

ARTICLE

Immigrant rights and social movements

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Abstract

The disciplinary fields of immigration and social movements have largely developed as two distinct subareas of sociology. Scholars contend that immigrant rights, compared to other movements, have been given less attention in social movement research. Studies of immigrant-based movements in recent decades have reached a stage whereby we can now assess how immigrant movement scholarship informs the general social movement literature in several areas. In this article, we show the contributions of empirical studies of immigrant movements in four primary arenas of social movement scholarship: (a) emergence; (b) participation; (c) framing; and (d) outcomes. Contemporary immigrant struggles offer social movement scholarship opportunities to incorporate these campaigns and enhance current theories and concepts as earlier protest waves advanced studies of collective action.

1 | INTRODUCTION

The “immigrant spring” of 2006 dramatically placed social movements by excluded social groups on the national stage. The protest campaign against House Bill 4437 resisted the increasing criminalization of U.S. immigrants with mass marches, resulting in some of the largest demonstrations in U.S. history (Robinson, 2006; Zepeda-Millán, 2017). In addition, the 2006 movement reached many smaller cities and towns with scant history of collective action (Wallace, Zepeda-Millán, & Jones-Correa, 2014).¹ Such historic mobilizations and current immigrant struggles offer social movement scholarship opportunities to incorporate these newer campaigns and enhance current theories and concepts, as earlier protest waves advanced studies of collective action (McAdam, 1999; Morris, 1984).

Beyond the mobilizations of 2006, immigrant communities have organized at the local and national levels over a variety of issues, including political incorporation and a legal pathway to citizenship (Milkman & Terriquez, 2012). Although many working-class immigrants face precarious employment and legal status (Gleeson, 2015; Kubrin, Zatz, & Martinez, 2012; Menjivar, 2006), they continue to mobilize for access to basic services and against the threats of

detention, deportation, and family separation (Abrego, 2014). Other immigrant struggles seek to protect existing rights or expand them into new arenas. Since the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act (and the 1986 IRCA²), the United States experienced a rise in international migration from the global South, especially from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, but also Southeast Asia, India, and China (Brettell & Hollifield, 2014; Paret & Aguilera, 2016; Pew Research Center, 2015). These policies of the second half of the 20th century (especially the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act) marked a shift from the exclusion acts and restrictive laws of the late 19th and early 20th centuries that explicitly used race and national origin to limit non-European immigration (Waters & Ueda, 2007). Nonetheless, by the early 1990s, the trend reversed itself with a new series of anti-immigration laws targeting immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa (Sampaio, 2015; Zatz & Smith, 2012).³ The reverse tendency has become especially acute with the rise of Trumpism. Besides changes in U.S. immigration laws, other conditions encourage heightened levels of international migration. These forces include political and social violence, global market liberalization, and demand in the global North for low-cost labor power and to offset an aging population and declining fertility rates (Abrego, 2017; Barajas, 2009; Calavita, 1989; Kivisto & Faist, 2010; Massey & Capoferro, 2006; Massey, Durand, & Pren, 2014; Massey & Sana, 2003; Robinson, 2006). Indeed, over the past three decades, violent conflict, market liberalization, and environmental crises have displaced populations throughout the developing world leading to family survival strategies via migration to wealthier countries (Sassen, 2014). In the United States, the increase in international migration, especially undocumented migration, has resulted in a rise in immigrant-based social movements.

Immigration and social movements have largely developed as two distinct subareas of sociology (Weffer, 2013). The American Sociological Association (ASA) maintains separate sections for International Migration and Collective Behavior and Social Movements (CBSM). Bloemraad, Silva, and Voss (2016) contend that immigrant rights, compared to other movements, have been given less attention in social movement research. Others encourage social movement and immigration scholars to engage in more conversations and collaborations (Menjivar, 2010). Perhaps, the most focused attention to immigrant collective action comes from the Labor and Labor Movements section of the ASA with an emphasis on immigrant worker struggles. Studies of immigrant-based movements in recent decades have reached a stage whereby we can now assess how immigrant movement studies inform the general social movement literature. In this article, we show the contributions of empirical studies of immigrant movements in four primary arenas of social movement scholarship: (a) emergence; (b) participation; (c) framing; and (d) outcomes.

Social movement emergence involves the conditions driving the initiation and diffusion of social movement mobilization (Andrews & Biggs, 2006; Piven & Cloward, 1977). Scholars examine the likelihood of mobilization over time or across geographical space and political units (Tarrow, 2011). Existing studies of immigrant rights movements offer new insights into the types of opportunities, threats, and resource infrastructures facilitating the emergence of collective action by immigrants and their allies. We also examine *individual participation* in immigrant movements. This area of collective action asks why some participate in protest campaigns while others stay at home as well as why some people participate more than others. We incorporate existing studies on the correlates of movement participation in general to immigrant-based collective action. In particular, we review the micro-mobilization contexts of social networks, social media, organizational affiliations, and identities of participants and non-participants (Inclán & Almeida, 2017). In the ideational sphere of social movements, we examine how immigrants convey their messages to multiple audiences via a series of *collective action frames* (Snow, Benford, McCammon, Hewitt, & Fitzgerald, 2014). Recent literature on immigrant social movements also addresses *movement outcomes*. The subfield of movement outcomes centers on how collective action explicitly creates social change, including at the micro-level of the life course of participants (McAdam, 1988), the meso level of organizational survival, and the macro-level of policy change or prevention (Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, & Su, 2010; Burstein, Einwohner, & Hollander, 1995). We cover multiple outcomes and incorporate the crucial dimensions of favorable local political contexts and mobilization levels as shaping the consequences of immigrant movement struggles. Our review concludes with a brief discussion on how future immigrant mobilization studies could benefit social movement scholarship in terms of emergence, participation, framing, and outcomes.

2 | EMERGENCE

Movement emergence, arguably, is the focus of scholarship with the greatest number of studies and theoretical development. We focus here on three dimensions driving the initiation of collective action: opportunities, threats, and resource infrastructures (Almeida, 2018). We explore how immigrant mobilization studies offer new insights into how these dimensions affect the probability for launching social movement campaigns by excluded and marginalized populations.

2.1 | Opportunities

Scholars view political opportunities as pivotal conditions driving social movement action (McAdam, 1996). They are *positive* features in the political environment that provide incentives to mobilize. Institutional access, decreases in state repression, conflicts between elites, elite allies, and shifting alignments are seen as the most common opportunities for mobilization (Tarrow, 2011). Several studies analyze the kinds of political opportunities available for immigrant social movements while acknowledging the tremendous obstacles marginalized groups face. Pallares and Flores-González (2010) examine how Chicago has historically accepted immigrants in a *relatively* more welcoming fashion than many other cities. This *fairly* hospitable environment provides incentives for collective action among immigrants. This may also explain why activists first mobilized in Chicago in the spring of 2006, before the movement spread to other cities (Robinson, 2006). Chicago is also a sanctuary city, and such localities offer a somewhat more cordial setting for immigrants and their allies to struggle because of local policy protections. For example, through a local resolution or ordinance, sanctuary cities may allow undocumented immigrants to work and not permit local law enforcement to inquire about immigration status. Sanctuary cities also motivate immigrants to mobilize against anti-immigrant legislation because there is *relatively less* likelihood for state repression (with a lower chance of being arrested or harassed by police compared to regions without these policies). However, more scholarly work needs to systematically examine if local governments that have sanctuary city policies or ordinances in place offer greater protections to their immigrant communities in times of increasing repression (Steil & Vasi, 2014).

Okamoto and Ebert (2010) analyzed protest events in 52 metropolitan areas across the United States. They also find that political opportunities at the local level, in terms of percent voting Democrat and number of immigrant organizations in a city, increase the probability of immigrant mobilization. Burciaga and Martinez (2017) also demonstrate the positive role local political context plays in mobilizing undocumented youth, in particular when deciding the strategies and tactics of their mobilizing efforts. Another key political opportunity for immigrant rights mobilization is elite allies (Tarrow, 2011). Strunk and Leitner (2013) studied mobilization against the “Secure Communities” program⁴ in the Washington DC area and found that local political elites facilitated mobilization efforts. Using participant observation and interviews between 2010 and 2011, they showed that immigrant advocates were able to challenge secure communities because of long-standing relationships with local elected officials. Reese and Ramirez (2002) also demonstrate the role of key institutional allies in local and state government in California, especially Latinx legislators, in aiding in the restoration of welfare benefits to documented noncitizen immigrants.

2.2 | Threats

Another component of political process theory centers on the negative conditions driving collective mobilization, or threats (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001). The logic of threat-induced mobilization focuses on negative incentives in the surrounding environment (Almeida, 2018). If communities fail to act collectively, they will be worse off. A series of studies now demonstrate that *policy threats* reducing legal protections may induce mobilization by immigrant communities (Bloemraad, Voss, & Lee, 2011; Okamoto & Ebert, 2010; Ramakrishnan, 2005; Zepeda-Millán, 2017). There is a long history of racialized and restrictive immigration policy in the United States (Calavita, 2007; Ngai, 2004), and immigrant social movements have emerged during times of legislative debates and implementation of

anti-immigrant policy threats. These legal and policy threats, which range from excluding immigrants from basic social services to criminalizing them for their undocumented or semi-documented status, have generated mass demonstrations, by both immigrants and their supporters. For example, policies such as Proposition 187 in California in 1994 sought to exclude immigrants from the social citizenship benefits of public education, social services, and non-emergency health care (Reese & Ramirez, 2002). The threat of Prop 187 initiated the largest immigrant rights mobilization in California in the 1990s and stimulated state-wide protest actions (Armbruster, Geron, & Bonacich, 1995). In another policy threat example, in Arizona in 2010, State Bill 1070 (Support our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act) also catalyzed widespread pro-immigrant mobilization (Santos, Menjivar, & Godfrey, 2013). The Arizona legislation permitted law enforcement officials to demand proof of citizenship during routine activities (e.g., traffic stops and community patrols). The act institutionalized racial profiling of Latina/os, in particular Mexican and Central American immigrants in Arizona, because “Mexican-looking” was equated with undocumented status (Aguirre, 2012). Scholars have also examined the role of policy threats in the 2006 immigrant rights mobilizations (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Zepeda-Millán, 2014a, 2014b). The 2006 HR 4437 bill was a widespread threat to immigrant communities across the nation, changing the penalty for being undocumented from a civil violation to a federal felony. The Sensenbrenner Bill quickly broadened as a threat to Latinos in general, regardless of citizenship status, because of the racialization of immigrants (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Ponce, 2014; Zepeda-Millán, 2017). Hence, some of the largest immigrant mobilizations in U.S. history were first initiated by the policy threat of anti-immigration legislation, following several years of increasing criminalization and racialization of immigration (Zatz & Smith, 2012). Despite policy threats acting as a major force for immigrant movement emergence, in most times and places, mobilization will only occur in communities where a pro-immigrant organizational infrastructure is already in existence (Mora, 2016).

Repressive threats may have the *opposite impact* than policy threats in relation to immigrant rights movements. Repressive threats bring *immediate harm* to communities through the use of police raids, incarceration, and deportations. While such repressive strategies may create backlash protest for politically incorporated groups with citizenship rights, for immigrant communities, these actions instill fear and more likely lead to de-mobilization (Sampaio, 2015). Stringent immigrant enforcement tactics may violate human rights and create generalized distress and anxiety in communities (Golash-Boza, 2012). Scholars have demonstrated an increase in immigration law enforcement raids, detentions, and deportations since 2006 (Menjivar, Gómez Cervantes, & Alvord, 2018; Sampaio, 2015; Walters & Cornelisse, 2010). Indeed, deportations continued with a steady increase between 1998 and 2012 (Golash-Boza, 2015). Extant social movement studies tend to emphasize cases in the global South when analyzing protest-repression dynamics (see Davenport, 2009; Prieto, 2016; Taylor, 2016; Prieto, 2018 for exceptions). More scholarly attention should be given to increased state repression against immigrant communities in the United States and other sites in the global North and its relationship to movement activity (Robinson & Santos, 2014). One promising line of work is found in Heredia (2016), where she shows repressive actions by ICE and deportation centers countered by undocumented youth using a variety of innovative tactics to infiltrate these same spaces and bringing greater public attention to contradictory and punitive immigration practices.

2.3 | Resource infrastructures

Another set of facilitating conditions for social movements emergence involves the resource infrastructure available to immigrant rights activists and their allies. Resource infrastructures range from pre-existing organizations and institutions to social networks, social media, human capital, and previous mobilization experience (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004; McAdam, 2003; Morris, 1984; Rodriguez, 2017). For immigrant rights social movements, various civic organizations such as Hometown Associations (HTAs) and immigrant service organizations have played an important role in mobilizing immigrant communities (Fox & Bada, 2011; Ramakrishnan & Bloemraad, 2008; Ramakrishnan & Viramontes, 2010; Vonderlack-Navarro & Sites, 2015; Zabin & Escala, 2002). For instance, Wah and Pierre-Louis (2004) contend that by the late 1990s, Hometown Associations outnumbered any other type of organization within the Haitian immigrant community. It is interesting to note that immigrant groups set up HTAs to provide

financial assistance to communities in their country of origin, not explicitly for social movement mobilization. Gleeson and Bloemraad (2013) report that the presence of immigrant service organizations benefits immigrant mobilization. On the west coast of the United States, these include immigrant advocacy organizations such as AIWA, CARECEN, CHIRLA, El Rescate, CASA, and PCUN⁵ (Sifuentez, 2016) that have assisted Mexican and Central American immigrants for decades.

Community-based organizations offer immigrants valuable human, social, and legal services. At other times, they can be appropriated as a key mobilizing structure for immigrant rights movement campaigns. For example, during the spring of 2006, there were diverse immigrant advocacy groups and organizations at the forefront of the movement against HR 4437 (Cordero-Guzmán, Martin, Quiroz-Becerra, & Theodore, 2008; Pantoja, Menjívar, & Magaña, 2008). Immigrant advocacy networks across the United States mobilized to oppose the legislation, and these networks of organizations also called for the end of anti-immigrant policies. Immigrant advocacy groups also include churches, labor unions, student organizations, and other grassroots coalitions that coordinate actions in both English and Spanish for Latinx immigrants.

Studies of Southeast Asian immigrant movement emergence suggest that the density of community social ties serves as a major resource contributing to mobilization—the transition from dispersion for early arrivals to the formation of larger ethnic enclaves. Xiong (2016) shows that Hmong immigrant mobilization began to take off in the 1990s once the community accumulated sufficient economic resources and benefited from stronger social network ties among co-ethnics. Ong and Meyer (2008), using protest event data of Vietnamese immigrant mobilizations between 1975 and 2009, also demonstrate peaks of protest in the 1990s once immigrant communities became geographically concentrated and had the network capacity to launch collective action campaigns. In other demographic models, states with large Latinx and immigrant populations appear to facilitate mobilization at higher rates and increase organizational resources (Reese, Ramirez, & Estrada-Correa, 2013).

Scholars have also found that religious clubs/organizations and churches also bring immigrant communities from different ethnic groups together and reinforce panethnic identities among group members (Lopez & Espiritu, 1990; Okamoto & Mora, 2014; Ricourt & Danta, 2003). Such processes facilitate multi-group coalitions (Van Dyke & Amos, 2017) and immigrant mobilization. Indeed, on the eve of the massive 2006 demonstrations for immigrant rights, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops organized a “Justice for Immigrants” campaign that was coordinated nationally through dioceses and parishes (Heredia, 2011). The campaign was indispensable in mobilizing communities in the spring of 2006.

Labor unions and labor-based associations offer another major organizational resource for immigrant mobilization. Milkman (2011) finds that immigrant participation in the U.S. labor movement takes the form of distinctive strands and serves as one of the most important populations to unionize to achieve worker protections in various low wage sectors. One strand is traditional trade unionism. This consists of immigrants working in low-wage occupations (e.g., janitors, retail, low-wage service, and hospitality) and belonging to unions that advocate for immigrant rights and a path to citizenship. This would include how the SEIU-sponsored Fight for \$15 living wage campaign incorporated immigrant demands within its mobilizations between 2012 and 2018. Immigrants may at times be amenable to join a labor union due to their “strong working-class immigrant social networks” but are often not organized because of the limited amount of union resources being allocated to organize this population and overall decline in union density (Milkman, 2011, p. 365–366). Another strand is immigrant involvement with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who focus on immigrant workers rights.

Along these same lines of labor-based resources, other scholars have highlighted worker and day labor centers (De Lara, Reese, & Struna, 2016; Fine, 2006). Some worker centers are ethnic-based, while others focus on a particular industry or economic sector. In Los Angeles, the Pilipino Worker Center (PWC), Korean Immigrant Workers' Association (KIWA), the Labor-Community Strategy Center, and the Garment Worker Center (GWC) provide an array of assets to assist in immigrant organizing. Nazgol (2010) found that the PWC assisted in unifying U.S. born with foreign-born Filipinos to launch collective action campaigns over work place grievances and community-based issues such as low-cost housing. The GWC has launched several campaigns supporting immigrant garment workers,

especially over low pay and health and safety conditions in plants, and forced large clothing retailers into settlements, such as Forever 21 (Archer, Gonzales, Lee, Gandhi, & Herrera, 2010). Milkman and Terriquez (2012) show how unions in the greater Los Angeles region, such as the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), organized immigrant workers and engaged in collective action opposing anti-immigrant initiatives such as Proposition 187 and HR 4437.

Another major resource for the immigrant rights movement is found in the legacy of Mexican American social movement organizations (SMOs) that mushroomed in the 1960s and 1970s as part of the larger Chicano movement. These organizations include the UFW, LULAC, MALDEF, and MAPA⁶ (Muñoz, 2007). Not only did these organizations survive into the 21st century, but they deposited a legacy of mobilizing skills available to new generations of activists. Several studies of Latinx immigrant mobilization refer to such organizations as key components of the movement coalitions (Mora, 2016; Shaw, 2011).

Social movement studies view previous mobilization as another resource to organize in the present (Ganz, 2009). Organizations and social movement activists can use their past experiences mobilizing and the alliances formed to launch mobilization drives (Almeida, 2014; Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). Scholars document the role of the 2003 immigrant freedom rides in creating alliances for mobilization in 2006 (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Milkman, 2011). The 2003 Immigrant Worker Freedom Ride was organized by labor unions that created a broad coalition of religious, student, ethnic, and community groups, which helped facilitate the networks for the mega marches 3 years later in 2006. The immigrant freedom rides provided a key support network for the mobilizations, given that 62 percent of the cities where freedom rides stopped in 2003 reported protests in the spring of 2006 (Bloemraad et al., 2011). Previous mobilizations like the freedom rides build social ties and an organizational infrastructure for future campaigns (Andrews, 2004).

Marquez-Benitez and Pallares (2016) discuss the 2012 "Journey for Justice: No Papers, No Fear" bus ride, which traveled from Arizona to North Carolina. The authors assert the places where the bus stopped were "organizing opportunities" that included trainings and workshops to help local activists and groups learn about protest tactics. Providing these spaces where local grassroots groups can come together act as a resource to mobilize immigrant groups in the future. Waldinger et al. (1996) also show that immigrants with histories of organizing in their countries of origin can be a vital asset for the labor movement in the United States, such as the role of Salvadoran immigrants in the Justice for Janitors campaigns in Los Angeles. Indeed, the Justice for Janitors campaigns were so successful in the 1990s, that the labor movement placed more emphasis on organizing immigrant workers in the aftermath (Erickson, Fisk, Milkman, Mitchell, & Wong, 2002).

Díaz and Rodríguez (2007), the major coordinators of the historic 2006 immigrant rights marches in Los Angeles, describe several pro-immigrant campaigns prior to 2006 that built support for the record-breaking mobilization in the spring of 2006. It was a group of Latinx leaders that had the experience of organizing in the 1980s Central American peace movement, against Prop 187 in the 1990s, and other repressive measures in the early 2000s that provided a body of knowledge on how to organize the 2006 mass marches (Gonzales, 2013). Díaz (2010) even documents veterans from the 1960s and 1970s Chicano movement playing key roles in the 2006 mobilizations in Los Angeles. Brown and Jones (2016) also assert that social movement leaders from the labor and civil rights movements of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s spearheaded effective immigrant rights movements in Mississippi in the 21st century.

Latinx youth and youth infrastructures were integral in these previous mobilization efforts, and some went on to play key leadership roles in the spring of 2006 marches and other immigrant struggles (Bloemraad et al., 2011). In cities where there is a higher percentage of immigrant youth, there is a greater likelihood of heightened mobilization, especially where high schools (and junior high schools) are in close proximity to one another (Barberena, Jiménez, & Young, 2014). A major tactic in the 2006 demonstrations involved student walkouts, emulated from the Chicano movement of the late 1960s. Local ethnic media serve as another resource available to immigrant rights movements (Zepeda-Millán, 2017). By securing the editorial support of local newspapers or by broadcasting pro-immigrant messages on local radio stations, organizers are able to mobilize communities. Ramírez (2011, p. 63) and Wang and Winn

(2011) contend that the Spanish-language radio was crucial in 2006 for gaining support for the protests among Latinos across the country. This is consistent with previous evidence that mass media exposure such as newspapers shaped patterns of mobilization during the southern sit-in movement of the early 1960s (Andrews & Biggs, 2006) and radio in the southern textile mill strike wave of the 1930s (Roscigno & Danaher, 2004). Ramírez (2011) makes the argument that the Spanish-language media were a necessary alternative in getting information into Latina/o immigrant communities where English acts as a secondary language. Latina/os tune into radio more than any other media source, and they listen more than non-Latinx groups (Ramírez, 2011, p. 68). Nationally syndicated Spanish language radio hosts like Eduardo Sotelo “El Piolin” and Renán Almendarez Coello “El Cucuy” were also crucial in promoting pro-immigrant mobilizations in 2006. Additionally, Spanish-language radio was instrumental in reaching Latinx immigrants in the service sectors, who regularly tune in while at work.

Pre-existing community resources can also help mobilize immigrant communities. For instance, when Zepeda-Millán (2014b) studied immigrant mass mobilization in Fort Myers, Florida, he found that Latina/os took local action by utilizing resources offered by local entrepreneurs (300 small ethnic businesses donated thousands of dollars to support a local march) and local soccer leagues to organize. Fine (2006) also contends soccer clubs have served as a source of recruitment for immigrant worker centers. In summary, traditional resource infrastructures such as the church, labor unions, and ethnic-based advocacy organizations have played a pivotal role in mobilizing working-class and undocumented immigrants. Equally important are non-obvious resources such as hometown associations, social service agencies, radio stations, high schools, ethnic entrepreneurs, and soccer clubs.

3 | PARTICIPATION

Individual-level participation seeks to understand the forces motivating individuals to join social movement campaigns as well as the conditions that deter involvement in contentious politics. Participation in immigrant rights collective action includes undocumented individuals, citizens, queer immigrant youth, religious activists, and sympathetic allies (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008; McCann, Nishikawa Chávez, Plasencia, & Otawka, 2016; Terriquez, 2015; Zepeda-Millán & Wallace, 2013). The individual participation process is examined within the dimensions of (a) social networks; (b) pre-existing organizations; (c) social media; and (d) identities.

3.1 | Social networks

Friendship and family networks are primary social relationships that influence individual social movement participation (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014; Pallares & Flores-González, 2010). Dionne, DeWitt, Stone, and Suk-Young Chwe (2014) sampled 876 people that attended the 2006 May Day immigrant rights demonstrations in Los Angeles. Their findings indicate that two thirds of participants had four or more friends or family members at the event and one third had nine or more, with only 2 percent attending alone. This is a high number of individuals participating with family and friends compared to existing studies of individual participation in protest demonstrations (Klandermans, 2015). In addition, bilingual female youth, 18 and younger, have been found to motivate their social networks of friends and families to attend pro-immigrant marches in southern California (Dionne et al., 2014). This demonstrates the potential broker role played by young bilingual women in facilitating individual-level mobilization in immigrant rights protests. Teenage women served as “bridge leaders” (Robnett, 1997) by using their networks and social ties to recruit friends and family. Others have demonstrated the importance of family networks in pro-immigrant social movement participation. Narro, Wong, and Shaddock-Hernández (2007) examined May Day participation in Atlanta, Georgia, and report that most of the participants were younger immigrant workers who were accompanied by their families. For the 2006 mobilizations in general, immigrant children with citizenship rights encouraged their parents to attend protest rallies (Bloemraad & Trost, 2008).

3.2 | Pre-existing organizations

Pre-existing organizations also influence individual level participation in immigrant movements. Individuals affiliated with multiple groups committed to migrants and their families are more likely to engage in pro-immigrant mobilization. Such associations include grassroots organizations, small nonprofits, labor unions, independent labor centers, anti-globalization and anti-war collectives, and youth and student groups (e.g., MEChA; Gonzales, 2013).

In the 2006 immigrant spring, the Catholic Church as an institution was used to encourage and mobilize immigrant and non-immigrant community members to participate in demonstrations opposing HR 4437 (Barreto, Manzano, Ramirez, & Rim, 2009). Similarly, Bloemraad et al. (2011) report the Catholic Church as one of the "Big 3" organizations (along with labor unions and ethnic media) that helped mobilize individual participants during the spring of 2006. Church parishes reach large blocks of people, facilitating the dissemination of information about rallies and marches for individuals to participate (Morris, 1984). In Los Angeles, the religious leader of the nation's largest Archdiocese, Archbishop Mahoney, urged Catholics to fast and pray for social justice on immigration reform (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2008). Not only did Catholic churches mobilize individuals, but so did Evangelical churches with large working-class immigrant congregations. Hence, empirical studies suggest that individuals with attendance in pro-immigrant churches or affiliation with other social organizations are more likely to participate in collective action for immigrant rights.

3.3 | Social media

Social media constitutes a powerful tool to mobilize individual social movement participants in the 21st century (Earl & Kimport, 2011). During 2006, immigrant youth recruited other participants through social media, particularly through the viral spreading of MySpace postings, and by recruiting through text messaging and word of mouth (Barberena et al., 2014; Vélez, Huber, Lopez, De La Luz, & Solórzano, 2008). Milkman (2017) discusses the role of Millennials in social movements in the post-2008 era, including the undocumented immigrant "Dreamers" movement and the critical role new social media plays in individual-level participation. In another example of the importance of social media, Mallapragada (2014) notes the importance of online organizations in mobilizing South Asian immigrants who identify as Desi. The Desis Rising Up and Moving (DRUM) community organization has been involved in off-line and online work in denouncing state repression and anti-immigration and border control policies. Through their online posts, videos, and campaigns, they have influenced south Asian and Indo-Caribbean immigrants to view the attacks on Muslim immigrants and other immigrants of color since 9/11 as tied to the need to fortify a collective struggle of resistance (Mallapragada, 2014). Social media and text messaging are heavily relied on for organizing and reaching individuals to participate and support the movement. For immigrant communities in the 2006 Chicago protests, ethnic media were also an important source of information for individual participants. In Chicago's May 1, 2006, marches, about half of the participants heard about the demonstration through Spanish-language radio, television, and newspapers (Flores-Gonzalez, Pallares, Herring, & Krysan, 2006).

3.4 | Identities

How immigrants and their supporters perceive their collective identities also shapes individual-level movement participation. Street, Jones-Correa, and Zepeda-Millán (2017) find that children with undocumented parents are more interested in politics and are more likely to see protests as politically effective. They also find that the children of undocumented migrants are more likely to have attended an immigration march or rally in the past year and are more likely to have family members who joined the 2006 immigrant rights demonstrations. In another example of the importance of undocumented status as a collective identity in facilitating political activism, Terriquez (2017) finds that undocumented youth are more likely to participate in protest than their peers with citizenship rights. For individuals with a mixed-status family identity, having at least one family member as undocumented makes one's participation in the immigrant rights movement more likely.⁷

Zepeda-Millán (2014a) examined non-participation in the 2006 immigrant protests in New York. He found that Latino immigrants with a Dominican or Mexican ethnic identity participated in higher numbers compared to other immigrant groups, especially non-Latinos. Other immigrant groups failed to mobilize to the same extent because many felt that HR 4437 mostly affected immigrants with a Latinx identity. In the same study, state repressive threats served to demobilize other immigrant groups with different national and religious identities. For instance, Zepeda-Millán (2014a) contends that the Muslim community did not participate in large numbers in pro-immigrant protests in New York out of fear in the context of heightened discrimination in the post-9/11 era. Students of collective action need to continue to examine *non-participation* in immigrant rights movements and how individual decisions are shaped by varying collective identities.

Schiller et al. (1989) analyzed the organizing history of Haitian immigrants in New York City and how a common Haitian identity needed to develop before mobilization occurred. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, emerging leaders helped create a Haitian ethnic identity separate from other Black and Caribbean immigrant identities to advance goals and resources for Haitian immigrants (Wah & Pierre-Louis, 2004). For instance, the Haitian American Political Organization (HAPO) encouraged a shared Haitian ethnic identity and drew on the Haitian homeland for symbols of common heritage in order to recruit individuals to mobilize for improved conditions for Haitians in the United States. A collective Haitian ethnic identity helped galvanize individuals from various class and social backgrounds into a sustained movement, including new Haitian arrivals and second-generation Haitian immigrants (Wah & Pierre-Louis, 2004).

4 | FRAMING

Framing is used to condense the social world in order to convince adherents, bystanders, and the general public of the urgency of the social issue at hand and to encourage mobilization (Snow & Benford, 1988). Benford and Snow (2000, p. 621) emphasize that social movements are more likely to succeed when activists articulate their cause in terms that are legitimate and meaningful to publics inside and outside the movement. In other words, movement framings must be congruent or resonate with the personal, everyday experiences of the targets of mobilization. The meaning articulated by activists in their framing of key claims has a crucial impact on building movements (Snow et al., 2014). In order to fully understand mobilization, students of collective action observe framing strategies used by immigrant communities to gain support for their local mobilizations. Scholarship suggests some of the core frames used to mobilize participants and support for immigrant movements incorporate elements of family, diligent workers, human rights, indigenous cultures, and appeals to panethnicity.

Family frames are viewed as critical in mobilizing participants for immigrant social movements (Martinez, 2010; Pallares, 2014). Bloemraad et al. (2016) conducted survey experiments to analyze the frames that built support for legalization of immigrants among registered California voters. Their results show that frames connected to family lead to more support for undocumented immigrants, especially from self-identified conservatives. Bloemraad et al. (2011) argue that active framing work was fundamental in building an emerging sense of ethnic solidarity in the marches of 2006 and report that the most successful frames were ones that highlighted American values of family and work. They contend that the “family unity” frame helped emphasize the role of immigrants as parents and family members and was used to demonstrate how anti-immigrant policies contradict U.S. democratic ideals by failing to value all families as equal. Another strategy that was successful involved framing immigrants as workers and consumers in the national economy, which helped portray immigrants as “good Americans.” The characterization of immigrants as economic contributors offers a compelling frame, because it also serves as a counter to the view of immigrants as a drain on the economy and the welfare state. Although some frames emphasize the contribution of immigrants, they may also create categories of “deserving” and “not deserving” immigrants, especially in framing strategies invoked by countermovements (Brown, 2013; Reese, 2011). Future work should explore which framing strategies are most inclusive in creating broader mobilization potential.

Human rights is another framing strategy used for immigrant rights mobilization. For instance, the master frame “Immigrant Rights are Human Rights” was used by advocacy organizations to restore public assistance benefits for non-citizens during the PRWORA⁸ “welfare reform” debates in the mid 1990s (Fujiwara, 2005, p. 81). This framing strategy resonated with the American public and mobilized pro-immigrant forces to hold Congress accountable for the lives of elderly and disabled immigrants who would be affected by the loss of their Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and food stamp benefits (Fujiwara, 2005). During these same welfare policy debates, Hein (2006) documents differences in establishing “injustice frames” and the subsequent propensity to mobilize based on gender and previous political experiences among Hmong and Cambodian immigrant populations.

Terriquez (2015) discusses the importance of framing the undocumented youth movement as human and unafraid. Dreamers organized “Coming Out of the Shadows” campaigns between 2010 and 2012 to publicly declare their undocumented status in order to combat the social stigma. Activists would frame their precarious legal status and situation as inhuman to reach a broader audience. These framing strategies were useful in gaining support for the movement from the general U.S. public but also helped mobilize other undocumented youth who feel the threat of living “in the shadows.” Another useful framing strategy for DREAMers has been using the image of butterflies. Butterflies are used to highlight migration as a natural process, that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and the permeability of borders (Jobin-Leeds, Sen, Darder, & AgitArte [Organization], 2016, p. 99). More framing studies should examine the role of art, murals, and other cultural work in encouraging participation and support for immigrant movements.

Immigrant rights activists also use panethnicity as a framing strategy and a collective identity to coordinate wider coalitions among groups with varying national and ethnic origins. Lopez and Espiritu (1990) focus on how panethnicity brings together organizations and emphasizes the commonalities among diverse ethnic subgroups, eventuating in greater levels of solidarity. To minimize inter-group conflict, leaders must balance the needs of diverse constituencies by creating narratives about the different forms in which subgroups contribute to the panethnic movement as a whole (Okamoto & Mora, 2014). The use of Mesoamerican indigenous dress, rituals, music, and symbols in immigrant rights demonstrations and rallies also promotes panethnicity and solidarity among Mexican and Central American origin populations (De la Torre & Gutiérrez Zúñiga, 2013; Kubal, 2008; Zermeño, 2017).

Martinez (2008) examined the effects of collective action frames on the development of ethnic solidarity among immigrant, naturalized, and U.S.-born Latina/os. She demonstrated how grassroots organizers who coordinated the 2006 immigrant rights mobilizations reinforced a sense of ethnic solidarity through panethnicity, by emphasizing that “we are all flowers from the same soil.” Collective action was possible by organizers emphasizing the pan-immigrant and panethnic ties, human rights, and family values between immigrant and U.S.-born Latina/os.

In another study, Barreto et al. (2009) found that the framing of the 2006 marches as pan-“Latino” by activists in churches and public schools helped gain sympathy for the movement and extend the support to Latinx citizens. In other words, these rallies were not just limited to recent Mexican and Central American immigrants but garnered support across Latina/os to include citizens and non-citizens.

5 | OUTCOMES

One of the reasons for studying social movements is that they will potentially create meaningful social change (Amenta, Caren, & Olasky, 2005; Andrews, 2001; Cress & Snow, 2000). Policy changes, such as the passage of new legislation, (Amenta et al., 2010), the implementation of pro-immigrant ordinances at the local level (Steil & Vasi, 2014), or the prevention of unfavorable measures (i.e., policy threats), are all primary outcomes for social movements.

Although comprehensive immigration reform has not been achieved, mobilization by undocumented communities and their allies has brought some policy wins at the federal and state level. Undocumented youth began organizing efforts in the 2000s to build local and national networks of advocacy organizations (Seif, 2011). For example, undocumented youth began to organize locally and nationally in 25 states, and the California Dream Network mobilized state-wide on 30 campuses (Zimmerman, 2012). After various mobilization efforts from undocumented

youth and their allies, The California Dream Act passed in 2011, and other states have passed similar versions (Chavez, 2013, p. 182). The California Dream Act (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) allows children that were brought to the United States under the age of 16, to qualify for in-state tuition and be able to receive financial aid.

One important national policy outcome for undocumented youth has been the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) legislation, which was implemented in the summer of 2012. DACA gives qualified Dreamers⁹ relief from deportation and permission to work in the United States legally (Milkman, 2014; Zatz & Rodriguez, 2015). DREAMers and their allies were actively mobilizing prior to the passage of the legislation by using their personal narratives (borrowing from LGBTQ activists) of “coming out” as undocumented and unafraid during protest campaigns between 2010 and 2012 (Nicholls, 2013; Seif, 2011; Swerts, 2015; Terriquez, 2015; Zimmerman, 2016). Undocumented youth engaged in civil disobedience actions including chaining themselves to the White House. Four undocumented students occupied Senator McCain’s office in Arizona in May 2010, followed by other occupations, hunger strikes, and marches (Nicholls & Fiorito, 2015). There have been other movements pushing for federal executive action such as United We Dream and its allies coordinating the “Education Not Deportation” campaign and pushing president Obama in 2012 in the “Right to Dream Campaign” to pass DACA legislation (Zatz & Rodriguez, 2015). Scholars have even shown positive mental health consequences for DACA recipients compared to undocumented youth lacking legal protections (Patler & Pirtle, 2017).

Public opinion can also be an important outcome of social movements (Banaszak & Ondercin, 2016). One critical impact for the immigrant rights movement has been the ability to change attitudes towards immigrants. Branton, Martinez-Ebers, Carey, and Matsubayashi (2015) use the 2006 Latino National Survey and protest event data to examine the influence of the 2006 immigration protests on immigration policy preferences. The authors find that exposure to protest leads to increased support for less restrictive immigration policy. Right-wing political parties and their anti-immigrant campaign platforms likely act as a counter frame and a negative influence on public opinion, eventuating in increasing attacks and hate crimes against vulnerable immigrant and refugee populations.

Steil and Vasi (2014) use event history analysis and interviews to explain local-level immigration policies. They demonstrate that the presence of pro-immigrant organizations in a locality has significant positive effects in a community adopting a pro-immigrant ordinance. Additionally, a favorable political context also contributes to the passage of pro-immigrant policies, especially in municipalities with a high percentage of democratic voters and Latinx elected officials. Movements may even impact identities. Zepeda-Millán and Wallace (2013), examining the impacts of the 2006 demonstrations, find that the protests heightened Latina/os’ sense of racial identity.

One of the most important conditions associated with successful immigrant rights policy outcomes involves multi-racial and broad coalitions. Reese (2011) found that the policy threats that accompanied the 1996 welfare reforms (PRWORA) stimulated multi-ethnic coalitions that effectively prevented welfare cuts to documented immigrants in several states. Brown and Jones (2016) demonstrate how Black-Latinx movement coalitions in Mississippi mobilized to triumphantly thwart 282 anti-immigrant bills in the state since 2005. In summary, movement outcomes for immigrant rights campaigns range from preventing unfavorable policies (e.g., HR 4437) or the passage of favorable local and national policies (e.g., state DREAM Acts and DACA) to influencing public opinion, racial identities, and even mental health.

6 | CONCLUSION

We have examined how recent studies on immigrant mobilization inform social movement scholarship in four key areas: emergence, participation, framing, and outcomes. In this final section, we highlight potential future lines of work in each of the four areas. These suggestions are based on the current state of knowledge of immigrant rights movements.

6.1 | Emergence

One of the main mechanisms that drives immigrant movements is policy threats. Future work will contribute to movement research by more precisely defining the types of policy threats that trigger immigrant mobilization. In addition, because immigrant mobilization faces so many obstacles in terms of legal status, resource scarcity, and state repression, we need more investigations into why some regions rise up in collective action in the face of threats while other immigrant localities remain quiescent. One promising avenue in addressing this question resides in understanding the resource infrastructure available in communities to resist anti-immigrant threats. Future studies should also continue to develop more systematic ways of examining the impacts of state repression on immigrant mobilization. One such strategy involves empirically documenting ICE workplace and community raids (as well as deportations), in order to account for the total repression occurring in localities and how it encourages or deters immigrant rights movement activity (Heredia, 2016). More work is also needed on the cleavages between ethnic groups and relationships among immigrants with different types of legal status in terms of the conditions that are most likely to lead to broad coalitions and sustained mobilization.

6.2 | Participation

In the area of immigrant movement participation, the role of collective identities continues to be a powerful predictor. Within debates on collective identities, the recognition of intersectionality appears to be particularly promising. Chun, Lipsitz, and Shin (2013), for example, show how organizations such as Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA) create spaces for immigrant women to become grassroots leaders by using an intersectional approach that acknowledges the multiple and simultaneous forms of oppression that immigrant women face (sexism, racism, class oppression, nativism, and language discrimination). These collective efforts serve to empower immigrant women, who work collectively on community-driven campaigns to improve their work place conditions and help change local public policy. Similarly, Terriquez (2015) argues that key activists can help generate intersectional participation, as she demonstrates with queer undocumented youth, who serve as key broker organizers in immigrant rights mobilization. Scholarship needs to continue to examine intersectionality and the leadership roles of immigrant women of color, undocumented queer youth, and other immigrant groups with multiple marginalized identities that are often given less attention in the general social movements literature. Intersectionality has the potential to be used as a unifying space, to build solidarity and understanding between various marginalized groups, who share overlapping identities beyond immigration status (Terriquez, Brenes, & Lopez, 2018).

6.3 | Framing

A particularly fascinating area of the immigrant rights movement resides in the framing strategies employed by activists and leaders. At the empirical level, social movement studies would benefit from systematic analysis of the cultural tool kits used by the movement. More specifically, focused research on the banners, songs, cultural symbols, and websites of immigrant rights activists would open up greater understandings of the emotions evoked and the ability to articulate grievances convincingly to larger publics. Comparative studies that examine framing strategies across campaigns or geographical regions in relation to movement outcomes would be especially informative to current scholarship.

6.4 | Outcomes

Research demonstrates that social movement mobilization by immigrant communities and their allies has led to policy gains at the state and federal level, including access for better educational and work place opportunities. However, these policy wins benefit a small percentage of the estimated 11.3 million undocumented individuals in the country. Students of collective action need to continue to better document the conditions associated with successful

immigrant movement outcomes (e.g., framing strategies, level of mobilization, coalitional breadth, and tactical choices). Especially beneficial are studies that show linkages of immigrant rights movements with other struggles over racial justice, civil rights, welfare rights, and labor. In the case of immigrant movements, this would not just be an academic exercise but could also provide indispensable information to immigrant organizations and activists for future campaigns. Such an accumulation of knowledge could potentially improve the lives and life chances for millions of families.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Given the militarization of the U.S. Mexican border over the past 20 years, circular migration has been cut off, dispersing Mexican and Central American immigrant populations deeper into the interior of the United States (Massey, Pren, & Durand, 2016).
- ² Under IRCA, some immigrants who had undocumented status were able to apply for legal residency. However, although the law had stringent demands and employer sanctions, Calavita (1989) demonstrates through her analysis that growers benefited from a new supply of foreign-labor that included legal immigrants, temporary workers, and undocumented "aliens." Although policies such as IRCA were implemented to deal with economic and political demands, in reality, the law had a minimal effect in reducing the size of the undocumented population.
- ³ In 1996, The Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) was introduced, which stripped immigrants and asylum seekers of various basic legal rights including due process rights (Jonas, 2006). Zatz and Smith (2012) discuss how (IIRIRA) increased border enforcement and also targeted legal permanent residents and noncitizen immigrants, who could now be detained or deported for a variety of crimes that had not previously been deportable offenses.
- ⁴ The Secure Communities Program is a Department of Homeland Security (DHS) program which began in 2008. It integrated criminal justice and immigration databases, which allows Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) access to information used to identify and deport undocumented immigrants.
- ⁵ These organizational acronyms stand for Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), Central American Resource Center (CARECEN), The Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA), El Rescate, Centro de Acción Autónoma (CASA), and Piñeros y Campesinos Unidos Noroeste (PCUN).
- ⁶ The organizational acronyms stand for United Farm Workers (UFW), League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), and the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA).
- ⁷ There is an estimated 9 million people residing in households with mixed legal status families (Zatz & Rodriguez, 2015).
- ⁸ The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.
- ⁹ DREAMers are undocumented immigrants who were brought as children to the United States by their parents (the 1.5 generation; Chavez, 2013, p. 19).

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