“California is America Fast Forward.”
Manuel Pastor

In 1994, California was at a crossroads. The state was experiencing a seismic shift in demographics: the number of non-Latino whites decreased by 20%, while the number of Latinos and Asian/Pacific Islander increased significantly. All the while deindustrialization and a wave of policies cutting taxes for the wealthiest in the 1980s and 1990s began to shake the foundation of the working and middle class. In this context, politicians campaigned by fanning the flames of fear and hate. The scapegoat: people of color and immigrants. This culminated in a series of policies that locked up Black and Latino men and dehumanized—and then demonized—immigrants. The seeds were planted for one of the darkest stains in our nation’s political history: Proposition 187.

Proposition 187 sought to ban undocumented immigrants from schools, hospitals, and access to public assistance. It sought to turn teachers and doctors into immigration officers. It shaped a narrative of immigrants and Latinos as “welfare queens” and “super predator gang members.” Pitting Californians against each other, politicians fearmongered and managed to pass Prop. 187 with 59% of votes in California. It was the epitome of hate-driven public policy rooted in nativism and xenophobia.

But California’s fall from grace was turned back around by a wave of leaders that organized, mobilized, and reinstated a moral code in the state’s political engine. Latino leaders joined forces with Black, Asian, and concerned White leaders to propel the state out of the dark period that had begun to consume it. Students organized walk-outs, health centers filed lawsuits, and community organizations demanded and sought justice. Through the combined efforts of the people, California didn’t just rise from the ashes. The Anti-Prop 187 movement reshaped the political landscape of the state. Today, California is one of the most pro-immigrant states in the Union. And, while we have yet to fully live up to our progressive ideals, California has led the way in becoming the first Sanctuary State, extended drivers licenses to the undocumented and health insurance to their children. All common sense laws that 25 years ago would have been considered criminal.

How California was able to turn the tide and who led the movement to reset the moral compass, matters. It matters to our state—and it especially matters to our nation. As the country experiences goes through its own disorienting demographic shift, and manufacturing industries are being replaced by the more exclusive tech sectors, the middle class erodes and fights for its survival. We are now just beginning to see and hear the rise of the hateful scapegoating yet again. Enemy #1: Latinos and Immigrants.

But there is HOPE for the soul of our Nation. It begins by elevating the voices of our youth that are relentlessly seeking justice and marching in our streets. It begins by investing in community groups grounded in fighting for the rights of people. It begins by promoting shared values and principles of a democracy that states that all people are created equal and deserve an opportunity to thrive.

As we approach one of the most consequential presidential election in 2020 and Constitutionally-mandated decennial census, it begins with each one of us. And, the lessons from California matter to all of us.

With renewed hope and determination,

Jacqueline Garcel Martinez
Chief Executive Officer, Latino Community Foundation
On November 9th a 54-year old home care nurse was walking by a high school when a group of teenage boys came out of the school gates and started to chase her. Yelling racial slurs and throwing rocks, the students launched a racist, xenophobic attack against the woman. Her supposed crime: being an immigrant.

On the same day, a cook was being harassed by a group of customers. They demanded to see a green card, and as they told the cook, they now had a responsibility to “kick out all the illegals” since it was “the duty of all citizens to report ‘illegal aliens.’”

The year was 1994. The place was not a small town in the South, but rather, the Golden State of Opportunity: California.

In a progressive state known as the leader of the “Resistance” today, California was an incubator of racist policies and a hateful narrative that pitted Californians against each other just 25 years ago. The underlying factors that stoked the fear and the political rhetoric of the time is all too familiar in 2019. The stories and lessons of the time are of great value to our Nation.

On November 8th, 1994, California voters overwhelmingly passed an anti-immigrant ballot initiative called Proposition 187. Its goal was clear: to keep immigrants out of schools, public health services, and the entire social safety net.

The morning after the proposition was passed, a team of lawyers from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), marched to the US District Courthouse in Los Angeles to file a complaint demanding an immediate halt to the law. Armed with testimonials from Californians that would have been harm by the law, especially from the Latino community, they tried to convince a federal judge to block the implementation of Prop. 187 until the constitutionality of the law was decided by a court.

The law was ultimately ruled unconstitutional. Yet, its effects changed the course of history in California, and ultimately the nation. So why did a ballot initiative that was never implemented have such a sweeping effect on our state? How were a nativist group of activists defeated by a vocal and mobilized community? What is the status of Latino political power in California 25 years after Prop 187? How do we continue to build this power? What lessons can we learn from the struggle and victories against Prop. 187? How can these lessons prepare us for the 2020 Presidential Election and the 2020 Census in the context of today’s political climate?

Through a series of interviews of key community and student leaders, many of them Latino, and lawyers that led the Anti-Prop 187 movement, this paper sets forth to answer those questions. Documenting those voices and their stories, we can begin to set forth a clearer picture of how California was able to turn the corner from this dark period. It is only through deep reflection and introspection that we can begin to heal from the trauma of 25 years ago. Then we must take those lessons and act.
Prop. 187 was a 1994 voter-led initiative to rewrite California’s Constitution to deny social services and education benefits to immigrants. It was championed by then-Republican governor Pete Wilson, who scapegoated immigrants and used the racialized language of exclusion to blame them for many of the economic problems that faced California and the United States in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

During this time, California was suffering from a national recession that caused unemployment to peak in 1992. Everyday Californians were suffering devastating economic losses. Civil unrest in Los Angeles, for example, played out across TV screens nationally. It opened an opportunity for a political narrative to paint immigrant communities as the cause of the woes the state and nation were experiencing.

The rapid population shifts were also shocking to the state as its economy sputtered amidst the recession of the 1990s. Demographers even predicted that California’s share of the Latino population would become the largest ethnic group by 2025. In 2015, Latinos became the largest ethnic group in the state, ten years ahead of that prediction.
Support for Prop. 187 Grows

In this context, anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric unjustly accused immigrants of draining the state’s resources, especially in healthcare and education. Governor Pete Wilson spread fear and expressed frustration at inaction by the federal government to curb unauthorized migration into the United States. At the time, California had more unauthorized border crossings than any other state.

As Prop. 187 was being written, the proposed law included nativist rhetoric that lumped together “immigrant,” “Mexicans,” and “Mexican-Americans.” Seeing a political opportunity, Governor Wilson jumped to support Proposition 187 and became its champion during his 1994 re-election campaign. Dr. Lisa García Bedolla of U.C. Berkeley calls Proposition 187 California’s “Trump moment,” referring to the use of immigration as a political wedge issue to drive politically conservative voters to the polls. “Governor Pete Wilson in 1994 successfully used Proposition 187 to change the conversation from the economy to immigration… this was California’s ‘Trump moment.’”

With the economic recession on the minds of California voters in 1994, and an increased visible presence of newcomers to California, immigrants—and specifically Mexican immigrants and their families—became the scapegoats that rallied politically conservative voters to the polls during the 1994 election.

The Swift Defeat of Prop. 187

Voters overwhelmingly approved Prop. 187. But, the challenge to block the law in the courts began immediately. Mark Rosenbaum who was a lead attorney in the case, remembers that exact moment.

“We were ready. The court opened the next morning and we were in line ready to file a challenge to Proposition 187,” recalls Rosenbaum. As part of the legal strategy were dozens of testimonials from Latino families accompanying the complaint asking to stop the law from taking into effect.

Meanwhile, communities began to rally. Organizations like Community Coalition and the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights organized students, families, and church leaders to speak out. From Los Angeles and the Bay Area to the Central Valley and San Diego, student walkouts and marches became a fixture of California Latino politics. This movement gave rise to Latino leaders like Kevin de León, Maria Elena Durazo and Antonia Hernandez who continue to possess an incredible influence on the state’s civic life to this day.

Prop. 187 was eventually ruled unconstitutional in the courts, but it was the persistent outcry, organizing, and protest of Latino communities across the state that made a fundamental difference.
The impact of Prop. 187 went beyond the negative effect of striking fear in Latino and immigrant communities. It served as a rallying point to unify these groups against government-sanctioned xenophobia.

One of the clearest impacts that Prop. 187 had on the Latino community was its mobilization of naturalizations. “No other issue mobilizes Latinos politically—not pro-immigration, but anti-immigration messaging. One of the reasons why we see a significant increase in voter registrations is that Proposition 187 passed and the messaging was, ‘Look: we can stop this from ever happening again if we vote’, ” according to Dr. Chris Zepeida-Millán of the U.C.L.A. Luskin School of Public Affairs. In Los Angeles County specifically, naturalization applications soared following the approval of Proposition 187. An April 1995 Los Angeles Times article by Patrick J. McDonnell documented a 500% increase in naturalization applications in Los Angeles County, resulting in an eight-month delay in processing times for those applications.

Latinos also turned to running for office to combat the anti-immigrant rhetoric facing the state throughout the 1990s. When the California Latino Legislative Caucus was formed in 1973, it counted five members in its ranks. By 1995, the Caucus counted 14 members, with a steady increase since then. Today, the Latino Caucus boasts its highest membership ever at 28. Dr. Lisa García Bedolla of U.C. Berkeley has documented how Proposition 187 activated a generation: “There is a whole generation of activists who get brought into activism through [Prop 187] mobilization. This was the biggest mobilization that happened among Latinx folks since the Chicano movement here in California. A lot of that mobilization happened on college campuses. Many of the people who cut their teeth politically on Prop 187 are now legislators or community organization leaders, or other things.”

Dr. Zepeida-Millán describes how the organizing against Prop 187 led to the unleashing of a political voting base that was motivated to prevent similar policies from being enacted and, consequently, voted in record numbers of Latinos into office: “You had a coalition of ethnic media, community organizations who hadn't really participated in politics before, do something non-partisan, which is participate in citizenship drives and voter registration drives, and create an electoral base then that allowed for Latinos to run for office. Before, there was no big push for Latino elected officials until there was a voting base that could put them in office—that came after Prop 187.”

The passing of Prop. 187, however, also showed that democracy is in a fragile state. Despite being overruled in the courts, the backers of this ballot initiative influenced the creation of several policies in the 1990s that criminalize immigration and services to immigrants. For example, in 1998, Proposition 209 ended affirmative action in California. Proposition 227 mandated the use of English in California public schools.

The effects were also felt on the state’s voter rolls. In the 25 years since the passage of Prop. 187, over one million Latinos registered to vote – in large part to the growth of the population but also due to the tremendous community organizing to ensure Latinos are participating in the electoral process.
THE LESSONS OF PROP. 187

The campaign in support of Prop. 187 played on false realities of invasion by immigrants. Anti-immigrant sentiments are not new to American history. Prop. 187 provides us with lessons worth taking into 2020 and beyond.

短期损失可以转化为长期胜利。

《提案187》的批准对加利福尼亚州的拉美裔和移民社区造成了巨大损失。它传递了一个令人寒心的信息，即排斥全省。但组织者为他们的权利而斗争，从城市街道、市政厅、法庭和加利福尼亚州议会开始。拉美裔和移民可能在短期内失败，但我们知道的加州是一个对移民的支持者，扩大了该州的社会安全网，并欢迎他们。这是由拉美裔组织的持续斗争所转变的，这些斗争改变了政治和我们州的政策制定者所扮演的角色。

人民的力量是政治力量，谁出来投票很重要。

《提案187》以接近60%的投票率获得通过，但选票并不符合该州的选民构成。要建立一个包含移民声音的更包容的选民群体，为移民提供合法永久居民身份是第一步。接下来要走的是动员选民，这是必须遵循的步骤。在《提案187》通过后，慈善机构与教会和公民团体合作，举办公民化课程，培训符合条件的移民参加公民化考试。一旦公民化，这些新公民就被注册为选民。但注册并不意味着实际上投票。整个社区必须继续帮助这些新公民了解和理解历史中将移民排除在外的政治过程。在投票站提供事实，使新公民能够充分行使自己的政治权利。我们必须在所有公民参与过程中继续工作。

广泛的和包容的联盟确保在所有领域取得成功。

社区组织来反对由州长威尔逊和《提案187》所支持的政策是一个广泛的社区努力，包括律师、牧师、社区组织者、学校教师和大学教授、支持努力帮助公民化和注册移民投票的资金的基金会，以及看到传播事实和参与社区的民族媒体伙伴。广泛的联盟组织可能很困难，但这是必要的，以确保成功。

反移民和民族主义言论——确保那些使用它的人失败。

反移民言论是由州长皮特·威尔逊使用，以几十年来对政党的损失为代价。对于一项从未得到实施的法律， Patel 威尔逊和加州共和国党从未得到回报。相反，加州人拒绝并惩罚了该党。2018年中期选举中，反移民言论的进一步提出证实了这一事实。年轻人被激发出来参加选举，而拉美裔则看到选民率提高了近20%。

广域和包容的联盟确保在所有领域取得成功。

社区组织反对由州长威尔逊和《提案187》所支持的政策是一个广泛的社区努力，包括律师、牧师、社区组织者、学校教师和大学教授、支持努力帮助公民化和注册移民投票的资金的基金会，以及看到传播事实和参与社区的民族媒体伙伴。广泛的联盟组织可能很困难，但这是必要的，以确保成功。

Anti-immigrant and nativist rhetoric—ensure that those who employ it, lose.

The nativist rhetoric used by Governor Pete Wilson brought significant losses to his party over decades. For a law that was never enacted, the gamble made by Pete Wilson and the California Republic Party never paid off. Instead Californians rejected and punished the Party beyond just the 1994 election. The doubling-down of anti-immigrant rhetoric during the 2018 Midterm Elections solidified this fact. Young people were energized to show up at the polls and Latinos saw a nearly 20% increase in voter turnout from 2014.
LEARNING FROM PROP. 187

Today, California is in a different place. Our newly elected Governor Gavin Newsom has released budgetary priorities that extend protections and social benefits to California families, including undocumented immigrants. It is almost surreal to believe that 25 years ago the voters of this state decisively said otherwise.

The work continues, however. The dream to unleash the power of Latinos of this state is not yet fully realized, especially in regions like the Central Valley and the Inland Empire. The fight against Prop. 187 was a catalyst for organizing the Latino community, but it was hardly the end. This moment in our Nation’s history presents an opportunity for communities of color to unite and further the mantle on civil rights. Our democracy is still young—and fragile. The moral outcry heard loudly in California in 1994 led to movements that brought us closer to our democratic ideals and strengthen the institutions that guard our democracy. The same must be done today.

California’s Latino community will have the opportunity to secure their rightful share of political representation and resources in areas like health and education by participating in the 2020 Presidential Election and the 2020 Census. If we are to live up to the legacy of the organizers from the anti-Prop. 187 movement, we must remember this history, adopt these lessons, and continuously build for the future.

We’ve done it before, and we can do it again.

La lucha sigue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Latino Community Foundation is grateful for the expertise and support of Dr. Chris Zepeda-Millán of the U.C.L.A. Luskin School of Public Affairs, Dr. Lisa García Bedolla of the U.C. Berkeley Institute of Governmental Studies, and Mark Rosenbaum, director of Public Counsel Opportunity Under Law for sharing their time and insights that helped shape and inform this report. Thank you, also, to the California Legislative Caucus for sharing Caucus membership data featured in this report. This report was written in partnership with Octavio González at Fourth Street Bridge Strategies, a Latino-owned public affairs consulting firm committed to serving the communities of color throughout California.

Photo Credits:
David Bacon Photography
Vernardo Murphy/El Tecolote Archives
Gary Leonard Collection Los Angeles Public Library
GenderRaceClassBlog.Wordpress
David Prasad Photography
George Rodriguez New Yorker

Latino Political Power in California: 25 Years After Proposition 187
Contact: Christian Arana, Policy Director, Latino Community Foundation carana@latinocf.org
www.latinocf.org