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BEYOND THE DREAMERS: COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND SUBJECTIVITY IN THE UNDOCUMENTED YOUTH MOVEMENT*

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Based on longitudinal ethnographic research, this article explores what the concepts of collective identity and subjectivity contribute in the case of the undocumented youth movement in Los Angeles. I show that while the collective identity of the Dreamers has been used to organize undocumented youth from different backgrounds and regions into a recognizable collective actor successfully engaged in political action, nowadays the Dreamer identity is a matter of contention among undocumented youth. I show that the basis of subjective sharing and belonging is now less derived from the collective identity of the Dreamer and more from the shared subjectivities of undocumented youths, constituted by embodied experiences of exclusion, stigmatization, and empowerment. I thus argue for a stronger engagement with the concept of subjectivity in social movement research, as it offers a greater understanding of the profound effects of embodied and affective experiences of negative discursive positioning, trauma, emancipation, and healing.

Over the last two decades, undocumented youth activists who mobilized for the Development Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act have used their highly effective, yet contested, collective identity as Dreamers to gain a voice and instigate political reform in the United States. This identity has organized undocumented youth, from different backgrounds and regions, to form a recognizable "we" and to engage in political action. However, while the concept of collective identity helps scholars understand how identifying with and being identified as a constructed collective actor aids the generation, maintenance, and success of social movements and collective action (Flesher Fominaya 2010; Hunt and Benford 2007; Jasper and McGarry 2015; Polletta and Jasper 2001), it does not necessarily help scholars understand the profound effects of discrimination, stigmatization, privilege, and empowerment.

In this article, I argue that the concept of subjectivity should be brought into the current conceptual repertoire and body of literature of social movement theory, because it offers a sensibility to, and a subtle understanding of, the profound workings of power that collective identity does not. As "no subject is its own point of departure" (Butler 1995: 9), using the concept of subjectivity stresses that the interior lives and affective states of political subjects are discursively and historically formed, constructed, and mediated by particular political, social, economic, and cultural practices and conditions, and dependent on context. As yet, the shared subjectivities of activists with similar experiences of stigmatization, trauma, and empowerment have not received sufficient attention in social movement theory.

Building on longitudinal ethnographic research in Los Angeles (2011-2018), I explore what the two concepts contribute in the case of the undocumented youth movement. The empirical section on the construction and deconstruction of the collective identity of the Dreamer shows that the concept of collective identity sheds light on the processes through which political entrepreneurs and movement leaders construct a collective identity in service of a political purpose.

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However, this section also shows that the Dreamer identity nowadays no longer unites, but rather divides, the movement. It has become a matter of contention among undocumented youth activists, because of the politics of deservingness attached to the Dreamers. Consequently, the concept of collective identity is limited in its ability to help us understand what undocumented youth activists have in common in relation to their shared embodied experiences. The empirical section on subjectivity shows that their shared subjectivity is shaped by the embodied experience of (1) legal power, (2) stigmatizing discourse, and (3) empowerment practices. This subjectivity is characterized both by the trauma of being undocumented and by the politicization, healing, and emancipation derived from participating in the movement.

By comparing the construction and deconstruction of the Dreamer identity with the constitution of the shared subjectivity of undocumented youth partaking in the movement, I show that it is their shared subjectivities, derived from shared affective and embodied experiences of marginalization and empowerment, that constitute their strong sense of belonging and political agency, rather than only the collective identity of the Dreamers as created by political entrepreneurs and leaders of the movement.

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND SUBJECTIVITY IN THEORY

The use of the concept of collective identity is widespread in social movement research and identity politics (Flesher Fominaya 2010; Jasper and McGarry 2015; Polletta and Jasper 2001). Some social movement scholars even claim that collective identity "captures the animating spirit of the latter quarter of the twentieth century" (Hunt and Benford 2007: 433).

The concept gained traction in the mid-1980s as a central concept in new social movement theory. This was partly in response to the structural bias in the political process and resource mobilization theories that had become "hegemonic" (McDonald 2002). Its importance grew with the rise of identity politics and as part of a culturalist critique of the rationalistic, macro-level, purpose-oriented, and structuralist explanations found in the classic social movement literature (Polletta and Jasper 2001; Taylor and Whittier 1992). Critics argued that cultural and symbolic interpretations needed to be added to the theoretical repertoire of understanding what makes people organize, protest, and commit to activist groups and projects.

Melucci's processual and constructivist approach to collective identity (1995) has been highly influential. He argues that collective actors should not be regarded as unified and homogenous, for collective identity is a social construct (and not a static thing) that is actively created in a dynamic process. In this "laborious process" (p. 50), nobody is completely in control, as the identity of the collectivity is constantly reshaped through ongoing discussion, conflict, negotiation, and renegotiation between forces both within and outside the collectivity. Many contemporary social movement scholars (Jasper and McGarry 2015) also emphasize that collective identity is an act of imagination, a cultural construction actively created and recreated in a dynamic process of negotiations and in service of a political and/or cultural-symbolic strategy. Collective identity is considered to be a necessary fiction that engages in "operational essentialism" (Jasper and McGarry 2015: 2) by emphasizing certain defining characteristics of the collectivity at the risk of presenting identities as fixed and homogenous.

As such, the concept has received criticism for its inherent risk of essentialism and reification, with many social movement theorists emphasizing that collective identities are in fact multiple: multidimensional, multiscalar, and multilayered (Gamson 1991; Rupp and Taylor 1999; Saunders 2008; Snow 2001). Collective identities can exist on the organizational level (differentiating between particular groups, networks, or organizations in, for example, the women's movement), they can exist on the movement level, (we are all sisters or feminists in an international women's movement), and they can exist on the solidary level (referring to people's social location, including gender, class, ethnicity; for example, we are all women and not men). Saunders (2008) argues that collective identity (in the singular) is only possible at the group level, whereas on the movement level one can only talk of collective identities (in the plural).

Holland, Fox, and Daro (2008) suggest a decentered, dialogical, and place-based approach to collective identity. Drawing on ethnographic cases of First Nations activism in Canada, the global-justice movement network, and women's activism in Nepal, they stress that collective identity develops dialogically in practice both within and outside movements, at multiple sites and places, including "alter-versions" (p. 106) or external identifications developed by bystanders such as media and politicians.

Empirically, the concept of collective identity is used in a variety of ways in recent studies of social movements to help explain the sense of belonging and commitment of activists and the proliferation of collective action. The concept has been central in explaining the success of the antiglobalization movement in Scotland (Barr and Drury 2009), the white power movement in the U.S. (Futrell and Siml 2002) and the peace and justice movement (Benford 2002). Flesher Fominaya (2015) argues that a collective identity can paradoxically be based on the refusal to define a collective identity. In the context of the Indignados/anti-austerity protests in Spain, the paradox of the strong anti-identitarian collective identity is that the defining feature of the collective identity concerns a collective refusal to self-identify with a common characteristic.

Building on these empirical studies of and theoretical reflections on collective identity, I define collective identity as a shared politically constructed and culturally imagined sense of belonging and identification with a collective "we," often defined in opposition to others by drawing boundaries between an "us" and "them," and a corresponding shared sense of agency. It develops dialogically in practice both within and outside movements and can alter in relation to different scales, sites, places, and internal and external practices.

Subjectivity

While social movement scholars do consider the role of political power in shaping and defining the field of political opportunities within which movements operate and collective identities are (re)constructed, they do not sufficiently consider how acts of social positioning and experiences of stigmatization become embodied and internalized in the political subject. This is where the concept of subjectivity comes in.

Like collective identity, the centrality of subjectivity came up in the 1960s and 1970s across the social sciences and humanities. It arose in response to a critique of humanist conceptualizations of the subject as autonomous, rational, free, and unique. Poststructuralist, feminist, and postcolonial theorists emphasized that a subject, and its interior life, is always relational, constructed and mediated through power, culture, and discourse (Benhabib, Butler, Cornell, and Fraser 1995; Foucault 1997; Nandy 1983; Spivak 1988). They argued that the ideal of universal man is in fact the product of gendered (male), racialized (white), and colonized (western) discourses. Taylor (1989) shows that the very notion of the individual's self and a corresponding focus on its interior life, whether imagined as rational, free and unique, or discursively formed, is central to modernity.

Feminist, postcolonial, and phenomenological theories also emphasized the centrality of human experience, embodiment, and affect in their accounts of subjectivity. "Subjectivity, in this account, is the *experience* of the lived multiplicity of positionings," or the "*experience* of subjectification" (Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulos, and Walkerdine 2008: 6, italics added). The affective and bodily turn further highlighted a concern for the nonconscious and the noncognitive, seeking to go beyond discourse. The body is the place where social structures settle and, hence, subjectivity is always embodied subjectivity.

The concept of subjectivity, as I employ it here, refers to the interior life and affective state of the political subject. Using the term emphasizes that power structures are internalized and embodied in our sense of self and in our thoughts, feelings, and sensibilities. Subjectivity has been conceptualized as "the shared inner life of the subject, to the way subjects feel, respond, experience" (Luhrmann 2006: 345) and is often defined as the "actors' thoughts, sentiments, and embodied sensibilities, and, especially, their senses of self and self-world relations" (Holland and Leander 2004: 127). This "ensemble of modes of perception, affect, thought,

desire, fear, and so forth that animate acting subjects" (Ortner 2005: 31) is shaped, organized, and provoked by particular cultural and social formations in which subjects are qualitatively positioned as, for example, racialized, classed, gendered, or criminalized subjects. Subjectivities are formed through the embodiment of discursive regimes of power/ knowledge that categorize people as "disabled," "criminal," "illegal," or other negative renderings. They are produced through the internalization of repeated practices and processes of social positioning within everyday discourse, spatial arrangements, media (television, newspapers, films, internet) and scientific and governmental categories. As interactional or discursive acts of positioning always happen in particular historic times and places, subjectivities are also always situational.

However, while subjectivities are formed by structures of power, they also function as the foundation of resistance and agency. They are

> a necessary part of understanding how people (try to) act on the world even as they are acted upon. Agency is not some natural or originary will; it takes shape as specific desires and intentions within a matrix of subjectivity—of (culturally constituted) feelings, thoughts, and meanings" (Ortner 2005: 34).

In many accounts of subjectivity, scholars felt a need to also look at the ways in which people resist, reject, and recast social structures as this contains possibilities for social, cultural, and political transformation and a politics of emancipation. Practice theory in particular, as proposed by sociologists such as Bourdieu and Giddens, sought to bring back the acting subject by stressing the reflexive and partially knowing nature of the subject. Human agents appropriate and innovate meaning and discourses and act in and on the world, even when they are acted upon.

Anthropologist Tanya Luhrmann (2006) argues that the "complex subjectivity" of dominated groups is constituted by the negotiation between competing emotional codes/regimes; "often, these contradictory codes will be the code for correct emotional response to the dominant authority, and the code for correct emotional response to peers" (p. 356). She illustrates her argument with a study on the subjectivities of homeless women in Chicago. The subjectivity that these women share is characterized by the challenge of trying to negotiate two competing sets of emotional demands that are irreconcilable; the code of honor (or code of the street) and the code of middle-class respectability. "If subjectivity is the emotional experience of a political subject, then to articulate the psychological structure of the emotion only gives us more evidence to argue that power is inscribed upon our bodies and that moral judgment is a visceral act" (p. 359).

Other well-known works on the negotiation of competing emotional demands, the harsh reality of subjective experiences, and the internalization of subjugation include Nandy's famous work (1983) on the loss and recovery of Indian selves under colonialism and Du Bois's work (1903) on "double consciousness." Du Bois describes the internal conflict blacks in America experience between seeing themselves through their own unique experience and seeing themselves through white racist stereotypes about blacks, between being both an American and a non-American and between a distinctive African consciousness that privileges the spiritual world and an American white consciousness that privileges the materialist, commercial world.

Empirically, there are countless studies of how subjectivities are shaped by practices of discursive positioning in the field of education, organized religion, peer groups, health care, and the media (Keddie 2003; Laliberte Rudman 2006; Staeheli and Hammett 2010; Strhan 2013). Work on the shaping of subjectivities within social movement research is, however, rare. One recent work on social movements that does explicitly regard subjectivities is Holland, Price, and Westermeyer's (2018) discussion of the environmental, Tea Party, and Rastafarian movements. In their article, they consider processes of political becoming through the perspective of social practice theory, stressing the fact that people are both subjects of culture and structure, as well as users and creators of culture and structure. As such, they make a distinction

between social identities, such as "terrorist" or "young White girl," which they define as the "collectively imagined types of persons who presumably act certain ways and are associated with levels of (dis)respect and (dis)entitlement" (p. 265) and intimate or subjective identities, which they define as "dynamic, self-authored senses of self" (p. 266). According to Holland, Price and Westermeyer:

> These self-authored identities emerge gradually over time from orchestrations of personal experiences, emotional memories, learned discourses, treatment from others, media images, vague affects, and other bits of subjectivity. Reacted to by others and by institutions, and, exposed to a range of cultural resources, persons may form intimate identities that are personalized versions of common social identities or perhaps ones from less familiar figured or cultural worlds (2018: 266).

I argue that Holland, Price, and Westermeyer's focus on the shaping of subjective identities (or subjectivities) within social movements is both rare and much needed in social movement research. Through my ethnographic study of the undocumented youth movement in Los Angeles, I show what a focus on subjectivity adds to the current focus on collective identities in the field of social movement research. My understanding of subjectivity includes both the embodiment of practices of negative discursive positioning, as well as the embodiment of practices of empowerment and agency.

SETTING, CASE, AND METHODS

The argument draws on longitudinal ethnographic research on the undocumented youth movement in the wider Los Angeles area from 2011 to 2018. When I began fieldwork in 2011, the movement—back then often referred to as the Dreamers' or DREAM movement—was alive and well. Its coming of age story started a decade earlier.

In the early 2000s, as part of the push for comprehensive immigration reform legislation, mobilizations for the DREAM Act were initially headed by professional immigrant-rights organizations that gathered and trained DREAM eligible youths to present the bill's human face (Nicholls 2013). They created an institutional framework to come together to strategize and train for their actions and campaigns in organizations on the local, state, and national level. This framework served as the basis for the organizational structure of the movement when undocumented youths decided, after the failure of the 2010 Dream Act in Congress, to become an autonomous movement that functioned independently from their institutional elders.

When I entered the field in 2011, I encountered an undocumented youth-led movement that benefitted from its institutionalized origins. Its organizational structure contained national organizations such as United We Dream, state organizations such as the California Dream Network, and local organizations such as campus groups and Dream Teams. I became a member of Dream Team Los Angeles (DTLA): a volunteer-run, undocumented youth-led organization, located in downtown L.A., with about 100 members of which approximately twenty-five were present at the weekly meetings. Many of DTLA's steering members were also part of United We Dream and the California Dream Network. Through face-to-face conferences and online conference calls, DTLA planned and aligned their national campaigns to the activities of Dream Teams from other cities and regions across the nation. Moreover, while undocumented youth organizations, such as DTLA, organize many real-life meetings and actions, they also strategically use social media in their campaigns, always stressing the importance of strong social media presence and actively providing social media trainings. Consequently, almost everyone actively uses Facebook, Twitter, blogs, and websites to further the undocumented cause.

Through my participation in DTLA, I became acquainted with activists from different Dream Teams in the region. I established a personal connection with about sixty undocumented,

predominantly Latino, youth activists and participated in events, actions, and fundraisers organized by Orange Country Dream Team (OCDT), San Fernando Valley Dream Team (SDVDT) and San Gabriel Valley Dream Team (SGVDT). In those six months, I spent almost every day with them, becoming a part of both their activist and personal lives. The empirical data yielded by this fieldwork consists of ten in-depth life-history interviews of more than four hours each, many informal conversations, digital and hardcopy documents, and participant observations at 82 different events. These events include: weekly Dream Team meetings; (social) media- and talking-points trainings; protests, rallies, and press conferences; high school presentations, panel discussions, and fundraisers; retreats, candle-light vigils, and therapeutic events; and informal events, such as dancing events, birthdays, and wedding celebrations.

Because I was a documented, white, European (Dutch/English/Italian) woman in a predominantly undocumented, brown, American-Latino environment, it was very important to establish rapport and openly discuss issues of power, privilege, and positionality. To gain and honor their trust and respect, and "give back" to the community I had become a part of, I actively participated in actions, engaged in Paulo Freire's inspired "theater of the oppressed" (popular education) performances at protests, gave a presentation of my research findings, and codirected the documentary film *Undocumented and Unafraid in Los Angeles.* While there were many power differentials to overcome for us to establish an intimate and trustworthy relationship, there were also similarities, such as age, academic background, and political standing, that worked in our favor. At that time, many of us were in our twenties, had or were about to graduate with a degree in the social sciences, and were committed to activist work.

One of the ways in which I was able to be fully immersed in and become part of the movement was by being a peacekeeper and chant-leader in a civil disobedience action at the Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE) headquarters in downtown Los Angeles (October 11, 2011). In this civil disobedience action, which required many preparatory meetings and trainings, we occupied the central lobby of the ICE headquarters, while five undocumented youths did a sit-in at the chief prosecutor's office on the sixth floor. This was followed by similar actions in other U.S. cities and was part of a national campaign demanding President Obama use his executive power to grant DREAM eligible youth protection against detention and deportation. This administrative relief campaign was so successful that it led to one of my respondents, together with other DREAM eligible youths, to meet with Cecilia Muñoz, Obama's chief advisor on immigration. Eight months later, on June 15, 2012, the Obama administration established the new policy Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), a program that grants undocumented persons who entered the country "illegally" when they were minors temporary protection against detention and deportation and the possibility to work, travel, study, and drive legally for a renewable period of two years.

Back in Europe, I kept in touch and continued to follow the movement from a distance, noticing in social media postings a general move away from the focus on organizing for DREAM eligible youths towards a focus on either their personal lives or towards fighting for all undocumented immigrants, as illustrated by the #Not1More (deportation) campaign. However, it was when President Trump rescinded DACA on September 5, 2017 that I was really puzzled by what I witnessed online. While I expected my undocumented Facebook friends to blast the internet with pro-DACA, pro-Dreamer statements and active mobilizing efforts, many were highly critical of the Dreamer narrative or remained relatively quiet on the topic of DACA. What followed as a result of this initial observation was a thorough discourse analysis of written and audiovisual postings of undocumented youths on Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, blogs, and websites. From this, it became even more apparent that the movement had changed in several ways since my fieldwork and the installment of DACA. Not only had some people transitioned out of the movement, but the movement had also explicitly become more intersectional and inclusive and more critical of Dreamers.

Because of these changes, I decided that I needed to go back to conduct more fieldwork. I went back to Los Angeles for six weeks in February 2018 with the following questions: What

happened to the movement when DACA was installed, and what happened when DACA was rescinded? Is there still a movement to speak of? How has DACA affected the collective identity of the Dreamers and the subjectivities of undocumented youth activists? Has the assimilationist concept of the "deserving" Dreamer been abandoned, and if so, why? One could argue that the conservative political climate in Trumpian America still required this type of strategic essentialism.

The empirical data from 2018 consists of twenty-six in-depth semistructured interviews, many informal conversations and participant observations at five different events, ranging from a public protest against the rescinding of DACA to a "Coming out of the Shadows" event in which undocumented students shared their stories. From the twenty-six interviews, sixteen were with undocumented youth activists that I knew from 2011, seven of which I had already interviewed in 2011 and 2012. The remaining ten interviews were with younger undocumented activists that were new to me. Activists from the older generation were now in their late twenties and early- to mid-thirties, while those from the younger generation were in their late teens and early twenties.

From my fieldwork in 2018, it became clear that the movement had both changed while remaining largely intact. After DACA, many of the older generation, now able to work legally, had either moved out of organizing all together and into "regular" jobs or had transitioned into paid positions in the undocumented youth, the larger immigrant rights, and/or other social movements, such as antigentrification, LGBTQ, or Black Lives Matter. Many had become critical of the Dreamer narrative they once identified with and mobilized for. They had come to realize that their undocumented parents and community had paid the price for DACA, as it came at the cost of more detention and deportation. Many Dream Teams had changed their name to Immigrant Justice Coalitions, focusing on mobilizing for all 11 million undocumented people in the U.S. Moreover, as the younger generations of undocumented youths grew up with DACA and had experienced less of a need to mobilize for their own rights, they were not as politicized and active in organizing as their older peers. Therefore, the undocumented youth movement was a lot smaller and less active then seven years earlier.

However, when DACA was rescinded by President Trump, the movement became re-energized and reactivated. A new generation of undocumented youths, headed and instructed by some of the older generation of undocumented youth, or "original or OG dreamers" as they like to call themselves, was using the same mobilization strategies and tested methods, organizing civil disobedience actions, "Coming out of the Shadows" events, and training youths to share their stories. Moreover, the organizational structure was still intact, with United We Dream and California Dream Network active on the national and state level and Dream Teams or Immigrant Youth Justice groups active on the local level.

The argument about collective identity and subjectivity that I will now empirically illustrate is based on six months of intensive ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2011-2012, a discourse analysis of digital documents posted by undocumented youths in 2017, and six weeks of ethnographic research conducted in 2018. I used different methods to record the material: (1) handwritten field notes, jotted down in my journal during events and interviews; (2) observational reports in which I elaborately described the events and interviews and incorporated my field notes, written and saved as digital files immediately after the events; and (3) audiovisual recordings of the events and interviews that were later digitally transcribed. I coded and analyzed the material using a qualitative data analysis program. The methods of ethnography and discourse analysis have allowed me to study the everyday microprocesses and discursive practices through which "individuals draw on different cultural resources and structures and recast and transform available and organized social positions to shape their subjectivities" (Holland and Leander 2005: 131). Ethnography can thus offer "a robust picture of social positioning and its importance in constructing and producing historically specific persons as complicated social, cultural, and psychological beings" (p. 137).

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND SUBJECTIVITY IN PRACTICE

The seed for the development of the collective identity of the Dreamers was planted during the construction of the Dreamer master frame (Nicholls 2013). Professional immigrant rights organizations started mobilizing around undocumented youths and made them into the "poster children" of the immigrant rights movement, because they appealed more to the general public than their undocumented parents. Because of a hostile and stigmatizing political climate, they found it necessary to emphasize the "deservingness" of undocumented youth and cleanse them from polluting stigmas associated with undocumented immigrants. The Dreamer narrative thus rests on three central tropes that implicitly draw boundaries between "deserving" and "non-deserving" undocumented immigrants. First, Dreamers are not to blame for their "illegality" because they came to the country "not by fault of their own," as they were too young to cross the border out of their own volition. Second, Dreamers contribute to society, excel in school and are the "best and the brightest of their generation." Third, Dreamers are "assimilated and patriotic Americans" who speak English perfectly and enjoy typical American things like playing or watching baseball and American football.

The success of this strategy depended on the training, disciplining. and identity work done in the backstage spaces of the movement (Fiorito and Nicholls 2016). Professional rights organizations, later followed by undocumented youth leaders, recruited and trained undocumented youths from campuses across the country to present themselves consistently, coherently, and exclusively as Dreamers in the public sphere. Individual undocumented youths thus participated in countless media and talking-points trainings, role-playing games, and strategy sessions, in which they repeatedly rehearsed and performed the exemplary story of the Dreamer. This Dreamer narrative was strengthened by shared symbolic resources such as the cap and gown (a symbol of high school graduation) and protest signs stating slogans such as "we are not criminals, we are dreamers" and "we are the future of America." In the first decade of the movement's existence, this image of the Dreamer as the overachieving and assimilated undocumented American youth was presented in every political arena that the Dreamers found themselves. But the real success of the Dreamer strategy depended on undocumented youths actually emotionally feeling and personally identifying as Dreamers (Fiorito and Nicholls 2016).

Almost all of the undocumented youth activists that I studied in 2011-2012 then presented and identified themselves as Dreamers. Oftentimes, in our personal conversations or interviews, they would reiterate elements of the Dreamer trope, stressing the importance of their education, hard work, lack of criminal convictions, and social mobility. The collective identity of the Dreamer was well established. At a rally and advocacy event aimed at convincing California Governor Jerry Brown to sign a bill (AB131) allowing undocumented youth to pay in-state tuition, most of the undocumented youths dressed in a colored cap and gown and identified themselves as Dreamers, stressing their educational accomplishments and rejecting their ties to other countries. This event was strategically called a Dream mock graduation event and entailed different Dreamers, such as Maria,[1] sharing their personal story or "testimony."

> My name is Maria and I'm undocumented and unafraid. I am a psych major and I'm in my last year. I will be transferring next year. I came here when I was one year old. I don't remember much about Mexico. I remember visiting USC for the first time and seeing the USC baseball team and really wanting to go there. I remember that I wanted to be like all the other kids at elementary school. My parents told me from the start that I was undocumented, but I didn't really know what it meant. I want to go back to USC to realize my dream (recorded by author, September 28, 2011).

The political success of their campaign and messaging strategies resulted in the Dreamer becoming a powerful symbolic force and political reality in US politics. Nowadays, the term Dreamer is often used in institutionalized politics and mainstream media; it is mentioned at Congressional meetings, in newspapers articles, and even at the Oscars awards ceremony.

However, many undocumented youths now no longer identify as Dreamers. In the last five years, many have turned against the Dreamer narrative, as it is experienced as a normative, assimilationist, and exclusionary straightjacket. In one personal interview, an undocumented informant described it as "a very pre-described identity that once you identify as that, there all these checklists of things that you are or aren't." Moreover, many undocumented youths now argue that they do not want to "throw their own parents under the bus" by emphasizing their own "deservingness" at the costs of others. On a podcast on this topic, an undocumented youth reasoned as followed:

> I don't identify with Dreamers and I never have, because I think for me growing up, I was always aware that I cannot move forward if I cannot take my grandmother with me. . . . So, for me, I have never really liked that word. But I shall use it, if you are going to give me a scholarship, I sure will be a Dreamer, I sure will wear a cap and gown (laughs). So yeah, you know, capitalism, sometimes you gotta play.

On social media, undocumented youth negotiate the different terms that are available to them. On September 12, 2017, one undocumented youth posted on Facebook: "Undocumented American is a shittier label than Dreamer. It's like Dreamer on steroids, with a 4x4 truck, and American flags all over it." Furthermore, certain memes that explicitly reject the image of the Dreamer are circulating widely among undocumented youth that previously identified as Dreamers. An example of this is the meme below:

Figure 1. Facebook Posting Shared by Several Undocumented Youths on September 8, 2017

These negotiations are currently still happening within the movement. Many activists from the older generation no longer identify as Dreamers, while some younger activists, who grew up with DACA, do identity as Dreamers. In a personal interview on March 6, 2018, Pablo, an older undocumented youth activist, explains the development of the Dreamer identity:

> I think a lot of the narrative has never been by and for immigrant young people. The narrative hasn't been controlled by immigrant youth. So it's divisive in the sense that Dreamer is tied to a piece of legislation and who qualifies for that. It's usually folks that are going to school, have an education, are young, are exemplary individuals in this country. You think of that 4.0 student, that star athlete, the valedictorian. And what about people who don't fit that narrative and who don't qualify for the federal Dream Act? So when that happens, you have the divide between who's worthy and who's not worthy, who's deserving and who's not deserving, who's a cri-

> minal and who's not a criminal. But now, immigrant young people are saying: I am a Dreamer, I am not a Dreamer. And I think it is good, healthy debate to have in our communities and to think through. Because the narrative that we use also shapes policy. So, we need to be conscious of that.

While Pablo, in 2018, stresses that the Dreamer narrative was never controlled by immigrant youth, in 2011, he did actually identify as a Dreamer and explicitly mobilize for Dreamers. Moreover, he now works as the director of a large nonprofit organization with the term Dreamer in the title. However, among the older generation it has become so unpopular, or politically incorrect, to identify as a Dreamer that people like Pablo completely deny ever having felt themselves to be Dreamers.

Pablo's words serve as a good illustration of how collective identities are constructed in dynamic processes of negotiation among different actors. The Dreamer narrative was once constructed by professional immigrant rights organizations. It was then used and embraced by undocumented youths who actually started identifying as Dreamers and, as such, felt a sense of belonging to a collectivity that differed from their undocumented parents, thereby transforming the narrative into a collective identity. Nevertheless, it was then purposefully deconstructed by some of those same undocumented youths because of its inherent divisiveness. In our interview on February 24, 2018, older undocumented youth activist Mayra describes how her feelings towards her Dreamer identity changed:

> Because I felt like they, the younger folks, were just replicating the same thing again. And I felt, actually grossed out (laughs). I felt sick to my stomach. It was the same ideology of like: we are students, we were brought here at no fault of our own and placing the blame on someone else. I was just really disgusted, because I felt like; have we not learned anything? At some point, I just felt I definitely don't identify as a Dreamer and that's a term that I did used to identify with. And at some point, I felt that I was, 'cause I was a student, right, because I didn't have a criminal background, I distanced myself from the larger immigrant population, because I felt like I was different. And I don't feel that way at all. Sadly, it took me being detained to realize that. So yeah, I don't identify as a Dreamer. I'm against folks feeling like the good-bad immigrant. I don't long to be an American and I think at some point I did.

While in the past, she identified as a Dreamer, longed to be American, and felt different and distanced from the larger immigrant population because she was a student in higher education and had no criminal background, she is now "disgusted" by the "good-bad immigrant" differentiation and no longer identifies as a Dreamer.

However, as collective identities are shaped in a dialogical process by people both inside and outside the movement, the alter-version of the collective identity, or external identification of undocumented youths, still centers on the main tropes of the Dreamer narrative. Thus, although undocumented youths like Mayra and Pablo are actively renegotiating and deconstructing the collective identity of the Dreamer, its construction and politicization was such a political success that undocumented or "DACAmented" youths in the U.S. are still publicly referred to as Dreamers. Moreover, at some places and sites, youths and organizations do identify as Dreamers, while at others they do not.

The development of the collective identity of the Dreamer thus shows how collective identities are shaped by continuous processes of renegotiation between many actors. When considering the Dreamers with a multiscalar, decentered, dialogical, and place-based approach, it becomes clear that the Dreamer identity no longer works as a sense of self intimately embraced by all movement participants, while sometimes it does still work on the organizational or solidary level:

> We have two campus organizations in high schools and their club names are like North Davista Dreamers, Ramona Dreamers. And in college clubs too, 'cause I know Chavy Dreamers at the community college level. There are also centers called Dream Resource Center. Just like people that are critical of the term Dreamers, there are also people that are open to it. I think, even

> though you can call yourself a Dreamer, and I'm speaking out of my personal opinion, it's important if you identify as a Dreamer, I'm okay with that as long as your messaging can be inclusive and it can educate others. Cause, as we learned in the past from 2011, 2012, it's like that narrative hurt other people, making it a reason to have people in detention centers (personal interview with Dani, March 2, 2018).

While there are some organizations that still include the term Dreamer in their organizational name, there are also many organizations that have changed their name. For example, Orange Country Dream Team is now called Orange County Immigrant Youth United. One could even say that now different collective identities (in the plural) are emerging within the undocumented youth movement, between those who do and those who do not identify as Dreamers. Paradoxically, those who explicitly do not want to be defined as Dreamers are united in their refusal to define themselves collectively as overachieving, assimilated, undocumented youths, at the costs of others. They regard undocumented youths who do still identify as Dreamers as implicitly drawing boundaries between "us" (deserving) and "them" (undeserving) undocumented immigrants. As such, those within the movement who do not want to be identified as Dreamers implicitly draw boundaries between "us" undocumented youths who do show concern for the entire undocumented community and "them," imagined as those that criminalize undocumented immigrants, whether they are politicians, anti-immigration activists, or undocumented youths that identify as Dreamers. Consequently, the Dreamer identity now works to divide undocumented youths, rather than unite them. Nevertheless, there are still embodied experiences that unite undocumented youths in their shared subjectivity.

The Undocumented Youth Experience and Subjectivity

This section on the shared experiences and subjectivity of undocumented youths shows how power becomes inscribed in the minds and bodies of undocumented youths, both through the legal and discursive practices of authoritative power structures, as well as through the emancipatory and empowering practices of the movement. First, the embodiment of legal power refers to the internalization of a life in the shadows and the constant threat of detention and deportation. The legal-administrative category and status of "illegality" becomes embodied in an existential anxiety through the experience of everyday life as an undocumented immigrant. Second, the embodiment of stigmatizing discourse refers to the internalization of discourses in which undocumented immigrants are derogatorily positioned, categorized, and labeled. Stigmatizing terms like "illegal aliens" and "criminals" become embodied in experiences of shame, inferiority, and anxiety. Finally, the embodiment of empowerment refers to the internalization of experiences of emancipation and politicization through the alternative and politicized narratives, emotionally intensive rituals, and techniques and practices of healing offered by the movement. These cultural resources enable undocumented youth to reject, resist, recast, and partially overcome the external practices of social positioning and social-structural disadvantages they are confronted with.

The Embodiment of Legal Power

Undocumented youths in the United States currently find themselves in an ambiguous, uncertain, and "in-between" position of "liminal legality" (Menjívar 2006). Through the rescinding of DACA by the Trump administration, undocumented youths once again find themselves in a position of legal uncertainty and "semi-illegality." While some of them are now still able to enjoy the benefits of DACA until their permit expires, all of them face a possible return to "illegality" and a corresponding lack of citizenship rights:

> Goodbye DACA. You changed my life. I was a young person who didn't see a future, who lived in constant fear and anxiety, who thought more than once that life wasn't worth living. All that was lifted from me when DACA was announced. These past four years have made me feel like a normal American, allowing me to achieve milestones that seem mundane to most (like getting

> a driver's license and getting a job and going to school and going on my first plane). Though this amazing program that has benefitted so many has been killed, DACAmented youth have tasted the privileges of semi-legal status and we'll fight even harder than we did half a decade ago for our place in the American Dream. Not just for "exceptional young people", but for all undocumented immigrants. To my DACAmented friends and allies: see you on the (nonviolent) battlefield (Facebook post of Hector, September 5, 2017).

As this Facebook posting indicates, this uncertain legal position has profound effects on the subjectivities of undocumented youths. Everyday life as an undocumented immigrant is a life of existential anxiety. This becomes especially clear through the way that Hector contrasts his life before DACA with his life after DACA. For Hector, gaining some sort of citizenship rights, albeit temporary, meant that life became worth living and that his existential anxiety was "lifted." Through his change in legal status, his subjective perspective on life changed and he was able to finally envision a worthwhile future. Interestingly, Hector's posting also reflects some of the deliberations around the Dreamer identity and general changes in the undocumented youth movement. On the one hand, by expressing that he felt "like a normal American" and noncritically referring to "our place in the American Dream," he is implicitly referring to classic Dreamer tropes. On the other hand, by emphasizing that the fight is "not just for 'exceptional young people,'" but for all undocumented immigrants, his words also reflect the movement's move towards inclusivity. All undocumented people are united in the existential anxiety and trauma they experience because of the constant threat of detention and deportation.

In my interview with Jessica in 2018, she also expresses the fear that the uncertainty around DACA creates: "This back and forth like, DACA is being taken away but no, there are some renewals, it creates an anxiety and a lot of fear, like, is it gonna be gone, when is the deadline?" Other studies also clearly indicate that DACA positively affects the mental health of undocumented youths in the US (Venkataramani, Shah, O'Brien, Kawachi, and Tsai 2017).

> I think when DACA was first introduced, I benefitted greatly, given that was during the time I was placed in deportation proceedings and I think, because of DACA, my case was granted prosecutorial discretion and administratively closed. I was also able to work. I was able to leave really toxic work environments, not being paid a fair wage and just being tied down. It definitely improved my self-esteem. I felt protected. I felt that I could say things now, because I had protection. Being able to apply for jobs, having a social security number, that opened so many doors. But I think that as soon as Donald Trump was running for office, I knew that that was something that was going to be placed at jeopardy. I'd be lying if I said that I wasn't sad. I think I was really sad and really worried. That messes with you mentally. Immigration caused a lot of harm to my mental wellness, so I made a commitment to myself that I would not let it get that far. And, yeah, I was kinda mad at myself, because last year, it was just a rough year and I couldn't help but feel down and depressed and have a lot of panic attacks (personal interview with Betty, February 26, 2018).

In my personal conversations with undocumented youths in 2011, the topic of fear always came up. During a lunch meeting, undocumented youth Gloria mentioned that she was very happy that she did not know that she was undocumented until she turned 16. She was finally told by her parents when she wanted to apply for financial aid and needed a social security number. When asked if she preferred to have known earlier, she replied: "No, I'm glad I didn't know, to be honest. I know a lot of people that grew up with that fear, and that confusion right, of being deported and separated from your family and just seeing immigration on the news all the time. Like to have to look at that and think: okay that could happen to me, as a child or as a teenager, when you already have so many issues going on."

Other undocumented parents opted for a different strategy and decided not only to inform their children, but also to prepare their children for possible confrontation with the immigration authorities. As such, they often instilled into their children a profound fear of the authorities. In my interview with undocumented youth Eduardo in 2011, he said about this: "My parents emphasized, like, this formal and informal fear of authorities, fear of immigration authority, fear

of the system and like you shouldn't say you're undocumented, that you don't have papers. If anybody asks, you just lie, make something up."

Legal power shapes the subjectivities of undocumented immigrants both through the constant threat of detention and deportation, as well as through many everyday obstacles. Before DACA, the undocumented youths studied in 2011 to 2012 all mentioned the devastating and profound effects of not being able to partake in everyday activities "that seem mundane to most (like getting a driver's license and getting a job and going to school and going on my first plane)." In our interview in 2012, Mariella expressed how she is affected by her everyday life as an undocumented youth, especially because of the contrast with her documented peers:

> But not travelling abroad was the biggest one definitely. For me, college was travelling abroad too, right. Just because that's all in the movies and that's usually one of the highlights of somebody's college experience. I was just devastated when I found out that was one of the stipulations of being undocumented. And when I found out I couldn't go back to Peru to see my grandmothers ever, that was really tough. And me not being able to drive. Just not being able to feel independent was the really tough one when I was turning eighteen and when everybody else is doing it and everybody else is just showing you how independent they are and you know you can't.

Thus, the legal power of the citizenship regime becomes embodied and internalized in the thoughts and feelings of undocumented youth. Being undocumented translates into everyday experiences of disadvantage and into thoughts of worries and feelings of fear and despair. Hence, experiences of depression, fear, and everyday suffering are very common among undocumented immigrants. These concrete examples of how power structures become embodied and internalized in the interior lives and affective states of undocumented youth can only be captured by looking through the lens of subjectivity. They tend not to be captured by current conceptualizations of collective identity in social movement theory.

The Embodiment of Stigmatizing Discourse

> [H]earing people talking about the whole immigration issue, and you know using all these negative words: "illegal aliens; they should go back, they are stupid." And all that negative crazy talk. You know, not being able to defend ourselves, because if we say anything, they are gonna say: "Why do you care? Are you illegal?" (personal interview with Alejandro, January 9, 2012)

As Alejandro's quote illustrates, there is great stigma and shame attached to being undocumented. In the public debate and in everyday discourse, undocumented people are offensively positioned as criminals ("illegals") and as unfamiliar, disturbing, and dehumanized "others" ("aliens"). Encountering these everyday forms of discrimination and stigmatization is often experienced by undocumented youths as humiliating, degrading, and painful. In my interview with Grace in 2012, she discusses her experience of being labelled "illegal" in an everyday encounter with someone she did not know:

> I remember one of the girls was like, "Why don't you have an ID?" I didn't even know her, 'cause she was like a friend of my friend. And I was like, "Oh well," cause you're trying to think of something quick, "Oh well, I'm not from here." And she was like, "What do you mean, are you an illegal?" It was like so degrading. You're outside, trying to go out with your friends for a fun time and then for someone who doesn't even know you to label you like that, it was horrible.

While undocumented youth actively try to counter these stigmatizing experiences, they are nevertheless affected by them emotionally and psychologically. In the CultureStrike video "Self-caring while undocumented,"[2] made by a group of undocumented artists and media makers, the main protagonist in the video "tries various methods of relaxation as he grapples with stress and anxiety." To relax, he tries taking a bath, cooking a meal, catching up on the latest events through social media, and watching a movie. When all these things fail to relax him, he decides

to take a nap. The video portrays an image of him with his thumb in his mouth, sleeping. Behind him, on-screen texts come up: "DACA! BORDER. DREAM ACT. SECURITY. AGREEMENT." Then, President Trump's voice echoes in the background, shouting, "When Mexico sends its people, they're bringing drugs. They're rapists." The protagonist wakes up from his nightmare, looking scared and hurt. What these undocumented media makers are trying to show is that stigmatizing, criminalizing, and dehumanizing language actually becomes embodied in experiences of shame, inferiority, and anxiety.

> There were always tensions that I felt and took personally, like: "you're different from us, because you didn't grow up here, you're from a different country, you look different". It was vocalized, it was already visual in terms of like how people interact with me. But I will say that because of how things have changed nationally, now people feel more comfortable in that identity, where it's okay to hate on the other and to say that you are ruining the country (Personal interview with Javier, March 9, 2018).

The Embodiment of Empowerment

Another important lived experience that undocumented youth activists share in relation to their subjectivities concerns the cultural resources and techniques and practices of healing and emancipation that have purposefully been created by and for undocumented youths. These resources, techniques and practices have been applied within the movement as a source of empowerment. When I started studying the undocumented youth movement in 2011 and 2012, I noticed how "self-care and healing practices" were deliberately integrated within organizational spaces to offer undocumented youths the cultural resources and repertoires with which they can combat the stigma, discrimination and assaults on worthiness they encounter in everyday life (Lamont, Moraes Silva, Welburn, Guetzkow, Mizrachi, Herzog, and Reis 2016). To this day, these self-care and healing techniques continue to play a central and integral role in the tactics of the undocumented youth movement and in the shaping of undocumented youth's subjectivities. In this way, their subjectivities are not just shaped by stigmatizing and traumatizing power working from the top-down, but also from emancipating and healing power working from the bottom-up.

The undocumented youth movement organizes many different emotionally intensive rituals to connect to each other, share stories, "cry and unwind together," and heal and practice selfcare. Many youth organizations have a "Self-care and Healing Committee" that organizes retreats and events, such as collectively going to a wellness/spa, hiking, or practicing yoga. During the ethnographic fieldwork in 2011 to 2012, there were countless self-care activities and events organized for activists to relax, socialize, and check-in with each other. There was the "Learning to Relax/Aprendamos a Relajarnos" event, in which youths gave each other massages and everybody ate healthy food; there was the "Sounds of ancient Mexico music night;" and there were many retreats to attend. Even the weekly organizational meetings started with a "self-care and healing exercise" in which grounding and checking-in with themselves and each other was central. People in the movement have described these events and exercises as "healing," "therapy hour," and "truly connecting with each other in a transformative way." Emotionally intensive rituals, such as healing or sharing circles and other therapy-like techniques, thus counter and heal some of the pain and trauma of being undocumented and create a sense of belonging among undocumented youths.

> We had our first retreat and they called it the spider web. So we had a ball of yarn and whoever had the yard, had to share their story, share whatever they wanted to share and just let it out. And, oh my gosh, story after story was just craziness right, the things that these young, beautiful people had gone through, not just like being undocumented, but like crossing the border when you're like five, or being sexually abused or whatever it was. And so that was my first time in like just witnessing so many people crying and I was crying my eyes out. I remember I was next to Patty, we were on the floor, like lying down and we were bawling, like it was crazy. We were like sobbing, we needed to control ourselves because we didn't want to interrupt, but being able

> to see that it's okay, it's more than okay, it's beautiful, like that was life changing. I think that experience allowed me to see that and now I can encourage that in other spaces and tell people like: "hey let's share stories, let's do that together, because that will create a beautiful space here in this world." I think that's just been really key and you know, connected to that is like being okay with depression, recognizing depression, mental health. That's only recently come to light, but even before articulating mental health, we were doing those retreats and we were crying with each other in a positive way (personal interview with Ale February 19, 2012).

These types of emotionally intensive rituals not only serve to heal some of the traumas associated with being undocumented, but also serve to create intersubjective emotional convergence among the activists that participate (Fiorito and Nicholls 2016), thereby building the movement's stamina to move forward. As Claudia says in our interview, the movement actively aims to respond with power and not panic: "I found my colleagues to be incredibly resilient. We always try to ground ourselves and talk about how we were feeling, like processing with each other. And I think as an organization, whenever there is bad news, we always have that mantra: how do we respond with power and not panic. And we continue to do that each time."

Another component of the movement's empowerment work is teaching youths to become "undocumented and unafraid." By offering practical and emotional support (such as material and financial resources and trainings in skills development, storytelling, and engaging in civil disobedience actions), undocumented youth start feeling stronger, safer, and bolder in publicly fighting for rights and recognition as undocumented immigrants.

> So we are very committed to empowering undocumented youth by teaching them skills and information and resources that they can learn themselves and take back to their own families and communities and become their own advocates. Because that's the best way to keep this movement and fight moving forward. One way we do that is through our undocumented mentorship academy program. We host, periodically through the year, a program for about ten youth from different areas from the region we work with. Those ten youth come together for workshops and trainings that specifically focus on skills and resources. They receive a scholarship that they can apply towards their education or towards any financial need that they have. Today we are going to be focusing on sharing a presentation of a history of the immigrant youth movement and how it started here in the region and how it is moving forward and what changes it has been able to accomplish. And how they come into that story now as a new generation of undocumented youth. And also we gave workshops on how they can share their story in a way that it is not tokenized, but they feel empowered and not being portrayed as something that they do not want to be portrayed as in media or like a representative using their story. Like for them to own their story (personal interview with Alice, March 3, 2018).

While these trainings work to empower, uplift, and strengthen the confidence of undocumented youths, many organizations also function as a support and resources network that enhances the sense of safety and security among undocumented youths and makes them more resilient.

> I feel that our undocumented experience has dominated so much of our lives, it has been really difficult, but I feel like that it has also been rewarding in the sense that we were able to create a support group and because of that there have been so many positive changes for all of us. So like when they suddenly arrested Lizet, like we literally got the call at two in the morning, we were all there. We were all, from our personal money, willing to bail the person out. We were trying to find legal resources. There are so many scenarios I can think of where we have been able to support each other. I think that's also one of the reasons why the coalition has been so important. We have created a network of sharing information and resources. So we have unions, nonprofits, grassroots organizations, legal service providers. So when we do get a case, we know lawyers. So somebody will take on the case, somebody will help with social media, somebody will fundraise money for the family. So everyone comes together and like supports the person (personal interview with Julio, March 12, 2018).

For many undocumented youths, witnessing and engaging in civil disobedience actions is experienced as very empowering and uplifting, as it teaches them to be less afraid of authorities. In my interview with Muriel in 2018, she speaks about how transformative it is for undocumented teens to witness a civil disobedience action, "We were there to support a civil disobedience that happened at one of the Senate buildings. So that was very empowering for our youths to witness. It was in the capital, where they have a lot of enforcement inside. So we had to prepare them and let them know: 'If they do the warning, we're gonna step out.' So obviously calming down those nerves and letting them know what's gonna happen."

A final source of empowerment that the movement offers concerns alternative politicized narratives that reframe stigmatizing discourses and inspire and empower undocumented youths to engage in contemporary debates on the criminalization of undocumented immigrants. Many older undocumented youths point to the devastating effects of capitalism and U.S. foreign policy in explaining and understanding their undocumented status. Says Nadia, "Yeah, I think what has helped me is being also really critical of U.S. foreign policy and the way that it affects our home countries. So I think, now, we are also raising, like, this foreign policy framework that has created mass migration. Like NAFTA, but also recently, global warming has such a great impact on people's ability to live in their homelands, given rising temperatures, lack of access to food, water etcetera, war, right." Others stress the role of racism, ethnic profiling, and the relationship between the immigration system and the criminal justice system to help explain their marginalized and stigmatized position as undocumented immigrants. The following abstract from a blogpost written by undocumented youth activists illustrates the use of these types of narratives within the movement.

> This country has long depended on our exploitation. It is time to stop persuading AmeriKKKa that we are good enough. We must DEMAND respect and dignity NOT prove that we deserve it. We will gain our freedom by building people power. We are our own saviors. We will gain our freedom by any means necessary. We know it has been difficult to get involved. The first step is to believe you deserve more. We come from a long lineage of resistance. Our families defied the empire! Our relatives crossed borders and overstayed visas because they, too, believed they deserved more.[3]

In sum, there are multiple (cultural) resources that the movement offers to empower undocumented youths in positive and durable ways. First, the movement provides emotionally intensive rituals, such as healing circles, self-care practices, and other therapy-like techniques that offer consolation and support to counter and heal some of the pain and trauma of being undocumented. Second, the movement helps undocumented youths in becoming "undocumented and unafraid." By offering practical and emotional support, material and financial resources, trainings in skills development and storytelling, and the encouragement and know-how of how to engage in civil disobedience actions or come out of the shadows as undocumented and unafraid, the movement teaches undocumented activists to be less fearful of authorities and offers them counter experiences of confidence and strength, thereby building social resilience and transforming shame into pride. Third, the movement aids undocumented youth in processes of politicization, or political becoming. By offering undocumented activists alternative and empowering politicized discourses, on for example the relationship between capitalism, the immigration system, and the criminal justice system, the movement provides these youths with narratives that reframe and recast stigmatizing discourses, thus empowering and equipping them to engage in contemporary debates on these issues.

These different sources of empowerment (emotionally intensive rituals, becoming undocumented and unafraid, and alternative politicized discourses/frames) become embodied in the shared subjectivities of undocumented youth activists and provide them with the strength, courage, resilience, and support necessary for them to experience political agency as they fight for rights and recognition.

However, these sources of empowerment also mean that undocumented youth activists need to negotiate competing and contradictory emotional demands and codes. On the one hand,

they have to deal with the emotional demand placed on them by dominant institutions, such as mainstream media, politicians, and conservative Americans. The code for the correct emotional response to the dominant authority tells them to emphasize their "deservingness" by focusing on how they have assimilated into mainstream American society. On the other hand, they have to deal with the emotional demand placed on them by the undocumented youth activists within the movement and the emotional demand placed on them by their parents. While the code for the correct emotional response to their peers tells them to be undocumented and unafraid, engage in civil disobedience actions, and behave like social justice warriors, their parents have taught them to remain in the shadows and not tell anyone about their undocumented status. Pedro says: "So that's another thing about being part of civil disobediences. I know sometimes, even activists from other spaces were like encouraging me to get arrested. And I think that goes back to like being woke, like pressuring you to do things that maybe you're not ready for."

The emotional demand to continue the fight, placed on them by the movement, is thus in conflict with the emotional demand placed on them by their parents (hide yourself from and be afraid of authorities) and the emotional demand of mainstream society (present yourself and embrace the collective identity of the well-behaved and assimilated Dreamer). Navigating these contradictory emotional codes and demands also constitutes the shared complex subjectivity of undocumented youth activists.

CONCLUSION

Based on longitudinal ethnographic research (2011-2018) in Los Angeles, I have explored what the concept of collective identity and the concept of subjectivity contribute in the case of the undocumented youth movement. While the collective identity of the Dreamers has organized undocumented youth from different backgrounds and regions into a recognizable collective actor successfully engaged in political action and reform, the research material on the internal critique of the Dreamer identity shows that it no longer unites, but rather divides undocumented youths within the movement. I have shown that the shared subjectivities of undocumented youths, derived from embodied affective experiences of negative positioning and treatment via legal status and stigma and from internally generated empowerment, constitute the current bases for belonging and action, and not only the collective identity of Dreamers as created and reinforced by political entrepreneurs, outsiders and certain segments of the movement. In this article, I have thus argued for a stronger engagement with the concept of subjectivity in social movement research, as it offers a greater understanding of the profound effects of intersubjective (shared) and embodied experiences of negative positioning, stigmatization, and empowerment.

The lessons that other (social movement) scholars could learn from this case is that looking at the shared subjectivities of activists does not only allow us to become more attuned to how political power shapes the interior lives of stigmatized and marginalized groups, but more importantly, also points towards the profound effects of social movements in offering narratives, cultural resources, support, and techniques of healing that work to intrinsically empower activists to sustain their commitment to engage in contentious politics and to instigate political and cultural reform. If more social movement scholars would look through the lens of subjectivity, they would have a concept capable of analyzing how activists, partaking in the same movement, do not only engage in collective action because of a socially, culturally, and politically imagined and constructed collective identity, but also because of shared embodied experiences of both marginalization and empowerment. Researchers that seek to study the mobilization and empowerment of marginalized groups would thus benefit greatly from studying both collective identity and intersubjective embodied experiences through the perspective of shared subjectivities. The latter is especially important, as it provides a greater understanding of how power works both from the top-down as well as from the bottom-up, causes suffering and trauma, and inspires healing.

I suggest further empirical research and theoretical reflection on whether these insights are generalizable to all social movements. While some might argue that a focus on shared subjectivities is less relevant for research on movements, such as the environmental or peace movement, in which participants do not necessarily share similar experiences of stigmatization and exclusion, I suggest that a focus on the shaping of shared (political) subjectivities through the study of the embodiment of shared affective experiences of empowerment and politicization provides useful insights for all social movement scholars.

NOTES

[1] All names that are presented in this article are pseudonyms.

[2] Link to the Youtube video *Self-Caring While Undocumented*, posted on September 25, 2017 on CultureStrike's Facebook page: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NL_JCTznvD0. Website last accessed on 7 January 2019. Permission to refer to the CultureStrike video in this article was given by CultureStrike.

[3] Link to the text *The Fight to Save DACA Exposes the Sour Side of Complacency Within the Immigrant Rights Movement*, posted on September 12, 2017 on the blog DreamersAdrift: http://dreamersadrift.com/editors-pick/the-fight-to-save-daca-exposes-the-sour-side-of-complacency-within-the-immigrant-rights-movement. This website was last accessed on January 7, 2019. Permission to refer to the blogpost in this article was given by the authors of the blogpost: Nancy Meza, Zacil Pech, and Ilse Escobar—Immigrant Womxn of Color.

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