encouraged her to start questioning the school system and the greater culture of the United States. Under the guidance of an English teacher, she, Ruth and others started up a monthly newspaper their junior year to bring awareness of the problems of the school. Ultimately, they tried to point out to the administration what was wrong with the school, and also provide the student body with tips, suggestions, and resources that would be useful in applying for college. The paper was ultimately shut down due to a humorous piece that placed the principal in a bad light, but the paper reemerged underground. It lasted through their senior year, but faded away before they graduated.

Anahi identified her junior year, when the walkouts took place, as the beginning of her critique of society. She had always known there was something wrong before that, yet felt naïve, never quite knowing exactly what was wrong or how she could contribute to fixing it. Her awareness developed through discussions with her English teacher and other students such as Ruth. It came in the writing of the school paper. It also came with the walkouts.

Amilcar.

Amilcar came highly recommended through a colleague of mine who knew him as a high school student. My colleague suggested I get in touch with Amilcar on MySpace, explain my project, and mention how I got his information. I did, and within a few days Amilcar "friended" me. After several communications through MySpace, email, and over the phone, we decided to have our first meeting at a coffee shop. We both ordered a Chai Latte and sat down to talk.

At the time of the walkouts, Amilcar was in college. This initially made me a little worried since my target age group was high school students, but after he explained to me his role in the high school walkouts, I realized that he provided a source of information that I could not turn down. As he saw it, Amilcar was coming of age with his politicization around the time of the walkouts. He recalled reading about various political events and economic theories and trying to understand them in terms of their application in the real world. He was exploring several political action groups in Los Angeles, mostly those with ties to equality and social justice issues, and particularly those focused on racial and economic inequalities. For somebody who described himself as not a

particularly good student, I was impressed with how well read he was and that he was already in his early politicization stages with putting theory into practice.

Instrumentation

Archival Data.

To collect archival data, the vast majority of data was researched and accessed through the Internet because much of the information was only available there. Other data sources included books, magazines, and newspapers, which provided a broader perspective to gain a comprehensive picture, particularly about the contextual aspects of Los Angeles.

Interviews.

Interviews were used to collect data at the individual level. All interviews were conducted face to face. These lasted a minimum of two hours per interviewee. Each participant was interviewed twice for at least an hour each time with no more than two hours spent on any single interview. The interviews were semi-structured (see Appendix B for a list of leading questions) starting from a recounting of occurrences from the perspective of the participants leading up to answers to Research Question 2 from his/her own perspective. A third interview was discussed at the end of the second interview with each participant to be scheduled on an as-needed basis. A third full interview was not conducted with any of the participants, but two to three short follow-up questions were asked of Anahi and Amilcar for clarification purposes.

Analysis

The *Intermediate Units* (group) provided most of the input for analysis, which was conducted using social network analysis. This analysis is a multi-disciplined collection of theories and methodologies aimed at understanding relationships between individuals and groups (Wasserman & Faust, 1994; Scott, 2000; Durland & Fredericks, 2005). As such, the main connectors within social network analysis that this study addressed were culture and agency (McAdam 1986; Embrayer & Goodwin, 1994) and human-computer networks (Wellman, 1997).

Individual Analysis

As noted above, many different strains of social network analysis have been developed. For this work, the individual MySpace data was examined using an ego network (egonet)[20] and supplemented by individual interviews (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). I explored each participant's egonet by looking at his/her online social networking page during the timeframe of the walkouts, starting one day before the first discussion of the walkouts appeared to April 1, 2006, one week after the walkouts took place, with a minimum of 2 weeks of data collected if the time frame happened to be less than that. All "comments," in the section of an individual's online social networking page where conversations took place between individuals, were catalogued to examine both who talked to the individual participants, and also what they were discussing and why. Using snowball sampling, this process was repeated two levels out in order to expand and fill out each participant's egonet.

[20] An egonet consists of a focal actor (the individual) and those other actors who have direct ties to the focal actor.

Interviews were used as the primary data collected for the *Individual* level. First and foremost they were conducted to validate or invalidate thoughts and assumptions surrounding the social network analysis. Also, they were used to enrich and supplement the data collected through MySpace in the actual voice of the participants. The interviews filled in gaps not addressed in MySpace as well as functioned as a fact checker to make sure no connections were missed. Lastly, they helped wrap up and contextualize the participants' experiences in the greater set of events leading up to and including the walkouts.

The interviews and content of MySpace discussions were coded thematically to organize both in-person and electronic conversations into meaningful pieces (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). It was expected that some themes would be created by the participants (indigenous), while others would be constructed by the researcher (analyst-constructed). The thematic coding was conducted using NVivo (QSR International, 2008) (see section on Technology Resources for more information).

Intermediate Unit and Context Analysis

The Intermediate Units and Context were used to enrich and contextualize the events leading up to and including the walkouts. These data were gathered by using public historical data at both the macro (context) and micro (group) levels that exist on the Internet (and in the case of the context, magazines, newspapers, etc. as well). MySpace group pages (Intermediate Units) were used to further voice the student perspective on the walkouts. The context data was used as a historical framework. In particular, H.R. 4437 (ILRC, 2005) was included in the context and examined

particularly as the triggering event for the walkouts. Thematic coding was also used to analyze the Intermediate Units and Context portion of the research.

Theoretical Analysis

The data was also processed and analyzed theoretically through the lens of transformative resistance (Delgado Bernal, 1997; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). K. Wayne Yang (2007) conducted a similar study on student walkouts in San Francisco, which had been triggered by the same issue. He suggested as a study for further researcher viewing these events through the eyes of resistance theory. In understanding a moment of resistance, it is critical to learn why it happened, through the voices of the resistive actors themselves. Without their voices the opportunity to get to the root explanation as to why the event occurred is lost. Noting the flaws found in the examples of Willis' lads (1977) and L.A. Riots of 1992 (Bergesen & Herman, 1998; Useem, 1997), resistance theory by itself does not adequately address the case at hand; as such, only transformative resistance as a framework for analysis, and ultimately recommendations, offers a comprehensive and sufficient perspective.

Technological Resources

As noted previously, the Internet was accessed to collect a large portion of the data. Each interview session was audio-recorded and then downloaded to a computer to allow the researcher the ability to focus on the discussion while meeting with participants. Except for data found only in print/analog form, all data were collected, organized, coded, and analyzed through the qualitative software, NVivo (QSR International, 2008). NVivo 8, allows for the collection, organization, and coding of not

only text-based documents as previous versions do, but also of digital audio and video media.

Positionality and Validation

Positionality

In research, the positionality of a researcher reveals important information about the study conducted. The topic chosen, reasons for choosing the topic, and selection of methods for collecting and analyzing the data are some of the factors in the background of a study that can be inferred just by learning the researcher's positionality. With this in mind, the following information may be pertinent.

My undergraduate work first opened my eyes to liberal notions of social justice and equality. Upon graduating, I began teaching in an affluent high school where I quickly became frustrated with the teacher-centered methodology I was forced to use. I felt that the school was, to borrow from Freire (2000), merely warehousing our students until they went off to college. After only two years of teaching, I began graduate study full time to obtain my master's degree. I particularly wanted to explore the use of technology to create a more interactive teaching environment that would be a platform for developing higher critical thinking skills.

Not convinced that I had completed my mission, I continued with my education to receive my doctoral degree with a focus in social justice. In this program I was able to get a grasp on education as a social justice issue and, more importantly, recognize my passion for wanting to make this world a better place for all, not just the privileged.

During my doctoral studies I realized that social justice issues need to be addressed from at least two positions. Taking from Foucault (1995), Freire (1990), and Apple (1995) and their notions of power (Freire and Apple focused specifically on classroom settings), teachers are given inherent power by their positionality in the classroom. They are in total control within the confines of those four walls. In order to ever change this, it is critical that the teacher (and more generally individual[s] in power) must be willing to share power in order for it to switch hands. Viewed through the eyes of distributed leadership (Hargreaves and Fink, 2005), shared power is the only sustainable way that all individuals involved can receive greater power. In a distributed leadership model, power is shared amongst all members of a class (or group) in which social justice also can come from those traditionally left without power.

The second position from which social justice needs to arise is the subordinate. Those who are without power must at some point be willing to take action to break cycles of reproduction. The greatest source of power in this world comes when those without power have been left blind to the fact that they are without it. Marginalized individuals and groups must have the tools to analyze the world that places them on the fringes of the economic, social and cultural world. Only from this starting place of enlightenment can one begin to act and stand up for social justice. Exploring this second position, I wished to discover means of working toward social justice from both top-down and bottom-up positions.

Validity and Reliability

Due to the nature of the second research question, validity and reliability are significantly more important factors than in Research Questions 1 and 3. The data gathered for the first question was an attempt to provide for an extensive document review regarding technology and resistance using the library, research databases, Internet, and other likely repositories of this information. Question 3 was answered in Chapter VI by combining, assessing, and reanalyzing data collected in answering the first two research questions. The remaining sections on Validity and Reliability pertain to Question 2.

Validity.

It is important for multiple sources of data to be collected in order to take multiple perspectives of the case into account. A complete set of data allows validating or invalidating the findings between one source and another. Gathering data from three sources to triangulate findings is critical in any validation in a study as a means of reducing the probability that two sources can appear to validate one another, when in fact they may not.

This triangulation was accomplished on two levels. At the macro level, data were gathered from the context, intermediate unit, and individuals in order to gain a holistic picture from society to group (technology-using activist youth) to individual perspectives. Within each of these levels, there was a means of triangulation as well. For the societal level, information was gathered from a wide array of sources in order to get a broad perspective on the relevant societal elements in Los Angeles at that time. At the group

level, as many group MySpace web pages tied to this case study as possible were examined. On the individual level, interviews were used as a means of gaining deeper insight into the participants and their involvement in the walkouts, with both measured against the context and intermediate units.

The study results were tested against resistance theory as a further means of validation; in particular, it was tested against Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) notion of transformative resistance and whether or not this series of events surrounding the walkouts qualified as such. By using the theory, I was able to determine whether the case falls within its categorization. It is noted, however, that this was an exploratory case study, and the generalizability of the case to draw future connections and conclusions may not be accurate due to the fact that the events of the case were steeped in a particular time and place (Yin, 2002).

Reliability.

Through the electronic chronicling of the research data using NVivo (QSR International, 2008) and audio-recorded interviews, I was able to provide a solid journaling of data collection and organization. Using these methods, analyses of the data can be replicated. Although the interview was only semi-structured, the documentation of the interview allowed every question asked to be chronicled.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS AND TECHNOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

This chapter examines the historical antecedents to the H.R. 4437 Walkouts using examples from two perspectives:

1. Los Angeles as a local historical perspective (Bergesen & Herman, 1998; Delgado Bernal, 1998; Deutsch, 1992; Escobar, 1993; Gómez Quiñonez, 1990; Ides, 2009; Lacey & Hubler, 1992; *Los Angeles Times*, 1991; Muñoz, 2007; Mydans, 1992; Oliver, Johnson & Farrell, 1993; Tobar & Colvin, 1991; Useem, 1997; West, 1993)
2. Technology as a factor in resistance (Arakelov, 2008; Baker, 2008; Barberena, Jimenez & Young, 2007; Biddix & Park, 2008; Connolley, 2006; Dear, 2010; Dery, 1994; Embar-Seddon, 2002; Foltz, 2004; Golijan, 2009; Harris, 2008; Monahan, 2006; Russell, 2001; Owens & Palmer, 2003; Quittner, 2003; Yang, 2007)

The first perspective provided the *Context* section of the case study for Research Question 2, "How and why did students use user-driven Web 2.0 social networking technologies, specifically MySpace, to engage in transformative resistance?" and will be used in this chapter and again in Chapter V. The second perspective will answer Research Question 1, "What are the historical antecedents to using technology for the purpose of socio-political resistance?" These studies were analyzed using thematic coding through the lens of Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) four types of resistance displayed in Figure 1.

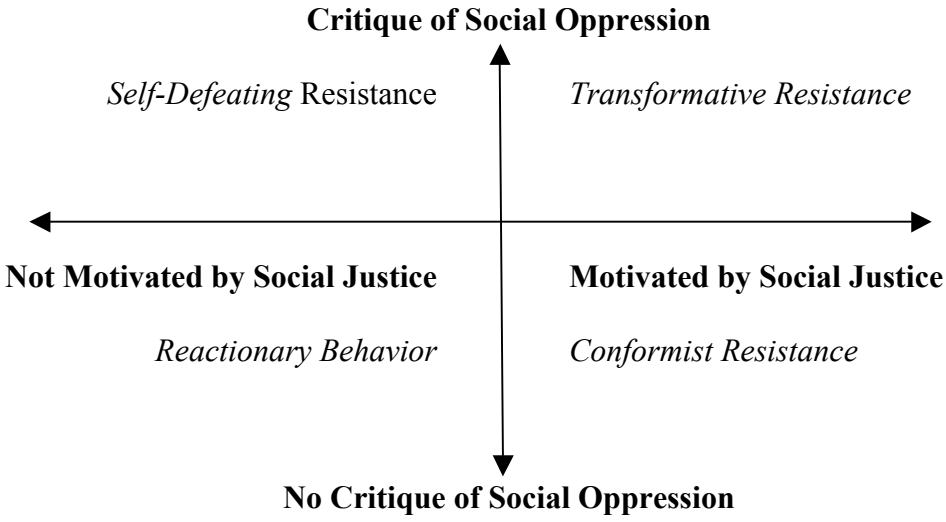

Figure 1.Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's Four Types of Resistance. From "Examining Transformational Resistance Through a Critical Race and LatCrit Theory Framework," by Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001, p. 318).

Los Angeles Historical Context

Throughout the history of California, race relations have been strained. Pressure points have included the selling of California to the United States by Mexico, the Chinese Exclusion Act, and the Japanese Internment (Keogan, 2002). In recent history issues related to the US-Mexican border in attempts to control the flow of illegal immigration into the U.S. have added to the stress. These and other recent racial tensions have led to moments of mass resistance efforts in Los Angeles.

Two such incidents are provided for background, context, and comparators to the walkouts examined in this study: The Blowouts of 1968 and the Los Angeles Riots of 1992. These two examples were chosen primarily for two reasons: First, their size and

scope, and ultimately their impact on Los Angeles. Both incidents changed the social, cultural, and political environments of Los Angeles. Second, they are used as comparators to the H.R. 4437 Walkouts, especially with respect to the difference in outcomes when resistance is led by social justice (1968 Blowouts) versus when social justice is ignored as a motivating factor (1992 Riots).

1968 Blowouts

Los Angeles Before the Blowouts

From the 1940s to the 1960s, Los Angeles grew tremendously, and no other population within the city grew as quickly during that time span than the Mexican-American population. Predominantly located in East Los Angeles, the Mexican-American population during this time period more than doubled in size (576,000 to 1,289,000) and percentage (9.54% to 17.24%) of all Angelinos (Escobar, 1993).

During this time period, racial tensions were high. The Zoot Suit Riots in 1943 (Escobar, 1993) and Watts Riots in 1965 (Fogelson, 1988) both erupted in L.A. out of fear and misunderstanding, particularly from the police, of Mexican-Americans and African-Americans, respectively. This led to ever-increasing tensions between these minority groups and the LAPD. Activist groups such as the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the G.I. Forum and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) attempted to quell tensions as well raise awareness in an effort to stop racial and cultural discrimination throughout the city (Escobar, 1993). Unfortunately, these groups had little success.

Leading up to the Blowouts

The education system in Los Angeles reflected the segregation of the city. There were, as Kozol (1991) puts it, savage inequalities between schools in rich and poor sections of Los Angeles. The following quote represents a typical underfunded school in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) in poor Chicano/a and African-American communities:

> Overcrowded classes. Lack of adequate textbooks and supplies. Lack of audio visual equipment. Filthy rooms. Overheated rooms. Underheated rooms. Poorly lighted rooms. Lack of rooms… I'm frustrated too and I'm not sure I want to continue working in the schools. It's just that bad. So many expect me to perform miracles with a penny. (McCurdy, 1969, p. 3)

These were the words Richard Arthur, a teacher at Jefferson High School, a nearly all African-American school, wrote in his diary that he shared with LAUSD Board of Education and subsequently the *Los Angeles Times*. The schools were often considerably past due for physical upgrading as well as in dire need of supplies and other basics needed to operate a functional school. As can be seen from the above quote, the substandard environment created an emotional drain for caring teachers such as Richard Arthur. Many teachers, however, were more like those of a student activist, Rosalinda Mendez Gonzalez, who recalled in an interview with Delores Delgado Bernal (1998), a teacher who said, "You dirty Mexicans, why don't you go back to where you came from?" (p. 120). The mental, physical, and emotional toll taken on students was immense, and it was evident. Less than 50% of Chicano/a students graduate from high school, and the University of California system reported only 1.8% of its population as "Mexican" or "Spanish-American" (Mariscal, 2005). This is compared to the westside high schools of

Palisades and Monroe, also part of the LAUSD school system, which respectively had dropout rates of only 3.1% and 2.6% (Delgado Bernal, 1998).

As a result, one of the main areas that activists groups and other Chicano/a community members in East Los Angeles focused on was education; they pushed LAUSD on the poor quality of education and cultural insensitivity of teachers in their neighborhood schools (Delgado Bernal, 1998). Their calls throughout the decade fell on deaf ears as money for supplies and facility upgrades continued to pour into rich west-side schools while schools in East L.A. fell apart. Ultimately, students organized walkouts across several schools in East L.A., which have become known as the L.A. Blowouts. Over 10,000 students within the span of a week walked out of school, leading to several changes such as more Latino/a teachers being hired, but the protests were not successful with other changes, such as better school facilities.

Organization

During the years leading up to the Blowouts, several student groups emerged to tackle the issue of education for Chicano/as in Los Angeles. At a conference held at Loyola University in 1967, approximately 150 college students of Mexican-American descent met to tackle this issue. After a series of meetings, two different organizations emerged: the Mexican American Student Association (MASA) and the United Mexican American Students (UMAS). These groups along with others such as the Young Chicanos for Community Action (YCCA) and the longstanding LULAC began questioning how best to improve the educational experiences of Mexican-Americans at

the college level and the community as a whole.[21] Protests by UMAS were staged about the negative impacts of tuition increases on students who were economically underprivileged. Events held by the YCCA for the community that presented a variety of educational opportunities began the tide of activism (Ides, 2009). Papers and magazines like *Inside Eastside, La Causa* and *La Raza* appeared and strengthened the voices protesting the inequalities faced by Mexican-Americans in L.A. (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ides, 2009).

Ideas about speaking up against the educational inequalities spread to eastside high schools, most notably Garfield, Wilson, Lincoln, and Belmont high schools through these channels as well as by other means such as Camp Hess Kramer, a summer camp dedicated to helping Mexican-American youth understand their identity and teacher-leaders such as Sal Castro of Garfield High School (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ides, 2009; Salazar, 1969).

The Blowouts

Although ideas and strategies related to demands on LAUSD's Board of Education and methods of action were taking place (mostly at Garfield High School under the guidance of Sal Castro), the Blowouts began almost by accident on March 1, 1968, at Wilson High School over the closing of an upcoming production of Neil Simon's *Barefoot in the Park* at the school (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ides, 2009). Wilson's principal decided to cancel the play due to inappropriate language. This decision sparked students at Garfield to walkout that afternoon. It was seen as a peaceful demonstration by

[21] Around the time of the Blowouts, MASA and UMAS chapters gave way to form a larger organization, M.E.Ch.A. and the YCCA transformed into the Brown Berets (Ides, 2009).

students, faculty and even LAPD, who arrived on the scene in a supervisory role (Escobar, 1993; Ides, 2009).

On the following Tuesday, March 5, 1968, events erupted into something much larger than a protest over a cancelled play. The Blowouts were in full swing as 2,000 students at Wilson walked out as an act of support for Garfield and the larger issue of educational equality for Mexican-Americans Angelinos (Ides, 2009). Students at Roosevelt were gated after they attempted to join Wilson students. Many, however, jumped the fences and were met by police resistance, causing tensions to grow between students and the LAPD (Escobar, 1993).

By Wednesday, students at all three schools, an estimate of 5,000 walked out. On Thursday, Garfield and now Belmont students boycotted class (Ides, 2009). The Blowouts concluded on Friday with over 5,000 students from all four schools "blew-out" and met at Hazard Park, where they stated formal demands to members of LAUSD's Board of Education (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ides, 2009). These sparked sympathy Blowouts at sister schools such as Jefferson, Venice and Hamilton high schools (Ides, 2009).

Fallout

Both positive and negative repercussions were seen as a result of the Blowouts. On the negative side hostilities towards Mexican-Americans by LAPD grew in the following years (Escobar, 1993). Some of it was a reaction to a rise in militancy of the Brown Berets (formerly YCCA), while other aspects of the hostility stemmed from the

sheer fear of an increasing population and a voice that now knew how to speak up for itself (Escobar, 1993; Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ides, 2009).

One such example was a 1950s style McCarthyistic Communist witch-hunt in which thirteen activist leaders were arrested and charged with conspiracy "… to 'willfully disturb the peace and quiet of the city of Los Angeles and disrupt the educational process in its schools'" (Muñoz, 2007, p. 84). Ultimately the charges were dropped, but the message was loud and clear as to who was in charge. The LAPD went as far as to create an "Alpha File" of youth who were seen as potential troublemakers (Ides, 2009).

Also, as mentioned before, few of the demands placed upon LAUSD Board of Education were met. Large-scale funding for school-site improvements continued to go to rich west-side communities, while schools like Garfield and Wilson continued to fall apart from the inside (Delgado Bernal, 1998).

On the positive side, other battles were won in the schools. More Mexican-American teachers began teaching in those schools and an African-American administrator was appointed to Jefferson High School (a predominantly African-American school) the week after the Blowouts. An overall shift in focus on teaching and understanding Mexican-American history, culture, and perspectives was implemented (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Gómez Quiñonez, 1990; Muñoz, 2007; Ides, 2009).

An increase in focus on the issues plaguing Mexican-Americans also emerged, not only in Los Angeles, but also around the United States. The *Plan de Santa Barbara* was dedicated to improvement of education and access to higher education for Mexican-

Americans. The *Plan de Aztlan* pushed for a stronger stance of self-determination in Mexican-American communities in many facets of life, including education. Ultimately, the *Plan de Aztlan* stripped back its radical viewpoints, but left a strong sense of Mexican-American heritage and nationalism (Gómez Quiñonez, 1990).

Probably the most important positive repercussion to emerge out of the Blowouts was the fact that they were "…the first major mass protest explicitly against racism undertaken by Mexican Americans in the history of the United States" (Muñoz, 2007). It was the beginning of an awakened consciousness for a whole population within the United States. It changed the way Mexican-Americans thought about themselves, their positionality, and instigated an effort to really theorize how to alter that positionality (Gómez Quiñonez, 1990; Delgado Bernal, 1998; Muñoz, 2007; Ides, 2009).

The Blowouts and Transformative Resistance

The 1968 Blowouts exhibited elements of the two components of Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) notion of transformative resistance: critique of social oppression and motivation of social justice. The following will provide an explanation of both how and why the Blowouts are considered an act of transformative resistance.

Critique of Social Oppression

Critique of a great social ill in Los Angeles was in place at the start of the Blowouts. Student groups such as LULAC, MASA, UMAS, and the YCCA emerged to address the issues of inequality in LAUSD's school system. As time drew on, critique at schools like Garfield grew where demands were being crafted to the Board of Education to bring about a system of equality across LAUSD's schools. Guided by these critiques,

the Blowouts were a peaceful mass movement aimed at providing concrete solutions to a serious social ill affecting the city of Los Angeles.

Motivation of Social Justice

The second component of transformative resistance is the motivation of social justice. Education is a social justice issue. Taking from Kozol's (1991) notion of savage inequalities, LAUSD had wronged the children of these poor, primarily Latino/a and African-American schools. Teachers knew it. Parents knew it. Even students knew it. Not only were students able to enact immediate change leading to additional Latino/a teachers in Latino/a neighborhoods and an African-American principal at a predominantly African-American school because of the Blowouts, but they also awakened a consciousness for a whole generation of Latino/a in Los Angeles who were ready to fight in a long struggle for educational justice throughout the city.

1992 Riots

Introduction

In 1992, riots followed the verdict of the Rodney King trial (Bergesen & Herman, 1998; Useem, 1997). The riots had significant negative social and cultural impacts on the city, causing millions of dollars in damage and tarnishing the reputation of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

For this study, the 1992 Riots mirrored the 1968 Blowout in that they fell under the category of self-defeating resistance. As will be seen, a significant critique of the problems in Los Angeles was present; however, social justice was not a motivating factor of the riots.

Background

In the pre-dawn hours of March 4, 1991, several white members of Los Angeles Police Department pulled over an African-American man for speeding. Several cars and a police helicopter arrived on scene to handle this seemingly routine exercise. The speeder was ordered to slowly get out of his car; obeying, he did just that (Tobar & Colvin, 1991). What happened next however, was unthinkable.

According to eyewitness reports, the police started beating the unarmed man to the ground where he was struck by a taser in the chest, followed by more beatings by four officers with another eight surrounding them. Recounting what happened to him, the man was quoted as saying:

> I was scared. I was scared. I was scared for my life. So I laid down real calmly and took it like a man… No one would strike back against four or five guns aimed at him. (*Los Angeles Times*, 1991, p. 21)

The events continued for approximately a half-hour when the man was finally placed in handcuffs and brought to Pacifica Hospital of the Valley (*Los Angeles Times*, 1991; Tobar & Colvin, 1991). That man was Rodney King.

The police did not realize at the time that was all the noise had awakened much of the neighborhood. Included among those was George Holliday; he picked up his video camera and recorded 81 seconds of what is now some of the most famous footage ever taken (Tobar & Colvin, 1991).

The Trial

With the hard evidence on the videotape, eyewitness accounts, and Rodney King's statements such as the quote above, there was no way that LAPD could simply sweep away this black mark in an already blemished history of police violence in Los Angeles that dated back to at least the 1960s with the Watts Riots and the handling of the 1968 Blowouts (Escobar, 1993; Useem, 1997). A trial of four officers was set on eleven counts of excessive force used by those officers. According to authorities, the trial was moved outside of Los Angeles to Simi Valley, a primarily Caucasian and "officer friendly" region in neighboring Ventura County, to give the four officers a "fair" trial (Deutsch, 1992).

After starting with 2,000 individuals as potential jurors, a 12-person panel was selected: ten white, one Latina, and one female Asian. The trial proceeded for seven weeks as the defense examined the videotape frame by frame, second by second, in arduous detail. For fear of questioning his character by the defense, Rodney King's lawyer never allowed him to take the stand and tell his side of the story. After several days of deliberation, the jury came back on April 29, 1992, with ten counts of "not guilty" and only one count on which the jury was hung; ultimately a mistrial was called on that count (Deutsch, 1992; Mydans, 1992).

Riots Ensue

The impact was immediate and intense within Los Angeles and across the country. By late afternoon on the 29th, reports of looting and assault came in from several sections of Los Angeles, most notably the intersection of Florence Blvd. and Normandie

Ave. a predominantly African-American neighborhood (Bergesen & Herman, 1998; Useem, 1997). It only got worse from there.

Riots and protests continued throughout the night as police tried to contain the outbreaks. Smaller outbreaks were quelled overnight, but the Florence and Normandie outbreak had grown to be too large, too quickly for the police to handle. The beating of a white truck driver, Reginald Denny, occurred on live television for all America to watch (Useem, 1997). Four individuals died that evening as a result of the riots (Lacey & Hubler, 1992).

Despite the dramatic uprising actually going on, authorities tried to present a calm face. As told by Lacey and Hubler (1992):

> Mayor Tom Bradley, in a grim televised address shortly after 11 p.m., said the city will 'take whatever resources needed' to quell the violence. He said the city was receiving assistance from the county Sheriff's Department, the California Highway Patrol and Police and Fire departments from neighboring cities.
>
> 'We believe that the situation is now simmering down, pretty much under control,' Bradley said. 'Stay off the streets. It's anticipated that a curfew will be put into effect tomorrow night.' (p. 1)

At the request of Mayor Bradley, Governor Pete Wilson sent in the National Guard as another layer of protection (Lacey & Hubler, 1992; Useem, 1997). That calm face was not nearly as calm, nor ultimately as successful as it may have been portrayed in the above quote. The riots went on for four days across Los Angeles. An estimate of $1 billion in property damage, 2,300 injuries, and 52 fatalities occurred as a result of the riots (Useem, 1997). Los Angeles was shaken to its very core.

After the Riots

Entire books have been dedicated to understanding the fallout that Los Angeles experienced as a result of the riots. LAPD immediately tried to play clean up, doing their best to regain faith in the community (Oliver, Johnson, & Farrell, 1993). Already-tense racial relations worsened as a result. The intersectionality of LAPD and race relations remained a point of significant contention.

Amidst the riots, journalists questioned LAPD personnel and their department's history of race relations, including assessments of its damaged public image following the riots. Jerome Skolnick (1991) referred to LAPD in the *Los Angeles Times* as a "rotten barrel" as opposed to the few "rotten apples" that existed in the police force. Another *Los Angeles Times* (1991) article placed the burden of proof squarely on the department itself to show that the LAPD was not a racist organization. The Los Angeles Police Department has been working through this tarnished image for almost 20 years.

Race, a topic clearly in the minds of Angelinos at the time of the riots, was brought back to the forefront for all of America to see. Although spun by the media as a "white police force vs. black community" and "black vs. Korean community" event, the riots were much more racially diffuse than these two factors. contrary to the limited news coverage about the riots (Oliver, Johnson, & Farrell, 1993). In reality, there were more Latinos arrested by LAPD than African-Americans.

As expressed by Cornell West (1993):

> What happened in Los Angeles this past April was neither a race riot nor a class rebellion. Rather, this monumental upheaval was a multiracial, trans-class and largely male display of justified social rage. (p. 255)

The Rodney King verdict was only a spark that ignited those who understood to speak up about the troubled race relations in Los Angeles.

The Riots as Self-Defeating Resistance

Were the methods of the rioters correct? Probably not. Was it justified as West stated in the above quote? Yes. However, this was ultimately an act of self-defeating resistance and not one of transformative resistance.

Critique of Social Oppression

There was strong critique of wrongdoings by LAPD over the course of almost a year after the beating of Rodney King (Deutsch, 1992; Escobar, 1993; Useem, 1997). Much of Los Angeles was upset with both LAPD as an institution and the greater Los Angeles justice system with moving the trial to a police friendly neighborhood. It was clear to Angelinos that their government was protecting their own and not trying to correct the system that allowed this atrocity to take place.

Motivation of Social Justice

Although there was strong objection to the wrongdoings of the LAPD, the L.A. justice system, and decision of the jury, motivation related to social justice was not a factor. Although the issue at hand can easily be labeled as a social justice issue, the motivation by those in the riots was not social justice itself. Days of riots and looting led to a billion dollars in damage, much of which was inflicted on small businesses, but did

not provide a platform for long-lasting positive change for either the community or the Los Angeles justice system.

H.R. 4437 Walkouts

Los Angeles Today: Historical Context

Los Angeles is a large and diverse metropolitan city just shy of 10 million people (United States Census Bureau, 2009). Even though its population is highly diverse, this diversity is not an integrated one; That is, the "haves" and the "haves nots" are distinctly fragmented and separated from one another (Arvidson, 1999; Dear & Flusty, 1998; Pulido, 2000). Divisions, as large as small sub-cities and as small as neighborhoods, split the city along the lines of wealth, ethnicity, socio-cultural values, and job types. In a city that is normally described as spread out, these diverse neighborhoods sit right on top of one another. This brings about what some, including Dear and Flusty (1998), see as a unique situation that leads to a heightened self-awareness concerning the intersectionality of many issues including, but certainly not limited to, wealth and race.

Ethnic diversity is particularly high in Los Angeles, even more so than most other major cities such as New York (Keogan, 2002). This is most evident when viewing white/non-white (minority) dyads. In New York City, approximately 30% of the population is non-white. This group is comprised of many ethnicities, each taking a small percent.[22] In Los Angeles, the minority population makes up 44% of the total population, with Mexican-Americans the largest ethnic group at 34% of the total, which is higher

[22] Puerto Ricans are the exception to this at 14%. It should be noted that this is true in discussions about ethnicity, but when discussing immigration status, Puerto Ricans are excluded because they are American citizens by way of their birth in Puerto Rico, a territory of the United States.

than entire non-white population of New York City. This brings an interesting and unique dynamic to Los Angeles that is for the most part not seen throughout the United States.

H.R. 4437

Los Angeles is a city of immigrants. Being so close to our southern border and as our largest western port city, many have flocked to Los Angeles from around the world, not to mention the draw of "making it big" in Hollywood. Whenever legislation is passed by Congress regarding the topic of immigration, Los Angeles will undoubtedly feel its effects.

In December 2005, The House of Representatives passed House Resolution 4437 (H.R. 4437) (ILRC, 2005) which would drastically change immigration laws and southern border security. To put it succinctly, H.R. 4437 aimed to primarily accomplish three changes:

1. Dramatically increase the amount of fences/walls along only the southern border of the United States.
2. Increase the amount of border security patrol and remote surveillance along the southern US border.
3. Make it much easier to deport undocumented immigrants through several means, most notably by changing the language of the application of laws to non-residents to penalize them much more strictly than residents, including:
    a. Making undocumented status a criminal violation as opposed to its current status as a civil infraction.
    b. Putting the burden of proof on the undocumented individual, not the State.

c. Widening the definition of terrorism, when applied to non-residents, beyond the actual realm of any accepted definition of terrorism (H. Res. 4437) (ILRC, 2005).

This third point that drew the most objection from individuals concerned about immigrant rights. If this resolution became a bill, it would severely reduce the rights of immigrants to almost nothing in a land created by and for immigrants.

Reaction in Los Angeles

In reaction to the passing of H.R. 4437 in the House, protests and awareness events began to be formed at Our Lady Queen of Angels Church by civil rights, community, and church activists (Watanabe & Becerra, 2006a). With time and the addition of two individuals, Jesse Diaz and Javier Rodriguez, the protests morphed into creating one large mass march to take place on March 25, 2006.

To spread the news, they turned to Spanish-language radio for help. Several popular shows agreed to help out, most notably "El Piolin," featuring Eddie Sotelo, one of the most popular radio hosts in Los Angeles regardless of language (Watanabe & Becerra, 2006a). Radio promotions aired non-stop leading up to the march. Also, to assist with organizing, the Service Employees International Union Local 1877 not only promoted the event to their employees, but also trained 500 employees to assist in directing people along the march route, deal with potential conflicts and manage other logistics needs of an event this large.

Although only 20,000 were expected to march to City Hall, radio promotions turned out to be extremely effective; conservative estimates stated that 500,000 people

marched that Saturday, March 25th (Watanabe & Becerra, 2006a). The march was spirited, but peaceful as described by Watanabe and Becerra (2006b) as there were no arrests and the only injuries were a small number of individuals suffering from exhaustion.

Watanabe and Becerra (2006b) quoted Josh Hoyt, Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights executive director, in an interview as saying, "There has never been this kind of mobilization in the immigrant community ever. They have kicked the sleeping giant. It's the beginning of a massive immigrant civil rights struggle" (A1). This eventful day, deemed "La Gran Marcha" was certainly a success, both in sheer numbers and effect.

Student Walkouts

Surrounding La Gran Marcha and the focus of this study, were several days of student walkouts. Beginning the day before and lasting until the end of the next week, students walked out of classrooms in many cities across the United States, including Dallas, Phoenix, Denver, San Francisco, and Los Angeles (Barberena et al., 2007; Watanabe & Becerra, 2006b; Yang, 2007).

Just as school began on Friday, March 24, 2006, students at Huntington Park, South Gate, Montebello, Jordan, Garfield, Roosevelt, Bell, Washington Preparatory, San Fernando, and South L.A. High School No. 1 decided it was time to take a stand and walked out to protest H.R. 4437 (Keller & Gorman, 2006; *Los Angeles Sentinel*, 2006). Estimates placed these walkouts at 40,000 students across Los Angeles. At Bell, South Gate, San Fernando, and South L.A. High School No. 1, lockdowns were enforced to

control the walkouts. Bell and South Gate lifted their lockdowns later in the day (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 2006).

Overall, the walkouts on Friday were peaceful, with the exception of some traffic issues (Keller & Gorman, 2006). They did, however, stir up some debate. At Bell High School (where one of the lockdowns occurred) a teacher gave her support to her students saying "…they should have opened the gate" (Keller & Gorman, B1), while others such as Mike Antovich stuck to the discussion on bill itself and said, "If we're going to be a nation of the law, we have to reward those who are abiding by the law and not [be] making exceptions" (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 2006, A2).

As discussed in the prior section, the next day brought about La Gran Marcha and 500,000 protesters (Watanabe & Becerra, 2006a). It was the largest and most spirited voice of the movement, but the youth of Los Angeles and other cities decided it was not the end of the statement.

Students across the city and country continued to discuss walking out of school over the weekend using MySpace and text messaging (Gold, 2006). An estimated 40,000 students in California (Gold, 2006) and 26,000 from LAUSD alone (Gorman & Cho, 2006) took to the streets on Monday, March 27, 2006.

Unlike Saturday's La Gran Marcha, which was well organized using mass media, particularly radio, the communication patterns of the 26,000 students who walked out of LAUSD schools were highly varied and erratic (Gorman & Cho, 2006). Walkouts that occurred across the city and throughout the greater Southern California area took place independently of one another. A large contingent of students walked to City Hall, but

many other walked to other city centers and parks. For the most part the walkouts were again peaceful, festive, and loud.

Walkouts continued on Tuesday, and by Wednesday, there were just a few walkouts that took place in L.A.; however, they continued throughout the rest of Southern California until the end of the week (Cho & Suarez, 2006). On Wednesday, students from Westchester High School walked out, only to be picked up by bus, brought back to school, and reprimanded. This in effect ended the walkouts in Los Angeles, even if they were carried out elsewhere until the week's end.

Comparison

The H.R. 4437 Walkouts surrounding La Gran Marcha have some interesting similarities and differences compared to other historical incidents of resistance in Los Angeles. Similar to the 1992 Riots, the H.R. 4437 student walkouts were both erratic and disorganized. Even in this statement of similarity, there is a small, yet vital difference between the two. The walkouts were quite disorganized, yet some level of organization was evident. Students across Los Angeles used MySpace and text messaging to loosely organize themselves, within their school (or among few schools) (Gold, 2006; Interview with Amilcar, 2009). The 1992 Riots had absolutely no formal organization; at most, informal groups organized themselves to keep the police at bay.

From a much broader perspective, the social justice principles that led the walkouts were not in existence during the 1992 Riots. This fact makes the March 2006 walkouts much more similar to the 1968 Blowouts. Both were principled student movements fueled by social justice motives. One of the main differences between the two

is the speed at which they were organized. Before the unexpected trigger in the Blowouts, several months of planning and discussion had already taken place. Ultimately the Blowouts just happened to take place sooner than expected. With the 2006 walkouts, organization, although loose and erratic, took place in a matter of days at most, enabled by technologies including text messaging and MySpace, and four times the amount of students were mobilized compared to the Blowouts.

Technology and Four Modes of Resistance:

A Multidimensional Approach

Introduction

The next section focuses on a variety of technologies and their role in making resistance a multidimensional act. Langman (2005) provided this work with critical insight into the effects of technology on adding a new multidimensional framework to the notion of resistance theory, and ultimately transformative resistance. Langman applied this multidimensional addition to critical theory and social movement theory, but these same arguments apply to the theory of transformative resistance.

Technology adds a new layer and dimension to the idea of resistance because it brings about a fluidity in both communication and organization that is unprecedented in human history (Langman, 2005). Langman tracks back historically to the emergence of the Reformation as a result of a new technology, the printing press, and its ability to mass produce copies of the Bible. He traverses through multiple new technologies and shows how they have created a platform for change in society.

Starting with books and then continuing with radio and television, distribution of information has become faster and more widespread with each new technology. The limitation of these technologies, especially when considering the voices of resisters, who by nature are the minority voices, is that they are directional and come in the form of one (or to be more accurate a few)-to-many. And as has been pointed out by Owens and Palmer (2003), resistive voices are almost excluded in these traditional directive mass communication outlets, or at most only fall upon the ears of the few who are already sympathetic to that resistive voice.

The power in new Internet technology, Langman (2005) argued, is that it provides multi-directional communications as it can be one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-one, and most importantly many-to-many; this is significantly different than those earlier mediums that only allow one-to-many communication patterns. This phenomenon was presented as having great potential in Castells' seminal work *The Rise of the Network Society* (1996), while the Internet was still new, and later elaborated upon and validated by Bennett (2003), Calhoun (2004), and most notably Langman (2005). The Internet allows for the sharing of information and ideas across traditional geographic boundaries both to and from a potential group of sources that is as large as the population of the world, as opposed to the traditional filters of media and news sources.

The other piece that adds to this new development discussed by Langman (2005), but truly elaborated by Yang (2007), is the speed at which this communication occurs. News breaks in an instant after an event occurs. This concept, when applied to acts of resistance, allows for that resistance to be explained and spread extremely quickly,

facilitated by the instantaneous speed of the Internet combined with the almost infinite many-to-many communication channels that potentially exist.

Theoretical Framework: Transformative Resistance

This section presents an analysis of resistance efforts using technology through the structure of Delgado Bernal (1997) and Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) framework of transformative resistance. As such, a quick review of the model is provided. Delgado Bernal (1997) explained that there are four types of resistances based upon the two criteria of critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice. The first, *reactionary behavior* lacks both critique and a notion of social justice. A high school student stealing a shirt in an attempt to get his parents to pay attention to him and get a rise out of them would be an example of reactionary behavior. *Self-defeating resistance* has a criticism of social oppression, but lacks a social justice focus. Willis' (1977) lads were an excellent example of self-defeating resistance. They resisted the cultural norms of finishing high school and entered the job market before graduating in order to make money. As a result, they were never able to get jobs outside of unskilled labor, ultimately falling prey to cycles of social, cultural, and economic reproduction. *Conformist resistance* is motivated by social justice, but lacks any critique. Individuals who carry out conformist resistance want to make a difference, but have not spent time analyzing the root causes of the problem. Therefore the underlying factors will continue to cause problems until they are addressed.

Delgado Bernal (1997) explains that *transformative resistance* is different from these other forms of resistance because it "… includes both some level of critique of the

system (awareness) and some level of motivation towards liberation" (p. 22). These are two important differentiators in resistance activity, noted Delgado Bernal, because, "With a deeper level of understanding and a justice orientation, transformational resistance offers the greatest possibility for social change" (p. 24). With this in mind, it is time to turn to examples and deeper analysis of the topic.

Reactionary Behavior

Reactionary behavior lacks both critique of society and a social justice focus. Real world examples include petty vandalism and stealing that often is carried out only to test how far one can bend and break rules (Foltz, 2004). No end goal exists past that. As Foltz noted, this is also true of the Internet; it can be a place of mischievous experimentation where real thought is minimal. The following section describes common acts of online reactionary behavior.

Even before the World Wide Web existed, computers were being hacked. David Dennis (as cited in Dear, 2010) recalled being a young teenager attending high school across the street from the University of Illinois Urbana-Champagne and frequently going over to play at one of the first computer labs at the university that had all of the computers networked together. Dennis had heard about a specific command, -ext-, that when sent to the other computers in the lab, would freeze all of them causing what is now called a Denial of Service (DoS) attack, forcing them to be restarted. He tried it out one day and found out that he was right. Thirty-one computers froze in an instant as Dennis slipped out of the room and headed back to his high school in what is possibly the first DoS attack.

From Dennis' perspective, neither critique nor any motivation for social justice was present. He was a young teenager who wanted to deviously experiment with early computer programming just to get a rise out of a room full of people. These attacks continue to today, where more large-scale attacks known as DDoS (the first D is for distributed because of its large scope) attacks can affect even some of the largest websites like Facebook (Golijan, 2009). DDdoS and DoS attacks often fall into this category of reactionary behavior while hackers were just trying to learn rudimentary hacking skills. They were solely meant to get a reaction out of others.

Another example of reactionary behavior is cybercrime (Embar-Seddon, 2002; Foltz, 2004). Cybercrime involves things such as online credit card and identity theft. These modes of resistance are normally for economic reasons and have no critique or social justice focus. Although not limited to just theft of credit and/or identity information, cybercrime has extremely costly consequences, usually running into the millions of dollars to combat and account for more over the course of a year.

Even Wikipedia is not exempt from reactionary behavior. A fairly common practice known as "trolling" plagues Wikipedia and keeps negative stereotypes of the credibility of the website afloat even after ten years of existence (Arakelov, 2008; Baker, 2008). Wikipedia is an online open encyclopedia, meaning anybody can go to the website and edit its content. As Baker (2008) noted, most people who edit Wikipedia entries want to improve the breadth and depth of the content available on the site; there are, however, trolls. Trolls are content vandals who will replace part or whole entries with false and irrelevant information, mostly for kicks. Luckily for Wikipedia, each version is saved, so

the nonsensical changes can be reverted. This does mean, however, that somebody must be vigilant in ensuring the information is correct.

A final example of reactionary behavior that is quite rampant in today's society is stealing (or pirating) music (Quittner, 2003). Web-based peer-to-peer networks known as torrents allow individuals to download files from anybody else around the world who has an active connection to the torrent website. These can be any type of files, but music has been the largest target of file-sharing. Starting with Napster, this phenomenon exploded in the late 1990s and early 2000s and has continued to be a scourge to the music industry. Napster, one file-sharing site, was shut down until it became a legitimate music seller, but others continue to emerge.

Each of these examples (Arakelov, 2008; Baker, 2008; Dear, 2010; Embar-Seddon, 2002; Foltz, 2004; Golijan, 2009; Quittner, 2003) shows a string of resistance that is not preceded by critique nor prompted by social justice principles. At best problems shown by the examples are relatively harmless, such as requiring individuals to restart their computers, but at worst they can cause millions of dollars of loss.

Self-Defeating Resistance

Self-defeating resistance covers a wide range of resistance efforts in which individuals or groups have examined an aspect of society and decided to speak out against it, but their motives are not driven by social justice concerns. The examples below highlight acts of technological self-defeating resistance and their shortcomings in creating lasting change.

The first example of self-defeating resistance involves Barbie dolls. Barbie has been a staple of American culture for approximately 50 years; and across that time span Barbie has had many critics, particularly among feminists who have critiqued Barbie as a reifying agent of traditional 1950s female stereotyped gender roles. In the early 1990s, Barbie received an upgrade from her purely plastic form to include an electronic voice box in which she spouted out phrases such as "I love shopping" and "Math class is tough" (Dery, 1994, p. 1). Barbie was now not only tall, thin, and blonde, but also a poor mathematician and a capitalistic super-consumer.

At the end of 1993, just in time for the holiday season, a group of activists known as the Barbie Liberation Organization (BLO) decided to break into a production plant and switch 300 Barbie's voice boxes with that of G.I. Joe's, another doll, which is just as stereotypical male as Barbie is female. Barbie now shouted, "Eat lead, Cobra" while Joe exclaimed, "Let's plan our dream wedding" (Dery, 1994, p. 2).

Although the BLO was led by feminist critique, ultimately no significant repercussions resulted from this action. It received a small rise from the media, which was soon forgotten. Mattel, the company that makes Barbie and G.I. Joe, did not respond at all. No corporate change and no social outcry occurred demanding changes to Barbie or G.I. Joe. It turned out to be nothing more than a cute publicity stunt because it was not motivated by social justice principles.

As technology advances, so does its use by government and big business. George Orwell (1949) in his book *1984* theorized a world where we were all monitored by ubiquitous video cameras all day, every day. As time has passed, his predictions can be

seen in major cities where video cameras are placed in major centers to patrol street action and are used in many, if not most, stores today to prevent theft.

Seen by some as an ever-growing infringement on civil liberties and personal privacy, the idea of counter-surveillance has grown over recent years (Monahan, 2006). Monahan used a fairly liberal definition of counter-surveillance as anything that holds to the two words in the term: any activity that is counter to surveillance by government or business.

Monahan (2006) provided several examples of counter-surveillance techniques that run the gamut from low- to high-tech approaches. For example, a web-based surveillance monitoring system called iSee allows individuals in New York, Amsterdam, and Ljubljana, Slovenia, to go to the website and map out walking routes to effectively avoid most surveillance cameras placed around each of those cities.

Another group called ®™ARK, provided ideas on their website on ways to disable or dismantle surveillance cameras around cities ranging from placing bags over the cameras, to spray painting camera lenses, to breaking camera lenses, to cutting power and data lines connecting the cameras to a centralized observation system. They recommend the more extreme cable cutting and lens breaking strategies since they are both more permanent and costly to fix.

The article went on to argue that these methods are ultimately not effective at counter-surveillance. The iSee project, is a website that is only visited by those who are looking to avoid security cameras; the website does not attract people interested in the idea of the potential harm of constant surveillance. With regards to ®™ARK, a similar

argument can be made with the addition that all it really does is prompt security camera placement strategies that take into account things such as placing the camera out of the reach of people and improving ways to protect cables. As can be seen, the critique of a potential social issue is in place, but there has been no thought of social justice implications.

Cyberterrorism as a topic of discussion has risen in prominence over the past few years, especially in the post-9/11 era. The focus has been directed to what actually entails cyberterrorism and how to prevent and combat it (Embar-Seddon, 2002; Foltz, 2004). Ultimately cyberterrorism reflects well established definitions of terrorism with the added element of being carried out using the Internet (Foltz, 2004). One of the main factors that Foltz tried to emphasize is that cyberterrorism encompasses not only Internet-based terrorist activities that are political, economic, religious, social or any combination of the above in nature, but also includes threats to any or all of these areas.

Foltz (2004) chronicled several acts of cyberterrorism from the late 1990s and early 2000's. Among them were Pakistani theft of nuclear research from India, the changing of blood types in hospital records, and one of the most famous cyberterrorist acts to date, an attack on NATO's web servers in 1990 as a retaliatory act to air attacks in Serbia and Kosovo. Each act had negative impacts on the disaster that they brought and the potential disaster that they could lead to if continued into the future.

It is difficult to classify each of these acts and cyberterrorism in general between the two categories of self-defeating resistance and transformative resistance as set out by Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001). According to the definition of cyberterrorism, a

level of critique is present, but the motivation to address a social justice issue is questionable. In the eyes of terrorists, they are carrying out acts just to remove themselves from positions of inferiority and oppression. To the rest of the world however, the violence (physical, mental and emotional) and trauma caused by terrorism is so extreme that the acts themselves are not justified. Most who advocate for social justice would agree with this second point, and thus cyberterrorism does not fall under the definition of transformative resistance.

Self-defeating resistance may be in many ways one of the easiest forms of resistance to identify. In the modern world, there is much criticism of contemporary society from all angles; however, that criticism does not necessarily link to a social justice motivation. The above examples (Dery, 1994; Embar-Seddon, 2002; Foltz, 2004; Monahan, 2006) showed that not only is a social justice focus necessary, but also methodology is a crucial factor to consider. The Dery (1994) and Monahan (2006) examples showed failed use of technology to implement effective change in societal practices.

Conformist Resistance

Conformist resistance is guided by social justice principles; however, it lacks critique of the system that is creating the inequities and inequalities. It is often found in problem solutions that work within a system as "band-aids" as opposed to uprooting the cause of the issue to produce bring lasting change (Solórzano and Delgado Bernal, 2001).

The first example of conformist resistance by Connelly (2006) is a prime example of conformist resistance. Several environmental activist groups in England attempted to

work with governmental agencies to accomplish environmental change throughout the country. In an attempt to gain community support, a website was created to provide constant updates about the project.

After early promise, the governmental agencies became entrenched in politics while the environmental agencies stood by, not trying to push past the red tape of politics in either face-to-face or online forums. Ultimately, not a single initiative was passed because of the activist group's commitment to working with the governmental agencies instead of reaching out to the community through live and virtual means. These environmental activists could not see the root cause of the problem and ultimately fell victim to the ineffectiveness of conformist resistance.

Harris (2008) expanded the idea of activism in today's society by exploring the use of technology such as blogs and social networking as a means of political participation by young women. Traditional means have historically favored males, and in particular, older males, with the smallest group of political participants, based upon factors of age and gender, being young females. The Internet has provided a virtual space for political participation, particularly feminist and racial critique to project voices that were previously left out of the conversation.

These young women are able to use this new space to explore new ideas both as for internal processing and external sharing of ideas. Blogs and social network sites are places of self-actualization and forums for changing and evolving ideologies for young women. As Harris noted, authors such as Bowman (as cited in Harris, 2008) did not see

any agency of change because the ideas in these blogs and social networking spaces did not spread past a small network of individuals.

Ultimately, although the approach is radically different than the channels men have traditionally used to get into politics, the desire is to become part of the group. Some may have desired to change the system; however, as Harris has approached it, the goal was simply to become part of the political system, not to change the political system, as is the nature of conformist resistance.

Biddix and Park (2008) examined student activism and the interconnectedness of campuses and community organizations through the Internet. The authors studied networks that were formed virtually around a common cause of living wages for student workers. They were primarily interested in exploring the strength and sustainability of such networks.

Using a mixed approach of hyperlink analysis and electronic interviews, the authors were able create a rich picture of the way each entity balanced virtual and in-person activism as well as explain the strengths and weaknesses in the ties created between the different entities involved.

Biddix and Park (2008) uncovered both positive and negative aspects of the Internet's role in activism. Among institutions, more publicity and resources could be shared with each other and extended to others looking to join their cause. However, strong bonds were not created beyond sharing resources and advice-giving from individuals at one institution to another. Within institutions, it was noted that all too often

virtual mediums (particularly web pages and e-mail) were relied on too heavily, creating a lack of personalization, and ultimately the activism fizzled out.

The activist groups studied were not critical in both dialogue and methodology in what and how to communicate. Although their intentions may have been in the right place, they were not successful in critiquing for change. Technology was used instead as a mere platform for potential content exchange rather than truly acting as a critical movement to change social ills.

All three examples (Biddix & Park, 2008; Connelly, 2006; Harris, 2008) show the pitfalls of conformist resistance. Although well meaning, each of these examples show a lack of critique of systems that prevents positive change related to socially just causes. Harris's (2008) example showed a difficulty almost impossible to overcome in changing the very nature of politics itself, which technology may at one point influence; however, the other two examples had the potential for greater success if a critique of the system they were trying to change had been undertaken.

Transformative Resistance

Transformative resistance addresses the pitfall of reactionary behavior, self-defeating resistance, and conformist resistance. It provides the necessary tools to enact meaningful change for social justice (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). As was seen in the above examples, it is not enough to resist blindly, or be led solely by critique of a system, or even follow social justice principles. The intersection of critique and social justice is required as the following examples will show to produce the positive effects of resistance actions; this discussion is coupled with the integration of technology, bringing

a new dimension to transformative resistance that this study will later analyze in depth in the concluding chapter.

Russell (2001) reviewed the history of the Zapatistas and their emergence online as a counter voice against NAFTA and the Mexican government. Their listserv, Chiapas95, has single-handedly dispelled lies, misconceptions, and half-truths from the Mexican government, media, and international corporations since 1991.

This is the earliest example of weaving Internet technology into activist causes. Using this listserv technology, the Zapatistas were able to harness their power to keep activists within and outside of the group abreast of vital information. The listserv even provided a forum for others around the world to learn ways in which NAFTA was affecting southern Mexico and citizens' reactions and resistance as a result. Although not successful in preventing NAFTA passage, the listserv has continued to make headway into making the agreement more fair and just. More importantly, it has been a mechanism for opening many eyes to the process of deconstructing this agreement through a social justice lens.

Bullert (2000) examined the role and power of e-mail in activist causes. Specifically, she examined how using email and listservs brought life to the anti-sweatshop movement, with particular focus on Nike as a case study. A main focus is the idea that Internet communication knows no bounds, and therefore can take a local issue and make it a global issue in lightning speed. This has a distinct advantage, Bullert argued, particularly with situations in which individuals would normally be silenced, whether the reasons were political, social, or even job related. Internal issues now

become external issues in a rapid manner that brings external pressure to change, as was the case with Nike. As Bullert expressed it, a cyber "we" is created, providing a global watchdog with an extremely easy and nearly ubiquitous communication mechanism in email.

Owens and Palmer (2003) examined the web presence of anarchists online before and after the Seattle World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in 1999, when an anarchist group known as the Black Bloc vandalized stores of major corporations to show their stance against both big business and the WTO.

Until the WTO protests, anarchists were mostly underground, only attracting attention of like-minded people, and mostly using the web as a means of communication. They were, however, gaining a following through the mid- to-late 1990s. The authors stated that most anarchist sites promoted peaceful resistance against government, big business, and organizations such as the WTO. It was noted that even with the advent of the Internet, there was no guarantee anybody other than those sympathetic to anarchism would ever go to an anarchist website. It is still in mainstream media's hands to choose what is important enough to broadcast to the general public. With the actions of the Black Bloc, mainstream media focused on this sub-group of anarchists and painted all anarchists as violent. This, the authors argued, destroyed the small, but growing resurgence of the anarchist political viewpoint in America. Although politically aligned with other anarchists in their critique of government, big business, and the WTO and their focus on freedom from it, the Black Bloc's tactics seriously hurt the anarchist movement in America. Anarchism became a movement associated with violent radicalism.

As seen in the Owens and Palmer (2003) example, it is not enough to critique society and represent a social justice viewpoint; sometimes influences outside of the control of the change agents, in this case the majority of anarchists, find a way to thwart the efforts of those agents.

Yang (2007) and Barberena et al. (2007) have provided some of the most meaningful insights into the field that this research addresses. Both studies centered on the H.R. 4437 Walkouts, examining the movements in San Francisco and Dallas, respectively. Both provided excellent examples of transformative resistance with technology.

In San Francisco (Yang, 2007) and Dallas (Barberena et al., 2007), similarly to Los Angeles, youth played an important part in the marches protesting H.R. 4437. In both locations, without student participants, the movement would not have had nearly the impact that it had. As in Los Angeles, technology played a critical role in the success of the student movement in San Francisco and Dallas. There was a considerable amount of organizing through MySpace, as was the case in Los Angeles. Yang, however, specifically focused on the unique successes that text messaging brought to the San Francisco walkouts. Because cell phones are ubiquitous hand-held devices, text messages could reach youth across the Bay Area like wildfire. To compound the fact that messages could be sent to nearly every youth across the Bay Area covertly, text messaging allows for one message to be sent to a host of individuals who can in turn forward the same message to a host of other individuals. This led to communicating with people unknown

outside the original network of direct recipients, and the messages spread exponentially. The power of this alone is incredible.

Yang (2007) and Barberena et al. (2007) also examined MySpace as a public sphere. Yang argued that individuals have been concerned about the digital divide, looking at technology as another medium in which "compliant citizens" can be created. Yang noted that due to the user-driven content and the socialization aspects of MySpace and other social networking services, the distinct ability was created to constitute a realm of sub-cultural subversion. For these walkouts, MySpace provided exactly that forum in the walkouts in San Francisco.

Barberena et al. (2007), expanded on this idea, noting the power that comes with combining the public and private spheres. MySpace provided the person-to-person connection needed to get a movement such as the walkouts up and running;[23] because of its public face, MySpace also acted as a news agency, giving constant real-time updates of ideas and thoughts about walking out.

Another aspect of Yang's (2007) study that is of particular interest is the idea of student self-directed activism. The students themselves took the initiative in these walkouts. This is yet another, and a crucial, difference between this example of youth activism and the trends found by Leung Kai Ping (1983) and McAdam (1986). Yang explained that most who have studied youth activism discuss teacher-led or teacher-assigned activism. It has been rare to see student-initiated activism since the 1960-70s.

[23] Refer back to the discussion on Leung Kai Ping (1983) in Chapter 2 for the importance of having a strong connection with others in the decision to take part in resistance activities.

One factor that has yet to be demonstrated is whether or not sustainability can be generated in a movement with a strong technological presence. Although platforms such as MySpace and text messaging have the unparalleled advantages of being covert and can spread exponentially, a distinct problem can be the lack of strong leadership to direct the activist work. Even Yang who was intimately tied to the walkouts in San Francisco was not able to identify a single student leader (or group of leaders) in the movement. Everybody seemed to have received a MySpace notice or text message from somebody who got it from somebody else who got it from somebody else, and so forth.

The counterbalancing strength of the social network, however, is the empowerment experienced by participants in the walkouts. This is evident, for example, in a discussion brought up by Yang (2007) about a youth named Myra:

> In radicalized moments of mass mobilization, youth like Myra become aware of their personal power within the collective—an intuitive understanding of the material conditions, cultural congruities, and implicit ideologies that empower even the smallest nodes of solidarity in a larger nexus of youth culture. (p. 26)

This power may give strength to individuals to become leaders of a more sustained movement.

One of the major criticisms I have, and that Yang has noted for future study, is the lack of analysis through the perspective of transformative resistance. The example given clearly shows youth acting upon a motivation of social justice and critique of social oppression. Much of my focus on this work has been to identify and deepen the analysis of the transformative resistance notions that Yang (2007) and Barberena et al. (2007) presented throughout their articles.

Summary

The following Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the overlay of technology examples onto Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) four types of resistance model. The intersectionality shown in the figure is useful in providing a framework for multidimensional transformative resistance.

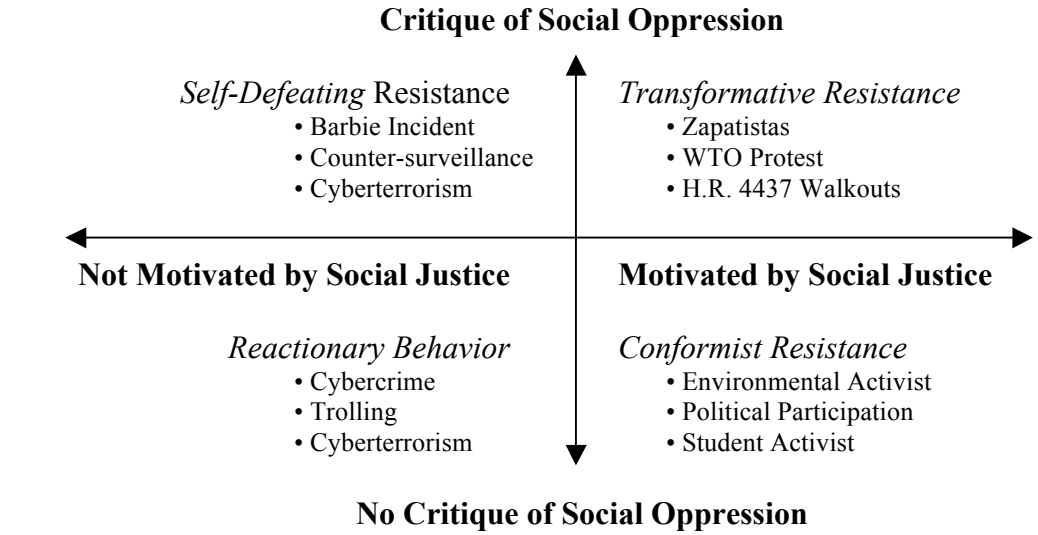

Figure 2.Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's Four Types of Resistance with Technology with Technology Examples. Developed based on "Examining Transformational Resistance Through a Critical Race and LatCrit Theory Framework," by Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001, p. 318).

The above section on transformative resistance provided concrete examples of transformative resistance that have a distinct technological dimension. Unlike the prior three sections, the examples of transformative resistance show the power of resistance when critique, social justice and technology intersect. Technology not only provides a vehicle for resistance, as can be seen in each of the above examples, but it radically alters

the way we think about and approach resistance. The speed and scope to which resistance can be carried out using modern technologies, particularly Internet and text-based, represents a new phenomenon. When comparing the 1968 Blowouts (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ides, 2009; Salazar, 1969) to the H.R. 4437 Walkouts surrounding La Gran Marcha (Barberena et al., 2007; Watanabe & Becerra, 2006b; Yang, 2007) distinct similarities and differences emerged.

On the side of similarities, both resistance efforts held true to Solórzano & Delgado Bernal's (2001) notion of transformative resistance. As a result, they were also both successful student movements. Technology is the key differentiating factor between these two movements. Not only was the Internet and text messaging used as a means of communication, but these technologies were also critical to the speed and scope of the movement. The walkouts were staged within a few days, instead of the months spent organizing the Blowouts. The walkouts also spread not only across Los Angeles, but also to the southern and western parts of the United States. Nearly 100,000 students from Dallas, Phoenix, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities voiced their opinions about legislation drawn up on the other side of the country in Washington, DC. This event shows the staggering power available to youth using technology, guided by critique and social justice, and suggests their very impressive potential to be heard.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter examines the findings and analysis of the empirical data collected to answer Research Question 2, "How and why did students use user-driven Web 2.0 social networking technologies, specifically MySpace, to engage in transformative resistance?" In particular, this chapter addresses the findings of the *Intermediate Units* and *Individual* data levels and presents analysis and findings using the data from all three sections of the exploratory case study, including the context data found in the H.R. 4437 Walkouts section in Chapter IV.

This exploratory case study used a combination of thematic coding and social network analysis to inspect the data. Through these methods, two themes emerged that answer Research Question 2. To answer the "how" portion of the question, multimodality, or multiple methods were used; it was found that each of these multimodal methods was multidirectional. Two sub-themes, speed and the strategic interplay between public and private communication channels emerged to answer the "why" portion of Research Question 2. Other findings included the idea that the combination of the two themes and two sub-themes, multimodality, multidirectionality, speed and public/private communications led, at times, to confusion.

Multimodality

Over the course of the interviews, I asked each of the participants to walk me through the week prior to the walkouts. I wanted to know from whom and through which

mediums they heard about the walkouts. Three of the participants, Marisol, Ruth, and Anahi, all responded very similarly to one another. The fourth, Amilcar, came from a different perspective in his role as an underground instigator, but the information he provided independently still validated the others' stories. They all used or at least knew of three distinct vehicles of communication: face-to-face, text messaging, and MySpace.

Face-to-Face

Marisol was the first person with whom I had discussions about communication patterns. When I asked her how she had heard about the walkouts, she told me that she had heard through several friends and through multiple methods (in class, in the hallway, text messaging, MySpace) that they were planning to get the entire school to walkout. As a student in a small East Los Angeles school (roughly 1,200 students) independent of the larger LAUSD system, Marisol did not know what to make of it at first. Was it just rumor or was it actually going to happen? She told me that it took her a day before believing it might actually happen and she only believed it after she spoke with a credible source, one of her closest friends, in the hallway of her school. For her, face-to-face communication with a trusted friend was important in the decision to walkout.

I then asked Marisol to explain to me a bit more in depth about how she was involved in the communication flow and the communication channels she used. In particular, when I questioned her about whether or not she tried to get others to join, she said she kept her communication limited:

> My close friends and a lot of my classmates who were organizing listened to me. And also I had two cousins. They were in different grades, so it was just like this thing that it just spread to every single grade.

Out of the three communication channels she could have used, she said most of her discussions were face-to-face and she also texted a bit.

Even on the morning of the walkout, the organization was still in flux. The speculation about walking out was citywide, but there was much confusion as to where they were walking, as well as when they were going to do it. Marisol told me her first period teacher supported the walkouts. Her teacher did not expressly tell the students to walk out, but she also did not prohibit discussions to take place during class time. Marisol and her classmates talked openly about the walkouts during the period, trying to figure out exactly when and where to go. Around 10:00 a.m. students started walking out. Marisol to this day is not sure what prompted her classmates to start walking out at that moment. The school had locked the outside gates as fast as they could, preventing all but a few students from leaving campus. The local authorities were also called upon to keep students from leaving. Marisol was stuck in lockdown, but she noted to me that her cousin was one of the few who got out.

Regardless of the fact that Marisol's school went into lockdown, the walkouts had a deep impact on her and her future in activist movements. For her, face-to-face communication, particularly with close friends, was vital in getting her to join the movement. This idea is validated in Leung Kai Ping (1983), McAdam (1986), and Revilla's (2004) studies, which reported that communication with close friends and family was a major motivating factor in joining activist causes, especially when the stakes were high.

When I asked Ruth and Anahi to tell me about their experiences, they provided accounts that were very similar to Marisol's. As I had with Marisol, I asked Anahi to explain to me what it was like at her school the week before the walkouts. She explained that face-to-face communication was also important to her, as she related examples of conversations at school:

> …We already had like a little group of students that would, you know, question things. So we heard about it… I think word of mouth was a big thing, like how it got into our campus and people were like 'Oh no, I'm just gonna come to school that day and others were like 'Yeah, I'll come and walk out and you know, I'll totally support the cause.' Others were like 'Oh, I just won't go to class but you know, I'm there in solidarity.'

A lot of students were contemplating their role in the walkout and whether or not they were going to be a part of it. She said that these comments were typical of those heard in class and at lunch throughout the week.

When I asked Ruth how she heard about the walkouts, she told me she had never used MySpace nor text messaged using her phone. For her, as she explained, it was all face-to-face. Ruth did not have many options other than using her phone in voice mode, which she did, but the vast majority of her conversations happened face-to-face.

Anahi and Ruth provided similar stories to Marisol's. Face-to-face communication was not only important to them personally, but it was widespread throughout their school. It helped generate support from individuals such as Ruth who did not use text messaging or MySpace. This harkens back to the 1960s with events like the Blowouts and various other protests which collectively spent an extraordinary amount of time organizing face-to-face in places like classrooms and hallways (Ides, 2009; McAdam, 1986).

Face-to-face communication also provides a personal touch that can be lost in a text message or on MySpace. This was seen in McAdam's (1986) study that attributed the need for a strong personal relationship with somebody else who planned on being involved in high-risk activism. Especially for Ruth and Marisol, having that close interpersonal connection, which they acquired in face-to-face communication, was imperative to their involvement in the walkouts.

Amilcar was able to provide a unique perspective on the walkouts. His story is significantly different from that of Anahi, Ruth, and Marisol. However, in relation to the idea of communication multimodality, Amilcar's discussion provided a very similar account.

Amilcar used the face-to-face communication method significantly less than either texting or MySpace. Two main reasons for this were that he was in college at the time and did not have the same level of direct contact with high schoolers that Marisol, Anahi, and Ruth obviously had. Also, playing the role of underground instigator, the privacy of texts and MySpace were invaluable. This does not mean, however, that he did not communicate face-to-face. He still had a few friends in the local high schools and brothers/sisters of his friends he contacted either face-to-face or by voice phone and text messaging. Amilcar explained that these few personal connections, his face-to-face communications, were important. Outside of these few contacts, however, Amilcar primarily used texting and MySpace.

Texting

Along with face-to-face communication, texting played a crucial role in the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. As mentioned by Gold (2006), students across Los Angeles used both text messaging and MySpace over the week before the walkouts to organize to some extent. He reported that this took place primarily at the school level, or at most among a few schools that collaborated in their efforts, but organization was relatively erratic. Each of the participants validated Gold's statements.

Marisol, as noted earlier, used face-to-face communication as her primary vehicle, and she also used text messaging to communicate with other students about the walkouts. When asked if she used significant amounts texting, she indicated that other students she was close to used texting more than she did. She spoke of a small group of activists, one of whom she was very close to, who were both texting and using MySpace to spread the word about the walkouts to students in her school. Even during her first period class the morning of the Walkout, she was having face-to-face discussions with her classmates. Some of them were texting back and forth with friends in other classes trying to organize exactly when the walkouts would take place.

Anahi and Ruth reinforced this information and added another piece of insight to the involvement of texting as a mode of communication. The closer in time to the walkouts, the more important texting became. Ruth, in her explanation of the coordination between her school and the other high school in town told me:

> I don't see how we could have done this without that mode of communication (texting). I don't think that it would have been possible, because I don't think we were well enough organized to have done it by

> word of mouth and face-to-face contact. And because everybody was texting and everybody was using MySpace, it was a big deal.

Ultimately, with the use of texting, the walkouts worked out for Anahi and Ruth. They walked to the other school in town with texts flying along the way to students there, letting them know it was time to join the walkout to City Hall. Anahi described it as lively, yet peaceful. It was a coordinated effort between the two schools primarily using text messages, especially at the last minute.

Texting was also important for Amilcar. As mentioned before, he used texts to communicate back and forth with the high school students that he was friends with. As time drew closer, he also relied more heavily on texting. The morning of the Walkout he relied mostly on texting and his cell phone in general. He said he had received a few phone calls before the school day had started and several texts from students asking for advice along with words of encouragement and support; as he had for the entire week prior, Amilcar responded to the requests and asked to be kept in the loop as the morning progressed.

Amilcar explained to me that the students at Washington began walking out around 10:00 a.m. only to run into gates around the perimeter of the school closing on them before most of the students could leave. Several students were able to get out before the gates closed and a few others scaled the fences. Everybody else remained within the perimeter of the school grounds, but refused to go inside. Amilcar received a few texts right away and raced to the school with a friend of his. From his friend's car, the two of them began shouting and cheering for the students, encouraging them to climb the fences and break out of school property. Surprisingly, Amilcar recalled, the cops just stood by

while he and his friend egged them on. The press showed up and although the students were for the most part not able to leave campus, their voices were heard.

As noted by all of the participants, texting played a vital role, particularly on the day of the walkouts in organizing and keeping communication lines open throughout the walkouts (and lockdowns). The speed of real-time instantaneous communication was imperative, especially for Ruth and Anahi and their school's collaboration with the other school in town. These stories mirror Yang (2007) and Barberena et al.'s (2007) explanations of the role texting played in the walkouts in San Francisco and Dallas. Yang also noted that speed was a crucial factor in the walkouts and texting fulfilled the need to communicate at the fast pace required for the walkouts to be successful. As he explained:

> These electronic notes (texts) act as quickly producible, transmissible, and reproducible documents for mass networks of other teens… [exting's] potential was realized as youth walked out of classrooms throughout the country. Text messaging and MySpace had created the infrastructural possibility for fingertip, instantaneous organizing. (p. 15-16)

MySpace

MySpace was the third major mode that students used to communicate with one another about the walkouts. Also as discussed by Gold (2006), Yang, (2007), and Barberena et al. (2007), MySpace played an important role in the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. As will be seen, MySpace allowed for messages to be spread further and wider than face-to-face and text messaging in both public and private venues.

Out of the four participants, only two relied significantly on MySpace as a communication vehicle for the walkouts. Ruth had never had a MySpace page and Marisol had one at the time, but did not use it to learn about or promote the walkouts. At

that time, Marisol was not much of an activist yet. She was only comfortable discussing this charged topic with those who were close to her. For this reason, she stayed away from communications about the walkouts on MySpace and opted instead to have discussions face-to-face and by texting.

Amilcar, however, was at his best using MySpace for discussions and promotion of the walkouts. At that time, Amilcar was a member of a college student movement known as the United Student Front. Unhappy with the absence of high schoolers' voices, Amilcar and another member decided to create a sub-group that focused on outreach to high schools to protest H.R. 4437. It was decided that each college representative would focus on high schools in their local area. Amilcar chose to use MySpace to reach out to students at the local high schools, explaining:

> Most high schools have their own MySpace page so there's like alumni and current students there, so what I would do was just add, add, add, add, constantly add students from these high schools and try to either shoot them up directly or just constantly posting bulletins on the march and updating everything, you know, making sure people were coming out, you know?

Ultimately, Amilcar was attempting to spread the word as fast and as far as he could. He hoped that the people he contacted would take his postings and re-post them. He was looking for a viral dissemination of the information on a platform that was primarily hidden from the adult world (boyd, 2007). Amilcar credited the success of the student walkouts to the hype that was created through MySpace as much he did La Gran Marcha on mass media.

One of those students who fulfilled Amilcar's wish was Anahi. Although she did not re-post Amilcar's posting, she used MySpace in the days and even the night before

the walkouts. Anahi explained to me that conversations started face-to-face during the school day continued into the evening on MySpace bulletin boards. When I asked her about her specific involvement on MySpace, Anahi told me:

> I reposted the bulletin about the information, like about the walkouts. I would read them a lot and then send comments to my friend like 'Oh, are you gonna do it?' I wasn't the one that first posted it up or organized it to everybody but I followed them and reposted.

What Amilcar was hoping for in using MySpace as a platform, Anahi delivered.

I asked her what happened to those postings and she informed me that they either had a time limit on them or they were taken down after the walkouts, which explained why I had a hard time finding more than I did. This provided important insight into MySpace being used as a private mode of communication, which is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

I was, however, able to find some examples on MySpace's Group pages of direct discussion of the walkouts. Most of these were short postings such as "THERES GONNA BE ANOTHER WALKOUT ON WENZDAY FOR MARSHALL" and "I THINK THE NEXT WALK OUT IS TOMARROW WALK OUT WALK OUT WALK OUT VIVA WALK OUT" in which there was not much discussion past one response on four of the discussions, with only one posting that validated a walkout. It seems, as discussed in the sub-section on public and private communication, that communication about the walkouts was kept quiet as suggested by the scant amount of surviving data from the Group pages. Anahi's speculation about the discussions being pulled down from MySpace may explain the reduced representation of MySpace traffic.

MySpace provided a vital avenue of communication in the success of the H.R. 4437 Walkouts (Barberena et al., 2007; Gold, 2006; Yang, 2007). As Amilcar and Anahi reported, the scope of information dissemination was quite large because of the ease the system offered in posting and reposting information. The information was also capable of being suppressed, as seen in the lack of remaining data and Anahi's discussion of removing postings, a discussion that is covered in greater length later in this chapter.

Speed

Technology played a crucial role in the speed of communication and organization of the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. The walkouts could not have been organized as rapidly and on the scale they reached without MySpace and text messaging. Also, especially at that time, there was even a distinct difference in speed between MySpace and texting, which resulted in the two technologies being used differently.

As a comparison to previous acts of resistance that did not have the benefit of technology, the 1968 Blowouts had taken months to plan, and even at the time they occurred, the planning was not finalized (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Ides, 2009). The Blowouts were able to drum up 10,000 students who walked out of school. All of the communication occurred face-to-face with some support from the phone. The speed of communication relied heavily on place. At that time text messaging did not exist. MySpace did not exist. The virtual world did not exist.

Fast forward to 2006 when these technologies had come into acceptance and use. Marisol, Ruth, and Anahi did not hear about any potential walkouts until one week before they happened. Even Amilcar who was working behind the scenes did not have

knowledge of the student walkouts until more than a few weeks before they happened. There is one simple reason for this: the thought of student walkouts surrounding La Gran Marcha did not exist for more than three weeks before they occurred.

As both Amilcar and Anahi described, MySpace was a vehicle used throughout the week to spread the word about walking out. Not only was MySpace used as an extension of the conversations that took place during the day as Anahi discussed, but more importantly, the speed of conversations increased exponentially because conversations could be posted and reposted in various groups that could easily reach a few hundred or even thousands of people ("Stop The HR 4437 Immigration Bill" group had 1713 members), which is a much larger crowd than could physically congregate in one space, especially without suspicion. Size and scope had a significant impact on the exponential increase in speed of communication.

As the time of the walkouts drew closer, texting became more important. Texting allowed for real-time communication to assist with last minute clarification on points of confusion regarding time and place. With so many channels of multidimensional communication crisscrossing like a spider web for a week, it was inevitable that information became tangled and confused. Text messaging provided a vehicle for vital last minute clarifications and untangling. As Ruth pointed out, "I don't see how we could have done this without that mode of communication (texting). I don't think that it would have been possible…." Instead of being a disorganized mass of students walking in every direction possible, texting allowed for fast communication to coordinate two schools walking out in unity. Marisol also explained that texting was vital for last minute

coordination as the texts were being sent during her first period class before the walkout. Amilcar as well would not have been able to find out about his friends being stuck in lockdown without the benefit of text messaging. Texting provided the real-time clarification of miscommunications and opened lines of communication that other mediums, including MySpace could not match.

Using the multiple dimensions of texts and MySpace, along with face-to-face communication, allowed for a frenzy of communication flying in every direction possible. From MySpace Group page postings such as, "THERES GONNA BE ANOTHER WALKOUT ON WENZDAY FOR MARSHALL" and "I THINK THE NEXT WALK OUT IS TOMARROW WALK OUT WALK OUT WALK OUT VIVA WALK OUT," to Amilcar's initial postings, to Anahi's reposting of similar messages, to last minute real-time text messages, all done in a week's time to bring out the 40,000 students who walked over the course of one week.

Strategic Use of Public and Private Communication

Texting and MySpace were not only used for their ability to organize quickly. They also allowed private communication to take place outside the world of teachers and other adults (boyd, 2007). This section provides a pair of comparisons showing the advantages that the technology brings with regard to both public and private communication. The first is a comparison between the two modes of public face-to-face conversations with private text messaging. The second compares within a mode, that of public and private sections in MySpace, with particular focus on why certain

conversations took place in public forums while others used more private and direct spheres.

Face-to-Face Versus Texting

Texting provides a forum for private, directional conversation that cannot be overheard, and very likely, due to the small screen of a cell phone, can not be accessed by somebody to whom it has not been sent. This is a distinct advantage over face-to-face communication, where information can easily reach others' ears who are in the same physical space.

For example, Marisol explained to me that the word about the walkouts kept spreading over those days as chatter traversed through her school's hallways. The buzz was not only reaching the ears of the students, but the teachers and administrators as well.

Marisol went on to tell me that one of her teachers purposely pushed back an exam so that it would be on the same day as the Walkout in order to discourage students from leaving his class. From her description, most other teachers felt the same way as hers did, although some teachers supported the walkout and told Marisol and her friends privately that they should follow through with their plans. Either way, many teachers had overheard the plans to walk out.

Marisol and Anahi also discussed with me their roles in texting the morning of the walkouts. Both were in "safe" spaces where texting others was not a problem. There was no threat of getting caught by a teacher while they sent their text messages. Anahi stayed home that morning, so had no possibility of getting caught there. Marisol, however, was in school. Luckily Marisol's first period teacher supported the walkouts and allowed her

and the other students to discuss them in class. Both spent time in the morning texting other students in other classes. These other students, however, were not necessarily in "safe" spaces, yet communication still continued back and forth through texting. A text can easily be sent from underneath a desk, with the teacher none the wiser. If they had tried to have these same conversations face-to-face (or even over the phone), they would have been stopped in an instant.

For the walkouts, texting provided a crucial level of privacy that just does not exist in spoken conversation. Speech can easily be overheard, whether intentional or not. With texting, however, messages are sent to an individual's personal communication device that is normally either on or very close to their person. It is not typical for one person to take another's cell phone and read through text messages. In other words, it would have taken significant effort for a teacher or administrator to intercept a text message sent between two students. Therefore texting provided a level of privacy not afforded in face-to-face communication.

MySpace: Both Public and Private

MySpace, in line with most online social networking tools, provides a mixed forum for both public and private communication. In MySpace, communication can a) be kept between individuals in private messages, b) be placed on an individual's wall, which is semi-public, or c) added to a Group page or Forum, which can be public for anybody, including people who don't even have MySpace accounts to see. There was a distinct division in the MySpace Group pages between which conversations would occur in public spaces compared to private spaces. Larger, high level conversations both for and

against H.R. 4437 popped up in 34 Group pages, of which, 17 were created before the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. Discussions about the walkouts protesting H.R. 4437, however, were scarce in the public MySpace Forums and Group pages.

On the general topic of H.R. 4437, 17 Group pages were set up plus one Forum that included discussions about the resolution before the walkouts took place. Of the nine Group pages that discussed the walkouts, four did not address the resolution; the one or two postings within them merely urged a walkout with no discussion as to the reason behind the call to the movement. This means there was an overlap of five Group pages that discussed both H.R. 4437 and the walkouts, leaving 12 Group pages that discussed H.R. 4437 in a more general sense. Two of these were pro-H.R. 4437, four had significant debate, and the remaining 11 were anti-H.R. 4437.

Groups including "Stop the HR 443 Immigration Bill" were havens for discussions about why H.R. 4437 should not pass. They had discussions that started like this one from the above-mentioned group:

> Sign up today to ban together and lets STOP the HR4437 Immigration Bill that's currently in congress!
>
> They say that the bill would 'amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to strengthen enforcement of the immigration laws, to enhance border security and for other purposes,' according to its sponsors. I support the people who aren't residents here! Cause, they are only coming here to have a better life!...So, please come and support all of the residents here who are not american citizens but should be given the opportunity for citizenship and allowed to stay here to have that better life!!!

Starting points like this one led to discussions on Group pages, some critical, some not, about the negative aspects of H.R. 4437. All, however, provided a platform for continued discussion to be had in an open forum.

Similar discussions emerged that supported H.R. 4437. On the Group page "No Way Jose—Yes on HR 4437," the following was posted backing the proposed bill:

> In support of HR 4437, the respective House/Senate bills supporting strict enforcement of immigration/illegal alien laws, We've decided to start what will become the next big thing on Myspace:
> The 'No Way Jose' Movement…
> What can you do to help?
> SPREAD THE WORD!
>
> Hundreds of users across Myspace have already supported the cause most commonly by changing their names to "No Way Jose" or adding it as their headline. In addition…
>
> With all of the ignorance in angry rants that have plagued your bulletin board, this is the only way that people can be truly INFORMED.

Similar, but fewer public outcries supported the legislation using MySpace Group pages. Again, on this side of the debate, some critical points were made, while others pegged all immigrants not in this country legally as criminals who steal, rape, and murder innocent Americans.

The above two examples show that MySpace Group pages were dominated by one side of the conversation. On the four Group pages that had significant debate, civility and any notion of critical dialogue disappeared from these public places:

> Chuy: man fuck who ever supports the HR 4437 especially these 5 fags in this group, man you white people need to go back to Europe and leave this land to the Indians and Mexicans and take your fuckin deseases back with you to.
>
> A to the J: hey you fucking dike Mexicans are decendents of spanards who are from Europe you fucking dipshit get your information right before you talk shit… your people also came and took over indian land too.

Although additional comments about the actual discussion are provided later on, it is important to note that there was no regard for the idea that MySpace was a public space. In fact, I would argue that the posting exchanges were so heated because they were

available to anybody searching MySpace to find. It replicated the proverbial shouting match where it is more important to be heard above the other than it is to convey the actual message.

Overall, whether good, bad, or ugly, the MySpace group pages provided a forum for a more extensive discussion about H.R. 4437. People on both sides were able to argue for and against the resolution. Discussions that were both civil and critical only took place where there was significant domination by one side compared to the banter on MySpace pages which was more evenly split.

The MySpace conversations focused only on the resolution in a general sense. They did not focus on the walkouts specifically; they were, instead, a means to raise awareness and drum up support to encourage people to take a stance on the legislation. The discussions about the walkouts took a more private route within MySpace.

Searching through MySpace Group pages and Forums that addressed House Resolution 4437, La Gran Marcha, walkout and related items, very little directly addresses the student walkouts. Of the 43 Group pages collected and examined, only seven promote the walkouts with another two referring back to what happened during or after the walkouts. Also, of these seven, three were about walkouts in Los Angeles, and two about walkouts elsewhere in California (Bakersfield and Brawley), with one each about walkouts in Phoenix and Houston.

Most of these were short postings such as “THERES GONNA BE ANOTHER WALKOUT ON WENZDAY FOR MARSHALL” and “I THINK THE NEXT WALK OUT IS TOMARROW WALK OUT WALK OUT WALK OUT VIVA WALK OUT,”

in which there was not much discussion other than one response on four of the discussions, and only one validated a walkout.

Also, as Anahi mentioned, the communication she had through MySpace was more direct and private to friends rather than on public Group pages. Even the bulletin board that did exist, and which might have had a public face, was quickly removed as if it were evidence to be erased before it could be used against any of the participants of the walkouts.

Within the mode of MySpace, two very distinct vehicles for discussion were used. The more public spaces like Group pages were used to promote action both for and against the general notion of H.R. 4437 and immigration. Discussions about walking out, however, were channeled into more private alternatives to keep specific tactics quiet and under the radar.

Summary

All four participants painted a picture of a multimodal approach within a loose and erratic communication structure. To say there was much structure at all is an gross overstatement. Some influence was provided by underground instigators such as Amilcar, but overall the communication can be described as spontaneous and in constant flux with no clear leader or direction.

Marisol, Anahi, and Ruth relied heavily on face-to-face communication, while Amilcar's focus was much more on texting and MySpace. This was critical not only as a means of communication, but also a means of trust, as was also seen in other studies (Leung Kai Ping, 1983; McAdams, 1986; Revilla, 2004). Marisol, until she heard of the

walkouts face-to-face from a close friend, did not believe they were anything more than just talk. This notion of trust was also true for Ruth and Anahi. Amilcar spread the word face-to-face, which proved invaluable in his explanation to high school students on importance of the walkouts, but he did not rely heavily on this mode.

Texting was also critical to the success of the walkouts, not only for the four participants, but also across the greater Los Angeles area (Gold, 2006). Other than Ruth, each of the participants used texting to communicate, particularly during the walkouts. Even though Ruth was the only one who did not actually use text messaging, she voiced a strong opinion about how vital texting was during the walkouts. Texting allowed for last minute organizing. In the walkouts in San Francisco (Yang, 2007) and Dallas (Barberena et al., 2007), texting was also critical to the success of the walkouts because so many mixed messages were circulating about the realities of the walkouts as they were actually happening.

Texting was critical in accelerating the speed of communication, particularly during the last moments before and then during the walkouts. Ruth, Marisol, and Amilcar all spoke to the importance of texting's role in the walkouts. Without it, the walkouts would have been at best a mass of disorganized students; but with the vehicle of texting, students were able to provide vital real-time communication that could not have accomplished through any other medium.

Lastly, texting provided a level of private communication that was not achievable through face-to-face communication. As was mentioned, texting cannot be overheard (on purpose or accidentally) the way face-to-face communication can. This provided a

strategic advantage that did not exist in other resistance efforts including the 1968 Blowouts.

Finally, MySpace provided a critical forum for communication in the days before the walkouts in which to spread the word. Amilcar credited much of his success to the ease of communicating with strangers by location-based searching. Having such an easy platform for finding individuals, especially high school students, was unheard of even a decade ago. The ease was really twofold, however. It made it easy for individuals like Amilcar to sent initial messages to high school students. It was also made it easy for students like Anahi to simply repost and forward those messages at will within seconds to classmates, enhancing the credibility of the word of somebody like Amilcar, a person who can very well be a total stranger.

MySpace was also critical in the speed of organizing the walkouts. Without MySpace, discussions that reached hundreds, if not thousands of individuals all at once through Group pages could not have occurred through face-to-face or even text messaging. This medium allowed for the posting and reposting of information, which ultimately had an exponential and positive effect on the speed of communication.

As was also seen, MySpace provided both public and private platforms for communication about H.R. 4437 and the walkouts. Discussions held in public arenas within MySpace tended to focus on the House Resolution and the larger debate about immigration in broader terms. When it came to the actual tactics and organization of the walkouts, however, the posting on the more private channels within MySpace and the discussions were removed just after the walkouts occurred.

This powerful combination of face-to-face, texting, and MySpace provides a vehicle for future acts of transformative resistance. The 1968 Blowouts took months to organize and it was still not 100% ready when it started (Ides, 2009). In only a week or two, the walkouts drew four times the number of students as the Blowouts. The ability to plan and organize an entire movement through these multimodal channels is awe-inspiring. Although not all aspects of the walkouts fall within the definition of transformative resistance, as is discussed later, the multimodal methods of face-to-face, text, and MySpace communication provided robust communication media for transformative resistance on an expansive large scale.

Multidirectionality

Along with being multimodal, the H.R. 4437 Walkouts were organized in a multidirectional fashion. The communication patterns, as noted above, assumed three distinct, multimodal forms: face-to-face, text messaging, and MySpace, each of which is also a multidirectional means of communication.

Langman (2005) provided the framework for the notion of multidirectionality. She posited that Internet technologies such as MySpace have provided for the first time in human history the ability for mass-multidirectional communication. The dissemination of information no longer flows anymore from just one- (or a few) to-many, as is the case of older media such as books, radio, and television. With the advent of the Internet, communication now flows in multiple directions: one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-one, and many-to-many. Although Langman was focused specifically on Internet

technologies, the case can be made that all three modes of communication are multidirectional.

Face-to-Face

Face-to-face communication, the most traditional and obviously the oldest form of the three, provided vital multidirectional means of communication for each of the participants. For example, as mentioned in the prior section, Marisol heard from multiple people about the walkouts (many-to-one), but did not believe it was true until one of her friends (one-to-one) told her they were actually happening. The trust factor caused Marisol to believe in the validity of the walkouts happening. That was very important to her in her decision to walk out.

Marisol was not just receiving the information about the walkouts; she was also a disseminator of the information:

> My close friends and a lot of my classmates who were organizing listened to me. And also I had two cousins. They were in different grades, so it was just like this thing that it just spread to every single grade.

This quote shows that Marisol disseminated the information in a one-to-many pattern, which snowballed to many-to-many communication through her friends and cousins.

Ruth and Anahi also discussed this pattern of multidirectional face-to-face communication. Anahi particularly spoke of many-to-many communication at their school. She said there was significant conversation throughout classes and during lunchtimes across the entire school. As for Ruth, most of her communication was face-to-face, as she did not use MySpace or text messaging at all. The only mention of any communication that was not face-to-face was the phone call she received as her

classmates were approaching her house and the subsequent phone call she made to Anahi to pass along the same message.

Amilcar, the heaviest technology user of the interviewees, used face-to-face communication in a limited sense, only noting that he had discussions with friends' siblings predominantly in the one-to-one fashion. His limited face-to-face communication can be attributed to the role that Amilcar played in walkouts. First, he was already out of high school and had few direct contacts in high schools. Second, his role was to disseminate the information about walking out with as wide a net as possible, and as will be discussed, MySpace provided an advantageous forum, particularly because Amilcar did not know many high schoolers directly, and MySpace provided a much more powerful and effective tool to spread that information than face-to-face communication in his situation.

Text Messaging

Text messaging also provided multidirectional communication. Both Marisol and Anahi used texting, from their perspective, in one-to-one communication with several friends. What they did not overtly discuss was the multiplicity of their friends doing the same with other friends and this pattern branching out like a spider web, as Ruth was able to capture, when she said:

> I don't see how we could have done this without that mode of communication (texting). I don't think that it would have been possible, because I don't think we were well enough organized to have done it by word of mouth and face-to-face contact. And because everybody was texting and everybody was using MySpace, it was a big deal.

This is also evident in the fact that every one of the interviewees noted the increasing importance that texting played as the time drew nearer to the moment of walking out. What was described on a micro level of one-to-one by Marisol and Anahi was really just a small part in the web of many-to-many as mentioned by Ruth above as well as in our conversation about organizing with the other high school. This was coordinated through texts sent by many students from her school to many students at the other high school as they were approaching.

This finding was supported in Yang's (2007) findings in his research on the H.R. 4437 Walkouts in San Francisco. He also found that text messaging played a crucial role in the walkouts, as he stated, "Texts had group readership: one device could send the same message to multiple people. Texts were durable: one could forward an exact text along chains of recipients" (p. 14). For both his and this study, without the aid of text messaging, particularly during the morning of the walkouts, the turnout numbers would been significantly lower. Marisol would not have been able to contact friends in other classes just hours before the walkouts took place. There would have been no easy way in the time period given for Ruth and Anahi's school to contact their sister school. Texting provided a platform for a frenzy of one-to-one and one-to-many discussions that occurred occur right up to and through the walkouts.

MySpace

MySpace provides the most rich and unique method of multidirectional communication. Amilcar tried a combination of one-to-one, one-to-many, and was doing his best to promote many-to-many communication, as he explained:

> Most high schools have their own MySpace page so there's like alumni and current students there, so what I would do was just add, add, add, add, constantly add students from these high schools and try to either shoot them up directly or just constantly posting bulletins on the march and updating everything, you know, making sure people were coming out, you know? … For me, my objective was to get people to post it and then try to get into the reach of more people. So like if people repost it—your link automatically is reposted with it and then everybody else saw it.

This combination of direct messages, bulletin postings, and promotion of reposting is the quintessential reason why a tool such as MySpace can be extremely effective. Using elemental cut and paste tools, it was incredibly easy to post information about the walkouts in multiple locations. And it was effective. Students such as Anahi reposted messages similar to the ones Amilcar posted, as she recalled:

> I reposted the bulletin about the information, like about the walkouts. I would read them a lot and then send comments to my friend like 'Oh, are you gonna do it?' I wasn't the one that first posted it up or organized it to everybody but I followed them and reposted.

The combination of many individuals acting as Amilcar and Anahi did brought about the success of the multidirectionality that was available in the various tools built into MySpace, whether they were direct person-to-person wall posts or many-to-many bulletin posts.

The interview data was corroborated with some of the MySpace Group pages collected for the *Intermediate Units*. Although there were just a few examples to draw from, those few supported the multidirectional communication pattern reported by Amilcar and Anahi.

One group, "100% Mexicans," posted a flyer urging students to walk out on Monday, March 27, 2006, as seen in Figure 3. This particular group consisted of 57

members. Although the number of members who actually saw this flyer before Monday cannot be known, the one-to-many communication had the ability to directly influence, in this instance, 57 people. Amplified by reposting through many-to-many communication, the group may have influenced hundreds, if not thousands of people to walk out.

All three communication methods—face-to-face, texting, and MySpace—provide a multitude of multidirectional communication methods. Each has its own strengths. Face-to-face communication has a strength in the trust factor, but is limited in the numbers it can reach. Texting provides quick communication, but is also limited in direct many-to-many communication, even though it does have the potential to spread like a spider web of many one-to-one points of communication. Lastly, MySpace has the ability to spread over a very wide net of many-to-many, one-to-many, and one-to-one types of communication. However, due to its virtual nature, does not provide the same level of trust that face-to-face or even text messaging can provide since it is quite simple to create a fake user to disseminate false information.

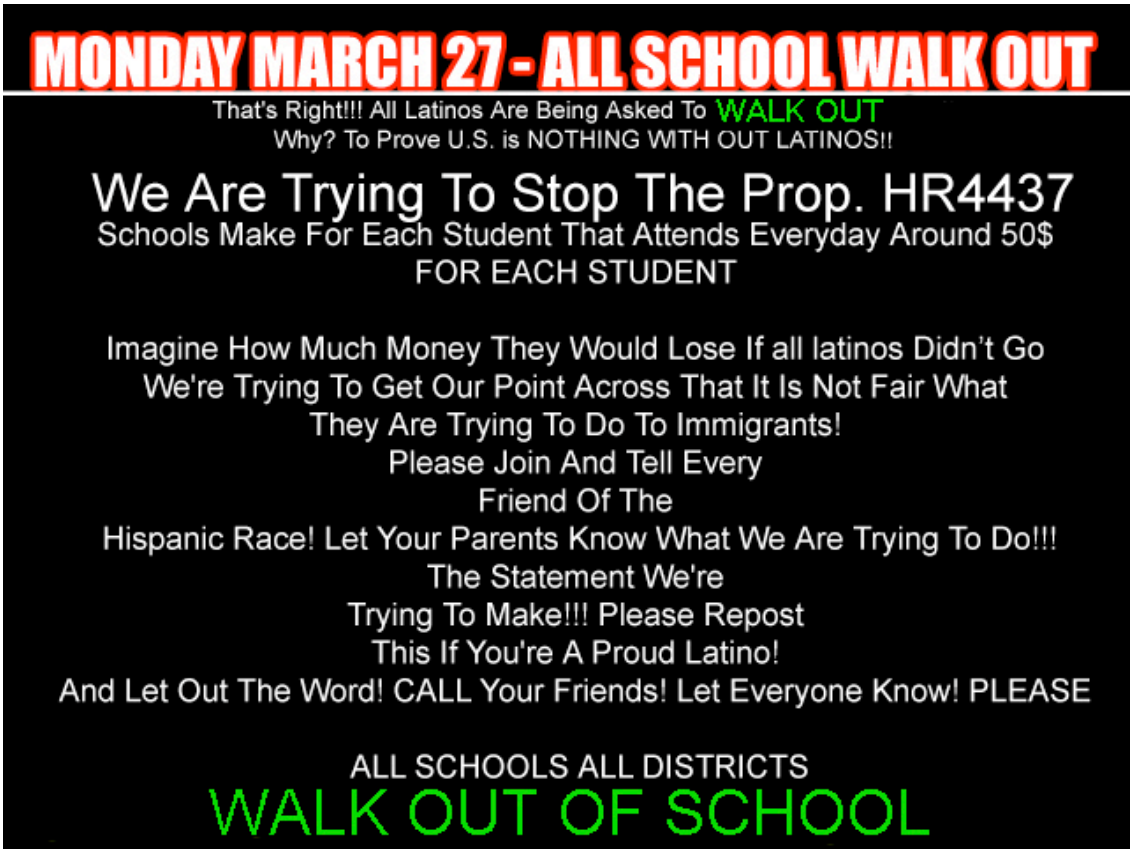

Figure 3. Walkout Flyer. MySpace posting by the group "100 Mexicans."

Other Findings: Non-hierarchical Mass Movements—Two Sides of the Coin

From the discussions with the participants, a finding emerged that was integrally tied to the two themes (multimodality and multidirectionality) and sub-themes (speed and public and private communication). When combining all four of these elements and examining the walkouts from a top-down perspective, it was seen that as a whole, the movement was non-hierarchical. There was no center point that provided overall instructions on what to do and when to do it.

Acting like two sides of the same coin, both positive and negative consequences were associated with the non-hierarchical structure of the walkouts. On the positive side, there was no center point that could be attacked to dispel the movement. Multiple center points allow groups, in this case, primarily at the school level, to operate independently of one another. The distributed leadership also provided a higher sense of empowerment for the individuals involved as opposed to a centralized hierarchical movement where those at the bottom of the pyramid are merely following the instructions of the leader. On the negative side, a significant amount of confusion emerged. In particular with the H.R. 4437 Walkouts, this was seen in conversations regarding both when they would take place and the destination points of the walks.

Starting with the negative side of the coin, the notion of confusion was evident to the student participants. As Marisol discussed, even during her first period class, classmates were texting back and forth with no resolution as to when they would start walking out. Ruth pushed that idea a bit further and looked at the confusion at a theoretical level, stating:

> It [multiple methods and directions of communication] also created a bit of a problem I think because we didn't have one leader who was directing all of this, so there was a lot of miscommunication so while it helped, at the same time it could have been a little bit better because they should have used other modes of communication.

For Ruth, the miscommunication detracted from root of what the walkouts could have and should have been. In her eyes, if there had been a clear chain of command, they would have been able to show a greater notion of solidarity and clarity in the movement.

The MySpace Group pages also revealed moments of confusion and lack of clarity. The pages that directly addressed the walkouts had postings such as "I THINK THE NEXT WALK OUT IS TOMARROW WALK OUT WALK OUT WALK OUT VIVA WALK OUT." Inherent ambivalence is evident in beginning with the phrase "I THINK," not knowing for sure whether or not it was going to happen. Also, as was the case with the poster in Figure 3, no mention whatsoever was made of time or place to where they would be walking.

The ideas of miscommunication and confusion were also seen in the walkouts in San Francisco (Yang, 2007) and Dallas (Barberena et al., 2007). Yang explained, "Diffuse organizing faces three dangers: the first is unclear messaging through the 'operator effect' whereby messages mutate as they are passed along" (p. 18). Similar notions were brought up by Barberena et al. when they quoted one of their participants saying:

> It was after the fact. Everything was spontaneous. Once underway, walkouters were confused about what to do next. Julia Contreras reported 'a lot of confusion at the park. What we going to do now. How we gonna get back.' When asked who organized the walkout she said, 'I have no idea who organized.' (p. 21)

As can be seen with the walkouts, confusion was not unique to Los Angeles. Using multiple modes of communication that were flying in every direction possible through public and private channels, at times created confusion through miscommunication. The web of communication was thick, perhaps too thick for its own good sometimes. Also, with only a week of preparation, communication moved quickly. Speed certainly has its positives, as was seen earlier in the chapter; however, accuracy

can be lost when speed is so rapid that initiating and responding messages cross in space and overlap.

On the positive side of the coin, however, a movement that is not centralized or hierarchical has certain benefits that are not possible in centralized top-down movements. First, because of the multiple centers, if one center is unsuccessful, it does not prohibit the others from being successful. In this instance, each school site will be considered a center. Students from an estimated 52 middle and high schools walked out (J.C., 2006) and several schools were locked down. Those in lockdown did not prevent the 40,000 students from joining the walkout. For example, Marisol's school was stuck in lockdown before the vast majority of students were able to get beyond the school's gates. This did not prevent students from Anahi and Ruth's school from being able to walk out as they did.

Also, because the walkouts were organized using face-to-face, text messaging, and MySpace, it was not just a distributed location model, but was also represented by multiple communication methods. For instance, one of Marisol's teachers overheard students talking about the walkouts and decided to change the test date to the same day as the walkouts. Using texting and private sections of MySpace strategically allowed the communication to continue and grow, even despite intercepted communication.

A unique situation was created in which each participant had the opportunity to play both leader and follower, sometimes at the same time. Decentralized and non-hierarchical did not mean leaderless. Instead, it allowed the freedom for the participants to play multiple roles over the course of the week before the walkouts.

For example, Amilcar played the role of underground instigator, the unseen leader, rallying others through face-to-face contact, texting, and MySpace. He also provided support for those same others when they needed encouragement while stuck in lockdown the day of the walkouts.

Anahi, in one act, played both leader and follower. By reposting MySpace messages, she was on one hand following the direct words of others. On the other hand, she was guiding and leading an ever-increasing group of students who were committing to the walkouts. The fluidity of a distributed power model is demonstrated in this act.

Both Ruth and Marisol also noted that they had been receivers of information, as well as conduits for passing along information. Marisol described playing the role of a follower earlier in the week, and being wary of the information until a close friend of hers validated the walkouts. By the morning of the walkouts, she was sitting in her classroom discussing and planning details of the walkouts. Ruth also had a similar experience.

Lastly, this distributed power model led to an increased sense of empowerment for each individual that has lasted well beyond the walkouts. This was noted by each of the participants when I asked them about the lasting effects the walkouts on them. As mentioned later in this chapter, only Amilcar's actions were consistent with the guidelines of transformative resistance (Solórzano and Delgado Bernal, 2001) during the walkouts, but the walkouts ultimately had a transformative effect on all four of the participants.

When I asked Marisol about the effects the walkouts on her, she said that ultimately it made her and her classmates stronger. In her senior year of high school she

and others started an outreach program to the middle school next door to emphasize how important school is, including higher education for Latino/a youth. Four years later, she still goes back to the school every so often to visit her two siblings as well as talk to students and encourage them to continue on to higher education. Many of the middle school youth she worked with as a senior have now taken over as leaders in her old high school.

Anahi and Ruth related experiences similar to Marisol's when I asked them what effects the walkouts had on them. Just prior to the walkouts, some of their teachers had encouraged them to start questioning the school system and the greater culture of the United States. Under the guidance of an English teacher and a few other students they started a monthly newspaper in their junior year to raise awareness about the problems of the school. Ultimately, they tried to point out to the school administration problems that the school had and also provide the student body with tips, suggestions, and resources that would be helpful in getting into college. The paper was ultimately shut down due some derisive content that that criticized the principal fairly harshly, but the paper reemerged underground. It lasted through their senior year, but faded away before they graduated.

Anahi and Ruth looked back on their junior year, when the walkouts took place, as the beginning of their critique of society. Anahi particularly noted that she had always known there was something wrong, yet felt naïve, never quite knowing what was wrong or ways she could participate in fixing it. Her awareness was heightened in discussions

with their English teacher and other students, in the writing of the newspaper, and also during the walkouts.

Currently, all three study participants are involved in several student groups at their college campus. They have all been working with M.E.Ch.A. as a way to promote Latino/a rights on campus and in the greater Los Angeles region. As a direct result of the walkouts, they have all become more proactive in their stance and passion for social justice that has continued to blossom while in college. The walkouts gave them a perspective that would have been unimaginable otherwise. Marisol particularly noted that the combination of face-to-face, text messaging, and MySpace showed her how quickly a movement can be energized and amassed for the right cause.

Lastly, Amilcar also saw the walkouts as a transformative moment in his life. Following the walkouts, he continued to meet with several coalitions and political action groups, but then became frustrated. These groups continued to work together through the May Day protests just over a month later, but they soon began entrenching themselves in their own ideologies. Amilcar slowly removed himself from that scene, instead opting to work with those who believe in a cause that was not rooted in ideology as if it were dogma.

To this day, Amilcar continues to fight for social justice. He has become much wiser and very analytical in his approach. First and foremost he understands that without spending significant time analyzing and critiquing a situation before taking action, the action will ultimately be useless. This critique not only guides Amilcar as to why he stands up against social ills, but also guides him in ways to proceed. Approach is

important to Amilcar. He understands the value of not standing out too much until it is time to, as he explained:

> I try to keep low because it allows me to maneuver around. You know, and if you're like put on blast, it gets difficult for you to maneuver around… Cause you get flagged and you become a target and you get messed around with by the cops or whatever.

Since the walkouts Amilcar has grown as a strong and intelligent voice of resistance. He has spent time theorizing and he has spent time taking action. In all senses of the term, Amilcar is effective in transformative resistance. Not only has he transformed himself over the past four years, but he has also spent time working to enlighten others and convince them to take a stand for long-lasting justice.

As mentioned before, each of the participants was greatly moved by the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. Starting from vastly different perspectives, each of the participants was able to develop his/her own critique of social oppression and motivation for social justice more fully due to his/her involvement in the walkouts. Being able to take roles both as leader and follower due to the non-hierarchical structure led to a greater sense of empowerment for each of the participants.

True to organization structures, non-hierarchical de-centered mass movements have distinct advantages and disadvantages related to the way they are formed. In the case of the H.R. 4437 Walkouts, a sense of confusion emerged at times. On the other side of the coin, however, multiple centers, both in location and multimodal communication, allowed for independent streams of action that facilitated the success of the walkouts. Distributed leadership also provided the platform for increased empowerment for the individuals involved that can not be afforded in a directed, hierarchical model.

H.R. 4437 Walkouts and Four Types of Resistance

The following section examines the empirical data collected from both the *Intermediate Units* and *Individual* sections through Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) lens of transformative resistance, similar to the examination of the *Context* data in Chapter IV. Examples used throughout the chapter are analyzed and examined through one of the four frameworks: reactionary behavior, self-defeating resistance, conformist resistance, and transformative resistance.

To quickly reiterate, each of the four frameworks represents a type of resistance categorized according to the two criteria: critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice. Reactionary behavior lacks both criteria. Self-defeating resistance is based in critique, but lacks motivation by social justice. Conformist resistance is motivated by social justice, but lacks critique of social oppression. Lastly, transformative resistance is led by both criteria of critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice.

Reactionary Behavior

It is easy, especially for educators, to dramatize mass student movements as encouragingly positive and transformative. With an event as large as the H.R. 4437 walkouts and the activities and discussions that surrounded them, examples of all four types of resistance were in evidence. This included reactionary behavior.

In MySpace, several of the Group pages that discussed H.R. 4437 and immigration showed the distinct markers of reactionary behavior. No real critique was displayed, nor was any actual motivation by social justice present. In particular, Group pages that had "debate" showed significant reactionary behavior.

The first example shows an angry viewpoint against Mexican immigrants. “TJ” does not provide critical dialogue. He merely presents an extremely short and biased historical overview of the purchase of the Southwestern United States followed by threats against Mexicans attempting to enter the country:

> In mexico they teach the children that we stole all of the western US from them. We actually paid about half a billion dollars [in today’s dollars] for the south west US. And anyone that was living there at the time wasnt told to leave. We bought it, we own it, We dont want mexicans breeding like mice all over it. Quit actin like your gonna riot too, I hope you do. I live across the river from a immigrant town, and i'll be ready to serve my country by blastin as many fleas outa thier hair as i can.

TJ showed a lack of both critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice. He showed that he lacks critique of social oppression. His views on justice were not social, but rather a twisted version of Wild West frontier justice where the gun was the law.

The second example also shows a complete lack of critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice. The Group page “no on hr 4437,” contains the post, “there are too many homosexual men that are illegal if they pass this stupid law then there wont be no hot guys no more NO ON THIS LAW NO NO NO !!!!!!” showed no semblance of even understanding what the proposed legislation was about. Critique did not exist anywhere in the post, nor did any notion of social justice. The only idea that came across was the notion of self-interest.

Lastly, as seen in the quote below that also appeared on one of the MySpace Group pages, the posting did not really qualify in a forum of critical debate, but rather

were typified by crude banter of androcentric one-up-man-ship. Instead of critical dialogue. only words of anger and hate spewed forth:

> Chuy: man fuck who ever supports the HR 4437 especially these 5 fags in this group, man you white people need to go back to Europe and leave this land to the Indians and Mexicans and take your fuckin deseases back with you to
>
> A to the J: hey you fucking dike Mexicans are decendents of spanards who are from Europe you fucking dipshit get your information right before you talk shit… your people also came and took over indian land too

No critical dialogue is present whatsoever in the above discussion. It is a jousting of racist and heterosexist remarks, ultimately diverting any possible conversation that would lead to understanding the other and driving a deeper division between the two sides. The sentiment was not even based in ideology, but rather androcentrism.

Motivation by social justice is also severely lacking in this dialogue. Neither posting examples present options toward a positive solution, or any solution for that matter. The banter exists for its own sake. Even though the greater debate was not about who was right and who was wrong, these postings did not even reach the level of argument. They existed solely as a shouting match to be the loudest. Nothing about right or wrong was addressed or pertinent to a discussion concerning social justice.

Each of the above examples shows a significant void in both ideas of critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice. These Group page posts were either self-centered or existed only to promote hate. They did not even attempt to take a critical stand on a social justice issue.

Self-Defeating Resistance

Although limited to only one example, self-defeating resistance was also seen in MySpace Group pages. The following poem appeared on three of the Group pages. It shows a level, albeit relatively low, of critique of oppression. However, it does not show any motivation by social justice.

> call us wetbacks or beaners
> que son puros ruidos
> you can't calm us down
> you can't keep us quiet
> you pass H.R. 4437
> I swear to god we will riot.
> we may be humble
> we may be poor
> but go against our people
> we won't hesitate to start civil war.
> we may not have papers
> but we still pay our taxes
> without our feria
> the pinche U.S collapses!
> I call out to mi gente
> to stick up for the brown,
> you ain't kicking us out,
> we're sticking around!!!

The author of this poem (which is unknown since it showed up in at least three Group pages which had no connection, direct or indirect, to one another) expressed some level of knowledge and critique of the social oppression faced by Latino/as. It starts with the

first line “call us wetbacks or beaners.” These are two of the more common racist labels attached to Mexicans, especially those who are the first generation in America. The author also noted the stereotypical association between Latino/as and poverty, as if the correlation were automatic between being Latino and being poor.

There is, however, no motivation spurred by social justice issues in this poem. As seen with the 1992 Riots (Bergesen & Herman, 1998; Useem, 1997), this poem promotes violence as the means to resist. If the actions suggested in this poem were carried out, the results very well could have turned out just like the 1992 Riots with millions or even billions of dollars worth of damage, plus a cultural damage that would have been much deeper than any financial woes.

Conformist Resistance

Along with transformative resistance, conformist resistance was one of the most commonly seen forms of resistance of this movement. Conformist resistance was seen both on MySpace and in the participants reports. Conformist resistance dealt directly with the walkouts as opposed to the general topic of H.R. 4437 as was seen in the examples in the reactionary behavior and self-defeating resistance sections.

On some of the MySpace Group pages short postings promoted the walkouts such as “THERES GONNA BE ANOTHER WALKOUT ON WENZDAY FOR MARSHALL” and “I THINK THE NEXT WALK OUT IS TOMARROW WALK OUT WALK OUT WALK OUT VIVA WALK OUT,” in which there was not much discussion past one response on four of the discussions, and only one validated a walkout.

These postings were motivated by a social justice cause. However, they severely lacked any notion of critique. There was no follow up explaining why students should be walking out, just that they should. In this instance, the effects of these postings were positive, but as Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) explained, if they were part of a larger sustained movement, eventually they would lose their effectiveness due to a lack of critique and understanding of the reasons behind the collective resistance.

Marisol, Ruth, and Anahi also displayed conformist resistance behavior in their roles in the walkouts. It was not because they lacked the ability to critique, but rather they were not given time to properly critique H.R. 4437 and its effects on immigrants. They only learned about the walkouts a week earlier. They did not have enough time to properly identify the need for and impact of the walkouts. Speed, which was a critical factor in the success of the walkouts—as a movement across Los Angeles and other cities in the United States—had a negative impact on the participants as they did not have the necessary amount of time to adequately understand and critique the legislation they were protesting.

This was reflected in the actions and words of their friends. As mentioned earlier, Ruth recalled her friends saying, "Yea, I'll come and walk out and you know, I'll totally support the cause," while others said, "Oh, I just won't go to class but you know, I'm there in solidarity." These other students clearly did not have a notion of critique, but they were, at a low level according to this account, motivated by social justice.

This same idea was seen in Anahi's reposting of MySpace messages. In this action, she was not particularly informed from a critiquing perspective. Social justice however, as she mentioned throughout our discussion, motivated her in all of her actions.

Overall, many of the students involved in the walkouts, including the three above-mentioned interviewees and the peers they discussed, did not have the necessary conceptual framework to truly critique the reasons behind walking out. For Marisol, this was her first act of resistance and the walkouts became a springboard for her mental framework to critique. For Ruth and Anahi, I believe the operative issue was lack of time. As mentioned in their Background sections, they were both outwardly critical of the conditions their school, as demonstrated by putting together a monthly paper. If given more time to absorb information and develop critique, their actions would have been much more aligned with transformative resistance.

Transformative Resistance

Significant elements of transformative resistance were found in the organization of the H.R. 4437 Walkouts. As a whole I would classify this movement as an act of transformative resistance. In particular, the combination of critique of oppression and motivation by social justice was seen in some of the MySpace Group pages as well as in Amilcar's actions and his role in the walkouts.

Two of the Group pages, "La Raza Unida Jamas Sera Vencida" and "100% Mexicans," showed overt notions of transformative resistance. Figure 1 presented earlier in this chapter shows the flyer posted on one of "100% Mexicans" bulletin boards urging students to walkout on Monday, March 27, 2006, across Los Angeles. The flyer shows a

distinct critique of the bill as racist against Latino/as, urging all to stand up against the anti-immigration legislation.

The other, posted in "La Raza Unida Jamas Sera Vencida," called for a march on Brawley (a small city in California approximately 30 miles north of Mexicali, Mexico) City Hall stating:

> Okay look you can't fight the law by breaking the law!! so look this is the plan forget all the rest. Lets show them that we are so dedicated to this cauza that we will give up our own time after school and weekends. People [adults] are talk shit saying that we are only doing this to get out of school so lets show them wats up and protest after school. This is the plan so get the word out:
>
> On Friday, march 31, 2006 after school we are going to go to brawley city hall and line up on the blocks across main street. Lets try to expand the line all the way to vonz to the dmv. okay remember not to block the streets but bring signs and posters and water cause it will get hott!! La Raza Unida Jamas Sera VENCIDA!!!! okay so get the word out. i know we all can do this it will take as long as it has to so if ur busy till 4 you can still show up so don't be scared and lets show the people that we actually do believe in the cauza and we are not just doing it to get out of school!!! Tomorrow I will take flyers for everyone so get tell your parents, friends, neighbors, your tia or tio anyone and everyone should go !!!VIVA LA RAZA!!!

It was a call to continue the movement and raise voices against H.R. 4437, and it was in rebuttal to the critiques that students were looking for an excuse to get out of school. To the students of Brawley, it was more than just getting out of school. It was truly about making a statement for the greater world to hear.

These two Group pages show the motivation by social justice to stand up against the unjust proposed legislation. They both showed critique against anti-immigration rhetoric. An even a deeper level of counter-critique was seen in "La Raza Unida Jamas

Sera Vencida" in protesting outside of school time to silence critics who framed the walkouts as simply an excuse to get out of school.

For Amilcar, the walkouts were an act of transformative resistance. He had spent several weeks planning and organizing La Gran Marcha. He was critical, even in the planning phase, of the voices that were heard, or more importantly, not heard in the process of working with several political action groups. He and a few others met to organize the unheard high school voices to set up protests of their own in the form of walkouts. The effect of H.R. 4437 on the education of our immigrant youth brought forth voices that were not being heard until Amilcar brought them to the forefront. Ultimately, the student walkouts became one of the most powerful pieces of this act of transformative resistance that ultimately killed H.R. 4437.

Summary

As reviewed in the above discussion, although the H.R. 4437 Walkouts represented a collective act of transformative resistance, elements of the event show all four of Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) types of resistance. From androcentric MySpace insult exchanges to self-defeating poems, we see a complete lack of motivation by social justice and very little critique of social oppression. We can also appreciate that although speed was crucial to the success of the movement represented by the walkouts, it was detrimental to allowing the participants to critique the legislation due to the incredibly compressed time period of the walkouts from start to finish. Lastly, Amilcar's involvement and the Brawley walkout poster are evidence of seriously thinking through

rationale and actions in accord with the two crucial elements that make up transformative resistance.

CHAPTER VI

TOWARD A FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATION

Introduction

The final chapter provides a new framework for educators and students to engage in multidimensional transformative resistance. This chapter answers Research Question 3, "What new educational framework can incorporate multidimensional resistance for (a critical revolutionary) youth (experience)?"

In particular, this chapter is grounded in a combination of three frameworks:

1. Multidimensional transformative resistance.
2. McLaren and Jaramillo's (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2002) critical revolutionary pedagogy.
3. A modified version of Duncan-Andrade and Morrell's (2008) pedagogy, love, and revolution.

As will be seen, the ideas overlap in each of these frameworks, but each framework offers distinctly different elements not found in the others that are critical to answering the research question and providing a more complete framework. An overview of each of these frameworks begins the chapter followed by a new educational framework to shed light on elements needed for youth multidimensional resistance to be successful.

Founding Frameworks

Multidimensional Transformative Resistance

The notion of multidimensional transformative resistance emerged in this work to bring further insight and expand upon Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001)

transformative resistance. Transformative resistance, as described by Solórzano and Delgado Bernal is the form of resistance that is led by two mechanisms: critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice. Their two-dimensional model was expanded upon in this work to explain the role technology plays in resistance; this resulted in a multidimensional framework that adds the dimension of technology to the critique and motivation criteria to better reflect new tools and perspectives related to transformative resistance in today's society.

Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy

McLaren and Jaramillo's (2002) notion of critical revolutionary pedagogy is the second framework that will be used to create this new educational framework. Critical revolutionary pedagogy is rooted in the foundations of critical theory. As noted by Giroux (2003), critical theory is "…both a 'school of thought' and a process of critique" (p. 27). It emerged from the Frankfurt School with theorists such as Marcuse, Habermas, Horkheimer, and Adorno. The Frankfurt School broke from traditional thought in the 1930s by challenging ideas of positivist rationality. Although their theories were highly influenced by Marxist ideology, they did not hold to an ideologue point of view. Feminism, critical race theory, resistance theory, and critical pedagogy all emerged out of critical theory (Giroux & McLaren, 1989; Giroux, 2003; Gur-Ze'ev, 2003).

The last item, critical pedagogy, emerged out the works of authors such as Freire, Giroux, and Aronowitz just to name a few. Critical pedagogy spans a wide range of perspectives, all aimed at deconstructing the classroom as a reifying agent of society (McLaren, 2003). Critical pedagogy analyzes and demystifies positionalities of power,

both overt and hidden. Critical pedagogy examines the classroom as a place filled with hidden curriculum and socializing elements of hegemony that produce a stratification of schools where social and cultural capital is transmitted selectively, particularly to those already in advantaged positions, while leaving others behind.

Specifically, critical revolutionary pedagogy was developed to extend past the notion of critical pedagogy, and beyond the level of critique (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2002). Critical revolutionary pedagogy encompasses a three-step model aimed at providing an educational solution that allows breaking free from social oppressions. Step 1 is called "pedagogy of demystification." Similar to Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) critique of social oppression, demystification is the understanding and unpackaging of societal structures as an interconnected network that places significant restrictions on some, while providing platforms for the success of others. Pedagogy of demystifications harkens back to the reproduction theories including economic (Bowles & Gintis, 1977), social (Anyon, 1990; Willis, 1977), and cultural (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) factors and the need to understand the role each plays within society.

Step 2, "pedagogy of opposition," builds on the critique of demystification to provide a platform where "…students [are] developing their own political positions that, in time, they are able to both extend, deepen, and refine. They are also able to defend their political positions… in opposition to other positions" (Solarzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 121). This is the step in resistance activities just before action, as Apple (1995) purported. It is the combination of unpackaging social ills and theorizing how best to combat them.

The final step, "philosophy of praxis," involves putting the theory into practice. As McLaren and Jaramillo note, it should be inspired by hope for change in transforming the social universe. This step has a distinct similarity to transformative resistance in that it is led by critique of social oppression found in McLaren and Jaramillo's first two steps as well as an implicit motivation by social justice. Although McLaren and Jaramillo never used the term social justice in explaining critical revolutionary pedagogy, there was an undertone of social justice throughout their explanation of his three-step process.

One final piece to note about critical revolutionary pedagogy is that McLaren and Jaramillo explained that this process will appear different for every person or group that engages in critical revolutionary pedagogy. Socio-political, historical, and personal contexts will weigh heavily on the exact details of the form that critical revolutionary pedagogy may take. It is not a prescribed plan that leads down a singular path, but rather a guideline for individuals and groups to take his/her/their own path(s).

Pedagogy, Technology, and Revolution

The final framework is based upon Duncan-Andrade and Morrell's (2008) framework of pedagogy, love, and revolution. This framework is modified by juxtaposing technology beside pedagogy and revolution. The reason technology is substituted in the place of love is because the three ideas of pedagogy, technology, and revolution constitute the overarching elements that support this new educational framework. In no way was this substitution intended to replace the idea of love with technology. Rather, I would argue that without love, the proposed framework is doomed to fail. Although not one of the components that will be used in the framework, love is a lynchpin to the

framework's success and should not be taken lightly or overlooked. For the purposes of this work, however, it will rest as an implied necessity.

Each of the above frameworks provides a critical piece to this new educational framework presented below. The Duncan-Andrade and Morrell (2008) modified framework provided the thematic elemental lens in which the new framework is organized. It was clear, concise, and brings cohesion to the new framework that was unavailable to this work in the other two frameworks. Multidimensional transformative resistance and critical revolutionary pedagogy (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2002) provided some similar ideas to one another, particularly in an almost identical notion of critique of social oppression and inherent, but not explicitly stated, similarities in motivation by social justice. Each theoretical perspective, however, has a critical element used in the new framework that is not found in the other. Multidimensional transformative resistance provides a broader perspective that moves resistance beyond a two-dimensional model into a more deeply layered perspective. Critical revolutionary pedagogy provides the point of praxis in which the new framework's three elements, pedagogy, technology, and revolution intersect.

Multidimensional Resistive Pedagogy: A New Educational Framework

The following framework is meant as a guideline for both educators and students alike. It would be foolish to provide a structured top-down teacher-student framework within a work focused on student-driven, multimodal, multidirectional acts of resistance. Yes, it was found in this study that three of the participants lacked the necessary critique before the walkouts and that points out the need for education in applying this

framework. However, the guiding influence does not always need to be the teacher. It could very well be a peer. McLaren and Jaramillo (2002) explained that critical revolutionary pedagogy, multidimensional resistive pedagogy is meant to be fluid and individualized based upon context from macro to micro levels and back again.

As seen in Figure 4, this new educational framework consists of three elements: pedagogy, technology, and resistance. As will be seen, each provides a vital piece of the puzzle. Ultimately, they intersect at the point of praxis where education becomes truly transformational.

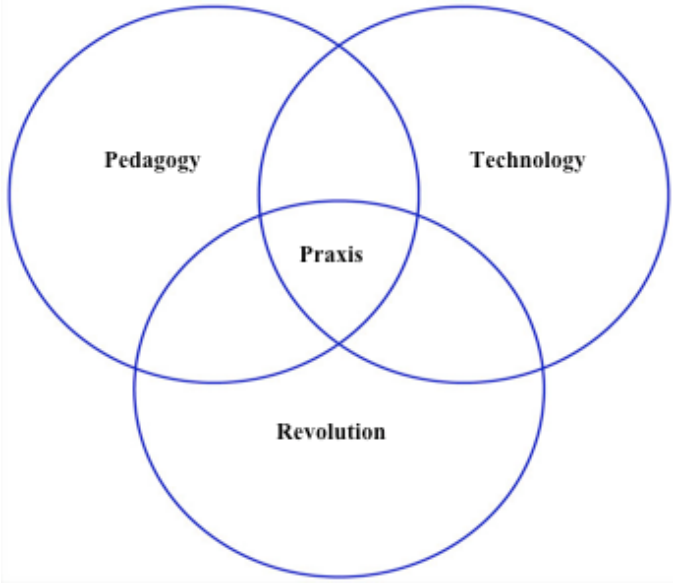

Figure 4. Multidimensional Resistive Pedagogy

Pedagogy

The first element of this new framework is pedagogy. Starting from the educator's vantage point, pedagogy must be politicized. A friend of mine, a management professor, often uses this quote in his class with future managers, "As the person in charge, those

under you will only go as far as you let them." Although I argued back at him using Bowles and Gintis (1977) that this idea is too deterministic, the statement holds an element of truth.

As the teacher, it is imperative to be a political actor and provide the environment for a politicized classroom. Without assuming this positioning, it is impossible to even begin McLaren and Jaramillo's (as cited in Moraes, 2003) first step of critical revolutionary pedagogy, demystification. Demystification relies on three ideals: politicization, building literacies, and critical thinking skills.

Politicization, as already discussed is the first step in demystification. Building a combination of literacies, including the fundamental literacies of reading, writing, mathematics, and newer 21st Century Skill literacies such as technological, environmental, and business and civic literacies (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2004) is the second ideal imperative in this process. These "old and new" literacies do not have to be mutually exclusive. They can work in conjunction with one another to build greater meaning and understanding.

Literacies are the backbone for the third ideal, critical thinking skills. Without multiple literacies, it is impossible to critically dissect a simple five-page reading, let alone the globalized society we live in today. Critical thinking skills allow us to the ability to first demystify and then move to McLaren and Jaramillo's (as cited in Moraes, 2003) opposition in which issues are critically analyzed through one or several lens(es) and then develop an opposition to the dominant ideology. Although not a necessary component, I would emphasize using collaborative methods for students to build a

rapport of multiple lenses that have the potential to emerge through sharing of ideas and perspectives.

Technology

The second element to the framework of multidimensional resistive pedagogy is technology. Technology plays a unique role in the framework as it is both a location in and of itself, and also, more importantly, is an embedded actor within both pedagogy and revolution. Technology, and in particular the Internet and mobile technologies, provides both a space for pedagogy and revolution to take place that never existed before, and it provides a vehicle of information transmission that brings about a new multidimensionality previously unseen or even conceived of.

As a new space for pedagogy and revolution, the virtual world has provided a platform on which both may expand. Pedagogy has been given a space where ideas and resources can be shared such as lessonplanet.com, 4teachers.org, and thousands of other websites and school district-sponsored web spaces. The same is true for resistance with sites like teachersagainstoccupation.org and fightwithtools.org. None of these completely inhabits the virtual world, however. If those approaches were to rely completely on virtual spaces, they would be ultimately self-defeating in the way conformist resistance is (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

It is rather the embedding of technology into pedagogy and revolution that produces multidimensional transformative change. Technologies including MySpace and text messaging have created methods of transmission that are, when used in conjunction with one another and face-to-face communication, both multimodal and multidirectional.

With regard to revolution this was instrumental in the success of the H.R. 4437 Walkouts that used multidimensional transformative resistance to destroy the proposed legislation.

The same multidimensionality can be brought to pedagogy. Collaborative student-driven projects place students in positions to be multimodal and multidirectional learners. Even something as simple as creating a group webpage on a selected topic instead of a research paper brings significant multidimensionality to a traditional assignment. The same embedded research literacies needed to answer the research question in a paper are also needed in developing a webpage, but a webpage requires students to engage in multidirectional communication to not only obtain and coordinate the information, but how to present it as well. The students must also rely on a multimodal skillset that involves not only research and writing, but also webpage building skills including extending their organizational skills, and even media critique and creation when adding images, music, and/or video to produce an engaging website. Technology provides the platform for blending these old and new literacies to provide a more multidimensional experience.

Revolution

Revolution is the final element of multidimensional resistive pedagogy. For revolution to take place, as has been discussed throughout this dissertation, it must follow the principles of multidimensional transformative resistance. Based on Solórzano and Delgado Bernal's (2001) notion of transformative resistance, multidimensional transformative resistance first takes the original two components of critique of social oppression and motivation by social justice issues. It then adds other dimensions,

specifically multimodal and multidirectional technology to look beyond a two-dimensional model to explain more holistically the means by which transformative resistance is successful at bringing change, the foundation of revolution.

Praxis

So where does all of this leave us? The only point from the original three frameworks that multidimensional resistive pedagogy has not touched upon yet, is McLaren's (as cited in Moraes, 2003) philosophy of praxis. Since McLaren directly addressed educators, he discussed the philosophy behind praxis. Multidimensional resistive pedagogy can not and is not traditional in the idea of pedagogy as a teacher-led approach. As such, it does not examine the philosophy of praxis, but rather gets straight to the heart of what praxis is, the melding of theory and practice.

For multidimensional transformative pedagogy to be successful, pedagogy, technology, and revolution must ultimately merge. Although this is not meant to be 100% prescriptive, certain building blocks are critical in order to reach a place of praxis. Multidimensional transformative pedagogy must begin with politicizing the classroom and developing literacies, both traditional and 21st Century. Without developed literacies and a politically open environment, the critical thinking skills needed to critique and demystify social oppression to identify alternatives (McLaren's opposition) can never be obtained.

Understanding technology in the interconnected world is also a key building block. A lack of 21st Century literacies will result in the deficiency of multimodal and multidirectional skills needed to comprehend the ever-increasing multidimensional

globalized world, leaving students confused and misguided about not just the world itself, but their place within it.

The principles of transformative resistance are the last building blocks upon which multidimensional resistive pedagogical praxis resides. As mentioned above, critique of social oppression is needed in order to provide an alternative to dominant ideology and practices. Motivation by social justice issues must be the underlying principle that leads classroom politicization and guides critique. It is a lens we must use in order to understand the multidimensional globalized world and our part of it. Motivation by social justice change must be ingrained into every piece of the puzzle in order to achieve praxis.

I will now go back and expand upon the website project discussed earlier and with a view to the experience within the framework of multidimensional resistive pedagogy. Anita, a student in Mr. Murphy's American history class, walks into class several minutes early on the first day back from winter break. Curious about her break, Mr. Murphy asks Anita how she spent her past week and a half. She tells him she went to visit relatives in New York City, where it was 30° and snowing the entire time she was there. She went on to discuss the day they went to Central Park to make a snowman. "It was a lot of fun," she said, but she then went on to say that she was incredibly shocked to see homeless people outside in the cold and snow. "Where did they sleep? What did they eat?" she asked. The bell rang before Mr. Murphy was able to answer her questions, but he asked Anita if she would share her story with the class later on. She nodded with a slight smile on her face.

They were studying the late 1880's in Mr. Murphy's American History class and he decided to switch gears from the rise of the Populist Party to Jane Adams and the Hull House for the day. He began discussing the great work the Hull House did for the homeless and then asked Anita to share her story with the class. Mr. Murphy then asked the class to share experiences they had had in Los Angeles with the homeless. A few students discussed seeing homeless men and women across the city from the central city to Santa Monica. Alex raises his hand and tells his classmates about volunteering in a soup kitchen with his parents once a month. He goes on to say that he overheard his dad talking with the woman who runs the kitchen. The woman was worried because she was going to lose 25% of her funding starting in June and she didn't know if the soup kitchen could survive with that cut.

Mr. Murphy takes this opportunity to break the class into groups to discuss what they could possibly do to assist the soup kitchen. Several ideas emerged, including building a website that would raise funds and recruit more volunteers. Mr. Murphy liked the idea, but knew he had to pull the reigns back a bit before diving into this project. He tells the students that they'll continue the conversation the next day just as the bell rings.

Mr. Murphy flipped the approach to class that next day. Instead of approaching history from a timeline perspective, he decided to take the theme of poverty and homelessness and run with it. He explained to the students that they would be working on a project to address this issue on global, national, and local scales. One group of students was assigned to look at poverty in America from Jane Adams' work to the present day

and write a paper about it. Another group was asked to write a paper about worldwide poverty, and a third group to write one on poverty and homelessness in Los Angeles.

The day the papers were turned in, Mr. Murphy had a special guest presenter, Ms. Alarcon. Ms. Alarcon was the woman in charge of the soup kitchen where Alex volunteers. After a phone conversation with Mr. Murphy, Ms. Alarcon replied that it would be wonderful to come in and speak with the students. Filled with questions for Ms. Alarcon after an absorbing presentation, Anita asked how they could help. As Ms. Alarcon began discussing volunteering opportunities, Anita interjected and brought up the idea the class originally had on the whole focus on poverty and homelessness. Ms. Alarcon loved the website fundraising idea, but said that they would need some more education in the world of finance and non-profits before they start raising money online.

The students were divided into five groups for the website project. One group was responsible for putting the website together. This required organizing everybody else and all the information they collected for their own assignments. The second group worked with Ms. Alarcon to put together the needed paperwork to set up a fundraising website for a non-profit, which involved analyzing financial and legal documents. The third group created a video, showing the realities of homelessness in Los Angeles that would be shown on the website. The fourth group was in charge of promotions of the website in order to drive traffic to the site to get volunteers and donations. A fifth group emerged a week into the project. Their task was to lobby the state and local government to raise funding for soup kitchens and homeless shelters back to their original levels before the cut, plus an additional 10% that their research indicated was necessary for the sustained

success of the soup kitchen. They went directly to City Hall with their demands. They also created an online petition that was ultimately sent to the state government.

The combined project was a success. The soup kitchen had more volunteers than ever. Unfortunately the cuts did take place in June, but because of the online fundraising, Ms. Alarcon was in good shape. By the end of August, however, things changed. The students were heard by the Los Angeles City Hall and funding was raised back to the original level plus the 10% increase the students lobbied for.

The soup kitchen website project combined pedagogy, technology and revolution in a rich and meaningful way that was ultimately a transformational experience for all involved. The politicized classroom, entrenched in a social justice cause, built up literacies necessary for demystification and opposition. Using a multimodal and multidirectional technological approach, the students were able to achieve praxis of multidimensional resistive pedagogy.

In addition to this hypothetical example, projects are in progress that are utilizing the principles of multidimensional resistive pedagogy. For example, the Center for Ecoliteracy (ecoliteracy.org) provides a host of classroom resources through their website aimed at transforming the way we view the environment. It provides a scaffold for the mental framework of teachers and students about environmental issues from literacy to revolutionary change. The Center for Ecoliteracy is using technology as a vehicle to promote a variety of pedagogical tools to create a revolution for environmental justice.

Another example comes from YES! Magazine (2010) (yesmagazine.org) in which students were to first deconstruct the clothing worn by women in Iran and then compare

this analysis to the dress style allowed in America. While going through the process of creating an online photojournal, the students are to delve deeper beyond a simple comparison of dress style. Issues of religious and cultural differences, particularly affecting women, are brought to light throughout the process. Using technology and critical revolutionary pedagogy (McLaren, as cited in Moraes, 2003), the possibility for student revolution is also eminent in this exercise.

Lastly, the Minnesota Human Rights Education Experience (This is My Home, 2010) (hrusa.org) provides a vast array of ideas for teachers to educate students about human rights, each incorporating ideas of pedagogy, technology, and revolution. In particular, the *This is My Home* project provides a plethora of in-depth lessons that assist in moving from literacy to revolution to praxis on the topic of human rights for all grade levels.

From classroom to classroom and even student to student, multidimensional resistive pedagogy can and should look radically different. It is a means for the student to make sense of the world and find meaning and his/her place in it so that s/he has the skills and tools necessary to enact lasting transformative change. Individually, we will not solve all of the world's social ills, but we can, collectively, come to a place of praxis that instigates progress as we move ahead day by day.

Recommendations for Future Study

The final section of this work provides several recommendations for future study. These are intended to provide suggestions to expand the research in this field beyond the scope of this study. Specifically, three recommendations are offered:

1. Expand the research on the H.R. 4437 Walkouts beyond a case study.
2. Continue similar research with more current acts of multidimensional transformative resistance.
3. Test the educational framework in the field.

The first recommendation is to conduct research on the H.R. 4437 Walkouts beyond a case study model. Although highly effective for this research, the walkouts were quite extensive across the southern United States. A study that examines several locations and that includes a greater number of participants could bring deeper insight into these walkouts.

Also, although these works were contextualized in the greater Los Angeles history that has seen social movements before (both violent and peaceful), why was it that this particular movement was so fleeting? A strong voice was heard from March to May in 2006, but after the May Day demonstrations, the movement lost momentum. Ultimately it led to defeating H.R. 4437, but it did not provide a solid framework for alternative legislation to be passed in Congress.

The second recommendation is to continue this research beyond the H.R. 4437 Walkouts of 2006. Especially with technology as such an integral piece of this and other similar movements, it is important to keep research current with the technologies that currently exist that were not available a mere four years ago. For example, Iranians used a combination of live and Twitter protests to voice their opposition to a potentially corrupt election process (Mackey, 2009). A combination of Twitter, a technology that

didn't exist in 2006, and smartphones like the iPhone, which also did not exist in 2006, provide a platform for real-time user-driven updates using both text and pictures.

Also, current educational cutbacks by state governments across the nation are resulting in students and teachers speaking up as one voice (Johnson, 2010). This movement is ongoing, so the results are yet to be seen. However, organization has begun in New Jersey amongst students across the state to stage a massive walkout. These students have chosen to organize and discuss educational issues using Facebook. I am only aware of the Facebook organization because a former student of mine invited me to join, as he is aware of my current research. These students may have learned from the H.R. 4437 Walkouts as they are spending almost two months in theorizing and organizing. They are grounding their viewpoint to enable creating one loud and unified voice.

Lastly, multidimensional resistive pedagogy needs to be tested in real-world settings. The examples provided above were either fabricated to fit the framework or found. Regardless of the outcomes of the impending educational protests, it is now, more than ever, imperative for educators to walk hand-in-hand with their students to stand up for social justice causes. Educators need to go into the classroom and other spaces and politicize them; they need to provide the platform, literacies, critical thinking skills, and resources for their students to take action in multidimensional resistive activities.

Teachers need to arm themselves with this framework so that it can be tested in real-world settings to discover its strengths and weaknesses. What needs to be changed or

expanded upon in real-world experiences in order to make it more effective? Are additional dimensions needed as critical components to the framework?

As with all research, this work was built upon the foundation created by many others and is meant to be part of the continuum of the research process. The work in this subject area can take plenty of other directions in providing a platform for future research. However, I believe that the above recommendations are the most critical areas in which to focus future research efforts.

APPENDIX A

Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

Date of Preparation _____

Loyola Marymount University

Youth, Social Networking and Resistance: A Case Study on a Multidimensional Approach to Resistance

1) I have been asked to participate on a research project which is designed to examine the ways in which MySpace was used as a resistance tool for the walkouts between March 24-28, 2006 and which will last for approximately two to four hours of interview time.
2) It has been explained to me that the reason for my inclusion in this project is because I was student who participated in the organization of the walkouts through MySpace.
3) I understand that if I am a subject, I will be interviewed and asked to share information from MySpace. I have the right to decline if I so choose.

The investigator(s) will search through public and shared private MySpace pages and interview me.
These procedures have been explained to me by David Scozzaro, Doctoral Candidate.

4) I understand that I will be audiotaped in the process of these research procedures. It has been explained to me that these tapes will be used for research purposes only and that my identity will not be disclosed. I agree that the tapes shall be retained for research purposes until the end of the study and will be destroyed upon its successful completion. I understand that I have the right to review the tapes made as part of the study to determine whether they should be edited or erased in whole or in part.
5) I understand that the study described above may involve the following risks and/or discomforts: reliving a situation in which tough choices were made.
6) I also understand that the possible benefits of the study are understanding my participation in the walkouts and being able to better contextualize what I was a part of.
7) I understand that David Scozzaro who can be reached at david.scozzaro@lmu.edu will answer any questions I may have at any time concerning details of this study.
8) If the study design or the use of the information is to be changed, I will be so informed and my consent reobtained.
9) I understand that I have the right to refuse to participate in, or to withdraw from this research at any time without prejudice to (e.g., my future medical care at LMU.)
10) I understand that circumstances may arise which might cause the investigator to terminate my participation before the completion of the study.
11) I understand that no information that identifies me will be released without my separate consent except as specifically required by law.
12) I understand that I have the right to refuse to answer any question that I may not wish to answer.
13) I understand that in the event of research related injury, compensation and medical treatment are not provided by Loyola Marymount University.
14) I understand that if I have any further questions, comments, or concerns about the study or the informed consent process, I may contact John Carfora, Ed.D. Chair, Institutional Review Board, 1 LMU Drive, Suite 3000, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles CA 90045-2659 (310) 338-4599, John.Carfora@lmu.edu.

15a) In signing this consent form, I acknowledge receipt of a copy of the form, and a copy of the "Subject's Bill of Rights".
15b) In signing this consent form, I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this form.
16) Subject's Signature_____ Date _____

Date_____
Witness_____

APPENDIX B

Leading Interview Questions

The leading questions are meant to be used as a guide to answering the research questions and providing breadth and depth to the data collected through MySpace.

1. In your own words, explain to me what the walkouts were about?
2. In your own words, explain what happened leading up to and including the walkouts that took place on March 25, 2006?
3. How did you first hear about the possibility of walking out of school? Who told you? What method did they use? Was it face-to-face, phone call, text message, MySpace, or something else?
4. How many people did you talk to about the walkouts? What methods did you use? Would you say that you talked to other about walking out, or did they talk to you about it? Both?
5. Would you consider yourself a promoter of the walkouts before they occurred? What led you to do so or not do so?
6. Why did you choose the methods you did to communicate to discuss the walkouts? Were there particular advantages to doing so?
7. Regarding MySpace, who did you talk to about the walkouts? What is your relationship with those individuals? Is it (and if so, how) different than other relationships you have?
8. Who else did your friends talk to on MySpace about the walkouts? How did you get to be friends with them? Did the relationships already exist? Do you think your relationship changed with any of them after the walkouts? In what ways?

9. Was there somebody who convinced you to walkout? What caused that decision? Was there an element of trust in your decision?
10. Would you consider any of them important in the promotion of the walkouts? Why is that?

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