
CRISIS IN ALABAMA:

Investigating the Devastating Effects of HB 56



AL HENLEY, ALABAMA AFL-CIO PRESIDENT, BRIEFING DELEGATION; COMMUNITY MEMBERS SPEAK TO THE DELEGATION IN PELHAM, ALA.

ON NOV. 16, 2011, A GROUP OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS traveled to Alabama on a fact-finding mission to investigate and document the impact of HB 56, America's harshest new anti-immigrant law.

We met with local labor, civil rights, faith and community leaders and business owners, who painted a stark picture of the real-world effects of the law. We also heard from those most affected by the law—undocumented people and their families.

Each of us was profoundly affected by what we saw and heard. Many of us were aware of the law, and understood generally that it was an attempt by the state of Alabama, like many other states, to do something about the illegal immigration crisis, given the failure of the U.S. Congress to pass comprehensive immigration reform. None of us expected to witness the humanitarian crisis we experienced—a crisis that harkens Alabama back to the bleakest days of the state's racial history. The parallels to Jim Crow were all too real, and the prejudice we heard about felt all too familiar.

This report captures our experience and makes preliminary recommendations for what the labor movement should do in the face of this crisis. A longer report, which will include video taken during our visit, will be presented to the AFL-CIO Executive Council in March 2012.

BACKGROUND

HB 56 is one of a series of anti-immigrant laws that have been adopted in state legislatures around the country over the last few years. The Alabama law is the harshest to date. The law was sponsored by Sen. Scott Beason, who urged his fellow legislators to “empty the clip and do what needs to be done” in discussing the need for this law to combat illegal immigration.¹

On paper, the law is harsh:

- It requires K–12 school officials to question students about their immigration status and that of their parents;
- It prohibits public universities from enrolling undocumented students;
- It allows police to check the immigration status of people they stop and suspect are in the country unlawfully;
- It renders all new contracts between undocumented immigrants and others unenforceable in state court, with the exception of contracts for one night’s lodging, food purchases and medical services;
- It makes it a felony for undocumented immigrants to enter into a “business transaction” with the state of Alabama. The provision also include transactions with subdivisions of the state, such as cities and counties;
- It prohibits residents from transporting or harboring undocumented immigrants;
- It contains strict penalties for the use of false identification, but exempts the use of false identification for the purchase of alcoholic beverages, cigarettes or tobacco products, “[a] periodical, videotape, or other communication medium that contains or depicts nudity; or [a]dmittance to a performance, live or film, that prohibits the attendance of the person based on age”; and
- It prohibits the employment of undocumented workers but exempts domestic workers and independent contractors.

In practice, as we document below, the law has unleashed a human tragedy, even though some of the most egregious provisions have been enjoined as a result of a lawsuit by the Southern Poverty Law Center, ACLU and others.² As Mary Bauer, legal director of the Southern Poverty Law Center, testified at an ad hoc hearing on HB 56 a few days after our delegation’s visit, “[u]nder the provisions of this law that are currently in effect, undocumented persons are unable to interact with the government—in any way and for any purpose. It has turned a significant class of people, effectively, into legal nonpersons, subjecting them to a kind of legal exile. It has destroyed lives, ripped apart families, devastated communities and left our economy in shatters.”³

HB 56 and its sister laws purportedly were enacted to address the “immigration crisis,” but a closer look reveals they are part of a much broader agenda to deny people fundamental rights. The sponsor of the Alabama law, Sen. Scott Beason, was ousted as chairman of the powerful Senate Rules Committee on Nov. 15. It was reported that Republicans were upset because he called black casino customers “aborigines” during an FBI investigation in the ongoing bribery-for-bingo scandal. U.S. District Judge Myron Thompson later said Beason and former state Rep. Benjamin Lewis (R-Dothan) lacked credibility as prosecution witnesses in the trial “for two reasons. First, their motive for cooperating with FBI investigators was not to clean up corruption but to increase Republican political fortunes by reducing African American voter turnout. Second, they lack credibility because the record establishes their purposeful, racist intent.”⁴

Beason is not alone. HB 56, Arizona’s SB 1070 and all other such laws trace their origin to Kris Kobach, the current Kansas secretary of state—a staunch conservative and “birther”⁵ who remains affiliated with the Immigration Reform Law Institute (IRLI) and who has worked closely with the corporate-funded American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). IRLI is the legal arm of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), a group listed as a nativist hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. ALEC is the source of model bills that take away the collective bargaining rights of public employees, cripple unions, privatize public services, loosen regulations and lower taxes on corporations and inspired the spate of recently adopted voter ID laws.

Kobach is particularly known for voter suppression efforts, especially in promoting the practice of “caging”: In 2007, he sent an e-mail boasting, “[T]o date, the Kansas GOP has identified and caged more voters in the last 11 months than the previous two years!”^{6,7}

According to a recent *Rolling Stone* investigation, “no one has done more to stir up fears about the manufactured threat of voter fraud than Kansas Secretary of State Kris Kobach. ... This year, Kobach successfully fought for a law requiring every Kansan to show proof of citizenship in order to vote—even though the state prosecuted only one case of voter fraud in the past five years. The new restriction fused anti-immigrant hysteria with voter-fraud



paranoia.”⁸ It is not surprising that HB 56 requires that all voters prove U.S. citizenship at the time of registration. Those kinds of restrictions block millions of Americans from voting, and have a particularly negative impact on people of color.⁹

DELEGATION VISITS COMMUNITY CENTER TO HEAR TESTIMONIES IN PELHAM, ALA.

Section 29 of HB 56 has received little attention. Among other things, it provides:

- a. The Secretary of State shall create a process for the county election officer to check to indicate whether an applicant has provided with the application the information necessary to assess the eligibility of the applicant, including the applicant's United States citizenship...
- b. The county election officer or Secretary of State's office shall accept any completed application for registration, ***but an applicant shall not be registered until the applicant has provided satisfactory evidence of United States citizenship***. Satisfactory evidence of United States citizenship shall be provided in person at the time of filing the application for registration or by including, with a mailed registration application, a photocopy of one of the documents listed as evidence of United States citizenship in subsection (k)...
- c. For purposes of this section, proof of voter registration from another state is not satisfactory evidence of United States citizenship.



LABOR DELEGATION AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS.

THE DELEGATION VISIT

The delegation visit opened on Tuesday evening, Nov. 15, 2011, with a briefing by Mary Bauer, legal director of the Southern Poverty Law Center, and the Rev. Angie Wright, pastor of Beloved Community United Church of Christ. Bauer explained that although parts of the law have been enjoined, the breadth of the problems created by the law, directly and indirectly, is enormous. When the law went into effect, the SPLC set up a hot line to field calls about the law. The SPLC received close to 1,000 calls the first weekend and as of mid-November had received close to 4,000 calls. One of the main problems is the so-called "conspiracy" clause in the law, which makes it a felony for anyone to assist an undocumented immigrant in conducting a transaction with a government agency. Bauer explained the law means people now have to show their papers to get water in their homes, and that the undocumented residents can't receive a death certificate (because all business transactions with the state are prohibited.) Children who are U.S. citizens are being denied child support payments if the custodial parent is undocumented. Lawyers are required to report their undocumented clients to the authorities. Even Walmart reportedly has begun enforcing HB 56: Bauer told us of a customer attempting to make a cash purchase at Walmart who was asked for identification.

At an ad hoc hearing on Nov. 21, Mary Bauer shared a “small sample of the kinds of concerns people have raised” through the hot line, including:

- A worker called to say his employer refused to pay him, citing HB 56, and stated the worker had no right to be paid under this law.
- Latino workers on a construction jobsite were threatened by a group of men with guns, who told them to go back to Mexico and threatened to kill them if they were there the following day. They declined to report the crime to law enforcement because of fears of what would happen to them if they did.
- A clerk at a store in Bessemer told a Latino man (lawfully in the United States) from Ohio that he could not make a purchase with his bank card because he did not have an Alabama-state issued identification or driver’s license.
- A victim of domestic violence went to court to obtain a protective order. The clerk told her she would be reported to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) if she proceeded.
- A judge advised a lawyer that the lawyer had an obligation to report her own client to ICE as undocumented. The same judge said he might have to report to ICE any person who asks for an interpreter because such a request would be a red flag.
- A local bar association has advised its lawyers that if they are asked to report information about their undocumented clients to law enforcement, the requirements of HB 56 will override the legal obligation to preserve a client’s confidences.
- In Allgood, the water authority posted a sign indicating that water customers would have to produce identification documents proving immigration status to maintain water service.
- In Northport, the water authority provided notices to Latino customers that their services would be shut off if they didn’t provide proof of immigration status immediately.
- In Madison County and Decatur, the public utilities have announced they will not provide water, gas or sewage service to people who cannot prove their status.
- Alabama Power told a family it would not be able to have the electricity reconnected without providing proof of immigration status. That family left the state.
- Numerous probate offices, including the Montgomery Probate Office and the Houston County Probate Office, have published notices indicating they will not provide any services to anyone without proof of immigration status. As a result, many immigrants cannot request birth or death certificates.

- An apartment complex manager in Hoover told residents they would not be able to renew their leases without proof of immigration status.
- A mother spoke to the local office of the Department of Human Resources about the food stamp eligibility of her children, who are U.S. citizens. The social worker told the mother she would turn the mother in to the federal government for deportation. The family went into hiding.
- A husband called us to report that his wife, nine months pregnant, was too afraid to go to a hospital in Alabama to give birth and he was trying to decide whether to have her give birth at home or somehow try to get to Florida.
- A Latino man was arrested and detained. While in jail, he was told he could not use the telephone to call his attorney because the use of the phone would be a “business transaction” prohibited by HB 56.

A recurring theme throughout our visit was the devastating impact the law is having on families, which are being separated and living in fear. The Rev. Wright told us that as families are broken up by authorities, children are being placed in the homes of middle-class white families and developing attachments to their new families, making it even more difficult for the children to adjust once they reunite with their natural parents. By the end of the day, we had heard numerous painful stories of families HB 56 has pulled apart.

Delegation Welcome and Briefing

The following morning, Al Henley, president of the Alabama AFL-CIO, gave us a raw and honest assessment of the situation. As Elon James White, a journalist traveling with the delegation tweeted, “Al Henley was about as honest as anyone can be. You can’t write off the South and then be surprised when they do crap like HB 56.” Henley said the South has been ignored by the labor movement for decades. If we want labor unions in the South to be powerful and be able to defeat “mean-spirited and hateful” laws, he said, local labor movements in the South need help. He implored us to use the battle over HB 56 as an opportunity for building solidarity and a new era.

We were then briefed by the Alabama Coalition for Immigrant Justice (ACIJ), including Zayne Smith of Alabama Appleseed; Scott Douglas of Greater Birmingham Ministries; Angie Wright, pastor of Beloved Community United Church of Christ; and Elizabeth Brezavich of the ACLU. The coalition’s lack of infrastructure and resources became clear early on and was a recurring theme throughout our visit. The coalition is made up of service providers and is not experienced in organizing or mobilizing people. Its plan is to repeal the law and build a strong immigrant and community coalition.

Douglas echoed Henley’s sentiments about the need for an “intervention” in the South, in the form of organizing and building labor-community partnerships. He said such partnerships have not existed since the anti-apartheid movement of the 1990s. “Think of your own self-interests,” he told us. “Stop Alabama before it spreads.”

Testimonies

A few hours later, we heard from people directly impacted by the law. These testimonies were deeply inspirational. The climate of fear the law has created was palpable. Some people spoke anonymously, while others shared their names and their histories. We heard many stories of courage and resistance.

“My name is Pedro,” said one young man who spoke to the delegation. “I don’t speak English very well because I’ve spent my time working. I work for a cleaning company. Ever since the law, my employer has used derogatory language and threatened not to pay me. I can’t leave. I have to work to feed my family.”

Victor Palafox, a young man who was brought to the United States by his parents as an infant, described himself as “undocumented and unafraid.” He graduated high school in 2010 with excellent grades and was admitted to several public universities. But HB 56 bars him from attending any of them. He wants to be a history teacher and he is not letting the law kill his spirit. “This law [HB 56] is my classroom,” he told us.

Many people spoke to us about the American Dream. As one person described it, “I thought that if I did the right thing—work hard and pay taxes—I would have the opportunity [for a better life].” People spoke passionately about how much they love this country and said they came here so they could build a better life for their children, only to find themselves criminalized. “They say we’re criminals because we’re just looking for a better future for our families,” one person told us. “We are human beings. We just want to support our families.”



These testimonies also showed our delegation the image the right wing has created of millions of people sneaking across the border only to live in the United States without paying taxes is simply not true. Many people come to this country legally, but visas expire and things go wrong. “It’s not all coyotes and smuggling,” we were reminded. We also heard from young people who grew up here without even knowing they were undocumented, and found out only when they tried to get a driver’s license or applied to college.

“The media says undocumented workers don’t pay taxes. That’s a lie,” a woman told us. She spoke passionately about the fact that undocumented workers pay taxes. “We buy things. We don’t have a card that says ‘Undocumented, don’t tax us!’,” she reminded us. Several people told us they have paid into the Social Security system for years, yet they will never receive Social Security benefits. “I’ve paid Social Security for 13 years, and I can’t claim anything,” a worker told us. Undocumented people pay all kinds of taxes—payroll taxes, Social Security, taxes on food and other goods, another person told us—but ironically the law now prevents them from paying some of those taxes, like license fees for their cars or trailers, or property taxes, because business transactions with the state are prohibited. One person summed it up perfectly: “The government makes you buy tags for your car, and now I can be arrested for not having a \$30 tag you won’t let me buy!”

Our delegation heard painful examples of the stress the law is putting on families, and in particular on children. “I drop my children off for school, but I’m not sure if I will be around to pick them up,” a parent told us. Mothers shared with us their fear that they will be separated from their children. A mother with three U.S.-born children told us her kids don’t want to go to Mexico, a country they’ve never known. “They say, ‘This is my country. We want to stay.’ ” We also heard many undocumented parents are making arrangements with church members, friends and even strangers to care for their U.S.-born children in case the parents are deported. A teacher reported that some of her students are looking into adopting their younger siblings so they won’t be taken by the state if their parents are taken away. We heard many stories of segregation and hatred in the schools. Latino students were rounded up in the gym at one local high school and asked for their papers. A mother told us her 11-year-old daughter (who is a U.S. citizen) was accosted by her classmates, demanding to know what she is doing here. She said that in the lunch room, the white students, Latino students and black students all sit at separate tables. “We are teaching our children to hate anyone who is different from us,” she concluded.

We also heard firsthand about how HB 56 is hurting business, and essentially killing the American Dream. A man said he worked drywall construction for years and years until he saved enough money to open a grocery store. Many of his customers started leaving the area after HB 56 passed, which put him out of business. He lost his entire investment of \$350,000. It is no surprise that small business has been strongly opposed to the law.

The people we heard from were good, decent and hardworking people, with a deep and abiding faith in God. They have not lost hope that people will do what is right. They were an inspiration to us all.

Lunch at Max's Deli

The delegation met with the owner of Max's Deli, Steve Dubrinski, whose story shows just how deeply hatred runs in connection with HB 56. When the law went into effect, Dubrinski told *The Birmingham News* he was worried for his business because his workers—all Latinos and fully documented—were thinking of leaving the state. “They are scared and I can’t blame them,” he told the paper, making clear he was speaking about his documented employees.¹⁰ That interview set off a firestorm. A local radio talk show called for a boycott of the deli, and Dubrinski received vitriolic hate e-mails. The Huffington Post published a few:

One reads: “well u can bet your ass that i will never eat in your resturant agian and will tell everybody i know what kind of person you are for suporting those dam wetback that are ruining our country.”

Another: “if you cant keep the doors open and employ legal people then it is time to close.”

And another: “I hope your unamerican establishment closes down!!!!”¹¹

But it didn't stop there. Negative online reviews of the restaurant poured in—more than 70 reviews in two days. As the Huffington Post reported:

One recent review reads, “You could not pay me to patronize this place!”

“Not one American worker in the place. Move your Deli to Mexico,” read another by a reviewer who was only identified as Cherie.

“Food is marginal at best. Employs only Illegal immigrants. Owner and entire staff are rude. Don't go here!!!” reads a third review, which, like many of the recent reviews, came from first-time reviewers.¹²



Dubrinski spoke to the delegation about the law's negative impact on the economy and about his commitment to move other business owners to fight for repeal of the law. He is not letting hate and ignorance win.

“THIS WEEK IN BLACKNESS” PROGRESSIVE BLOGGERS JOINED THE LABOR DELEGATION.

He also gave us yet another example of how HB 56 causes racial profiling. He told us that his daughter’s school wanted to give the 6-year-old an English test because his wife, who is Mexican, brought their daughter to class. “Blatant racial profiling,” he called it.

Roundtable on HB 56’s Impact on Education

After lunch, the delegation met with a group of educators, administrators and students, who shared with us the impact of HB 56 on them and members of the community. By the first Monday after HB 56 was allowed to take effect, 2,285 Latino students were absent from schools across Alabama—7 percent of the total Latino school population. Since then, the attorney general and the state have refused to share enrollment and absentee data with anyone, including the U.S. Department of Justice.

We heard many of the same things we had heard earlier in the day about the stress the law has created—on children, who live in fear of losing their parents; on families who live under constant threat of being separated; on students who are losing the drive and motivation to succeed. One teacher who spoke said the law has zapped the drive to learn, succeed and hope for a better life. She said some of her students are just giving up: “Why should I learn this if I can never go to college?” they ask. Richard Franklin, president of the Birmingham American Federation of Teachers, said, “This is a bad law. Our organization will not stand for that because this is not fair for our members, the teachers or students. We need to invest in all our young people who seek an education, not find ways to prevent them from learning.” Vi Parramore, president of the Jefferson County American Federation of Teachers, summarized it best when she told us, “It’s a mess, I have to tell you. It really is a mess. It’s the civil rights issue of 2011. How can you treat people like this?”

Dinner with DREAMers and Sen. Sanders

DREAMers (students who were brought to the United States as children and are undocumented) joined us for dinner. Half a dozen high school students between the ages of 14 and 18 shared compelling stories of hardship, struggle and steadfast perseverance in the wake of HB 56. The youths discussed the wide range of barriers they and other undocumented students in Alabama face as result of their legal status and the many ways in which HB 56 has negatively impacted their lives and the lives of their families and peers. They shared testimonies of how HB 56 had divided their schools, frightened their friends and family and led to the persecution



and mistreatment of many of their community members. Many of these youths are part of mixed-status families and have brothers, sisters and other relatives who are U.S. citizens, but because of the broken,

DELEGATES INCLUDING FRED REDMOND, WILLIAM LUCY AND TERRY MELVIN HEAR STORIES FROM COMMUNITY MEMBERS.

VICTOR PALAFOX, ALABAMA STUDENT ACTIVIST AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZER, SPEAKS TO DELEGATION.



complicated nature of the U.S. immigration system they are unable to adjust their status and thus remain in legal limbo.

The students, who came to this country at a young age and are American in every sense except on official paperwork, have become politically engaged in Alabama after the passage of HB 56 and have risked deportation, detention and family separation to organize their communities to advocate against the law. Their testimony was some of the most compelling and energizing we heard during our visit. They are a bold and brave group who we are certain will help change the law and get real reform at the national level.

Alabama state Sen. Hank Sanders wrapped up the day by reminding us that we all need to work together to stop what's happening in Alabama, which goes beyond HB 56. He said a coalition of growers, farmers and the construction industry has been formed to seek revisions to HB 56. Sanders expressed concern this would result in changes that would protect employers but continue to penalize undocumented workers and their families. He said we need to completely repeal the bill. Nothing short of that is acceptable. "Keep fighting the good fight!" he told us.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are our findings and our preliminary recommendations. Our hope is that, at a minimum, this report encourages a much heightened awareness of the impact HB 56 has on all residents of Alabama, and of the parallels with Jim Crow laws and other past efforts of repression.

HB 56 impacts fundamental human and civil rights on a broad scale, not just immigrants' rights.

The human consequences of HB 56 are devastating. The climate of fear the law has created and the hatred it inspires felt all too familiar to us. The prejudice we witnessed isn't new, nor is the use of the law to criminalize and marginalize an entire population. It is disturbing to us as working people, as a movement and as a country to realize that in 2011, people are being disenfranchised in the state of Alabama and discriminated against. Kids are being denied the right to an education. This is not the America we know.

The law has a particularly negative impact on children and families.

Destroying the hope and dreams of children is not the American way. Making it a crime to help a person in need and teaching children to be fearful or to hate is not the American way.

The labor movement must be a strong voice on the side of justice for all.

We need to educate our unions, members and our state federations and central labor councils. The right wing has done a good job of convincing some in the labor movement that anti-immigrant laws are about protecting U.S. jobs. We know better. Immigration has never been an easy issue for the labor movement, but it is imperative we address the issue head-on. We have to educate our members and our leaders to recognize that laws like HB 56 are anti-worker laws. We also need to give state federations the tools to fight against these types of legislative efforts. We urge the AFL-CIO to work with its affiliates to develop the necessary tools and programs.

We need to work in partnership with local communities. Often, as is the case in Alabama, community organizations are focused on providing services to the community and have no resources (or experience) organizing against HB 56-types of attacks. The labor movement, on the other hand, has the experience and ability to organize but often lacks a connection to the community. Our visit made clear we need to link our strengths and build stronger and more powerful relationships to protect and defend against attacks on fundamental rights.

We need to pay attention to the South. We heard from more than one person that HB 56 is, in part, the product of the labor movement ignoring the South. Several people we spoke to called for the labor movement to become more active and energized in Alabama and elsewhere in the South. We are particularly concerned with the immediate spread of HB 56 models to other southern states early next year, including South Carolina and Florida. HB 56 is an opportunity for the labor movement to engage in the struggle against the law and also organize union and political efforts more broadly in the state.

The labor movement should address the anti-immigrant laws in the context of defending all laws that attack working people.

It is clear to us that HB 56 and its sister laws are part of an agenda to disenfranchise voters. That agenda includes legal limitations on unions, strict voter ID laws and anti-immigrant bills. All of these laws are designed to make it virtually impossible for people to participate in the political process. The restrictions on voter registration that are included in HB 56 have not received enough attention and should be explored further.

The labor movement needs to develop a strong, rights-based response to these laws, and continue to push for immigration reform on the national level.

Business is already pushing its solution to the Alabama law: bringing back the convict-lease system. Tea Party Republicans have pre-filed a bill that would make it legal for private companies to hire prisoners to work on farms, in chicken-processing plants and in

manufacturing industries.¹³ It is very disturbing that elected officials are calling for the return of one of the darkest periods in American history. News reports also indicate Alabama is considering following Utah’s lead in creating a guestworker program of the type exposed in the Southern Poverty Law Center’s seminal report “Close to Slavery.”¹⁴

The labor movement needs to develop a strategic response based on a rights-based framework. The labor movement has a national policy on comprehensive immigration reform, which former Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall helped the AFL-CIO develop.¹⁵ However, there is no formal strategy for how to address the plethora of state-level immigration laws, which will continue to appear on legislative calendars around the country. We urge that the federation develop such a strategy and assist state federations in implementing it, whether it is to repeal existing laws or prevent future ones.

CONCLUSION

The labor movement—both as a movement and as an institution—must continue to stand on the right side of history. Our delegation was one aspect of that effort, and, we hope, the beginning of a process to more fully integrate and understand HB 56-type laws and other anti-immigrant efforts as part of a broader attack on all of us.

William Lucy, President, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

On behalf of the delegation

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Donna McDaniel, Assistant Director, Minority Advancement, LIUNA

Terry Melvin, Secretary-Treasurer, New York State AFL-CIO

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Diann Woodard, President, AFSA

END NOTES

¹ Sam Rolley, "Beason: The Dems Don't Want to Solve Illegal Immigration Problem," *The Cullman Times*, Feb. 6, 2011.

² The law as passed had 30 provisions; seven of those provisions have been enjoined by either the district court or the court of appeals. The provisions that have been enjoined include Section 13, which made it a crime to transport or provide shelter to undocumented immigrants, thereby criminalizing many charitable and religious operations; Section 8, which prohibited many legal immigrants from attending any public college or university in the state; and Section 28, which required school officials to inquire as to the legal status of public school children and their parents. Section 28 went into effect for approximately two weeks before it was enjoined by the court of appeals.

³ <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/testimony-before-congressional-ad-hoc-hb56-hearing>

⁴ http://blog.al.com/birmingham-news-commentary/2011/11/our_view_alabama_senate_leader.html

⁵ The Man: A Biography of Kris Kobach, Southern Poverty Law Center. <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/publications/when-mr-kobach-comes-to-town/the-man-a-biography-of-kris-kobach>

⁶ <http://crooksandliars.com/2007/12/26/kansas-gop-chair-sends-email-boasting-of-voter-caging/>

⁷ Voter caging is a method of challenging the registration status of voters to potentially prevent them from voting in an election. It refers to the practice of sending direct mail to addressees on the voter rolls, compiling a list of addressees from which the mail is returned undelivered and using that list to purge or challenge voters' registrations on the grounds that the voters do not legally reside at registered addresses. This typically results in the voters having their votes discarded or submitted through the use of provisional ballots requiring further registration confirmation. Raging Gaging, Slate http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/jurisprudence/2007/05/raging_caging.html

⁸ <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/the-gop-war-on-voting-20110830#ixzz1erOMlwpc>

⁹ http://www.brennancenter.org/content/section/category/voter_id

¹⁰ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/10/20/alabama-immigration-law-deli-owner_n_1022535.html?ref=fb&src=sp&comm_ref=false

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ <http://blog.locustfork.net/2011/11/alabama-republicans-prefile-bill-to-bring-back-convict-lease-system/>

¹⁴ www.montgomeryadvertiser.com/article/20111030/NEWS02/110300336/Guest-worker-plan-Alabama-State-has-eye-Utah-program

¹⁵ <http://www.afcio.org/issues/civilrights/immigration/upload/immigrationreform041409.pdf>