

CULTURAL EFFECTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: RACIAL FORMATION AND THE IMMIGRANT RIGHTS STRUGGLE IN THE DEEP SOUTH*

Hana E. Brown and Jennifer A. Jones*

This article uses a comparative analysis of immigrant rights movements in Mississippi and Alabama to examine racial formation as a cultural consequence of mobilization. Drawing on archival, media, and interview data, we demonstrate that the Mississippi movement fueled shifts in public racial discourse beyond the movement itself; however, the Alabama movement engendered no such changes, despite its efforts. These outcomes emerged despite the movements' common origins and the states' similar political and racial contexts. We trace these outcomes to the guiding racial orientations of each movement. While Mississippi organizers embraced an interracialist organizing approach, Alabama organizers grounded their work in an assimilationist approach. These orientations led the movements to develop different racial framings and different networks, creating pathways of broader cultural influence for the Mississippi movement and closing off pathways in Alabama. These findings speak to enduring questions about movements' cultural impacts and about the mechanisms driving racial formation.

The civil rights movement proved a critical case study for both social movements and race scholarship. For collective mobilization scholars, the struggle yielded foundational theories of movement rise, organization, and outcomes (Andrews 2004; McAdam 1982, 1990; Payne 1995). For race scholars, it catalyzed research on the reproduction of racial inequality in the absence of de jure discrimination (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Omi and Winant 1994). Only recently, however, have scholars attempted to bridge theories of racial dynamics and social movements (for critiques see Bell 2016; Oliver 2017; Reyes and Ragon 2018; Robnett 2000).

The concept of racial formation offers a starting point for linking race and social movement scholarship. Omi and Winant (1994:55) define racial formation as “the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed.” Racial formation scholars continue to specify how this process unfolds, typically focusing on a single case and often undertheorizing the role of social movements as a mechanism of racial formation. For social movement scholars, racial formation is a potential yet understudied cultural outcome of movements. Racial formation involves and reproduces racialized social structures, but the transformations of racial categories, discourses, and narratives involved in racial formation are also cultural.

We turn to racial politics in the contemporary Deep South to understand when and how social movements affect racial formation. Since 1990, this region has witnessed staggering growth in its Latinx and foreign-born populations. This transformation has sparked the rise of new immigrant rights movements and prompted questions about how racial dynamics in these states, long characterized by an entrenched Black-White divide, are responding to this new

*The authors would like to thank the following individuals for their research assistance: Felicia Arriaga, Taylor Dow, Ann Hollingsworth, Christina Lawrence, Robert Reece, Alex Reyes, David Rigby, and Nura Sedige. This work was supported by the National Science Foundation grant number SES-1728780 and Russell Sage Foundation grant number 88-14-55. Authors are equal co-authors, listed in alphabetical order.

†Hana E. Brown is Associate Professor of Sociology at Wake Forest University. Jennifer A. Jones is Associate Professor of Sociology and Latin American and Latino Studies at the University of Illinois in Chicago. Please direct correspondence to brownhe@wfu.edu.

diversity. We use a qualitative comparison of immigrant rights movements in two states (Mississippi and Alabama) to understand when and how movements might engender shifts in a key facet of racial formation: public racial discourse.

Drawing from archival, media, and interview data, we demonstrate that, despite the states' similar political and racial contexts, the Mississippi and Alabama immigrant rights movements yielded different patterns of racial formation, particularly in terms of Black-Latinx dynamics. We trace these results to the movements' distinctive racial orientations. In Mississippi, the immigrant rights movement adopted an interracialist approach. They worked to build a political community across existing Black-Latinx boundaries (Jung 2003). In Alabama, the movement adopted an assimilationist approach, grounding their work in the assumption that immigrant rights required incorporating immigrants into the White mainstream. These racial orientations led core movement organizations to adopt different racial framing strategies and build different networks. In Mississippi, the movement worked to build extensive networks with Black and Latinx political and cultural elites. These ties facilitated the relational diffusion of new public racial discourses to broader media and legislative audiences, as allied organizations became racial-meaning entrepreneurs on behalf of the movement (Skrentny 2004; Tarrow and McAdam 2004). The Alabama movement's assimilationist approach led it to ally with mainstream White institutions, corporations, and government agencies. These ties inhibited the movement's efforts to shift public racial discourse when public threats to immigrants reached a fevered pitch in 2011. These assimilationist networks also inhibited the Alabama movement's efforts to shift public racial discourse when leaders later adopted an interracialist strategy.

Our analysis recognizes that social movement organizations are racialized organizations (Ray 2019) and foregrounds the role of movements' racial orientations and networks in facilitating or inhibiting broader cultural shifts, both inside and outside the political sphere. These findings suggest that racial ideologies are critical inputs in social movement work. Moreover, they demonstrate how movements' racial orientations enable and constrain racial formation via their structuring of movement networks and coalitions.

RACIAL FORMATION AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT OUTCOME

Much research on social movement outcomes focuses on their political impacts, identifying the intra- and extramovement dynamics that yield policy gains, transform political fields or reshape partisan alliances (Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su 2010; Andrews 2004; McVeigh, Cunningham, and Farrell 2014). Despite implicit recognition that some of the most enduring effects of movements are cultural (see Amenta and Polletta 2019), the cultural consequences of movements remain comparatively understudied (Earl 2000, 2004; Giugni 1998, 2008; Hart 1996; Tilly 1999).

As movement scholars are still endeavoring to understand the cultural effects of social movements, race scholars are still working to understand the processes by which racial ideologies, categories, and discourses change. Most work focuses on formal legal and policy definitions, examining the forces that drive administrative or census classifications (Brown 2020; Mora 2014; Nobles 2000). This research suggests that movements play a central role in the process of racial formation, but its reliance on single case studies (e.g., Latinxs or Asians) offers limited opportunity to explore the mechanisms driving these cultural processes.

Due largely to subfield specialization, researchers typically treat movement cultural effects and racial formation as different empirical phenomena. However, social movements play a central role in constructing racial groups and hierarchies. Omi and Winant (1994) theorize that racial formation results from the interplay between movements and state actors. Building on this, we treat social movements as a driving force in racial formation and treat racial formation as a potential outcome of social movements. We engage in a comparative study of two immigrant rights movements in the contemporary Deep South. Over the last few decades, the region, like other "new immigrant destinations," has witnessed a dramatic rise in its foreign-

born population (Massey 2008; Migration Policy Institute 2012; Singer 2004). This increase is primarily due to the arrival of Latinx immigrants. As Latinx arrivals faced mounting discrimination and political backlash, immigrant rights movements sprung up across the region. We investigate the relationship between immigrant rights movements and racial formation in two Deep South states: Mississippi and Alabama. Specifically, we examine the relationship between these movements and public racial discourses about Black-Latinx relations, oft-assumed to be tense and conflict ridden (Marrow 2011; McClain, Johnson Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). If most research examines Black-Latinx relations on the ground, we examine how community leaders, the media, and political figures define these two groups and the relations between them.

Our analysis foregrounds public racial discourse as a social movement outcome that is at once cultural and political (e.g., manifested in the political sphere). We use the term discourse to refer to the language and clusters of concepts that undergird specific logics about the social world and constrain thought and action (Steinman 2005). Our focus on public racial discourse is grounded in the recognition that movement organizations are carriers of ideas and narratives (see Amenta and Polletta 2019) and that ideas and narratives are central to racial formation processes (Omi and Winant 1994). As movement organizations advocate for immigrant rights, they may face an imperative to organize differences as a means of creating unity among allies and building a broad base of support (Ghaziani, Taylor, and Stone 2016). These framing strategies are a response to broader discursive opportunity structures (Paschel 2010; Skrentny 2006), but movements' strategic framing efforts can also shift broader public discourse (Brown 2013). Immigrant rights organizations routinely engage in a "strategy of position" as they seek to "change the perception of the group [immigrants] so that the group is newly included in an existing category of privileged actors" (Steinman 2005:768). Because immigration is a highly racialized issue, it is often perceived racial differences that activists seek to bridge and broader racial discourses that they seek to reshape. Movements' internally developed racial framing strategies may trigger broader shifts in racial formation, enduring beyond the movements themselves.

As our case studies illustrate, movements routinely work to shift public racial discourse, but they are not always successful. The Mississippi movement's efforts yielded broader shifts in public racial discourse, but the Alabama movement did not. Previous research suggests that movements' political orientations and political opportunity structures might influence their cultural impacts (Amenta, Elliott, Shortt, Tierney, Türkoğlu, and Vann Jr. 2019; Andrews and Caren 2010; Elliott, Amenta, and Caren 2016; Rohlinger, Kail, Taylor, and Conn 2012). Our analysis foregrounds the role of movements' racial ideologies and related networks in facilitating or inhibiting these broader cultural shifts. We assert that movements' guiding racial orientations result in distinctive racial-framing strategies and the cultivation of networks that accord with those orientations. These networks structure the extent to which movements' strategic frames become part of broader public racial discourse.

Our analysis is guided by the recognition that social movement organizations are racialized organizations (Ray 2019) with distinct racial orientations. These orientations are comprised of both racial ideologies and racial practices (Jung 2003). Movement organizations can adopt any range of racial orientations, explicit or implicit. Our case-study organizations illuminate two racialized orientations: interracialism and assimilationism. Interracialism is the "ideology and practice of forming a political community across extant racial boundaries," usually among marginalized groups (Jung 2003:373). Interracialism is grounded in ideologies of intergroup similarity and solidarity. In practice, interracialist approaches involve discursive framing strategies and network building that highlight this similarity and solidarity. Reflecting traditional immigration scholarship, assimilationism assumes the "decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences" (Alba and Nee 2005:11; Jung 2009: 377). In other words, it ideologically embraces Whiteness as normative and strives to assimilate racialized minorities into middle-class Whiteness. In practice, assimilationist approaches strive to integrate racialized minorities into mainstream institutions (e.g., via the acquisition of better

jobs, education, and improved housing). This work involves discursive framing strategies that stress the good values of racialized minorities and the formation of networks with mainstream institutions. As we show below, while Mississippi's approach centered on interracialism (e.g., bridging the categories of Black and Latinx), Alabama's focused on assimilation (e.g., integrating Latinx immigrants into Whiteness). These guiding racial orientations resulted in distinctive racial framing strategies and the cultivation of networks that accord with those orientations. These networks structured the extent to which each movement's strategic frames became part of broader public racial discourse.

DATA AND METHODS

Matched pair comparisons allow researchers to build robust theoretical models while controlling for known causal forces and staying attuned to the complexities of the political field (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003; Ragin 1987). Much research on social movements focuses on positive cases, analyzing successful mobilizations. Likewise, most racial-formation research focuses on moments of racial change, not racial stasis. This focus on positive or successful cases can hamper efforts to separate relevant processes, structures, and patterns (Emigh 1997). The Mississippi-Alabama comparison is useful precisely because the movements yielded different results, despite the states' demographic, political, and economic similarities. Alabama and Mississippi are home to a longstanding Black-White racial divide and entrenched conservative political power. Beginning in the 1990s, undocumented Latinx immigrants arrived in large numbers in both Mississippi and Alabama, often recruited by labor contractors. The foreign-born population in both states grew by over 200% between 1990 and 2010 (Migration Policy Institute 2012), and this rise was accompanied by the increasing centrality of immigration in state political life. The contexts for organizing in Mississippi and Alabama are also similar. Both have long histories of civil rights organizing, and key leaders from those movements are well-established figures in local politics. These similarities allow us to trace shifts and stasis in racial formation to core social movement organizations, identify key mechanisms, and rule out competing explanations for the states' divergent trajectories.

We adopt a mesolevel approach to study these ethnoracial mobilizations (Fleming and Morris 2015; Reyes and Ragon 2018), centering our analysis on the organization at the heart of each state's immigrant rights movement. Both the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance (MIRA) and the Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA) formed in 1999 and aimed to represent and support their state's growing Latinx populations. We focus our analysis on 2000–2015, when each organization was established, developed its foundational programs, and became players in state politics.¹ We adopted a multimethod approach with several data sources (archival data, in-depth interviews, and media content analysis), triangulating our data from each source to ensure that our data collection strategy did not bias results (Kadushin, Hecht, Sasson, and Saxe 2008; King, Keohane, and Verba 1994).

Our primary data sources include organizational archives and in-depth interviews. We draw on an extensive analysis of over 25,000 pages of files from MIRA and HICA, whose leaders granted us full access to their records. We accessed the MIRA records on-site at the organization, creating a digitized archive of the organization's entire corpus of internal documents. HICA's records were archived with the Birmingham Public Library Archives. We used these materials to construct histories of how each organization developed its orientation toward immigrant rights work, the racial meanings embedded in these orientations, and the consequences of those assumptions for each organization's work. Further, we use these archival materials to examine how discourses about race spread across individuals and organizations to the broader public.

We relied on archival data and media content analysis to examine each organization's effects on public racial discourse. We examined archival materials from the Mississippi and Alabama Departments of Archives and History to assess how the organization's work affected

policy elites' racial discourse. We examined files indexed with the words "immigrants" or "immigration," which included internal policy memos, press releases, public addresses, and other materials from each state's governors, appointed officials, and other elected officials. Documents of questionable origin or authenticity were checked for validity against other historical, newspaper, or interview sources and disregarded in the absence of external validation (Mariampolski and Hughes 1978).

We used media content analysis to examine cultural shifts in public racial discourse. We analyzed fifty randomly sampled news stories per year from 2003-2013 from the two largest newspapers in each state for a total of 2,008 news stories.² To create these samples, we searched for articles containing the term *immigra** and retained articles that discussed immigration-related issues in the United States. We sampled from the eligible stories to retain for analysis 50 stories per state per year, taking every Nth story, where N equaled the number of eligible stories that year divided by 50. Using Dedoose, we coded the news stories for individual speaker attributes, organizations quoted, immigration law position statements, and cultural characterizations of immigrants and Black-Latinx relations.³ All codes with less than 80 percent intercoder reliability were dropped. The average for the retained codes was 98 percent agreement. In addition, we used the full universe of news stories on immigration to construct broader histories of immigration politics in each state. We supplemented this analysis with content analysis of 204 immigration-related stories published in each state's most prominent African American newspaper (the *Jackson Advocate* and the *Birmingham Times*). We use this media content analysis to identify shifts in how the media reported on immigration and how the media represented the relationship between Black and Latinx residents.

We couple this archival and media analysis with interviews with thirty-three key movement organizers, media figures, and political leaders in the two states. These interviews followed a semistructured questionnaire that contained questions about key players and alliances, organizing strategies, and significant debates. For each interviewee, we also developed specific questions tailored to the person's political role in the state. These interviews allowed us to assess the role that organizational and media actors played in prompting cultural shifts in public racial discourse and how these shifts materialized.

In what follows, we first present our results from Mississippi, where MIRA's interracialist organizing work and networks prompted shifts in racial formation in the state. We then present our findings from Alabama, where HICA's assimilationist approach and networks engendered no such shifts.

MISSISSIPPI: INTERRACIALIST ORGANIZING AND RACIAL TRANSFORMATION

In the 1990s, Mississippi employers began recruiting undocumented Latinxs to work in the coastal casino industry. Although the casinos first hired workers directly, they later contracted out their hiring to recruiters who engaged in exploitative and deceptive practices. Contractors promised solid wages, housing, and other protections, but workers received illegally low and irregular pay. The promised housing turned out to be nonexistent or mere shipping containers with old mattresses strewn on the floor (Cintra 2006). Rather than go underground, several workers began to organize. They presented demands to their employers. Management agreed to the demands, but the next day had the immigrant workers arrested and deportation proceedings initiated (Cintra 2006). Meanwhile, one interviewee noted that rumors spread of state officials refusing to enroll Latinx children in public schools and refusing to issue driver's licenses to adults. In response, a group of labor organizers and immigrant service providers came together to form a coalition for immigrant rights: the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance (MIRA).

Movement leaders draw on prior organizing experience and networks to develop strategy, build collective identities, and frame their work (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). MIRA's founding leaders were no exception. Among them were seasoned activists who had organized Latinx grape workers in California with such luminaries as Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez

and built careers around organizing labor, voting rights, and racial justice campaigns in Mississippi. These formative experiences led MIRA's leaders to understand immigration as a racial justice issue. As the organization's director, Bill Chandler, explained in a 2014 interview, MIRA was founded on the principle that "all immigration laws from the beginning are about two things: racism and managing labor" and that there are "power connections" between anti-Black racism and discrimination against immigrants. Chandler and his team also believed that no victories for immigrant rights could be won without the support of the state's small and predominantly Black progressive political community. To build this support, the organization's leaders adopted an interracialist approach that framed Black and Latinx communities as sharing a common history and lived experience and sought to build alliances between Black and Latinx populations and leaders.

To build Black-Brown solidarity and contest the state's entrenched White power structure, leaders established an early rule that MIRA's board must be comprised primarily of Black and Latinx leaders, represented in equal number. Together the group built an organization that was intentionally composed of racial justice, labor, faith-based, and community organizations from around the state, including former civil rights leader and later Jackson city Mayor Chokwe Lumumba, and AFL-CIO organizer Jim Evans. Central to MIRA's interracialist practice was its participation in a broader network of progressive activists and organizations dominated by Black leaders. The Mississippi Human Services Coalition (HSC) was a key player in this activist network. Since its founding in 1968, the HSC has connected progressive activists and organizations across the state. These groups meet before and during each legislative session to establish joint priorities, decide which elected officials to lobby for which causes, and rate the performance of individual legislators. MIRA's leaders had long been involved individually in the HSC via their civil rights and labor organizing work. After founding MIRA, they turned to the HSC to marshal Black leaders' support for immigrant rights. The organization also eschewed ties with organizations that did not share its interracialist principles. For example, MIRA rejected funding from and collaborations with national organizations like the National Council of La Raza and the Ford Foundation and Mississippi-based corporations because their approaches to immigration did not center around racial justice.⁴

To advocate for immigrants, MIRA sought to change how Mississippians wrote, talked, and thought about immigration and Black-Latinx relations. MIRA focused its efforts on two broad claims. The first was that Black and Latinx communities shared a common history. In the U.S., public discourse surrounding immigration typically emphasizes the arrival of European immigrants at Ellis Island, journeying by boat past the Statue of Liberty. This narrative is accompanied by multiculturalist references to the U.S. as a "nation of immigrants" and "land of opportunity." While many immigrant rights groups embrace this narrative, MIRA adopted a different framing strategy that linked immigration to the U.S.'s history of racial domination and struggle. Perhaps the most telling example of this revised narrative is a widely circulated poster MIRA created to commemorate its tenth anniversary (see figure 1). The poster identifies the historical antecedents to the immigrant rights struggle in the state, visualized by a road linking immigrant rights to earlier struggles against racial injustice. According to this history, the struggle for contemporary immigrant rights begins not with Ellis Island but with slavery and John Brown's raid. The road continues through the civil rights movement and the murder of the three activists during Mississippi's Freedom Summer and passes by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X before ending with MIRA. At the end of the road are drawings of the organization's original board members.

This version of history paints African Americans and Latinxs not as in conflict or even in newly found solidarity but as connected through a long history of collective struggle against injustice. The poster is emblematic of MIRA's larger framing efforts. At the start of each year, MIRA's newsletters announce Black History Month, featuring photos of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights leaders amidst a sea of immigration-related stories. This imagery prompts readers to consider the connection between the Black civil rights struggle and contemporary immigration politics.

Figure 1. MIRA Freedom Road Poster

Second, the organization asserted that Black and Latinx communities faced a common contemporary experience of racism. This claim is strikingly evident in MIRA's internal files and their public organizing. For example, in the cover story of one newsletter, the organization attempted to rally supporters by arguing that:

Our experiences with hundreds of [Latinx] immigrants have revealed the countless ways in which they are marginalized and dehumanized. They have been driven from their home countries by American foreign policies, discriminated against in the workplace, forced to live and work in hostile conditions, and often forcibly separated from their families. They are constantly racially profiled by bigoted law enforcement authorities" (MIRA 2010a).

MIRA's leaders advanced this argument at rallies and on lobbying days, claiming that Mississippi politicians were "reinventing the racism of the past" (Newsom 2010), attacking immigrants, and proposing bills "born of hatred and racism" (Apel 2011).

To frame Latinx immigrants as victims of a racism akin to that faced by African Americans, the movement also drew on historical comparisons to Jim Crow and the civil rights movement. Discussing the state of anti-Latinx affairs in Mississippi, Patricia Ice, a Black immigrant rights attorney, and founding MIRA member, argued:

There appears to be xenophobia in Mississippi, the likes of which we have not seen since the civil rights era of the 1960s... [Immigration] critics argue that undocumented immigrants have 'broken the law.' They also said that Rosa Parks broke the law when she refused to move to the back of the bus. I say that some laws are unjust (Hampton 2008).

Ice likened xenophobia and racism, but she also drew a direct parallel between the racism Jim Crow-era laws and Mississippi's anti-immigrant laws. This framing strategy also came across in MIRA's response to Arizona's 2010 anti-immigrant law, which was the strongest anti-immigrant bill in the nation at the time. Once the bill passed, others states across the country (including Mississippi) considered similar bills. In an article entitled, "Has Arizona Replaced Mississippi as the Most Racist?" MIRA argued:

Passage of this ethnic cleansing bill in Arizona reminds us of the times in Mississippi when Jim Crow laws had the same intent, along with White supremacist violence directed at Blacks, contributed to the Great Migration out of the South by millions of African Americans" (Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance 2010b).

MIRA mobilized these two claims to assert that shared history and experiences positioned Black and Latinx communities as a collective actor who shared a joint, ongoing struggle. Disseminating this message through the HSC and the state's media, and Black political leadership, the organization sought to build a political coalition that could prevent the most punitive of anti-immigration measures from taking hold in this deeply conservative state and that would protect and empower Latinx and Black communities. In so doing, MIRA's arguments about Black-Latinx commonalities and immigration as a racial justice issue spread beyond the movement to broader political and media spheres. Below, we highlight the role of MIRA's interracialist networks in facilitating these shifts and then provide evidence of MIRA's cultural effects on public racial discourse in two different domains: politics and media.

HSC, Networks, and Discursive Shifts

From its inception, MIRA worked to frame immigration as an issue of racism and racial justice. This first began as a collective action frame designed to recruit and unify Blacks and Latinxs in the struggle for immigrant rights. Over time, however, our data suggest that this discourse of racism and discrimination spread beyond the movement as journalists and elected officials began adopting these same arguments in their immigration work, marking a shift away from more traditional debates about immigrant work ethic or human rights. What facilitated these shifts?

Our data suggest that the mainstreaming of MIRA's public racial discourse in both the political and media spheres was facilitated by the organization's position in a network of progressive activist organizations and media elites and the social norms governing those ties. Our newspaper, interview, and archival data suggest that the movement achieved these goals and indicate the centrality of the HSC in prompting these shifts. The HSC network was valuable to MIRA for at least three reasons. First, this network provided a clear population of civic and political leaders from which immigration activists could recruit. Early movement leaders recruited nearly all MIRA's original board members from the HSC or affiliated groups. Second, the network was composed of veteran Black political players well-versed in Mississippi

politics. The group's leader, Rims Barber, was a former Freedom Summer volunteer. An active member, Jim Evans, headed up multiple union organizations and served in the Mississippi state legislature. Other members possessed similar ties to and experience in progressive state politics and media, including major mainstream and Black newspapers. Third, most of these individuals had ties to Mississippi policymakers and the media, the movement's primary targets. Some of the activists in the network were even elected officials or newspaper editors themselves. As we elaborate below, these networks gave the movement a direct link to institutions of cultural influence.

As MIRA brought its interracialist frames to the HSC, the other progressive leaders involved took on a role as cultural brokers, disseminating the movement's carefully crafted arguments about Black-Latinx similarity and immigration as a racism issue. MIRA's ability to capitalize on these long-standing ties depended on the norms governing this broader progressive network. Our interview data make clear that norms of reciprocity govern the HSC and broader progressive networks in the state. As Chandler summarized in an interview conducted in 2014, "If you want to ally with a group, you need to follow their lead. Reach out immediately, help them with their issues, and do what they need done. Then, when you need help with your cause, they will be there for you." These norms of reciprocity have allowed the immigrant rights movement in Mississippi to become as broad and sweeping as it has. Civil rights leaders, union leaders, elected officials, and others joined the immigrant rights movement out of mutual obligation to its leaders—people who had long supported their own efforts. It was their turn to return the favor.

These brokers took MIRA's message of interracialism to their organizations, their ties in the legislature, and their media contacts. One illustration of this process comes from an interview we conducted with an African American state senator who wished to remain anonymous. He told us that he originally started assisting with MIRA's efforts out of obligation to Jim Evans, a fellow member of the Black Legislative Caucus and HSC. Evans always "had my back," this senator told us, so he returned the favor and supported immigrant rights in the legislature at Evans's request. In that role, he became a cultural broker. He argued in the capitol that immigration was a Black issue. He conveyed that message to fellow legislators and to journalists who interviewed him. When he started framing immigration as a critical racial justice issue, this legislator said he was just doing a favor for a colleague, but after a while, "it just [started to make] sense" that Latinxs were facing the same discrimination as African Americans. This story highlights the spread of interracialism through HSC. It also evidences another point, echoed in our interviews: individuals recruited to the movement did not just sell this public racial discourse; they came to embrace it themselves and use it in other contexts. This progressive activist network's close relationships and norms enabled shifts in public racial discourse.

Racial Discourse in the Political Sphere

One arena in which this public racial discourse spread was in mainstream state politics. Our interview and archival data suggest that a shift in political discourse about immigration began around 2005-2006, when MIRA became particularly visible in the state. Earlier legislative discussions about immigration focused overwhelmingly on legal status and government documentation, but around this time, progressive legislators and activists (even those unaffiliated with the immigrant rights movement) began framing immigration as a racial issue. For example, African American businessman and political leader Eddie Smith advocated not for immigrant rights but for expanded labor protections. He argued that, "Immigrants are being exploited in the same way Black Americans were during the civil rights movement. They have the same problems we had in the 1960s [such as] finding jobs, living wages, and places to live" (Brown 2003). Progressive state legislators, particularly members of the Black Caucus, increasingly voiced similar comparisons over the last decade. So common had these narratives become that political leaders like Derrick Johnson routinely asserted that "Any legislation that discriminates against Latinos, discriminates against African Americans" (Pettus 2011).

When elected officials and civil society leaders began making these arguments in the legislature, immigration foes hardly took notice and continued to frame immigration as an issue of legal status and fiscal austerity. But as the chorus of progressive voices grew louder, the counterarguments made by immigration opponents changed. They began to engage the racism claims directly and the parallels to Jim Crow, denying that they had any racist intentions and calling the Jim Crow parallels ludicrous. This trend is reflected in 2010 debates about a sweeping anti-immigration bill before the state legislature. As legislators considered replicating Arizona's anti-immigrant legislation, immigration advocates rallied at the state capitol in Jackson, chanting, "Mississippi Si! Arizona No!" (Crisp 2010c). MIRA and its allies intentionally held the rally in front of a statue of former governor and KKK member Theodore Gilmore Bilbo, a renowned White supremacist. "Isn't trying to bring this xenophobic and racist Arizona law into Mississippi playing the Bilbo card?" asked Bill Chandler. "Are Lt. Gov. Bryant and others moving from behind the dark shadows of what Theodore Bilbo represents? Are they not following in the footsteps of Bilbo?" (Crisp 2010c).

Anti-immigrant legislators first responded to this racism discourse with fiscal arguments, but MIRA's racism frame became so dominant among pro-immigrant forces that their opponents felt forced to respond and deny their racism. State Senator Lee Yancey (R-Brandon), a staunch proponent of restrictive immigration measures, argued that "Those who accuse us of racism have no other argument. I don't know how you can defend someone who comes into the country illegally" (Crisp 2010b). Later, along with other state Republican leaders, Yancey went on the defensive in the media, proclaiming, "I'm not a racist. . . . I don't want to be lumped into that group." (Crisp 2010a). In short, racism and Black history became the guiding frames for Mississippi immigration policy debates on both sides of the aisle, and the omnibus anti-immigrant bill never passed the legislature.

Racial Discourse in the Media

Our data also suggest that, over time, MIRA shifted public racial discourse in another sphere: the media. In both the state's mainstream and Black presses, news coverage of immigration shifted to emphasize Black and Latinx individuals' shared history, experience of racism, and common contemporary struggle. As the editor of the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger* wrote, anti-immigrant policy proposals are "designed to inflame White racism here in Mississippi. . . . [They are driven by the very] racism that has been perpetuated against African Americans for years" (Newsom 2010). This public racial discourse defines immigrant rights as a "Black issue," as members of the Legislative Black Caucus members frequently said. It also framed White backlash and anti-immigrant politics as the latest iteration of Richard Nixon's famed Southern Strategy, which used implicit anti-Black appeals to lure White southern voters to the Republican Party (Minore 2007). This discourse not only linked the civil rights movement to the immigrant rights movement but it also argued that racism against both groups could be traced to one force: White racism.

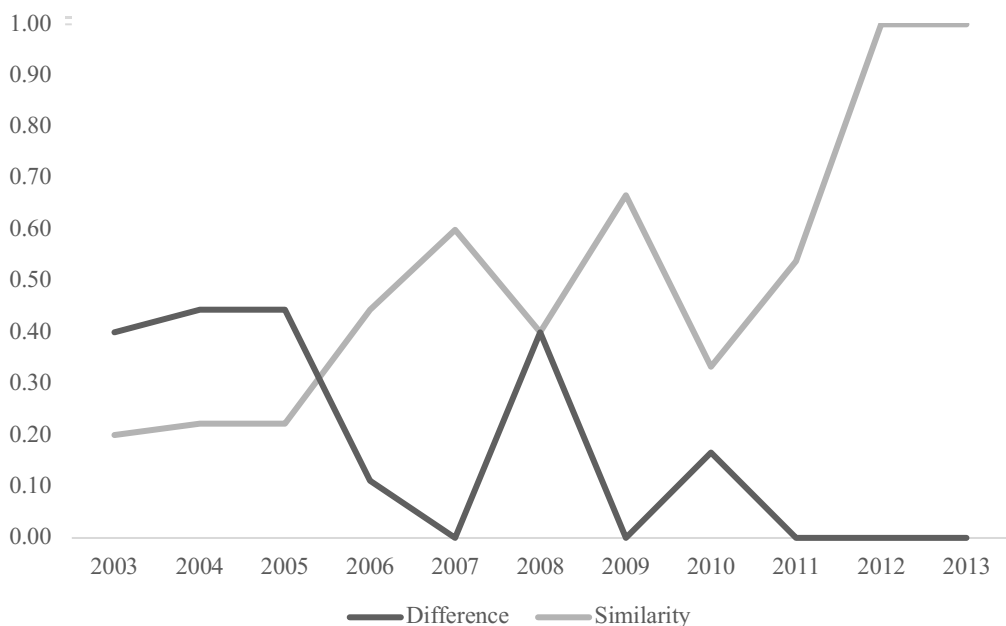
Sid Salter, a prominent journalist in the state, captured these comparisons in an opinion piece he wrote for the *Clarion-Ledger*: "Now that a measure of progress has been made in race relations between Blacks and Whites in Mississippi, it seems some among us are encouraging new avenues for racism and bigotry and adding a side order of misplaced nationalism." Over time, journalists in the state also came to draw comparisons between the Jim Crow era and anti-immigrant efforts. When journalists in the state reported on crime and victimization in Latinx communities, they began calling lethal violence against Latinxs "a new kind of Mississippi civil rights murder." They went to great lengths to compare Latinxs and African Americans: "Both groups were vulnerable, lacked political clout and the public at large seemed not to care about their fate—on the skewed logic that the victims somehow 'got what they deserved'" (Salter 2006).

These arguments became so pervasive that they came to saturate media coverage. Our media content analysis shows that since 2003 the single most common argument (positive or negative) made about Latinx immigrants in Mississippi news stories was that they face racism and discrimination akin to African Americans.⁵ Journalists likened anti-Latinx violence to civil rights-era murders. Editorial boards highlighted the contemporary political vulnerability of African Americans and Latinxs. These arguments differed greatly from those advanced in other immigrant rights movements, where previous generations of immigrants were the measuring stick for today's newcomers. Rather than arguing that today's Latinxs were assimilating just as fast, if not faster, than earlier immigrants, the Mississippi movement painted Latinxs as subject to the same discrimination and racism as African Americans, emphasizing similarity in struggle and outcomes.

A related cultural shift in Mississippi media involves assumptions about the meaning and order of the categories "Black" and "Latinx." We used newspaper data to analyze trends in how the news media portrayed African Americans and Latinxs. Specifically, we examined whether newspaper reporting drew attention to differences or similarities between the two groups. If the movement affected portrayals of Black-Latinx relations, then we expect to see increases in similarity arguments over time that track with movement activity. We would also expect these assumptions of Black-Latinx similarity to arise even in articles not directly about racism or immigration politics. Our analysis uncovered precisely these patterns. As figure 2 shows, in the early years of the immigrant rights movement, the plurality of news stories drew attention to differences between African Americans and Latinxs. By 2006, however, the majority of stories discussed African American and Latinx similarity. These similarity arguments followed a general upward trend such that by 2012 and 2013, a complete 100% of the stories in our sample discussed Blacks and Latinxs as similar.

These trends are independent of any shifts in the actual lived experience of Mississippi Blacks and Latinxs. These cultural shifts correspond to peaks and valleys in immigrant rights movement activism. Characterizations of Black-Latinx relations first shifted in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, which ravaged the Gulf Coast. After the storm, an estimated 350,000 Latinx construction workers, mostly undocumented, arrived in Mississippi. They labored in hazardous

Figure 2. Portrayals of Black-Latinx Similarity and Difference in Mississippi Newspapers



conditions to clean up the area and rebuild decimated properties, only to have their wages stolen by ruthless contractors. At the same time, many emergency shelters refused entry to Latinxs seeking aid. They even forcibly removed from relief shelters any Latinxs who managed to gain entry, assuming they were undocumented and ineligible for aid. MIRA brought this discrimination to the attention of Black union and civil rights leaders, who catalyzed a massive effort to counter this discrimination. The movement soon became the main lifeline for Latinx immigrants in the region, forcing shelters to change their practices and, more impressively, winning over one million dollars in back wages for immigrant workers cheated by their employers. Not only that, these advocacy efforts and the embrace of MIRA's cause by the HSC shifted news reporting on Black-Latinx relations, leading editorial boards, journalists, and others across the state to perceive Blacks and Latinxs as encountering similar forms of racial discrimination. The other peaks in this figure correspond to similar mobilizing efforts. The period between 2008 and 2009 marked MIRA's mobilizing against an ICE raid in Laurel, Mississippi—at the time, the largest ICE raid ever—and a lobbying effort against ramped up legislative efforts to restrict the rights of undocumented immigrants. In 2012, the state started pushing for the adoption of an omnibus anti-immigrant bill, and the immigrant rights movement responded with protests, intensive lobbying, and press conferences. In each case, peaks in movement activity correspond to peaks in media assumptions of Black-Latino similarity. Further, our close read of the newspaper data reveals that these shifts do not reflect an increase in newspapers' reliance on MIRA for quotes. Instead, assumptions of Black-Latino similarity permeate media coverage, even those stories and editorials which do not quote MIRA directly.

These shifts happened in the mainstream press, but our analysis of African American newspapers in the state suggests that the adoption of a linked-fate or similarity perspective emerged even earlier in those outlets. By 2009, the majority of news stories in our sample depicted Blacks and Latinxs as similarly situated. The *Jackson Advocate*, the state's largest African American newspaper, even included an immigration advice column where non-citizens, usually Latinxs, would write in for legal advice on immigration matters.

Alabama: Assimilationist Work and Racial Stability

Like Mississippi, Alabama's recent immigrant rights organizing began around the turn of the 21st century with the founding of the Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA). MIRA and HICA formed at the same time and amid strikingly similar conditions. Organizers in both states had to contend with Republican-dominated state governments ill-inclined to support a growing number of immigrants. Yet they also arose in areas with long histories of Black civil rights organizing and pre-existing civil rights movement infrastructure. Despite these similarities, HICA took a different approach than MIRA—one characterized by assimilationism rather than interracialism. This approach emphasized immigrant integration into mainstream institutions. It led HICA to form networks with mainstream White institutions and eschew coalitions with civil rights groups. As we will show, when Alabama's movement leaders shifted course in the 2010s and worked to shift public racial discourse to create Black-Latinx solidarity, they found themselves lacking the networks and relationships that facilitated racial transformation in Mississippi.

Like MIRA, HICA's approach reflected the background of its founder and long-time executive director, Isabel Rubio. Rubio came to immigrant rights not from other social justice movements but from social work—a field predicated on middle-class White values and norms (Roberts 2002). While a social worker at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, Rubio noted the increasing numbers of Latinx immigrants in the state and wondered, "Who, if anyone, was working with immigrant Latinxs to make sure they were supported in transitioning to life in an unfamiliar society?" (HICA 2021). While MIRA's activist leadership centered their work on power building and antiracism, Rubio approached immigrant rights work from a social work standpoint and focused on integrating Latinx immigrants into the mainstream. Concerned that native-born Alabamians were, at best, indifferent to Latinx newcomers and, at worst, explicitly

hostile, Rubio and her co-organizers set out to create an organization that would help build a community that was “sensitive and welcoming to Latinxs” (HICA nd).

HICA’s approach aligned closely with broad neoclassical models which view assimilation as an unconscious process achieved in the pursuit of upward mobility and by erasing boundaries between the White American mainstream and minority individuals. HICA sought to achieve immigrant rights via efforts to improve immigrant human capital to facilitate acculturation or “similarity” with middle-class White residents. For HICA, this meant publicity efforts that framed Latinx immigrants as sharing values with native Alabamians—family, religion, hard work—and therefore easily able to integrate and contribute to mainstream society. This assimilationist approach is captured in HICA’s public-facing work. HICA argues:

Immigrant integration as a dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and inclusive communities. It is an intentional process that engages all community stakeholders and enriches our social, economic, and civic life. Integration matters so that we can all live in a healthy community that creates a sense of belonging for everyone, and that creates opportunities for all to improve their lives” (HICA 1999).

Unlike an interracialist approach, HICA’s assimilationist approach assumes that U.S. communities are fundamentally open and simply need to learn about newcomers to welcome them. It assumes that new immigrants face temporary social and economic barriers to mobility and simply need access to education and services. It also assumes that community members will agree that such processes are net positive for everyone.

Most of HICA’s work has focused on assimilating Latinx immigrant families in metro Birmingham by (a) improving the human capital of immigrants (e.g., facilitating language skills, business education, and economic opportunities), (b) improving family networks and stability, and (c) improving community reception by marketing immigrants as contributing cultural diversity and labor power to Alabama. HICA hosts community events and fundraisers, such as its annual tamale sale and pig roast for Feast of the Three Kings. It also coordinates a “Bienvenidos a Birmingham” (Welcome to Birmingham) program and hosts cultural sensitivity workshops. HICA leaders hoped these efforts would facilitate economic mobility and family stability while convincing key stakeholders in Birmingham that Latinx newcomers were community assets.

HICA’s two-hour, tailored cultural sensitivity workshops exemplify this assimilationist approach. Conducted by Rubio, they endeavored to “provide general information to those persons who have little or no knowledge of the customs and cultures of [Latinxs]” (1999) as a means of encouraging community leaders and stakeholders to embrace immigrant rights. Workshops generally shared demographic information and broad descriptions of Latinx culture. The accompanying guides describe Latinx culture as focused on the family, highly religious, and focused on commemoration (i.e., festivals, parties, rituals). The presentations frequently included a brief lesson on commonly used Spanish words, reminders that immigrants were ‘New Alabamians,’ a discussion on the difference between the terms “Hispanic” and “Latinx,” and a reminder that not all Latinxs in Alabama are Mexican. The workshops were held across the greater Birmingham area for audiences that included the Jefferson County Department of Human Resources, the Jefferson County Family Court, members of the Birmingham Police Department, and various other nonprofits and service providers. Unlike the concurrent immigrant rights work in Mississippi, these events were narrow in scope, did not mention discrimination, policy, history of racism in Alabama, and did not include Latinx voices. These absences are apparent from workshop feedback forms HICA received from participants, which were replete with complaints about the noninvolvement of Latinx immigrants in the workshop, HICA’s emphasis on replacing negative stereotypes with positive ones, and the absence of discussion on racial tolerance generally (HICA 2002a, 2002b, 2005).

While MIRA engaged in significant work to shift public racial discourse in Mississippi, HICA's assimilationist approach did not lead the organization in this direction. Rather than compare Latinx immigrants to Black residents, HICA remained future-oriented, drawing on a status quo narrative that reinforced the immigrant mobility myth and the Ellis Island-style narrative about immigrants. In a 2016 interview, Rubio explained this approach as intentional: "And so that's the choice that we made. . . . We are gonna build community in a different way. We're helping people learn about financial stability and hopefully open businesses and get into neighborhood stabilization, and building family wealth. [That's] how you organize, you know?"

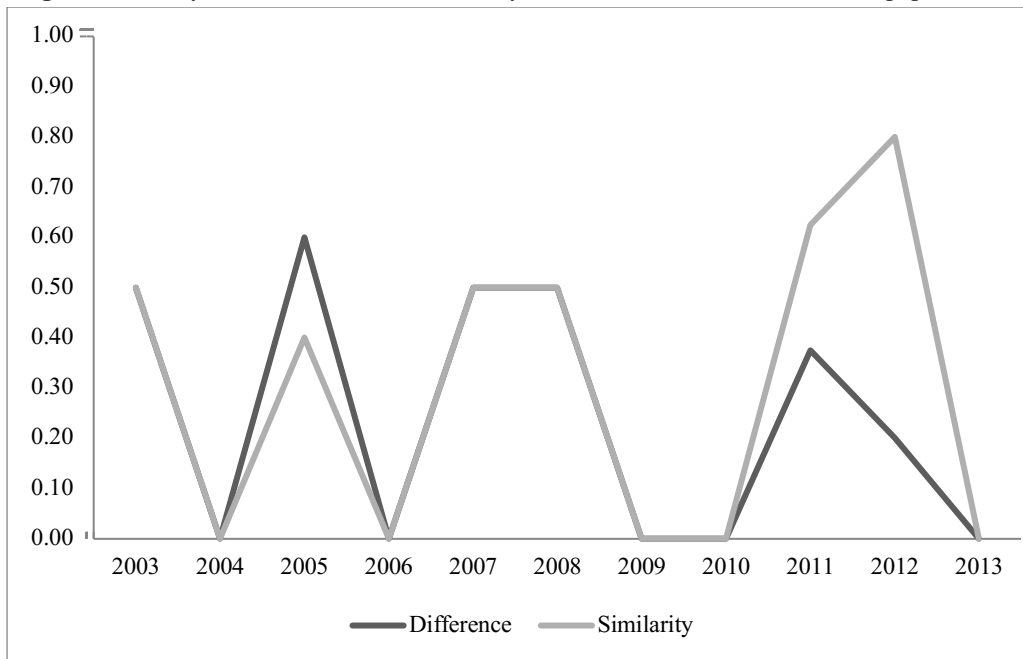
While MIRA worked to build coalitions with Black political and media elites, the assimilationist approach led HICA to build coalitions with White powerbrokers to encourage their embrace of Latinx immigrants. Throughout its history, organizational leaders appealed to mainstream White institutions, building relations with local police, and accepting funding, support, and awards from national law enforcement agencies such as the FBI. The organization's board has been comprised of leaders of major corporations with political and economic influence in the state, alliances that reflected the group's assimilationist orientation. This emphasis on building networks with business and foundation elites proved a successful fundraising strategy. HICA has many donors who have contributed between \$1000 and \$100,000 annually. Despite the longstanding presence of Birmingham's Civil Rights Institute and Birmingham's reputation as a center of Black political power, HICA's early assimilationist orientation did not lead its leadership to view immigrant rights work as connected to broader civil rights or racial justice struggles and did not lead HICA to form alliances with these groups.

HICA's work changed, however, when the state legislature passed the nation's most punitive anti-immigrant bill (HB56) in 2011. With this new threat and national attention on Alabama, HICA worked diligently to tell a MIRA-style story about immigrant rights and racial justice. HICA held press conferences, rallies, and protests, at which leaders made repeated claims about the parallels and linkages between racial justice and immigrant rights movements.

Despite these efforts, HICA was largely unsuccessful at shifting public racial discourse. Our newspaper content analysis results reveal a striking difference in public racial discourse in Alabama versus Mississippi. While Mississippi media converged on cultural constructions of interracialism quite early and in response to movement mobilization, Alabama news coverage showed no consistent patterns in public discourse about Black-Latinx relations (see figure 3).

In fact, our close qualitative read of our newspaper data revealed that in the periods when Alabama news media shifted to focus on Black-Latinx similarity rather than difference, these peaks corresponded to periods when Alabama newspapers covered Mississippi immigration or racial politics. Sustained discussion of Black-Latinx similarity in Alabama newspapers occurred in 2011 when the state passed HB56, and HICA picked up some traction in its new efforts to champion interracialism (see figure 3). Unlike in Mississippi, however, this uptick in Alabama was purely a reflection of newspapers quoting HICA leaders more often. Our archival and interview data further suggest that political leaders in the state did not embrace arguments about Black-Latinx similarity over time. HB56 shifted how HICA spoke about immigration and race, but this shift did not spread beyond HICA.

Our data suggest that the key factor limiting HICA's ability to shift public racial discourse was the assimilationist networks it cultivated pre-HB56. The passage of HB56 triggered a shift in HICA's strategy as the organization realized a need for new approaches to combat the bill and the racism behind it. Organizers called up imagery and language from the civil rights struggle to protest the bill (Campbell 2016; Rawls 2011). However, HICA's predominantly White corporate sponsors were unwilling to take a stand for racial justice. Because HICA's focus had been on building ties with White elites and not other advocacy organizations, its board (which included many mainstream corporate conservatives who had little appetite for social justice work) was largely unwilling to take direct action to protest the bill. In other words, by 2011, HICA had a new message to share, but its embrace of assimilationism left it with no avenues of cultural influence through which to spread it.

Figure 3. Portrayals of Black-Latinx Similarity and Difference in Alabama Newspapers^a

Note: ^a Difference and similarity ratios are the same where only the similarity is visible.

While HICA could not engender shifts in public discourse, other Alabama immigrant rights organizations have proven more effective in accomplishing these goals. HB56 ushered in a dramatic change in the state's immigrant rights movement, with new organizations arising and adopting an interracialist framework. These new groups formed in reaction to broad attacks on all racialized minorities. The Alabama Coalition for Immigrant Justice (ACIJ) is one example. Founded in 2006, ACIJ grew rapidly in the post-HB56 era, focused on developing grassroots organizing networks, coalitions with existing civil rights organizations, and connecting with Black communities. Focused on advocacy, leadership development, deportation defense, and civic participation, ACIJ approaches advocacy through an interracialist approach, embodied by its annual participation in the March on Selma, its work with Greater Birmingham Ministries to facilitate Black and Brown community gatherings, and its focus on storytelling. Unlike HICA, ACIJ has also had an impact politically. In 2017, Birmingham, spurred by a coalition of immigration and civil rights activists, including ACIJ, approved a resolution designating Birmingham a sanctuary city (Ross 2018). These shifts were facilitated by the organization's embrace of interracialist ideology and practice. Their successes also suggest that HICA's struggled to shift public racial discourse because of their assimilationist approach and networks, not because of the state's broader political and discursive opportunity structures.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article examines racial formation as a cultural consequence of social movements and argues that social movement organizations have guiding racial orientations that shape their ability to affect racial formation. Leaders of the Mississippi and Alabama immigrant rights movements adopted different racial orientations in their work. Mississippi organizers adopted an interracialist framework, engaging in framing and network-building efforts that linked Black and Latinx Mississippians in a struggle for racial justice. This interracialism manifested in the core movement organization's decision to join a network of closely knit progressive elites who

gave the movement a direct link to institutions of cultural influence. The movement refashioned public racial discourse on contemporary Black-Latinx relations via these networks. However, the core organization in Alabama adopted an assimilationist approach that led the movement to form ties with mainstream White institutions and hindered the movement's ability to shift racial discourse

Why did MIRA and HICA adopt different racial orientations? Our evidence suggests leadership as one answer. MIRA was founded by seasoned activists, individuals who cut their organizing teeth during the California grape worker strikes and civil rights struggles of the 1970s. For decades prior to forming MIRA, these individuals participated in and ran campaigns centered on power building and antiracism. On the other hand, HICA's leader came to immigrant rights from social work; a field predicated on middle class White values and norms (Roberts 2002). Existing research suggests that leaders' backgrounds and their anchoring in specific organizations and networks shape their framing, collective identity building, and other social movement work (Ganz 2000; Morris and Staggenborg 2008). Our findings suggest that leaders' prior experiences also shape the racial orientations that their organizations adopt.

Our study examines public racial discourse in the media and legislatures. Yet our findings also speak to the policy consequences of movements. Between 2005 and 2013, Mississippi legislators introduced 283 anti-immigrant bills in the state legislature. MIRA spearheaded the defeat of 282 of those bills. During the same time period, HICA was hamstrung in efforts to stop state-level anti-immigration laws. These policy trajectories may reflect the organization's racial orientations. MIRA's interracialist approach ensured the state's powerful Black Caucus would defeat anti-immigrant bills in the legislature. In Alabama, the Black Caucus was seemingly unaware of the existence of immigrant-serving organizations and anti-immigrant activism in the state. These different outcomes suggest that movements' racial orientations structure their consequences for public racial discourse and public policy.

MIRA's interracialist approach has proven efficacious in Mississippi, but we caution against the assumption that interracialism will always produce cultural and political change. Interracialist strategies may be more effective in contexts with significant minority power-brokers and longstanding histories of activism around civil rights and social change. States like Mississippi may present ideal conditions for interracialist strategies to be effective, whereas similar approaches in Iowa or Utah may not resonate due to social and political demographics.

Our findings answer recent calls to consider both the racial foundations of social movements and the cultural impacts of social movements (Amenta and Polletta 2019; Bracey 2016; Oliver 2017). Existing work criticizes social movements scholarship for its centering of Whiteness and undertheorization of race (Bell 2016; Morris 2019; Reyes and Ragon 2018; Watkins Liu 2018) and emphasizes the need to theorize race and racism as dynamic processes central to movements' origins, goals, and processes (Reyes and Ragon 2018). Our study embraces this challenge and extends these calls by demonstrating how movement organizations' racial orientations shape their daily work and the broader social construction of racial meanings and boundaries beyond original movements. Our findings suggest that ideas about race can be both inputs and outputs of social movements. If the White-centered approach to understanding movement outcomes has narrowly centered on political consequences (Bracey 2016; Bracey 2021), our findings highlight the importance of social movements in shaping racial public discourse both inside and outside the political sphere. They also suggest that social movement scholars should further consider racial formation as a cultural consequence of social movements. Since race is socially constructed, so is the racial character of movements.

No one theory can account for movements' cultural impacts (Amenta and Polletta 2019), but our findings suggest the centrality of networks in movements' cultural impacts. Networks can allow the diffusion of cultural meanings and discourses to broader audiences, but they can also stymie that diffusion by their priorities and norms. While social movements may reframe racial issues in ways that restructure social networks (McVeigh, Cunningham, and Farrell 2014), our findings indicate that movements' understandings of race also shape the networks they form and shape movements' broader consequences for racial formation.

Finally, our research suggests that race scholars must grapple more with questions about how movements affect racial formation. Omi and Winant's (1994) theory of racial formation asserts the role of movements in processes of racial change, but much empirical work on shifting racial meanings is focused on the state and formal categories rather than public culture more generally. We show that movements can redirect racial formation on a cultural level and suggest the importance of studying the racial orientations that undergird movement organizations' daily work. Our findings also suggest theoretical gains to be made by braiding social movement and race theory. In conceiving of racial formation as a cultural process that both derives from and creates structural realities, we can better understand key mechanisms driving racial formation. In an era in which racial discourse is at the core of political movements but also in flux, such an approach may help us better understand the impact of racialized social movements at the state and local levels.

NOTES

¹ We conclude in 2015 because the advent of the 2016 presidential campaign made it difficult to trace the relationships between movements and public racial discourse.

² These newspapers are the *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, the *Biloxi Sun-Herald*, the *Birmingham News*, and the *Mobile Press-Register*. We accessed the latter three via Access World News database and the Jackson news stories through the newspaper's online archive. Some newspaper years did not have a full fifty stories that met the criteria for inclusion. In these cases, we included all applicable stories in our dataset. Data-availability issues prevented us from extending our analysis outside the years 2003-2013.

³ The full coding scheme and procedures are available upon request.

⁴ These groups, for example, supported increased border policing and internal policing which MIRA viewed as detrimental to both Black and Latinx communities.

⁵ The full coding scheme included codes for sixteen cultural characterizations of immigrants, including the characterization of immigrants as targets of racism or discrimination. Other characterizations included but were not limited to portrayals of immigrants as criminals, as economic contributors, and as family oriented. The full coding scheme is available upon request.

REFERENCES

- Alba, Richard, and Victor Nee. 2005. *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello, and Yang Su. 2010. "The Political Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36(1): 287-307.
- Amenta, Edwin, Thomas Alan Elliott, Nicole Shortt, Amber C. Tierney, Didem Türkoğlu, and Burrell Vann Jr. 2019. "Making Good News: What Explains the Quality of Coverage of the Civil Rights Movement." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 24(1):19-37.
- Amenta, Edwin, and Francesca Polletta. 2019. "The Cultural Impacts of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 45(1): 279-99.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. 2004. *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and Its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Andrews, Kenneth T., and Neal Caren. 2010. "Making the News: Movement Organizations, Media Attention, and the Public Agenda." *American Sociological Review* 75(6): 841-66.
- Apel, Therese. 2011. "Fairness of Mississippi Immigration Bill Protested." *Clarion Ledger*, Jan 13, A.1.
- Bell, Joyce M. 2016. "Introduction to the Special Issue on Black Movements." *Sociological Focus* 49(1): 1-10.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2006. *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism And the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bracey II, Glenn E. 2016. "Black Movements Need Black Theorizing: Exposing Implicit Whiteness in Political Process Theory." *Sociological Focus* 49(1): 11-27.
- . 2021. "Beyond Movements: The Ontology of Black Lives Matter." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 26(4): 489-96.
- Brown, Hana E. 2013. "Race, Legality, and the Social Policy Consequences of Anti-Immigrant Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 78(2): 290-314.

- . 2020. “Who Is an Indian Child? Institutional Context, Tribal Sovereignty, and Race-Making in Fragmented States.” *American Sociological Review* 85(5): 776–805.
- Brown, Riva. 2003. “Path to Citizenship.” *Clarion Ledger*, September 28, A.1.
- Campbell, Kristina. 2016. “The ‘New Selma’ and the Old Selma.” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 35 (3): 76–81.
- Cintra, Vicki. 2006. “Oral History with Vicki Cintra.” Special Collections, UNC-Chapel Hill.
- Crisp, Elizabeth. 2010a. “Hearing: E-Verify Law Not Enforced.” *Clarion Ledger*, September 30, A.1.
- . 2010b. “Immigration Advocates Rally.” *Clarion Ledger*, July 30, A.1.
- . 2010c. “Mississippi Capitol Rally Supports Immigration Efforts.” *Clarion Ledger*, July 30.
- Earl, Jennifer. 2000. “Methods, Movements, and Outcomes.” Pp. 3–25 in *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts, Volume 22*. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.
- . 2004. “The Cultural Consequences of Social Movements.” Pp. 508–30 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Elliott, Thomas Alan, Edwin Amenta, and Neal Caren. 2016. “Recipes for Attention: Policy Reforms, Crises, Organizational Characteristics, and the Newspaper Coverage of the LGBT Movement, 1969–2009.” *Sociological Forum* 31(4): 926–47.
- Emigh, Rebecca Jean. 1997. “The Power of Negative Thinking: The Use of Negative Case Methodology in the Development of Sociological Theory.” *Theory and Society* 26(5): 649–84.
- Fleming, Crystal M., and Aldon Morris. 2015. “Theorizing Ethnic and Racial Movements in the Global Age: Lessons from the Civil Rights Movement.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1): 105–26.
- Ghaziani, Amin, Verta Taylor, and Amy Stone. 2016. “Cycles of Sameness and Difference in LGBT Social Movements.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 42(1): 165–83.
- Ganz, Marshall. 2000. “Resources and Resourcefulness: Strategic Capacity in the Unionization of California Agriculture, 1959–1966.” *American Journal of Sociology* 105(4): 1003–62.
- Giugni, Marco. 1998. “Was It Worth the Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 371–93.
- . 2008. “Political, Biographical, and Cultural Consequences of Social Movements.” *Sociology Compass* 2(5): 1582–1600.
- Hampton, David. 2008. “Sunday Morning with Lois Patricia Ice.” *Clarion Ledger*, March 30: G.1.
- Hart, Stephen. 1996. “The Cultural Dimension of Social Movements: A Theoretical Reassessment and Literature Review.” *Sociology of Religion* 57(1): 87–100.
- HICA. nd. “HICA Miscellaneous Pamphlets.” Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA) Records: 1999–2014. Birmingham Public Library Department of Archives and Manuscripts.
- . 1999. “History of HICA.” Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA) Records: 1999–2014. Birmingham Public Library Department of Archives and Manuscripts.
- . 2002a. “Cultural Sensitivity Training Evaluations May–June 2002.” Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA) Records: 1999–2014. Birmingham Public Library Department of Archives and Manuscripts.
- . 2002b. “Cultural Sensitivity Training Evaluations July–August 2002.” Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA) Records: 1999–2014. Birmingham Public Library Department of Archives and Manuscripts.
- . 2005. “Cultural Sensitivity Training Evaluations 2003–2005.” Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA) Records: 1999–2014. Birmingham Public Library Department of Archives and Manuscripts.
- . 2021. “About ¡HICA!” HICA Alabama. <http://hicaalabama.org/en/about-us>. Accessed: March 12, 2021.
- Jung, Moon-Kie. 2003. “Interracialism: The Ideological Transformation of Hawaii’s Working Class.” *American Sociological Review* 68(3): 373–400.
- . 2009. “The Racial Unconscious of Assimilation Theory.” *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 6(2): 375–95.
- Kadushin, C., S. Hecht, T. Sasson, and L. Saxe. 2008. “Triangulation and Mixed Methods Designs: Practicing What We Preach in the Evaluation of an Israel Experience Educational Program.” *Field Methods* 20(1): 46–65.
- King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mahoney, James, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. 2003. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Mariampolski, Hyman, and Dana C. Hughes. 1978. "The Use of Personal Documents in Historical Sociology." *American Sociologist* 13(2): 104–13.
- Marrow, Helen. 2011. *New Destination Dreaming: Immigration, Race, and Legal Status in the Rural American South*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Massey, Douglas S. 2008. *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation Publications.
- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1990. *Freedom Summer*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- McClain, Paula D., Jessica D. Johnson Carew, Eugene Walton, and Candis S. Watts. 2009. "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1): 471–85.
- McVeigh, Rory, David Cunningham, and Justin Farrell. 2014. "Political Polarization as a Social Movement Outcome: 1960s Klan Activism and Its Enduring Impact on Political Realignment in Southern Counties, 1960 to 2000." *American Sociological Review* 79(6): 1144–71.
- Migration Policy Institute. 2012. "2011 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State." *MPI ACS and Census Data*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.
- Minore, Bill. 2007. "Straw Man, Once Black, Now Brown." *The Sun Herald*, September 14, D2.
- MIRA. 2010a. "MIRA EN ACCIÓN." Newsletter of the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, 1. Jackson, MS: Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance Archives.
- . 2010b. "MIRA EN ACCIÓN." Newsletter of the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance, 1. Jackson, MS: Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance Archives.
- Morris, Aldon. 2019. "Social Movement Theory: Lessons from the Sociology of W. E. B. Du Bois." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 24(2): 125–36.
- Morris, Aldon D., and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2008. "Leadership in Social Movements." Pp. 171–96 in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, and H. Kriesi. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Newsom, Michael. 2010. "Bryant Wants Arizona-Style Immigration Statute." *Sun Herald*, Aug 15.
- Nobles, Melissa. 2000. *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Oliver, Pamela. 2017. "The Ethnic Dimensions in Social Movements." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 22(4): 395–416.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.
- Paschel, Tianna S. 2010. "The Right to Difference: Explaining Colombia's Shift from Color Blindness to the Law of Black Communities." *American Journal of Sociology* 116(3): 729–69.
- Payne, Charles M. 1995. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pettus, Emily Wagster. 2011. "Immigration Bill Dividing State Capitol." *Sun Herald*, January 18.
- Ragin, Charles C. 1987. *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rawls, Phillip. 2011. "Immigration Battle Recalls Civil Rights Past." *Mobile Press-Register*, Oct. 30.
- Ray, Victor. 2019. "A Theory of Racialized Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 84(1): 26–53.
- Reyes, Daisy Verduzco, and Kathleen Ragon. 2018. "Analyzing Ethnoracial Mobilization." *Sociology Compass* 12(10): e12629.
- Robnett, Belinda. 2000. *How Long? How Long?: African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Dorothy. 2002. *Shattered Bonds: The Color Of Child Welfare*. New York: Civitas Books.
- Rohlinger, Deana A., Ben Kail, Miles Taylor, and Sarrah Conn. 2012. "Outside the Mainstream: Social Movement Media Coverage in Mainstream and Partisan News Outlets." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 33: 51–80.
- Ross, Sean. 2018. "Mayor Randall Woodfin Pledges Birmingham Will Be 'More Broad' than a Sanctuary City." *Yellowhammer News*, August 29.
- Salter, Sid. 2006. "Sid Salter." *Clarion Ledger*, April 5, A.7.
- Singer, Audrey. 2004. "The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways." Washington, DC: *The Brookings Institution*.
- Skrentny, John. 2004. *The Minority Rights Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- . 2006. "Policy-Elite Perceptions and Social Movement Success: Understanding Variations in Group Inclusion in Affirmative Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 111: 1762–1815.

- Steinman, Erich W. 2005. "Legitimizing American Indian Sovereignty: Mobilizing the Constitutive Power of Law through Institutional Entrepreneurship." *Law & Society Review* 39(4): 759–91.
- Tarrow, Sidney, and Doug McAdam. 2004. "Scale Shift in Transnational Contention." Pp. 121–50 in *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, edited by Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Tilly, Charles. 1999. "From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements." Pp. 253–70 in *How Social Movements Matter*, edited by Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Watkins Liu, Callie. 2018. "The Anti-Oppressive Value of Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality in Social Movement Study." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 4(3): 306–21.