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## Walking Towards the Horizon: Understanding the Impact of Latin American Organizations

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Walking Towards the Horizon:  
Understanding the Impact of Latin American Immigrant Organizations

Senior Project Submitted to  
The Division of Social Studies  
of Bard College

by  
Jordan Cooper

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York  
May 2015

“I walk towards the horizon and it moves, and I walk towards the horizon and it moves.  
So what is the horizon good for? To keep walking.”

-One of the organizers who made this research possible

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## *Introduction*

### Abstract

This paper will discuss the outcomes of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) working in an organizational field of Latin American immigrant-based organizations. Data on the strategies and outcomes of these SMOs were collected from a general field survey as well as interviews with six leaders of SMOs serving Latin American immigrant populations, spanning New York State. A qualitative analysis of their responses will be used to better understand what the impact of organizing strategy looks like for organizations working on behalf of Latin American immigrant communities in different community contexts. The report will place examples of contemporary organizations in a model of professionally operated SMO outcomes based on multi-institutional systems and social movement theories, and using a historical backdrop to better understand what system of institutions the sample set of SMOs and their beneficiary populations emerges from.

The legacy of the Latin American immigrant movement has always made the impression to me of being a powerful force. Its leaders demand that immigrant issues are visible in human rights, labor rights, and ethnic and racial minority rights agendas, and the legacy has shaped public debates about the role of immigrant populations in American society and imagined community. A consistent feature of the Latin American immigrant movement has been their fight for institutional access and political representation for the continuous waves of immigrants that have migrated to the U.S. from Latin America, only to be excluded from institutions and services. Over the generations, the immigrant movement has developed a range diverse collectivities working towards justice for their communities, and as the Hispanic category has become more and more institutionalized, SMOs have gained more traction in building power and gaining advantages for recent immigrants.

The earlier generations of Latin American immigrants settled in segmented patterns, producing regional pockets of origin-based groups. While for many Latin Americans, but notably for Mexicans, the southwest has been the traditional gateway,

attracting Latin Americans to its urban centers like Los Angeles and San Antonio, as well as rural farming communities (Foley, Jiménez, Mora). Caribbean nationals from Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, not to mention a number of Central American populations, have been more visible in northeast metropolises, with New York City being the major northeast center, and the one exception being the high concentration of Cubans settling in Miami. Diversification of settlement patterns in the past century have transformed the Latin American immigrant population of New York, in particular bringing an influx of immigrants from Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. Out of the over 40 million foreign-born currently living in the U.S., there are close to three million living in New York City, and close to five million total living in New York State, making it the state with the second largest concentration of foreign-born in their population behind California, and New York represents a distinct case of integration processes in the United States.

The immigrant movement is embedded in a long history of immigrant integration. Over the centuries as different immigrant groups have encountered the U.S., cultural and economic sensitivities have led to exclusion of immigrants from social and institutional environments (Davies, Foley, Jiménez, Mora). In reaction, different groups coming from within and without immigrant communities have taken collective action to influence how immigrant populations integrate into native society and to ultimately gain new advantages for immigrant communities, forming through their efforts a complex organizing field. Through a range of forms, such organizations have acted as go between interpreting the needs of immigrants to powerful institutions and delivering services back to their communities. Looking at the history of the Latin American immigrant social



movement and SMO development over the years provides one explanation for how immigrants have sought to integrate into American society (Foley, Jimenez, Mora).

The movements, organizations, development projects, and collectives that work on behalf of the Latin American immigrant population in New York face a set of challenges specific to their goals and context. Their programming must respond to the needs of the population based as they relate to their socio-economic status (SES) as well as legal status, in addition to their national, ethno-racial, and cultural backgrounds. These groups are further influenced by a wide range of external political factors including historical changes, international influences, political climate, and the dynamics of the organizing field. Consequences of these external concerns are reflected in the agenda constructed internally by each SMO, however the question ultimately is, how do the strategies specific to SMOs with a Latin American immigrant focus determine their outcomes?

The work of social movements is often measured by the impact of social movement organizations (SMOs), as they challenge their targets through established, organized means that can be observed and recorded. Social movements are separated by what their goals are for the population expected to benefit from their work, which will be referred to as beneficiaries. *Organizing fields* develop as SMOs form diverse organizing models with which to approach social movement goals, and interact with each other through various means (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). SMOs in a given organizing field work towards a broad-based vision, and run the gamut of tactics, infrastructure development, and role organization, responding to a complex calculation of desired intent and environmental pressures (McCarthy & Zald, Tilly). Within the Latin American

immigrant-organizing field, my interest is in understanding professional models of SMOs as they mobilize constituency, identity, and resources to build power within their organizations.

### Research Design

For the purposes of this research, I was interested in the strategy and outcomes of SMOs serving Latin American immigrant populations across New York State. My primary research involved gathering information on the characteristics and strategies as well as the outcomes of a sample set of SMOs with Latin American immigrant focuses. To approach this topic I based my research on a framework of established theories of social movement theory and historical understandings of Latin American presence in the U.S. that shaped my analysis of the sample set. In particular I was interested in the ways in which existing models of social movement outcomes were able to explain the outcomes of a broader field of SMOs with a particular identity focus in professional environments. The overall study aimed to understand the desired outcomes of New York based Latin American immigrant SMOs and the strategy that most effectively produced those outcomes.

In bounding the type of organization that was of interest to me, I selected organizations that meet the following requirements: 1) That they constitute a social movement organization, meaning they have an established infrastructure (although it could be informally established), and are engaged in building power for a social movement 2) That they represent and/or work to benefit immigrants of Latin American origin, and 3) That they have headquarters in New York State. The sample set of organizations ultimately included SMOs with headquarters in Manhattan, Brooklyn,

Queens, Long Island, towns and cities in Westchester, the Hudson Valley, Northern and Western New York. The geographic area selected represented many diverse communities that are urban, rural, and somewhere in between, but they shared characteristics that made them distinct from other geographical pockets of immigrant populations (Foley, Jiménez, Mora). Geographic area in turn affected the types of organizations that existed as well as the ways in which the organizations interacted with their local context, and the types of issues that were relevant to immigration integration.

While geographic location is relatively self-explanatory, it was much harder to delineate organizations that counted as a Latin American immigrant-based organization. I did not control the specific strategies, methods, or other characteristics of the organizations, but chose to include a range of organizational models to test the outcomes of different methods of change for a specific identity category. I also chose to include organizations that served other populations besides Latin American immigrants or worked on multiple issue areas, so long as they made specific programmatic choices based on their Hispanic constituency. Furthermore, as the process of immigrant integration is multigenerational, many organizations worked with immigrant descendants who are born in the U.S. but still share many of the experiences and face similar disadvantages as recent co-ethnic immigrants. The sample set of case studies consisted of a social services agency, and ESOL program, a worker rights legal services agency, a coalition of immigrant organizations, a base-building organization, and an immigrant-artist collaborative.

My research involved two methods of observation, a survey and interviews, which allowed me to analyze relationships between strategy and outcomes. Data was

collected from the perspective of SMO leadership, which consisted mainly of executive and administrative staff, and staff organizers, because their role requires them to engage in strategy-building processes, which is the primary unit of analysis. The survey includes basic information about the organizations; their organizational framing (i.e. vision, mission, and goals), local context, the population they claim to represent, target(s), programming operations, staff, governing strategies, and outcomes.

Originally, the survey was meant to be an initial step in the research process that would produce a typology of Latin American immigrant organizations by collecting data on a general sample of SMOs across New York. The survey was sent to 103 organizations, with 15 responses, including the organizations that participated in the interview portion. Survey data from the case study set was used as additional data to the interview data, but secondary research was added to supplement the limited additional surveys responses that were collected. The result is that the sample studied is not representative of the proportions of organizations working in each strategic focus but rather as representative examples of a range of niche strategic focuses within the organizing field, with limited comparative data to support trends in responses from the sample.

The interviews of the six case study organizations provide more in depth, qualitative data about the range of organizations. The organizations are evenly distributed in terms of geographic location, composition, and organizational model. Of the six organizations, one is based in Western New York and the Hudson Valley, one is located in a suburban community in the New York metro area, one serves all five boroughs of New York City, one serves the outer boroughs (Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island),

and one is statewide with headquarters in Manhattan, the suburban metro area, and the Hudson Valley. They represent a wide range of strategic focuses that include, coalition building, community organizing, service provision, and legal advocacy, and they frame their issue-based agendas in the context of a general Latin American immigrant movement agenda. The interviews included information that was similar but more in depth than the survey about strategy and outcomes, which included anecdotal information and official uses of framing.

### Theoretical Framework

Theories of social movements, how they emerge, how they organize, and what change they create, have changed over time as scholars have built on previous theories. This paper will take a Multi-Institutional Systems perspective that frames society through the interactions between institutions where power dynamics are reproduced and contested (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). In this perspective, power is expressed by a number of dominating institutions including, but not limited to, state institutions. In fact the central principle of a multiple institutions system is that the dominating institutions have no essential form, but will change over time, as will the location of state power (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). By this model, organizational targets and dominating institutions can predict each other.

The basis of the multiple institutions perspective is an assumption that individuals seek representation by participating in institutions that they have access to, and when a group is systemically excluded from institutions it will seek alternative means of institutional access, one of those being collective action. Institutional access in itself can be utilized in a number of different ways depending, as will be discussed, on the goals of

the action. The body of social movement literature that takes a multi-institutional approach defines social movements as being collective bodies that have been excluded from state established politics, who produce coordinated efforts over time through an organizational infrastructure to challenge authoritative systems, which target actors, state and non-state institutions, and cultural regimes of meaning (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008).

The field of Social movement theory contains several different explanations for the emergence of social movements in their specific historical moments. Traditional frameworks focused on the existence of aggrieved populations who much like in a Marxist model would act out under enough pressure of deprivation (Alinsky, Gamson, Tilly). Broader studies have complicated the range of external conditions that must align for a social movement to emerge (McCarthy & Zald, Tilly) including factors present in the aggrieved population, target(s), and political opportunity (Tilly, 1977), expressed in a “Political process perspective” (Armstrong & Bernstein, Tilly). Thus the emergence of the Hispanic pan-ethnicity movement can be explained as having been catalyzed, not by a simple mounting of civil rights abuses, but by diverse factors such as the establishment of Hispanic institutions or the political opportunity created by the Civil Rights era. Similarly, current Latin American immigrant social movements can be seen as building off of previous movement successes for Hispanics and immigrants alike.

In attempting to understand the outcomes of Latin American SMOs, I will be drawing from relevant models describing SMOs that have been built on over time. William Gamson offers a clear model of social movement outcomes that is effective for linking strategy and outcomes, but does not entirely cover the organizational forms

represented in the case studies. He determines that an SMO counts as a challenging group if its targets can be readily identified and categorized as an antagonist, a constituency, and a beneficiary, and envisions a traditional social movement model that ceases activity when its goals are met or it is accepted into an institutional body. I include a range of organizational types that share forms and tactics with Gamson's SMOs, but they all share characteristics typical of professional and identity-based organizations that fall beyond his definitions. Therefore I will be drawing from theories of professional models and institutional process models and modifying Gamson's model to fit the case study organizations.

### Chapter Overview

In the first chapter I will review the existing literature on Latin American presence and social movement emergence in the U.S. that will provide context to the environmental factors that influence the contemporary field of Latin American immigrant SMOs. The literature will be presented as an historical account that will encompass three eras of Latin American immigration and integration: the initial establishment of Latin Americans from 1840-1950, the Civil Rights era that followed until 1980, and the current period of immigration control and criminalization. The second chapter will construct a theoretical model for analyzing SMOs based on relevant social movement theories concerning movement emergence, strategy, and outcomes. The body of literature will form a foundation for our analysis of contemporary SMOs.

The fourth chapter will introduce the research findings. To contextualize the organizations that comprise the case studies, I will introduce the geographic areas that surround the SMOs and give brief descriptions of the organizations that comprised the

sample. The sixth chapter will compare the organizational models and the themes and conflicts presented by the sample and discuss the outcomes of SMOs according to the model. I will focus the analysis of the SMOs on comparing organizational models presented by each of the organizational leaders as they are revealed in the official strategy of the SMO. The organizational models consisted, in each case, of internal strategy about framing, role organization, and infrastructure, as well as repertoire of contention out of which a strategic focus is formed. Themes surrounding organizational development, narratives about minority-majority relationships, and layering of tactics emerged as focuses of the analysis. The conclusion will discuss the bearings of the research findings on the organizing field and the study of immigration and organization.



## *Chapter 1*

### *Latin American Presence in the U.S.*

#### Introduction

The study of immigration seeks to explain the complex processes by which populations migrate from one country to another until reaching a country of destination, where they must subsequently integrate into their adopted society. The field broadly looks at processes of movement and the policies that determine the ways in which populations enter a destination country, as well explanations for changing immigration patterns, and how immigrant populations experience their adopted nation. This is revealed in the literature, for many immigrant groups, through their experiences as institutionalized ethnic minorities in the United States (Foley, Jiménez, Mora).

As individuals and through collective means Latin American immigrants and their descendants have interacted with key institutions including educational, labor, criminal justice, civic, social, and cultural institution, and their success as a group has been measured through material gains in socio-economic status and symbolic markers of social and cultural inclusion (Jiménez, 2010). Immigration to the U.S. is often organized regionally by local co-national immigrant populations, or historically into eras based on immigration patterns or shifts institutional position towards immigrant populations, and therefore is often presented temporally or based on national or ethnic origin. While in early periods Latin American immigrant groups were presented as being segmented into origin-based communities, Latin American immigrants today, while they still may be residentially segregated by country of origin, are institutionally claimed by a national Hispanic ethnic group.

The process by which immigrant populations establish themselves in an adopted nation, how they are received by the native-resident society, and how they fare over multiple generations is commonly referred to as immigrant integration (Davies, Jiménez). Over centuries of immigration to America, definitions of successful integration have changed, as have the measurements used to evaluate integration for different immigrant groups, and conceptions of what actors are responsible for assisting immigrants with integration. Models of Americanization have given way to new models of assimilation that are then complicated by the rise of Multiculturalism (Alba & Nee, Davies, Glazer, Jiménez). Ultimately immigrant advocates demand that immigrant populations be able to settle into American society according to their own desires; to take up residence wherever they want, to be fully compensated for their labor, and to express their cultural identity while also receiving the rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution, which is to say they demand an integration process that is rights-based and validates immigrants' worth in American society (Davies, Jiménez, Lara, Mora). Theories of immigrant integration are both explicitly and implicitly used by immigrant organizations in official explanations of strategy.

In fact migrant organizations are themselves a product of the integration process and play an important role in mediating between immigrant populations and their antagonists in state institutions and native-resident communities. From grassroots organizations to institutions, collective action allows populations that are underrepresented by elected officials to consolidate and amplify their demands of state power (Cordero-Guzmán, Délano, Marquez & Jennings). Immigrants have also traditionally organized community safety nets, such as hometown associations and

settlement houses, to protect each other from the vulnerabilities of the migration process (Délano, Cordero-Guzmán, Gutiérrez, Jiménez, Foley). These organizations may come from within and without the immigrant populations and do not necessarily work in coordination with each other, however the fact of their emergence and the ways in which they organize around immigrant rights reveal working models of integration as well as narratives about the specific obstacles immigrants face.

When new immigrant groups enter the U.S. for the first time they experience ethno-racial classification either into an existing racial group or as a distinct group. While organizing fields have developed around pan-immigrant identity, the Latin American immigrant case shows how initially immigrant groups tend to seek services and representation from co-ethnic or co-national institutions (Cordero-Guzmán, Délano, Foley, Jimenez, Mora). Therefore the path that an immigrant group takes to ethno-racial classification has implications for what institutions they will have access to in future generations. Therefore after a century of being classified as white, but being excluded from white institutions, a turning point for the institutionalization of Latin American immigrant communities becomes the point at which they are constituted as Hispanics.

This chapter will present a historical account of Latin American immigration and Hispanic presence in the U.S. with the aim of understanding the historical narratives that coincided with and influenced the emergence contemporary immigrant organizations. The Latin American narrative begins with the second half of the nineteenth century, when borders were being drawn by the governments of Mexico and the U.S. and the majority native-born populations was beginning to frame immigration as a problem for society. It continues through the Civil Rights Era as a loose network of nationally grouped and

regionally dispersed Latin American immigrants and their American born descendants reframed themselves as a national Hispanic category and began to make demands for minority protections. Our discussion of the contemporary dilemmas facing Latin American immigrant populations center around how the immigrant population in the U.S. has dealt with the backlash of criminalization and control, while also grappling with the effects of globalization in their daily lives.

### 1840-1950: Establishment of Latin American Presence

While immigration has been central to the history of the United States, the nineteenth century marked the beginning of the immigration ‘problem’ for native society. The period that stretched from nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century was marked by new patterns in Asian, Mexican, and European immigration, beginning with Western European-dominated immigration followed by Southern/ Eastern European-dominated immigration. At the height of this period, in 1910, 15% of the total U.S. population was foreign born<sup>1</sup> (Foner, 2013). These large demographic shifts had consequences for the native population, as many scholars have noted (Foner, Jones-Correa, Massey et. al.). As opposed to the Western European ‘pioneers’ whose migration to the U.S. was unquestioned, these new immigrants were seen as unfit for American society unless there was proof that they could be Americanized, and should otherwise be excluded.

The Mexican immigration narrative begins with American settlement in Mexico’s northern territory, which culminated a colonist revolt followed by the annexation of

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<sup>1</sup> The term “Foreign born” is used by the U.S. Census Bureau to refer to all persons born without U.S. citizenship, including naturalized citizens, legal permanent residents, refugees, asylum seekers, individuals with temporary visas to be in the U.S., and unauthorized immigrants.

Texas in 1845. The forced annexation produced border disputes that led to the 1846 Mexican-American war. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the war two years later, and established citizenship for Hispanics in the United States. Under a hundred thousand families were colonized as a result of the American acquisition of Mexican territory (Foley, Gutierrez, Jimenez), and while Mexican immigrants and their offspring spread across the country, large populations of migrant Mexican workers as well as stable populations of Mexican Americans established themselves in the southwest and only existed in smaller pockets to the north.

At the conclusion of the Mexican American war, Mexico ceded more than forty-two percent of its territory to the United States, and Mexican landowners in the new territories reaching from Texas to California experienced immense land seizures that plunged them into an economic downturn (Foley, Jimenez). In the period of the last half of the nineteenth century Mexican communities were residentially segregated mostly in southwest towns and forced into unskilled labor positions. The debate over how to racially classify Mexicans, whether they could be accepted as white in the way that European immigrants were, or if their indigenous background made them unassimilable, fueled social tensions and led to discrimination and labor exploitation (Foley, Gutierrez, Jimenez). Because of the racial and economic tensions facing Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, community leaders collaborated with the Mexican government to institutionalize the classification of Mexicans as white (Foley, Gutiérrez).

American interventions in the Caribbean beginning in the final decade of the nineteenth century produced new immigrant populations from Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Nicaragua (Foley, Marquez & Jennings, Thomas). In

1898 the U.S. provoked the Spanish-American War, which ended in several acquisitions of Spanish colonial territory including the Caribbean island nation of Puerto Rico, and resulted in an influx of Puerto Rican nationals migrating to northeast and Midwest regions (Foley, Thompson). While Puerto Ricans on the island retained Puerto Rican citizenship and national recognition, Puerto Ricans on the mainland wouldn't formally receive U.S. citizenship until 1917. (Marquez & Jennings, Thomas). Racial issues loomed large for Caribbean populations in particular because they identify as black at higher rates than Mexican, and Central American, South American, with high socio-economic status Cubans being the major exception.

Lacking access to a formal network of organizations, Latin American immigrant populations in the U.S. found alternative institutions to represent them. Because the institutions and political opportunities open to Latin American immigrants varied based on local context, institutional support looked different for each regionally segmented Latin American co-national community. Mexican immigrant populations in the southwest relied heavily on assistance from the Mexican government, whose interest in Mexicans' success in the U.S. motivated government officials to intervene on several occasions and provide social and legal services for Mexican emigrants (Foley, Gutierrez). Pre-stages of ethnic institutionalization emerged in the form of Mutualistas, Mutual-aid societies sponsored by the Mexican government to provide social services and cultural engagement opportunities (Foley, Marquez & Jennings, Mora). Mainland Puerto Rican and other Latin American communities in the northeast that emerged at end of the war were part of an early mobilization of urban social movements at the end of the nineteenth century, as an alternative form of civic participation for peripheral immigrant

communities (Marquez & Jennings, Thomas). While disparate agendas were being developed with Mexican American and Puerto Rican movements, they shared key issues such as labor rights, language access, and social and political exclusion.

The dawn of the twentieth century brought new opportunities and new challenges. The 2,000-mile border between Mexico and the United States was entirely unenforced in the 1800s, and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act created a labor vacuum in the Southwest easily filled by cheap Mexican labor (Foley, Jiménez). Puerto Rican nationals on the mainland were extended U.S. citizenship in 1917 implicitly to allow flows of labor from Puerto Rico to urban centers in the northeast (Marquez & Jennings, Thomas). By the time of the 1924 National Origins Act, which imposed immigration quotas on the rest of the world excluding the Western Hemisphere, the Southwest was so heavily dependent on Mexican labor in fields, mines, and railroad tracks that employer lobbying protected Mexico from exclusion (Canales & Pérez, Foley, Gutiérrez, Jiménez). American dependency on Latin American labor had been evident from the beginning, but it became institutionalized in this period.

Apart from their reputed racial characteristics that made them hardworking, Mexican labor was attractive because it was nominally temporary, and therefore was less threatening than immigrants crossing oceans and staying put. Temporary work programs were set up by the U.S. and Mexican governments, who respectively hoped to create a program that was actually temporary and not entirely exploitative (Foley, 2013). Neither aim was achieved, but regardless the permanent Mexican-origin population of the southwest swelled throughout the twentieth century in addition to the continuous growth of temporary working populations. As a result of larger permanent communities and the

development of representative organizations, the second generation of Mexican Americans grew up in increasingly established communities where they had more institutional access than the previous generation.

FDR proclaimed a shift in the political climate with his ‘good neighbor policy,’ which attempted to establish a more cooperative relationship with its neighbor to the South. The federal government mobilized to answer the demands of the Mexican government as well as nascent Latin American Civil Rights organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC),<sup>2</sup> to provide more government interventions against Mexican discrimination, which was rampant and even Jim Crow like in certain areas across the southwest resulting in the institutionalization of the Bracero Program in 1942<sup>3</sup> (Foley, Jimenez). Puerto Ricans were also subject to state projects institutionalizing the contract of Puerto Rican labor, and a number of northeast cities were developing a dependency on continuous migration to the mainland (Maldonado, Thomas). Now that their communities had received more institutional acceptance from the U.S. government, and had been incorporated into the war effort, expectations of Latin American immigrants were raised and they began make increased claims about their treatment in the U.S.

The twentieth century brought another phenomenon in Mexican-American establishment, which was the birth and coming-of-age of the second generation of Mexican immigrants. Born in the American southwest and suspended between Mexican

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<sup>2</sup> Founded in Texas in 1929, LULAC is the oldest Hispanic Civil Rights organization in the U.S. and is still in operation today as a national Civil Rights organization.

<sup>3</sup> The Bracero Program (1942-1964) was institutionalized in response to wartime labor shortages, and was meant to allow both the Mexican and U.S. governments to more effectively govern the exchange of temporary workers, as they did when they subsequently suspended the program in Texas in response to continuous complaints of worker mistreatment.



society and American society, urban pockets of this generation formed a distinct counter culture, an important step in the mobilization of a minority community (Bernstein, Foley, Jiménez). In the Southwest city of Los Angeles, the second generation of Mexican-Americans developed a gang-based counter culture moniker of 'Zoot Suiters,' whose tensions with their surrounding community erupted in two episodes of violence between 1942-1943, namely the 'Sleepy Lagoon' incident and the 'Zoot Suit Riots' (Foley, Jimenez). The experiences of the Zoot Suiters exemplify documented trends in second generation immigrant communities, whereby the second generation experiences feelings of detachment from both the older immigrant generation and their privileged counterparts of non-immigrant backgrounds (Davies, Hansen, Jimenez) and acts out in opposition to both.

World War II ended in 1945 and as the war effort ceased it appeared that the status quo of Latin American immigrant exclusion would continue in the United States. The Bracero Program carried on and the Latin American immigrants and their descendants continued to face discrimination, segregation, and labor confinement to unskilled professions (Foley, Jiménez, Maldonado). However the raised expectations of the 'G.I. generation' of returned World War II veterans disrupted ethnic dynamics in the southwest. They had spoken out about the unfair treatment they received during the war, protesting the higher mortality rates for Mexican-American soldiers, and now they organized into groups such as the American G.I. Forum (AGIF)<sup>4</sup> to protest the continued discrimination they experienced in civilian life (Foley, Jiménez, Mora). These battles,

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<sup>4</sup> The American G.I. Forum was established in 1948 in Texas as a Hispanic veterans' Civil Rights organization, which continues to operate nationally, with headquarters in San Antonio and Dallas, Texas.

and increasing battles about issues such as school segregation, bilingual education, and labor and housing discrimination set the stage for coming era of Civil Rights battles.

#### 1950-1980: Hispanic Pan-ethnicity in the Civil Rights Era

Throughout the 1950s, tensions over Civil Rights began to erupt in legal battles over the exclusion and segregation of minorities. While the seat of the American Civil Rights Movement was developing in black communities, Mexican-Americans and other Latin American immigrant communities were also becoming aware of and identifying with their minority treatment in the Post-World War II era. Organizations like LULAC and AGIF, as well as numerous other emerging Latin American organizations that once maintained a position that Latin Americans shared the same European roots as Anglo-whites were beginning to reframe their claims about Latin American immigrant status, including arguing that they were a distinct minority category that received unfair treatment based on their ethnicity (Foley, Marquez & Jennings, Mora). This process required quite a few steps on the part of Latin American immigrants and their advocates, including the mobilization of a national pan-ethnic Hispanic social movement from within the Latin American community. Pan-ethnic mobilization was not simple for a population that by then consisted of a diverse group of recent immigrants as well as second and third generation communities that felt a stronger sense of entitlement to state minority protections and institutional access.

In Latin American communities in the Southwest and New York City, immigrant populations mobilized at growing rates beginning in the 1950s and escalating throughout the 1960s, inspired in part by the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, and other examples of minority identity mobilization. The initial mobilization efforts of Mexican

Americans had their first successes in legal battles over public school segregation in California, and the rest of the southwest, while northern cities like New York and Chicago saw increased mobilization of working class communities through labor unions and other protest movements (Foley, Thomas). The later generations of Latin American immigrant families proclaimed their heritage as a narrative of colonization and oppression and Mexican Americans began to mobilize around the *Chicano* identity (Foley, Jimenez, Mora). A primary issue for Chicanos was the reclaiming of Mexican-American identity and showing solidarity for Latin American causes such as César Chavez's United Farmworkers strike, an important labor movement for Hispanics in the 70s (Foley, Marquez & Jennings, Mora), which was particularly successful on college campuses in the southwest.

Urban Puerto Rican communities in NYC, coming from a different narrative of colonization, similarly organized around reclaiming their identity and status in the U.S., with the additional message demanding independence for the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico. The Nuyorican Movement developed in Puerto Rican communities by the end of the decade and its growth was fostered by organizations like the Young Lords Party, a Chicago import inspired by the Black Panther party, as well as the Community Control Movement (Marquez & Jennings, Mora, Thomas), both of which fought for ethnic autonomy in urban systems. Both movements were based in the changing politics of the time and a changing model of integration that valued multiculturalism over assimilation (Alba & Nee, Davies, Jiménez), they built power through their organizing efforts that reverberated through urban immigrant communities across the northeast and Midwest.

The framework of self-determination adopted by Latin American youth-driven movements confronted the legacy of integrationist efforts of the formal organizations that had been the primary actors organizing around and claiming Latin American interests. Organizations such as LULAC and AGIF, with ties to the federal government, had focused their efforts on convincing the majority society that Mexican-Americans were upwardly mobile and more similar to the majority than other native-born minority populations (Foley, Jiménez, Mora). This tension is best explained by Mora when she argues:

“While groups often shared some goals- such as the desire for bilingual education- they differed in their interpretation of the what the goals meant for Mexican Americans. Integrationist groups saw the goals as opportunities to enter the Middle Class, whereas Chicano organizations saw them as steps toward self-determination”<sup>5</sup>

Because the goals or proposed solutions of both movements, the integration movement and the self-determination movement, were often the same, what differentiated them was their rhetoric and how they framed their visions for the future of Latin American communities.

Taken as a whole, the national Latin American organizing field was making headway by the end of the 1960s in demanding federal attention to the Latin American agenda. Building off the progress made by the LULAC and AGIF generation of formal Civil Rights organizations in making the issues of “Spanish-speakers” co-optable to congress and President Johnson, a new coalition, the Southwest Council of la Raza (SCLR) formed in 1968, later becoming NCLR to encompass its national recognition (Foley, Marquez & Jennings, Mora). Working both to organize communities of pan-Latin American organizations and lobbying on their behalf in Washington, NCLR pursued an

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<sup>5</sup> Mora, Cristina, *Making Hispanics*, 2014, p. 21.

agenda of pan-ethnic convergence of the most vocal Latin American national sub-groups, namely Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans (Foley, Mora). Pan-ethnicity took hold in part because it consolidated the power of dispersed Latin American movements through a unified, national, Hispanic category and it aligned with federal goals of mollifying the nationalist aims of radical Latin American protest movements, creating a co-optable Hispanic movement (Mora, 12). The boundaries of the Hispanic category were drawn to include a diverse group of Latin American immigrants and their descendants that shared some, but certainly not all, the characteristics of language, regional origin, ethnicity, culture, and narratives of exclusion from other racial and ethnic groups in the United States.

The efforts by Latin American organizations and federal institutions to achieve pan-ethnicity took place over the course of the 1970s and culminated with the 1980 addition of the Hispanic question on the decennial Census short form (Foley, Mora). The Hispanic lobby needed the validation of federal classification to make a number of demographic claims about Hispanics as a group. They especially needed a distinct category on the Census so that they could more effectively collect data and about the Hispanic population and evidence their claims that Hispanics were a minority that deserved federal protections (Foley, Mora, Perlmann). After years of lobbying the Census Bureau, part of the federal Office of Management and Budget (OMB) through the Spanish Origin Advisory Committee (SOAC), the pan-ethnic movement successfully argued for an additional question of “Hispanic Origin” on the 1980 Census, deliberately excluding it as a race option due in part to protestations from racial minority groups for fear of seeing fewer responses in their own racial categories (Mora, Perlmann).

Ultimately the Hispanic origin question achieved the pan-ethnic data desired by the Hispanic lobby, and the wording of the question reflects federal understanding of the composition of the Hispanic population.

Figure 1.1. U.S. Census Bureau, “1980 Hispanic Origin Question.”

7. Is this person of Spanish/ Hispanic origin or descent? <i>Fill in one circle</i>	
<input type="radio"/>	No (Not Spanish/ Hispanic)
<input type="radio"/>	Yes, Mexican, Mexican Amer., Chicano
<input type="radio"/>	Yes, Puerto Rican
<input type="radio"/>	Yes, Cuban
<input type="radio"/>	Yes, other Spanish/ Hispanic

The outcome of the Hispanic pan-ethnic movement was the successful inclusion of the Hispanic question on all subsequent decennial Censuses beginning in 1980, marking the institutional acceptance of ‘Hispanic’ as a legitimate minority category. The initial Census data on the national Hispanic population were used throughout the 1980s to popularize the new minority group in what Neil Foley refers to as, “The Decade of the Hispanic” (Foley, 99). Most significantly, data were used to support claims to Civil Rights commissions set up in response to the 1964 Civil Rights acts and subsequent legislation, that Hispanics received negative differential treatment because of their minority status (Mora, 83). At this time minority status and assimilation was measured by social status, with success determined as social parity with the privileged majority, and institutional recognition allowed the Hispanic movement to frame their beneficiaries as a legitimate minority group. Of course the legitimacy of the ‘Hispanic’ category did not fully erase divisions within Hispanic community, nor within the Hispanic social

movement, but it set the stage for multi-national collaboration in the end of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century.

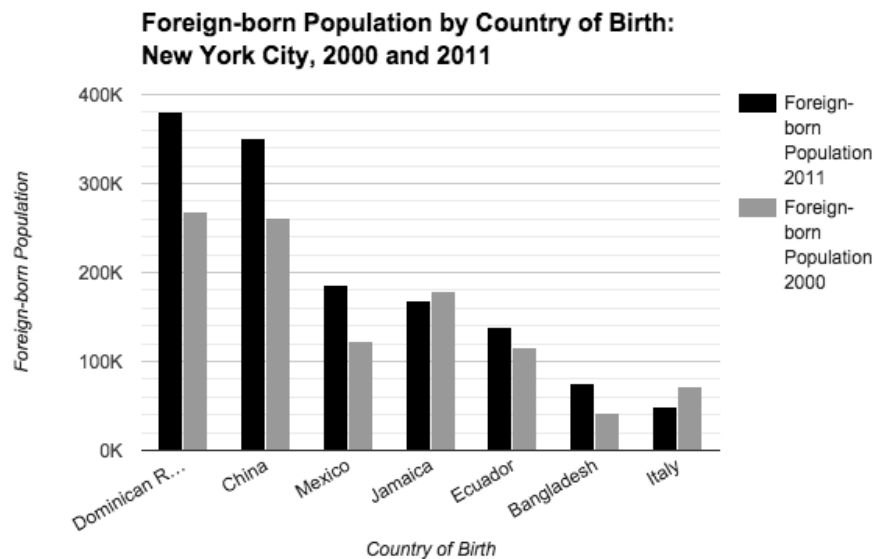
Among the set of federal legislation that defined the 1960s was the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization, or Hart-Cellar Act, which abolished the quota system and placed a new emphasis on family reunification as a qualification for immigration. While it is argued that the the provision for family reunification was put in place to protect European immigration at the expense of immigration from peripheral countries that had a limited presence in the U.S., it had a latent effect of opening the already cracked door to Mexican and other Latin American immigration (Foley, Jiménez, Massey). The legacy of this legislation is associated with the wave of immigration from countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa that continues to replenish itself today. The demographic effects of this legislation didn't fully emerge for some years and the association between them is debated in the literature in terms of whether the 1965 legislation triggered a new wave of immigration, or if international forces produced an emigration to the U.S. that aligned with changing policies (Foley, Davies, Massey & Pren). Either way the sixties era changes in immigration and minority policies, as well as movement-building set the stage for new dilemmas in organizing around Hispanic and Latin American immigrant issues for the subsequent era.

#### 1980-2010: Immigration Control and Criminalization

The most recent period of immigration that began in the 1960s has seen a majority of immigrants of Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean origins. Of course, these ethnic groups had already a historical presence in the U.S. dating back generations prior. Asian immigration had a controversial history evident in immigration policies, most notably the

Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Until this point, Latin American populations consisted of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban populations. The new wave of immigration included increasing numbers from Central America and South America, connected to continued American presence in Latin American state politics, in addition to the renewed influx of Mexican populations. Increasing rates of refugee and asylum seeking entries, high-skilled employment sector sponsoring, and a continuously growing sector of low-wage immigrant service workers galvanize the changing dynamics of new wave of immigrants (Canales & Perez, Davies, Foley, Jiménez). Today the Census' American Community Survey (ACS) estimates that 13% of the U.S. population is foreign born (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). The American trend is consistent with international migration patterns (Massey et. al., 1993) whereby populations from developing countries migrate in large numbers to developed countries. In addition to the changing patterns of immigration bringing changing populations in the U.S., immigration policies triggered a new phase in immigration dynamics.



Figure 1.2. Trends in National Origin of NYC's Immigrant Population<sup>6</sup>

The passing of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) kicked off a continuous debate about unauthorized immigration that continues today. In general, and particularly at the time of the legislation, unauthorized immigration was considered to be a Mexican issue, as the overwhelming majority of undocumented immigrants at that time were of Mexican origin (Canales & Pérez, Foley, Jiménez, Massey). Temporary, undocumented border crossing has been a consistent feature of Mexican labor migration since their first arrivals and border security, had been a historically uneven process that saw sporadic mass roundups and removals of undocumented populations such as the 1954 “Operation Wetback” (Davies, Foley). The 1986 legislation came at a specific moment when the cessation of the Bracero program in 1964 and the 1965 replacement of national preference quotas with origin-blind yearly quotas dramatically stemmed the amount of Mexican immigrants permitted to cross the border. The final provisions of the bill, on the one hand addressed the need to provide a legal path for unauthorized

<sup>6</sup> Statistics taken from “The Newest New Yorkers: Characteristics of the City’s Foreign-born Population,” NYC Department of City Planning, 2013.

immigrants that already reside in the U.S., while on the other hand provided more punitive measures to stem unauthorized entry into the U.S. in the future, which was kicked off by a record-setting apprehension of 1,767,400 unauthorized entries.<sup>7</sup>

The IRCA far from stemmed unauthorized immigration, and the immediate years following saw an increase in undocumented immigration from Mexico due to increased economic ties between the Mexican and American governments. The phenomenon was similarly experienced throughout the rest of Latin America, which since the 1980s has consistently produced the second largest population unauthorized immigrants, still roughly half the size of Mexico's (Davies, Foley, Jiménez, U.S. Department of Homeland Security). Several arguments have been made about the immediate and latent effects of these provisions, including that the legalization aspect led to increased internal migration of Mexican immigrants from the Southwest to the Northeast and Midwest, and that it made the temporary, seasonal migration of Mexican immigrants to Southwest border towns too dangerous to attempt more than once (Foley, Jiménez). The latent effect of increasing the risk of crossing the border, instead of decreasing the population of undocumented immigrants altogether, only means that undocumented immigrants tend to cross once and settle in the U.S., rather than crossing back and forth following seasonal work. The legislation did succeed, however, in making undocumented Mexican immigrants a primary focus of immigration debates even still today.

Changes in state delivery of services in this period have been an additional factor perpetuating the vulnerability of immigrant status. Global trends in the privatization of services in the millennial decades have converged with punitive legislation to drastically

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<sup>7</sup> U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Table 33: Aliens Apprehended: Fiscal Years 1925-2012," *Office of Immigration Statistics*, 2012, p.91. *Web*.

decrease immigrants' access to public services (Cordero-Guzmán, Foley, Jiménez, Marquez & Jennings, Marwell). The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) cut access to benefits and services for undocumented populations, already a vulnerable sector of Latin American immigrant populations (Foley, Jiménez). At the same time, regimes of privatization have caused a dramatic shift toward the delivery of services by the private and nonprofit sectors (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, Marwell), leading to an uneven delivery of services especially in communities of undocumented immigrants, urban working poor, and migrant farmworkers, among others. One affect has been an increase to the pre-existing trend of immigrant organizations and ethnic associations delivering services internally to co-ethnic and co-national populations of recent immigrants (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, Cordero-Guzman, Foley, Jiménez), however the overall corrosion of the welfare state through liberal economic policies has compounded the demand for non-state service delivery in immigrant communities.

The period of immigrant control was justified in part by the criminalization of immigrants, and in particular the undocumented, whereby immigration was reframed as a criminal risk to the United States (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, Foley, Jiménez).

Conservative backlash to the Civil Rights era shifted the political focus to border security and the problem of minority criminality that escalated throughout the final years of the twentieth century and was revitalized by the heightened xenophobia that followed 9/11 (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, Foley, Jiménez). The threat of terrorism emerging from immigrant communities shifted the rhetoric, as Foley explains, from, "Immigrants don't just 'take our jobs' - they take our lives" (Foley, 213). The backlash of immigrant

violence centered on the AMEMSA<sup>8</sup> (Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, & South Asian) community that was directly scapegoated following the terrorist attack, however ripples of the backlash were felt in a broader community of ethnic, racial, and immigrant minorities.

For Hispanics, and Mexican-origin populations in particular, the U.S.-Mexico border and the culture of border control became a central image to the criminalization of Latin American immigrant identity, a historical symbol that stretches from Operation Wetback to the construction of the Security Fence and militarization of the Immigration enforcement (Foley, Jiménez). A central issue within immigration enforcement has been identification, particularly in the wake SB1070, which institutionalized the regime of racial profiling to control undocumented immigration in the southwest, and Stop and Frisk, a racial profiling tool used by urban police forces and heavily criticized in cities like New York where it has received particular visibility on social movement agendas (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, Foley). The current era has seen the resurgence of a restrictionist, anti-immigrant movement, whose SMOs such as the Minutemen Project and Civil Homeland Defense, support collective interventions in the apprehension of unauthorized immigrants along the southwest border, and frame their work as overtly nativist with racist undertones (Foley, 219). Latin American immigrants are one of the many minority groups in the U.S. that have experienced a backlash of criminalization in the current era.

However as the Hispanic community has strengthened the infrastructure of its movements and developed a field of self-determinant institutions, including media

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<sup>8</sup> Asian American and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP), Oakland, CA, <http://aapip.org/files/incubation/files/amemsa20fact20sheet.pdf>

outlets, corporations, museums, and academic studies, its ability to produce homegrown advocacy efforts has increased. One of the most significant contemporary social movement is the DREAMers, who since 2001 have advocated the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act at federal and state levels to extend access to higher education for undocumented youth, using strategies like public performances of “coming out” narratives in the tradition of LGBTQ justice movements of the 1970s (Bernstein, D’Emilio, Foley, Vargas). Coming out narratives, like the high profile publication of José Antonio Vargas’ personal essay in the New York Times magazine, centered around the stress and vulnerability experienced by undocumented individuals and their families, particularly for undocumented youth like Vargas, who immigrated to the U.S. from the Philippines at the age of twelve without the knowledge that he was unauthorized to do so (Foley, Vargas). While the DREAM Act has been claimed by pan-immigrant movements, its support in the southwest and in New York has been overwhelmingly Hispanic, owing to the composition of immigrant populations in those regions as well as the concentration of Latin Americans in the U.S.’s undocumented population.

2010 marked the fourth decennial Census to include the Hispanic question as well as the second to include a multi-racial option on the Census race question. The Hispanic population is hugely diverse, including populations from across the globe, and large mix of generations born in the United States. The Census American Community Survey (ACS) for 2013 revealed that of the 53,986,412 Hispanics living in the U.S., an estimated 18,992,340 are foreign born and 34,994,072 were born in the U.S. (OMB, 2013), and 30% of Hispanic families have lived in the United States for three generations or more

(Jiménez, 2010), indicating a growing native-born Hispanic population. However the 2013 ACS has also calculated that the proportion of the U.S.’s foreign-born population originating in Latin America remains at over 50% (OMB, 2013). So while the Hispanic national community is dominated by later generations, Latin American immigrants dominate the immigrant national community.

Poverty remains a high-priority issue for Latin American immigrant advocates. The Pew research center estimates that over five million Latin American immigrants were living in poverty in 2012, constituting 65% of the foreign-born population living in poverty (Pew Research Center, 2012), and constituting a 25% of the Latin American immigrant population (OMB, 2012). Among Latin American immigrant populations, Mexicans show higher rates of poverty than South Americans, a figure that is consistent with Canales & Perez’s 2002 findings that Mexican immigrants show a higher concentration in unskilled labor positions, while countries like Panama, Chile, and Argentina show a higher concentration in professional positions (Canales & Perez, 77).

Table 1.1. Persons Living in Poverty in the U.S. in 2012<sup>9</sup>

Populations living in poverty	#	Proportion of population
<b>All native born</b>	<b>41,044,514</b>	<b>15.40%</b>
<b>All foreign born</b>	<b>7,681,125</b>	<b>19.10%</b>
Mexico	3,151,582	27.80%
Caribbean	791,123	20.60%
Central American	687,325	21.90%
South American	384,008	14.20%
<b>Total Latin American foreign-born</b>	<b>5,014,038</b>	<b>65.28%</b>

<sup>9</sup> Pew Research Center, “Statistical Portrait of the Foreign-born Population in the United States, 2012,” Washington, D.C., 2012, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2014/04/29/statistical-portrait-of-the-foreign-born-population-in-the-united-states-2012/#poverty-by-age-and-region-of-birth-2012>

Immigration scholars tend to rely on indicators such as “Language proficiency, socioeconomic attainment, political participation, residential locale, and social interaction with host communities” (Jiménez, 2011) to measure integration. Even with such a clear model of integration, the literature reveals confusion about how to interpret the lagging integration statistics of Latin American immigrants, compared to historical immigrant populations such as the common point of comparison, white-ethnic European immigrants of the nineteenth century (Canales & Pérez, Davies, Foner, Jiménez).

In their terms it can be argued that Hispanics represent a distinct non-white racial category, not a majority white ethnic category as they are currently classified for official state data collection systems (Jiménez, Mora), however a contrasting perspective classifies Hispanic populations, with particular attention paid to Mexican-origin populations, as a “Permanent immigrant group” (Jiménez, 2010) produced by the constant replenishment of recent immigrant populations. The replenishment theory and the white-upon-assimilation theory do not necessarily contradict, if the migration flows from Latin America diminish, which the history has shown can happen for any number of reasons. If the population remains as dynamic as it has been in the past two centuries, it is likely that new trends will produce new theories of integration.

### Conclusion

The field of Latin American immigrant organizing emerges from a long history of Hispanic and immigrant communities fighting for rights and recognition as a community that has been a part of American life since its prehistory. The current field is shaped in part by understandings of immigrant integration that measures progress in assimilation by social indicators, by a framing of Latin American immigrants as a distinctly vulnerable

minority group, and by a continuous tensions between integrationist organizations and self-determinationist organizations. Organizers in immigrant communities must be sensitive to changes in immigration policy, labor dynamics, and social and cultural dynamics between majority and minority populations if they are to adequately assess the needs of their beneficiaries.

The history of immigrant presence in the U.S. has been a history of fighting for recognition and acceptance, so it should come as no surprise that Latin American immigrants have a long history of organized collective-action. Recent immigrant populations must confront the American legal system before at the initial point of entry, and the densely low-wage populations of immigrants struggle to find access points to social services (Davies, Foner, Jiménez, Marquez & Jennings, Mora).

Another historical feature of immigrant integration in the U.S. has been ethnic segregation both residentially and in labor sectors (Canales & Pérez, Foley, Jiménez). While pan-immigrant movements are gaining traction, as seen in the case of the DREAM Act Movement, efforts to engage or mobilize communities of immigrants have found it historically difficult to disentangle ethnic identity and immigrant identity with so much intersection in their communities (Foley, Jiménez). Latin American convergence as a unified Hispanic category is a relatively recent phenomenon. The immediate result has been that immigrant populations have sought representation in pan-ethnic Hispanic and immigrant social movements, organizations and institutions that work simultaneously for immigrant issues and ethnic minority issues.

The convergence of Hispanic pan-ethnicity has transformed the integration experience for Latin American immigrants in terms of what institutions take



responsibility for integration services (Foley, Mora). Within the earliest communities of Latin American immigrants, Mexican American populations in the Southwest relied more heavily on intervention from the Mexican government, while Puerto Rican and other immigrant groups on the Northeast appeared in early urban social movement activities. Increased mobilization in the wake of the Civil Rights era culminated in institutional co-optation of the Hispanic category, a marker of institutionalization (Foley, Jiménez, Mora). The current era has been a backlash to the Civil Rights era that has criminalized immigrant populations, among other minorities, however the strengthening of Hispanic institutions has allowed the Hispanic community respond to a variety of issues as they arise.

## *Chapter 2*

### *Social Movement Organizations in a World of Change*

#### Introduction

The field of social change has fascinated many Americans, particularly since witnessing the Civil Rights era of the 1960s. What started as a movement for black franchisement reverberated across scores of other minorities that were galvanized into collective action. Each movement's success opened the door for new movements to emerge, allowing them to build on the advantages gained in public sentiments and policy reforms, as well as the wealth of their experiences in developing movement-building tactics. The result is captured by complex academic field that attempts to evaluate and predict the actions of collective-action on the ground and develop frameworks for understanding the principles at work that determine social change broadly.

If social movements consist of sustained action of distinguishable groups to challenge authoritative systems, it follows that the unit of analysis will often be the organizations that develop within social movements to implement its goals of returning *common goods*, or new advantages to a general population of the aggrieved. Social movement organizations (SMOs) approach the goals of the broader social movements from a long-term structure that coordinates the actions of the various actors in its midst, and habituates its behaviors over time, making them more predictable (Massey, McCarthy & Zald, Tilly). Attempts to understand formal organizations taking part in acts of social protest straddles the worlds of social movement theory, and institutional and organizational theory. Fields of organizational study such as Resource Mobilization and Political Process emerged as the Civil Rights era began to fade into history in part to

address false perceptions that social movements were spontaneous in their behaviors and produced unintentional change (Massey, McCarthy & Zald, Tilly). I will examine organizational framing and tactics according to models that have shifted over time or been developed to understand differences in organizational form and function that have emerged.

### Constituency Mobilization & Resource Mobilization

The social movements imagined by Gamson in his study of social protest groups followed a model of constituency mobilization as the process of movement-building. He envisions that constituencies are mobilized when an aggrieved population acts collectively against increasing pressures of deprivation (Alinsky, Gamson, Massey). As leadership emerges, framing and strategies are developed according to the movement's ideology. SMOs in this model focus their strategy on the communicating the claims of their constituency to the targets until the advantages are gained or the goals have been co-opted (Gamson, McCarthy & Zald). This approach to understanding the operations of social movements features prominently social movement literature in dialogue with alternative social movement models.

McCarthy & Zald offer an alternative theory of professionalized social movements that reframes organizational efforts as being directed toward external institutional goals. These SMOs invert the traditional social movement model so that instead of a movement-building via constituency mobilization, they engage in *resource mobilization*, which transforms certain aspects of strategy from tradition social movements to adjust to the consequences of formalization and professionalization (McCarthy & Zald, 1973). SMOs have experienced a significant shift to an outcome

model whereby the SMO is motivated by organizational survival as opposed to beneficiary satiation, as well as a shift to execution of tactics and programs by a professional staff as opposed to the constituency itself. Some of the most criticized implications of resource mobilization are that SMOs will adapt to align with institutions as they also challenge them, and that they will become disconnected from constituencies and might act against their interests.

### Political Process & Multi-Institutional Process

Political process models offer an alternative understanding of movement emergence that envisions social movements emerging from moments of political opportunity. The thrust of their model is an analysis of power that, “Assumes that domination is organized by and around one central source of power—the state” (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). Therefore their descriptions of repertoires of contention focus on the contestation of state power, and understand the primary actors to be institutions of state power and challengers of state power (Alinsky, Gamson, Tilly). Social movements, according to their model, are challenging actors who target policy and political authority figures.

Multi-institutional models challenge political process models specifically on their rigid view of state power. Their alternative understanding of power sees it as situated in dominant institutions that gets contested by multiple institutions through a variety of interactions (Armstrong & Bernstein). State institutions such as the law & law enforcement, the court system, etc. remain important targets for SMOs operating in a multi-institutional environment, but they increasingly target corporate power and cultural institutions among other private and public institutions. They use tactics that combine

*utilitarian* legislative targets and *expressive* cultural targets that pursue symbolic change (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). The multi-institutions view combines elements of traditional constituency mobilization, resource mobilization, and political process with a broad view of politics and the actors that take part in the process of challenging authoritative institutions.

### Social Movement Uses of Identity

In addition to clearing the distinction between utilitarian strategy and expressive strategy, multi-institutional theorists have called into question the distinction between utilitarian movements and expressive movements. Social movements have often framed identity movements as producing non-political, cultural/ symbolic change, however the act of bringing identity politics into the realm of utilitarian politics has formed the foundation for theorists to analyze identity-based movements (Bernstein, Massey). Multi-institutional models of the identity-based movements describe themselves as forming around identity categories and acting upon the members of the identity category as well as external targets to challenge cultural patterns that develop around identities (Bernstein, 1997).

Such movements are associated with members of oppressed minority identities that seek political inclusion, social acceptance (which could be taken to mean social integration or a cessation of discrimination), reclaiming of identity by the members of the group. Accordingly, Bernstein provides a tool for understanding three ways of understanding identity-based goals, which can be described as seeking either, to mobilize around a shared identity as a means of politicizing a group, to target attitudes and perceptions around a stigmatized identity to a generalized public, or to *deploy identity*, or

target institutional treatment of identity categories (Bernstein, 1997). Identity deployment in this model produces externally focused tactics around identity that target a wide variety of systems of power, expanding past traditionally understood political systems located in government bodies, to include dominant cultural systems of meaning as an alternative target.

Latin American immigrants are claimed by both immigrant groups and ethnic minority groups that deploy identity as a central feature of their strategies. As seen in Chapter 1, the emergent Hispanic movement mobilized around reclaiming Latin American identity and asserting it as a distinct category. The Chicano movement emerged from a reclamation of Mexican American cultural narratives drawing themes from and at times embodying Aztec history and culture, as strategy to highlight pre-colonial Mexican narratives and assert the distinctness of Mexican American ethnicity according to a model of self-determination. One of their primary successes was in fact the introduction of Chicano studies in colleges in the southwest (Foley, Jiménez, Marquez & Jennings), a campaign that explicitly deployed *identity as education* (Bernstein, 1997).

While the Chicano movement was exclusive to Mexican American and recent Mexican immigrant communities, the convergence of Hispanic identity and the pan-ethnic movement they produced claimed all Latin American immigrants and their American-born descendants. A primary success for the Hispanic pan-ethnic movement was the inclusion of the Hispanic question on the 1980 Decennial Census, which for the first time produced national data on the national Hispanic population of the U.S. (Mora, 2014). The pan-ethnicity movement employed *identity as critique* strategies whereby they established an identity category and advocated its legitimacy to state institutions as

well as to the individuals claimed by the category (Bernstein, 1997). The narrative of the Spanish-Origin Advisory Committee (SOAC) that features in Mora's pan-ethnicity argument gives a multi-institutional account of how a movement was created initially out of interactions between professional organizations and state institutions that took a mixed approach to constituency mobilization (Mora, 2014). The SMOs who were active in advocating Hispanic pan-ethnicity, both to the Census bureau and the Hispanic public, took an integrationist approach that challenged the validity of a governmental system by claiming that it poorly represented their community, in what Mora refers to as the Census "legitimacy crisis" (Mora, 88), but at the same time validated the racial classification system by demanding to be included on the Census.

The issue-based movement of the current moment being claimed by immigrant and Hispanic communities is the DREAM Act movement, which makes their central conflict the participation of undocumented immigrants in public institutions in the United States. Deploying an *identity as critique* strategy, they target laws that exclude undocumented immigrants from participation in the institution of higher education according to an integration narrative that claims that undocumented immigrant children deserve the same treatment by the higher education system as the majority population, and framed by Civil Rights narratives requiring government authority to be put to use ensuring equal access to education systems to minorities (Bernstein, Foley). Identity has been central to immigrant and Hispanic movements; SMOs over time have made contrasting claims of difference and similarity on behalf of Latin American immigrants.

### Internal Strategy

The internal decisions made by organizations can be understood as strategy that pushes the SMO closer to its goals. Strategy is initially set by the leaders of the organization, which in professional organizations is presumed to be the staff, although avenues can be developed to allow more democratic participation. For the purposes of this paper, strategy will be divided into internal strategy, which is comprised of framing, structural, and role-based decisions, followed by repertoire of tactics, in which a tactic describes the basic unit of collective action, whether that be a program or event. Following a multi-institutions model, strategy is assumed to be responsive to leadership desires, and beneficiary pressure, and pressures from external institutions, spanning from opponents to allies.

Even the most informal collective of individuals must have an idea of how to coordinate their actions towards a common goal. Within formal organizations, decisions about the division of labor and boundaries of the organizations framing must be clear and consistent so that different actors can make independent, coordinated actions. Generally internal strategy is seen as intended for the leadership and any constituents involved in operations (i.e. excluding organizations that relate to beneficiaries as clients), to guide action, however in some cases, such as framing, an internal strategy could be reframed as a tactic, often through expressive means. For example a SMO may express their internal vision through a mission statement or manifesto to legitimize the organization for the beneficiaries/ constituencies, funders, surrounding institutions. Decisions that comprised internal strategy included, framing, division of roles, infrastructure, and environmental concerns and approaches.

### Framing



Social movements depend on ‘framing’ that describes the boundaries and justifies the behaviors of organizations. Framing begins with an analysis of the existing systems that clearly identifies who will benefit from the movement’s success, and who will the movement implicate in its demands for change (Alinsky, Benford, Ryan & Gamson). Benford provides a easy tool for understanding movement framing whereby he constructs three frames that work in conjunction: *diagnostic* frames that articulate the problem and targets, a *prognostic* frame that articulates the strategic course of action, and a *motivational* frame that articulates the urgency of movement success (Benford, 1993). Gamson’s social movements go through a similar internal process of choosing “Targets,” a concept that he divides into three categories of *influence*, *mobilization*, and *benefits*<sup>10</sup> (Gamson, 1975). Often framing in this way requires a legitimacy narrative to “Create the problem” (Alinsky, 1989); to clarify the necessity as well as the urgency of the movement.

It benefits the SMO for the framing to be strongly and clearly articulated, but also for it to be dynamic to manage the task of staying relevant, and allow the SMO to be sensitive to the agenda setting processes of its field. As advocacy networks become increasingly central to fields of organizing, so too does coordinated framing within networks (Keck & Sikkink, McCarthy & Zald, Ryan & Gamson), as it allows SMOs to set wider-reaching, more pervasive agendas according to their analysis of critical institutions and systems. Social movement theorists warn against SMOs putting their primary efforts into framing or engaging in framing for the sake of aesthetics, that, “It is

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<sup>10</sup> Targets of influence, Gamson’s *antagonists*, refer to the institutions or actors seen as obstacles to the challenging group’s goals, while targets of mobilization refers to the potential *constituency* that will execute the strategy, and targets of benefits refer to the *beneficiaries* of movement success.

not external packaging intended to attract news media and bystanders; rather, it involves a strategic dialogue intended to shape a particular group into a coherent movement” (Ryan & Gamson, 2006). From their perspective framing bolsters the internal processes of the organization, but can also be used to strengthen the legitimacy of their strategy.

### Bases

Organized action generally requires distinction between the leadership that determines and executes strategy, the population that benefits from the action, and a base of support and power that the leadership can tap into for strategic purposes. Beneficiary bases have an incredibly flexible role in this scheme whereby they may shift among the three roles, either acting as organizational leadership, a mobilized constituency, or passive beneficiaries. Additionally, SMOs have developed different internal structures to facilitate the division of labor and communication between roles. For organizations not engaged in advocacy, that relate to beneficiaries generally as clients, internal role division is presumed to make operations more efficient and improve quality of service. Advocacy-based organizations often mobilize constituency towards the goal of base-building.

While mobilization in a constituency-mobilization model refers to the execution of tactics, professional models of mobilization may also mobilize constituents by incorporating them into structures that provide access to internal strategy, which subverts hierarchies between professional leadership and constituents. SMOs that wish to develop a base of power have a few options of *who* to mobilize for the purposes of base-building. An immediately accessible population is that of the beneficiaries, because an operating SMO will have already begun to gain legitimacy with its beneficiaries. Organizations may seek to mobilize a volunteer base of *conscience constituents*; adherents to the

organization that are not of the aggrieved but can nonetheless be mobilized in support as allies.

Leadership in professional organizations tends to take the form of staff that claim movement-building as their primary work. In principle the professionalization of movement leadership should strengthen the leadership base of an SMO because full time movement workers can pursue more ambitious projects over time, however it has also created a new skilled service sector that rewards training and prior experience, and further distances professional leadership from beneficiary populations (Armstrong & Bernstein, McCarthy & Zald). Professional SMOs have developed similar bureaucratic structures to other models of formal organizations that arrange administrative and managerial positions hierarchically by their level of authority, the highest position usually being the executive director. Tactics of the organization, as has been mentioned, are often executed by a combination of professional staff and constituents, and are commonly grouped into departments or program teams by issue or area of expertise. Grouping leaders allows SMOs to work on disparate issues simultaneously, but requires additional effort to ensure adequate communication and coordination among the groups along with other oversight measures.

An additional example of internal strategy can be found in uses of space by different SMOs. Physical sites are a strategic advantage for the organizational survival of SMOs, because ideally they create a shared space for organizational staff and beneficiaries to encourage communication. Administrative spaces that support staff communication. SMOs might create client-focused spaces that are geared towards efficient service delivery, or they could create constituency-focused spaces that foster

constituency autonomy and community development. Fixed sites are particularly important for engaging communities, because they provide a physical connection for beneficiaries and leaders.

### Repertoires of Contention

Actions of SMOs are measured singular events or long-term programs, which can be referred to as the movement's tactics. Every SMO, when developing their overall organizational model or models for specific campaigns, chooses what tactics they will use to extend their message and influence so that they align with the organizational structure. Tilly describes these *collective-action repertoires* (Tilly, 1979) as arising from a calculation on the part of the leadership of what resources the SMO has access to based on the composition of the available actors, and what strategies will be most effective in leading to the goals, neither of which is easy to measure in absolute and objective terms, and tends to follow general societal trends. By observing past movements, Tilly and others have noticed a tendency to adopt a *repertoire* of tactics, but also that they allow for some amount of flexibility to innovate tactics or implement alternatives (Alinksy, Gamson, McCarthy & Zald, Tilly). Formalized organizations follow a trend of developing a broad repertoire of tactics that they use, but also refining a strategic focus that consists of a set of related tactics that take up more central space in the overall strategy, though it may change over time.

Viewing SMOs in a multi-institutional context, it is important that tactics be developed that around interactions between the organization and its beneficiaries, its targets of influence, as well as surrounding institutional stakeholders. External tactics often in fact mediate interactions between the different parties. Additionally tactics can

be analyzed in terms of their bearing on organizational survival and new advantages for their beneficiaries.

### Advocacy-based Tactics

Because of the prominence of legal issues, both related to Civil Rights, labor rights, and immigration law in immigrant communities, advocacy is a prominent feature of Latin American immigrant SMOs. In collaboration with legal services and implementation services, many SMOs advocate specific policy changes or changes in enforcement. Influencing immigration policy is the ultimate goal because it determines the composition of the immigrant populations that settle in the United States.

Undocumented rights, asylum processes, and other status issues affect particularly vulnerable and underrepresented segments of immigrant communities who tend to seek representation from non-state organizations at high rates (Marquez & Jennings, 2000).

Several notable forms of advocacy models have been cited in Social movement literature in recent decades. Labor unions are a particular model of worker advocacy that targets employers on behalf of working communities, using collective bargaining strategies, which have a long tradition in the Latin American immigrant organizing fields (Cordero-Guzmán, Foley, Marquez & Jennings). Professional advocacy networks and individual advocacy organizations tend in particular towards utilizing framing strategy as an external tactic, seeking network to amplify power (Keck & Sikkink, Marquez & Jennings), as well as engaging in policy writing and advocacy, and targeting legislators and other leaders of powerful institutions that constitute decision-makers.

Taking a wider view of politics that expands beyond challenges to legal and legislative institutions, SMOs seek to affect general attitudes towards Latin American

immigrants that affect their treatment. Latin American immigrants experience social exclusion, cultural exclusion, and criminalization that produce additional stress for immigrant families. SMOs that organize around identity are often described as engaging in identity politics, or “Identity deployment” (Bernstein, 1997). It has been established in Chapter 2 the ways in which Latin American immigrants have been a part of historical institutional debates about Hispanic identity, and Latin American immigrant SMOs have taken part in that debate. Latin American issues in particular manifest in similar strategy trends documented in LGBTQ SMOs, which also have a tradition of tensions between claims that celebrate ethnic difference and claims of integration in American society (Bernstein, 1997). Social and cultural claims figured in advocacy efforts of identity-based SMOs alongside policy claims.

Political claims-making, among typical goals of SMOs, requires a particular attention to base-building<sup>11</sup> tactics. SMOs advocating policy changes need to demonstrate to legislators that they can back up their claims with votes, which need to be mobilized in large numbers, consistently, and over time. As identity-based organizations, Latin American SMOs such as the Chicano movement, Puerto Rican Nationalist organizations, and undocumented immigrant movements tend to mobilize around reclaiming an identity that is based around a shared history of oppression (Bernstein, Marquez & Jennings, Mora). Ethnic and national narratives are common categories mobilized by SMOs as well as occupation such as in labor mobilization and unionization. SMOs use different tactics to mobilize constituencies and incorporate them into tactics that demonstrate their power to targets.

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<sup>11</sup> *Base-building* is a term used commonly by advocacy-based organizations to describe tactics that develop the capacity of a population to be called upon to support campaigns and demonstrate the power of the SMO, similarly understood as *mobilization* of a constituency in the literature.

In terms of strategy that facilitates communication between the constituency and the targets, demonstration has become a central tactic in modern organizing (Alinsky, Massey, Tilly). Externally as a tactic, demonstrations serve an expressive function of relating messages and a performative function of embodying the power of the constituency. Demonstrations are also a particularly useful tactic for SMOs attempting mobilization strategy, because they can have an acute emotional impact on their constituents that aids in securing their commitment, while also demonstrating power to targets (Alinsky, Gamson, Tilly). Political advocacy can be seen as serving a similar expressive function to demonstration, whereby the message of the SMO is clearly articulated in policy changes and the power of the constituency can be demonstrated through petitions, written statements, press releases, and other forms of media.

### Service Provision

There is a long history of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) delivering social and legal services, and their role has been highlighted more recently as an outcome of recent shifts in state power (Armstrong & Bernstein, Marwell). As a result, SMOs increasingly are required to fill the role of service provider to growing population excluded from state services. Each stage of migration necessitates different selective services including immigration law, status, and immigration enforcement issues upon entry, and issues pertaining to immigrant integration during the process of settlement, which typically align with services required by other low-wage working communities (Délano, Cordero-Guzmán, Jiménez, Marquez & Jennings). Integration services include access to institutions through legislation and material advantages, with typical services such as legal aid and representation, casework, civic participation and voter services,

trainings & technical support, etc. Services typical of immigrant communities specifically include language services, cultural exchange, and citizenship and naturalization services (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005).

### Community Development

In addition to following lines of organizational form, tactics develop to facilitate interactions within the beneficiary population. Like other low-income or low-access categories, immigrants require a certain baseline of tactics to be mobilized that center around their specific needs. In particular, immigrants require tactics that assist in, “Adaptation and incorporation” (Cordero-Guzman, 2005), which refers to the need to build up the socio-economic status of immigrants as they integrate into their host society. Tactics for building up socio-economic status generally consist of service delivery strategies targeting the entry process, legal status, health services, and general economic and social access. Community development tactics focus on need of immigrant communities for cultural mediation between host society and origin culture (Cordero-Guzman, Jiménez).

### Tapping into the Institutional Environment

Professional SMOs share many characteristics with constituency-mobilizing SMOs, however they depart in the approach to external relationships. Because professional SMOs are primarily motivated by organizational survival, their leadership cannot simply rely on the strength of the message and the constituency, but must also put effort into strengthening the organization itself. In their analysis of professional SMOs, McCarthy & Zald discuss the organizational qualities that support survival, which include longevity, preexisting resources, size, and level of formalization, to name a few (McCarthy & Zald,



1973). Accordingly, professional SMOs pursue tactics that bolster the organizational infrastructure.

Fundraising becomes an important issue in particular for professional organizations that require it for organizational survival, due to the constraints of a capitalist society (Massey, McCarthy & Zald). It features both in internal strategy and external tactics, because funds can be mobilized for internal operations, program execution, or in terms of mobilizing funds for beneficiaries. While grassroots fundraising techniques may be used by SMOs, philanthropic and other funding institutions have access to enormous funds and are constantly in the process of allocating funds. These institutions may be public or private, and have a range of power dynamics with the SMOs they support (Marwell, McCarthy & Zald). Part of the transformation of state services to the non-profit sector was the proliferation of government funding NGOs via grants-in-aid, and retaining control as an external influence (Bernstein, Marwell). Philanthropic institutions and state institutions are among the most prominent examples of funding institutions that influence the nonprofit agenda.

SMOs can increase their power by aligning strategy with other organizations. One tactic used by professional organizations is the development of federations, whereby they replicate their model in satellite chapters (McCarthy & Zald, 1973), for the purposes of multiplying resources and base power. Additionally, SMOs form networks to execute issue-based campaigns (Keck & Sikkink, 1999) or form long-term coalitions. These organizational partners had shared constituencies and targets and could be called upon to leverage their constituency's power or to provide selective services.

## Outcomes

Gamson's understanding of outcomes is based on empirical evidence of the advantages gained for the constituency compared with the level of institutional acceptance the organization received. For Gamson advantages are exemplified by campaigns won, but can be extended to understand service provision and community development by evaluating the advantages gained according to the goals of the organization. Institutional acceptance can be determined by a positive relationship with local state institutions that recognize through institutional means, such as enacting a law or changing a policy, or symbolic means, such as proclaiming their adherence to a social movement in an official capacity.

Table 2.1. Outcomes for the Sample of Challenging Groups (Gamson, 1975)<sup>12</sup>

	Minimal Acceptance Relationship		
New Advantages		YES	No
	YES	Full Response	Preemption
	NO (or equivocal and peripheral)	Co-optation	Collapse

As seen in Table 2.1, outcomes are determined by whether or not advantages are gained and acceptance is received. If no advantages are gained and no recognition received, the organization ceases to exist, and Gamson would classify the outcome as "collapse." If advantages are gained, but no recognition is given to the organization for their part, Gamson would consider the outcome to be "preemption." If the organization is accepted by key institutions, but advantages are not gained, the outcome would be "co-

<sup>12</sup> Gamson, William, "FIGURE 3-2," *The Strategy of Social Protest*, (1990, 1975), p. 37

optation.” A full response outcome would occur if advantages and acceptance are gained by the organization.

Gamson’s model is appropriate for constituency mobilization-based SMOs that may engage in a broad spectrum of politics, but must organize towards beneficiary satiation and must be analyzed through their antagonistic relationships with institutions. Professional SMOs who are motivated by organizational survival and engage in professionally operated tactics are difficult to measure because their survival depends on institutionally derived sustainability. Therefore SMOs with stable organizing models rely more heavily on positive relationships with institutions, which are layered with base-building strategies to mobilize power. However Gamson’s model provides a helpful base that can be modified to describe a broader group of organizations.

Replacing Gamson’s ‘minimal acceptance relationship’ and ‘new advantages’ for a more inclusive definition of SMOs, outcomes can be evaluated based on the changes undergone by the organization in terms of beneficiary positioning and strategy development. By evaluating SMOs on two measurements: constituency mobilization and strategy stabilization and expansion, SMOs can be observed producing the following outcomes: SMOs that approach strategy that promotes continual expansion and constituency mobilization produced increasing political capacity for influence, referred to in the table below as “Political impact response.” SMOs that mobilize a constituency but do not expand their strategy produce a politicized community that is less likely to successfully influence targets of influence, referred to as “Community mobilization.” SMOs that expand strategy but do not mobilize a constituency rely on institutionally derived power as opposed to constituent derived power, and benefits for beneficiaries

increase quantitatively instead of the SMO broadening access to political power, referred to as “Formalization.” SMOs that neither expand strategy nor mobilize constituency but continue operations will engage in the same strategies for a constantly replenishing population of beneficiaries referred to as “Replenishment.”

Table 2.2. Modified Professional SMO Outcomes Model.

	Constituency mobilization		
Stability-Expansion response		YES	NO
	YES	Political impact response	Formalization
	NO	Community mobilization	Replenishment

It is important to clarify the boundaries of the two measurements to be able to classify a broad range of organizations. To classify an organization as experiencing a constituency mobilization response, organizations would need to exhibit grassroots mobilization strategies in repertoire of contention such as community engagement, identity mobilization and deployment, leadership development, constituency produced demonstrations, etc. and give their constituency access to processes of shaping internal strategy. The composition of the constituency, whether it is made up of beneficiaries or conscience constituents, wouldn't be expected to affect the outcome. To classify an organization as reaching a stability-expansion response, it would need to first exhibit a stable model whereby a strategic model is established and advantages are gained for beneficiaries. Once it reaches a stable stage of development, the organization would have to exhibit continual expansion of power either by adopting new strategies or focuses, or replicating the organizational model for a new beneficiary population. Organizations may

be measured at different stages of development, but can be better explained once they've had time to respond to reaching a stable stage of development.

As social movement theories suggest (Bernstein, 1997), SMOs that mobilize a constituency for the purposes of deploying identity tend to form solidarity in the group around differences from the privileged-status majority and make increasingly political claims for institutional changes, with an emphasis on government-as-state targets. These SMOs emerge from a tradition of nationalist or self-determinationist movements in the history of Latin American immigrant movements, which tend to prioritize community development as a mobilization tool. SMOs that do not mobilize a constituency continue to relate to their beneficiaries as clients and take a mixed approach to identity that often emphasizes integration or similarities to the majority (Bernstein, 1997).

### Conclusion

A useful analysis of Latin American immigrant SMOs involves a combination of social movement models, which requires an understanding of historical social movements and the frameworks that have been developed to understand them. In particular, multi-institutional explanations of social movement organizing recognize both a broadened definition of politics that includes social and cultural politics, and a broadened understanding of challenging groups that includes more institutionalized bodies as challengers. These SMOs engage in intentional processes of setting internal strategy and repertoire of tactics that fit their goals. Tactics facilitated SMOs' interactions with beneficiary populations, as both clients and constituents, and outside stakeholder institutions. The SMOs calculate their desired action against the resources available to it as they develop their organizing model.

## *Chapter 3*

### *Introduction to Case Studies*

#### Introduction

The following chapters will discuss six cases of SMOs that represent a varied set of organizational models, compositions, and geographical contexts, which helps to flesh out the boundaries of the Latin American immigrant-organizing field in New York. The cases will be introduced individually, with supporting details about local context, followed by an analysis of the common themes in organizing model and strategy. To construct a holistic understanding of each organizations' organizing model, strategy, and outcomes, it will also be important to understand the local context from which the organizations emerges. Information about the surrounding community was framed by organizational leaders as context for understanding the population they serve, their targets, and the external threats it will face.

The SMOs were selected to have varied independent geographical and strategic focus variables so as to encompass the scope of the field. They include Suburban Integrative Services (SIS)<sup>13</sup> is a comprehensive social services agency that provides a mix of worker and family services to a low-wage, heavily Latin American immigrant population, with the aim of integrating them into a high SES suburban community in the Greater Metropolitan area of New York. Worker Rights Organization (WRO) is a legal services/ advocacy organization that serves the low-wage working class (implicitly immigrants) of North and Western NY and the Hudson Valley, with headquarters in

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<sup>13</sup> To ensure confidentiality, all the names of SMOs have been changed, and monikers describing the organizations' strategic focus and geographic region will be used instead.

urban centers in both regions. English Literacy Program (ELP) is a successful English language school for the pan-immigrant population of NYC, that engages in minimal social service delivery in accompaniment to English classes. Arts-Based Social Movement (ABSM) is self-proclaimed socio-political movement for Latin American immigrants in a specific outer borough neighborhood that engages in art, education, and activism through a community-based lens under the auspices of a local museum. Outer Borough Community Advocates (OBCA) is a base-building organization serves the Latino working class of the outer boroughs of NYC, drawing heavily from labor union models to mobilize a dues-paying membership. Statewide Advocacy Coalition (SAC) is a coalition of statewide SMOs working with immigrants of diverse backgrounds, but with a heavy concentration of Latin American immigrant groups. Together they provide varied examples of formal SMOs working in New York-based Latin American immigrant communities.

Figure 3.1. Map of New York Regions



Figure 3.2. Map of NYC Boroughs



The geographic spread of the organizations is meant to map out the scope of the New York's immigrant organizing field through the experiences of Latin American immigrant organizations. Of the six organizations included in the study, four are based only in the

New York Metro Area, and among those, three SMOs work within the five boroughs, and one is located in the suburban greater metropolitan area. Of the remaining two organizations, one serves communities spanning the Hudson Valley through North/Western New York, while the other serves the entire state of New York, with a base in the Greater Metropolitan area. They all work with populations dominated by Latin American immigrants, and particular those of Mexican, Central American, and Caribbean descent. Urban organizations tended to show more diversity, and other primary immigrant groups included Asian and AMEMSA at a higher rate than other regions, due in part to immigration patterns and more recent attempts to build a stronger pan-immigrant movement for immigrant groups with intersecting issues (Bakalian and Bozorgmehr, Foley). Taken as a whole, the organizations interact with a diverse range of communities spanning the majority of the state.

Table 3.1. SMO By Organizational Reach

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
Local				X	X	X
Regional	X	X				
Statewide			X			

Table 3.2. Organization by Population Density

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
Urban	X		X	X	X	X
Suburban		X	X			
Rural	X		X			

In terms of organizational models, the cases also show a diverse, though by no means comprehensive, range of focuses and strategies. A few characteristics they all had in common were that they were all formal SMOs with registered non-profit status, which influenced a baseline of needs for the sample set. They all had professional staff that



consisted of paid employees, as well as a board of directors. They all operated on budgets that were generated by internal fundraising efforts. They also all offered a baseline of services, which will be discussed in the following chapter. They differed in terms of their use of community development, advocacy, and service provision strategies, and other tactics.

### New York City

Of the sample organizations, four were based in and served populations in New York City. Two of the organizations are based in Manhattan, but one, ELP, claimed to serve all five boroughs, and the other, SAC, serves all five boroughs as well as the rest of the state. The other two, OBCA and ABSM, are located in outer boroughs. All of the NYC-based organizations faced issues common to organizations operating in urban metropolitan centers, and specific to the demographics of the immigrant populations within its city limits.

The density of organizations working with immigrants in NYC is a result of the historic concentration of immigrant communities as well as the significant wave of immigration that has continued steadily for the past century. Immigrants make up over 28% of the New York Metropolitan area, of those 14.2% emigrated from Latin America (Migration Policy Institute, 2013). Overall, in the past four years, New York Metropolitan area has received a net migration of 71,119. The population influx in NYC, resulting from internal migration (-528,742) and international migration (599,861). These changes to the demographics of migration have dramatically changed the social landscape of New York City.

Hispanics have had a long historical presence in New York, beginning with the significant presence of Puerto Rican discussed in chapter two. Between the 2000 and 2010 decennial censuses, the Hispanic population grew by 19.2% while the population overall increased by 2.1%. Low wage Hispanics and immigrants, among others, comprise part of a new immigrant service-working class described by Saskia Sassen as being a part of a new transnational class structure in globalized metropolitan capitals like NYC (Sassen, 1991). In addition to labor segmentation in low-wage service positions, etc., Latin American immigrant populations are residentially segregated in outer borough neighborhoods, many of which have experienced increased displacement and other housing concerns their neighborhoods experience gentrification processes. Low-wage immigrants are largely confined to unskilled labor and experience typical labor and poverty issues.

### Suburban Metropolitan Area

Outside city limits, suburban communities are also destinations for migrant populations similar in origin to urban populations. These populations face labor segmentation into low-skilled manual and service labor jobs, are affected in particular by lack of affordable housing and services in affluent communities, compounded by social exclusion. Organizational leaders largely reported few but significant incidents of hostility between immigrant and native-resident communities. More often the dynamic that was reported depicted immigrant communities as an invisible underclass.

Latin American immigrant communities, similar to low-wage communities in general, are experiencing increasing suburbanization as cities become increasingly gentrified. The New York City Planning Office has produced statistics on the distribution

of foreign-born populations in the greater Metropolitan area. Their research has marked the shifts in distribution since 1900 whereby the proportion of the foreign-born population living in New York City has increased slowly but steadily, and the proportion living in inner communities and outer communities has proceeded unevenly but has been on the upswing since 1990. This is reflected in the growing population and level of organization experienced in immigrant communities in the suburbs of Long Island and the Lower Hudson Valley, what will be referred to as the suburban metropolitan area.

#### Rural Populations: Hudson Valley & North/Western NY

Populations of immigrants in rural locales faced similar status positions, but a more constrained labor segmentation in migrant farm work. In the Hudson Valley, 99% of farm labor (Gray, 2002), a statistic that exemplifies the historic domination of Hispanic labor in agricultural fields. Additionally much of the population of farmworkers are migrant, following regional farm labor needs across the country. The Northern and Western regions of New York are a mix of scattered rural communities and isolated urban centers such as Rochester and Buffalo, and while migrant Latin American immigrants dominate the farm labor sector in rural locales, they are concentrated in low-wage service occupations in remote urban centers. Outside of New York City, outer regions tend to show concentrations of wealth in suburban inner counties and concentrations of poverty in both the urban centers and rural locales in outer counties (New York City Department of City Planning, 2013). Compounded, these factors make the population of Latin American immigrant labor highly invisible to the general native-born community and difficult to mobilize, according to respondents in rural-based organizations.

### Suburban Integration Services (SIS)

SIS has from the start had the singular focus of facilitating integration through community assisted service provision. The social services agency opened its doors in 2001 in response to growing tension between what the leadership refers to as “the native-born” or “longer-term residents” (SIS, 2015) and the recent migrant population that, for decades now, has been steadily settling in the community following contemporary immigration patterns. The period of tension erupted in several isolated incidents of violence, coinciding with the height of the era of immigrant control and criminalization that began in the 1980’s. SIS includes this community context in the narrative of their emergence, and targets the broader local community. They use a service provision model and an integration framework, to develop a resilient and socially integrated community in their metropolitan suburb.

A point of pride for the organization is the clarity of their vision and goals. Their ultimate vision of the ideal outcome of their organization is that immigrant populations will be integrated into the existing community, achieving social parity and acceptance. They claim both the immigrant population and the native-born population as their beneficiaries, and work towards building connections between them, stating, “The vision is clearly for an integrated community, and the mission presents that as being for the benefit of the immigrant population as well as the longer term residents” (SIS, 2015) Their success narrative attributes their reputation in part to the effectiveness and clarity of their vision.

SIS acts as a social services agency and interacts with its beneficiary populations mainly clients receiving services in a centralized location. The space houses the majority

of its programs, including a worker center, a family center, and multi-use spaces for workshops, English classes, and the offices of the executive management and executive director. The staff, which is in the range of 11-25 persons, consists of the executive director, three executive managers divided by department, various teachers and workshop leaders, facility managers. The majority of immigrants employed by the organization are concentrated in the support staff, as explained, “Our cafe managers, our facility managers tend to be immigrants themselves who have come to the community and found a path for themselves” (SIS, 2015). This position places them in direct contact with clients, but not with agenda-setting processes. The native-born population has access to the organization through volunteer programs, which place about 300 individual volunteers annually. Because of the nature of the organization’s institutional partnerships, half of the volunteer base is from the local high schools with “Service clubs or a Spanish club.”

A key part of SIS’s effectiveness as an organization has to do with its embeddedness in broad-based state institutions in the community. Not only does SIS have strong relationships with funding institutions, and institutions, like local schools, which provide them with volunteers, but they are also closely connected to the state institutions that are key power-holders in immigrants’ issues. The reputation of the organization in the community has made it a place that elected officials and other state authorities cannot ignore it, as the leadership explains, “Often if we have a big event here... elected officials and policy-makers come here to participate. They want to be checked off that they were here. So the town mayor, the Westchester County legislators, and the state officials, we’re known to them and we pay attention to them as well” (SIS, 2015) an argument that state institutions have accepted SIS as a legitimate speaker for the

local immigrant community. Such institutions, such as local government officials, law enforcement agencies, and hospitals, are the targets of many advocacy-based immigrant organizations, and the grounds where many battles over immigrants rights are fought.

Much of the drive to improve relationships with institutions has come directly from the organization's executive director. A dynamic leader with a strong presence, staff and constituents rely on her to connect SIS with its institutional base. She speaks often on behalf of SIS, and as a community leader in general, giving expert testimony in many local public forums at the sites of state institutions. She has been credited in particular for her outreach with the local police force, where she speaks to officers on behalf of the immigrant population in the area. Said her staff, "I mean when my boss first went to the police chief's office in this town he was like, get out I'm not interested, but now he calls her for advice" (SIS, 2015) a comment meant to underscore the unlikeliness in such a community of law enforcement allying with an immigrant organization. A well-educated, professional first generation South American immigrant, she uses her well-respected position in the community to leverage the reputation of her organization.

Currently SIS is in its fourteenth year a service to its suburban community, and its organizational model is stable. It has a strong formal infrastructure and an effective service provision-based strategic focus, and is currently in a stage of expansion and replication. They have successfully started their first affiliate chapter and their leaders are beginning to engage in advocacy efforts. Their institutional embeddedness predicts their institutional survival evidenced by the fact that the leadership can boast no funding difficulties, a golden egg in the organizing field.

### Workers Rights Organization (WRO)

WRO is the product of a merger between a legal services organization serving exclusively farmworkers, and a small legal center serving a broader category of low-wage workers. The legal services organization that became WRO emerged in 1981 as populations of Latin American immigrants were spreading and establishing new communities on the Northeast coast, outside of the traditional urban centers. After losing a major legal services funder in the mid-90s whose policies began to prohibit the organization from critical strategies, such as collective or class action lawsuits, outreach, and representing undocumented individuals, the organization experienced a massive funding dilemma. They joined with a small workers rights group run by their former employees that experienced similar funding needs and that employed similar strategy in 2009 amid a rush of organizational merges across the country following the financial crisis. Aside from structural changes, the biggest change that resulted in the merge was the combining of each organization's primary constituency to form a broader community of immigrant workers involved different fields.

The community contexts where WRO works are varied geographically and have many different needs and provide many different challenges. Its Hudson Valley headquarters are based in a small city of upwards of 24,000 that is experiencing rapid development, for which it has imported a growing population of low-wage immigrants to drive its burgeoning vacation industry. Because of the need created by growing hostility and state neglect of immigrant populations, and the existence of a centralized location, the Hudson Valley headquarters is more focused on community engagement than the North/Western NY base. The second headquarters is located in a larger city in

North/Western NY that exceeds 200,000, but for lack of a fixed site and the need of rural populations, WRO's efforts in North/Western NY have been more focused on rural outreach to farmworkers, which is generally a much more spread out population that is difficult to organize into a centralized community. Aside from differences in community contexts, the two bases work closely together and are solidly aligned on their vision, goals, and issue agenda.

Coming from a human rights and workers rights perspective, the WRO's internal strategy frames its mission as supporting justice and community empowerment for immigrant workers. They approach this goal retributively by arming migrant workers against various rights abuses on the part of employers, as well as proactively by "Advocating institutional changes" (WRO, 2015) in employer practices and policies. The constituent population consists of low-wage workers of mainly Mexican, Guatemalan and other Central American, and Jamaican and other Caribbean, nationality or descent. According to their framework, the organization responds to changing demographics of the immigrant population as well as changing labor sectors where unskilled immigrant labor tends to dominate. Their model places their constituency in a role of service recipient, and they have little access to the organization beyond receiving services. Likewise, as a legal services agency, they frame their targets as, "Perpetrator focused" (WRO, 2015), which puts them in a combative relationship with major employers of migrant labor in the area. Though much of the organizing model is still growing, the legal/ advocacy focus has remained firmly present.

Immigrants lack visibility in the organization especially in its leadership. The medium sized staff that carries out most of the operations, includes very few immigrants



themselves. Another problem they face is representing their constituency on their board of directors, because as one leader explains, “It’s difficult for migrant workers to be board members, and to be accessible to it, and to have the fiduciary responsibilities as a board member, it’s a tough thing to do without a fixed site” (WRO, 2015) in addition to the fact that the legal services agency is required to maintain that 60% of its board members are attorneys. In addition to efforts to provide more communication and collaboration between the board and the staff, WRO tries to open up avenues for its constituency to be present in the organization’s internal operations.

The strategic focus developed by WRO reflects the specific position of migrant low-wage workers in Upstate New York. Three of its departments focus different aspects of workers rights that are important to the specific population of workers they serve, and have maintained stability for most of the organization's' existence. Its newer programs concern community development through engagement and organizing, and are not yet fully stable. WRO employs strategies, which mainly include outreach to workers to better understand their workplace rights, individual and collective legal representation, and other legal and advocacy strategies. They collaborate with many other local organizations on the basis of shared mission or if they provide other services to WRO’s constituency. In their North/Western NY base they have collaborated with other groups to start worker centers in the community, which has been an important step for WRO’s efforts to build up community development efforts in North/Western NY. A threat to their organizing model is their unstable funding structure, which has suffered from relying heavily on state funds for legal services, prompting the leaders to move towards strengthening their

outreach to foundations and individual grants so that they can expand their programming, especially that which goes beyond legal representation.

WRO quantifies its outcomes into a success narrative that emphasizes the longstanding stability of its legal services provision. The leaders claim a major achievement as being, “We have recovered, on average yearly, over \$500,000 in lost wages and or benefits yearly for victims of wage theft or human rights violations for over 30 years” (WRO, 2015) Their legal services subsist off of a base of legal services funding, and they have a strong reputation for their legal service provision that has allowed them to be a major spokesperson in the farmworkers rights field, even if they still experience hostility on the part of their targets, suggesting that their organizing model is stable. They are now expanding into community development, and experience obstacles serving dispersed rural communities.

#### English Literacy Program (ELP)

Since 1979, ELP has delivered excellent ESOL programs to a diverse population of recent immigrants. Opening their doors for the first time amidst a new wave of immigration in New York City the founders saw themselves as the pre-step to integration that every non-English speaking immigrant would have to go through before getting a job, pursuing education, or participating in civic life. ELP was opened and today remains housed in a church that is itself an active service provider for the immigrant populations in the Metro area, serving all five boroughs. They frame their approach to the immigrant-organizing field as being exclusively from the perspective of teachers of English to foreign born adults. They intentionally include immigrants of diverse backgrounds in their constituency and exist purely as an English education program, engaging very rarely

in advocacy and deprioritizing community development where it contradicts or is not necessary to the education model.

ELP approaches their work with a clear vision of delivering fast and effective English language education to any and all recent immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in the New York metropolitan area. Their leadership, which has changed little since their incorporation, acts as the program's administration and evaluates the internal operations, making structural changes when necessary. They claim a diverse group of immigrants, however they have an exclusive membership structure, by which they only provide services to students enrolled in their English classes. The enrollment structure and the exclusive membership structure is an intentional choice, integral to the organizational model.

ELP's organizing model has remained more or less the same since its earliest days. It operates a number of classes that teach five 6-week ESOL classes at varying levels, which students test into before the semester. The founders drew inspiration from Israeli Ulpan classes:

“In my mind I was thinking about the Israeli Ulpan and that took people from all over the world, different languages, and immersed them in Hebrew, made it impossible to talk to the person sitting next to them or across from them in their language, because that person didn't speak their language, and it really was very effective in helping people to learn the language quickly and really began the process of integration.”<sup>14</sup>

ELP has earned a strong reputation in the community and with a sought after program, they do not need to do outreach to fill their classrooms. Essentially ELP uses strategies such as free classes, a fixed site with spaces for constituents and administrative staff, and fast turnover to serve a constantly replenishing population, and to shape a

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<sup>14</sup> ELP, personal interview, 2015

formal education model to better fit the needs of the general urban immigrant population.

On the ways that ELP has innovated adult literacy programs, the leadership describes:

“Before we started the school we visited six different refugee resettlement agencies that were then working in NYC, and we asked a question and got the same answer from all of them. The question was, what is your people are finding here when they get here that isn’t meeting their needs. This was the answer they said: immigrants and refugees, unlike students, people who come with student visas, or business visas, or tourist visas, well tourist visas we’re not even going to talk about, immigrants and refugees come here 365 days a year. They don’t come at the beginning of the college semester, they come every single day. They can’t wait a year until they get into school.”<sup>15</sup>

It is in this manner that the organization also frames how they deliver social services, which they see as a secondary service to their ESOL program. Working with low-wage immigrants necessitates a certain range of services to ensure that they will be able to pursue English classes. By this logic, ELP addresses only the needs of their students as they impede their education, which include basic services and referrals to local selective services as needs arise. In fact ELP engages in coalition building mainly for the purpose of finding referrals for their clients. This strategy promotes ELP’s education model in which teachers educate the whole person and are aware of their needs outside of those directly pertaining to the classroom, such as physical and emotional needs.

ELP has a stable organizational model that produces measurable advantages for its beneficiaries. As a funder driven effort, they keep records of the students and their progress during the time they were enrolled and construct statistics about their organizational impact on educational gains. By using state ESOL tests, they are able to make the claim that, “The norm in New York State is something like 56% and our students make about 84% gain. That’s not so surprising because of the intensity, and the

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<sup>15</sup> ELP, personal interview, 2015

fact that students can be here for more than one cycle” (ELP, 2015), supporting the effectiveness of their organizing model. In addition they have a strong reputation as being “One of the best” among ESOL programs, once referred to as “The Harvard of English programs.” ELP’s remarkable consistency and effectiveness makes it seem as if they have reached a stable outcome and have reached full response. However, unlike other organizations observed, ELP has not attempted to expand their model nor replicated it elsewhere.

#### Arts-Based Social Movement (ABSM)

In 2011 ABSM was started as the work of an immigrant artist in collaboration with a local museum in an outer borough immigrant neighborhood in New York City. Her original intention was to form a political party of immigrants, but because the museum funding restricted it from partisan politics, she chose a SMO approach instead. The artist has since left New York to pursue other projects, but the ABSM continues on under the auspice of the museum’s department dedicated to community engagement. It now serves as an open space with centralized operations in a fixed site in the neighborhood for a community of low-wage Latin American immigrants and their children.

As the youngest organization of the set and because of the intention for it to be built entirely from the ground up, ABSM is experimental by nature. As a leader of the organization describes it, “The mission is like laboratory for the merging of art and activism, it’s a think tank to reimagine the role of immigrants in society and it’s a community space for experimental education that uses practical knowledge and creative knowledge” (ABSM, 2015). The scale of the project is intimately local, and while they

consider their issues part of a much larger global battle for immigrant rights, the beneficiary population they claim directly consists of a smaller outer borough neighborhood inhabited predominantly by Mexican, Ecuadorian, and other Latin American immigrants. In framing their targets, they bare in mind the full range of issues that affect immigrants during the migration process, and target the people in power who use their power to maintain the status quo violence against immigrants.

As a community-artist collaboration working in contrast to professional models they intend their internal strategy to be as non-hierarchical as possible and open up avenues for leadership through participation as much as possible. The small staff that forms the leadership of the organization consists of all full time employees of the museum who dedicate part of their time to ABSM. Entirely of immigrant backgrounds, almost entirely of Latin American origin, the staff is a mix of fine arts and community organizing backgrounds, and their main function in the organization is handling fundraising, collaboration, and other aspects of administration of the organization. They are employed by the museum, which in addition employs two space coordinators who both come from the community and became acquainted with the organization as part of its beneficiaries. The majority of their programs are run by members of the community, who are given a key code to access the building to use when the staff can't be present. In this way they negotiate between formal organization and democratic participation.

ABSM's strategic focus combines tactics of community organizing, community-based art, and education to create an autonomous space. They are explicitly engaged in symbolic cultural change centered on reclaiming immigrant identity from an anti-colonial narrative. The original intent was for the strategy to be limited to community and base-

building strategies, however the beneficiaries expressed that what they needed was social services, so the model was modified to include educational workshops ranging from English and literacy, to professional certification programs, to access to benefits. Artists, which ABSM accesses to through the museum's network, run workshops in the spirit of intertwining art and activism. In addition, the staff uses leadership development strategies to support community members in starting new workshops, and in the process building up community leadership. The staff as well as the members of the community collaborate with many other local organizations and have used their network to involve the organization in citywide campaigns.

Currently, ABSM is undergoing an important shift to their organizing model in developing a community council to drive the future direction of the organization. Currently comprising twelve members of the local community leadership as well as the museum community, the council is being developed to allow the community to shape the agenda of the organization. After undergoing a leadership development process, their priority is to assess the organization as it currently operates and to establish the three main goals that it will pursue in the coming year. The intention behind the creation of the council was for it to be the driving force of the organization begins to stabilize and take begin a new phase of base-building.

#### Outer Borough Community Advocates (OBCA)

OBCA emerges from the combined influences of the Black Panther movement and progressive labor unions to produce a base-building organization that seeks to mobilize a community Latin American immigrants from a self-determination framework. Its current form was incorporated in 2007 in a merger of a community-based organization

organizing an outer borough constituency of low-wage immigrants, and an integration focused social-service agency. They retain their legacy of social services, but they do so as a “backdrop” to base-building:

“We don’t want people who are active members just to get services. We want the services to be a backdrop, like this is the place you come for *respaldo*, support, and in this space we’re trying to build power. We don’t want it to feel like a quid pro quo, and we don’t want it feel like an exclusive club where we’re just looking out for our members, we want it to be that we’re connecting to a broader circle of the working class.”<sup>16</sup>

OBCA approaches their organizational model from a union organizing tradition, on behalf of the Latino working class. Their internal strategy frames several different layers of their constituency based on different levels of proximity, starting with the dues-paying membership base who takes part in issue-based committees, and including a broader base of local immigrant workers who receive services from the two offices in the New York metro area, and an even broader general population of immigrants for whom OBCA advocates strategic policy changes in issue areas that affect low-wage immigrant populations. To that end their targets are, “Those private actors that so often are calling the shots in the public arena as well” (OBCA, 2015), and who maintain the status quo. Individual staff members can be elected to the personnel committee, and give anonymous feedback about their direct supervisor. The mobilization of the beneficiary population through the member base, and the attempts to subvert staff hierarchies, contributes to their overall subversion of bureaucratization of SMOs.

OBCA has a stable strategic focus that it relies on to work towards building power in the Latino immigrant community. In their broader repertoire of contention they offer “Survival services” (OBCA, 2015) comprised of basic language and social services programs to meet the basic needs of their constituency, which is often what draws new

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<sup>16</sup> OBCA, personal interview, 2015



members to the site. To build and strengthen their constituency they utilize open autonomous space strategies and leadership development strategies and include member voices in their agenda setting processes that lead to full-blown campaigns, which are furthered in their advocacy strategy. Their strategic focus is a holistic approach to policy advocacy, whereby they part in different steps of political process simultaneously, from identity deployment, to policy writing, to advocacy, to legal representation. They see the purpose of collaboration, “To prioritize a few alliances, but then always in any given campaign try to work with as broad a sector as possible” (OBCA, 2015); to have a smaller but more reliable network where organizations can have more demanding relationship, stemming from a stronger base of trust and commitment.

OBCA, in its eight years of operation has grown dramatically and built a stable, effective organizing model alongside a powerful member base. They’ve built a success narrative around their individual policy victories, the effectiveness of their service provision, and the power that they have built through their constituency. As an outcome of their service/organizing model, they are able to attract larger, and more conservative funders, and still have the confidence to pursue risky political campaigns that are farther to the political left than the majority of their funders.

#### Statewide Advocacy Coalition (SAC)

SAC began in 1987 with a clear mission to construct a forum for immigrant organizations to develop a unified approach to implementing the portion of the 1986 immigration legislation that provided legalization paths to thousands of undocumented immigrants. This came at a point when organizations representing ethnic or national immigrant groups, especially Latin Americans, were grappling with the power of pan-

ethnic and pan-immigrant organizing. When that mission was more or less completed, the young coalition needed to decide if the nascent network of community-based organizations, social service agencies, and advocacy groups, representing a heavily Hispanic but diverse population of immigrants had enough of a shared mission to continue their coalition building work together. They took an approach that centers around legislative advocacy to address the systemic disadvantages brought against immigrants of all backgrounds:

“It’s really about immigrant justice, and the expansion of immigrant rights. The problem is that rights of immigrants are often limited, or at least politically trying to expand those rights is not even an option. We see this really as a fight for rights, much like the Civil Rights Movement. So it’s really about the expansion of those basic rights that we think should be guaranteed to anyone.”<sup>17</sup>

28 years later, SAC is an established statewide coalition that uses community organizing strategies to develop a community of organizations, which at this point comprises almost 200 members. In this way they frame their constituency as being organizations of every model working towards immigrants rights and justice. The heavy concentration of Latin American immigrant issues evident in their members’ lists and the campaigns indicates that many of their decisions are made based on the needs of that population, but they intend to be inclusive. In addition they work statewide in urban communities, rural communities, and everything in between, adding another layer of diversity of need for the organization to keep track of. The targets that SAC identifies have remained much as they were in the initial stage of the organizations, which are concerned with immigration policies and the institutions that both decide and implement policy.

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<sup>17</sup> SAC, personal interview, 2015.

A prominent feature of their internal strategy is that the leadership relates to the constituent organizations like a constituency community, using one-on-one relationship building strategies and providing leadership development and organizational support to the leaders of their membership base. Working from three offices located in the five boroughs, the suburban metro area, and the Hudson Valley, they are able to open up their fixed sites to use by member organizations, and their staff can be physically present in the local contexts in which their members work. Much of the remainder of their role involved facilitating spaces where constituents can collaborate and set the organization's agenda, whether that means setting up committees, workshops, or other events. Constituent organizations have considerable autonomy over SAC's agenda through collaboratives and rotating seats on the board of directors. To build their coalition they use collaborative strategies that involve connecting organizations where their core issues or strategies intersect, whether that is in collaboratives or full blown campaigns.

The central tactic of SAC's advocacy-based strategic focus is their system of "collaboratives" (SAC, 2015), which they use to allow constituent organizations to take part in the preliminary stages of the campaigns that become their most effective strategy. The collaboratives are issue-based committees that run the gamut of issues within SAC's agenda, and comprising leaders of constituent organizations as well as staff's issue-based departments that correspond to the collaborative's goal. Collaboratives are formed where the staff sees a gap in communication among organizations in the field, which means that they begin as ad-hoc discussion forums that may only go so far as a single campaign, or they could be longstanding collaboratives. Their work becomes the groundwork for a

campaign, which will be evaluated by the board and through this process the “Top ten agenda” (SAC, 2015) is chosen in strategic planning discussions each year.

The organizational model constructed by SAC has relied on a stable strategic focus of advocacy on a pan-organizational scale. They have developed a strong constituency base of organizations that identify with the organization, and in doing so allow SAC to leverage their networks and resources, and legitimize SAC as a spokesperson for immigrant organizing. Their strategies of groundswell agenda setting keeps the organization highly responsive to the changes to the immigration organizing field; changes such as new immigration policies, shifting demographics of immigrant populations, and attitudes of the American public towards immigrants. Because they are constantly developing new issue-based campaigns they perpetually evaluate and expand strategy to fit each situation. The outcome of their successful community mobilization and power-expanding model is seen in their entree into federal policy and expansion into new issue territories that do not receive limited or specialized attention from organization that it pertains to, such as migrant health, which is an emerging issue focus of the organization.

## *Chapter 4*

### *Case Study Findings*

#### Introduction

The six cases that were examined represent typical examples of SMOs that take a mixed approach to the Latin American immigrant organizational field. As a set they are all working towards a vision of immigrant integration that prioritizes civil rights and social justice for low-wage Latin American immigrant populations. Who is a part of that immigrant population may vary by organization, however Latin American immigrants are a central feature of the set. Furthermore, while they are all professional SMOs, there is much variation in the organizational models and strategies used by each organization. Some variation can be explained by the different community context from which each organization emerges, which includes the composition of the immigrant population, the composition of the surrounding community, and political climate on local and national levels at the time of operations. Taken together they provide a snapshot of the Latin American immigrant organizational field that recognizes the diversity of the organizations working towards similar goals, as well as the diversity of New York's low-wage immigrant communities.

To understand the organizational outcomes of the sample studied, it will be important to understand the nature of their strategies alongside the outcomes they produced. Each organization developed strategies that fit into an organizational model, and were expressed in official explanations for strategy decisions often in narrative form. Organizations in their nascency had to evaluate, not only what change they wanted to galvanize, but also what local scheme they were working in, what their obstacles would

be, and what resources they had at their disposal. Theories of Resource Mobilization, Political Process, and Multi-Institutions have asserted that decisions can be made intentionally based on the SMO leadership's ambitions, and are also necessitated by external demands. Therefore a discussion of strategy must take place in the context of the organization's broader framework directs its actions and must seek to understand internal as well as external strategy.

### Internal Strategy

The organizations' internal strategy combined with their repertoire of tactics to form the base of their organizational models. The meat of the organizational model included the tactics used by the organizations to execute their vision. Strategic focuses constituted the primary tactics utilized of the organization, whether they were service provision, advocacy, base-building, or community development, or a combination, but it did not determine the boundaries of the repertoire of contention used by an organization, and many organizations demonstrated tactics outside of their main focus. As the model developed and different strategies were tested, organizations tended to stabilize their model and depend on a more bounded set of internal and external strategies, which can be referred to as the organizational model, from which they tended to go through processes of refinement, expansion, and replication.

Internal strategy consisted of organizational framing, and decisions about internal operations and structure, including, quite prominently, role assignment for the individuals taking part in the organization. Each of the SMOs in the set had a system of roles including those who stood to benefit from successful campaigns, those who chose the organization's agenda and evaluated the organizational model, those who were mobilized

to execute strategic actions, those who were specifically targeted by the strategic action, and third parties that held stake in the organizing efforts and affected the organization in turn, such as institutions and organizations that collaborated or provided services or resources to the organization. Other internal strategies were developed, such as community mobilization, fundraising, framing origin narratives and outcome narratives all of which served to legitimize the organization.

Table 4.1. SMO By Year of Origin (Including Mergers)

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
Year of origin	1981	2001	1987	1979	2011	1997
Year of merger	2009					2007

### Ideal Visions of Change

The SMOs studied identified the sector of society that they believed required change and created an ideal vision of what that change should look like in the form of a diagnostic frame. This could be a vision for a specific population in a single neighborhood, or it could extend to nationally. How SMOs defined the scope of that vision also determined what would be the composition of the beneficiary population. Additionally vision linked to focus and strategy, allowing them to predict each other:

A SMO, whose vision concerned an integrated local community where immigration status has no bearing on social status, might still target policies that systematically disadvantage immigrant populations, but we could expect to observe advocacy strategies to a lesser extent than in an organization whose vision concerns extending and protecting the rights of all immigrants. That same integration-based organization would also be more interested in and create programming around the inter-

personal relationships between immigrants and native residents than the rights-based organization who would be more interested in targeting legal and political institutions that determine how immigrants are treated under the law. Some tactics, such as service provision, were observed in all organizations, however type of service offered could also predict strategy, exemplified by WRO's preference for legal services and ELP's preference for social services. Leadership of organizations articulated their visions and strategic focuses in their official narratives, such as mission statements, vision statements, and manifestos, which in some cases were meant solely for internal purposes, and in some cases were made publically.

The visions of the SMOs included in the study are typical of organizations of similar form and context, and demonstrated consistent correlations between vision and strategy. Two organizations, WRO and SAC, approached their vision from an explicitly rights-based perspective, envisioning a legal system that expands and protects the civil and economic rights of low-wage immigrants in general and specifically for Latin American immigrant communities. It follows that those organizations took a policy-based approach to strategy. Two organizations, ABSM and OBCA, envisioned spaces where Latin American immigrants have the autonomy to demand rights for themselves, for which internal strategy focused on mobilizing identity, creating autonomous spaces for immigrants, and utilizing external tactics that leveraged constituency power against influential targets. Of the remaining two, SIS' vision was of an integrated community of immigrants and native residents and ELP envisioned integration in terms of social parity between immigrant populations and the general, native-born population, leading both organizations to depend more centrally on social service provision and minority-majority



cultural exchange, than the rest of the set. These correlations offer generalized approaches of each organization, almost all of whom engaged in service provision and advocacy to some extent, however each organization tended to have one or more related strategies that were central to the vision and took a more primary focus.

Taken as a whole, the visions of the organizations can be organized into the categories of integration focus and self-determination focus. Organizations with a vision of integration saw immigrants assimilating into their community context on a number of different measures. First they envisioned an immigrant population that is prepared to participate in American society, with English conversation and literacy skills, and an understanding of how to access public institutions, which have clear implications for the delivery of social services. In addition their vision included social inclusion of immigrants by their local community and cessation of hostilities by the native-born community. Therefore their external tactics were service-based and their internal strategy concerned mediating between immigrant communities and native-born communities. Organizations with a social inclusion vision were the only organizations that designated key roles for the native-born community as part of their constituency or as beneficiaries of organizational efforts, such as SIS and ELP, the two explicitly service-based SMOs.

On the other side, for organizations focused on self-determination, while they were interested in immigrant communities achieving social parity with native counterparts, they were less interested in the social integration of local communities than with building up immigrant communities either for different purposes. Some SMOs, utilized tactics for the purposes of building a strong base as in OBCA, or building up immigrant and other minority institutions, as in SAC, or for identity mobilization

purposes of creating autonomous spaces as in ABSM. The tension between claiming similarities to and differences from the majority has a long history in Hispanic mobilization as well as the mobilization of other minority groups (Bernstein, Foley).

SMOs construct issue agendas that concisely frame problems they wish to address so they can be executed through individual-issue campaigns. Issue framing was evident in all of the organizations, and is seen as an essential to the development of any organization pursuing social change (Alinsky, Benford, Bernstein, Gamson, Massey). SMOs, especially those focusing on campaign-based tactics, may have engaged at one time or another with a broad range of issues, the primary agendas of the SMOs could be narrowed down to 1-3 agenda items each. The scope of issues selected by the SMO cases was consistent with each other as well as with the agendas of the broader field of Hispanic and immigrant social movements (Cordero-Guzmán, Davies, Foley, Jiménez, Mora). Issues of immigration law, workers rights, and minority rights dominated issue agendas, which was consistent also with social movements focused on intersecting issues.

Table 4.2. SMO By Issue Agenda

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
Immigration policy reform	X		X			
Undocumented rights	X		X		X	X
Workers rights	X	X	X		X	X
Access to Language/ Education			X	X	X	X
Immigration/ law enforcement	X	X	X		X	X
Housing reform/ tenants rights	X		X		X	X
Civic Participation			X			X
Racial/Economic Justice			X		X	X
Women's rights/ domestic abuse	X		X		X	X

### Beneficiaries and Constituencies

Each organization worked towards gaining advantages for a population that included Latin American immigrants. Within the broader field of immigrant organizing, SMOs tend to target beneficiary populations based on national/ ethnic origin or salient category that influenced the needs of the population, such as immigration status, or occupation. Identifying categories may be intentionally selected by the organization, but many SMOs the composition of the beneficiary population available to them determined the strategy used, therefore an organization like SIS might proclaim to represent all immigrants but cater their strategy towards the dominant demographics of the place in which they work, which for SIS is predominantly migrant Latin-American low SES working families. Beneficiary populations may or may not be mobilized as a constituency, depending on the SMO's intentions, in addition an array of factors that intervene to fragment populations and stunt community development. Even if the beneficiary population was not mobilized, the organization still needed to be responsive to its beneficiary to maintain legitimacy as a spokesperson, and SMOs engaged in base-building were observed as benefitting from mobilizing a constituency.

Of the SMOs in the set, four organizations (SIS, ELP, ABSM, and SAC) identified their beneficiary population as being immigrants in general, and for three of those four the beneficiaries had a strong enough majority of Hispanic beneficiaries that it was reflected elsewhere in their organizational model. The remaining two identified their beneficiary population as being low-wage workers. OBCA identified specifically with Latino low-wage workers, and reflected immigration related issues in their agenda because of the high proportion of immigrants within the Latino working class population

in New York. WRO identifies their beneficiary population as being low-wage workers more generally, but interacts with occupational fields that are dominated by Latin American and Caribbean immigrants. Regardless of what angle SMOs claimed, each reflected the specific needs of low-wage Latin American immigrants in their framework.

Through framing tactics, SMO leaders interpreted the needs of their beneficiaries based on their origin. The communities in which the SMOs worked included large concentrations of Mexican, Guatemalan, and Caribbean populations, high rates of poverty, unskilled-labor segmentation, and low rates of education. Therefore they framed the strategies they developed as addressing immigrant legal status as well as poverty-based issues, while simultaneously providing cultural mediation.<sup>18</sup> SIS included in their framing an analysis of the needs of recent immigrants:

“The newcomers who come are very much struggling with basic needs: housing, food, clothing, very low levels of literacy from most of the Guatemalan areas that people are coming from. Some of that has changed for the people who are longer term residents who have been here for a while are tending to be more stable. But we’re still getting newcomers with those basic needs”<sup>19</sup>

SMOs exhibited varying strategies to legitimize themselves to their beneficiaries, but mainly legitimacy was facilitated through the delivery of services or community development. The organizations for which service delivery was not part of their strategic focus (ABSM, OBCA, and SAC) used service delivery to get beneficiaries through the door, and attempted to mobilize their beneficiary population as a constituency. ABSM provides an interesting example of the utilization of service delivery for legitimacy because its founding leaders attempted to mobilize a constituency for the purposes of

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Cultural mediation’ is taken to mean tactics that either educate immigrants about cultural patterns in the U.S. or tactics that provide autonomous space for immigrants to express the cultures of their origin communities and their adopted immigrant communities.

<sup>19</sup> SIS, personal interview, 2015

arts-engagement and political action from within a local community, but their beneficiaries did not legitimate their efforts until basic services were provided. Only when they began delivering services from a fixed site did a beneficiary population legitimate their claims of representation.

The strategy of constituency mobilization was utilized by SMOs out of political necessity. For the two organizations engaged primarily in service delivery, the population receiving benefits were not mobilized as a constituency, but rather the professional staff of the organization was responsible for delivering the services, and to a lesser extent a volunteer constituency was mobilized to assist in service delivery or to participate in cultural exchanges. In fact staff/ professional leadership delivery of services was consistent in all of the organizations, and is typical of professional SMOs (McCarthy & Zald, 1973). Volunteer or conscience constituent mobilization was underutilized, although it is common of SMOs whose budgets cannot support a salaried staff. Additionally, an SMO might have a primary population it mobilized, in addition to populations that were mobilized for specific segments of programming.

The SMOs that did not focus their strategy on advocacy, SIS and ELP, engaged primarily in service provision and engaged their beneficiaries as clients. Where they departed was in the scope of their relationships with beneficiary populations. While they did not necessarily mobilize a constituency, SIS engaged many of their clients in long-term relationships whereby the client/beneficiaries identified with the organization. SIS' strategy of providing a comfortable client space and comprehensive services meant that for many beneficiaries, their whole families sought different services from the SMO and many clients visited the site regularly. Their most regular clients were workers, generally

manual laborers, who utilized SIS' worker center,<sup>20</sup> a strategy also utilized by WRO. The providing spaces for clients to form longer-term relationships with service providing SMOs, SIS and WRO were laying groundwork for community mobilization, and for the potential to mobilize a constituency. For the other, ELP, the beneficiary population only related to the organization while they were receiving services, which was uniformly a short-term relationship, with the exception of two former students who were hired as office assistants at their completion of the program.

Different levels of mobilization were evident in SMOs that engaged in advocacy, primarily for the purposes of base building. Three organizations engaged in base-building strategy, ABSM, OBCA, and SAC, which required that they mobilize a constituency. All of the base-building SMOs utilized a membership system or committee structure to long-term secure commitment. Of those three, two mobilized an immigrant constituency, and the other mobilized a constituency consisting of other immigrant focused SMOs. In that case, the organization focused its community engagement efforts on the leadership of other organizations, who acted as spokespeople their member constituencies. Additionally, two of the three SMOs included members on their board of directors, which allows members to have authority over the agenda of the internal processes of the organization, but immigrant visibility on boards of directors was rare. In all cases, even if a constituency was mobilized, the majority of programmatic and other decisions was made by members of the full time staff.

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<sup>20</sup> Worker centers are a tactic used by labor advocates to connect skilled and unskilled workers with employers, allowing for employer oversight by the SMO. They also commonly provide a fixed site for workers to spend time while waiting for contracts.

Figure 4.3. SMO By Size of Professional Staff

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
0 (no paid employees)- 10					X	
11- 25	X	X	X	X		
26+						X

### Identifying Targets of Change

Part of each organization’s vision includes an understand of what problems in the world they seek to respond to, and what actors and institutions they identify as the responsible parties, or what traditional social movements refer to as “targets.” Much like constituency, the concept that each organization has a target or a set of targets that they are demanding change from fits more easily into an advocacy model, whereby SMOs organize campaigns to demand change in specific areas. Organizations engaged in policy work easily identified policies that formed their legislative targets as well as the additional, “Legislator that’s on the fence and [we] want to convince him or her to vote of this bill,” as described one organizational leader. Additionally, organizations engaged in legal services, such as legal aid and representation, could easily identify perpetrators as targets. Programs that focused on base-building described their targets, “Broadly we’re going after the institutions, both public and private, that implement oppression and keep people locked in the shittiness of poverty” (OBCA, 2015). Having clear targets was a productive strategy for these organizations, in part because it framed their actions according to winnable campaigns.

For the three SMOs of the set engaged in direct advocacy, relationships with targets changed over time, and organizations exhibited different strategies to attempt a full acceptance relationship with their targets. A few characteristic were shared by all,

including approaching targets with the mindset that they could one day be allies. One base-building organization described the approach, “We have always taken a posture of no permanent enemies” (OBCA, 2015), because powerful targets could someday become powerful allies. The aim for these organizations is to engage the power of their targets, as described by one organizational leader:

“Our first step is to make our targets aware of the immigrant communities there. It requires a tremendous amount of base building and training, and so on, which is a component of our organizing. But it just depends on the target, sometimes the target is very aware of the immigrant community and we just need to show that the immigrant community in those districts have power, and can use that power.”<sup>21</sup>

In the cases of the three SMOs that engaged in legal services, the perpetrators included employers who they targeted for their unfair labor practices, legislators, and other government officials involved in the legal system. A common practice among these organizations was to give their target fair warning, as a courtesy before beginning to formally take action against them. Base-building organizations benefited from approaching their opponents cautiously, additionally because of the threat they could also pose to strategic action. One advocacy-based organization described their difficulties with acting on local policymakers, “Because we’re usually in an adversarial role vis a vis employers who really have the ear of the representatives” (WRO, 2015). Depending on the organization’s needs, acting on targets could be a defensive gesture against external threats, or as a strategy to build the power of their base.

In terms of social service programs and programs dedicated to community development, organizational leaders were able to identify the systemic causes of the problems addressed in their work, such as policies that exclude immigrants from certain

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<sup>21</sup> SAC, personal interview, 2015.



benefits, discriminatory labor practices, or racially charged social exclusion, however they recognized that the programs they employed did not interact with those targets. SIS relates to the idea of targets through their “Mission of integration” (SIS, 2015) whereby they see community attitudes and hostile relations between native-resident communities and immigrant communities as their primary targets, which they address by creating scenarios for immigrants and native-residents to have positive interactions, while simultaneously building up the immigrant population through service delivery.

Similarly ABSM, consistent with other community-based organizations, targets the disconnectedness of immigrant communities, which is to say that they target the beneficiary population itself. Their strategy for addressing conceptual targets involved creating “Alternative spaces” (ABSM, 2015) where they could model the social power dynamics that comprise their vision. This method of modeling alternative spaces is associated with revolutionary movements (Gamson, Tilly). The theme of creating autonomous space was consistent in the majority of the SMO leaders’ framing of community development strategies. ABSM’s model comes closest to the Community-Based organizing model of mobilizing a previously unmobilized community to make collective claims. It was shared in particular by base-building organizations as a strategy to create a participatory environment whereby a constituency could take part in the internal operations of the SMO.

### Strategic Focus

Strategic focus refers to the related set of tactics that were used consistently over time by the organization. These are the bases around which segmented or niche fields of organizing are developed, such Community-Based Organizations and Labor Unions. For

some SMOs who strategically combine tactics or draw from multiple pre-existing models, determining strategic focus was a somewhat subjective process, however for the set of case studies strategic focus one could be narrowed down to three tactical focuses, and the remaining SMOs could be narrowed down to one or two. Additionally, SMOs modified their strategic focus for a number of internal and external reasons. Nascent SMOs are likely to experiment with different tactics, as seen in ABSM, until they form preferences and start to stabilize their model. Another trend was for organizations, such as WRO and SIS, to go through an additional stage of experimentation once their model reached a stable stage of development, and to ultimately develop a secondary focus tapping into a new source of power. Additionally, SMOs might pursue new strategic focus to answer changes in beneficiary needs, which could be caused by political crises or more subtle changes in immigration and integration patterns, which featured minimally in the SMO case studies, but has been documented in both the Latin American social movements and other minority social movements. (Bakalian & Bozorgmehr, Foley, Jiménez)

Table 4.4. SMO By Strategic Focuses

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
3Base building			X		X	X
Advocacy	X		X		X	X
Community organizing	X				X	X
Service provision	X	X	X	X	X	X

We refer to organizations that focus their attention on the legal system and use strategies having to do with the enforcement and reform of immigration, labor, and housing law, etc. as having an advocacy focus, as in the cases of WRO, SAC and OBCA.

In addition, a subset of advocacy organizations worked from a focus of base-building, like OBCA and SAC and would be described as organizations that engage and mobilize a community to leverage their power against targets. Organizations that provided one or more services as the basis of their model, as seen in SIS and ELP, would be categorized as having service delivery focus. ABSM, experimental in nature, could be described as having no less than three strategic focuses: community-engaged art, education, and community organizing. Strategic focuses tended to stabilize over time as the organization honed their repertoire of tactics, however shifts or development of a secondary focus were not uncommon at different stages of organizational development.

While the strategic focus expressed the primary tactics utilized by the SMO, all of the organizations in the utilized strategy outside their primary focus. For example, all of the advocacy-focused SMOs engaged in service delivery as an additional supportive tactic. Multidisciplinary strategy is typical in professionalized organizations that consistently engage in baseline programs such as development and referral services, as well as baseline legislative advocacy that contribute to organizational survival, while simultaneously developing more specific focuses. They are able to do this in part because SMOs that had a strong infrastructure, as professional SMOs with stable models tend to be, could utilize their internal strategy to operate disparate programs and campaigns simultaneously. For some organizations internal strategy such as size, longevity, fixed site operations, etc. facilitated multilateral tactics, however in examples such as SAC, organizations could tap into their available constituency to divide tasks.

## Repertoires of Contention

Table 4.5. SMO By Common Tactics

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
Leadership development	X	X	X	X	X	X
Constituency mobilization			X		X	X
Issue-based campaigns	X		X			X
Data/ Information Gathering	X	X	X	X	X	X
Demonstrations	X		X		X	X
Community engagement	X		X		X	X
Coalition building	X	X	X		X	X

A common trend in utilization of service delivery was what organizational leaders referred to as, “survival services” (ELP, OBCA). Because the high concentration of poverty and the strong trend of migratory behaviors among beneficiary populations, a minimum amount of service delivery was required to allow them to settle long enough to continue interacting with the organization. ELP, who focused on refining the most essential set of services for a target population of recent immigrants, intentionally limited their responses to basic needs such as housing, food, access to employment and benefits, and of course the English language. These are among the most common services observed in SMOs working with Latin American immigrants, and have long been the foundation for the Latin American immigrant issue agenda.

Table 4.6. SMO By Services Offered

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
English/ literacy education		X		X	X	X
Legal aid services	X					X
Health services	X				X	X
Family services	X	X				
Worker services	X	X			X	X
Training & Technical Assistance		X	X		X	
Community education	X	X	X		X	X
Community-based art					X	
Referrals		X		X	X	

Another common service observed in organization was English language and literacy programs. Language has always been a top issue on the immigrant organizing agenda and has been approached in advocacy efforts through language access, and in the delivery of ESOL and literacy services, and is seen as a first step to participation in American society and integration. It plays additional roles depending on the focus of the SMO, as in the example of SMOs working for labor rights who see language as a tool for immigrant self-defense against labor exploitation. ELP, an organization focused primarily on English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), outlines the urgency of English acquisition for recent immigrants:

“If you’re here and you’re here only because you need English, you need it desperately, you need to get to work, you need to go on to college, maybe you need a high school equivalency diploma, maybe you need to go to a training program so you can be re-certified or even begin a profession or a job, all of these things were immediate.”<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> ELP, personal interview, 2015

She describes a view of English acquisition as a key indicator of assimilation and success according to her organization's framing. The view was clearly shared by the other SMOs as ESOL programs were observed in four of the six NGOs. WRO and SAC are the only organizations that do not offer ESOL services, however they do offer community education programs in multiple languages to accommodate their diverse beneficiaries.

Combining service provision with advocacy-based strategy posed interesting dilemmas for Advocacy-based SMOs. The organizational leaders explained the dynamics of service delivery in campaign-based organizing:

“We’ve done a lot to shift the way we deliver social services and legal services... with much more of a sense of cultural sensitivity, much more respect for the necessity of really trusting the person that is providing you with a service; some of those kinds of things where we’ve combined the wisdom and methodology of organizing with traditional service provision... Certainly in the field of organizing, I think we’ve helped to make the idea of doing organizing connected to the delivery of services respectable again. There was really a time period everyone was like, no you can’t do that, you’ll sacrifice the organizing, so I think we’ve done that.”<sup>23</sup>

There is a hesitation in some advocacy organizations to rely on service provision for a number of reasons, some of which explained by the organizational leader quoted above. While some organization recognize the necessity of service delivery to beneficiary populations access to power-building strategies that they would not otherwise be able to participate in, if say migrant labor practices, family traumas, or basic lack of understanding about social institutions keep individuals from participating in activities and programs of the organization. However some organizations were wary that service delivery impeded on their attention to power-building strategies, at minimum because

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<sup>23</sup> OBCA, personal interview, 2015

they require additional focus and resources that may be limited. However the persistence of service delivery in the sample organizations speaks to its prominence in the field of immigrant organizing (Cordero-Guzmán, Mora).

Legal services and policy work were often observed in combination, and in some advocacy-based organizations were seen as a holistic strategy for dealing with legislative targets. For the three organizations involved in direct advocacy, common strategies fit under the umbrella of policy advocacy and analysis, a multi-step process that includes identifying policy gaps, writing policy recommendations, and engaging support from legislators. For OBCA and WRO, the two organizations that offered legal aid/representation services on an individual or collective basis, legal services involved primarily employing legal teams to represent immigrants in cases of workplace injustice, civil rights, tenants rights, domestic issues, etc. In this way advocacy SMOs challenged policies to expand the rights and access afforded to immigrant populations and followed up by enforcing provisions as they were put in place. A leader at OBCA articulated the purpose of combining policy work and legal representation:

“So in particular we’ve found a real sweet spot with our attorneys writing laws with our members and organizers, especially because we do so much of the work to try to enforce those laws anyway that our attorneys and members have a really good eye for what are the loopholes that are going to make this law unenforceable, and what are the hooks that can actually really help make enforcement real once the law is really passed.”<sup>24</sup>

In developing campaigns based on power-building models, a common influence was the model of progressive union organizing. Both WRO and OBCA, the two organizations engaged most directly in base-building, expressed an understanding of union organizing and its influence on their program. For its part, OBCA’s union

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<sup>24</sup> OBCA, personal interview, 2015

influences are in part due the organizing backgrounds of the leadership who took part in its founding, the most salient effect being their execution of a dues paying membership system, although their significant increase in size has pushed it toward a more open door policy to constituency mobilization. Both organizations continue to collaborate with local progressive unions, as do SAC, and those relationships have influenced both the field of immigrant organizing, and the field of union organizing, as a leader from WRO explains:

“One of the only good things that came out of the unions being attacked, and unionizations really dwindling is that unions are looking for new ways to connect up and be supportive of people collectively, and in collective bargaining, and the worker center model and bringing out different approaches, connecting up with workers that had not been traditionally unionized, not been part of that has brought more diversity and brought more people into it.”<sup>25</sup>

In terms of community development strategies, one in particular that was common among the SMOs in the set was leadership development, which was employed in all but one organization. Leadership development is a key strategy that figured prominently for base-building organizations to mobilize constituencies. ABSM explains their use of leadership development combined with community-based education for the purposes of community development:

“Everything else is taught by volunteers either community artists or members of the community. And a lot of members of the community we support in their development as educators. So some people come in to take workshops and then they run their own workshops and we support their leadership development.”

For ABSM leadership development was very much tied to identity, and was seen as a way to mobilize the more vulnerable individuals of the constituency whose identity created obstacles to pursuing leadership responsibilities in a community empowerment model, which was true for the many indigenous women involved in ABSM. For them, as well as OBCA, and SAC, leadership development culminated in mobilization of a

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<sup>25</sup> WRO, personal interview, 2015



constituency, for which both SMOs secured commitment through committee structures or controlled membership systems. These committee structures varied in form and how they were integrated into the internal role hierarchy. Many of the SMOs used a system of issue-based committees that allowed more constituents to get involved in niche programs according to their area of interest or expertise, the same strategy that was used to organize staff. This also proved to be productive for allowing organizations to address more campaigns simultaneously without adding pressure on staff organizers.

Each organization approached community engagement from a different perspective based on how they framed the role of their constituency in the internal strategy. None of the organizations in the set were explicitly Community-Based Organizations (CBOs), though most of them engaged in some form of community development<sup>26</sup> in their repertoire of tactics, for the purposes of mobilization of identity deployment. SAC, for example, with a staff of less than twenty is able to operate about thirty issue-based collaboratives simultaneously by utilizing their membership base of about two hundred organizations. ABSM is also developing a community council structure, which, much like the function of other organizations' boards of directors, will allow the leaders among their constituency<sup>27</sup> to have more autonomous control of the agenda and strategy as it begins to stabilize its model. Both SAC and OBCA operate controlled membership systems that privilege service delivery and access to internal

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<sup>26</sup> In this case community development refers to tactics acted upon the dynamics and relationships among members of a group, and community organization to mean a tactic of outreach to and mobilization of a community. An organization that proclaims itself a CBO would be expected to have a community organizing strategic focus. ABSM includes community organizing as one element of its strategic focus but does not consider itself to be a CBO.

<sup>27</sup> 'Leaders among the constituency' does not refer to staff or otherwise appointed leadership, but rather community members who gain access through participation in organizational programs and events.

operations to their members. WRO has shifted toward community engagement<sup>28</sup> as their legal services model stabilizes, and they have run up against the various obstacles to engaging communities lacking in geographically bounded local contexts. Their uneven experiences in community development are exemplified in the gaps between their Hudson Valley and North/Western NY efforts:

“There is a more established community engagement program in the [Hudson Valley] office and we’re much more in the fledgling stages of that in [North/Western NY]. Plus our community engagement is more rural so it has it’s own set of difficulties as opposed to when you have a fixed site that you can go to and meet and connect up that way.”<sup>29</sup>

Another traditional social movement strategy exhibited by the three SMOs involved in advocacy and base-building was demonstration, which was often employed in combination with the strategy of coalition building. To mobilize a broader constituency of local immigrant populations not necessarily interacting directly with the SMO, their power could be accessed through organizations that represented them. This is the basis of SAC’s organizing model of coalition building, “You leverage your member’s members,” for the purposes of building power. The same principle of networking power helped SMOs win tangible legislative campaigns. To demonstrate the power of their organization, SAC mobilized its constituency of organizations by gathering crowds in Albany for ‘Immigrant Advocacy Days’ where member SMOs were encouraged to bring their constituencies and to tout their agenda in legislative visits. The demonstration of power necessary to influence policy is often more than any one organization has the capacity for, and advocacy-based organizations universally claimed that networking was an essential strategy to winning campaigns (Bernstein, Keck & Sikkink, McCarthy &

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<sup>28</sup> Some of the tactics WRO has used to implement its community development strategy has included, minor campaign mobilization, leadership development, community education, and coalition building with local institutions.

<sup>29</sup> WRO, personal interview, 2015

Zald). Coalition building and the ability to mobilize a broad constituency made up of the membership of multiple organizations magnified the power engaged by demonstrative strategies.

In addition to utilizing coalitions for the purposes of demonstrating power, SMOs engaged in networking and coalition building strategy to fill other organizational gaps, “Capacity, different frameworks, also if you’re really trying to affect change you need multiple fronts” (OBCA, 2015), as one base-building organizer explains. For service-based organizations involvement in networks meant that, through a system of referrals, they could extend the reach of the beneficiary population they interacted with as well as extending the reach of the services they could provide to their immediately available beneficiary community. One advocacy organization described networking as, “It’s invaluable, the more that you are connected up, the more you can provide more expedient relief to someone, the more that you can get honest situation quickly to rectify it before it has to have any relief, and also with the distances across the state being to have support and get to areas you can’t get to” (WRO, 2015) emphasizing how service delivery allows through networks allows less individuals to fall through the cracks in service provision programs. This finding is consistent with studies that attribute the benefits of NGO networking to successful sharing of resources such as materials, information, and skills in addition to the building of power (Cordero-Guzmán, Délano, Keck & Sikkink).

#### Local Institutional Context

It has already been argued that SMOs make intentional decisions about programming to the same degree that they respond to their environment in terms of the needs of the beneficiary population (Armstrong & Bernstein, Massey, McCarthy & Zald).

The SMOs in the set responded to the local context in which the immigrant communities, that made up their beneficiary population establish themselves. This played out in a number of external institutional relationships with local public and private institutions and state authorities. When SMOs utilized the issues in their agenda that aligned with issues of local institutions they could pursue cooperative relationships that yielded benefits for the organization. However surrounding institutions could also pose threats to the SMO or be a target of action. SMOs interacted with their surrounding community in both productive and combative ways.

All of the organizations in the study relied on local institutions for their sustainability with the baseline utility being fundraising purposes. To this extent we can immediately identify the contradiction with Gamson's measurement of institutional acceptance response rate if all of the organizations met the minimal acceptance relationship (Gamson, 1975). This is a major difference between grassroots social movements and formal organizations. The SMOs in the study all operated on a yearly budget of at least \$100,000, and half of the SMOs operated on a yearly budget over \$1 million, which skewed the minimum funding requirement of the sample.

Figure 4.7. SMO By Annual Budget

	WRO	SIS	SAC	ELP	ABSM	OBCA
\$0-99,999						
\$100,000-999,999				X		
\$1 million-4,999,999	X	X				
\$5-10 million						
10 million <						X
Other			MISSING		X	

Some organizations were more embedded in local institutions than others. SIS notably prides itself on its positive relationships with institutions, which range from schools, to law enforcement agencies, so institutional outreach figures prominently in their strategy. ABSM is a unique example among the set because it is a program of a local art institution, administrates its budget and staff. The strategic focus of ABSM counterbalances the access that the institution has to their internal strategy, because they make choices to make their internal strategy processes accessible to their constituency.

Organizational leaders commented that funding requirements from institutions can also hinder organizational goals by controlling their behavior. One organizational leader speaking about grant requirements for a specific fund for ESOL programs critiqued its latent effects on quality of services delivery:

“They were going to give big money only to an agency that has sites in at least four of the five boroughs. For an ESOL program that’s not a good thing to have one in each borough because then you have the neighborhood thing. You don’t get the mixture that we get here, and they wanted programs that served at least 3,000 students. When I took the 3,000 and divided it into the amount of money they were willing to give as big money, I saw what was hidden. What they were expecting was a program that was going to give a student not more than 150 hours of instruction in a year, which means a very part time program. We in our heyday saw 700-1000 students, and we have students who are here 300 hours, 450 hours, 600 hours. That’s why we’re successful. So that’s what they did. And we lost two thirds of our funding.”<sup>30</sup>

The effects of donor constraints on SMO actions have been well documented and this anecdote is representative of the common obstacles faced by SMOs working in areas of poverty especially. In this way SIS is the exception that proves the rule. Their institutional embeddedness combined with their location in a suburban “Sweet spot” (SIS, 2015) of affluence allowed them to have remarkably funding obstacles. Their leaders attributed their funding success to a combination of factors, but alignment with

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<sup>30</sup> ELP, personal interview, 2015

state institutions featured prominently in their fundraising strategy. As a base-building organization aimed at continuously pushing the limits of its power, OBCA, it recognized the instability of its institutional relationships, which are on the whole in a much more conservative position vis a vis immigrants, social, and other political issues. Thus institutional relationships, common universally among formal organizations, had mixed effects on SMOs.

## *Conclusion*

All of the organizations represented professional models of SMOs working in a Latin American immigrant field of organizing in New York. The six SMOs needed to produce sustainable models that ensured organizational survival, which required a balance between institutional alignment and challenges to authority. Institutional alignment required strategies that prioritized institutional relationship building and making framing decisions that integrated institutional claims. Challenging authority required that SMOs build a powerful base with which to make claims about their beneficiaries. These organizations tended to mobilize their beneficiary base as opposed to a third party of conscience constituents.

While the organizations differed in many ways, they all offered a baseline of services that included usually social services, workers services, and language services. Networking aided service delivery in that it allowed SMOs to direct their clients to specialized services beyond their own capacity through a network of SMOs in the field. The importance of services, as explained by the leaders of various organizations, was to build up communities' resilience so that they could increase access to institutions for their communities. Additionally, service delivery increased the legitimacy of SMOs to their beneficiary populations and to funding institutions. The set of SMOs in particular self-selects for service delivery, because of its benefits for both professional organizations and SMOs representing low-wage populations.

Latin American immigrant identity had specific bearings on organizational strategy in particular in the use of advocacy in SMOs. Immigration status is a legal

institution that produces many of the barriers to immigrant success. The historical underrepresentation and exclusion of immigrants from civic participation has led to their visibility in non-state collectivities that make claims to institutions on their behalf. SMOs are primarily concerned with immigration laws, immigration enforcement, and civil, economic, and social rights as targets of influence. In that way SMOs are concerned with the laws that govern the process of migration and govern movement, and the laws that govern integration processes that involve access to benefits and protections. SMOs involved in Latin American immigrants' issues all built strategy around legislative, legal, and enforcement institutions as a result of their beneficiary population's needs utilizing identity deployment tactics typical of identity-based SMOs (Bernstein, 1997).

Community development was also important as a function of base-building and legitimizing SMOs. Advocacy-based SMOs seeking mobilize constituencies engaged in community outreach especially to fragmented rural populations, and community engagement to include internal operations and demonstrations of power. These organizations tended to incorporate beneficiaries into internal bureaucracies to give them access to agenda setting processes. Often when SMOs sought to mobilize constituencies, they utilized tactics like community education and leadership development to encourage participation in leadership structures of the SMO. Community development tactics also served to legitimize the organizations as spokespeople for their beneficiaries.

A consistent feature of professional organizations was organizational survival. Aside from ABSM, operating for four years, all of the SMOs in the set have been in operation for at least ten years. Because of this, all of the SMOs had developed their organizational models to the point that they had a strategic focus and clearly articulated



framing, and were able to produce narratives about legitimacy and impact. At this point organizations would be considered stable and their outcomes could be assessed according to how they proceeded as stable SMOs.

### Outcomes

Gamson's model of movement outcomes partially fits the outcomes observed in the set of SMOs, however the key distinctions between Gamson's traditional social movements and McCarthy & Zald's professionalized SMOs engaged in resource mobilization, and the multi-institutional model of political process explains weak association. The basis of Gamson's outcomes model consists of two factors, whether or not advantages were gained for the beneficiary targets and whether or not the movement is accepted into institutions as a valid spokesperson for their beneficiaries. This assumes that SMOs exist so long as the grievances of their beneficiary population remain and the institutional targets behave antagonistically toward the SMO. It would be possible to evaluate the organizations on a spectrum of relations with targets and advantages, however this proves to be less helpful because, as professional SMOs, each exhibited a baseline of positive institutional relationships over time.

A few aspects of McCarthy & Zald's analysis of SMO strategy describe why an outcomes model based on traditional social movements does not fit resource mobilization efforts. In terms of successful outcomes or advantages, the issue of organizational survival precludes beneficiary satiation, meaning that a professional SMO who meets its goals creates a sustainable program to work towards the goal must either find a new beneficiary population to act upon using the same model, or it must create new problems and goals to work towards. With the exception of ABSM, all of the organizations have

been operating for at least ten years, which would require a professional SMO to accumulate some amount of campaign victories or a narrative of success for their beneficiaries to maintain legitimacy with both funders and beneficiaries, and all of the SMOs, including ABSM, were able to claim advantages that were gained for the beneficiary.

A more appropriate way of evaluating professional SMOs would be to analyze the point at which the organization, 1) Has a clear strategic focus and repertoire of tactics it uses to tackle established and emerging problems, 2) Has a strong infrastructure that supports its repertoire of tactics, 3) Yields new advantages for its beneficiaries, and 4) Is sustainable, meaning that the organization has the capacity for organizational survival. In the organizations where this kind of stabilization occurred, the organizations exhibited options that included, replicating the model for a new beneficiary population, expanded its focus and/or tactics, or continued its efforts for a replenished beneficiary population.

In terms of institutional recognition, all of the SMOs had key institutional relationships that it relied on for funding or some other kind of support. SMOs did have antagonistic relationships with some of their targets as well, but in those cases other relationships balanced the institutional antagonism, and by approaching targets as if they could one day be adherents they prepared for relationships to improve over time. It is important to remember that in a traditional social movement model the leadership is primarily influenced by its constituents and earns legitimacy from its institutional targets. However, that relationship inverts in the professional movement model whereby the SMO's behavior will also be influenced by external institutions, and strategy needs to

address legitimacy issues. Institutions therefore could act as resources or obstacles for SMOs.

The modified, multi-institutional model of outcomes for professional identity-based SMOs explains the features of the organizations in the sample set that fit the SMOs observed in the sample set. Observations of the sample set yielded that the SMOs who mobilized a constituency, and expanded or replicated their model increased capacity for political impact over time. This was observed in OBCA, and because we see the strategy forming in ABSM we would expect to see the same 'Political impact response' years down the road. Both prioritized base-building strategies that mobilized constituency while simultaneously exercising their constituencies' power, and stated a desire to expand strategies relative to the political power gained through campaign victories and gains in institutional access. On the other side of the model, ELP rarely innovated strategies because they intended to continue offering the same set of services to groups of recent immigrants until they were no longer needed, at which point the SMO would end their client relationship and seek new beneficiaries from a similar population, showing a 'Replenishment' outcome.

The remaining organizations exhibited either an 'Institutionalization' outcome or a 'Community mobilization' outcome. SMOs that mobilized a constituency but did not expand their model experienced community mobilization. This is where ABSM currently showed outcomes, because it has prioritized building a community base from the ground up using community and leadership development tactics, and the remainder of their organizational model is lagging behind their constituency mobilization efforts in development. SMOs that expanded their model but did not mobilize a constituency

experienced formalization, whereby organizations like SIS and WRO have expanded their strategy into new territory, but having just begun to mobilize the power of their beneficiary population.

Once SMOs reached stable models, the choice to continue building power was a calculated decision between many factors, but often related closely to the organizations' visions. Organizations like ELP and WRO had clear, almost monolithic visions of the broader effort they were making through their work. Their visions related directly to their strategic focus, thus the goals became perfecting tactics already in use and success in the area of focus, or quality of operations, rather than larger systemic goals, although WRO's recent strategy shifts may change this in the future. ABSM, OBCA, and SAC, had trouble narrowing down their tactics and simultaneous goals, because their ultimate goal was to build the power of entire communities. They attempted to work with many sections of immigrant populations and act on many different issues facing their beneficiaries, because their analysis was that systems of control involve multiple powerful institutions working simultaneously, and therefore required a multi-lateral approach if adequate power was to be built. The proportion of SMOs in the set that were oriented towards continuously building power, and SMOs that were oriented towards quality of operations did indicate that service agencies are less involved in building general power or community than advocacy-based organizations. However, the mixed uses of both service delivery and advocacy also cautions social movement theorists not to dismiss service delivery in pursuance of power (Délano, Cordero-Guzmán).

Although institutional relationships in some cases hindered SMO operations by controlling their behaviors, SMOs benefited greatly from positive interactions with

institutions, and SMO success (in terms of advantages and survival) was not observed without the support of institutions. The common critique of organizations embedded in institutions is that their dependency on institutional support subjects them institutional control, eclipsing the control beneficiaries have on organizations that represent them, which is compounded by the professionalization of SMO operations and dependency on full time staff instead of constituency mobilization (Armstrong & Bernstein, Massey, McCarthy & Zald). This understanding of the relationships within an SMO frames it as a constant balancing act between professional staff, beneficiaries, and external institutions over who controls the behaviors of the SMO.

SMO leaders expressed an awareness of the need to control the dynamics among their beneficiaries, external stakeholders, and their own ambitions to foster sustainability and growth. One strategy SMOs employed was to use internal structure to control which groups had access to different aspects of the organization. Those who wished to give more control to their beneficiaries did so by engaging the beneficiary population using mobilization or community development tactics. It was common for SMOs to create levels of bureaucracy that put beneficiaries in positions of authority, such as on their board of directors or programming committees, as seen in the cases of ABSM, OBCA, and SAC. Additionally, OBCA used communication strategies to subvert hierarchy by reversing the system of oversight so that individuals with less authority could give oversee and give feedback to individuals with more authority. SMOs that claimed to be working towards subverting external power structures were likely to also seek a balance of power within their internal structures.

Program segmentation meant that individuals could engage with section of the SMO rather than in its entirety, allowing them to serve different, and sometimes even contradictory interests. Professional organizations with strong infrastructure are able to support disparate programs or campaigns, and it was common for the SMOs in the set to divide staff, programs, and beneficiaries according to interest area and operate multiple divisions through administrative oversight. Organizations whose funding targets were in conflict with the goals of the organization occasionally retained those funders who had an interest in a segment of the organization's operations. This was the logic by which OBCA explained how they are able to maintain a right-wing funding-base as they increasingly shifted their own politics to the left. OBCA, and many of the other SMOs attributed similar phenomena to desire of conservative philanthropic efforts to support social services, owing to the institutionalization of non-state service delivery.

A final factor that has affected SMOs relationships with institutions has been the institutionalization of Hispanics as national category. Institutional acceptance of Hispanics at the end of the Civil Rights era has had profound effects on Latin American immigrants that can now claim representation from Hispanic institutions even if they are excluded from institutions for the majority non-immigrant, non-Hispanic population. Hispanic institutions have proliferated in the past century, producing educational, religious, arts-based, media-based, corporate, institutions. Heightened institutionalization of Hispanic also indicates a strengthening of the Hispanic elite, and the prevalence organizations that are led by educated professional from the Hispanic elite. That SMOs like SIS and ABSM founded and led by immigrants from South American countries producing generally higher SES immigrant populations might also point to the affects of

immigration patterns on Latin American immigrant institutionalization, if high SES immigration from Latin America increases. Additionally Hispanic representation in state institutions has risen, revealed by SAC and others' abilities to get particular support from Hispanic city government officials with immigrant backgrounds. Accounts of Hispanic institutions depict them as still displaying antagonistic behavior towards social movements, but more importantly in cases like the Hispanic pan-ethnicity movement, ethnic institutions are seen as being dependent on social movements as to mobilize the population that the institutions claim to represent. The interdependence between Hispanic institutions and Latin American immigrant SMOs with produces a more positive environment for Latin American social movements where their interests are more likely to be represented by institutions.

While the study was designed to include a diverse sample of SMOs approaching the Latin American immigrant SMI, it was too small of a sample to be considered representative. The survey was meant to produce more generalized data about SMOs, but it did not generate enough responses to provide a representative sample. The observations of the sample set did produce interesting trends and relationships between strategies and outcomes that are consistent with examples in the literature, justifying the usefulness of the modified Multi-institutions model. The next step in the research would be for a more robust survey of Latin American SMOs, with a more precise focus on the indicators associated with the proposed model. In particular, there was a significant underrepresentation of traditional, volunteer-based, grassroots, and student movements, broad-based social movements, and CBOs. In addition, while some of the sample modeled their programs after progressive unions, no unions were included in the study.

It's already been noted that there was an overrepresentation of medium sized, local, professional organizations, engaged in some amount of service delivery. We find the service delivery to be typical of both formal organizations as a legitimacy scheme, as well as typical of organization working with low-wage populations such as Latin American immigrants.

SMOs are a rapidly changing sector of social movements that must balance different tasks. Scholars and movement leaders have critiqued and expanded ideas about what forms SMOs take, what forms of power they challenge, and created new models to evaluate the innovations made by SMOs over time. As we have seen in the previous case studies of New York-based SMOs in the Latin American immigrant-organizing field, SMOs combine approaches typical for traditional social movements, professional SMOs, and identity-based movements to form their strategy towards their dual goals. This includes mixed uses of service delivery, advocacy, demonstration, community-based art, legal representation, and leadership development, name a few. SMOs varied across form, and function in their communities, but they showed similar out patterns of outcomes according to their development of programs and constituency.

The outcomes of these Latin American immigrant SMOs displayed depended on the ways in which organization built power through both constituency mobilization and resource mobilization. By balancing the continuous mobilization of constituency and resources SMOs had the capacity to continuously build power and challenge much bigger targets with a greater likelihood of success. In seeking equilibrium between mobilizing constituency and resources, SMOs needed to have strong internal strategy and reliable tactics that appreciated that diversity within the Latin American immigrant community,



and were responsive to the whole range of internal and environmental crises that might occur. Undoubtedly, as social movements and institutions continue to develop, whether due to collective efforts or external influences, understandings of the mechanisms of change will be transformed as well, producing unimaginable change.

Appendix A. Survey on Outcomes of CBOs with a Latin American Immigration focus.

This survey will be executed through Google Forms.

Part 1: Consent form

**Research Informed Consent**

Preliminary Study Title: Outcomes of Latin American Immigrant Rights CBOs in New York

Investigator: Jordan Cooper, Sociology Department, Bard College

**Purpose:**

**I am conducting a research study to examine the outcomes of Organizations that work to benefit Latin American immigrants in the New York metropolitan area and the Hudson Valley.**

**Procedures:**

Participation in this study will involve participating in an interview follow up on the survey previously filled out by you or another member of the organization. I will ask you about: the organization that you currently work for, basic information about daily operations, organizational structure, goals, and outcomes.

*I anticipate that the interview will last approximately one hour, which I will record, with permission.*

**Risks and Benefits:**

I do not expect to participants in this study to experience adverse risks.

Although this study will not benefit you personally, I hope that the results will add to the knowledge of social movement strategy specifically for organizations working on immigration-related issues and in Latin American immigrant communities in the United States.

**Confidentiality:**

All of your responses will be confidential.

Only the researchers involved in this study (myself and my academic advisors) will have access to the information you provide. All survey data will be kept in a password protected hard drive. Please note, however, that the investigator can be compelled by a court to disclose this information. Further, emails containing record of your participation can be deleted but they are never truly private, as they may still exist on a server.

I may use quotes from your interview in my senior project and any publications that might result from it (although at present I have no plans to publish the results). I will not identify you, the organization you are representing during the interview, or the location of the organization.

**Voluntary Participation:**

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to participate, to end participation at any time and for any reason, or to refuse to answer any individual question.

**Questions:**

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact me, Jordan Cooper, jc0712@bard.edu, or by telephone 267 266 0180. You may also reach my academic advisors, Sarah Egan, segan@bard.edu or 745-758-7083, and Joel Perlmann, perlmann@bard.edu, or 845-758-7726. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the conduct of this study, you may contact the Bard College Institutional Review Board at IRB@bard.edu.

**Agreement to participate:**

## Option 1:

I have read the above information, have had the opportunity to have any questions about this study answered, and I agree to participate in this study.

## Part 2: Please answer the following questions regarding your organization:

Please write in your full name, position within the organization, and relevant contact information.

1. What is the name of your organization?
2. What year did the organization form?
3. If any organization, multiple organizations, coalitions, or campaigns, etc. preceded the organization, please describe.
4. Where are the headquarters of the organization located?
5. If the organization uses any spaces outside the headquarters regularly, please describe.
6. What services do you offer? Please check all that apply.
  - a. Access to higher education
  - b. Advocacy
  - c. Case management
  - d. Citizenship support
  - e. Civic & voter participation
  - f. Civil rights & civil liberties
  - g. Community education
  - h. Community organizing
  - i. DACA Outreach
  - j. Education
  - k. English as a second language/ English language literacy support
  - l. Health/ mental health
  - m. m. Housing
  - n. Immigration law
  - o. Immigration policy reform/ policy research
  - p. Job training/ placement
  - q. Leadership development
  - r. Litigation/ legal representation
  - s. Public benefits
  - t. Public demonstration/ protest
  - u. Support for victims of sexual assault
  - v. Training and technical assistance
  - w. Workers rights
  - x. Workplace representative
  - y. Other (please describe)
7. Please describe the population that makes up your constituency, i.e. the population that you represent and/or seek to benefit (include information about national origins, citizenship status, race, ethnicity, age cohort, socio-economic status, etc). If multiple groups make up your constituency, please describe.
8. Please briefly list the programs that are currently in operation in your organization.
9. If you have programs that are now defunct, please list them as well.
10. What are your major sources of funding?
11. Is your organization used in an official capacity as a spokesperson for your constituency or for expert testimony?
  - a. Never
  - b. Rarely
  - c. Sometimes
  - d. Often

12. How many individuals does your organization employ?
13. Do you rely on volunteers? If so please estimate how many volunteers work with you on a regular basis?
14. Do you have a board of directors? If so, how many?
15. What are the primary goals of your organization? If there have been any major shifts in organizational goals, please describe.
16. What have been your most significant achievements?
17. Where do you see your organization five years from now?
18. Are you or have you been a part of any formal coalitions or campaigns? If so, please list them.
19. Do you have any informal networks with other organizations or institutions? If so, please list them.

#### Appendix B. Interview on outcomes of CBOs with a Latin American immigration focus

##### Introduction script:

I would like to ask you some questions regarding your organization. I am interested in what you and your colleagues do on a day-to-day basis, what your internal and external goals are and how they may have changed over the years, and how your organization evaluates itself. I would also like to follow up on the survey that your organization filled out previously. I will be recording our conversation, and with your permission, would like to use your name as well as your organization's name in my notes. If at any point you do not feel comfortable answering a question please let me know. You should feel free to stop the interview or take a break at any time. May I begin recording?

1. How long have you worked for this organization?
2. Have you served different positions here?
3. What drew you to work here?
4. Have you worked for any other NGOs, CBOs, or social movements in the past? (In this issue are or another)
5. How would you describe your organization's vision? (For your community, constituency, etc.)
6. How would you classify the type of organization you work for? (Service provider, advocacy group, protest movement, etc.)
7. What is the process by which your organization establishes goals?
8. What have been the significant factors that have caused changes in your organization's goals?
9. How are individuals involved organized? (I.e. into factions, a single hierarchy, etc.)
10. How is leadership organized?
11. How is information about daily operations or long-term projects disseminated to individuals?
12. What is the ethnic composition of your staff and board of directors? Nationality? Ages? Education?
13. What is your constituency?
14. What is the ethnic composition of your constituency? Nationality? Ages? Education?
15. Who do you consider your targets to be?
16. How would you describe the ways in which you relate to those targets?
17. What are your organization's main methods of fundraising?
18. What are your sources of funding?

19. Are you or have you in the past been a part of any networks (formal or informal), coalitions or campaigns with other organizations or institution?
20. How did you form these networks?
21. What were the outcomes of these networks?
22. What is your organization's relationship to the community surrounding you? (Including, but also beyond your constituency)
23. Are there any organizations that you compete with?
24. What is your organization's relationship to local policymakers?
25. How does your organization evaluate itself? (In terms of goals, operations, and outcomes)
26. How would you describe your organization's outcomes or achievements?
27. How has your organization affected your constituents? (In terms of benefits and/or new advantages)
28. What do you consider to be the main threats (external obstacles) to your organization

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