UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Detangling the relationship between nonprofits, immigrant exclusion, and immigrant inclusion in the United States

DISSERTATION

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for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Urban and Environmental Planning and Policy

by

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Dedication

To Humanity

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Abstract of the dissertation

Detangling the relationship between nonprofits, immigrant exclusion, and immigrant inclusion in the United States

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Urban and Environmental Planning and Policy

University of California, Irvine, 2023

Professor Walter J. Nicholls, Chair

This dissertation seeks to better understand the relationship between nonprofits, immigrant exclusion, and immigrant inclusion. It consists of three empirical studies that address several research problems in the nonprofit and immigrant-serving nonprofit literatures. The first research problem is the following. Although the immigrant-serving nonprofit organization (INO) literature reveals that INOs form due to anti-immigrant policies and practices, xenophobia, racism, and legal status, nonprofit theories that seek to explain nonprofit emergence do not consider these variables in theoretical models. Second, research finds that INOs contribute to immigrant inclusion outcomes in several ways. Yet studies employ mostly case study methods focusing on INOs in select cities which do not allow for identifying the breadth and scale of strategies. Lastly, studies find that a city's immigrant inclusion environment shape the strategies that INOs employ. Yet this relationship has yet to be holistically examined. For example, studies often focus on one or a few strategies and over focus on the local government as a local contextual variable. Several studies employ qualitative approaches which do not allow for

gauging the degree to which strategies diverge across contexts and whether these differences are significant.

To address these research problems, I investigated the following questions: 1. Does citizenry exclusion motivate INO emergence? 2. How do INOs contribute to immigrant inclusion outcomes? 3. What local contextual variables shape INO strategies? 4. How does local context shape INO strategies? 5. Do INO strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion? 6. Are these differences statistically significant? Methods used include interviews, surveys, and quantitative content analysis.

In paper one, I propose citizenry exclusion theory, a nonprofit theory that posit that INOs form due to citizenry exclusion. The interview data provide support for the theoretical framework. Paper two identifies over 100 strategies that INOs employ contributing to immigrant inclusion outcomes. Paper three identifies 10 local contextual variables influencing INO strategies. Although strategies diverged across local context with different levels of immigrant inclusion, the national nonprofit survey reveals that only two strategies (cultural activities and policy advocacy) significantly differed in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion.

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

"I am a citizen of the world. Why do I have to apply for legal status?"[1] This quote represents the words of an immigrant and the reflections of perhaps many immigrants that adhere to citizenry regimes in the hope for a better tomorrow. Yet the odds of true happiness in the face of ongoing exclusion is not the result for many. To this end, this dissertation begins with the acknowledgement of the reality that foreign persons face in the fight for inclusion in exclusionary political regimes.

Immigrants are excluded in several ways. I use the term immigrant broadly to refer to foreign born persons irrespective of their legal status, such as asylum seekers, refugees, undocumented persons, permanent residents, naturalized citizens, international students, and persons on a nonimmigrant visa, who together experience various degrees of exclusion based on legal status, rights, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and religion. Indeed, while individuals of different foreign backgrounds and legal statuses experience disparate degrees of exclusion, they are bonded by their realities of exclusion. They are excluded from several facets of social and political life such as voting, employment opportunities, scholarships, housing subsidies, banking, driving, medical resources, going to college, and much more.

The practice of exclusion enacted by state authorities has a long history. Here, I center my focus on the U.S. in recent centuries. For the most part, the exclusion of individuals has been justified in the name of the Christian God, white superiority, and science (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; FitzGerald & Cook-Martin, 2014; Ngai, 2004). For example, the 1493 Doctrine of Discovery enacted by the Pope Alexander VI, was a principle of international law stipulating that when a Christian discovers a land that is not inhabited by other Christians, they can directly acquire

rights to that land. It became the justification for European settlers to kill native persons, steal their lands, and to enslave them. European settlers arriving to the west were met with great resistance by the natives. As an incentive to recruit fighters, in the 17th century colonial authorities introduced a scalp hunting program providing financial rewards for the scalps of women, men, and children under ten. The scalp hunting program became a lucrative commercial practice.

Early U.S. immigration policies also have exclusionary elements, many of which are based on racism and ethnic selection (FitzGerald & Cook-Martin, 2014; Ngai, 2004). This is evident with several policies. A few policies to name include: the 1790 naturalization Act ruled that only free white persons could be naturalized; California supreme court case 1854 People versus Hall ruled that no Chinese person could give testimony against white people in the court of law; and the 1857 Dred Scott versus Scott case ruled that Americans who are descendants of enslaved Africans, whether free or not, could not be U.S. citizen. Propagation of Social Darwinism—or the theory that whites and other members of society were superior and more fit than others due to biology—in the 19th century further justified the exclusion of certain ethnic immigrants based on their race. Southern and eastern Europeans such as Jews, Poles, and Italians were considered racially inferior. Mainstream associations excluded them for participating in associational life due to their ethnic background, thus giving rise to their need to form their own associations (Gamm & Putnam, 1999).

Although present day immigration system has evolved, exclusion remains at its core. This is because as political philosopher Walzer (1983) puts it, until we live in a global state, and as long as we have immigration policy, admission decisions will need to be made and some people will be included while others excluded. The act of excluding foreigners as manifested in

immigration policy and beyond is thus a normal reality of social life. Contemporary immigration policy has simply morphed into new forms of exclusion. For example, the 1986 Immigration and Nationality Act 286 (g) program made it possible for states and local governments to enter federal agreements to enforce immigration policy. In this way, the surveillance of foreign bodies has extended from the purview of the state to the purview of local officials. This new profound power of the police to enforce immigration law creates new pathways for immigrant exclusion to manifest.

Scholars of immigration studies recognize how immigrant exclusion is justified on moral grounds. For example, some migrant groups (e.g. children) are seen as more deserving than other migrant groups by the native population (Fassin, 2012). These beliefs that reinforce false hierarchy of human value are reproduced in policy. Example of policy measures include the Cuban Operation Peter Pan in the 1960s, the 1987 Ameriasian Homecoming Act, and the 2012 Deferred Action for Childhood Removal, which all grant special rights and legal inclusion to children. That is not to say that all children are exempt from exclusion. Mexican children, for example, are subject to unfair treatment by immigration authorities (Aramayo, 2015).

Immigrant exclusion produces harmful effects on immigrants and their families. Menjívar & Abrego (2012) conceive these normalized effects of immigration law as legal violence. The concept of legal violence problematizes the otherwise normal migratory laws and practices. Moreover, state sanctioned anti-immigrant measures reinforce divisive cultural norms that contribute to immigrant exclusion by other social actors, such as the police, nonprofit organizations, employers, the media, and housing sector.

The third sector plays a critical role in combatting immigrant exclusion and promoting their inclusion in society. Drawing on third sector conceptualizations (Etzioni, 1973; Kallman &

Clark, 2019; Levitt, 1973; Salamon & Sokolowski, 2016), the third sector is defined here as the societal space that is distinct from the state and market sectors that comprise of organizational entities that are self-governing, have some voluntary aspect, and serve the common good. To illustrate, immigrant-serving nonprofits launch protests and mass mobilizations to combat anti-immigrant policies (Cordero-Guzmán et al., 2008). They host cultural activities to foster cultural acceptance among the native community (Wilson, 2011). INOs collaborate with the local government to promote inclusive local policies (de Graauw, 2016).

This relationship furthermore transcends time. In the 19th century, Chinese persons were subject to physical violence and their migration restricted to the U.S. with the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. To combat anti-Chinese sentiments and stigma, a Chinese organization hired lawyers, launched protests and petitions (Hansen, 2006). This empirical relationship is also sustained across contexts. In the Netherlands, churches play a critical role in providing sanctuary to asylum seekers. In 2018, a Dutch church held nonstop immigration service to prevent an Armenian family from deportation (Pitofsky, 2018). In the U.K., refugee organizations provide social services to asylum seekers that the government fails to provide (Mayblin & James, 2019). In Ireland, some Irish citizens feel that blacks are space invaders and not rightful occupants of the country (Tormey, 2007). African organizations respond by launching cultural programs that foster cross-cultural understanding and positive imageries of black migrants (Ejorh, 2011).

In the whole, with the exception of a few studies (e.g. Kalir & Wissink, 2015), scholarship suggests that one of the roles of immigrant-serving third sector is to disrupt the sovereign power of the state to exclude foreign bodies and create what Nicholls (2014) call "niche openings" for inclusion (see Table 1).

Table 1. Summary of immigrant-serving third sector literature

INOs meeting the needs of immigrants	INOs, inclusive policies, planning, and immigrants' rights	INOs, immigrant political participation, activism, or integration
(Bloemraad et al., 2022; Hector Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Roth et al., 2015; Van der Leun & Bouter, 2015)	(De Graauw, 2014, 2015; Kondo, 2012)	(de Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016; Gonzalez Benson & Pimentel Walker, 2021; Janzen et al., 2016; Kim & Bozarth, 2021; Kotin et al., 2011; Nicholls, 2021a; Yükleyen & Yurdakul, 2011)
INO emergence	INO strategies	INOs combat anti-immigration policies
(Breton, 1964; Hein, 1997; Jiménez, 2011; Schrover & Vermeulen, 2005)	(Landolt & Goldring, 2015)	(Caneva, 2014; Cordero-Guzmán et al., 2008; Jiménez, 2011)
INOs and cultural inclusion	INOs and deportation	INOs and immigrant legal inclusion
(Ejorh, 2011; Nichols et al., 2017; Salami et al., 2019)	(Kalir & Wissink, 2015)	(Chand et al., 2017a; Hector Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Mayblin & James, 2019; Wong & García, 2016)
INO sustainability	INOs and civic inclusion and engagement	INOs and local context
(Hung & Ong, 2012)	(Bloemraad et al., 2022; de Graauw, 2014, 2021)	(Castañeda, 2020; Chand et al., 2017a; de Graauw, 2015; de Graauw et al., 2020; Joassart-Marcelli, 2013; Nicholls, 2021a)

The purpose of this dissertation is to better understand the relationship between nonprofits, immigrant exclusion, and immigrant inclusion. I focus my analysis on immigrant-serving nonprofits, specifically. In examining the literature on this topic, I have identified several limitations which I articulate in the following section.

Research Problems

The first research problem this dissertation addresses is the following. Nonprofit theories government failure (Wiesbrod, 1975), market failure (Hansmann, 1980), and interdependence theories (Salamon, 1995) overlook what I refer to as *citizenry exclusion* in explaining why nonprofits emerge, which limits their generalizable to INOs. *Citizenry exclusion* refers to the exclusion based on legal status, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and rights. For over a decade, INO studies recognize the role of citizenry exclusion as a factor that explains INO emergence (see Jiménez, 2011). Some INO scholars recognize this gap in nonprofit theory, noting that key theoretical assumptions must be re-evaluated to consider immigrant realities (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2020). Yet little to no headway has been made to re-evaluate nonprofit theories to account for the INOs. By overlooking citizenry exclusion in explaining nonprofit emergence, the empirical generalizability of nonprofit theories to the INO sector is questionable. Further, studies employing this theory to explain variation in nonprofit size, growth, and density may also be biased against INOs (e.g. Bae & Sohn, 2018; Corbin, 1999; Grønbjerg & Paarlberg, 2001; Liu, 2017; Matsunaga et al., 2010).

The second research problem is the following. Although the literature highlights several strategies that INOs employ contributing to immigrant inclusion outcomes, little is known about

the range and scale of strategies. Studies often focus on one or a few strategies which do not allow for gauging the breadth and scope of the strategies operating in the organizational field. For example, INOs contribute to legal inclusion by providing legal services that contribute to immigrant legalization or legal relief (Lustig et al., 2008; Mayblin & James, 2019; Wong & García, 2016). They collaborate with the government which results in the enactment of inclusive immigration policies and immigrant rights (de Graauw, 2016). Cultural activities disabuse negative stereotypes about immigrants and promote positive images of immigrant groups, which contributes to cultural inclusion (Ejorh, 2011; Wilson, 2011). Although these strategies and respective outcomes have been identified in the literature, much remains unknown. Moreover, studies draw on a sample of INOs in one or a few cities often with sizable immigrant populations (e.g. New York, San Francisco, Houston), which do not allow for understanding the breadth of strategies across city contexts. To holistically understand the empirical link between INO strategies and immigrant inclusion outcomes, analysts should consider the range and scale of the empirical relationship.

Third, studies contend that a city's inclusive environment shape INO strategies. But this relationship has yet to be holistically examined in scholarship. For example, studies often focus on one or a few strategies and over focus on the local government as a local contextual variable (e.g. de Graauw, 2015; Kondo, 2012). Several studies employ qualitative approaches which do not allow for gauging the degree to which strategies diverge across contexts and whether these differences are significant (e.g. Burciaga & Martinez, 2017; de Graauw, 2015; Nicholls, 2021b; Nicholls & de Wilde, 2023). To comprehensively understand the interrelations between strategies and local context, researchers need to employ analytical approaches that allow for precisely understanding the relationship.

Research Objective

The objective of this dissertation is to address the aforementioned research limitations in scholarship and to untangle the empirical link between nonprofits, immigrant exclusion, and immigrant inclusion in the U.S.

Research questions

This dissertation investigates the following overarching research question: What is the interrelations between nonprofits, immigrant exclusion, and immigrant inclusion? I examine this question by answering the following related questions across three empirical papers:

1. Does citizenry exclusion motivate INO emergence?
2. How do INOs contribute to immigrant inclusion outcomes?
3. What local contextual variables shape INO strategies?
4. How does local context shape INO strategies?
5. Do strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion?
6. If so, are these differences statistically significant?

Conceptualization of terms

Immigrant-serving nonprofit organization (INO)

While scholars use various terms to refer to third sector entities serving immigrants such as social movement organizations, immigrant organizations, refugee, civil society organizations, and nongovernmental organizations, for analytical purposes, this study centers specifically on immigrant-serving nonprofit organizations (INOs). An INO refers to an organization whose

mission is to serve, advocate on the behalf of, or promote immigrant culture. This definition excludes individuals, groups, and nonincorporated entities given they extend beyond the third sector scope tapping into the civil society space (Viterna et al., 2015).

Immigrant inclusion

The term inclusion in the context of immigrants has yet to be defined in scholarship. Scholars use the term immigrant inclusion to refer to a number of things, such as including minority groups in local politics (Vermeulen, 2005), legalizing immigrant groups (Nicholls et al., 2016), differentiated opportunity structures and diverse pathways of mobility in the city (Bean et al., 2012:188), immigrant legal access to national social welfare benefits (Sainsbury, 2012), legal, social, and cultural membership in society (Bloemraad et al., 2019), laws dictating immigrants' rights and access to benefits (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012), and pro-immigrant activities (Okamoto & Ebert, 2016).

I draw on these works and others and the citizenship literature (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2019; Bosniak, 2000; Marshall, 1950) to provide a conceptual and operational definition of the term immigrant inclusion and immigrant exclusion. To begin, this dissertation conceives immigrant inclusion as multi-dimensional construct that contain the following three salient dimensions: rights, legal, and cultural. The literature also suggests that immigrant inclusion manifests at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels.

At the micro-level, immigrant inclusion is defined as the degree to which immigrants experience inclusion as it relates to their immigrant background, or their rights, legality, and culture. Indicators of immigrant inclusion can include gaining their legal status, being granted rights, or feeling accepted by the local community. At meso- and macro-levels, immigrant

inclusion refers to how meso- and macro-level entities (e.g. organizations, cities, counties, states) enact acts of immigrant inclusion. Examples include: A city enacts an immigrant inclusion strategic plan, funds a legal defense fund to provide aid to residents at risk of deportation, or hosts a festival to promote the traditions of the local immigrant population.

The proposed conceptualization acknowledges how processes of inclusion diverge across units of analysis. For example, research shows that although local officials enact inclusionary initiatives that promote immigrant inclusion (meso-level immigrant inclusion), the local immigrant community may have their own feelings and sense of inclusion based on their feelings, experiences, and legal status (micro-level immigrant inclusion) (Kim & Bozarth, 2021). This example underscores the need to align the sample unit with the conceptual unit of analysis to avoid atomistic or ecological fallacy.

Immigrant exclusion and citizenry exclusion

Immigrant exclusion and citizenry exclusion is used synonymously in this dissertation. At the micro-level, immigrant exclusion is defined as the degree to which immigrants experience exclusion as it relates to their immigrant background, or in terms of their rights, legality, and culture. Indicators of immigrant exclusion include, for example, being denied a job due to legal status or nationality (rights and legal status exclusion) or feeling that they don't belong to a group due to their nationality (cultural exclusion). At the meso- and macro-levels, immigrant exclusion refers to how meso- and macro-level entities (e.g. organizations, cities, counties, states) enact acts of immigrant exclusion. Examples include: An association excludes immigrants from certain ethnic background from joining their association; The federal government denies naturalization of certain immigrants due to their race; Local residents express xenophobia

sentiments towards incoming refugees. In short, immigrant exclusion refers to exclusion that manifests due to immigrant legal status, rights, race, ethnicity, nationality, or culture.

When it comes to the relationship between immigrant inclusion and exclusion, in line with the immigration and legality literatures (e.g. Cebulko, 2018; Dreby, 2015; Menjívar, 2006; Prieto, 2018), this study theorizes that immigrants simultaneously experience inclusion and exclusion at varying degrees across dimensions. In this way, this study conceives immigrant inclusion and exclusion as dependent constructs manifesting on a continuum rather than as a binary phenomenon. This conceptualization has measurement implications, which is further discussed in chapter four.

Methods

This paper employs interview, survey design, and quantitative content analysis, which is further articulated in the following section.

Chapter Summary

In Chapter 1, I provide an overview of the dissertation. Chapter 2 examines the relationship between nonprofits and immigrant exclusion. It addresses the first research problem in nonprofit theories wherein theories overlook the role of citizenry exclusion in explaining nonprofit emergence. I investigate research question one (Does citizenry exclusion motivate INO emergence?). Methods include qualitative interviews with INO practitioners. Interview method was appropriate given the aim was to unearth granular processes concerning the role of citizenry exclusion in explaining INO emergence. I conducted interviews in October to December 2020 with 30 INO practitioners operating throughout the U.S. This chapter introduces citizenry

exclusion theory, which maintains that INOs form due to citizenry exclusion, or exclusion based on immigrant legal status, rights, race, ethnicity, nationality, or culture. I draw from disparate literatures to identify the variables that mediate the relationship between citizenry exclusion and INO emergence. I take a deductive approach to analyzing the interview data, which allows for evaluating the hypothesized theoretical model.

Chapter 3 examines the relationship between nonprofits and immigrant inclusion. I tackle the second research problem which states that studies examining INO strategies contributing to immigrant inclusion do not examine the breadth and scale of strategies while focusing on INOs in one or a few cities. I address this research problem by answering research question two (How do INOs contribute to immigrant inclusion outcomes?). This paper draws on a heterogenous sample of INOs operating throughout the U.S. I draw on the interviews from the previous chapter to unearth the strategies operating in the U.S. immigrant-serving nonprofit sector. To illustrate the link between INO strategies and immigrant inclusion outcomes, I developed a strategy typology which reflect how strategies manifest at different levels and dimensions.

Chapter 4 examines the relationship between a city's immigrant inclusion environment and INO strategies. This paper answers research questions three through six (What local contextual variables shape INO strategies? How does local context shape INO strategies? Do strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion? If so, are these differences statistically significant?). I employed mixed methods convergent research design, which involves drawing from quantitative and qualitative data sources to confirm and disconfirm findings. To identify local contextual variables that explain INO emergence and how the shape local context, I drew on the interviews in the previous chapters. To evaluate and test whether strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion, I employed survey design.

Elaborating on the methods, I developed two original scales. The first measures the degree to which cities are inclusive towards immigrants. The scale is validated using various statistical approaches. I also converted the strategy typology in the previous chapter into a scale which allowed for measuring INO strategies at the aggregate or city-level. The strategy scale was implemented on a national stratified random sample of INOs (n=66) to measure the frequency in which they enacted 46 strategies in cities with varying degrees of immigrant inclusion. To analyze the survey data, I conducted the Kruskal-Wallis test to test whether the frequency in which INOs enacted different strategies differed across contexts. To further triangulate the data, I conducted quantitative content analysis of INO web pages (n=81) to test whether the proportion of strategies expressed on INO web pages significantly different in cities with dissimilar inclusionary contexts. The cities examined are Jacksonville, El Paso, Miami, and Houston. I performed a two-sample Z-test to test whether the proportion of INOs employing specific strategies significantly differed across local contexts.

Chapter 5 provides a summary of the findings and elaborates on how this dissertation contributes to theory, empirics, planning, policy, and nonprofit practice.

Notes

1. This person has asked to remain anonymous.

CHAPTER 2 Citizenry exclusion theory: Understanding why INOs emerge

Abstract

Nonprofit organizations play a critical role in addressing social problems and the needs of marginalized populations. They emerge at different rates across regions. To understand the factors that motivate the creation of new nonprofits, nonprofit theories have focused on explanations such as failures of government, market, and nonprofit sectors. Little is known to what extent nonprofit theories apply to immigrant-serving nonprofit organizations (INOs), however. The present study critiques nonprofit theories government failure, market failure, and interdependence theories by arguing that INOs emerge due to what this study calls *citizenry exclusion*, or exclusion related to legal status, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and rights. The role of citizenry exclusion in explaining INO emergence is relevant for organizations that serve or advocate on the behalf of immigrants. To evaluate this theoretical postulation, I draw upon 30 interviews with INO practitioners operating throughout the U.S. I conclude with theoretical, empirical, and nonprofit practice implications.

Key words

Nonprofits, nonprofit theory, immigrants, exclusion, citizenship, immigrant-serving nonprofits

The nonprofit sector is a powerful force in society addressing an array of social problems and the needs of marginalized populations. Leading nonprofit theories espouse that nonprofits emerge at different rates across different regions in response to government, market, and nonprofit failures. Government failure theory maintains that nonprofits emerge in response to the government's failure to address the needs of minority consumers in the populace (Weisbrod, 1975). Contract failure theory posits that nonprofits emerge as trustworthy alternatives in relation to the profit driven market sector (Hansmann, 1980). The two-part interdependence theory refutes government failure theory and maintains that nonprofits have several limitations and subsequently partners with the government sector to carry out its mission (Salamon, 1995). It also espouses that ethnic organizations form to embrace ethnic pride. These theories have been applied to explain variation in nonprofit size, growth, and density across regions (Bae & Sohn, 2018; Corbin, 1999; Grønbjerg & Paarlberg, 2001; Liu, 2017; Matsunaga et al., 2010).

This article critiques these nonprofit theories given they overlook the role of anti-immigrant legislation, xenophobia, racism, and other forms of what this study coins as *citizenry exclusion* in explaining nonprofit emergence. Drawing from citizenship and immigration studies (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2019; FitzGerald & Cook-Martin, 2014; Gilliam, 2022; Marshall, 1950; Ngai, 2004), this study defines *citizenry exclusion* as exclusion related to citizenry, such as legal status, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and rights. *Nonprofit emergence* refers to the creation of a new nonprofit or a new program under an existing nonprofit.

The role of citizenry exclusion in explaining nonprofit emergence is especially relevant for immigrant-serving nonprofits (INOs), or organizations that serve, advocate on the behalf, or promote immigrant culture. By *immigrant*, I mean any foreign-born person irrespective of their legal status, which includes refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented persons, people on a

nonimmigration visas, and like populations. For example, U.S. immigration laws and policies have historically favored some immigrant groups over others based on race, ethnicity, and nationality (Ngai, 2004; FitzGerald & Cook-Martin, 2014). One example is the case of Chinese immigrants. In the 19th century Chinese persons were subject to physical violence and their migration restricted to the U.S. with the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. One organization hired lawyers, launched protests and petitions to combat Chinese exclusion (Hansen, 2006). Another organization called the Chinese American Citizens Alliance was formed to combat Chinese exclusion. This organization remains active today and continued to form subsidiary organizations. For example, their Houston lodge was formed in 1954 and makes it clear that the organization was formed due to "unfair immigration laws" against the Chinese in the 18th century (The Chinese Citizens Alliance Houston Lodge, 2023). During the same era, white ethnics, Jews, and other minority groups were excluded from mainstream associations which led them to form their own organizations (Gamm & Putnam, 1999).

For over a decade, the INO literature recognize the role of citizenry exclusion in motivating INO emergence. One study found that immigrant rights coalitions formed in response to anti-immigration legislation, Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids, and other exclusionary practices (Jiménez, 2011). Some INO scholars recognize this gap in nonprofit theory noting that key theoretical assumptions must be re-evaluated to bring the immigrant case to the third sector lens (Bloemraad et al., 2020). Despite the acknowledgement of this empirical gap in the literature, little to no headway has been made towards new explanatory models. By overlooking the role of citizenry exclusion in explaining nonprofit emergence, the empirical generalizability of nonprofit theories to the INO sector remains unknown. Further, studies

employing this theory to explain variation in nonprofit size, growth, and density may also be biased against INOs.

Another limitation with nonprofit theories is that they do not distinguish nonprofit emergence processes across levels of analysis. It is possible that the predictors that explain nonprofit emergence at the meso- and macro-level units of analysis (e.g. counties, regions, countries) may differ at the micro-level, or among individuals. Notably, scholars testing these theories have applied them at all levels (e.g. Liu, 2017; Marcuello, 1998; Svidroňová et al., 2016). Yet nonprofit processes should not be conflated because it can lead to an atomistic fallacy or ecological fallacy and skewed understandings of nonprofit emergence processes. Hence, to holistically understand processes behind nonprofit emergence, theories should be refined by indicating how processes may differ across units of analysis.

To address these theoretical gaps, I propose the citizenry exclusion theory, which postulates that INOs emerge due to citizenry exclusion of immigrants and their descendants. Unlike mainstream nonprofit theories, citizenry exclusion theory centers its analysis at the micro-level. That is, it explains why *individuals* form INOs or launch programs under existing INOs. Drawing from disparate literatures, I identify several micro-level variables that mediate this process including community need, awareness (Balazard et al., 2023; Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017; Steinhilper, 2018), emotions (Gould, 2009; Jasper, 2014), having an injustice frame (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017), resources (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), and social networks (Steinhilper, 2018). Although citizenry exclusion theory is a micro-level theory, I elaborate on how it can be scaled up to explain INO emergence at the meso- and macro-levels.

The aim of this paper is therefore to empirically examine whether citizenry exclusion motivates INOs to emerge as described in the theoretical framework. To investigate the

relationship between citizenry exclusion and INO emergence, I conducted qualitative 30 interviews with INO practitioners operating throughout the U.S. I conclude with theoretical, empirical, and nonprofit practice implications.

Nonprofit theories and shortcomings

Government failure theory (Weisbrod, 1975) posits that nonprofits emerge in response to the governments' failure to meet consumers' needs. In a democratic society, the government considers the majority. Communities that are more heterogenous are subject to more diverse demands. The government will consider the needs of the majority, leaving minority consumers unsatisfied. Subsequently, minority groups will form their own nonprofit to meet their needs. The heterogeneity hypothesis predicts a larger nonprofit size in regions that are more heterogeneous and a smaller nonprofit size in regions that are more homogenous.

The later Hansmann (1980) contract failure theory argue that nonprofits emerge due to contract failure. Contract failure occurs when consumers do not have sufficient information to assess goods and services, leading to transactions that are inefficient or discriminatory. In short, nonprofits therefore emerge as trustworthy alternatives in relation to the market sector.

Interdependence theory (Salamon, 1995) consists of two theories: *voluntary failure* and *third-party government.* Both theories refute government failure theory. Voluntary failure occurs when nonprofits lack financial resources and an inability to foster true self-reliance. Consequently, they must turn to the government to fulfil their needs. Third-party government emphasizes the partnership relationship between nonprofits and the government. Interdependence theory also proclaims that organizations that form along ethnic, religious, or sectarian lines form due to "communal or individual pride." This is noted as a potential weakness

of the voluntary sector which leads to a "wasteful duplication of services" (Salamon, 1995, pp. 46).

These classical nonprofit theories have been tested to predict nonprofit size, growth, and density (e.g. Corbin, 1999; Jeong & Cui, 2020; Kim & Kim, 2015; Liu, 2017; Matsunaga et al., 2010). Although results are mixed results, there is robust support in the literature for these theories. Yet their generalizability to INOs is unclear. For example, it is unknown whether studies applying these theories include INOs in their sample of nonprofits and if so whether samples are representative.

Indeed, nonprofit theories could potentially apply to INOs. For instance, contract failure helps to understand why immigrants may prefer INOs over mainstream and for-profit businesses. As some immigrants face language barriers and difficulty understanding services (Strug & Mason, 2001), for-profit businesses may not provide the assurance that immigrants need. Unlike for-profit organizations, nonprofits are prohibited from keeping profits and thus lack incentive to engage in profit seeking. This potentially makes INOs more trustworthy alternatives for immigrants compared to for-profit entities. Third-party government theory highlights the partnership relationship between nonprofits and the government sector, which is evident in INO studies (e.g. De Graauw, 2015, 2016).

Yet the researcher in this study only identified one empirical study that applied nonprofit theories to INOs. Applying government failure theory, Mayblin & James, (2019) found support for government failure theory. They found that refugees' needs were unpopular. As a result, the government failed to provide them adequate humanitarian support. Refugee organizations subsequently emerged to fill in the gaps. This study does not address the puzzle whereby

irrespective of refugees' needs being unpopular, the government still has a legal duty to address them.

In this paper, I address this puzzle by arguing that exclusion is a critical variable that motivates INOs to emerge. For example, Chinese exclusion in the 19th century led INOs to initiate programs to combat exclusion (Hansen, 2006) while also motivating new INOs to form (e.g. The Chinese Citizens Alliance Houston Lodge, 2023). White ethnics were excluded from mainstream associations due to their race and subsequently formed their own mutual-aid organizations (Gamm & Putnam, 1999). Contemporary INOs emerge for similar reasons. Further, this relationship extends beyond the U.S. In the U.S., and Netherlands, INOs emerge in response to policies of exclusion deliberately excluding immigrants from services on the basis of their legal status (Cordero-Guzmán et al., 2008; Van der Leun & Bouter, 2015). In Italy, they emerge in response to ethnocentric policies aiming to protect cultural homogeneity emphasized by radical right-wing parties (Caneva, 2014). In Ireland, some Irish citizens feel that blacks are space invaders and not rightful occupants of the country (Tormey, 2007). African organizations respond to exclusion of black migrants by launching cultural programs that foster sense of belonging among black migrants (Ejorh, 2011).

To better describe the processes behind INO emergence, I introduce the concept *citizenry exclusion*. I draw from the citizenship literature to conceptualize this term. The literature suggests that citizenship consists of the following dimensions: legal, rights, and cultural. The *legal* dimension refers to legal status (Bosniak, 2000). The *cultural* dimension refers to cultural identity and belonging to the native community. It encapsulates societal ideas, actions and practices that contribute to who is perceived as a valuable and acceptable member in society, which is often based on race, ethnicity, nationality (Bloemraad et al., 2019; Ejorh, 2011;

FitzGerald & Cook-Martin, 2014; Ngai, 2004), culture and religion (Gilliam, 2022). The *rights* dimension of citizenship encapsulates civil, political, and social rights (Marshall, 1950). The civil dimension refers to rights such as freedom of speech, thought, faith and justice. The political dimension refers to freedom to organize and participate in social movements. The social dimension refers to rights related to access to education, health care, employment and housing, and other welfare.

Applying citizenship frameworks, I define *citizenry exclusion* as exclusion related to citizenry, such as legal status, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and rights. I draw from studies that critically examine immigrant exclusion to specify indicators of citizenry exclusion (e.g. Inda, 2006; Landolt & Goldring, 2015; Menjívar & Abrego, 2012; Walters, 2010). These works conceptualize the otherwise "normal" immigration structures in society as elements of exclusion. One example is legal status and notions of "illegality," which are socially constructed government instruments that help to maintain control of the population (Inda, 2006) and reinforce racism (FitzGerald & Cook-Martin, 2014). Another example is deportation, which reinforces notions of us versus them (Walters, 2010), while also communicating that the individual in question does not belong (Anderson et al., 2011). Drawing inspiration from Selmeczi (2009), this study furthermore conceptualizes citizenry exclusion as a component of government rationality. This is how it is possible for the government to fail to adequately provide for asylum seekers' needs, even though it has a legal duty to do so.

The application of the citizenry exclusion concept allows us to reinterpret nonprofit emergence processes. It also addresses the deficiencies in nonprofit theories to explain INO processes. For example, the heterogeneity hypothesis of government failure theory assumes that

in a democratic society, the government responds to the majority (Weisbrod, 1975). Minorities will subsequently form nonprofits to meet their needs.

Yet the government does not respond democratically to immigrants, ethnic minorities, and the working class. In a national representative sample of local governments in the U.S., Schaffner et al.(2020, pp. 129) found that local governments failed a central test of democracy; they do not provide equitable representation to all residents with regard to race and class. In a nation that is "for the people" it is actually for "white people," the authors noted (pp. 129). Hence, when it comes to predicting INOs size, density or growth, the heterogeneity hypothesis may not be applicable to INOs. To elaborate, the heterogeneity condition hypothesizes that we would observe more INOs in communities where immigrants are the minority and less INOs in communities where immigrants are the majority. Citizenry exclusion suggests that it is plausible that there would be no significant difference.

Government failure theory also postulates that the degree of heterogeneity of the populace matters in predicting nonprofit size. Studies testing this hypothesis often measure diversity in terms of racial diversity and have found support for the theory (e.g. Bae & Sohn, 2018; Jeong & Cui, 2020). Echoing other works (Rushton, 2008), citizenry exclusion brings to the forefront that racial diversity ignores the proportions of racial groups, which has substantive meaning. At the meso- and macro-levels, citizenry exclusion theory suggest that the proportions of individuals in the populace that experience high degrees of citizenry exclusion will be a determining factor that explains the size or density of the INO sector. High proportions of such individuals will positively correspond with INO levels, ceteris paribus. This postulation is suggested by earlier works (see Breton, 1964).

Interdependence theory posits that organizations that form across ethnic lines emerge to promote ethnic pride. Yet it does not explain why the need for pride emerges in the first place. Citizenry exclusion answers the why. Immigrants face negative stereotypes and undertake important activities to transform their stigma into sources of pride (Portes & Zhou, 1993). One way they do this is by forming a INO or creating new programs and initiatives to combat cultural exclusion (Ejorh, 2011; Wilson, 2011).

Finally, contract failure theory can consider citizenry exclusion by acknowledging the duty of private and public sector entities in adhering to civil rights. It argues that some consumers may lack the ability to adequately evaluate the goods and services. While this may be true, it is also true that some ethnic groups experience discrimination and are treated badly which precludes them from accessing services (Strug & Mason, 2001). Moreover, although immigrants may not command the language to access goods and services which may produces contract failure, public sector entities have a legal duty under civil rights to provide language access.

In conclusion, INOs represent a distinct organizational type that do not fit the theoretical propositions espoused in government failure, contract failure and interdependence theories. By overlooking the role of citizenry exclusion in explaining nonprofit emergence, these nonprofit theories overlook processes behind INO emergence. Scholarship can benefit from a new nonprofit theory that unearths the processes behind INO emergence.

Citizenry exclusion theory

This section introduces the citizenry exclusion theory to explicate the processes behind INO emergence. While the concept of citizenry exclusion conceptualizes this term, the theory differs since it contains causal laws that explain how citizenry exclusion leads to INO emergence. Citizenry exclusion diverges from nonprofit theories as it is a micro-level theory. It seeks to explain why *individuals* form nonprofits rather than explaining why nonprofits emerge in cities, counties, regions and other meso- and macro-level units of analysis. The prime hypothesis postulates that citizenry exclusion motivates INO emergence.

I draw from disparate literatures to identify variables that mediate the relationship between citizenry exclusion and INO emergence. While there may exist a universe of other variables that mediate the relationship between citizenry exclusion and INO emergence in direct, indirect, and interaction ways, this study centers on those that are salient in the literature.

To that end, the literature suggests that when citizenry exclusion manifests, it produces a *community need*. In the immigrant case, these needs vary widely and manifest across cultural, rights, and legal lines. For example, negative stigma produces a community need to combat cultural exclusion (Ejorh, 2011). Anti-immigration policies produce a community need to uphold immigrants' rights (Cordero-Guzmán et al., 2008).

Yet the presence of citizenry exclusion and the subsequent need that derives from it are not sufficient conditions for people to take action. The collective action and social movement literatures suggest that *awareness* and *framing* are also important (Balazard et al., 2023; Benford & Snow, 2000; Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017; McAdam et al., 1996; Steinhilper, 2018). Awareness is understood as the act of knowing or becoming aware. Framing refers to how something is perceived or framed. The literature show that having an *injustice frame* specifically,

encourages action. An injustice frame is a mode of interpretation whereby adherents perceive certain acts as unjust (Benford & Snow, 2000; Gamson et al., 1982).

Individuals adopt an injustice frame on immigrant exclusion for several reasons. One reason is because some immigrant groups are perceived as morally deserving of support (Fassin, 2012). For example, Nicholls and colleagues show how the framing of youth innocence and deservingness created a niche opening for their legal inclusion by authorities in the United States and Netherlands (Nicholls et al., 2016a). Likewise, the image of the "refugee crisis" in the public sphere motivated a large portion of German citizens to engage in apolitical helping (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017). In brief, immigrant realities are shaped by social actors which can lead individuals in the populace to adopt injustice frames which motivate collective action. Injustice frames are also cultivated from within. That is, individuals draw from their personal experience and adopt their own frames (Gamson et al., 1992). Studies show how individuals with experiences of exclusion contribute to their adoption of an injustice frame (Steinhilper, 2018).

The adoption of an injustice frame generates certain emotions that lead to collective action. For example, the social movements literature find that anger is associated with collective action and mobilizations (Jasper, 2014; Steinhilper, 2018). Drawing from this literature, this study theorizes that individuals who form INOs also experience certain emotions that compel them to start an organization.

Resources and social networks are also needed for individuals to translate grief, anger and feelings of injustice to political mobilization (Steinhilper, 2018). Notably, resources and networks are also a function of one's geographic environment (Nicholls & Uitermark, 2016). In this way, resources and networks may be indicators of second order constructs *geographic*

context. This study does not consider geographic context as an explanatory variable, given resources and networks appear to be indicators of this construct already.

These aforementioned processes behind INO emergence also appear relevant to other organizations serving oppressed groups such as women (Emejulu & Bassel, 2018), lesbians, and gays persons (Gould, 2009). Hence, although the theoretical model proposed here centers on INOs, it can potentially extend to other nonprofit types.

Methods

This study investigates the following question: Does citizenry exclusion motivate INO emergence? In addition to hypothesizing that citizenry exclusion motivates INOs to emerge, I hypothesize that the following variables will mediate the relationship: community need, awareness, an injustice frame, emotions, resources, and social networks. I employed qualitative interview research method to unearth this relationship. The reason why interview method was an appropriate research method was because it allowed for unearthing granular processes pertaining to nonprofit emergence.

The target population was U.S. INOs. To provide a holistic analysis, I did not limit the analysis to organizations with a particular 501 (c) status, although most organizations had 501 (c) 3 status. An INO was defined as an organization whose primary mission is to serve, advocate for immigrants, or promote their cultural heritage. This definition thus encapsulated organizations that served or advocated for refugees, asylum seekers, undocumented individuals, permanent residents, individuals on temporary visas, U.S. citizens of immigrant descent, etc. This study acknowledges that each population experiences different types of citizenry exclusion at varying

degrees. Having this heterogenous sample of organizations allowed for understanding the diverse ways that citizenry exclusion manifest.

Given the research question, it was important to interview individuals from INOs who could elaborate on the nonprofits' founding and programs. The recruitment email therefore specified this as a criterion. The sampling strategy employed was purposeful and convenience. First, I identified organizations in my professional network as a former nonprofit manager and colleague to individuals working in the immigration scene. At the time of the study, I was a PhD candidate and participated in immigration rights events. Only organizations who met the research criteria were considered. To maximize sample variation, I purposefully identified organizations from the National Center for Charitable Statistics database (NCCS)[1]. NCCS houses data on registered nonprofits in the U.S. The 2020 Business Master File (BMF) database was chosen to include organizations that had a budget less than $25,000 budget. The database was filtered to reflect the target population.[2]

In total, I contacted 53 potentially eligible organizations via email and 26 agreed to be interviewed between October to December 2020 (see recruitment email Appendix A). Consent was verbally acquired at the start of the interview. This study was approved by the author's institution IRB board.[3] To further maximize sample variation, I included three in-person interviews that took place between 2018 to 2019 as a pilot study during my Ph.D. program. In total, I interviewed 30 individuals across 28 organizations. This included 8 founders, 6 directors, 2 managers, 1 president, 2 board members, 2 coordinators, 1 chief operating officer, 3 organizers, 2 policy advocates, and 3 volunteers. I sought an additional interview for two organizations to provide more detailed data and different perspectives. Of the 30 persons interviewed, 20 self-identified as an immigrant or the descendent of immigrants and could

personally relate to the organization due to their background. The other 10 persons were perceivably white Americans. One self-identified as white. The resulting sample included individuals representing INOs operating in various U.S. regions: 34% of participants represented organizations operating in western states; 25% in southern states; 20% in midwestern states; and 21% in northeastern states.[4] Organizations were also diverse in terms of type (cultural, legal, rights).

Interviews were semi-structured and lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. The interview questions were designed to unearth processes behind INO emergence (see interview questionnaire Appendix B and C). Example of such questions included how was your organization founded? What kind of activities does your organization do? Why is this important? What is the community need it is addressing?

To analyze the interviews, I used Dedoose software. I examined their founding story to determine whether citizenry exclusion was a motivating factor. I applied the citizenry exclusion conceptualization to specify indicators of citizenry exclusion. To confirm the explanatory variables, I created codes a priori for each explanatory variable and coded them as they emerged in the data. In addition to this deductive approach, I utilized inductive approach whereby I coded new variables that emerged in the data. After excerpts were coded, I calculated the total number of interviewees that expressed citizenry exclusion as a variable that motivated their organization's emergence.

Results

Of the 28 organizations in the sample, 26 formed due to citizenry exclusion according to the interviewees. When asked to elaborate on the organization's founding history, 16 interviewees

cited factors related to legal status exclusion, 5 cultural exclusion, and 8 anti-immigration policy/rights exclusion. Some organizations cited more than one type of citizenry exclusion as a basis for their emergence. All hypothesized explanatory variables emerged in the data. One unexpected finding was that Covid moderated, or amplified, the effects of citizenry exclusion on INO emergence. There were also temporal effects of citizenry exclusion on INO emergence.

Before elaborating on these findings, it is fruitful to highlight how citizenry exclusion manifested in the data. Several interviewees used words such as racism, oppression, or system to describe the processes behind their organization's founding. For example, one white founder noted that although she grew up lower-middle class, she successfully navigated systems. "The systems are built for people like us,"[5] she noted. In contrast, her immigrant neighbors experienced the reality of deportation. This was an eye opener for her and the other college students who founded the organization. "Our neighbors experience oppression. And so yeah, that was what put us on the path to engage in the issue of oppression." Another interviewee said that she felt like "the system is set up" against immigrants.[6] In short, the ways that interviewees described their nonprofit founding story reflected elements of citizenry exclusion as conceptualized by this study's framework.

The first empirical example reveals how an INO was formed due to anti-immigration policy. Specifically, it was formed due President Trump's metering policy, which excluded asylum seekers at the port of entry which infringes their constitutional rights to due process. The founder stated:

> We started in response to metering. The other thing that was happening at the same time was families being separated was coming to light. Word got out in many parts of the country about family separation. There was just awareness that was coming to light. Then there was a march. At that time, when we started, we didn't have a name. We were just some people that were interested in helping out people in need. We started taking food supplies and water to the people on the bridge or near the bridge. And then we worked at

> the bus station, taking food supplies, blankets, pillows, things like that. We have them pocket money to buy a meal, you know. We slowly started and gradually gained momentum. More people joined us at the bus station.[7]

If interpreting this example solely from a government failure lens, we would reason that the government failed to adequately provide humanitarian aid (e.g. food supplies) to the asylum seekers, as interpreted in other studies (Mayblin & James, 2019). The citizenry exclusion lens brings to the forefront that the federal government excluded the asylum seekers based on rights and legal status, which subsequently produced a community need for which the government also failed to address. Hence, citizenry exclusion precedes government failure. The following explanatory variables emerged in the data: *awareness* and *community need*.

In another example, an interviewee started a local chapter of an organization in response to U.S. Attorney General Jeff Session's new restrictions of asylum relief. She received a phone call from an organizational representative named Jesus. He had an asylum-seeking woman who was a domestic violence victim in Mexico related to the cartel who needed to cross over otherwise she would die. She was taken to the pit where they dump women's bodies and was defaced, but luckily survived. The woman had a child and they both needed a place to live while waiting asylum. Right after she and her child crossed over, the Attorney General removed domestic violence as a legitimate reason to seek asylum, which meant automatic denial to obtain legal relief. The interviewee noted that Jesus asked her if she could house the asylum seeker and the child. A woman of faith, she reasoned that she could not dare deny the woman and her child, "especially when the call came from someone named Jesus!"[8] She later founded a local chapter of an organization to address ongoing asylum seekers' needs in her community.

Here, citizenry exclusion manifested as an exclusionary policy that further restricted access for individuals to seek asylum, a human right. This created a need for human rights

advocacy. The interviewee became aware of the exclusionary act and community need by a community member. Drawing from her religious frameworks, she interpreted the exclusionary act as unjust and felt compassion towards the migrant woman and her child. She subsequently decided to sponsor them in her home. Inspired to provide help to other asylum seekers, she founded a local chapter to address ongoing pressing asylum seekers' needs. She was also tapped into her church networks to recruit volunteers and secure resources. This example confirms all the variables in the citizenry exclusion theoretical model.

The next examples reveal the role of INO emergence due to racism and xenophobia. One founder stated:

> It was just really scary, you know, being an immigrant. And all those white nationalists that had come to join the rally was so frightening and it was very terrifying for me. After that I got to think so much about, you know, just how this idea that hate and division was really making the lives of immigrants, so much more difficult than it already is…And we both agreed on the need to have an organization that specialized in storytelling, refugee and immigrants. We wanted to overcome negative biases by telling stories.[9]

Another organization was founded to disabuse negative stereotypes of Sicilians. The organization's president noted:

> The founders believed that in this country Sicilians were being stereotyped. They hoped to improve the image of Sicily and of Sicilians by providing a more correct assessment of their history and culture. We promote the language and culture of Sicily. We provide justification for the pride Sicilians feel in being Sicilian by focusing on Sicilian contributions to Western Civilization.[10]

A board member of an organization providing scholarships to Hispanics said that the organization was formed due to racism against Hispanics in education. She said, "I hate to say it but some of our schools don't always help Hispanics. They were helping the so-called other populations, white populations.[11] In response to this race-based citizenry exclusion, the organization was formed to provide scholarships to Hispanic groups.

This next example reveals the role of legal status exclusion in explaining INO emergence. The founder of an organization recounted how their organization was founded to address the emerging need of migrant women who left their abused spouses and went to the shelter and had no transitional support upon leaving the shelter. The migrant women were excluded from transitional support due to their immigration status which deprived them from resources even though they had citizen children. "Their only option was to return to the person that abused them, live on the street, or acquire another partner."[12] Three women whose background were in social work, immigration law, and counseling united and began to imagine how they could address this issue. One woman had access to a church and they decided to utilize this space as a shelter for the women in need of transitional support. They eventually expanded to provide more accompaniment, such as bilingual daycare support, food, and material goods.

This example sheds light on how the government and market sectors excluded undocumented women from services and resources due to their legal status. Local community women became aware that undocumented women were being excluded and needed transitional support. The founders' backgrounds as individuals with experiences of exclusion as Latinx women combined with their professional experience in helping professions may have shaped their aptitude to adopt an injustice frame and feel compassion, which led them to respond by forming an INO. Their resources and networks (e.g. church space, volunteers) helped them to form the organization. This example provides support for all of the variables in the citizenry exclusion theoretical model.

The interviews also reveal that there are temporal effects of citizenry exclusion on INO emergence. An organization in the sample was founded in the mid-2000s by a third generation Italian. When asked why he started the organization referenced ethnic pride:

> You don't ever want to forget where you come from. We want to remember the sacrifices that people made to leave their country to come here for a better life. But we also want to kind of live our life in our traditions to the way our ancestors did not forget that. [13]

This example reveals how it is not just ongoing or present acts of citizenry exclusion that lead to INO emergence. Belonging to a social group that have historically experienced citizenry exclusion also has implications for INO emergence, even when the citizenry exclusion has lessened. Here, the founder did not experience citizenry exclusion as a third-generation Italian. His ancestors did, however. Early Italian immigrants arriving in the late 19th century corresponded with widespread anti-immigrant, nativism, and racist ideologies. They were perceived as racially inferior nonwhites. As they were excluded from mainstream associations, they formed their own mutual-aid organizations (Gamm & Putnam, 1999). Over the decades Italians have moved up the social ladder and negative stereotypes associated with this ethnic group have faded (Martinelli & Gordon, 1988). There was also massive adoption of citizenship during WWII (Polenberg, 1980). The war also created a new image of white ethnics as moral equals to that of the old European stock (Blum, 1976). These cultural shifts have caused a lessening of the exclusion among Italians descent persons. As legal citizens, they do not experience rights and legal status exclusion. Although they may have ethnic distinctiveness, it is faint (Alba, 1985).

Two organizations did not reference citizenry exclusion as reasons for their emergence. One organization was a Slavic organization founded in the late 19th century providing social insurance to Slavic families. When asked to elaborate on the organization's founding history, the

interviewee said that it was elaborated on the harsh working conditions that his ancestors suffered and said the organization was founded "to protect our people when something awful would happen."[12] Aside from providing social insurance, the organization also provided cultural activities to promote their cultural heritage. The other organization was a Finnish organization founded in the early 1900s. According to the interviewee, the organization was founded to promote Finn heritage. Members were mostly fifth and sixth generation Finnish. Why these organizations did not fit citizenry exclusion theory is presented in the discussion section.

The final finding was that Covid amplified the relationship between of citizenry exclusion and INO emergence. In this way, this study considers Covid as a variable that moderated the relationship between citizenry exclusion and INO emergence. Here is a quote from an interviewee that illustrates the moderating effect.

> Let me tell you, it's been a total disaster since Covid. Because I've been advocating for language access for at least five years, screaming at the top of my lungs, thinking I was doing a good job. And then when Covid hit nothing, nothing was coming out in Spanish, I mean, nothing, whether it was Pittsburgh, or the county health department. That's when I was like, wow, you know, so much still needs to be done. Imagine we're not getting anything in Spanish about Covid. People don't know, they coming into the office. They are coughing and sneezing all over the place. And so we have to get information from the California on Covid. Because I don't work for the health department, and I'm not a professional translator, you know That kind of stuff.[14]

In response to this citizenry exclusion, the INO leader started a program to translate documents. In this example, the city and county failed to uphold the civil right of providing language access—an indicator of citizenry exclusion. When Covid happened, the exclusion was exacerbated. INO leaders had to form new a translating program to address the community's needs.

Discussion

This paper argues that nonprofit theories government failure (Weisbrod, 1975), contract failure (Hansmann, 1980), and interdependence theories (Salamon, 1995) overlook the ways that minority groups experience racism, xenophobia and other forms of exclusion in explaining nonprofit emergence. Moreover, nonprofit theories do not distinguish between nonprofit emergence processes across macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. To address these theoretical limitations, I proposed citizenry exclusion concept and theory, which emphasize exclusion based on legal status, race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, and rights. This micro-level theory hypothesizes that citizenry exclusion motivates INO emergence. The following variable were expected to mediate the relationship: community need, awareness, an injustice frame, emotions, resources, and social networks.

Of the 28 organizations in the sample, 26 referenced citizenry exclusion as a factor that motivated INO emergence. Support was found for all of the explanatory variables in the model. Covid moderated the link between citizenry exclusion and INO emergence. The results also elucidate the temporal nature behind the empirical relationship. Two organizations in the sample did not fit the theory.

Two cases in this study did not neatly fit the theoretical model which can be for several reasons. For the Slavic organization, given the organization was founded over 100 years ago, it is reasonable to expect that the conditions that motivated the organization to form may not have been precisely known by the interviewee. Moreover, the research method employed made it difficult to ascertain whether original founding members formed the organization due to citizenry exclusion. Yet historical accounts of the organization's founding suggests that citizenry exclusion led to the organization's formation. Immigrants of Slavic background were deemed

racially inferior in the 19th century (Roucek, 1969). Excluded from mainstream trade unions, they formed their own association to provide social assurance to their ethnic group (Čizmić, 1994, p. 31).

Concerning the Finnish organization, although the interviewee did not explicitly state that the organization was formed due to citizenry exclusion against the Finns, like other White immigrants during the era, Finns experienced racism. They were depicted as pertaining to the Mongolian race. Hostility toward Finns also arose due to their association with the socialism (Huhta, 2014). Given the fact that the Finns experienced citizenry exclusion, it is not difficult to imagine that their exclusion may have led to them to form their own organizations.

Hence, although two interview cases did not fit the theoretical model per the interview data, other sources seem to indicate that citizenry exclusion may have been a motivating factor. This also stands for the proposition that future research seeking to evaluate the role of citizenry exclusion in explaining INO emergence should draw from multiple sources (e.g. interviews, historical documents, web page data) to adequately determine whether citizenry exclusion was a factor in motivating the INO to emerge.

This study addresses limitations in nonprofit theories (Hansmann, 1980; Salamon, 1995; Weisbrod, 1975). For example, government failure theory emphasizes how the government fails to respond to minorities' needs to provide adequate goods and services as studies have found (e.g. Mayblin & James, 2019). Yet the results here show that INOs form for reasons that extend beyond the government failure to provide adequate goods and services. Five organizations in our sample formed to address the need of racism, cultural stereotypes, and xenophobia against immigrants. Our results also reveal that citizenry exclusion precedes government failure. In this way, citizenry exclusion can be interpreted as an antecedent variable. This study therefore urges

analysts and theorists to not conflate the terms *exclusion* and *failure* because they are different variables. Citizenry exclusion is not an example or indicator of government failure, and government failure theory can be refined by incorporating this antecedent variable into the model.

Concerning contract failure theory (Hansmann, 1980), this study provides a contrasting perspective. Contract failure theory theorizes that immigrants do not know the language and customs and are not in the position to access trusted goods and services, which lends them to start their own nonprofit. My results show that some institutions denied immigrants access based on their legal status. Public sector entities failed to provide language access even though they had a legal duty to do so.

This study adds to interdependence theory by highlighting the ways in which immigrants experience stigma, racism, and xenophobia, which motivated INOs to emerge. Five organizations in the sample emerged in response to cultural exclusion. This finding adds to interdependence theory by helping to understand that the ethnic pride in which immigrants evoke originates from citizenry exclusion. If we interpret that the reason why ethnic organizations form is simply to cultivate ethnic pride, we overlook their experiences and histories of citizenry exclusion. This example also exhibits how citizenry exclusion precedes all variables in the theoretical model that explains INO emergence. Echoing the immigration literature (Portes & Zhou, 1993), this study shows that engaging in cultural activities helped to turn the stigma into pride. It also helped to combat negative stigma and promote welcoming environment, as studies have shown (Ejorh, 2011).

Results from this study also have implications for future studies applying government failure, market failure, and interdependence theories to explain test variation in nonprofit size,

density, or growth. Given results establish that the processes behind INO emergence do not holistically reflect nonprofit theories, analysts should account for differentiating characteristics in their models. One way to achieve this is by stratifying the sample of nonprofits which accounts for differentiating characteristics which leads to more valid statistical estimates (Groves et al., 2009).

Another key contribution of this study is citizenry exclusion theory, which is the first known theory in the INO literature. Theory is important for expanding knowledge and answering new research questions. By proposing a new theory, this study opens the door for future research. For instance, given this study only examines citizenry exclusion at the micro-level, future research can evaluate its robustness to explain INO emergence processes at the meso- and macro-levels. Specifically, analysts can scale up the citizenry exclusion theory to explain variation in INO size, density and growth in cities and regions. This is useful information for immigrants, local governments, planners, and social workers, as the size of a region's INO infrastructure is associated with immigrant inclusion outcomes such as DACA (Wong & García, 2016) and asylum rates (Chand et al., 2020). At the meso- and macro-levels, the theory suggests the following: 1) Ceteris paribus, communities with higher proportions of individuals that experience higher levels of citizenry exclusion will have a larger INO size; 2) In contrast, communities with lower ratios of individuals in the populace that experience high ratios of citizenry exclusion will have a smaller INO size, ceteris paribus. Future studies can also evaluate the robustness of citizenry exclusion theory on other organizational types that experience citizenry exclusion.

This study has implications for programs and initiatives that aim to promote inclusion and other forms of positive social change. Results here emphasize the role of awareness, certain

emotions (e.g. compassion and anger), and the adoption of an injustice frames as key variables that motivate people to engage in social change efforts. Hence, individuals developing inclusion programs and like programs can consider integrating these variables and processes presented in this study's framework to inform program logic models. The results suggest that these variables can be effective at motivating action that promotes social change.

There are several limitations in this study, and results should be interpreted with caution. For one, citizenry exclusion theory is a micro-level theory. That is, it explains why *individuals* form INOs or start new programs under existing INOs. It does not explain the INO emergence across meso- or macro-level units of analysis (e.g. cities, regions). Analysts seeking to apply this theory to understand INO emergence at the meso- and macro-levels will need to adjust the theory to avoid atomistic fallacy.

Notes

1. See https://nccs.urban.org/publication/irs-activity-codes
2. The organization must have an immigrant related classification in IRS activity code (A23, R21, R22, Q71, M23, P84, Q71); Be in scope (OUTNCCS = IN); Have an immigrant related name or mission statement; Be active or recently active; Activities target immigrants in the U.S.
3. IRB approval was granted from the University of California, Irvine (IRB:#20205933)
4. https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf
5. Interview with founder 11/3/20
6. Interview with director 12/27/20
7. Interview with founder 11/20/20
8. Interview with founder 11/10/20
9. Interview with founder 10/29/20
10. Interview with president 11/10/20
11. Interview with founder 11/23/20
12. Interview with founder 12/1/20
13. Interview with program manager 11/10/20
14. Interview with director 11/5/20

CHAPTER 3 A strategy typology: Unearthing how U.S. INOs contribute to immigrant inclusion outcomes

Abstract
Present literature reveals that immigrant-serving nonprofits enact an array of strategies that contribute to local policy and other immigrant inclusion outcomes. Yet, this empirical relationship has yet to be systemically and holistically examined across contexts. Drawing on 30 qualitative interviews with immigrant-serving nonprofit practitioners operating throughout various U.S. cities, I specified over 100 strategies that organizations employ contributing to immigrants' rights, legal and cultural inclusion in society. To illustrate this relationship, I advanced a strategy typology highlighting the range and scale of strategies operating in the organizational field. Research, policy, and practice implications are discussed.

Key words
immigrant-serving nonprofits, strategies, immigrants, inclusion, typology

Introduction

The strategies of the third sector are an evolving terrain. In the 1960s U.S. nonprofits experienced an advocacy explosion, shifting from the provision of social service delivery to potent advocacy efforts (Levitt, 1973, p.72). New organizations entering the field over the next three decades took on a new form: they were professionally led organizations focusing on advocacy, social change, and public education (Skocpol, 2013). This shift in the organizational field has provided niche openings for the immigrant-serving nonprofit sector to support immigrants in more dynamic ways.

For instance, protests and grassroots campaigns in the early 2000s led to the push back of harmful federal immigration policies (Cordero-Guzmán et al., 2008). Organizations provide technical and administrative support to local governments in an effort to promote the enactment of inclusive local immigration policies (de Graauw, 2016). In brief, the immigrant-serving nonprofit sector has risen to become a powerful force in society, creating new pathways of inclusion for immigrants and their descendants through the strategies they deploy.

Immigrant-serving nonprofits promote immigrant inclusion in several ways. *Immigrant inclusion,* hereafter referred to as inclusion, is defined as the process in which an entity (e.g. nonprofit organization) includes immigrants in the community (e.g. city). While the act of being included can manifest in several ways, the present study draws from the citizenship literature (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2019; Bosniak, 2000; Marshall, 1950) and identifies three dimensions of inclusion which form the focus of this study: rights, legal and cultural. In this regard, *to be included* broadly refers to the acts that contribute to immigrants' rights, legal, or cultural forms of inclusion.

To illustrate, immigrant-serving nonprofits contribute to legal inclusion by providing legal services that contribute to immigrant legalization or legal relief (Lustig et al., 2008; Mayblin & James, 2019; Wong & García, 2016). They collaborate with the government which results in the enactment of inclusive immigration policies and immigrant rights (de Graauw, 2016). Immigrant-serving nonprofits host educational events and provide technical support to fight for immigrant representation in planning decision making processes (Kondo, 2012). They contribute to cultural inclusion by disabusing negative stereotypes about immigrants engrained in public discourse (Ejorh, 2011) and hosting cultural activities that promote positive imageries of immigrant groups (Wilson, 2011).

Although the literature highlights a number of strategies contributing to the inclusion of immigrants in society, this empirical relationship has yet to be holistically understood in scholarship. Studies often examine one or a few strategies in one or a few cities with sizable immigrant populations (e.g. De Graauw, 2015, 2016; de Graauw et al., 2020; Kotin et al., 2011; Landolt et al., 2011). Consequently, the breadth of strategies that organizations employ across contexts remain unknown. This lack of knowledge on the strategies operating in the organizational field limits scientific inquiry and the advancement of the field.

The aim of this study is to address the aforementioned gap in the literature by investigating the following research question: How do U.S. immigrant-serving nonprofits contribute to immigrant inclusion? Departing from conventional sampling approaches wherein scholars examine organizations in one or a few cities, I conducted 30 semi-structured qualitative interviews with immigrant-serving nonprofit practitioners operating in various U.S. regions, which allowed for specifying the breadth of strategies operating in the organizational field contributing to inclusion outcomes. The study results in a fully specified typology that can be

used for future empirical testing and exploring more in depth the link between strategies and inclusion.

This article is organized as follows. This first section conceptualizes immigrant inclusion. The following section examines studies that illuminate the strategies of the immigrant-serving nonprofit sector. The third section advances a conceptual framework for understanding strategies. The fourth section provides an overview of the methods. The fifth section presents findings. I conclude with implications for research, policy and practice.

Conceptualizing immigrant inclusion

The term *immigrant inclusion* is referenced in immigration studies in a number of ways: including minority groups in local politics (Vermeulen, 2005), legalizing immigrant groups (Abrego & Lakhani, 2015; Nicholls, 2014), differentiated opportunity structures and diverse pathways of mobility in the city (Bean et al., 2012,p.188), immigrant legal access to national social welfare benefits (Sainsbury, 2012), pro-immigrant cultural activities (Okamoto & Ebert, 2016) and membership in the political community (Bloemraad et al., 2019). Applying these definitions, inclusion can be broadly understood as the process in which an immigrant becomes a member in the community.

To better understand inclusion, this study draws from citizenship frameworks given the conceptual overlap regarding notions of membership in the community. One aspect of citizenship is formal legal status (Bosniak, 2000). Citizenship also has a cultural dimension which refers to societal ideas on who is viewed as a valuable member of society (Bloemraad et al., 2019). It touches upon feelings of belonging and identity in the nation state (Bosniak, 2000). Citizenship is also conceptualized as a formal and substantive status. Formal citizenship refers to

legal membership as exemplified by the acquisition of legal status in the nation state. Substantive citizenship represents a combination of civil, political, and social rights (Marshall, 1950). The civil dimension refers to rights such as freedom of speech, thought, faith and justice. The political dimension refers to freedom to organize and political participation. The social dimension refers to rights related to access to education, health care, employment and housing, and other welfare.

Applying the citizenship framework, this study conceives inclusion as a multi-dimensional construct consisting of rights, legal, and cultural dimensions. *Rights inclusion* can be understood as acts that grant or preserve civil, political and social rights. This includes the right to participate in political process, and other substantive forms of citizenship. *Legal inclusion* can be understood as actions contributing to the acquisition of legal status or relief. It also occurs when a deportation is prevented. *Cultural inclusion* refers to acts that express cultural appreciation, recognition, or value of immigrant groups. It also includes acts that invoke positive perceptions of immigrant groups.

The immigrant-serving nonprofit literature helps to illustrate how inclusion is enacted in the concrete. One branch of scholarship highlights how organizations contribute to immigrant rights. They contribute to the enactment of inclusive policies and incorporate immigrants in the political process (de Graauw, 2014, 2015, 2016; Kondo, 2012). Organizations contribute to legal inclusion in several ways, including by helping immigrants fill out legal applications (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005), strategically framing immigrant issues (Nicholls, 2014), and providing medical evaluations to asylum seekers (Lustig et al., 2008). Immigrant-serving nonprofits contribute to cultural inclusion by hosting cultural activities and promoting positive imageries of immigrants

that help to foster immigrant sense of belonging and cultural acceptance in society (Ejorh, 2011; Wilson, 2011).

In sum, this study conceives inclusion as the process in which a social actor (e.g. nonprofit) enacts an action that contributes to including an immigrant in the community (e.g. city). Acts of inclusion manifest in many ways as exemplified with a universe of indicators that contribute to immigrants' rights, legal, or cultural forms of inclusion.

A conceptual framework for immigrant-serving nonprofit strategies

The immigration and nonprofit literatures point to two general strategies that organizations employ contributing to inclusion: *advocacy* and *services*. In regard to advocacy, a growing body of literature center on the strategies that organizations employ to advocate for immigrants' rights, the enactment of inclusive policies and practices, and political representation. For instance, de Graauw (2016) proposes a strategy typology that identifies three advocacy strategies that organizations in San Francisco employ contributing to immigrants' rights: *collaboration*, *administrative advocacy*, and *strategic issue framing*. Organizations also engage in *cultural activities*, or activities that promotes or preserves immigrant culture. Culture here refers to elements such as language, art, dance, food, religions, and spirituality. Cultural activities help to disabuse negative stereotypes about immigrants, promote positive imageries of immigrants, and raise awareness of immigrant culture (Ejorh, 2011; Wilson, 2011). Another strategy is *policy advocacy*, which this study conceives as activities that engage directly with policies or laws affecting immigrant groups, such as writing bills, advancing policy positions, or providing policy recommendations. While several strategies contribute to policy related outcomes as cited in the literature (e.g. cultural activities, strategic issue framing, collaboration) the present study do not

consider these strategies as policy advocacy. This distinguishment is important for analytical purposes. Instead, they are strategies leading to policy related outcomes. Other advocacy strategies cited in the literature include *faith organizing* (Kotin et al., 2011), *community participation* (Bloemraad, 2006), *confrontational advocacy* (de Graauw, 2015), and p*ublic education* (Cordero-Guzmán, 2005). In line with the literature, the present study defines advocacy as actions that aim to address or change institutions, policy, practices, and cultural beliefs.

The provision of services, in contrast, encapsulates strategies that center on the distribution of goods and resources to individuals. These goods and resources can be material (e.g. clothes, water, food, money) and nonmaterial (e.g. legal status and skills). The literature points to two types of services: *legal* and *social* (Chand et al., 2020; Cordero-Guzmán, 2005; Lustig et al., 2008; Wong & García, 2016). Organizations also collaborate when implementing such services, which can be conceived as a strategy of its own.

Although the literature points to several immigrant-serving nonprofit strategies, the term *immigrant-serving nonprofit strategy* has yet to be holistically conceptualized and operationalized in the literature. This is necessary for analytical purposes for this study. Strategic management theory helps to conceptualize what is an immigrant-serving nonprofit strategy. It theorizes that organizational strategies operate at the macro, meso, and micro levels (Andrews, 1971; Beard & Dess, 1981). Macro-level strategies refer to the organization's purpose relative to other organizations in the field. A meso-level strategy is a subset of the macro strategy. It refers to *how* the organization executes the macro strategy. A micro-level strategy refers to how the meso strategy manifests in terms of observable practices.

The present study applies strategic management theory in theorizing that immigrant-serving nonprofit strategies operate at three conceptual levels. Given several empirical works point to advocacy and provision of services as principal strategies, the present study conceives these two strategies as macro-level strategies. Advocacy and the provision of services can be further disaggregated into meso-level strategies representing different types of advocacy and service strategies. For instance, the present study identifies the following meso-level strategies associated with advocacy: faith organizing, administrative advocacy, collaborative advocacy, confrontational advocacy, strategic issue framing, public education, community participation, cultural activities and policy advocacy. Macro-level strategy provision of services can be further disaggregated with meso-level strategies legal, social services, and collaborative services. Meso-strategies can be further disaggregated to micro-level strategies. To illustrate, strategy confrontational advocacy—when organizations work *against* rather than *with* the government—can be specified with the micro-level strategies: launching protests, filing lawsuits, and media shaming (de Graauw, 2015).

In sum, in line with the immigrant-serving nonprofit literature and strategic management theory, the present study theorizes that immigrant-serving nonprofit strategies are two-pronged and manifest on three levels. It is two-pronged as it consists of macro-level strategies advocacy and the provision of services. It is multi-level as these two macro-level strategies can be further disaggregated into meso- and micro-level strategies. This conceptual framework is applied to analyze the data, as discussed in the following section.

Methods

The research method employed in the study was qualitative interviews. I conducted semi-

structured interviews with 30 immigrant-serving nonprofit practitioners operating throughout multiple U.S. cities. Interview method was appropriate providing rich insights on the breadth of strategies contributing to the inclusion of immigrants in the U.S., which was the aim of this study. This study was also approved by the university's internal review board.

The target population was U.S. immigrant-serving 501 (c) 3 nonprofit organizations that were active or recently active at the time of the study. An immigrant-serving nonprofit was defined as an organization whose primary objective is to serve or advocate for immigrants or promote their history or heritage. "Immigrant" referred to an individual who was foreign born, irrespective of their legal status. This definition excluded entities that are not formally incorporated such as groups, networks, and families, as they theoretically extend beyond the third sector scope tapping into the civil society terrain (Viterna et al., 2015). Organizations that served immigrants but were not immigrant mission focused were not considered (e.g. churches, universities, hospitals, homeless shelters), as these organizations have a different goal and thus it was expected that their strategies would significantly differ. Including these entities in the sample raised validity concerns.

Given the unit of analysis was the U.S. immigrant-serving nonprofit sector, it was necessary to sample organizations throughout the U.S. rather than restricting the sample to a particular city. The resulting sample frame therefore included nonprofit practitioners representing organizations operating in various US regions: 34% of worked at organizations that operated in western states, 25% in southern states, 20% in midwestern states, and 21% in northeastern states.[1] Additionally, different types of organizations were integrated in the sample (cultural, legal, rights) to maximize variation, which allowed for capturing more strategies.

The sampling method employed was purposeful and convenience sampling. I considered

organizations from my professional network and the National Center for Charitable Statistics data base (NCCS)[2]. The NCCS houses data on registered nonprofits operating in the U.S. At the outset of the study, I reached out to my professional network as a former community organizer and nonprofit manager for a national civil rights organization. During the time of study, I was a Ph.D. candidate and attended immigrants' rights events in the local region. Several of my colleagues were also previously involved in the immigrant-serving nonprofit scene. To tap into my network, I asked colleagues for referrals, created a Facebook post, and reached out to former colleagues and individuals who I met at immigrant events. Only organizations reflecting the target population were considered for the study.

To maximize sample variation in terms of organizational activities, I purposefully identified organizations from the Business Master File (BMF) database. This database was selected to ensure the consideration of organizations in the sample that had less than a 25,000 budget, which made up several grassroots organizations. To identify potentially eligible organizations, I created a criterion of inclusion and exclusion that reflected the target population (Appendix D). The data was filtered based on the criterion and purposefully selected.

In total, I sent an email to 53 potentially eligible organizations inviting them to participate in the study between September to December 2020 (see recruitment email Appendix A). If the organization's representative agreed to participate, I emailed them the interview protocol in advance (see interview protocol Appendix B and C). The interview protocol consisted of 25 questions, which included general questions (e.g. How was your organization founded; What are your organizations' programs and services), while others were designed specifically to uncover the link between strategies and inclusion (e.g. How does your organization's activities help the immigrant community; Can you tell me a success story that

illustrates the impact of your organization). The resulting data reflected the state of the U.S. immigrant-serving nonprofit sector in the year of the data collection, or 2020. Given the majority of interviews were conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic, I expected some organizations would be experiencing a hiatus or decrease in activities. To account for this, where applicable, interviewees were asked to report on activities prior to the pandemic. For example, one organization was in the process of going out of business as a result of the pandemic and therefore reported on activities prior to their recent shut down.

Given the COVID-19 pandemic and limited resources, in person interviews were not possible. Hence, all interviews were conducted either over the phone or video call, between October and December 2020. Interviews were semi-structured lasting between 45 minutes to an hour. To maximize sample variation, I incorporated three interviews that took place between 2018 to 2019 as a pilot study during my Ph.D. program, yielding 30 interviews in total. The protocol for the three interviews was similar to the protocol developed in 2020 in that it asked questions related to organizational activities. In total, the data included 30 interviews with nonprofit practitioners, which included volunteers, founders, directors, and managers. All of the interviews were audio recorded with verbal consent from the interviewee and notes were taken during the interviews.

The interview data was coded using deductive and inductive approaches. Although deductive approaches are commonly associated with theory testing, the present study did not test the aforementioned strategy conceptual framework but rather applied it to analyze data and establish codes a priori. To elaborate, strategic management theory posits that organizational strategies manifest at the macro, meso and micro-levels, thus calling for three levels of codes. The empirical literature on immigrant-serving nonprofits helps to specify macro and meso-level

categories. Pursuant the literature, immigrant-serving nonprofits employ two macro-level strategies: advocacy and services. There are 12 meso-level strategies associated with these two macro-level strategies. For advocacy, the following meso-level codes are identified: policy advocacy, faith organizing, administrative advocacy, cultural activities, public education, strategic issue framing, community participation, confrontational advocacy, and collaborative advocacy. For services, the codes include social service, legal service, and collaborative services. I used inductive coding to specify the micro-level strategies associated with the meso-level codes.

To analyze the data, the following steps were taken. First, the transcripts were uploaded to Dedoose Software. Next, any time an interviewee mentioned a strategy linked to an inclusion outcome, the strategy was assigned to one of the 12 meso-level strategy codes. The resulting excerpts were then transferred to an excel file and further analyzed and assigned a micro-level strategy code.

To measure the point of saturation across each meso-level strategy category, a code was developed in MatLab to calculate the average number of organizations it took for no new micro-level strategy codes to emerge in each meso-level category. Organizations were randomized for each iteration as their position on the list affected the saturation point. Randomizing removed the ordering affect. The point of saturation was averaged for each meso-level code across 1,000 trials. Results reveal that each code was saturated at different points (see Appendix E), taking at most 28 organizations to reach saturation. This quantitative approach to measure saturation was appropriate given there were too many micro-level strategy codes for a qualitative assessment.

Results

Four key findings emerged in the data. First, the data unearthed over 100 micro-level strategies that organizations employed contributing to the processes of inclusion, according to the self-reports of organizations. This study introduces the *immigrant-serving nonprofit strategy typology* (Table 2) to visually illustrate strategies contributing to inclusion and how they map on to meso and macro-level strategies. A typology identifies multiple ideal types of attributes that are believed to explain the variance in a dependent variable (Doty & Glick, 1994). The typology therefore functions as a conceptual framework for understanding the range of strategies that explain inclusion outcomes.

While the first finding established a link between strategies and inclusion with over 100 indicator variables, the second major finding is that inclusion outcomes are a function of a conglomeration of strategies. For example, a community organizer revealed how his organization joined forces with other organizations to carry out a hunger strike with the local community. "For five days, we wouldn't eat solid foods. We'd just drink fluids, mainly water, and then we actually camped outside in Los Angeles on the streets outside of the building of ICE. We held press conferences…We held religious services, and we brought the media over. For five days, it was a public display of advocacy. They were advocating for their loved ones to be released because Coronavirus, there was an outspread in the detention center, and they were refusing to release them."[3] When asked the outcome, the organizer noted that they received news that there was going to be a couple of hundred people being released from the detention. In this case example, the inclusion outcome (immigrants released from detention) occurred as a result of a combination of meso-level strategies, including confrontational advocacy, faith organizing, collaboration in advocacy, and community

participation. Findings in the subsequent paragraphs also reveal how strategies are grouped together in explaining inclusion.

The third finding was that the link between strategies and inclusion was both direct and indirect. In the former relationship, the observed strategy contributed directly to the inclusion outcome. For example, cultural activities such as cultural festivals contributed directly to cultural inclusion. As one program manager from a Croatian organization stated, such activities "keep the culture alive [] and get new people interested in our culture."[4] Strategy community participation directly contributes to cultural inclusion. When organizations engage the community to participate in the organization's activities, they create the potential for volunteers to see immigrants in a positive light. This is illustrated in the example of an organization that recruited volunteers to dispense food, clothes, medicine, other goods to immigrants in transit at the bus station. Bus station volunteers began to accept illegalized immigrants. "We had a couple people who said that they had changed their minds about immigration, because of working in the bus station. Suddenly, they were good with people crossing over the border."[5] Similarly, social services directly contributed to social rights inclusion. For example, one organization elaborated on how immigrants are deprived of basic services when they are released from detention. The organization addressed this need by providing an array of services. "When immigrants leave detention, they have a bag of paperwork, no clothes, phone

Table 2. Immigrant-Serving Nonprofit Strategy Typology

MACRO-LEVEL STRATEGY	MESO-LEVEL STRATEGY	MICRO-LEVEL STRATEGY
SERVICES	**Legal services:** Programs and services designed to advance the legal needs of the target population	Write or sign letter of support advocating for immigrant legal status; provide funds for legal case, including bond relief; apply for bond relief; help immigrants to apply for legal status or to adjust their status; family petitions; connect to legal resources; provide direct legal representation; hire lawyers to represent legal case; provide legal education; legal advice; help immigrants prepare for credible fear interview; offer accredited representatives; help at the immigration court desk; help immigrants obtain their documents or evidence for their case
	Social services: Programs and services designed to advance the social needs of the target population	ESL class; connect to immigrants in detention (e.g. detention hotline or visitation); referral service; provide material goods (e.g. food, clothes, water, computer, internet); transportation support (e.g. bus tickets, rides); accompany immigrants to their appointments; provide translation, employment; medical; dispense medicine; provide housing support (e.g. shelter, temporary home, foster home, rent assistance); offer insurance; financial literacy; financial assistance; technical program; violence prevention program; provide education information; program that offers career or academic credentialling; immigrant support group; homework support; distribute health information
	Collaborative services: Collaborate with other entities in the implementation of service activities	In implementing services, collaborate with entities but not limited to local government; state government, federal government, foreign government, regional governments; other organizations; labor unions; religious entities; immigrants and descendants of immigrants; faith community; lawyers; hospital; school district; medical professionals; collaborative; local media; coalition; clubs; universities; collaboratives
ADVOCACY	**Policy advocacy:** Activities that engage directly with policies or laws affecting immigrant groups	Advance policy positions; Write bills and introduce them into law or ordinances; Meet with legislators to discuss bills; Engage in lobbying; Provide public comment on a policy; Conduct policy research; Advocate for ballot measures; Write or sign letter to support or denounce a policy; Make policy recommendations
	Faith organizing: The intentional use of faith, religion or spirituality as a means to achieve goals	Reference religious text, Intentionally engage the faith community; Strategically frame issues in a way that appeals to individuals from different faiths to enact their participation; Draw from religious knowledge to inform faith organizing process
	Administrative advocacy: The provision of administrative or technical support to external entity	Conduct research; develop strategic plans such as blueprints; provide policy implementation oversight; provide data; organize conferences; budget recommendations; technical assistance to organizations or governments
	Cultural activities: Activities that center on immigrant culture or history	Host cultural festivals, or activities; offer non-English language classes or facilitate referrals to non-English language class; host events that observe immigrant holidays; publish material (e.g. books, articles, documentaries, podcasts, radio) that shed light on immigrant culture or

		history; host a tour in a foreign country; host a recreational event that brings together members of the culture
	Public education: Activities that intend to educate	Offer training/programs that raises awareness on immigrant realities; Use online platforms (e.g. blog, social media) as a medium to raise awareness on immigrant realities; Offer training/ program to the community that teaches best practices and safeguard immigrants' rights; Training/program for immigrants that provides resources, tools, and information (e.g. know your rights training); Engage in public speaking
	Strategic issue framing: Strategically frame immigrant related topics	Intentionally use neutral language to accomplish organizational goal; Tailor organizational message to appeal to a particular population; Frame message in a way that promote positive images of immigrant groups
	Community participation: The organization engages individuals or entities to participate in organization's activities	Engage the community to participate in the organizations' activities; engage immigrants specifically to be involved in the organization's activities; employ a membership component to the organization's structure; train community members to engage in civic and political activities; promote political voting; host fundraiser; host recreational programs; offer subsidiary groups in which the community is in charge
	Confrontational advocacy: A strategy arising likely due to a divergence in goals between entities and are reflective of an antithetical relationship that is likely to appear that the entities involved are working against each other, rather than cooperatively.	Host street protest, rallies or demonstrations; engage in civil disobedience; file lawsuits or civil complaint; organize hunger strikes; media shaming; communicate to officials (e.g. letter / phone) to denounce exclusionary policy or practice measures; physically block immigrants from getting deported
	Collaborative advocacy: Collaborate with other entities in the implementation of advocacy activities	In implementing advocacy activities, collaborate with entities including but not limited to local government, state government, federal government, foreign government, regional government; other organizations; labor unions; religious entities, immigrants and descendants of immigrants; lawyers; coalition; academic community

belts, shoelaces, or even food for their babies. This is when it was really heavy duty. People were massing at the border. We start meeting people at the bus station to give them diapers, food, medicine, help with translation. In a year's time, we met about 12,000 immigrants."[6] One director who was an advocate of language access reported English as a second language classes as very beneficial for her clients to obtain social welfare benefits. "Knowledge of basic words can help you. You go to like to the welfare office, nobody speaks Spanish. You go to the school districts, nobody speaks Spanish anywhere."[7]

When it comes to the indirect link between strategies and inclusion, this was most notable with the interrelations between social and legal services and legal inclusion. While several legal services directly impacted the legal status outcome (e.g. lawyer representation, bond relief), organizations rendered several social services (e.g. transportation, home sponsor, English language class) that indirectly contributed to the legal inclusion process. For instance, five organizations reported transportation services as critical services to the asylum-seeking process. Such services included rides to points of destination, court hearings, and the lawyers' office. Transportation contributed to processes of legal inclusion as one volunteer noted, "when migrants are released from detention, they don't know their way around. They have nothing. They have to get to their immigration court case which is sometimes all the way across the country. Some of them end up becoming homeless and missing their court case which jeopardizes their legal case."[8] English classes also indirectly contribute to legal inclusion. One nonprofit director stated that his clients were often defrauded by lawyers and English classes "provided them basic skills to navigate the legal system." [9]

The last finding was that strategies interact with each other in explaining the inclusion outcome. This interaction effect was especially prevalent with strategy community participation,

which had an interaction effect on strategies, confrontational advocacy, faith organizing, policy advocacy, public education, social and legal services, and cultural activities. Specifically, engaging the community to participate in organizational activities augmented the effects of other strategies. Strategy community participation did not appear to interact with strategies administrative advocacy, strategic issue framing, or collaborative services and advocacy.

This first example illustrates the interaction between strategies community participation and confrontational advocacy. One organization prevented an Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) deportation by creating a Facebook announcement informing the community of the raid and soliciting their engagement to block ICE. “Like, they were so fast on Facebook, they were like, happening now, if you can get in the car and get here, you know, so people showed up at the address, and stood between ICE and this man and he didn't get arrested,”[10] the volunteer said. Here, the legal inclusion outcome (preventing a deportation), was a function of several strategies that unfolded across time, including public education, confrontational advocacy, and community participation. For example, at a closer examination, the community was engaged *while* carrying out the protest. Therefore, strategy community participation was simultaneously occurring alongside confrontational advocacy. The participating community augmented the effects of the protest as the increased representation of individuals allowed for physically blocking ICE from executing the deportation.

This next example reveals the interaction between community participation, faith organizing, and policy advocacy. A director recounted how their organization eradicated the enactment of a local exclusionary policy negatively affecting undocumented residents right to safety (rights inclusion). Organizers collaborated with faith leaders to devise a moving presentation on the day of city council’s vote (collaborative advocacy). The goal of the

presentation was to "promote a spirit of love and welcome toward immigrants instead of fear," [11] the director noted. Faith leaders attended the presentation at city council (community participation), shared a scripture, a blessing over the city council (faith organizing), their personal connection to the immigrant community, and challenging them to rethink the policy (policy advocacy). The presentation was so emotional, the director noted. People in the audience were moved and joined their initiative by testifying against the policy. One city council was so affected by the presentation that he thanked them for their prayers and changed his vote, resulting in a victory. Here, community participation was deployed alongside strategies faith organizing and policy advocacy, producing an interaction effect. The data suggests that the interaction consisted of several micro-level processes. The spectacle brought on by the faith organizing group moved the audience, generated intense emotions, and helped to foster compassion among the audience and city council.

Community participation also interacts with social and legal services and cultural activities. This interaction can be explained by the fact that when organizations engage the community to carry out their functions, they increase the organization's capacity and resources, which enhances the effectiveness of the services rendered while reaching more immigrants. The inclusion outcome is subsequently augmented by this interaction effect. One example is a high-capacity grassroots organization that effectively carried out social and legal services (e.g. food, water, clothes, translation, legal workshops) to thousands of asylum seekers at the border in transit through donations and volunteer support. The organization's founder recounted the early days of the organization's founding:

> We started taking food and supplies and water to the people that were sitting on the bridge or near the bridge, that were asylum seekers. And we started working at the bus station, and also taking food supplies, blankets, pillows, things like that. And then just helping people to understand where it was that they were going where their bus stops

> were as it would be two or three days on the bus. We realized really quickly that they needed a lot of systems just to kind of understand where it was that they were going, we said we would give them a little pocket money to be able to buy a meal, you know…But still, it's hard to make it for three days just on that. So we just started gathering things from just people, asking telling people this is what we're doing, this is what are seeing. You know, this is what we need if you want to donate water, snacks. So we just kind of slowly started and then kind of gradually gained a little more momentum, more people joined us at the bus station.[12]

Later on, the organization was able to reach more asylum seekers with their services, as volunteers from across the country joined the movement. In this example, community participation (volunteers) occurred alongside the provision of services, producing an interaction effect.

This final example reveals the interaction between community participation and cultural activities. One organization interviewed was a fraternal union that had hundreds of Croatian lodges across the U.S. The parent organization enacted community participation by incorporating a structure in their organization that allowed members to form subsidiary lodge groups in their community. The interaction occurs when local lodges carry out organizational functions, which include several cultural activities.

Discussion

The present study is the first to systematically examine the spectrum of immigrant-serving nonprofits strategies contributing to immigrant inclusion in the U.S. Four major findings emerged in the data: (1) First, the study identified over 100 micro-level strategies contributing to inclusion in the U.S.; (2) Inclusion outcomes are a function of a combination of strategies; (3) There exists direct, indirect; and (4) interaction effects between strategies that explain inclusion outcomes. These findings contribute the literature and has implications for future work.

The first finding provides support for the hypothesized strategy typology this study introduced which draws from strategic management theory and the empirical literature on immigrant-serving nonprofits. Additionally, the micro-level strategies converged at the meso- and macro-levels. Although the micro-level strategies this study identified reflect the literature, what is more significant about the first finding is the strategy typology illustrating the link between micro-, meso-, and macro-level strategies. The conceptual framework provides a holistic understanding of immigrant-serving nonprofits strategies. It demonstrates that strategies are multi-dimensional and multi-level, which adds conceptual and analytical depth to future works. By identifying different strategies at these different levels, we are in a better position to assess how strategies are combined and work together to generate outcomes. Furthermore, by specifying over 100 indicators linked to inclusion, this study lays groundwork for a future immigrant-serving nonprofit theory that explains variance in inclusion outcomes.

The strategy typology this study introduces is an expansion of previous ones. For instance, de Graauw (2016) study is a breakthrough in the immigrant-serving nonprofit literature as it identified three meso-level strategies contributing to immigrants' rights in San Francisco: administrative advocacy, strategic issue framing and collaboration. Previously, studies centered on one or a few strategies rather than the spectrum of strategies (e.g. De Graauw, 2015; Ejorh, 2011). This study confirmed the three meso-level strategies presented in de Graauw's work, in addition to nine others that explain two additional inclusion outcomes beyond immigrants' rights. The was possible by intentionally examining inclusion outcomes beyond immigrants' rights and sampling a diverse range of organizations operating throughout the U.S.

Additionally, the strategy typology opens the door to future studies, as it can be converted into an empirical instrument that allows for testing relevant hypotheses, evaluating the

robustness of case study findings, and exploring the link between strategies and inclusion in more depth. For instance, a future study can measure how strategies explain disparate inclusion outcomes (e.g. asylum rate, policy outcomes). Converting the typology into an empirical instrument can be achieved by creating a survey wherein the micro-level strategies function as indicator variables that reflect the meso- and macro-level constructs. The survey can be implemented on a random sample of organizations and analyzed using statistical techniques such as structural equation modeling (SEM) to model the relationship.

Moreover, the creation of empirical scales to measure latent features of the nonprofit sector is a growing practice in the nonprofit literature. In the past decade, there has been a proliferation in empirical instruments to measure nonprofit characteristics such as innovation (Shier & Handy, 2015), nonprofit roles (Kim, 2017), and organizational capacity (Fu & Shumate, 2020). Notably, it is unclear whether these nonprofit instruments and several others adequately include immigrant-serving nonprofits in their sample, raising concerns on generalizability. Additionally, no known immigrant-serving nonprofit scale presently exists in the literature. Hence, converting the present typology into an instrument can be fruitful for future nonprofit studies.

Findings two through four provide a new analytical lens for understanding the effects of immigrant-serving nonprofit strategies. Previous works seeking to explain their effects often examine one or a few strategies. For instance, studies underscore the effectiveness of collaborating with the government to achieve the enactment of inclusive policies (de Graauw, 2015; de Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016). De Graauw (2015) also found that collaboration is more effective than confrontational strategies. The present study find that strategies are deployed in combination rather than in isolation. Further, there exists interrelations between strategies.

Different strategies are employed at varying degrees, which may lead to varying degrees of inclusion. Taken together, results suggest that examining one or a few strategies provides only partial insights on the effects of organizational strategies. Analysts examining strategies in the future should look at how they are packaged together to precisely understand their impact. This can be achieved by employing a measurement approach which allows for representing how strategies manifest as a construct and their complex interrelations with inclusion.

Findings align with a handful of quantitative studies that identifies immigrant-serving nonprofits as significant variables contributing to immigrant *legal* inclusion outcomes, such as asylum (Chand et al., 2020; Lustig et al., 2008; Wong & García, 2016) and DACA rates (Wong & García, 2016). This work adds to the body of work by qualitatively revealing how strategies potentially explain the statistically significant effects of organizations on legal inclusion. Namely, the provision of legal and social services combined with community participation contribute to legal inclusion processes. Future legalization studies can further explore this relationship by quantitatively evaluating how disparate strategies explain variation in legal inclusion outcomes.

Along these same lines, results here underscore the need for studies seeking to explain variation in legal inclusion outcomes to include immigrant-serving nonprofits in statistical models (e.g. Amuedo-Dorantes & Puttitanun, 2018; Chand et al., 2017; Chand & Schreckhise, 2015; Keith et al., 2013; Miller et al., 2015). Indeed, one reason to omit variables in statistical models is to attain model parsimony and avoid multicollinearity, which aids in estimating model parameters. Yet as this work and others suggests, immigrant-serving nonprofits are critical variables when it comes to explaining immigrant legal inclusion outcomes. Omitting potentially significant variables can give rise to omitted variable bias and overestimating other variables in

the model, while also painting a partial picture of the factors explaining legal inclusion. Hence, analysts in the future should account for this local contextual variable when explaining legal inclusion outcomes.

Finally, this work has implications for planners, nonprofits and local governments. Results underscore the effectiveness of immigrant-serving nonprofits in promoting the inclusion of immigrants in communities throughout the U.S. via their strategies. Local governments and planning agencies are encouraged to partner with such organizations to ensure inclusive planning processes, policies, and to promote a welcoming environment. This is important given immigrants are often left out of planning processes in cities (Allen & Slotterback, 2017; Kondo, 2012). The migration of immigrants and refugees to urban and suburban spaces furthermore underscores the need for local governments and planners to collaborate with immigrant-serving nonprofits to optimize mutual goals.

As it concerns limitations, it should be noted that the results are not generalizable to the entire U.S. immigrant-serving nonprofit sector. Although this study identifies a range of micro-level strategies, it does not reflect the universe of strategies operating in the organizational field. Consequently, there are likely organizations that enact micro-strategies that do not reflect the micro-level strategies exhibited in this typology. Nevertheless, the study provides a starting point for understanding the strategies that U.S. immigrant-serving nonprofit deploy.

Notes

15. Census regions and divisions of the United States: https://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf
16. https://nccs-data.urban.org/data.php?ds=misc
17. Interview with community organizer, October 22, 2020
18. Interview with nonprofit manager, November 10, 2020
19. Interview with nonprofit director, November 10, 2020
20. Interview with nonprofit director, November 10, 2020
21. Interview with nonprofit director, November 5, 2020
22. Interview with nonprofit director, October 20, 2020
23. Interview with nonprofit volunteer, October 10, 2020
24. Interview with nonprofit volunteer, November 1, 2020
25. Interview with nonprofit director, November 3, 2020
26. Interview with nonprofit founder, November 20, 2020
27. IRS Activity Codes: https://nccs.urban.org/publication/irs-activity-codes

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CHAPTER 4 The relationship between local context and INO strategies

Abstract

The literature reveals that the strategies that immigrant-serving nonprofit organizations employ vary in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion. Yet the relationship between a city's immigrant inclusion environment and INO strategies has yet to be holistically examined. For example, studies over center on confrontation strategy and the local government as a local contextual variable. Although strategies differ across immigrant inclusion contexts, little is known about whether these differences are statistically significant. Drawing from various data sources and employing mixed methods research design, this study offers a new lens for understanding the relationship between a city's immigrant inclusion context and the strategies that INOs employ.

Key words
Immigrant-serving nonprofits, strategies, local context, inclusion, exclusion

Introduction

Local context plays an important role in shaping several immigrant outcomes. Such outcomes include immigrant activism (Burciaga & Martinez, 2017; Nicholls, 2021a; Nicholls & de Wilde, 2023), assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993), ethnic identity development (Rendón, 2015), political incorporation (Bloemraad, 2006), minority politics (Nicholls & Uitermark, 2013), immigrant incorporation (Bean et al., 2012), and the types of immigrant-serving nonprofit organizations (INOs) that emerge in the city (Castañeda, 2020).

The INO literature similarly finds that local context shapes INOs strategies. Studies suggest that the city's immigrant environment shape INO strategies. One local contextual variable is the degree to which the local government is inclusive. Although INO studies extensively center on this local contextual variable, other studies provide insights on other factors shaping INO strategies, such as pressure from other organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991) and the city's foreign-born population (Okamoto & Ebert, 2016).

The literature demonstrates diverging views on the role of local context and strategies. For example, studies find that local governments that are exclusionary towards immigrants motivate INOs to launch protests to meet their needs (de Graauw, 2015; Kondo, 2012). Yet studies on immigrant activism, protests, and mobilizations reveal the opposite. They show that protests and mobilizations occur in geographical settings that are more inclusive (Burciaga & Martinez, 2017; Eisinger, 1973; Nicholls, 2021b). These diverging views invite analysts to examine more closely the interrelations between local context and INO strategies.

Taking on that objective, this study observes that the relationship between local context and INO strategies have yet to be holistically examined. I identified several research problems in the literature to illustrate this point. First, studies often focus on the degree to which the local

government is inclusive as a local contextual variable (e.g. de Graauw, 2015; Kondo, 2012). But other local contextual variables shape strategies, such as the influence of other organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991), the city's foreign-born population (Okamoto & Ebert, 2016), and organizational density, networks, the size of the city (Nicholls, 2021a). By focusing on one or a few local contextual variables, we have a narrow understanding of the interrelations between local context and strategies. Second, studies often focus on how one or a few strategies differ across contexts (e.g. confrontation, protests). Yet there are over 100 strategies operating in the organizational field. Third, Studies employ mostly qualitative methods (e.g. Burciaga & Martinez, 2017; de Graauw, 2015; Nicholls, 2021b; Nicholls & de Wilde, 2023), which does not allow for gaging the degree to which strategies differ across contexts and testing whether differences are significant. Moreover, strategies diverge at different strategy levels across contexts (Nicholls et al., 2016). Qualitative methods do not allow for measuring whether divergences in strategies at different levels are significant.

Given these limitations in the literature, the purpose of this study is to holistically understand the relationship between local context and INO strategies. The following questions are investigated: (1) What local contextual variables shape INO strategies? (2) How does local context shape INO strategies? (3) Do strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion; and (4) If so, are these differences statistically significant? Drawing from the literature, I theorize that there are multiple entities and social actors in the city's local contextual environment that shape INO strategies. To specify these range of local contextual variables, I employ qualitative interviews with INO practitioners operating across the U.S. (n=30). In addition, I hypothesize that strategies will diverge in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion. Some differences may be statistically significant.

In the context of this study, *immigrant inclusion* refers to how cities enact acts of immigrant inclusion in the city. It can also be understood as how hostile or welcoming cities are towards immigrants. I adopt this term because it acknowledges that there are multiple actors in the city that potentially shape organizational strategies. To investigate this, I converted the strategy scale in the previous chapter into a measurement instrument that measures strategy frequency. The scale is implemented on a national stratified random sample of INOs operating in cities with low, medium, high, and very high levels of immigrant inclusion (n=66). I conducted a Kruskal-Wallis test to evaluate whether the frequency in which INOs employ different strategies significantly differ in the respective groups. I triangulate the data by conducting a subanalysis of INOs (n=81) in select cities with low and moderate levels of immigrant inclusion (El Paso versus Houston and Jacksonville versus Miami). I conducted a two-proportion Z-test to test whether the proportion of organizations employing select strategies significantly different across contexts.

This paper is organized as follows. First, I conceptualize INO strategies. Next, I discuss the interrelations between local context and INO strategies. Based on the literature, I theorize that strategies will diverge across contexts with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion. The following section therefore presents a conceptual framework for understanding this term. Next, I present the methods. The methods section is followed by findings. I conclude with a discussion on the implications of this study and directions for future research.

Conceptualizing INO Strategies

To conduct this study, it is necessary conceptualize the term *INO strategy* for measurement purposes. In examining the literature, studies point to several strategies, which can provide insights on how strategies manifest as a construct. For example, INOs engage in confrontational strategies such as media shaming, protests, civil disobedience, and filing law

suits (de Graauw, 2015). They host cultural activities such as workshops and festivals (Ejorh, 2011; Wilson, 2011). INOs provide a range of legal and social services (Hector Cordero-Guzmán, 2005). Other strategies expressed in the literature include administrative advocacy, collaboration, and strategic issue framing (de Graauw, 2016).

A recent study is a breakthrough in the literature providing a strategy typology that sheds light on how strategies manifest conceptually. De Graauw (2016) point to three strategies that INOs employed to advocate for immigrants' rights in San Francisco: administrative advocacy, cross-sectoral and cross-organizational collaboration, and strategic issue framing. Sorrell-Medina (2022) expands on this work by developing a three-level strategy typology based on a national sample of INOs operating throughout the U.S. The typology specifies two main or macro-level strategies that INOs employ: advocacy and social services. These strategies are further specified with twelve meso-level strategies: egal services, social services, policy advocacy, faith organizing, administrative advocacy, cultural activities, public education, strategic issue framing, community participation, confrontational advocacy, collaborative services, and collaborative advocacy. Sorrell-Medina specified over 100 micro-level indicators variables that map onto these twelve meso-level strategies.

These two studies, like others, suggest that INO strategies are multi-scalar and multi-dimensional. They are multi-dimensional because there are several types of strategies that INOs employ (e.g. legal services, social services). They are multi-scalar because they can be specified at multiple conceptual levels. Other works have similarly pointed to the multi-level nature of strategies. Nicholls et al., (2016) point out how advocacy strategies in the Netherlands and the U.S. were similar at one level but diverged in terms of how they manifested in the concrete. De Graauw (2015) specifies several indicator variables that constitutes "confrontational strategies"

including media shaming, protests, litigation, and civil disobedience. The idea that strategies are multi-scalar is furthermore expressed with strategic management theory, which contend that strategies manifests at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels. (Andrews, 1971; Beard & Dess, 1981).

In line with the literature, this study theorizes that INO strategies are multi-dimensional manifesting at the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels.

The interrelations between local context and INO strategies

Local context plays a critical role in shaping various immigrant outcomes, such as immigrant activism (Burciaga & Martinez, 2017; Nicholls, 2021a; Nicholls & de Wilde, 2023), assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993), ethnic identity development (Rendón, 2015), political incorporation (Bloemraad, 2006), minority politics (Nicholls & Uitermark, 2013), immigrant incorporation (Bean et al., 2012), and the types of organizations that emerge (Castañeda, 2020).
Portes & Rumbaut (2006, pp. 93) concept of *context of reception* also emphasizes how contextual factors such as policies, the labor market, and the characteristics of the immigrant community in the receiving community affect newcomers' incorporation.

INO studies also demonstrate that local context shape INO strategies. Many studies highlight the role of the local government, and particularly its inclusive nature, in shaping whether INOs engage in confrontation or collaboration (e.g. de draauw, 2015; Eisenger, 1973; Kondo, 2012). Other studies show how other local contextual variables matter. For example, (Nicholls, 2021a) found that high organizational density, resources, and networks provide opportunities to shape immigrant politicization confrontation strategies among activists.

There are other local contextual variables that shape INO strategies receiving less attention in the literature. For example, studies suggest that a city's foreign-born population shape INO strategies. One study found that a city's foreign-born population is positively associated with cultural activities enacted by local organizations and residents (Okamoto & Ebert, 2016). Another drew the conclusion that the ethnic composition of the immigrant population in the city shape INO strategies (de Graauw, 2015). Because immigrants of Latino background experienced more exclusion and stigmatization, they experienced constraints in mounting advocacy initiates with the local government, which subsequently led them to resort to confrontational strategies such as protests. INO strategies are also potentially shaped by federal immigration activities in the city. For example, in 2017, immigration customs enforcement carried out Operation Safe City, targeting sanctuary cities with raids rounding up hundreds of immigrants. INOs and activists across the U.S. responded. In Philadelphia, for instance, they held a prayer vigil (Sears, 2017).

Isomorphism theory suggests that organizational strategies are shaped by other organizations. This theory maintains that organizations are constrained by their environment and highlights the ways that their behavior is influenced by other organizations in the organizational field (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The mechanisms behind these processes occur in three ways: (1) external pressure of organizations and other societal factors (coercive isomorphism); (2) organizational or environmental uncertainty leading organizations to model other organizations (mimetic isomorphism); (3) and the need to professionalize, legitimatize, and establish occupational autonomy (normative isomorphism).

In the whole, the literature suggests that the city's immigrant inclusion environment shape INO strategies. I use the term immigrant inclusion environment to refer to the degree to

which the city is inclusive towards immigrants. This is operationalized by examining the degree to which multiple entities and institutions in the city enact acts or exhibit qualities that contribute to the city's hostile and accepting nature towards immigrants. This theoretical postulation is also reflected in political opportunity theory, which maintains that a city's political opportunity structure shape strategies (Eisinger, 1973). Tilly (1995, pp. 378) defines political opportunity structures as "the organization of power, patterns of repression or facilitation, and presence of allies or enemies." Applying this theory and the literature, the present study theorizes that there are a host of local contextual variables shaping INO strategies. The causal mechanisms can be explained by their open and closed natures presenting opportunities and constraints that shape strategies. Strategies are likely to diverge across contexts with varying degrees of immigrant inclusion.

Another strand of the literature highlighting the interrelations between context and strategies provide contradictory evidence on their interrelations. Namely, one strand of studies finds that INOs in cities with an exclusionary governmental context employ more confrontational strategies such as protests compared to INOs in cities with more inclusive governmental contexts. For example, de Graauw's (2015) compared strategies among activists in New York versus San Francisco. The author found that nonprofit advocates in New York used more contentious strategies, such as litigation, street protests, and media shaming to get local legislators to act on the language access policy. De Graauw reasoned that the political context may have shaped confrontation strategies. New York had to resort to more aggressive advocacy tactics to improve language access given the dominance of the Latino community in New York that tend to be subject to more stigma compared to the Asian immigrants that constitute the majority of San Francisco. Although both cities are generally inclusive, New York political

environment was more closed compared to San Francisco. Their larger government, for example, made it difficult for advocates work collaboratively with officials. Similarly, Kondo (2012) study of INOs in the planning process in an unincorporated community in Washington state called North Highline, revealed that INOs resorted to more confrontational tactics because they were disempowered from the planning process. The author suggests that they went outside the system to wage protests because there were little political opportunities for inserting the voice of the immigrant community.

Another set of studies reveal the opposite showing that exclusionary contexts preempt confrontational strategies. For example, Nicholls, (2021a) found that activists in Los Angeles were more likely to be politicized compared to conservative Inland communities due to the inclusive nature of LA providing more political opportunities, support, access to resources and accommodations for politicization. Nicholls & de Wilde (2023) found that friendly municipalities are open to mobilizations to combat anti-immigration policies compared to unfriendly municipalities. Eisinger (1973) study of protests activities in American cities showed that exclusionary cities as defined by the governments' closed natures preempted protests. Eisinger found a positive correlation between open contexts and protests. But a highly open system did not have a need for protests, which suggests a curvilinear relationship with inclusion and protests like Tilly (1995). These diverging views invites analysts to further explore the interrelations between context and strategies.

Synthesizing the literature, this study identifies several limitations among studies that highlight the interrelations between local context and INO strategies. To illustrate, studies often focus on one or a few local contextual variables that shape INO strategies. Hence, we have a narrow understanding about the range of local contextual factors shaping INO strategies.

Additionally, although there are over 100 strategies that INOs employ (Sorrell-Medina, 2022), research have mostly focused on one or a few strategies (e.g. confrontation and protests) when comparing strategies. Finally, studies employ mostly qualitative methods in examining the interrelations between strategies and local context (e.g. Burciaga & Martinez, 2017; de Graauw, 2015; Nicholls, 2021b; Nicholls & de Wilde, 2023), which does not allow for gaging the degree to which strategies differ across contexts and testing whether differences are significant. Moreover, strategies diverge at different strategy levels across contexts (Nicholls et al., 2016). Qualitative methods do not allow for measuring divergences in strategies at different levels across contexts are significant. This study seeks to examine these limitations by employing methods that allow for holistically understanding the relationship.

Conceptualizing immigrant inclusion in the city

The previous section establishes that INO strategies potentially diverge in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion. This section seeks to conceptualize immigrant inclusion which will later allow for measuring immigrant inclusion in the city.

The term inclusion in the context of immigrants has yet to be defined in scholarship. Scholars use the term immigrant inclusion to refer to a number of things, such as including minority groups in local politics (Vermeulen, 2005), legalizing immigrant groups (Nicholls et al., 2016), differentiated opportunity structures and diverse pathways of mobility in the city (Bean et al., 2012:188), immigrant legal access to national social welfare benefits (Sainsbury, 2012), legal, social, and cultural membership in society (Bloemraad et al., 2019), laws dictating immigrants' rights and access to benefits (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012), and pro-immigrant activities (Okamoto & Ebert, 2016).

I draw on these works and others and the citizenship literature (e.g. Bloemraad et al., 2019; Bosniak, 2000; Marshall, 1950) to provide a conceptual and operational definition of the term immigrant inclusion and immigrant exclusion. To begin, this dissertation conceives immigrant inclusion as multi-dimensional construct that contain the following three salient dimensions: rights, legal, and cultural. *Rights inclusion* as acts that grant or preserve civil, political, and social rights. *Legal inclusion* refers to actions that contribute to legal status or relief. *Cultural inclusion* is defined as actions that express cultural appreciation or acceptance of immigrant groups.

The literature also suggests that immigrant inclusion manifests at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. One strand of studies focus on immigrant inclusion at the micro-level. (see Abrego & Lakhani, 2015; Cebulko, 2018; Landolt & Goldring, 2015; Menjívar, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2014). These studies reference immigrant inclusion in terms of an immigrants' sense of belonging and rights in the community and their legality. Another strand of studies discuss immigrant inclusion in terms of how meso- and macro-level social actors such as immigration courts, cities, and states enact acts of immigrant inclusion and exclusion through deportation outcomes (Amuedo-Dorantes & Puttitanun, 2018; Asad, 2019; Kocher, 2017), policies (de Graauw, 2016).

In short, at the micro-level, immigrant inclusion is defined as the degree to which immigrants experience inclusion as it relates to their immigrant background, or in terms of their rights, legality, and culture. Indicators of immigrant inclusion can include gaining their legal status, being granted rights, or feeling accepted by the local community. At meso- and macro-levels, immigrant inclusion is defined as how meso- and macro-level entities (e.g. organizations, cities, counties, states) enact acts of immigrant inclusion. Examples include: A city enacts an

immigrant inclusion strategic plan, funds a legal defense fund to provide aid to residents at risk of deportation, or hosts a festival to promote the traditions of the local immigrant population. Table 3 presents how conceptualizations of immigrant inclusion vary based on the level of analytical observation.

Given this study is concerned with the degree to which cities are inclusive, it relies on the meso-level definition, which also suggests that it is necessary to sample meso-level units of analysis to avoid atomistic fallacy which occurs when we draw inferences among individuals to a group (e.g. if immigrants in the city exhibits high levels of immigrant inclusion, we draw the inference that the corresponding city is more inclusive towards immigrants).

Immigrant exclusion is defined as acts or qualities exhibited by meso-level entities that deprive immigrants of their rights, legal status, or cultural forms of inclusion. Aligning with immigration and legality studies (Abrego & Lakhani, 2015; Kubal, 2013; Menjívar, 2006; Prieto, 2018), this study takes the position that cities can be simultaneously inclusive and exclusionary at different degrees. In this way, inclusion and exclusion are dependent constructs that covary. A city scoring zero on an inclusion scale signifies a high level of immigrant exclusion.

Table 3. Immigrant inclusion conceptualization

	Legal inclusion	Rights inclusion	Cultural inclusion
Micro-level	*Conceptualization:* The degree to which an immigrant is legally included *Sample literature:* (Abrego & Lakhani, 2015; Kubal, 2013; Menjívar, 2006)	*Conceptualization :* The degree to which an immigrant has rights *Sample literature:* (Chand & Schreckhise, 2015; Critelli & Yalim, 2020; Kondo, 2012)	*Conceptualization :* The degree to which an immigrant feels accepted or included in a community *Sample literature:* (Cebulko, 2018; Rendón, 2015; Schwartz et al., 2014)
Meso- and macro-levels	*Conceptualization*: Actions by meso- and macro-level social actors that contribute to immigrant legal inclusion *Sample literature* (Chand & Schreckhise, 2015; Lustig et al., 2008; Mayblin & James, 2019; Nicholls, 2014; Wong & García, 2016)	*Conceptualization:* Actions enacted by meso- or macro-level social actors that contribute to immigrants' rights inclusion *Sample literature:* (Abamosa et al., 2020; de Graauw, 2014, 2015, 2016; Landolt & Goldring, 2015)	*Conceptualization:* Actions enacted by meso- or macro-level social actors that contribute to immigrant cultural inclusion *Sample literature:* (Bloemraad et al., 2019; Ejorh, 2011; Nichols et al., 2017; Okamoto & Ebert, 2016; Salami et al., 2019)

Methods

This study answers the following research questions: (1) What local contextual variables shape INO strategies? (2) How does local context shape INO strategies? (3) Do strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion; and (4) If so, are these differences statistically significant? To answer these questions, I employed convergent mixed methods research design which involved collecting qualitative and quantitative data and evaluating whether the data confirms or disconfirms each other.

To answer research questions one and two, I drew on qualitative interviews from the previous study chapters. This data source allowed for unearthing granular level processes and causal mechanisms that revealed the interrelations behind local context and strategies. This data source consisted of 30 interviews with INO practitioners operating in regions throughout the U.S. The sampling method was mostly purposeful and convenience sampling. To maximize sampling variation, I drew from select organizations from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS) [1] which houses descriptive data on registered U.S. INOs. I used the 2020 Business Master File (BMF) database[2], which at the time of the study, was the most recent available year. While studies have documented missing observations in this data base (Gleeson & Bloemraad, 2013), it is the most comprehensive list of INO currently available.

To be eligible for the interviews, the organization had to self-identify as an immigrant-serving nonprofit; The primary focus of the organization should be to serve immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, descendants of immigrants, and like populations in the U.S., and be active within the past two years. An INO was defined was an organization that serves, advocates for immigrants, or promote their cultural heritage or history. “Immigrant” referred to individuals

who are foreign born, irrespective of their legal status. This definition therefore encapsulated a range of INOs, including those that serve refugees, asylum seekers, permanent residents, undocumented, citizens, and individuals with temporary legal status. Organizations that served immigrants but were not immigrant mission focused were not eligible for the study (e.g. churches, universities, hospitals, homeless shelters.)

Interviews were conducted between October to December 2020 and lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. They were also recorded. I asked general questions to ascertain what they do and the strategies they employ (Appendix B). One interview was conducted in Spanish (see Spanish protocol Appendix C).[3] Given the interviews were conducted during Covid and some organizations were on a hiatus during this period, where applicable I asked them to reflect on strategies prior to Covid. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. To analyze the interviews, I identified excerpts that revealed the interrelations between local context on strategies. Relevant excerpts were loaded to Excel software and analyzed.

To answer research questions three and four, I employed survey design and quantitative content analysis. These quantitative methods were appropriate because they allowed for measuring differences in strategies across contexts and testing statistical significance. I created a strategy scale or survey to measure strategies (Appendix F). The scale allowed for testing whether INO strategies significantly differ across contexts. Specifically, it measured the frequency in which INOs employ different strategies. It was based upon the strategy typology presented in Sorrell-Medina (2022b). While this typology includes over 100 indicator variables, this study did not include all items in the survey because this may have adversely affected the completion rate due to response fatigue. Given only three variables are recommended to specify a construct (Bollen, 1989), I ensured that each meso-level strategy consisted of at least three

indicator variables. For example, to measure *legal services*, I asked the frequency in which the organization did the following: provide legal representation, legal education, bond services, naturalization, legal advice, and other. Frequency was measured on a Likert scale with each response receiving a numeric value: never (0), a few times a year (1), a few times a month (2), a few times a week (3), or daily (4). The survey consisted of 48 items in total, each tapping into a different meso-level strategy dimension. To avoid response fatigue, two strategies were not included in the survey: collaboration in services and collaboration in advocacy. Instead, collaboration in services and advocacy were collapsed.

Prior to implementing the scale, five expert reviewers reviewed it. The expert committee consisted of a committee of individuals who either had experience working at an INO or in survey design. The committee member was asked whether they understood the questions and how the questions could be improved to optimize respondent understanding.

The target population for the strategy scale were U.S. INOs, as previously defined. I considered organizations that were active during the time of data collection, or between or between 2019 to 2021. To construct the sample frame for the survey, I drew upon the NCCS database BMF file for the most recent year, which was 2020. To identify potentially eligible INOs in the BMF data file, I cleaned the data based on the study's criteria as explicated in Appendix D. Additionally, I created a more in-depth criteria of inclusion to screen the data on additional levels (Appendix G and H). Of the 13,333 organizations in the database, a total of 4,974 were identified as potential eligible INOs for the study.

The sampling method employed for the survey was stratified random sampling. This sampling strategy is appropriate when the researcher expect that observations will vary due to an underlying characteristic. Separating the groups into stratums based on the identified

characteristic produces more precise estimates compared to random sampling (Groves et al., 2009). I expected that strategies would vary based on the level of immigrant inclusion that the INO operated. To execute this sampling strategy, I divided the sample frame of 4,974 INOs into five immigrant inclusion stratums (very low, low, moderate, high, and very high).

One obstacle to stratifying 4,974 INOs into inclusion groups was that it called for knowing the degree of inclusion for 2,595 cities (the nonprofits in the sample frame spanned across 2,595 cities). There is no known source available that has this information. Hence, an alternative route was taken. Rather than examining INO strategies across all U.S. cities with INOs, I examined INO strategies in cities with a federal immigration court, for which there are 52 cities and 1,537 organizations operating in those cities in the NCCS BMF Master file (Appendix I). One advantage of examining INOs in cities with a federal immigration court was that immigration court outcomes (e.g. asylum rates) served as precise proxy variable for consistently measuring inclusion across contexts. Studies have found that outcomes such as asylum and deportation rates reflect the open or closed nature of the geographic context (Amuedo-Dorantes & Puttitanun, 2018; Chand et al., 2020).

To calculate the sample size needed for the national survey, I used Slovin formula. Based on the calculation (Appendix J), the total number of organizations needed for the study was at least 88. I sampled proportionate to population (Appendix K).

To recruit eligible organizations to complete the strategy scale, the following steps were taken. First, organizations were initially invited via email and Facebook to participate in the web-based survey (see recruitment material Appendix L-O). I explained the purpose of the study and outlined the eligibility criteria and benefits. Prospective organizations were given two-weeks to participate or respond to the initial invite. The second outreach was a reminder email and

Facebook outreach, and the final outreach was a phone call for organizations that had a phone number listed. Outreach occurred between November 2021 to May 2022.

To analyze the survey data, the following steps were taken. First, I cleaned it by removing units that were not eligible. This included organizations that did not meet the criteria and organizations that indicated eligibility but appeared to be fake survey responses. The total number of respondents were thus 66. To account for the multi-scalar nature of how strategies manifest conceptually, I grouped the indicator variables into meso-level and macro-level variables reflecting the strategy typology developed by Sorrell-Medina (2022). This was done by averaging the micro-level strategy scores associated with each meso-level strategy for each INO. Macro-level variables social services and advocacy were created by averaging the corresponding meso-level variables across the three years. Grouping data also allowed for examining divergences and convergences at different strategy levels across contexts. To evaluate whether strategies differed in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion, I examined descriptive statistics among INOs operating in each immigrant inclusion group. I tested whether differences were significant with the Kruskal Wallis test. This test was appropriate given the data was not normally distributed as confirmed with the Shapiro Wilk test. I tested for differences in cities with low and very high immigrant inclusion contexts.[4] Given the resulting data was zero-inflated, I conducted a separate analysis on observations with nonzero values to evaluate significance. This analysis simply tests whether there exist significant differences in the frequency in which INOs enact different strategies among the strategies that they do employ. Additionally, given immigrant inclusion explains 92% of the variance for variable *government*, I also examined how INO strategies diverge in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion as solely defined by local government inclusion outputs. This analysis allowed for holistically

understanding the interrelations behind local context and INO strategies. Lastly, I conducted a correlation analysis between confrontation strategy and immigrant inclusion to evaluate whether these two variables were correlated and to evaluate its directionality.

To further triangulate the data, I performed quantitative content analysis on a subsample of INO webpages (*n*=81) operating in select cities with very low to moderate levels of immigrant inclusion. Aside from data triangulation, this additional analysis allowed for comparing strategies in very low levels of immigrant inclusion, which was not represented in the survey data. The comparison cities were El Paso (low inclusion), Jacksonville (very low inclusion), Houston and Miami (moderate levels of immigrant inclusion). Although Jacksonville was not a city in the survey sample, its selection was driven by the fact the survey data did not reflect INO strategies in very low inclusion contexts. Additionally, the interview data included an INO that operated in Jacksonville. The inclusion of this city therefore allowed for a more robust analysis. The immigrant inclusion score for Jacksonville was calculated in the same manner as the other cities (score 1.3). It excluded the asylum indicator given there is no immigration court in Jacksonville.

The quantitative content analysis was conducted in 2023. I therefore used the most recent BMF data file (year 2022) to identify INOs. I used the same criteria of inclusion and exclusion to select organizations as the survey sample to filter organizations in the BMF data file. I analyzed eligible organizations in the sample frame and added additional INOs through a google search, which yielded 10 organizations for El Paso, 35 Houston, 17 Miami, and 17 for Jacksonville. In total, I analyzed 81 web pages across four cities. Category collaborative services and collaborative advocacy were collapsed given it was difficult to ascertain whether the INO performed collaboration in the implementation of advocacy versus social services activities.

Organizations not expressed in English were automatically translated with a Google web page translate extension.

The analysis of the web pages involved reading each website to identify their strategies. When the web page was not available, the Facebook page was used. I used Excel to analyze the data. Organizations that enacted a micro-level strategy relevant to a meso-level strategy code received a value of "1" for the corresponding meso-level strategy. Indeed, one limitation to using web page data is that it may not reflect the range of strategies that INOs employ. For example, INOs may enact protests and collaborate with other organizations but may not advertise these strategies on their web pages. Other strategies, such as cultural activities, social and legal services, and policy and administrative advocacy were observed in higher frequencies when analyzing the web page data. To account for this measurement errors, I only elaborate on strategies that were dominate in the findings. Unlike the survey which tests whether the frequency in which INOs enact different strategies differ across contexts, the web page analysis examines whether there the proportion of INOs in the city enacting different strategies (e.g. social services) significantly differed across contexts. The corresponding test was the two-sample Z-test for proportion. The null hypothesis for this test was that the two proportions are equal, or that the two groups of INOs come from the same population. The alternate hypothesis was that they aren't equal and that the organizations come from different populations.

Measuring immigrant inclusion in the city

To measure the degree to which U.S. cities are inclusive towards immigrants, I created a summative scale consisting of four indicator variables reflecting the city's immigrant inclusive environment.

The first variable (*government*) measured the degree to which the local government is inclusive towards immigrants. I chose this variable given studies highlight how the local government contributes to the city's inclusive environment (de Graauw, 2021; de Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016; Kim & Bozarth, 2021). Hence, variable *government* measured inclusion efforts that pertain to the local government. To identify appropriate variables for this measure, I drew from the aforementioned immigrant inclusion framework. Indicator variables that reflected rights, legal, and cultural dimensions were considered. These variables included: (1) whether the city has a translation option on their web page; (2) the city offers a language service or assistance to the community; (3) the city has an office, department, commission, task group or other formal entity that promotes diversity/cultural heritage; (4) equity or inclusion, (5) refugee and/or immigration affairs; (6) the city observes an immigrant or ethnic holiday outside of the mandated federal ones; (7) a policy or practice that provides deportation defense; (8) program providing access to all residents irrespective of their legal status with a community/resident ID card; and (9) the city funds legal services or has a legal defense fund for immigrants at risk for deportation. The city receives a value of "1" signaling the presence of any indicator and a value of "0" signaling the absence. The resulting score was between 0 to 8 with 0 representing lower levels of inclusion and 8 representing higher levels (Appendix P).

The second indicator variable of immigrant inclusion in the city was the city's foreign-born population (*foreign*). Studies show that high proportions of foreign-born individuals in the city helps to foster cultural inclusion such as cultural festivals, the creation of INOs, and ethnic businesses (Kim & Bozarth, 2021; Okamoto & Ebert, 2016). Variable *foreign* thus measured the proportion of foreign-born individuals in the city. It was constructed using American Community

Survey data and specifically foreign-born population estimates for the year 2019. Higher proportions reflected higher levels of inclusion in the city.

The third measure of immigrant inclusion was asylum rates (*asylum*). Although asylum rates are carried out by federal judges at immigration courts, studies suggest that asylum rates is a proxy variable for ascertaining the degree to which a geographic setting is inclusive towards immigrants (Amuedo-Dorantes & Puttitanun, 2018; Chand et al., 2017b). For example, courts nested in more inclusive context tend to have lower deportation rates and higher asylum grant rates. Hence, this study found it useful to incorporate asylum rates into the inclusion measure. It is based on the logic that cities with higher asylum rates will be more inclusive and settings with lower asylum rates are less inclusive. This assumption is tested by conducting a correlation analysis between the asylum rate and local government variables. The results demonstrate that there is strong and positive correlation between the local government inclusion score and federal court inclusion score (r=.52, p<.001). The results from the correlation thus support the inclusion of variable asylum rates as an indicator of a city's immigrant inclusion level. Data on asylum rates were obtained from TRAC immigration databases, a clearinghouse that provides aggregate level data on asylum rates[5] across 58 federal immigration courts since 2000. Immigration court adjudication outcomes were aggregated to the city level and averaged over a seven-year period (2014 to 2020). The averaged asylum rates were transformed on an eight-point scale similar to variable *foreign*. Higher rates of asylum corresponded with higher levels of inclusion.

The final measure of immigrant inclusion in the city was the presence of INOs. I include this variable because INO studies have long shown how INOs in the city contribute to the city's inclusive environment (de Graauw, 2016; de Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016; Sorrell-Medina, 2022). This variable is based on the total count of INOs in the city. To construct variable *INO*, I

calculated the total number INOs in the city as indicated in the NCCS Business Master File database. Given the data is skewed as some cities have more INOs than others, I took the log function which allowed for moderating the effect of large numbers of INOs in large cities. All four variables were transformed on the same eight-point scale.[6] To obtain the final inclusion score for the 52 cities, the four indicator variables were averaged.

To evaluate the validity of the immigrant inclusion scale, the reliability of the scale was examined with Cronbach alpha, resulting in a value of .71, which signifies high internal consistency among the items chosen. In addition, I performed confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). This method was chosen as opposed to principal components analysis given the study specifies immigrant inclusion as a reflexive construct in alignment with the study's framework. In the reflective measurement model, it is theorized that cities have underlying inclusive natures that will cause indicators of immigrant inclusion to manifest. Reflective measurement models is associated with CFA (Bollen, 1989; Coltman et al., 2008)[7]. I use the common criteria in (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Fit is considered adequate if the p-value associated with chi-square value is > .05, in which case we fail to reject the null hypothesis which indicates that the predicted model and observed model are equal. Another indicator of good model fit is if CFI value is > .90. The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) is an absolute index that examines closeness fit, revealing how much error there is for each degree of freedom. Values closer to 0 indicate a good fit. RMSEA is < .06. For the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR), fit is adequate if the value is <0.08. Based on these criteria, the specified measurement model yields a good model fit: X^2 = 5.39, p=.07., RMSEA =.18, CFI=.92, and SRMR = .07.

The equation goodness of fit furthermore tells us that the selected variables explain 92% of the variance in variable immigrant inclusion, as indicated by the r-square of .92. Latent

variable immigrant inclusion explains 7% of the variance in *foreign*; 91% of the variance in *government*; 29% in *asylum*; and 44% in *INO*.

Results

As it concerns the first research question, (What local contextual variables that shape INO strategies), the interview data reveal the following local contextual variables that shape INO strategies: (1) the attitudinal dispositions of immigrants; (2) their legal status; (3) and needs; (4) the infrastructure of support such resources; (5) local politicians and their degree of immigrant friendliness; (6) other organizations; (7) oppression; (8) segregation in the city; (9) ICE raids; and (10) local policies.

The following example reveals how local context shape strategies (research question two). In brief, the data suggests that the above entities and elements in the city either constrain or facilitate the enactment of certain strategies. The following example of a founder of an INO in Jacksonville. She wanted to start an organization that focused on policy advocacy but ended up doing cultural activities:

> There were several organizations that she really tried to get in touch with and to partner with through her advocacy organization, but she wasn't able to, because they considered her work as being too political. And we're talking about Jacksonville, which is, you know, pretty conservative. So she was rejected like that every time.[8]

This quote sheds light on how INOs in the city can have closed natures and present constraints that shape INO strategies. The quantitative content analysis of INOs in Jacksonville furthermore shed light on this constraining process. It shows that cultural activities is the most dominate strategy among INOs in the city (table 4). Policy advocacy was of the least dominate strategy. Similarly, INOs in El Paso employed less policy advocacy compared to Houston (table 5).

The next example reveals the role of local politicians, the local immigrant population attitudinal dispositions and their legal status in shaping INO strategies. The interviewee reflected on strategies among the INO and their members in Los Angeles versus Sacramento:

> In LA, undocumented folks would be like, I'm a document on afraid and I'm unapologetic, and I'm taking over the street, who's with me, let's hold hands, and the street is now blocked. But in in Northern California, in Sacramento, where I've spent quite some time, folks are like I'm undocumented, I'm very afraid. Don't tell nobody. Please get out of the street before we get arrested. And it's just the culture. In Los Angeles, everyone tries to be a [an immigrant rights] champion, but like a real champion. Northern a California there's a lot of talking points. Folks are still a little shaky.[9]

This example reveals how ICE activities in the city shape INO strategies. The volunteer articulated how the organization was able to prevent an undocumented person from deportation by holding a protest in Boston (high inclusion context). It also sheds light on how there are other environmental factors in the city, such the size of the city and networks, that enhances the effectiveness of organizational strategies:

> They were coming to get him and he, you know, the word went out. They (other INOs and immigrant activists) were so fast on Facebook, they were like, happening now, if you can get in the car and get here, you know, so people showed up at the address, and stood between ICE and this man and he didn't get arrested…Boston is a small city compared to New York, LA, and San Francisco. Here, activists know each other.[10]

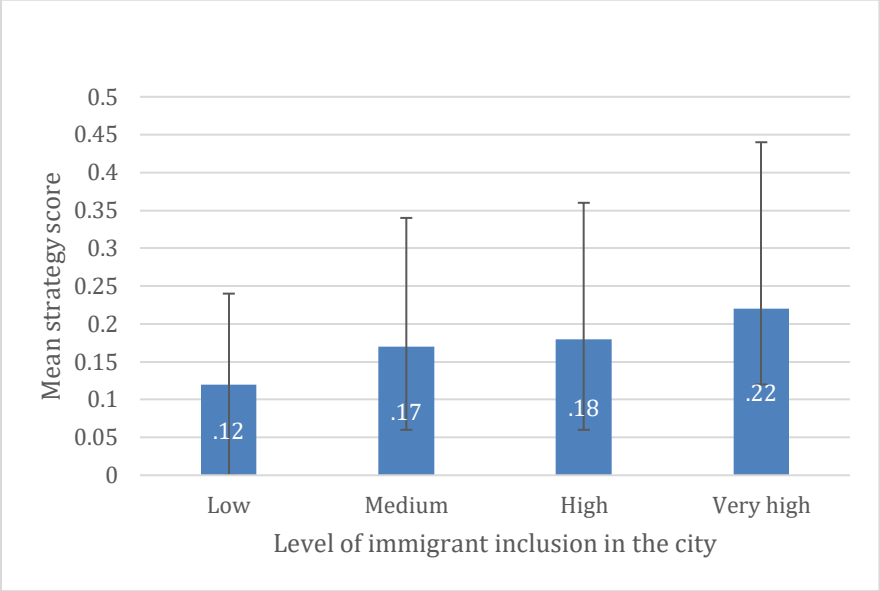
In short, the interviews show that there are several local contextual factors that shape INO strategies. In general, the common theme is that these entities have open and closed, or inclusionary and exclusionary qualities that either invite or preclude INOs from acting certain strategies.

Regarding research questions three, results from the survey and content analysis confirm that the frequency in which INOs enact different strategies differ across immigrant inclusion contexts. For example, in examining macro-level strategies advocacy and social services, results revealed that the average frequency in which INOs employed social and advocacy between 2019

to 2021 increased as the level of immigrant inclusion in the city increased. This trend tapered off in cities with very high levels of immigrant inclusion, as exhibited in tables 6 and 7. These results also reveal that INOs employ more social services than advocacy strategies ($\mu_{service}$ =.57; $\mu_{advocacy}$ =.53). In examining meso-level strategies, a similar trend is revealed in the data. Specifically, for most strategies, INOs employed a higher frequency of strategies as the level of immigrant inclusion in the city increased. This trend tapered off in cities with very high level of immigrant inclusion. Table 8 provides a snapshot of this relationship for the year 2019.

Additionally, the relationship between strategies and a city's immigrant inclusion contexts can differ at different strategy levels. For example, although the frequency in confrontation was higher in cities with low levels of inclusion compared to medium levels of immigrant inclusion as indicated in table 8, this relationship differed at the micro-level as shown in table 9. For example, the frequency in which INOs enact protests increases as the level of immigrant inclusion in the city increase (figure 1). The results from the Spearman correlation also shows that the relationship between the frequency in protests (year 2019) and a city's level of immigrant inclusion is positive but insignificant (r_s=.12, p=.32). This finding echoes the interview data, which finds that exclusionary contexts preempt protests from emerging.

Figure 1. Frequency of protests enacted by INOs in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion for year 2019



Concerning research question four (Are these differences statistically significant?), results from the Kruskal Wallis test show that the only strategies that significantly differed across local contexts are meso-level strategies cultural activities and policy advocacy (p=.02). To elaborate, in 2021, the differences between the rank totals for cultural activities for groups low (160.00), medium (889.50), high (407.50), and very high (763.00) were significant (p=.02). For INOs employing policy advocacy, the frequency in which they employ this strategy significantly differ across contexts with different levels of local government inclusion. The general trend across all three years was that INOs operating in cities with high levels of immigrant inclusion as defined by the local government demonstrate the highest level of policy advocacy. To illustrate, in 2021, the differences between the rank totals of for categories low (90.00), medium (103.00), high (51.50), and very high (161.50) were significant (p=.02). The analysis of web page analysis further confirms this finding. It shows that INOs operating in the more inclusive city (Houston

and Miami) expressed policy advocacy as a strategy at a significantly higher rate compared to the less inclusive comparison city (El Paso and Jacksonville) (see tables 5 and 6).

Discussion

This study aimed to better understand the interrelations between a city's immigrant inclusion environment and the strategies that INOs employ. The following research questions were investigated: (1) What local contextual variables shape INO strategies? (2) How does local context shape INO strategies? (3) Do strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion; and (4) Are these differences statistically significant? I employed mixed methods convergent research design. Data sources included INO surveys, interviews, and content analysis of organizational web page data.

The first research finding identifies several local contextual variables that shape INO strategies. Several of these variables are articulated in the literature, such as the attitudinal dispositions of immigrants and their legal status (Jasper, 2011), the city's infrastructure of support and resources (Nicholls, 2021a), and local politics (Nicholls, 2021a). Less articulated in the literature is the role of other organizations influencing the strategies that INOs employ, as articulated with isomorphism theory (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The Jacksonville case provide support for the coercive isomorphism by showing that organizations are influenced by other organizations. Other local contextual variables influencing INO strategies are federal government entities, such as ICE.

The second finding highlights how a city's immigrant inclusion context shape INO strategies. The results from the interviews suggest that the city's immigrant inclusion environment provide opportunities and constraints on the INO strategy selection process as

reflected in political opportunity theory (Eisinger, 1973; Tilly, 1995). Constraints reduce the repertoire of strategies that INOs can choose from, as illustrated in the Jacksonville and Sacramento examples. The latter example reveals how INOs reproduce the city's exclusionary environment through processes reflected in coercive isomorphism, which occurs when organizations experience external pressure and expectations among other organizations. In contrast, the Boston and Los Angeles examples show how local contextual factors such immigrant-friendly politicians and policies and dense activist networks provide opportunities for INOs to enact a wider range of strategies such as protests.

Finding three shows that INO strategies differ across contexts with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion. The general trend is that the frequency in strategies increase as the level of immigrant inclusion in the city increases. The trend tapers off at the high level of immigrant inclusion. For example, in line with the literature, this study finds that as the level of immigrant inclusion increases, the frequency in protests increases. The finding also echoes political opportunity theory and qualitative studies that maintain that inclusive contexts are positively related to confrontational strategies, mobilizations, activism and like variables (Nicholls, 2014, 2021b; Nicholls & de Wilde, 2023). Notably, other studies espouse the opposite, highlighting how confrontational strategies are associated with more exclusionary contexts (e.g. de Graauw, 2015; Kondo, 2012). This contradiction could be due to how analysts define open and closed contexts and inclusion in the city; the need for analysts to take a measurement approach to the study of inclusion in the city and INO strategies to precisely gauge differences; and to account for the multi-scalar nature of strategies to better understand divergences and divergences across contexts. To illustrate how these factors can affect the study's results, the following example is given. De Graauw (2015) reasoned that INOs in New York engaged in more confrontational

strategies where the local government was more closed compared to San Francisco, where local government was more open. Yet in this study New York had a higher overall immigrant inclusion score (7.25) compared to San Francisco (6.75) even though both cities scored similarly on the local government immigrant inclusion levels. That is not to say that de Graauw's interpretation of New York as more closed government structure compared to San Francisco government is invalid. Rather, it reflects the need for the literature to adopt a standard measure of immigrant inclusion in the city when making comparisons across cities.

Moreover, this study found that the relationship between strategies differ at different strategy levels across contexts, like Nicholls and colleagues (Nicholls et al., 2016). The frequency in which INOs employ confrontation is higher in low inclusion contexts compared to medium level inclusion contexts. But it does not necessarily follow that this relationship applies to all the corresponding indicator variables associated with the variable. As illustrated with strategy protests, the frequency in which INOs employ this strategy is the lowest in low inclusion contexts. All in all, this study suggests that future analysts examining how strategies differ across local contexts should employ a measurement approach to allow for precisely ascertaining differences across strategy levels.

Lastly, when we test for whether strategies significantly differ across local contexts, the survey data reveals that the only strategies that significantly differ across contexts were cultural activities and policy advocacy. The web page data did not capture significant differences with confrontational strategy, which is probably because INOs may not advertise this strategy on their web page. One reason is possibly because of measurement error, in terms of how confrontation is measured. The corresponding question asks for the respondent to report on the frequency in which the INO engaged in protests. Possibly responses were never, a few times a year, month,

week, daily. A better measure would have been to ask INOs to report the number of protests they engaged in the recent year. A continuous variable may have yielded better precision and statistical power to detect differences across groups.

In terms of future research, future studies can examine how the range of local contextual variables this study identifies contribute to INO strategies. Future research can, and should, expand on the immigrant inclusion framework to better understand how immigrant inclusion manifests as a construct. This is important given the term has yet to be defined in scholarship.

This study has several limitations. For example, the web page data do not allow for holistically understanding the range of strategies that INOs employ. INOs do not report everything that they do on their web page. They are likely to report salient strategies. Therefore, some strategies were not captured in the analysis and may be subject to measurement error. Results reporting the former strategies in the web page analysis should therefore be interpreted with caution. Another limitation is that the selection of cities was purposeful and not random. This potentially gives rise to the generalizability of the results to the entire U.S. immigrant-serving nonprofit sector, especially if INOs significantly differ cities in cities with a federal immigration court compared to those in cities without a court. Future research intending to examine this relationship can address this potential limitation by randomizing the selection of U.S. cities with INOs.

Notes

1. https://nccs-data.urban.org/data.php?ds=misc
2. https://nccs-data.urban.org/data.php?ds=bmf
3. The author is fluent in Spanish.
4. Given the few number of INOs in the very low context eligible for the study (n=2), and the total number that completed the survey (n=1), the category was collapsed with the low category to allow for a more meaningful analysis.

5. https://trac.syr.edu/phptools/immigration/asylum/
6. To transform the indicator variable on an eight-point scale, the minimum and maximum values in the sample were calculated and divided by nine. Dividing it by nine allowed for grouping the two values into eight groups. These eight groups were then assigned values from 0 to 8 to create an eight-point scale. For instance, cities with a foreign-born population of 0 receives a score of zero; between 0 to 0.065 receives a value of 1; and between 0.066 to .131 receives a value of 2, and so forth.
7. In a reflexive measurement model, causality flows from the construct to the observed indicators as statistically represented in the following equation: $x= \mathbf{\Lambda}_x \xi + \boldsymbol{\delta}$. Whereby x is a q x 1 vector of observed indicators representing the dependent variable of the survey items. $\mathbf{\Lambda}_x$ is q x n matrix containing γ parameters, representing the structural coefficients that link the latent construct to the observed variables. ξ is n x 1 vector of exogenous factor. $\boldsymbol{\delta}$ is q x 1 vector of random variables. In the formative model, causality flows from the indicators to construct. A formative measurement model indicates a theoretical relationship wherein the indicators cause the construct to form, as denoted with the following equation: $\eta = \gamma_1 x_1 + \gamma_2 x_2 + \gamma_n x_n + \zeta$. Here, η is the latent variable which is defined by a linear function of observed variables which are assumed to be uncorrelated.
8. Interview with INO founder on 10/29/2020.
9. Interview with INO policy manager on 10/29/20.
10. Interview with volunteer on 11/1/2020.

Table 4. Comparison of meso-level strategies in Miami versus Jacksonville

Miami versus Jacksonville	Miami (n=17)	Jacksonville (n=17)	Pooled proportion	Z-Score	P-Value
Social	0.06	0.41	0.21	-2.52	0.01
Legal	0.12	0.18	0.14	-0.50	0.61
Policy advocacy	0.12	0.00	0.06	1.46	0.14
Faith organizing	0.00	0.00	0.00	-	-
Administrative advocacy	0.12	0.00	0.06	1.46	0.14
Cultural activities	0.29	0.59	0.41	-1.75	0.08
Public education	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.00	1
Strategic issue framing	0.00	0.00	0.00	-	-
Community participation	0.06	0.00	0.03	1.02	0.32
Confrontation	0.00	0.00	0.00	-	-
Collaborate	0.06	0.12	0.08	-0.63	0.32

Table 5. Comparison of meso-level strategies in Houston versus El Paso

Houston versus El Paso	Houston (n=35)	El Paso (n=12)	Pooled proportion	Z-Score	P-Value
Social	0.37	0.67	0.447	-1.775	0.08
Legal	0.17	0.42	0.234	-1.731	0.08
Policy advocacy	0.17	0.08	0.149	0.740	0.45
Faith organizing	0.03	0.08	0.043	-0.811	0.41
Administrative advocacy	0.11	0.08	0.106	0.300	0.76
Cultural activities	0.23	0.33	0.255	-0.718	0.47
Public education	0.17	0.17	0.170	0.038	0.97
Strategic issue framing	0.00	0.00	0.000	-	-
Community participation	0.17	0.08	0.149	0.740	0.45
Confrontation advocacy	0.03	0.08	0.043	-0.811	0.41
Collaborate	0.03	0.08	0.043	-0.811	0.41

Table 6. Estimated average social services implemented by INOs between 2019, 2020, and 2021

Level of immigrant inclusion in the city	Nh INOs in the frame	Wh Proportion of the population	Nh stratum sample size	Fh Stratum sample fraction	Yh Estimated mean social services	Weighted Mean	Standard error	Lower bound	Upper bound
Low	65	0.09	8	0.12	0.37	0.03	0.19	0.01	0.77
Medium	313	0.43	28	0.09	0.56	0.2	0.12	0.4	0.94
High	173	0.24	12	0.07	0.70	0.2	0.26	0.24	1.41
Very high	175	0.24	18	0.10	0.52	0.1	0.14	0.28	1.07
	726	1.00	66			0.57			

Table 7. Estimated average advocacy implemented by INOs between 2019, 2020, and 2021

Level of immigrant inclusion in the city	Nh INOs in the frame	Wh Proportion of the population	Nh stratum sample size	Fh Stratum sample fraction	Yh Estimated mean advocacy	Weighted Mean	Standard error	Lower bound	Upper bound
Low	65	0.09	8	0.12	0.32	0.0	0.07	0.15	0.5
Medium	313	0.43	28	0.09	0.52	0.2	0.08	0.34	0.69
High	173	0.24	12	0.07	0.60	0.1	0.22	0.11	1.09
Very high	175	0.24	18	0.10	0.55	0.1	0.12	0.29	0.81
	726	1.00	66			0.53			

Table 8. Mean strategy scores for meso-level strategies in 2019

Level of inclusion	Legal services	Social services	Policy advocacy	Faith organizing	Administrative advocacy	Cultural activities	Public education	Community participation	Confrontation
Low	0.36	0.34	0.05	0.09	0.16	0.56	0.42	1.10	0.11
Medium	0.48	0.71	0.31	0.44	0.29	0.89	0.77	1.07	0.09
High	0.55	0.99	0.73	0.66	0.56	0.84	0.75	0.83	0.17
Very High	0.48	0.74	0.50	0.25	0.49	1.21	0.61	0.89	0.18

Table 9. Mean strategy scores for micro-level variables associated with confrontational advocacy in 2019

	Micro-level variables associated with confrontational advocacy			
	Host protest, rallies, strike, or demonstrations	Civil disobedience	File lawsuit	Submit civil rights complaint
Inclusion Level	Mean strategy scores across contexts			
Low	0.12	0	0	0.38
Medium	0.17	0.11	0.04	0.04
High	0.18	0.08	0.17	0.25
Very high	0.22	0.11	0.17	0.17

CHAPTER 5 Conclusion

This three-study dissertation examined the relationship between nonprofits, immigrant exclusion, and immigrant inclusion. The following questions were investigated across three empirical studies:

1. Does citizenry exclusion motivate INO emergence?
2. How do INOs contribute to immigrant inclusion outcomes?
3. What local contextual variables shape INO strategies?
4. How does local context shape INO strategies?
5. Do strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion?
6. Are these differences statistically significant?

To answer these questions, I drew from several literatures including nonprofit, immigrant-serving nonprofit, social movements, and citizenship literatures. Methods used included interviews, survey design, and quantitative content analysis.

Summary of Findings

The first study investigated whether citizenry exclusion explains INO emergence. I developed citizenry exclusion theory to explain the causal process behind these two variables. Results reveal that of the 28 organizations in the sample, 26 formed due to citizenry exclusion according to the interviewees. When asked to elaborate on the organization's founding history, 16 interviewees cited factors related to legal status exclusion, 5 cultural exclusion, and 8 anti-

immigration policy/rights exclusion. Some organizations cited more than one type of citizenry exclusion as a basis for their emergence. All hypothesized explanatory variables in the citizenry exclusion theory emerged in the data. One unexpected finding was that Covid moderated, or amplified, the effects of citizenry exclusion on INO emergence. There were also temporal effects of citizenry exclusion on INO emergence.

While the first study establishes that INOs emerge or form due to citizenry exclusion, the second study identified over 100 strategies that INOs employ that contribute to immigrant inclusion outcomes. These strategies are presented in a strategy typology, which reflects the multi-dimensional and multi-nature of how strategies manifest as a construct. The interview data further reveal that the link between strategies and immigrant inclusion is complex. For one, immigrant inclusion outcomes are a function of several strategies that manifest across time. Moreover, the relationship between INO strategies and their immigrant inclusion outcomes are direct and indirect. Some strategies appear to interact with each other, which possibly augments the effects of the immigrant inclusion outcome.

The final study aimed to better understand the interrelations behind local context and INO strategies. I investigated the following questions: What local contextual variables shape INO strategies? How does local context shape INO strategies? Do strategies differ in cities with disparate levels of immigrant inclusion? If so, are these differences statistically significant? Results show that there are multiple local contextual variables in the city that shape INO strategies. These various actors and institutions present constraints and opportunities that diminish or invite INOs to employ different strategies. Strategies do differ in some cities. Some strategies (e.g. cultural activities, policy advocacy) significantly differ across contexts.

Moreover, inclusionary context is positively associated with protests, which is in line with political opportunity theory.

Theoretical and empirical implications

This dissertation has theoretical and empirical implications. In terms of theory, this work develops a new nonprofit theory—citizenry exclusion theory—that explains why INOs emerge. Citizenry exclusion expands nonprofit theories by identifying a critical variable that explains nonprofit emergence overlooked in present theories. It is also the first known theory in the INO literature. Another theoretical contribution of this work is it provides support for political opportunity and isomorphism theories. Although the data does not test these theories, it provides ample evidence in support of several theoretical propositions in understanding the processes behind INOs.

An empirical contribution of this work is that it develops a strategy typology that expands upon the previous strategy in the INO literature. To elaborate, de Graauw (2016) developed a three-part typology identifying three strategies contributing to the enactment of local inclusive policy and immigrants' rights: administrative advocacy, cross-sectoral partnerships, and strategic issue framing. The strategy typology I developed here covers nine additional strategies contributing to two additional types of immigrant inclusion outcomes.

This study also enhances conceptual understandings of the term *immigrant inclusion*. Previous studies use the term inclusion in the context of immigrants an assortment of ways without advancing a conceptualization or operationalization of the term (e.g. Bean et al., 2012; Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012; Gonzalez Benson & Pimentel Walker, 2021; Okamoto & Ebert, 2016; Sainsbury, 2012; Vermeulen, 2005). The lack of an agreed definition of the term

immigrant inclusion in scholarship can lead to skewed understanding of immigrant inclusion processes. In this dissertation I synthesize the literature and propose a conceptualize framework and operational definition of what this term means. Specifically, I theorize that immigrant inclusion is a multi-dimensional construct that manifests at the micro-, meso-, and macro-levels. I also provide definitions at each level and across dimensions.

By defining immigrant inclusion, this study brings to the forefront that the terms immigrant inclusion and integration are separate constructs and should not be conflated. Yet scholars of immigration studies overlap the terms when they use the term *immigrant integration policies* to refer to policies that promote indicators of immigrant inclusion, such as immigrants' rights (e.g. de Graauw, 2016; de Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016; Nicholls, 2019).

Immigrant integration refers to the process by which immigrants and host societies resemble one other, as indicated by variables such as language, education, income, and neighborhood attainment (Bean et al., 2015; de Graauw & Bloemraad, 2012). In contrast, immigrant inclusion occurs when an entity enacts an act that aim to promote immigrants' rights, legalization, or culture (meso-level definition). It also refers to the degree to which an immigrant feels included, as manifested across the aforementioned dimensions (micro-level definition).

Empirical evidence furthermore suggests that immigrant inclusion and immigrant integration are separate constructs. For example, in their study on the integration of Mexicans and their descendants, Bean and colleagues show that legal inclusion was a necessary condition for Mexican integration (Bean et al., 2015).

In brief, this study calls attention for the need for researchers to replace the immigrant integration term with immigrant inclusion term when referencing policies that aim to promote immigrants' rights, legalization, and cultural acceptance, and other indicators of inclusion to

avoid conceptual and empirical confusion and to prevent obfuscating the processes behind the two terms.

This study also opens the door to future research. For example, nonprofit theories can be refined considering citizenry exclusion theory. Analysts can test citizenry exclusion theory on a larger sample of INOs. Future work can evaluate its robustness on other organizational types that serve populations that experience citizenry exclusion. Although a micro-level theory, citizenry exclusion theory can be scaled up to explain nonprofit emergence at the meso- and macro-levels. At these levels of analysis, citizenry exclusion theory predicts that the share of individuals in the populace that experience high degrees of citizenry exclusion will be positively correlated with INO size, density, and growth in a particular region, ceteris paribus. Such a study can be relevant for scholars and practitioners alike given the size of a region's INO sector is positively correlated with immigrant inclusion outcomes, such as DACA (Wong & García, 2016) and asylum rates (Chand et al., 2020).

The nonprofit strategy typology and immigrant inclusion conceptual framework this study developed provides the methodological tools for future analysts to answer future research questions concerning INOs, immigrant inclusion, and immigrant exclusion. This can be achieved by converting the frameworks into empirical scales. Moreover, the immigrant inclusion framework this study develops can be applied to future studies to better understand inclusion and exclusion beyond the immigrant case. For example, future studies can apply the framework to understand what inclusion looks like for other marginalized groups.

Relevancy for planning, policy, and nonprofit practice

This dissertation is relevant for local governments, planners, nonprofit practitioners, social workers, and other professionals working with immigrant populations. The diversification cities,

suburbs, and rural communities in American society alongside internal and international migration challenges and invites us to become more adept at working with diverse populations. Some communities have taken steps towards immigrant inclusion. For example, in 2017, the city and county Los Angeles along with philanthropic partners created the LA Justice Fund providing legal immigration defense to the community. Cities are implementing community I.D. cards to residents, irrespective of their legal status. Several U.S. cities are adopting immigrant inclusion plans. Cities and counties (e.g. San Francisco, New Haven, Broward county) have implemented community I.D. cards providing all residents irrespective of their legal status access to city services and a sense of belonging. As of 2023, 15 municipalities allow noncitizens to vote in local elections.

Yet the fight towards inclusion is never ending. Political philosopher Walzer (1983) made the poignant point that as long as we have members and nonmembers, inclusion and exclusion will always exist. In other words, as long citizenship exists and we do not live in a global state, we will always have exclusion. While this dissertation does not offer insights on how to eliminate exclusion, it provides useful tools that nonprofits, policy makers, local governments, planners, and social workers can consider in striving for communities that are more inclusive towards immigrants.

One key practical contribution this study makes is its inclusion framework, which can be beneficial to nonprofits, urban planners, immigrant rights' activists, policy makers, social workers, and other practitioners. For example, my immigrant inclusion scale was implemented in 2020 in the State of Florida to evaluate the degree to which cities in Florida are inclusive towards immigrants and to develop an immigrant inclusion blueprint.[1]

The inclusion framework also urges practitioners to think about inclusion as multi-dimensional. That is, there are several categories of inclusion. Additionally, inclusion and exclusion occur simultaneously. For example, cities can be culturally inclusive by promoting immigrant heritage, but lacking in other dimensions of inclusion, such as rights and legal inclusion. Hence, when it comes to evaluating inclusion, analysts should consider the various dimensions of inclusion to make a holistic assessment.

Moreover, definitions and understandings of inclusion vary at the micro- and meso-/macro-levels. For instance, immigrants in the city can perceive that the city is not culturally inclusive (inclusion conceptualized at the individual level). Yet city officials may have launched efforts to promote cultural inclusion. Given understandings of inclusion can diverge at different levels of analysis, this dissertation suggests that future work seeking to measure inclusion can consider this reality by sampling across levels.

In sum, my dissertation advances the nonprofit, immigrant-serving nonprofit, and immigration literatures. I hope that my dissertation will have an impact on policy and practice and the lives of immigrants, their descendants, and other marginalized communities.

Notes

1. https://welcominggainesville.wordpress.com/2021/06/21/the-state-of-florida-inclusion-expo-june-25th-and-26th-100pm-500pm-est/

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Appendix A: Interview recruitment email

To whom this may concern:

My name is Zayda Sorrell-Medina and I am a Ph.D. student at the University of California, Irvine (UCI). I would like to invite your organization to be part of a UCI research study that examines how immigrant serving nonprofits serve their constituent population. I am requesting to interview you or a member of your team who is knowledgeable about the organization's programs and services. The interview will be about 45 minutes to an hour and can be over the phone or via Zoom online platform.

The eligibility criteria for the study is the following:

1. Organization is a 501 (c) 3 nonprofit
2. Organization self-identifies as an immigrant-serving nonprofit or immigrant nonprofit
3. The focus and mission of the organization is to serve the immigrant community and/or their descendants. An immigrant is defined here as a foreign-born person irrespective of legal status (e.g. asylum seeker, refugees, undocumented persons, persons on temporary status, etc).
4. Organization provide support to immigrants in the US. It is okay if the organization also operates in another country, as long as the service area includes the US
5. Organization is currently active or was active in the past 18 months at the time of the invitation

Please note that all information gathered will be kept confidential. No individual's name will be directly associated with any response. Only summarized information will be reported. Your participation in this interview is critical to the success of this project. If you or a member of your organization would like to participate, simply respond to this email so that we can coordinate a date for the interview. Thank you in advance and I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Zayda Sorrell-Medina
Department of Urban and Planning and Public Policy
University of California, Irvine

Appendix B: Interview questionnaire (English)

About the interviewee

What is your official title at [name of organization]?

How long have you been involved there?

Organization background

Can you tell me about your organization's history and founding story?

What is the current community or social need that your organization address?

What cities or regions do you all serve?

Would you define your organization as local, national international?

How many volunteer and employees does your organization have?

Are you a membership-based organization? If yes, how many members do you all have?

What demographic of people does your organization primarily engage? (*e.g. the target population)*

What demographic of people benefit from your services?

What proportion of people benefit from your organization who are foreign born immigrants? Descendent of immigrants?

Roughly how many immigrants/descendants does your organization serve in a given year?

About organizations' activities

This next set of questions is about your organizations' programs and services that are targeted to the immigrant community.

Can you tell me about your organization's programs and services *(as it relates to helping the immigrant community and/or their descendants)*

How do you see your activities helping the immigrant community and/or their descendants?

Does your organization advocate for immigrants? If yes, what does your advocacy efforts look like? (e.g. community education, represent the voice of immigrant community, policy work).

Does the organization engage in cultural activities?

What would you say distinguishes your organization from other organizations in the community?

Does your organization collaborate with other entities to carry out activities? This refers to, for example, collaborations with local, federal, foreign governments and other organization.

What does your constituent population gain from your organization's service and/or advocacy efforts? *(Where do you see this leading to?)*

What are 2 things that your organization does that you would say are the most absolutely critical in impacting the immigrant community?

Impact

Can you tell me a success story that illustrates the impact of your organization?

Vision

What does your organization hope to achieve in the work that it is doing? What is the ultimate vision?

Impact of COVID-19

The last question is related to how COVID-19 may have affected your organization.

Has your organizations been affected by COVID-19? If yes, how? (elaborate on services and advocacy efforts).

Has there been any financial impact with COVID-19?

Is there anything else you would like to add that we haven't touched upon?

Appendix C: Interview recruitment email (Spanish)

Acerca del entrevistado

- ¿Cual es tu titulo oficial en [] organización?
- ¿Cuanto tiempo llevas allí?

Antecedentes de la organización

¿Puede hablarme de la historia de su organización y como fue fundado?

¿Cuál es la necesidad actual de la comunidad o la sociedad que aborda su organización?

¿Cuales ciudades o regiones sirve la organización?

¿Definiría su organización como local, nacional internacional?

¿Cuántos voluntarios y empleados tiene su organización?

¿Es la organización basada en la membresía? En caso afirmativo, ¿cuántos miembros tiene?

¿En qué grupo demográfico de personas participa principalmente su organización? (por *ejemplo, la población objetivo)*

¿Qué demografía de las personas se benefician de sus servicios?

¿Qué proporción de personas se benefician de su organización que son inmigrantes nacidos en el extranjero? ¿Descendiente de inmigrantes?

Aproximadamente, ¿cuántos inmigrantes/descendientes sirve su organización en un año determinado?

Actividades

Este siguiente conjunto de preguntas es acerca de los programas y servicios de sus organizaciones que están dirigidos a la comunidad inmigrante.

¿Puede hablarme de los programas y servicios de su organización *(en lo que se refiere a* ayudar *a* la *comunidad inmigrante* y / o *sus descendientes)*

¿Cómo ve sus actividades ayudando a la comunidad inmigrante y/o a sus descendientes?

¿Su organización aboga por los inmigrantes? En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo son sus esfuerzos de promoción? (por ejemplo, la educación comunitaria, representar la voz de la comunidad inmigrante, el trabajo político).

¿La organización participa en actividades culturales?

¿Qué diría que distingue a su organización de otras organizaciones de la comunidad?

¿Colabora su organización con otras entidades para llevar a cabo actividades? Esto se refiere, por ejemplo, a las colaboraciones con gobiernos locales, federales, extranjeros y otras organizaciones.

¿Qué obtiene su población constituyente con los esfuerzos de servicio y/o promoción de su organización? *(¿A dónde ves que esto conduce a?)*

¿Cuáles son las 2 cosas que su organización hace que usted diría que son las más críticas para impactar a la comunidad inmigrante?

Impacto

¿Puede contarme una historia de éxito que ilustre el impacto de su organización?

Visión

¿Qué espera lograr su organización en el trabajo que está haciendo? ¿Cuál es la visión definitiva?

Impacto del COVID-19

La última pregunta está relacionada con cómo COVID-19 puede haber afectado a su organización.

¿Sus organizaciones se han visto afectadas por COVID-19? En caso afirmativo, ¿cómo? (elaborar los servicios y los esfuerzos de promoción).

¿Ha sido impactado financieramente por la COVID-19?

¿Hay algo más que quieras añadir que no hayamos tocado?

Appendix D: Criteria of inclusion for selecting organizations in the NCCS BMF data file

Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Have an immigrant related classification in IRS activity code: The IRS activity code classifies organizations based upon their activities. Variable NTEEFINAL is filtered on the following codes: A23 (Cultural and ethnic awareness); R21 (Immigrant rights); R22 (Minority rights); Q71 (International migration and refugee issues); M23 (Search & Rescue Squads); P84 (Ethnic and immigrant centers)	**Out of scope entity:** In scope organizations operate in the US as indicated with filter OUTNCCS = OUT
Be in scope: The organization must operate in the US. Filter on variable OUTNCCS must = IN	**Immigrant related title / mission/vision statement but:** • Is a missionary whose target population is oversees and not the US • Is a missionary that is potentially inactive
Have an immigrant related name or mission statement: Organizations must have an immigrant related indicator in title or mission/vision statements (e.g. Refugee, asylum, Latino, newcomers, non-English speakers, Spanish-speaker, international community, migration, human rights); or 2. Title mentions a particular region or culture outside of the US excluding Native and African Americans (German, Chinese, African, Polish, Hispanic, Arab); or 3. Title is in a foreign language with the exception of Native American languages. All titles with the word "India" are only included if it refers to Asian Indian and not Native American Indian as verified in title, website or Facebook page.	**Nonimmigrant related title or mission statement including:** • African American organizations as indicated with the titles Black (unless specifying region outside of the US such as Africa or the Caribbean) as indicated with words African-American, African American, Afro-American • Native American organizations as indicated with following indicators in title: Native American, American Indian, Tribe or Tribes or Tribal (plus second indicator), Cherokee, Tribal, Pow Wow, Gaming, Navajo • Other types of American organizations as indicated with titles including Hawaiian and Creole American as indicated with indicators: Hulu, Cajun, Puerto Rican • Nativists organizations (e.g. Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West) • Churches as indicated with the title "Church" or "New Testament" • Education associations as indicated with indicators: education association, education foundation (unless also has an immigrant indicator in title.) • National organizations that have no immigrant related indicators in title (Questers Inc, American Federation of State County & Municipal Employees, American Federation for Teachers

Appendix E: Point of saturation for each meso-level strategy code

Meso-level code	Saturation
Legal services	26.14
Social services	27.10
Collaborative services	27.67
Policy advocacy	25.80
Faith organizing	21.92
Administrative advocacy	24.09
Cultural activities	23.47
Public education	17.42
Strategic issue framing	19.27
Community participation	23.74
Confrontational advocacy	25.86
Collaborative advocacy	21.79

Appendix F: INO strategy scale

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

1. What is the name of your organization?

2. What is your email address or the email address of the organization?

3. **Does your organization meet the following eligibility criteria to participate in the survey:**

- The mission or main purpose of your organization is (was) immigrant related. Examples include: To serve immigrants or their descendants, to advocate on their behalf, or promote their cultural heritage or history.
- Your organization is a currently a registered nonprofit 501 c 3 or was registered for any time between 2019 to present
- Your organization operates (or operated) in the United States. (It is okay if your organization also operate in a foreign country as long as it also operates in the United States)
- Your organization was active for anytime period between 2019 to present. (It is okay if your organization went out of business during this time period, as long as it had activities between 2019 to present)

☐Yes, my organization meet the above criteria
☐ No, my organization does not meet the above criteria.

If you answered no to any of the above questions, your organization is not eligible to participate in this study. Thank you in advance, however!

4. Additionally, your organization must operate out of, serve, or conduct activities in one of the cities listed in the below dropdown menu. Please select the city your organization serves or conducts activities.

   NOTE: If your organization has several offices in other cities, or alternatively service more than one city, please select the organization located in the city that **you** work out of or are the most familiar with. For instance, if your organization has office in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and you are stationed out of the Los Angeles office or are familiar with organizational activities in Los Angeles, select Los Angeles.

   [*drop down menu list of cities*].

5. [*IRB research consent form*]

If you want to participate in the study, click I consent button to start the survey.

☐I consent to participate in this study ☐ I do not consent to participate in this study

ORGANIZATION BACKGROUND

6. What year was your organization founded?

7. Which of the following best reflects your role at the organization?
   ☐ Volunteer
   ☐ Program manager
   ☐Organizer
   ☐Director
   ☐CEO
   ☐Executive officer
   ☐Board member
   ☐Other

8. Which of the following best describes the main activities that your organization engages in? (select one)

   ____ Legal Services
   ____ Cultural Activities
   ____ Social Services
   ____ Community education, policy advocacy, research, or immigrants' rights

9. Would you like to be kept in the loop of the results of this survey in the future? For example, would you like to have a copy of the public report?

   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No thank you

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES

10. Did your organization experience any of the following changes in the past four years. Check all that apply.

    ☐ Mission of organization changed significantly
    ☐ Purpose of organization changed significantly
    ☐ Name of organization changed
    ☐ The strategic direction of the organization changed significantly

☐ Organization temporarily closed
☐ Organization permanently closed
☐ No, we experienced none of the above

2021 Activities

11. Did your organization conduct activities in 2021? In other words, was it active?
    ☐ Yes
    ☐ No

*If no, skip to 2020 activities.

12. How frequent did your organization provide the following **legal services** related to immigrant legal status last year (2021)

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Legal representation					
Legal education					
Bond services					
Legal referrals					
Naturalization services					
Legal advice					
Other type of legal service					

13. How frequent did your organization typically provide the following **social services** last year (2021)

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Translation assistance					
English language classes					
Transportation assistance					
Housing assistance					
Health services (including mental health)					
Recreational activities					
Domestic abuse services					
Educational services					
Financial services					
Other social service					

14. Last year (2021), how frequent did your organization typically engage in the following **policy** activities related to immigrants:

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Advance policy positions					
Write bills					
Provide public comment					
Attend lobby visits					
Provide policy recommendations					
Other policy activity					

15. Last year (2021), how frequent did your organization typically engage in **faith organizing activities**:

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Organize the faith community					
Strategically frame issues so that they can appeal to individuals of different faiths					
Reference religious texts					
Other faith organizing activity					

16. Last year (2021), how frequent did your organization typically provide the following **administrative services:**

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Conduct research on immigrant related topics					
Provide recommendation on government budgets					
Develop best practices for other organizations or entities					
Other administrative service activity					

17. Last year (2021), how frequent did your organization typically engage in the following **cultural activities**:

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Host a cultural event					
Offer non-English language class to the community					
Publish material (e.g. book, article, essay, photo, radio show, podcast, documentary) that highlight immigrant culture or history					
Other cultural activity					

18. Last year (2021), how frequent did your organization typically engage in the following **public education** activities:

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Educate immigrants on their rights					
Educate local community on how they can support immigrants					
Attend public meeting to speak on immigrant issues					
Host trainings on immigrant topics					
Other public education activity					

19. Last year (2021), how frequent did your organization engage in the following **civic engagement** activities:

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Engage the immigrant community to participate in your organization's activities					
Engage the community at large to participate in your organization's activities					
Promote volunteerism					
Promote voting					
Other civic engagement activity					

20. Last year (2021), how frequent did your organization engage in the following activities this year:

Activity	Never	A few times a year	A few times a month	A few times a week	Daily
Host protest, rallies, strike or demonstrations					
Civil disobedience					
File lawsuit					
Submit civil rights complaint					

21. We are interested in knowing with whom your organization **collaborated** or worked with last year (2021) in carrying out your activities. Please check all apply.

☐City government
☐County government
☐State government
☐Federal government
☐Other immigrant nonprofits
☐Labor unions
☐Religious entities
☐Immigrants/descendants of immigrants
☐Faith community
☐Other

22. Did your organization conduct any activities in 2020? In other words, was it active in 2020?

☐Yes
☐No

[if no, skip to end of block]

23. Compared to 2021, would you say the year prior (2020) your organization was:

☐Less active
☐More active
☐Neither more or less active

[If less active or more active is selected, skip to end of block]

24. Compared to 2021, would you say that the year prior (2020) your organization's programs, service, or offerings were:

☐the same
☐different

[If the same is selected, skip to end of block]

2020 Activities

Questions 12 to 21 repeated for year 2020.

2019 Activities

Questions 12 to 21 repeated for year 2019.

We thank you for your time spent taking this survey.
Your response has been recorded.

Appendix G: Four-level data screening of survey sample frame I

This study uses the BMF data file. This source is coded based upon the IRS National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities-Core Codes (NTEE-CC). This system classifies nonprofits with the tax code status 501 (c) (3) into 26 major groups and subgroups based on their activities. The following NTEE-CC categories were identified related to immigrant-serving nonprofits:

A23	Cultural and ethnic awareness
R21	Immigrant Rights
R22	Minority Rights
Q71	International Migration and Refugee Issues
M23	Search & Rescue Squads
P84	Ethnic and Immigrant Centers
I83	Public interest law

These categories yielded a total of 13,333 organizations. Data screening occurred on four levels. The first levels involved eliminating organizations as explicated in the criteria of inclusion and exclusion, or Appendix D.

The second level involved removing organizations with multiple sites and keeping just one, as national organizations with multiple sites will exhibit the same or similar mission across sites. This further ensured that all organizations in the sample frame have an equal probability of selection. The third level of data screening involved inspecting the official web pages or social media pages of organizations that did not have immigrant related names to ensure they meet the study's criteria.

All categories were subject to level one through three screening, except for category A23 (cultural and ethnic awareness) which consisted of 9,083 potentially eligible organizations, and 6,108 after level one and two screening. Due to time and resources, it was not possible to conduct a level three screening of this category. Instead, the proportion of eligible elements in this category was estimated by analyzing data from a random sample (n=100). Results revealed that of the 100 organizations, only 34% met the study's criteria. A confidence interval was constructed at the 95% level. Results reveal that between 25% to 43% of organizations in this category were likely meet the study's criteria. Of the 6,108 organizations in this category, between 1,527 and 2,627 were likely to be eligible for the study. The larger number was selected in consideration of undercoverage error.

In sum, of the 13,333 potentially eligible INOs in the sample frame, 4,978 were deemed ineligible and removed, leaving a total of 8,355 organizations in the sample frame. After adjusting for category A23, this left a total of 4,974 potential eligible organizations eligible for this study.

Appendix H: Screening of organizations in survey sample frame II

IRS Activity Code	Type of organization	Total before screening	Total after screening	Total adjusting for A23
A23	Cultural and ethnic awareness	9,084	6,108	2727
R21	Immigrant rights	2	2	2
R22	Minority rights	510	42	42
Q71	International migration and refugee issues	76	19	19
M23	Search and rescue squads	794	3	3
P84	Ethnic and immigrant centers	2,534	1,909	1909
I83	Public Interest Law	103	79	79
Q70	International human rights	230	193	193
		13,333	8355	4,974

Total organizations in the sample after screening: 4, 974

Appendix I: List of cities and their immigrant inclusion scores

City	State	Inclusion Score	Category
Eloy	Arizona	2.75	Low
Florence	Arizona	1.25	Very Low
Phoenix	Arizona	3.5	Moderate
Tucson	Arizona	2.75	Low
Adelanto	California	2.25	Low
Imperial	California	2	Low
Los Angeles	California	5.25	High
San Diego	California	4.5	Moderate
San Francisco	California	6.75	Very High
Aurora	Colorado	4.5	Moderate
Denver	Colorado	4.25	Moderate
Hartford	Connecticut	4.75	Moderate
Miami	Florida	4.75	Moderate
Orlando	Florida	3.25	Moderate
Atlanta	Georgia	2.75	Low
Lumpkin	Georgia	0.5	Very Low
Honolulu	Hawaii	4.75	Moderate
Chicago	Illinois	6.25	High
Louisville	Kentucky	3.25	Moderate
Jena	Louisiana	0.5	Very Low
New Orleans	Louisiana	3	Low
Oakdale	Louisiana	3.25	Moderate
Baltimore	Maryland	4.75	Moderate
Boston	Massachusetts	6	High
Detroit	Michigan	3.75	Moderate
Bloomington	Minnesota	4.25	Moderate
Kansas City	Missouri	3.25	Moderate
Omaha	Nebraska	2.75	Low
Las Vegas	Nevada	3	Low
Elizabeth	New jersey	5	High
Newark	New jersey	4.75	Moderate
Batavia	New York	1.25	Very Low
Buffalo	New York	3.75	Moderate
New York	New York	7.25	Very High
Charlotte	North Carolina	3.5	Moderate
Portland	Oregon	4.5	Moderate
Cleveland	Ohio	3	Low
Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	5.25	High

York	Pennsylvania	3.75	Moderate
Memphis	Tennessee	2.5	Low
Conroe	Texas	2	Low
Dallas	Texas	3.25	Moderate
El Paso	Texas	2.5	Low
Harlingen	Texas	1.75	Low
Houston	Texas	4	Moderate
Los Fresnos	Texas	1.5	Very Low
Pearsall	Texas	2.25	Low
San Antonio	Texas	4.5	Moderate
West Valley	Utah	1.75	Low
Arlington	Virginia	4.5	Moderate
Seattle	Washington	4.5	Moderate
Tacoma	Washington	3.25	Moderate

Appendix J: Calculating sample size for national survey

To calculate sample size for the national survey, I used Slovin formula (n=N/ 1+Ne2), wherein:

n=sample size
N= population size (total number of units under examination)
E= margin of error

There were a total of 1,537 elements in the sample frame. Yet some of the elements were foreign meaning they did not reflect the study's criteria. I adjusted by estimating the proportion of potential eligible in the sample frame for each stratum using Slovin formula. The margin of error used for each stratum was 7% (low), 5% (medium), 5% (high), and 6%, (very high). There was no need to perform estimation on the very low category as there were only 5 organizations in this stratum. Per this calculation a total of 642 organizations were needed to estimate the proportion of INOs that were potentially eligible for each stratum. With the support of research assistants, I evaluated the web pages of 675 organizations to determine potential eligibility. I sampled more organizations needed to have a more precise point estimate. I conducted a confidence interval for each proportion at the 95% confidence level for each stratum. Results reveal that of the 1,527 organizations in the sample frame, only between 47% to 62% of the organizations were eligible for the study, or between 729 to 953.

Next, I used these latter numbers as N to calculate the total number of organizations needed for the study with a 10% margin of error. Based on these results, at least 88 organizations were needed for the survey.

Appendix K: Sampling proportional to each stratum

Proportionate allocation of strata if N= 953

Strata	Nh Total INOs in the original sample frame	Nh Total INOs in the frame that are potentially eligible for study	Wh Proportion of the population	Nh stratum sample size	Fh Stratum sampling Fraction
Very Low	5	2	0.00	0.2	0.09
Low	158	101	0.11	10	0.09
Moderate	609	388	0.41	37	0.09
High	394	230	0.24	22	0.09
Very High	371	232	0.24	22	0.09
	1537	953	1.00	91	0.09

Proportionate allocation of strata if N= 729

Strata	Nh Total INOs in the original sample frame	Nh Total INOs in the frame that are potentially eligible for this study	Wh Proportion of the population	Nh stratum sample size	Fh Stratum sampling Fraction
Very Low	5	2	0.00	0.2	0.12
Low	158	65	0.09	8	0.12
Moderate	609	313	0.43	38	0.12
High	394	173	0.24	21	0.12
Very High	371	175	0.24	21	0.12
	1537	729	1.00	88	0.12

Appendix L: Survey recruitment email (English)

Greetings!

I'm Zayda Sorrell-Medina and I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of California, Irvine. I would like to invite your organization to complete a brief survey as a part of my dissertation research project, which seeks to measure the impact of nonprofits in promoting the inclusion of immigrants and their descendants in society. The survey asks questions about your organizations programs and services. I am in need of at least 200 nonprofits to complete the survey for a meaningful analysis.

By completing the survey, you are helping researchers and practitioners to understand best practices for fostering diversity and inclusion in communities throughout the US. I am happy to provide your organization with the public report summarizing results once the study is complete, that you may feel free to use for funding, advocacy, or however you see fit. The survey should take no more than about 20 minutes and the deadline to complete it is **December 28th, 2021.** I am also giving six amazon gift cards in the amount of $25 each, which will be provided to randomly selected respondents who completed the survey. Please note, your participation will be kept confidential. No individual's name will be directly associated with any response. Only summarized information will be reported. *Para ver este mensaje en español, darle click aquí*

Click here to complete survey:
https://uci.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9ymx9DdjoPyWut7?Q_DL=I7HH0Ce6BtogoQR_9ymx9DdjoPyWut7_MLRP_3ZTeLHNPmRardnE&Q_CHL=email

Kindly,

Zayda Sorrell-Medina
Department of Urban and Planning and Public Policy
University of California, Irvine
Email: zaydasm@uci.edu

Click here to unsubscribe

Appendix M: Survey recruitment email (Spanish)

¡Saludos!

Mi nombre es Zayda Sorrell-Medina y soy estudiante de doctorado en la Universidad de California, Irvine (UCI). Me gustaría invitar a su organización a completar una breve encuesta como parte de mi proyecto de tesis, que intenta medir el impacto de las organizaciones sin fines de lucro en la promoción de la inclusión de los inmigrantes y sus descendientes en la comunidad. La encuesta hace preguntas sobre los programas y servicios que ofrece su organización a la comunidad.

Al completar esta encuesta, está ayudando a investigadores y profesionales a recopilar las mejores prácticas para fomentar la diversidad y la inclusión en las comunidades. También me complace proveer a su organización el informe público que resume los resultados una vez que se completa el estudio. Lo puede usar para solicitar fondos, la abogacía, o como guste.

La encuesta no debe tomar más de 20 minutos y la fecha de plazo para completarla es el 28 de diciembre de 2021. También estoy dando seis tarjetas de regalo de Amazon por un monto de $25 cada una, que se proporcionarán a los encuestados seleccionados al azar que completaron la encuesta. Tenga en cuenta que su participación se mantendrá confidencial. El nombre de ninguna persona se asociará directamente con ninguna respuesta. Solo reportare información resumida.

Para participar en la encuesta, haga clic aquí:
https://uci.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9ymx9DdjoPyWut7

Gracias,

Zayda Sorrell-Medina
Departamento de Urbanismo y Planificación y Políticas Públicas
Universidad de California, Irvine
Correo electrónico: zaydasm@uci.edu

Appendix N: Facebook invite for survey

Hi!

My name is Zayda and I am a student at the University of California, Irvine (UCI). You are receiving this message because your organization was selected to be a part of a UCI research study explores the programs and services offered by nonprofits that serve immigrants or their descendants, advocate on their behalf, or promote their culture or history.

We would like to ask if you can participate in this study by completing the survey by **12/21/21.** It only takes about 20 minutes. Your participation is critical as it helps researchers and practitioners to measure the positive impact of nonprofits on the lives of immigrants and their descendants. Our goal is to have at least 200 nonprofits complete the survey. We are also awarding six amazon gift cards in the amount of $25 each, which will be provided to randomly selected respondents who completed the survey.

To participate in the survey, click link here:

https://uci.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9ymx9DdjoPyWut7

Zayda Sorrell-Medina
Department of Urban and Planning and Public Policy
University of California, Irvine
Email: zaydasm@uci.edu

Appendix O: Survey follow-up email

Subject: Invitation to complete survey

Greetings!

It's Zayda again, PhD candidate from the University of California, Irvine. Last week, you might have received an email invitation from me to complete my online nonprofit survey. If you completed the survey, thank you! Otherwise, I'd like to re-invite those who were not able to complete the survey to take the moment to complete it by clicking the link below, as **175 more responses are still needed.**

Link to survey: [insert here]

About the survey: The survey takes 20 minutes and asks questions about your organization's programs and services. It is a part of my dissertation study which seeks to measure the impact of the immigrant-serving nonprofit sector in contributing to the inclusion of immigrants and their descendants in society.

Eligibility: Your organization was pre-screened and is likely eligible for this study. Your organization does not need to presently active to complete the survey.

Benefits: By completing the survey, you are contributing to the advancement of knowledge on the impact of nonprofits in contributing to different immigrant inclusion outcomes at the regional level, through the various organizational strategies. I am also providing 4 Amazon gift cards to 4 randomly selected individuals who complete the survey.

Deadline to complete survey: Tuesday, December 28th

For Questions: Respond to this email.

Zayda Sorrell-Medina
Department of Urban and Planning and Public Policy
University of California, Irvine
Email: zaydasm@uci.edu

Appendix P: Immigrant inclusion metric

	Level of inclusion	Range of Values
1	Very low	0 to 1.6
2	Low	1.7 to 3.2
3	Moderate	3.3 to 4.8
4	High	4.9 to 6.4
5	Very High	6.5 to 8.0