I, Lauryn K Alleva, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Community Planning in Community Planning.

It is entitled:
Creating Safe Space for Immigrants: Exploring How Cincinnati Nonprofits Serving Latino Immigrants are Participating in Policy Change

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Creating Safe Space for Immigrants: Exploring How Cincinnati Nonprofits Serving Latino Immigrants are Participating in Policy Change

A thesis submitted to the

School of Planning

of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF COMMUNITY PLANNING

in the School of Planning

of the School of Design, Architecture, Art and Planning

2011

by

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Abstract

Immigration is a key policy issue in the United States today. Recent policies have been introduced throughout the country that have drawn national attention and made immigration reform and policy central to current political debate. In order to represent the best interests of the immigrant population, many nonprofit organizations have taken up the cause of immigration reform. This study explores how nine nonprofit organizations serving Latino immigrants are affecting policy change in Cincinnati, Ohio.

This study finds that the organizations interviewed provide a wide range of needed services to the Latino immigrant population, including working to affect policy change. Many of the organizations are using educational initiatives, focused on increasing the Hispanic immigrant population’s ability to advocate on its own behalf or educating the population at large about the value of the Hispanic immigrant population, to participate in policy change. Interviewed nonprofit organizations are also facing several challenges in affecting policy change, including operating under financial constraints, oversight by umbrella organizations and the Catholic Church, and the hidden nature of the Latino immigrant population. Finally, this study finds that there is a network of nonprofit organizations working to affect policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population in Cincinnati, Ohio. A prime example of this collaboration is the No Deportations Coalition, a group of organizations (many interviewed for this study) uniting to facilitate policy change.

The nonprofit organizations serving Latino immigrants in Cincinnati, Ohio are working to meet the needs of the population and represent the best interests of Latino immigrants in the policy arena. Their efforts are manifested as a collaborative network of nonprofit organizations advocating on behalf of a population in need. The shared goal of all interviewed organizations is to make Cincinnati a safe space for immigrants.
Preface

Over the past three years my interest in ethnic minorities and immigrant populations has grown. My interest in this topic area was piqued when I served in the Peace Corps in Jamaica. There I found the Jamaican community extended far beyond the borders of the small island to the Jamaican ethnic enclaves of the United States. I wanted to know how these enclaves formed and if immigrants participated in social networks or reaped any social benefits in their host country.

My interest in this topic area grew, as immigration became a key issue on the national political agenda. The recent immigration reform movement saw the mobilization of immigrant activists and immigrants themselves in advocacy efforts for change. My curiosity about immigrant social networks developed into an interest in how nonprofit organizations serving local immigrants were affecting policy change at the local, state, or national level. After some discussion with key players in the field, I decided to assess how nonprofit organizations in Cincinnati serving Latino immigrants are advocating for change in the policy arena. As stated above, this exploration seemed timely due to the recent focus on immigration reform and relevant to my interest in immigrant communities. This effort is detailed in the following thesis.

1 For the purpose of this study the terms Latino and Hispanic will be used interchangeably. Although a distinction is often made between the two terms, the researcher found that for this case study interviewed actors used the terms interchangeably.
Acknowledgements

The nonprofit organizations working to affect policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants made this thesis possible. I would like to thank all of the organizations that participated in this study and patiently answered all of my questions about their honorable and valuable work. I am inspired by the dedication of these organizations to making Cincinnati a safe space for immigrants. I would also like to thank the No Deportations Coalition for allowing me to sit in on its meetings and experience an immigration policy change initiative first-hand.

Professor Marisa Zapata provided the support and guidance I needed to complete this thesis. Her extensive knowledge of immigrant populations and nonprofit organizations, as well as her willingness to guide me through the thesis process and give me so much of her time and energy facilitated the inception and completion of this study. Professor Johanna Looye’s experience researching diverse populations and her tireless commitment to helping me become better proved invaluable during the research and writing process. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends who supported me through this entire process, listened when I complained, and repeatedly told me I could do it.
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Chapter 1: Introduction and Background Information

Immigration is a key policy issue in the United States today. Many people fear the economic repercussions of illegal immigration (i.e. the argument that in a time of high unemployment, immigrants are stealing American jobs) and claim that immigration threatens national security and exhausts social resources. Recent policies have been introduced throughout the country that have drawn national attention and made immigration reform and immigration policy central to current political debate. In order to represent the best interests of the immigrant population, many nonprofit organizations have taken up the cause of immigration reform to ensure that immigrants’ rights are protected during a time of great policy change.

As immigration issues continue to affect every community throughout the United States, the immigrant population has become dependent on nonprofit organizations to represent their best interests in the policy sphere. Nonprofit organizations help to organize immigrants and facilitate the participation of the immigrant population in policy change, giving a voice to an underrepresented and often ignored population. As immigration continues to play an integral role in current political debate, the role of nonprofit organizations representing and serving immigrant interests will increase in importance. Little is known about the ability of nonprofits to organize immigrants and affect policy change. This study, which took place between September and May of 2011, explores how nonprofit organizations serving immigrants affect policy change, with the intention of contributing to better representation of immigrant interests in this time of flux.

Immigration in the U.S.

The United States is a nation built on immigration. President John F. Kennedy said, “the importance of immigration to America is to point out that every American who ever lived, with the exception of one group, was either an immigrant himself or a descendant of immigrants”
The role of immigration and by translation immigrants in America’s past, present, and future cannot be ignored.

The immigrant population in the nation has grown dramatically in recent years. As of 2008, the foreign-born population in the U.S. had reached 38 million, meaning that 12.5 percent of the U.S. population is foreign-born. This number is a substantial increase from only 7.9 percent in 1990, and 4.7 percent in 1970 (Myers 2010, 7). The foreign-born population affects all aspects of a host country’s existence, including its economy, social service sector, and politics.

Since 1990, most immigrants have settled in six states—California, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Florida and Texas. After the initial influx and settlement of immigrants in these states, labor demand increased throughout the U.S., resulting in many immigrants settling in other states. Consequently, now Arizona, Massachusetts, and Georgia have large immigrant populations as well (Myers 2010). Based on data gathered for the 2009 American Community Survey (ACS), the majority of the foreign-born population, 53.1 percent, was born in Latin America. Asian-born immigrants to the United States make up the second largest portion of the U.S. foreign-born population at 27.7 percent (U.S. Census Bureau 2009). Due to its size, the Latino population is the most visible immigrant population, often making it the scapegoat in anti-immigration legislation and movements.

Immigration has become one of several key issues in current American political debate. Much of this emphasis came with the introduction and eventual passing of Arizona’s immigration law, Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070). Signed into law on April 23, 2010, the intent of the law “is to make attrition through enforcement the public policy of all state and local government agencies in Arizona” (Arizona Senate Bill 1070 2010, 1). To accomplish this intent, the Act requires all local and state agencies and their employees “to determine the immigration
status of a person during any legitimate contact…if reasonable suspicion exists that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the U.S.” (Arizona Senate Bill 1070, Section 2(B), 1). This includes any type of lawful stop, such as a speeding or traffic violation. This clause was widely criticized, because many felt the law condoned and encouraged racial profiling. President Obama echoed this criticism in a speech he made at a naturalization ceremony, where he said the law “threatened ‘to undermine basic notions of fairness that we cherish as Americans, as well as the trust between police and our communities that is so crucial to keeping us safe,’” (Archibold 2010, 1). The law also requires that immigrants carry their papers with them at all times as proof they are legally in the United States.

On July 6, 2010, the U.S. Department of Justice filed a lawsuit against the state of Arizona on the basis that the “state statute should be declared invalid because it has improperly preempted federal law” (Feds Sue to Overturn Arizona Immigration 2010, 1). The Department of Justice argued that the federal government is the only government body with the power to regulate immigration. The U.S. District judge presiding over the case, Judge Susan Bolton, granted a preliminary injunction against the implementation of several requirements stipulated under SB 1070. The injunction prevents Arizona from implementing the law’s requirements that legal immigrants carry proof of citizenship at the risk of penalty and inhibited the portion of the law that required law enforcement officers to check the immigration status of anyone they came into lawful contact with that they suspected of being an illegal immigrant (Kennedy 2010, 1). Arizona is pursuing an appeal and the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals heard the case on November 1, 2010. At the time of the ruling in July, many states were considering implementing laws similar to SB 1070. In light of the growth in immigration over the past few decades the federal government is also attempting to regulate immigration. The government has developed
several immigration regulation programs, the most recent being the Secure Communities initiative, which in many ways mirrors the principles of SB 1070.

The Secure Communities initiative is a partnership between the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and the Department of Justice. The program utilizes fingerprint-based biometric technology to check fingerprints during the arrest and booking process at local law enforcement agencies. Under the program, any person who is arrested has his/her fingerprints run through DHS and FBI records, which includes an immigration status check (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 2010, 2). The U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement Department (ICE) is notified if an arrested criminal’s fingerprints match those of an illegal alien. From there, ICE may start deportation proceedings, prioritizing based on those criminal aliens who have committed dangerous or violent crimes (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 2010, 2). To date, Secure Communities has been implemented in 1,143 jurisdictions in 40 states (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE): Activated Jurisdictions 2011, 1). Since the program began in 2008, ICE has identified and removed 67,171 criminal aliens (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE): Activated Jurisdictions 2011, 1). ICE intends to implement the program in all jurisdictions across the country by 2013. Although those illegal immigrants committing or convicted of the most serious crimes (e.g. major drug offenses, national security crimes, and violent crimes like murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery and kidnapping), labeled Level 1 offenses, are identified as the priority for deportation, immigrants can also be deported for committing a Level 2 or Level 3 offense. Levels 2 and 3 include any offense someone has been convicted of, no matter how minor.

Criticisms of the Secure Communities program are similar to those cited in the discussion above on SB 1070. Critics feared the program “would be an indiscriminate dragnet—ensnaring
illegal immigrants without criminal records, and encouraging racial profiling” (Immigration Bait and Switch 2010). This fear was valid: ICE “records show that a vast majority, 79 percent, of people deported under Secure Communities had no criminal records or had been picked up for low-level offenses, like traffic violations and juvenile mischief” (Immigration Bait and Switch 2010). Another criticism leveled against the Secure Communities program is that jurisdictions do not have the option of opting out of the program. Although several jurisdictions have attempted to abstain from the program, “the only way a local jurisdiction could avoid participating would be by refusing to send a suspect’s fingerprints to the federal criminal-justice system, a dereliction of crime-fighting duty” (Confusion Over Secure Communities 2010). By making the program nearly impossible to opt out of, jurisdictions are forced into a position where law enforcement officials have the power to use racial profiling to arrest and begin the deportation process for immigrants who may not be bringing any harm to their communities. Making immigrants the target of indiscriminate prosecution results in the isolation of immigrants from society and instills a sense of fear in the immigrant population.

The sense of fear and isolation that results from laws like SB 1070 and the Secure Communities program leads to decreased participation by the immigrant population in community building and neighborhood development. In a poll conducted by LatinoMetrics, the Hispanic Federation, and the League of Latin American Citizens, “those surveyed said the Arizona law has made them much more cautious about public involvement in their communities” (Reyes 2010, 5). Decreased willingness to become involved in one’s community can result in decreased political effectiveness and can ultimately lead to the passage and implementation of more policies that will be detrimental to the immigrant population.
In order to come together and participate in the political process, immigrant populations need someone to represent their interests; often this role is filled by nonprofit organizations. Many immigrants have no representation besides nonprofit organizations, making nonprofits integral to the success of the immigrant population in the policy arena. In light of the legislative controversy highlighted above concerning Arizona’s SB 1070 and the Secure Communities initiative, nonprofit organizations attempting to affect policy change on behalf of immigrant populations are particularly important during this time. The political context described above forms only part of the background for this study; the attributes of the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati must also be understood.

**The State of the Latino Population in Cincinnati, Ohio**

According to the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey (ACS) data for 2009, 3.8 percent of Ohio’s population is foreign-born (U.S. Census 2009). Although this is well below the national percentage, it is up from 3.0 percent in 2000 (U.S. Census 2000). The American Community Survey for 2008 indicates that 59.7 percent of Latino immigrants in Ohio arrived between 2000 and 2008, which may explain the increase in the foreign-born population between 2000 and 2009 (Myers 2010, 37). The primary focus of this study is the Latino population in and around Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Latino population examined in this study is analyzed at the county level, as it provides the most comprehensive understanding of the population in both urban and suburban settings. The size, composition, and distribution of the Latino population in Hamilton County are explored. Based on data gathered in the 2009 American Community Survey, 3.9 percent of Hamilton County’s total population is foreign-born, with 42.4 percent of the foreign-born population entering the country after 2000 (U.S. Census 2009). Of the foreign-born population, 19.8 percent are from Latin America (U.S. Census 2009). Of the total population of Hamilton
County, 1.8 percent identified as Hispanic/Latino in the 2000 census. The distribution of the Latino population in Hamilton County is concentrated in several areas, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows the largest concentration of the Hispanic population is in the Cincinnati neighborhood of Lower Price Hill, where 15 to 20 percent of the population identified as Hispanic. In Over the Rhine and Sharonville, ten to 15 percent of the population identified as Hispanic. It is vital to this study to understand the distribution of the Latino population, because spatial distribution is indicative of where immigrant services are needed.

To understand the composition and by translation the needs of the Latino population of Cincinnati, it is necessary to consider the distribution of the household incomes of this population. The income distribution of Hamilton County’s Latino population is analyzed using U.S. Census data from the 2000 census because it is the most detailed income data currently available. Table 1 below shows the income distribution for households with a Latino householder in Hamilton County.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household income (1999 dollars)</th>
<th>Percent of Latino Households</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below $25,000</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between $25,000 and $50,000</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between $50,000 and $100,000</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above $100,000</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Source: U.S. Census 2000, Household Income (1999 dollars) for Latino/Hispanic Households in Hamilton County, Ohio

As indicated in Table 1, the majority of Latino households make less than $50,000. Only a quarter of Latino households make between $50,000 and $100,000. There is a small group of these households that make above $100,000.

Please note: these numbers have not been adjusted for inflation.
Figure 1: Percent Population Hispanic by Census Block Group in Hamilton County
This map shows the percent of the population that is Latino in each census block group in Hamilton County. Data Source: U.S. Census 2000, Hamilton County, OH
In Figure 2, the median income in 1999 dollars for households with a householder who is Latino is shown for all of Hamilton County. Figure 2 shows the census tracts within the City of Cincinnati all have median incomes below $100,000 for Latino households. The majority of the census tracts in the city have median incomes below $47,000 for Latino households, with the exception of a few tracts—near the city boundary—that have median incomes between $47,000 and $102,000. In the suburban parts of Hamilton County, outside of Cincinnati, median incomes trend higher, with some tracts having a median income between $102,000 and $200,000, including: Miami Township, Wyoming, Amberley Village, Green Township, Forest Park, and Delhi Township. Figure 2 indicates a spatial separation between Latino households of higher income and those of lower income, with higher income households concentrating in the suburbs of Hamilton County and lower income households concentrating closer to the city of Cincinnati. This may be attributable to higher housing costs in the suburbs, which inhibit the ability of Latinos of lower income to locate outside of the city of Cincinnati. Income distribution directly affects the services needed by a population. For example, because the Latino households in the city of Cincinnati have lower median incomes, they may require more services.
Figure 2: Median Income in 1999 Dollars for Hispanic or Latino Households by Census Tract in Hamilton County
This map shows the median income in 1999 dollars for Latino households by census tract in Hamilton County. Data Source: U.S. Census 2000, Hamilton County, OH
The spatial separation by income of the Latino community in Hamilton County is further emphasized by Figure 3, which shows the percent of the Latino population below the poverty level by census tract in Hamilton County. Figure 3 echoes the conclusions drawn from Figure 2. There is a concentration of census tracts with 75 to 100 percent of the Latino population below the poverty level in the city of Cincinnati. In contrast, the census tracts in the suburbs of Hamilton County largely have less than 25 percent of the Latino population below the poverty level. The spatial distribution of the Latino population in poverty directly affects the need for immigrant services.

**Assimilation of the Latino Population of Cincinnati, Ohio**

Increased immigrant populations often are accompanied by the need for additional services, many of which attempt to assimilate immigrants into American society. Services include: English as a second language (ESL) classes, employment services, and organizing and affecting political change ensuring immigrants are treated fairly while living in the U.S. There is a large body of opposition to immigration, because some believe that immigrants are not assimilating as they have in the past. “This charge is especially leveled against Latino immigrants. Opposing this view are supporters of immigration…who point to our nation’s deep immigration heritage and view Latino immigrants as assimilating just as past immigrants have” (Myers 2010, 9). Myers and Pitkin worked with the Center for American Progress to report on immigrant assimilation, noting that Latino immigrants are no different from other immigrants in their assimilation process. The study found that Latino immigrants have lower educational attainment and English-language proficiency, but have still experienced a substantial increase in homeownership between 1990 and 2008 (from 9.3 percent to 58 percent), just as other

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3 An individual is considered below the poverty level (in the 2000 Census) if he/she is under 65 years of age and has an income of $8,959 or less, or is over 65 years of age and has an income of $8,259 or less (Dalaker 2001, 5).
immigrants have, indicating their ability to assimilate (Myers 2010, 18). This measurement of assimilation can be applied to the Latino population of Hamilton County, indicating where additional immigrant assimilation services may be needed.

In Hamilton County, 47 percent of the housing units occupied by a Latino householder are owner occupied. Based on Myers and Pitkin’s standards, this indicates some assimilation of Latino immigrants in Hamilton County; however the majority of Latino householders are still living as renters. Further, the percentage of Latino homeowners is substantially lower than the percentage of white homeowners (73 percent) in Hamilton County. Figure 4 and Figure 5 illustrate the distribution of owner and renter occupied Latino households. The majority of Latino homeowners in Hamilton County are living in the suburbs, mirroring the distribution of higher median incomes (see Figure 2). The majority of Latino renters are living in the city (as indicated in Figure 5), echoing the concentration of lower median incomes in the census tracts in the city of Cincinnati. This suggests that additional assimilation services may be needed in the city of Cincinnati in order to assist the Latino population. The ability of a Latino immigrant to own a home is largely contingent on his/her ability to earn a stable wage. Latino immigrants make a significant contribution to Hamilton County’s economy, which is explored in more detail below.
Figure 3: Percent Hispanic or Latino Below the Poverty Level by Census Tract in Hamilton County
This map shows the percentage of the Latino population that falls below the poverty level. Data Source: U.S. Census 2000, Hamilton County, OH
Figure 4: Percent Hispanic or Latino Population in Owner Occupied Households by Census Tract in Hamilton County
This map shows the percentage of the Latino population living in owner occupied households by census tract. Data Source: U.S. Census 2000, Hamilton County, OH
Figure 5: Percent Hispanic or Latino Population in Renter Occupied Households by Census Tract in Hamilton County
This map shows the percentage of the Latino population in renter occupied households by census tract. Data Source: U.S. Census 2000, Hamilton County, OH
**Economic Contribution**

The percentage of any metropolitan area’s population composed of immigrants determines the contribution of the immigrant population to that economy (Fiscal Policy Institute 2009, 1). In light of the recent economic crisis and recession, many are facing unemployment and believe restricting immigration would open up more jobs for native U.S. citizens. According to the Fiscal Policy Institute report, “creating a climate that is hostile to immigrants would risk damaging a significant part of the country’s economic fabric. Immigrants are an important part of the economies of the 25 largest metro areas, working in jobs up and down the economic ladder” (Myers 2010, 3). The report uses American Community Survey (ACS) data from 2005-2007 to determine that 15 percent of Cincinnati’s foreign-born population works in the service sector. Service sector jobs include: private household and personal service, firefighters, police and supervisors of protective services, guards, cleaning and building services, food prep services, and dental, health and nursing aides (Myers 2010, 13). Further, 22 percent of the foreign-born population in Cincinnati works in blue-collar positions. Such positions include: mechanics and repairers, construction trades, precision production, machine operators, fabricators, drivers (including heavy equipment operators), construction laborers and other material handlers (Myers 2010, 13). Both blue-collar and service sector positions are integral to a successful economy, making immigrants key to Cincinnati’s continued economic growth.

In a recent report published by the University of Cincinnati, researchers found that Latino immigrants are making a substantial contribution to Cincinnati’s economy. “According to the U.S. Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, Hispanics in the Cincinnati MSA were more likely to hold Official or Managerial positions than Hispanics in the general U.S. population (11% to 5%), and were more likely to hold professional positions (11% to 6%)”
(Zandvakili 2010, 4). This suggests that in addition to contributing to the economy via the blue collar and service sectors, the Latino population is also contributing to other professional sectors.

It is vital to consider the economic impact the Latino immigrant population has on Cincinnati and Hamilton County in order to understand the role of the Latino immigrant population in the region. Controversy often surrounds the economic contribution made by Latino immigrants, resulting in numerous political initiatives to crack down on illegal immigration and prevent immigrants from obtaining what some consider American jobs. Several policy initiatives have directly affected the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati, including the Secure Communities program described above, the Ohio Bureau of Motor Vehicles (BMV) revocation of vehicle registrations from those without social security numbers, and other controversial policy changes.

**Summary**

The national policies and programs affecting Latino immigrants today vary in intent, however, all policies targeting immigrants through racial profiling or other measures pose a serious threat to the immigrant populations of the United States. Immigrants today live in fear of discrimination and possible deportation, illustrating the need for organizations to advocate on behalf of this part of the population in the policy arena. The advocacy measures necessary to successfully represent the best interests of the immigrant population vary by locality.

The Latino population in Cincinnati is divided, with wealthier Latinos living in the suburbs and concentrations of Latinos with low incomes in the city of Cincinnati. Those with lower incomes concentrated in the city are the cohort of the population most affected by discriminatory policy changes and are generally served by nonprofit organizations. This study examines how these nonprofit organizations serving Latino immigrants might affect policy change and represent the best interest of the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati.
**Research Questions**

The primary research question is, how are Cincinnati area nonprofits serving Latino immigrants participating in policy change? This question is supported by a secondary research question—what role have nonprofits played in past and current policy initiatives? To gain a comprehensive answer to the primary research question, the researcher will also ask what services nonprofits are providing to Latino immigrants and how nonprofits are working together to affect policy change? Answering the research questions above will provide an understanding of how nonprofits serving Latino immigrants in the Cincinnati area are affecting policy change.

**Overview of Thesis**

In order to answer the research questions above, this thesis includes the following chapters. The second chapter provides a detailed review of the academic literature pertaining to this study. The third chapter focuses on the methodology of the study, by identifying the method of data collection, the rationale for choosing the selected sources of data, how the sources were analyzed, and stating the evaluation criteria for the data collected. The fourth chapter constructs the narrative created by the findings of the study and provides analysis of these findings. Chapter five contains conclusions and recommendations, identifying where there is correspondence between the scholarly literature and the findings and making recommendations for further research. These chapters compose a thorough report on how nonprofits serving Latino immigrants in the Cincinnati area are affecting policy change on behalf of the population they serve.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

An examination of the scholarly conversation pertaining to this study is necessary to present a complete understanding of nonprofit organizations attempting to affect policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants in Cincinnati. The literature most relevant to the study topic explores how immigrant communities form, how immigrant communities are affected by policy and planning networks, and how nonprofits act as advocates on behalf of populations. The construction of an academic conversation will frame where this study fits within the discussion and suggest what contribution the study can make to the extant literature.

Immigrant Community Identity and Immigration Policy and Planning Networks

Introduction

In recent years, immigration has become an increasingly important national issue. Examining the immigrant population is integral to understanding what is necessary for immigration policy reform. Through an understanding of the immigrant population, one can understand what immigrants need and determine how to meet those needs.

The available academic literature elucidates how immigrant communities form and create their own identity. The literature also discusses how immigrant communities are affected by and participate in planning and policy networks. Immigrant communities are experiencing a time of flux, and the planning and policy initiatives affecting these communities are integral to understanding what immigrants need and how advocacy and services can be delivered effectively. The literature review that follows will provide an in-depth discussion of each of these topic areas, helping to illuminate how immigrant communities form (specifically Latino immigrant communities), how they participate in planning and policy change, and where these communities stand in respect to needed services and the need for advocacy in politics and planning.
Community Identity Formation

Different communities come together in different ways. A community can be defined by geography or a shared interest or set of commonalities (Chang 2000, 54). The formation of immigrant communities takes many shapes. Frequently, the foundation of an immigrant community is formed by cultural components that members feel define who they are. This can include language, traditions, and religious practices (Dearborn 2008, 38).

Latino Immigrants and Community Identity

Latino immigrant communities are often associated with a barrio, a geographic concentration of Hispanic immigrants that reflects Latino culture. In the nineteenth-century, Griswold del Castillo felt that “the barrio, though circumscribing social and economic possibilities for nineteenth-century Mexican residents of Los Angeles, made cultural survival possible” (Sanchez 1993, 6). This sentiment was echoed by Camarillo when he spoke of twentieth-century immigrants in Santa Barbara, noting that barrios or geographic concentrations of Latino immigrants facilitated language and cultural retention (Sanchez 1993, 6). Millard and Chapa note that during difficult economic times, such as during the Great Depression, ethnic geographic concentrations helped Latino immigrants to deal with challenges by providing protection from discrimination and creating social and employment networks (Millard 2004, 31).

As the Latino immigrant’s role in American society has evolved, and the population of Latino immigrants has increased, the barrio has become less important in forming a Latino immigrant community. Geographic concentrations are no longer necessary for the formation of Latino communities. Many communities have been broken up over the years by planning initiatives (e.g. highways), creating small areas of ethnic concentration connected as barrios once were, by cultural, linguistic, and other commonalities (Rosaldo 1997, 61). Typically, Latino immigrant communities are now formed via social networks established through work, family,
and friends (Sanchez 1993, 72). The close relationships Latino immigrants form with one another largely stem from a cultural propensity for social network building.

Latino immigrants often bring cultural elements focused on social interaction with family and friends from their country of origin to the United States. This transference uses “adaptive methods to transform their communities to better suit their needs and to promote social interaction” (Mendez 2005, 34). Further, Latino immigrants often remake their homes and public spaces to serve their cultural needs. For example, some Latino immigrants make full use of the lot their home sits on, expanding their homes to all corners of the lot in order to maximize their space, making room for family, friends, and additional social interactions (Mendez 2005, 35).

**Religion and Community Identity**

Religious organizations and churches also make a substantial contribution to immigrant community identity. Religion is an important element of immigrant identity, because it is something that links immigrants to their home country and culture while also offering a way to assimilate into their host country (Agrawal 2008, 44). Immigrants can form networks and ties with other worshippers, eliminating any need for immigrants to be geographically close in order to build communities (Agrawal 2008, 54). Immigrants also adapt public spaces, bringing their culture into the public realm by holding cultural and ethnic festivals as well as sports events in public or community parks (Singer 2008). Numerous authors have written about the value of public spaces in helping immigrants cultivate community identity.

**Parks, Public Spaces, and Sports and Community Identity**

Parks and public spaces play an integral role in the formation of community identity. In *New Faces in Public Spaces: Immigrant Integration and City Parks*, Vasishta emphasizes the potential role that city parks can play in immigrant community identity formation. The author encourages cities to reach out to immigrants, beyond standard outreach mechanisms, to facilitate
the use of the parks by immigrant groups (Vasishta 2009). Many immigrants perceive parks as a tool for developing community identity, because parks provide a place where they can socialize with one another, as well as with other members of the community at large (Vasishta 2009, 27). The public park serves as a space for immigrants to interact with people that speak the same language and have a similar culture, and also provides a venue for cultural activities (Graves Lanfer 2004, 6).

Public spaces, like community gardens, provide immigrants with the opportunity to cultivate and re-create parts of their culture they miss. An example is urban farming by Chinese gardeners in the community garden on Berkeley Street in Boston. The Chinese immigrants come together in the public space to grow foods that cannot be found in the local grocery store. These immigrants have built a social network and by extension a community identity through this interaction (Graves Lanfer 2004, 6).

Many immigrant groups base a large part of their cultural identity on sports. For many Latino immigrants, soccer makes a significant contribution to their cultural identity. Latino soccer leagues have been created throughout the country and serve as “vital yet underappreciated nodes of immigrant social networks and placemaking” (Price 2004, 168). These leagues provide Latino immigrants—normally males—with a place to connect to their culture in their host country. “Leagues create a cultural space that is familiar, entertaining, practical, inexpensive, transitional, and ephemeral, where immigrants gather to reaffirm their sense of identity and belonging” (Price 2004, 168). Parks and public spaces provide a cultural space for immigrants to interact and bolster their community identity; this is also done through forming ethnic concentrations.
Ethnic Concentrations and Community Identity

Some immigrant groups concentrate in certain areas, capitalizing on low home values or cheap rents, and utilizing close proximity to facilitate the formation of community identity. For the Hmong, who are refugees from Laos, living in close proximity to one another is a key component of their culture, which has been largely influenced by fear due to the war that forced them from their country (Dearborn 2008, 41). In order to achieve this sense of safety, the Hmong had to re-conceptualize and translate their culture to fit into the context of urban inner city Milwaukee (Dearborn 2008, 46). Dearborn attributes the need of Hmong to live in an ethnic concentration to the vast distance between the values of the United States and those of Hmong culture (Dearborn 2008, 46). For example, one of the interviewees in Dearborn’s study notes “‘non-Hmong people might call the police on us when the shaman is performing traditional ceremonies that involve killing chickens or pigs,’” (Dearborn 2008, 46). Therefore, it is integral to Hmong immigrants of Milwaukee to find a neighborhood where they can own their own home and have Hmong neighbors that will respect and foster their cultural and community identity.

This allegiance to cultural values and the need to express these values is also seen in Latino immigrants. The soccer leagues mentioned above provide Latino immigrants in the same geographic area with a space to congregate and commemorate their home countries. Leagues often name their teams after home country teams, and reminisce about life at home while playing and practicing (Price 2004, 179). The leagues provide participants with a sense of belonging, which is difficult to find when living in a foreign country, especially when many immigrants are unable to concentrate their residences like the Hmong (Price 2004, 171). By living in close proximity to one another or making a concerted effort to interact with each other in public spaces, immigrants ensure that they keep the cultural values of their homeland, which form the
foundation of their community identity, intact. Interaction with one another is clearly integral to the formation of immigrant community identity.

Although ethnic concentrations can help create immigrant community identity, there are also several negative effects associated with ethnic enclaves. Segregation as a result of ethnic concentrations can cause isolation of the population from outside social networks, minimize access to economic resources, increase the likelihood that the population will be discriminated against, and marginalize the ethnic population. Peach cites an underlying premise of the Chicago School’s assimilation theory; highly segregated populations have limited social interaction outside of their own ethnic group, whereas ethnic populations with low levels of segregation have extensive social interaction outside of their ethnic cohort (Peach 2003, 103). Hagan comes to a similar conclusion, noting that immigrants are so closely tied to those of the same ethnicity they are unable to form social ties outside of the ethnic social network causing those within the ethnic enclave to miss out on opportunities they might access in the absence of segregation (Hagan 1998, 65). This raises the possibility that the formation of community identity can have negative consequences.

Several authors argue that the concept of community is exclusionary. Although community is difficult to define, as mentioned above, Joseph argues “that communities seem inevitably to be constituted in relation to internal and external enemies and that these defining others are then elided, excluded, or actively repressed” (Joseph 2002, xix). This is echoed by Putnam who notes: “Networks and the associated norms of reciprocity are generally good for those inside the network, but the external effects of social capital are by no means always positive” (Putnam 2000, 21). A community may develop a strong identity; however, this sense of community may be detrimental to others or to the community members themselves. One
example is community identity based on gang activity. “Inner-city gangs might also be seen as a misguided attempt at neighborhood-based social capital building in areas where constructive institutions are sadly lacking” (Putnam 200, 315). Gangs compose the community identity of some immigrant communities. The role of gangs in defining Latino immigrant community identity is outlined in greater detail below.

Latino gang activity has increased over the past several years and increasingly has become a topic of academic research (Valdez 2009, 289). Latinos involved in gang activity “often reside in neighborhoods characterized by unemployment, poverty, welfare dependency, single-headed households, and other characteristics that are traditionally associated with street gang formation” (Valdez 2009, 289). Gang culture often is based on the cultural ideals that form the community’s identity. For example, Horowitz notes in her study of a Chicago Chicano gang, that the cultural value of honor acted as the impetus for the men of the community to find a job and support their families and simultaneously obligated the men to remain loyal to the gang they were members of in their youth (Horowitz 1983, 220).

Researchers have found that often gang culture is based on strong social networks and connections, particularly when there are few functioning neighborhood institutions as alternatives (Putnam 2000, 316). The social networks gangs provide can translate to employment opportunities and linkages. “The successful pursuit of both legitimate and illegitimate economic interests of these respondents are heavily rooted in the interpersonal relationships generated through gangs, again suggesting that a substantial amount of social capital is located and embedded in the gangs” (Pih 2008, 490). The social network and by translation the identity forming capacity of gangs is not discussed extensively in scholarly literature. However, the idea

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4 The researcher did not observe or hear of this type of gang activity in the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati. As a result, this issue was not explored any further because it is not applicable to the study population at this time.
that immigrant community identity forms through social interconnectedness and relationships is discussed in the literature—summarized in the next section.

**Personal Relationships and Community Identity**

Several authors have found that immigrant community identity is focused on people and not places. In a project on visualizing Latino identity, Hispanic participants were given two cameras; one to document what they felt represented Latino identity and one to capture pictures demonstrating American identity. The photographers primarily used images of people to depict Latino identity and pictures of places and things to depict American identity (Massey 2010). “In general, the photographic images offered by our respondents suggest the construction of Latino identity through social links and interpersonal networks experienced predominantly through face-to-face interactions with other immigrants” (Massey 2010, 239). The concept that Latino immigrant identity is formed primarily through face-to-face connections is echoed in Mendez’s study, where the author finds that Latino immigrants place more emphasis on relationships with family and friends, while Anglos focus on the individual and the achievements and independence of each person (Mendez 2005, 43). The emphasis on relationships and not places is also seen in Hmong culture. The Hmong capitalized on plummeting housing prices in inner city Milwaukee to keep their kinship structure intact, because it is a key component of their cultural identity (Dearborn 2008, 42). The personal relationships that form the basis of immigrant community identity are integral to facilitating change within these communities. The identity created by a community affects how that community participates in planning and policy changes.

For many immigrant communities, the personal relationships discussed above create the foundation for information sharing within the community. For example, in Washington D.C.’s Latino soccer leagues, participating Latino men utilize practice and game time to convey information of importance to their community to one another. Soccer leagues provide
“participants with information about employment and legal status and news from home, and may both facilitate and preclude immigrant assimilation into the dominant U.S. society” (Price 2004, 168). Often, this information sharing does not extend beyond the close-knit immigrant networks described above. Immigrants rarely ask for help from government organizations in addressing these needs, due to fear of deportation or discrimination. This is where nonprofit organizations advocating on behalf of immigrants must step in to represent immigrant community interests.

Nonprofit organizations serving immigrants often act as the intermediary between immigrant populations and the rest of society. These organizations attempt to help immigrant communities meet their needs by identifying resources, representing them to government and other organizations, and establishing relationships between the immigrant community and other groups (Hum 2010, 466). The role of nonprofit organizations representing immigrant interests is to utilize immigrant community identity, to organize immigrants and ensure their needs are met within the planning and political context of their host country/locality. In the next section, the planning and policy networks affecting immigrants will be explored in greater detail.

**Policy and Planning Networks**

In order to understand the unaddressed needs of the immigrant population and the role of nonprofit organizations in advocating for immigrants in the policy arena, an understanding of planning and policy networks in relationship to immigrant communities is necessary.

**Policy Networks**

Immigration policy in the United States forms the foundation for policy networks that directly affect immigrants. Federal immigration policy is meant to set regulations and rules pertaining to immigration. However, local and state policies regulating immigration and preempting federal law recently have become increasingly popular. Local and state policy ranges from “unsympathetic, unwelcoming, and even antagonistic to very supportive and welcoming”
The wide range of policies implemented by state and local governments has produced a breadth of literature examined in more detail below.

Many local governments have become frustrated with the federal government and its failure to create and enforce immigration laws—specifically its failure to control immigration at the US-Mexico border. As a result, “100 immigration-related municipal ordinances were introduced or considered in small towns, townships, and counties (in 31 different states) only a few months following the historical pro-immigration mobilizations in the streets of dozens of larger US cities in spring 2006” (Gilbert 2009, 27). Some local governments and citizens feel immigration has gone unregulated, producing adverse effects, like taking jobs from U.S. citizens and monopolizing social resources. The terrorist attacks of September 11 fed anti-immigration fervor, producing numerous policies criminalizing immigration in the name of protecting national security. This resulted in the Patriot Act of 2001, which led to increased criminal convictions related to immigration and new provisions making deportation easier (Gilbert 2009, 30).

The limitation of immigrant rights at the local level is occurring outside of the United States as well. Frankfurt, Germany, is facing similar opposition from a large group of citizens who feel foreigners should not share full citizen’s rights (Sandercock 1998, 144). The effects of these restrictive policies on immigrants to the U.S. and abroad are unknown. However, it is anticipated that immigrants will suffer and have little recourse under such policies. “If major policy changes do not occur at the federal and European levels, it is likely that a permanent underclass of foreign minorities will emerge, with little control over the condition of their lives” (Sandercock 1998, 145). The repercussions of restrictive and discriminatory immigration laws are explored below.
Local immigration policies may result in limitations on immigrant “access to jobs, housing, driver’s licenses, and education” (Singer 2008). As local governments have cracked down on immigration, many immigrants have been forced to relocate to large cities where they can remain anonymous. This has translated to an unwillingness of most immigrants to become involved in any type of organization or to congregate and share cultural aspects that have allowed immigrant communities to formulate their identity (as outlined above). Some Latino immigrants have altered their behavior in numerous ways to avoid deportation. Many of these changes involve removing themselves from community life by ceasing shopping at Latino stores and discontinuing participation in their children’s schools (Gilbert 2009, 32). Latino immigrants have also changed their driving habits, avoiding routes where there is potential for arrest. Finally, many Latino families have created contingency plans in case one member of the family is deported (Gilbert 2009, 32). In the United States, the federal government and other local governments have challenged the effect of stringent local immigration policies on the immigrant population.

The federal government struck down a restrictive and discriminatory law enacted in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, the Illegal Immigration Relief Act Ordinance. This ordinance, spearheaded by the mayor of the small town, made it illegal to hire undocumented immigrants and an additional ordinance, the Tenant Registration Ordinance, prohibited occupancy of an apartment or home without proof of citizenship (Gilbert 2009, 32). Local Latino groups challenged the ordinance and, in July 2007, a U.S. District Court decided that localities did not have the power “to enact ordinances that regulate the presence and employment of undocumented migrants” (Gilbert 2009, 32). This ruling set the precedent that local governments did not have the authority to implement restrictive immigration laws. In contrast, other local
governments have gone to great lengths to identify their area as welcoming to immigrants. This includes producing welcoming immigration policies and identifying themselves as sanctuary cities for immigrants.

There are several different types of policies that local governments can implement to exhibit they welcome immigrants. A pro-immigration statement is a declaration by a city or locality announcing it as a safe place for immigrants; however, it has no teeth and does not change the laws of the locality’s government or impact local law enforcement (Center for Community Change 2007, 27). A local government can also issue a statement of support of federal comprehensive immigration reform. “Some resolutions of this type give specific suggestions for border security, or paths to resident status for citizenship, but they do not refer to a specific legislative proposal” (Center for Community Change 2007, 27). Finally, local governments can pass sanctuary ordinances, which control law enforcement and government agencies’ capacity to check the legal status of citizens. Often, these ordinances contain information and statements about immigrant contribution to the community, emphasizing the positive aspects of the immigrant population (Center for Community Change 2007, 27).

Many cities have already identified themselves as sanctuary cities, including several major cities with historically large immigrant populations—Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, and New York. Other cities, which have amassed large immigrant populations in recent years, have also identified themselves as sanctuary cities including Portland, Minneapolis, Seattle, Washington, D.C., and Austin (Singer 2008). By labeling a city as a sanctuary for immigrants, or passing one of the other ordinances described above, cities and localities are sending a clear message to residents. Making such a statement “in the face of anti-immigrant ordinances can change the debate in a town and swing voters away from anti-immigrant
ordinances” (Center for Community Change 2007, 27). Establishing a positive immigration policy network encourages immigrant engagement in community activities and helps immigrant communities organize.

One organized movement that attempts to affect immigration reform is the Right to the City Alliance (RTTC). The Alliance formed “as a means of taking their cities back from the coalitions of affluence that had formed during the 1980s, and reframing the central scale of social struggle from the global to the urban” (Leavitt, Samara, and Brady 2009). The city is the center of this movement, due to the significant growth of city populations and the increasingly evident economic disparity in most urban areas (Leavitt, Samara and Brady 2009). The unique characteristic of the Right to the City Alliance is that it disregards citizenship and instead focuses on residency. Right to the City is conceived as “a new form of political belonging that is not rooted in national citizenship; inhabitance implies residence, it implies this relationship and draws its political power from it” (Leavitt, Samara and Brady 2009). Therefore, RTTC feels that all city residents have the right to participate in community and political processes that directly impact them, no matter their ethnicity or economic situation.

This dedication to serving and organizing city residents around issues that affect them has resulted in the formation of movements around several immigrant community issues, including the right of undocumented immigrants to vote in local school elections (Leavitt, Samara, and Brady 2009). Several cities, including Chicago, San Francisco, and Takoma Park (MD) already allow non-citizens to vote in school board elections (Leavitt, Samara, and Brady 2009). The RTTC views this type of immigrant participation as a step towards forming a new definition of citizenship (Leavitt, Samara, and Brady 2009). The dedication to organizing around issues facing the underserved and underrepresented immigrant community will help “to legitimate and
institutionalize the participation of marginalized individuals, groups and communities from all levels of the political process” (Leavitt, Samara, and Brady 2009). RTTC attributes its strength to the diversity of its participants, with participating members representing a range of ethnic groups, immigrant communities, community organizers and residents (Leavitt 2009). By amassing a large group of people around immigrant issues, necessary change is more likely to be made. To facilitate such change it is vital to have an inclusive and participatory planning process, explored in more detail below.

Planning Processes in a Multicultural Society

With the influx of immigration into the United States and other western countries, many national governments have taken to implementing nationwide policies to regulate immigration. As outlined above, many local governments have formed policy networks both in support of and restricting immigration. Policy networks have also formed around places, such as the Right to the City movement, which focuses on affecting change in cities, with immigration reform as a secondary goal. The implementation of all these policies takes place within the context of the planning network formed by national, state, and local governments. Policies are often manifested as planning initiatives. Many of the deleterious effects immigrants experience when moving to a new country or locality can be attributed to the planning processes in place. With an increasingly diverse society, many planners are calling for and in some instances implementing a multicultural planning discourse.

Several countries such as Canada have begun to market themselves as multicultural countries. The United States has yet to make such a statement, however, planners in the U.S. have expressed the need for a new type of planning that addresses the multicultural nature of our society and creates an inclusionary planning network. “Diversity represents the new guiding principle for city planners. As such, it constitutes an antithesis to previous orientations toward
urban design, in which segregation of homogeneous districts was the governing orthodoxy” (Fainstein 2005, 3). Multiculturalism validates the racial and cultural diversity of a population and utilizes the tenets of this diverse population in national and local governance (Qadeer 1997, 482).

Increasingly, planners are faced with meeting a wide array of cultural needs and challenged to accomplish this equitably (Qadeer 1997, 482). Planners are given responsibility for when and how multilingual services should be provided, what types of signs in other languages can be posted and the requirements of such signage, and the regulation of sacred or traditional practices that might challenge the American cultural norm (Umemoto 2001, 17). In dealing with these challenges, several authors call for planners to take a new approach and adopt “planning processes that can accommodate cultural differences, for this requires planners to extend their thinking into other epistemological worlds—like walking in another’s shoes” (Umemoto 2001, 17). Umemoto and other authors’ thoughts on how planners can accomplish multicultural planning are discussed below.

Several authors call for planners to expand the purview of planning to include the perspectives of multiple cultures. Different cultures have different historical and present perceptions of a place, forcing planners to confront “the challenge of interacting and facilitating interaction among individuals who may see the world from distinct interpretive lenses—worldviews embedded in the culture, history, and memories of a community” (Umemoto 2001, 21). In order to accommodate this wide range of perceptions, Umemoto suggests that planners abandon the idea that they can prescribe one mode or policy for an entire population (or community). Instead planners should incorporate diversity into planning methods by utilizing “value-free methods and practices, designing processes for many modes of expression…to
capture a wider diversity of voices” (Umemoto 2001, 23). In order to accomplish successful multicultural planning planners should base all planning initiatives on the Human Rights Code. Further, cultural and racial discrimination should become an accepted reason for planning appeals (Qadeer 1997, 493). This requires that planners make multiculturalism a priority; however, this concept may be difficult for planners to adopt, as it requires them to utilize a pluralistic planning approach.

Pluralism in planning requires that planners develop several methods to address the needs of the constituent population. For each minority group or immigrant community, planners must consider the cultural values and context before implementing regulations and then accommodate those populations in the creation and implementation of the regulations (Qadeer 1997, 485). Planners must abandon their inclination to only work with those whose views are similar to their own, and begin to consider all sides of a community when making decisions (Spain 1993, 168). By considering the multicultural population of a locality, planners can ensure that all individual and cultural needs are met.

A key part of planning for multicultural cities is gaining an understanding of the cultural groups the planner works with and accurately assessing their needs. “One of the most difficult but important challenges that face advocacy planners is to determine whether challenging cultural protocols would result in an increase in quality of life from the eyes of those directly concerned” (Umemoto 2001, 25). Often in order to fully understand an immigrant community, the planner needs to have a shared experience with community members, which may come in the form of the planner’s ethnic or racial background (Umemoto 2001, 21). Planners do not need to be of the same ethnicity of the community they are planning for; however, an awareness of the culture they are working with is necessary. Training and workshops providing planners with the
chance to practice working with multicultural populations will help planners relate to those they are planning for (Burayidi 2003, 271).

In order to advocate for underrepresented populations, planners may need to take more responsibility for hearing all community opinions and considering these opinions when conceiving and implementing planning ideas. For example, in Immigrant Engagement in Public Open Space: Strategies for the New Boston, one planner reached out to the immigrant population to understand their opinions on open and public spaces in Boston by going door-to-door with an interpreter, so that immigrants could express their opinions without having to reveal their names or identities to government officials (Graves Lanfer 2004, 7). Although this level of effort may not always be necessary, if planners want to plan for multicultural communities effectively, they must become advocates for underrepresented minority and immigrant populations. “The challenge to practicing planners is to maintain an attitude of hope that urban environments can be made more liveable for everyone, and a willingness to be open to working with and learning from diverse communities in order to discover what a sustainable community might mean for them” (Rahder 2004, 38). This may pose a significant challenge for planners, because advocating for immigrant populations often requires going against established norms (Harwood 2003, 34).

When working with immigrant communities, it is integral that planners create “new notions of citizenship, multicultural and urban, that are more responsive to newcomers’ claims of rights to the city and more encouraging of their political participation at the local level” (Sandercock 2003, 322). In order to plan effectively for multicultural populations, planners must take this expanded planning discourse and facilitate community building and organizing to ensure that immigrant rights are protected.

If planners are to eliminate discrimination and promote equity in planning practice, it is
vital that emphasis is placed on community building and community-based planning. Facilitating community processes that encourage the participation of immigrant populations in the planning process will empower immigrants and make possible effective planning in multicultural communities (Umemoto 2001, 27). Community-based planning initiatives help a normally marginalized population feel valued in the planning process. “Through community-based inclusion in schools, libraries, and churches, community activists have performed functions of communicative planners facilitating social learning and perhaps social transformation” (Miraftab 2008, 355). Initiating community-based development requires planners to incorporate community interests and participation in the planning process.

To accomplish community-based planning in multicultural communities, planners must find a way to coordinate immigrant interests and get immigrants invested in the planning process.

Community-led planning has a capability of mobilizing members by tapping the power of the ‘we’ voice that does not resonate in the otherness of the ‘you’ voice. This power can elicit meaningful thoughts and feelings from groups who are sensitive to the language of marginalization and can be transformative in a way that an imposed process can never be (Umemoto 2001, 28).

It is important that planners consider the needs and wants of the immigrant community in the multicultural planning process, moving beyond traditional planning practice that ignores those who do not assert themselves in the process. Immigrant communities are directly affected by planning policies and practice; therefore they should play an integral role in influencing the planning practices implemented (Chang 2000, 54). With the recent influx in ethnic populations, planners have a substantial population to mobilize and empower, in order to achieve much needed community development (Thomas 1998, 205). Planners should help facilitate such development and sustain the continued empowerment of disadvantaged populations. Often, this
type of community development and empowerment stems from community-based nonprofit organizations.

There are many nonprofit organizations that work to empower the immigrant community and help to meet their needs. Participating in and working with these organizations are vital for a planner planning in a multicultural community. Nonprofit organizations are able to give a voice to immigrant concerns and needs and operate under fewer legal restrictions than local government. The unique position of nonprofit organizations eliminates the element of fear some immigrants might feel if asked to participate in government-initiated planning processes. “Community-based nonprofit organizations, especially those that comprise a migrant civil society, present a more viable venue for making policy claims and articulating alternative development visions to sustain immigrant neighborhoods” (Hum 2010, 473).

The efforts of nonprofit organizations advocating on behalf of immigrants fill the gap in immigrant services that government agencies are not adequately addressing. In the planning process, efforts beyond the standard participatory practices must be used to guarantee that all opinions are heard during the decision-making process (Chang 2000). Nonprofit organizations can provide this voice and help government planners and immigrants work together to achieve well-functioning multicultural communities. “These organizations can create opportunities and support for immigrant integration and mobilization and broaden urban planning agendas to advance redistributive economic justice and fairness in diverse ‘shifting sands’ neighborhoods” (Hum 2010, 474). Planners should consider working with and for these nonprofit organizations to create equitable and diverse communities.

Summary

By reviewing the academic literature surrounding the formation of immigrant community identity and the planning and policy networks forming the context within which immigration
takes place, one gains a clear understanding of the immigrant role in today’s society. This literature review reveals some gaps in the literature, particularly with respect to nonprofit organizations working with immigrant groups to represent their interests. Although academics have explored how immigrant communities form and shape their identity, and how immigration is handled through policy and planning networks, little has been done to assess how immigrants can participate in the planning and policymaking process. This thesis begins to fill this gap in the scholarly conversation and initiate discussion about how the best interests of immigrant communities might be represented in policy and planning. Although there is not a large body of academic literature surrounding nonprofit organizations working to represent the immigrant community in the policy arena, there is literature pertaining to nonprofits and the services these organizations provide, outlined in greater detail below.

**Academic Literature Pertaining to Nonprofits**

**Defining Nonprofit**

The term nonprofit organization is difficult to define as there are numerous types of nonprofits and the nonprofit sector often intersects with both the government or public sector and the private sector. Frumkin identifies three properties which all nonprofits possess: 1) no one is forced to participate in a nonprofit organization; 2) no profits are given to stakeholders; 3) ownership and accountability are not clearly delineated (Frumkin 2002, 3). Both Boris and Frumkin agree that the term nonprofit is difficult to define, when so many different types of organizations are labeled as nonprofits, including universities, hospitals, civil rights groups, community development organizations, and many others (Boris 2006, 2; Frumkin 2002, 2). Nonprofits are organized for public purposes and are therefore exempt from federal income taxes (Boris 2006, 3). The primary federal regulatory agency of nonprofits is the Internal Revenue
Service (IRS). The IRS has classified nonprofits into different categories based on the financial backing of the organization and the type of services the nonprofit provides.

The two predominant IRS nonprofit classifications are 501(c)3 and 501(c)4 (Warren 2004, 39). 501(c)3 nonprofits are classified as charitable organizations that serve the public benefit. These organizations cannot provide lobbying as their sole service, but can receive charitable contributions that are tax-deductible (Warren 2004, 39). Social welfare organizations, or 501(c)4 nonprofits, also serve a public purpose; however they cannot receive tax-deductible donations, allowing the organizations to participate in lobbying activities and placing fewer restrictions on their operations (Warren 2004, 39). One difference between the two types of nonprofits, identified by Reid, is the population that each serves. The 501(c)3 organizations serve society at large, providing needed services to certain population groups. This is in contrast to 501(c)4 organizations, which serve specific communities and are often membership organizations, where members are motivated to further the organization’s mission because it will serve their own interests (Reid 2004, 22). The differentiation between 501(c)3 and 501(c)4 nonprofit organizations helps define the term nonprofit; however, the definition is further complicated when considering the role of nonprofits in service provision.

The Role of Nonprofit Organizations

Nonprofit organizations fulfill various roles and deliver a wide range of services. Frumkin differentiates between demand- and supply-side nonprofits. Demand-side nonprofits are created to meet the needs of society; this requires nonprofits to serve the needs of the most disadvantaged (Frumkin 2002, 20). Supply-side nonprofits are focused on the entrepreneurs driving the nonprofits. Instead of focusing on meeting the needs of disadvantaged populations, supply-side nonprofits primarily focus on those individuals who are committed and have the funds to start and run a nonprofit including: donors, volunteers, and social entrepreneurs
(Frumkin 2002, 21). Typically, nonprofits are created in order to meet needs that are not being satisfied by the private sector or the government. Nonprofits often fulfill needs that the government is not able to because of political or financial constraints (Frumkin 2002, 32). One theory is that nonprofits fill the gap for services left by the private and government sectors, by providing inherently different services than those offered by the other sectors (Frumkin 2002, 70). Weisbrod holds that nonprofits perform functions commonly associated with the government. The performance of these services often requires a search for funding and results in overlap between the nonprofit sector and the rest of the economy (Weisbrod 1997, 543). The link between the nonprofit sector and the public and private sectors is integral to understanding the role of nonprofits.

Nonprofit service delivery is often funded by the public sector. Frumkin emphasizes that many nonprofits are funded by the public sector, but as the number of nonprofits increases, the competition for scarce government funding does as well (Frumkin 2002, 75). Often the partnership between the government and the nonprofit sector is considered ideal, because all the government must do is provide financial support, while the implementation and administration is done by the nonprofits (Berry 2003, 3). This idealistic relationship is often challenged, because public sector funding forces nonprofits to comply with government rules and regulations, and pressures nonprofits to conform with government ideals through threats of withdrawn funding (Frumkin 2002, 75). In order for nonprofits to maintain a mutually beneficial relationship with the government, the public sector can encourage nonprofit success by implementing regulations and incentives that foster collaboration and volunteerism (Smith 2004, 6). Although this mutually beneficial relationship is ideal, funding limitations often create difficulties for the nonprofit/public sector relationship.
Government funding is increasingly scarce, so nonprofits have begun commercializing services in order to make a profit and finance the continued pursuit of their mission (Weisbrod 1997, 543). This places nonprofits in direct competition with private or for-profit firms and provides little benefit to local governments, because nonprofits are tax-exempt organizations (Weisbrod 1997, 545). The complicated relationship between the nonprofit sector and both the public and private sectors, combined with the challenge of defining nonprofit make it difficult to clearly identify the role nonprofits play in society and the economy.

Nonprofits and Political Advocacy

Much of the difficulty associated with understanding the role of the nonprofit organization stems from confusion surrounding nonprofits and their role in political advocacy. Many nonprofits form out of the need for policy change and nonprofit organizations often take on the role of organizing people around certain issues and lobbying the government for policy change (Smith 2004, 9). This undertaking conflicts with the nonprofit sector’s dependence on government funding. Nonprofit dependence on public funds has resulted in many nonprofits reprioritizing their goals and mission in order to accommodate government regulations and opinions (Smith 2004, 8). Many nonprofits dependent on federal funding choose to adapt to policy change instead of attempting to change policy (Reid 2004, 26). Nonprofits that are not limited by this funding constraint are often too small in scale to affect true policy change; therefore they team up, forming coalitions to lobby the government for transformation (Smith 2004, 9). The coalition technique is also used by the nonprofit sector to lobby the government for additional funding for their area of interest (Frumkin 2002, 75). Rules and regulations imposed by the government also substantially affect the nonprofit sector’s ability to advocate for policy change.
As mentioned above, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has created several different categories of nonprofit organizations. If a nonprofit wishes to involve itself in political advocacy, it must follow the regulations stipulated by the IRS. Due to the tax-exempt status and the ability of 501(c)3 organizations to receive tax deductible donations, a limitation is placed on the amount of money that 501(c)3s can spend on political advocacy and lobbying (Frumkin 2002, 56). Further, 501(c)3s are prohibited by government regulations from taking sides in elections and therefore must remain nonpartisan (Frumkin 2002, 54). 501(c)4 nonprofits operate under different regulations. These nonprofits cannot receive tax-deductible donations so the IRS places fewer restrictions on how they can organize and affect government policy (Warren 2004, 39). 501(c)4 organizations are often preferred for partisan political advocacy because donors do not need to be disclosed (Reid 2004, 33). Both 501(c)3s and 501(c)4s can advocate for changes with respect to certain political issues under IRS regulations (Frumkin 2002, 55). However, Smith finds that nonprofit political advocacy has been limited by IRS regulation (Smith 2004, 10). Many view the IRS regulations as the government sending a mixed-message—the public sector funds the work of nonprofits and encourages nonprofit organizations to fill the service gap, while simultaneously regulating the ability of nonprofits to affect policy change for the disadvantaged populations they represent (Berry 2003, 4). Nonprofit organizations are often attempting to deliver services and advocate for populations that do not have a voice in the legislative process, adding another facet to the nonprofit sector’s role in political advocacy.

A key role of nonprofits in political advocacy is grassroots organization and network building. Social movements, often initiated and implemented by nonprofit organizations have been key in affecting policy change in the past (Smith 2004, 6). Nonprofit organizations help to bring people together and use outreach initiatives to educate the population and involve citizens
in politics (Frumkin 2002, 30). The nonprofit sector strives to build social networks that create linkages within a community and encourage active political and civic engagement (Frumkin 2002, 44). Many nonprofits form out of the creation of social networks or organization around a specific issue. These nonprofits attempt to affect widespread policy change, using the support from the social network as clout (Smith 2004, 9). By encouraging organization around a specific issue affecting a community, nonprofits facilitate the building of social capital through trust, cooperation, and reciprocity (Warren 2004, 42). Nonprofits then provide representation of the group’s opinion to the government (Warren 2004, 44). Berry notes that this often takes place in communities or populations with no voice to express the need for policy change to the government (Berry 2003, 4). This makes nonprofits integral to advocacy for policy change that will better meet the needs of disadvantaged populations, such as the immigrant population described in the literature review above.

**Summary**

Based on the academic literature summarized above, there is a clear academic framework within which this study takes place. The gap in both the immigrant and nonprofit literature that is most relevant to this study is the lack of academic research on nonprofit organizations affecting policy change on behalf of immigrants. This study will begin to fill this gap.
Chapter 3: Methodology

This study is focused on the nonprofit organizations serving Latino immigrants in Cincinnati, Ohio, because the location is convenient to the researcher and there is a growing Latino immigrant population. Case study research was selected as the best method to understand how nonprofit organizations in Cincinnati serving Latino immigrants are affecting change in the policy arena. Case study research entails “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin 2009, 18). The case study for this thesis is defined as the nonprofit organizations participating in policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population in Cincinnati, Ohio. The case study research technique allowed the researcher to fully explore this contemporary issue within the given time and geographic constraints. In addition, case study research was selected because several academic studies on immigrant issues were conducted utilizing case study research. Li uses the case study method to review the literature pertaining to immigrants to Canada in order to gain an understanding of how social capital affects the economic success of the immigrants (Li 2004, 172). Further, Hagan utilizes an extensive ethnographic case study of the Maya community in Houston to examine the role of immigrant-based networks in long-term immigrant settlement (Hagan 1998, 57).

Data for the case study were gathered from semi-structured interviews with identified nonprofit organizations and other participants in policy change initiatives, periodicals and published documents, and researcher observations from interviews, meetings, and other interactions with the topic of interest. The research process took place between September and May of 2011 (Appendix A, Table 6).
Method Used to Identify and Locate Data Sources

The first step in the exploration of how Cincinnati nonprofits serving immigrants are affecting policy change was to identify nonprofits working with the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati. In order to find such organizations, research was conducted on the Latino immigrant population and contact was made with the Cincinnati Interfaith Workers Center (CIWC). The snowball sampling technique was used to find additional agencies and actors through continued research and referrals from interviewees. A list of organizations was compiled and interviews were scheduled with each organization. Table 2 shows the organizations and individuals approached in the first round of interviews:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nonprofit Organization:</th>
<th>Date of Interview:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati Interfaith Workers Center (CIWC)</td>
<td>Completed October 11, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su Casa Hispanic Center</td>
<td>Completed October 21, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)—Cincinnati</td>
<td>Declined to participate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Social Action</td>
<td>No Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Maria Community Services (SMCS)</td>
<td>Completed December 7, 2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first interview stage, semi-structured interviews were conducted with each willing organization in order to understand organizational background and history, outreach techniques and strategies, and issues—specifically policy issues—that the organization worked on in the past (and in some cases are actively working on). A semi-standardized interview structure was selected, because the subject matter required a casual interviewing environment that allowed the interviewee to digress from the prepared list of questions (attached as Appendix A, Table 7). Some structure was required for the interviews, because comparisons and common threads
needed to be found within the data, in order to produce conclusions that would make a contribution to the field of nonprofits in Cincinnati working to serve immigrants by affecting policy change.

Snowball sampling was used again after the first round of interviews, to identify and select additional interviewees. The researcher utilized the data gathered through note taking during the first round of interviews. Additionally, from the first interview with the CIWC, the researcher found that the organization is participating in the No Deportations Coalition (NDC), a collective effort by several organizations serving immigrants to combat the Secure Communities program in Cincinnati and eliminate unjust deportations. The researcher attended NDC meetings and identified additional actors to interview for this study. By interviewing as many actors as possible within the time constraints, the researcher gained an understanding of how nonprofits act as policy advocates for the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati. The organizations and individuals interviewed in the second round of interviews are shown in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations:</th>
<th>Date of Interview:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW Local 75)</td>
<td>Completed February 15, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Justice and Policy Center (OJPC)</td>
<td>Completed February 14, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA (HCCUSA)</td>
<td>Completed January 31, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)—Cincinnati</td>
<td>Completed March 7, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Welcome Center (IWC)</td>
<td>Completed February 3, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Charles Borromeo Church/Catholic Hispanic Ministry</td>
<td>Completed February 7, 2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 LULAC Cincinnati was approached for an interview in both rounds. The researcher provided the organization with additional information after the first request, which resulted in the organization agreeing to participate in the second round of interviews.
For the same reasons outlined above, semi-structured interviews were chosen for the second round of interviews as well. After the first round of interviews, the questions in Appendix A, Table 7 were modified in order to effectively ascertain desired information. Table 8 in Appendix A shows the categories of information desired and the questions asked to obtain this information in the second round of interviews.

**Procedures Used for Analyzing the Data Sources**

The data gathered for this study were evaluated through coding, triangulation, and narrative analysis. Coding is a form of content analysis, which is “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases and meanings” (Berg 2009, 338). Coding requires the researcher to identify a unit of analysis (e.g. a word, phrase, paragraph). For the analysis in this study, the unit of analysis was derived inductively, which according to Berg requires that the researcher use the data “to identify the dimensions or themes that seem meaningful to the producers of each message” (Berg 2009, 347). After the data were collected, the researcher deduced that concepts would be the best unit of analysis for the coding process.

In coding, a concept is defined as “words grouped together in conceptual clusters (ideas)” (Berg 2009, 349). This helped to draw comparisons between collected interview data, and identify common themes from the responses. As the research for the study proceeded, the coding process became more refined. The analysis component of this research study also included interpretation based on observation, via narrative analysis.

Direct interpretation or narrative analysis provides the researcher with the opportunity to make observations from the data based on past experience and knowledge from outside research, including the literature review. Stake notes that qualitative research “concentrates on the instance, trying to pull it apart and put it back together again more meaningfully—analysis and
synthesis in direct interpretation” (Stake 1995, 75). The primary goal of this research was to understand the case fully. For this study, utilizing direct interpretation helped gain a complete understanding of the case study being examined in a limited period of time. Part of direct interpretation is searching for what Stake calls correspondence, which essentially means searching for patterns within the case the researcher is studying. Identifying correspondence helps the researcher “to understand behavior, issues, and contexts with regard to our particular case” (Stake 1995, 78). Finding points of correspondence or patterns within the case ties directly to the final point of analysis within this research study—triangulation.

Triangulation encompasses the idea that in case study research evidence can come from many different places and in many different forms. Yin notes, “a major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence” (Yin 2009, 115). The sources of evidence for this research study were the interviews conducted (outlined above), documents, websites, and academic literature. “Using multiple sources of evidence is the development of converging lines of inquiry” (Yin 2009, 116). Identifying points of convergence helps provide a full understanding of the case study, which was mentioned above as integral to successful case study research. Triangulation required the researcher to look at each source of data, consider the findings (often through direct interpretation and in some instances through coding) and determine where the sources of data converged and what implications that had for the researcher’s analysis. Triangulation provided the opportunity for all of the analytical techniques to converge and for sound conclusions and recommendations to form. “When you have really triangulated the data, the events or facts of the case study have been supported by more than a single source of evidence” (Yin 2009, 116). By having multiple sources of evidence

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6 Direct interpretation is easier to accomplish quickly, because it does not require an extensive and detailed process like coding.
supporting conclusions and analysis of the case study, the researcher ensured the analysis is valid and will be considered as such upon further review.

**Criteria for Evaluating the Information Found**

The process of data evaluation in this study was iterative. The categories of analysis detailed in Table 4 were utilized.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Iterative Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Analytical Categories:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note services provided by each nonprofit or other organization to the Latino immigrant population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of organizations working on policy issues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of collaboration surrounding policy issues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of participation in policy change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of activities utilized in policy initiatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique characteristics of the Latino immigrant population.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7 Direct participation in policy change is defined as organizations or individuals who initiated or coordinated projects where the express purpose was affecting policy change on behalf of Hispanic immigrants. Active participation in a coalition to affect policy change or other public efforts to work for policy change is also considered direct participation. Participation in the form of educational efforts or service provision to the population is considered indirect participation in affecting policy change.
The interview transcripts and other supporting documents were read with these categories of analysis in mind. This iterative process resulted in an understanding of how nonprofits serving Latino immigrants in the Cincinnati area affect policy change.
Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

Nonprofit advocacy for policy reform on behalf of the Latino immigrant population is occurring in greater Cincinnati; however, prior to this study there was minimal available information about this advocacy work. At the start of this study, the researcher intended to interview only nonprofits that had participated in past initiatives for policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population. After the researcher’s first interview with the Cincinnati Interfaith Workers Center (CIWC), it was evident that a collaborative initiative to affect policy change was taking place now and needed to be explored further in order to fully understand the case study.  

At the time the researcher spoke with Aaron Miller, the CIWC organizational representative, he informed the researcher of the formation of the No Deportations Coalition (NDC) and invited the researcher to attend NDC meetings. The NDC initially formed to address the activation of the Secure Communities program in the Cincinnati area, and transitioned to focusing on the creation of a city where everyone is treated as an equal—including immigrants. The coalition is a group of organizations and individuals that serve the immigrant population of Cincinnati in some way and are interested in accomplishing the vision of the coalition. Although some of the organizations discussed in this study were identified and contacted outside of the researcher’s attendance at any NDC meeting (e.g. Santa Maria Community Services (SMCS) and the International Welcome Center (IWC)), most of the organizations interviewed were identified via the NDC meetings.

Through the researcher’s interaction with the NDC it became evident that the coalition was a unique opportunity to understand how the nonprofit organizations serving the Latino immigrant population formed a network to affect policy change on behalf of the population. By

8 The case study is defined as Cincinnati area nonprofits serving the Latino immigrant population.
observing the meetings and interacting with the members of the NDC the researcher secured interviews with several key organizations and individuals participating in the policy change process. The information gained from these interviews, as well as interviews with other organizations outside of the NDC, triangulated to identify common points of analysis. The findings and analysis detailed below will provide an understanding of the strategies and techniques used by a variety of organizations advocating for policy change on behalf of Cincinnati’s Hispanic population.

**Organizational Background and Service Provision**

Based on the researcher’s interaction with the organizations providing services to the Latino immigrant population—through the NDC and the interviews conducted for this study—she gathered a plethora of information on organizational service provision. Each organization interviewed affects policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population either directly or indirectly. Beyond organizational participation in advocating for immigration policy change, the interviewees provide an array of needed services to the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati. It is vital to understand each organization separately, in order to fully understand their participation in the NDC and their coordinated efforts to affect policy change on behalf of the population they serve. Each organization is described below, laying the foundation for the analysis of this case study.

**Cincinnati Interfaith Workers Center**

The Cincinnati Interfaith Workers Center (CIWC) attempts to educate and organize low-income and immigrant workers. The organization’s mission is “to educate, empower and mobilize people experiencing injustice in the workplace in order to achieve positive systemic change” (Cincinnati Interfaith Workers Center n.d.). The organization often deals with issues of wage theft, illegal labor practices, and injustice in the work place. At its inception, the CIWC’s
clientele was largely low-income African American wage laborers; however, the population this organization serves has evolved as the composition of the City’s population has changed, and now is predominantly Hispanic immigrants (Interview 1).

In order to respond to the needs of the population it serves, the CIWC focuses on two primary areas of service: 1) wage theft and labor abuses, and 2) immigration reform and protecting immigrants. According to CIWC’s Aaron Miller, these two components of the organization’s mission are inextricably linked (Interview 1). In reference to immigration reform, the CIWC focuses on direct action and campaigns, with the organization acting as an advocate on behalf of the immigrant population (Interview 1). The CIWC focuses its efforts on meeting immediate needs, especially when a current or potential member comes to them in search of help for wage theft or other labor abuses. The organization’s participation in policy change is direct, as exemplified by its strong role in the NDC.

The CIWC acts as the de facto coordinator of the NDC. The organization’s representatives lead the meetings of the coalition and handle the administrative side of the NDC. The CIWC is also an active participant in the NDC’s efforts to educate Latino and other immigrants about their rights, via “Know Your Rights Trainings.” These trainings—given in both English and Spanish—provide information about the programs and policies affecting immigrants and what the immigrant population can do to protect itself from discrimination and abuses. The CIWC is also a key collaborator in developing ideas and strategies to influence policy change on behalf of the immigrant population via the coalition.

**Su Casa Hispanic Center of Cincinnati**

Su Casa is a program of the Catholic Charities of Southwestern Ohio. Established in 1997, it was the first organization in the Cincinnati area to provide services to Hispanic immigrants (Interview 2). Su Casa provides services in the following categories: 1) Information
and Referral, 2) Employment Services, 3) Legal Services, 4) Education, 5) Health Promotion, 6) Spanish Literacy, and 7) Emergency Food Assistance. The organization assists with first entrance into the community and provides informational services and assistance for people moving into the area (Interview 2). Most of the organization’s constituents are working class individuals and do not hold professional level jobs (Interview 2). Su Casa works closely with its clients to prepare them to enter the job market, which includes helping them with résumés and trying to provide clients with the skills necessary to succeed in this job market as well as the job market in their home country. The agency also acts as a referral service, providing clients with referrals to other organizations that can better meet their needs. Su Casa has eight different levels of English as a second language (ESL) classes and a language exchange program, which entails discussion in both English and Spanish. Su Casa also provides tutoring for children and exercise classes (Zumba and Yoga) for the community at large. All of these services are free to the community (Interview 2).

Su Casa also provides legal consultations and health care—services that are difficult for the population it serves to access. There are four volunteer lawyers who provide consultations by appointment. The lawyers do not provide full representation in court. The service is provided on site and lasts an average of 40 minutes (Interview 2). Isabel Garcia, the organizational representative interviewed for this study, noted that the Hispanic immigrant population faces all of the same legal issues as the population at large. She stressed the fact that many individuals are seeking legal consultation as a result of traffic violations that lead to immigration issues (Interview 2). Su Casa also holds two health fairs a year, with approximately 400 attendees at each fair (Interview 2). Part of the high attendance rate at the health fairs (and other Su Casa
events) may be attributable to Su Casa’s unique role as a gathering place for the Hispanic immigrant community.

Su Casa acts as a gathering place for many Hispanic immigrants, especially those who attend Saint Charles Borromeo Catholic Church, which is located across the street. Often, members of the Hispanic community will come to the community room at Su Casa for pastries and coffee after Church (Interview 2). Su Casa is the only organization interviewed that acts as a congreagation point for members of the Hispanic immigrant community.

The organization’s role as a gathering place is its primary form of participation in policy change initiatives. For example, Su Casa acted as the venue for a League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) press conference related to a recent immigration issue. The organization is an indirect participant in the No Deportations Coalition, by allowing coalition meetings to be held in its space. In the interview, Isabel Garcia noted that Su Casa supports immigration reform under the guidelines of the Catholic Church and the Archdiocese of Cincinnati —officially adopting these organizations’ stance on immigration reform. While the organization’s primary goal is not to affect policy change, it does provide support for organizations working towards this goal (Interview 2).

**Santa Maria Community Services**

Santa Maria Community Services (SMCS) is located in Price Hill, and its service provision is largely governed by the geographic boundaries of the neighborhood. Originally a Settlement House agency, SMCS continues to utilize this approach for the determination of service provision; and this requires assessing and accommodating the needs of the community it serves, as they arise. This approach to service provision led SMSC to its current list of services, catering to a bicultural community comprised of all races, including Hispanic immigrants, who
make up 5 percent of the neighborhood population (Interview 3). The organization provides services in four categories:

1) Affordable Housing
2) Early Childhood Development/Parenting
3) Health/Wellness
4) Youth Development

The SMCS wellness program serves 2,500 people in Price Hill—all adults and 90 percent uninsured. Approximately 75 percent of those served are Latino (Interview 3). The organization also does Meals on Wheels for seniors and has partnered with a local school—the Roberts Paideia Academy—to create the International Welcome Center, which provides services to the families of immigrant students (discussed in greater detail below). SMCS also provides referral services to those in need. The organizational representative interviewed for this study, Sean Roberts, provided an in-depth description of how the Hispanic population in the Price Hill neighborhood has evolved and concomitantly how the need for services to this population has evolved as well.

In the last 15 years, Latinos have moved into Lower Price Hill because of the affordable housing stock, which is 80 percent rental. Staying close to its Settlement House roots, an employee who spoke Spanish reached out to the Hispanic population because they were clearly in need of assistance with 8-12 people living in one apartment and sending the money they earned back home to their families (Interview 3). Sean Roberts noted most of the Hispanic immigrants living in the neighborhood today are of Guatemalan descent—meaning that Spanish is actually their common second language. SMCS has made a concerted effort to reach out to this population and identify its needs. For example, the organization has found that many immigrants living in Price Hill need help dealing with their landlords to mitigate misunderstandings that arise as a result of cultural differences (Interview 3). SMCS has responded to the growing
Hispanic population by maintaining a staff with 9-10 bilingual (in Spanish and English) employees that can reach out to all residents of Price Hill (Interview 3). The organization does not have any formal program for participation in influencing policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants, nor is the organization a participant in the NDC.

**International Welcome Center at Roberts Paideia Academy**

The International Welcome Center (IWC) located at the Roberts Paideia Academy was created to serve the immigrant families of the students attending the school. The organization is a program of SMCS, and therefore also serves the immigrant residents of Price Hill and the West Side. The Roberts Paideia Academy is a Cincinnati Public School located in Price Hill that serves a large international population. The IWC was developed based on a request from the principal of the Roberts Paideia Academy, who felt that the students’ families needed resources to adjust to their new lives in the United States (Interview 4). As a result of this request, the IWC formed as a partnership between SMCS and the Academy to provide transitional and other services to the immigrant families of students. As a result, the organization’s services are targeted towards the specific needs of this population.

The Center became a certified Ohio Benefits Bank, so it could help immigrant clients fill out the necessary forms to receive Federal benefits. The assistance in filling out these forms is limited to the documented immigrant population (although the organization never asks about immigration documentation) because only documented immigrants qualify for Federal and state benefits. The International Welcome Center will also help people fill out job applications and other forms (Interview 4).

The IWC also provides ESL classes to interested adults, including free childcare during the courses as well as free transportation to and from the courses. There are four levels of classes ranging from beginner to proficiency, each with a qualified teacher. The IWC tries to
accommodate the needs of the population (i.e. free childcare and transportation) so that individuals and families can benefit from its services (Interview 4). Cecelia Gomez, the organizational representative interviewed for this study, touted the success of the ESL program. At the start of the 2010-11 school year 35 students were enrolled and attending regularly. Attendance waned as the year progressed which Ms. Gonzales attributed to a lack of stable employment and cultural adjustment to cold weather (Interview 4). The group with the most consistent attendance is the intermediate group; they have passed the frustrating beginners’ stage and are starting to retain the English language (Interview 4). Ms. Gonzales noted the importance of these English classes to educating the immigrant population and ensuring that they are able to understand their rights (Interview 4). The IWC also provides Spanish classes to the teachers at Roberts Paideia Academy and other individuals who need Spanish for their work (Interview 4).

In addition, IWC acts as a social spot for people in Price Hill, holding an International Coffee Hour, which is open to anyone in the community. During the coffee hour, Hispanic immigrant women⁹ socialize with one another and share stories as well as listen to speakers brought in by the IWC. Speakers address issues relevant to the attendees including protecting children from bullying. At one coffee hour, a lawyer spoke about immigration issues and applying for a visa now that the individuals are living in the United States (Interview 4). The coffee hour also acts as a time for immigrants to share personal experiences and build trust between the IWC and the immigrant community. This increases the likelihood that immigrants will feel comfortable coming to the IWC for help in the future (Interview 4). Like SMCS, the IWC tries to respond directly to the needs of the population it serves. For example, the IWC is

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⁹ This population is not targeted, but happens to be the group that attends the most. The interviewee mentioned a desire to expand to other components of the immigrant population—specifically the African immigrant population.
considering adding a Spanish literacy program, because illiteracy is a problem among the Hispanic immigrant population in Price Hill (Interview 4).

IWC participates indirectly in affecting policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants. The organization makes a concerted effort to educate the population it serves about their rights and equip them with the skills necessary (e.g. speaking English) to face the challenges posed by living as an immigrant in Cincinnati (Interview 4). IWC also provides referrals to relevant organizations or individuals that can help immigrants with legal issues (Interview 4).

**Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA**

The Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA (HCCUSA) focuses on connecting the Hispanic community through business. The mission of the organization “is to promote the continued growth and development of the Hispanic/Latino business community in the Tri-State area” (Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA 2010). The HCCUSA’s membership includes Hispanic individuals and businesses (Interview 5). The organization allows Hispanic community members to post résumés and jobs to its website, and encourages service to the Hispanic community. The organization reaches out and provides services to businesses with Hispanic leaders and employees. HCCUSA also facilitates the inclusion of Hispanic members on the boards of both Hispanic and non-Hispanic businesses (Interview 5).

The HCCUSA is starting an organization called H100, which focuses on enlisting members of the Hispanic community to become volunteer leaders in their own community (Interview 5). Through H100, Hispanic community members can volunteer to help organizations in need of partnerships with Hispanic individuals or groups (e.g. to fulfill a diversity component). “Currently, there are more opportunities for leadership than there are Hispanics available to lead” (Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA: Programs 2010). The primary goal of the organization is to find 100 Hispanics under the age of 40 who will become future leaders of the
community (Interview 5). This initiative is one arm of the HCCUSA’s overarching effort to debunk myths about the Hispanic population by challenging stereotypes and emphasizing the positive contributions the Latino population makes to the Cincinnati community.

The organization focuses on educating the population at large about the positive contributions Hispanic immigrants are making to the region’s economy. This has resulted in two studies in conjunction with the University of Cincinnati that analyzed the contribution made to the local economy by the immigrant population. HCCUSA released these studies to inform the population and set straight erroneous and detrimental beliefs pertaining to the immigrant population (Interview 5). Eduardo Rodriguez, the organizational representative interviewed for this study, also noted the importance of educating all Cincinnati area youth about the positive role of immigrants in Cincinnati and beyond (Interview 5). The organization is accomplishing this through its participation in Cincinnati: A City of Immigrants, an initiative to teach junior high school students about the importance of immigrants to the region. The HCCUSA has printed more than 50,000 pamphlets for the initiative and distributed them to junior high schools throughout the region. Mr. Rodriguez noted that this is an ideal way to reach out to future leaders and inspire an appreciation of the immigrant experience that will inform their future decisions (Interview 5).

The HCCUSA also coordinates a network for members and non-members that is comprised of both Hispanic-owned or operated businesses as well as individuals. The organization holds networking meetings, free to all members and $10 for non-members, to continue building a strong business and entrepreneurial network in the Hispanic community (Interview 5). HCCUSA uses events and partnerships with prominent local organizations to promote a positive perception of the Latino population in Cincinnati. This includes participating
in events like Cinci Cinco, Hispanic Heritage Month, and Hispanic Heritage festivals (Interview 5).

The HCCUSA participates indirectly in shaping policy on behalf of Latino immigrants. The organization attempts to educate its members and the population at large about the positive contributions this population makes to the region. By emphasizing this positive contribution, the HCCUSA is helping to lay the foundation for policy reform (Interview 5). Moreover, the HCCUSA’s participation on various boards for both Hispanic and non-Hispanic businesses throughout the region (some members are on 10 boards or more), allows the organization to influence important actors in the region and continue improving the perception of the Hispanic population living and working in Cincinnati (Interview 5).

**Ohio Justice and Policy Center**

The Ohio Justice and Policy Center (OJPC) “works for productive, statewide reform of the criminal justice system by:

- Promoting rehabilitation of incarcerated people;
- Enabling them to successfully reintegrate into the community; and
- Eliminating racial disparities in the criminal justice system” (Ohio Justice and Policy Center 2010).

This mission is exceptional among the organizations interviewed, as the OJPC concentrates exclusively on advocating for those who are treated unjustly by the criminal justice system. The OJPC accomplishes this mission with a mix of legal action and education efforts.

When the OJPC identifies an area where injustice is occurring, it attempts to organize people and take legal measures to affect change in the system in order to rectify the current situation and prevent injustice of a similar nature from occurring in the future. This involves lawsuits and other legal initiatives as well as “public messaging” efforts, through which the
affected population can be educated about the issues and take action under the legal guidance of the OJPC (Interview 6).

The organization participates directly in policy change. The OJPC is a participant in the NDC. The NDC is the organization’s first foray into policy reform on behalf of the immigrant population. The OJPC contributes to the NDC by using its legal knowledge to solicit records using Freedom of Information Act requests, and helps run the “Know Your Rights” trainings. According to organizational representatives David Stevens and Emily Simpson, OJPC’s participation in the NDC will serve as a catalyst to working on immigration cases and establishing the organization as a key player in immigration policy reform (Interview 6). One link between the organization’s mission and immigration reform is the organization’s desire to change the treatment immigrants receive from local police departments. OJPC hopes to affect policy change on behalf of the immigrant population at the local level by eliminating any possibility for racial profiling in the criminal justice system (Interview 6). The services provided by the OJPC are very different from those provided by other organizations and individuals interviewed, as the organization focuses on addressing injustices in the criminal justice system and utilizing legal mechanisms to help shape policy change.

**United Food and Commercial Workers Local 75**

The local contingent of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union, Local 75, works to organize and represent the workers in these industries. Local 75 represents “nearly 30,000 workers in over 50 counties in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky. Local 75 is one of the largest private sector unions in the country” (UFCW Local 75 2010). The workers represented by Local 75 are a diverse cohort, although a substantial portion of the workers are Hispanic immigrants (Interview 7).
Local 75 serves the Hispanic immigrant population of the Cincinnati region by organizing Hispanic immigrant workers in the food and commercial industries and helping them fight and maintain their workplace rights (Interview 7). UFCW Local 75 is concerned with the health and well being of the workers in its union; therefore it actively participates in working on immigrant issues. Local 75 cares about immigrants because they are workers as well. It is an organization that fights for its members needs, and immigration reform is an important member need (Interview 7). Local 75 also focuses on cultivating leaders within the Latino community of workers it organizes and represents.

The union is actively working to organize workers, including Hispanic immigrants, in the food and commercial workplaces in order to create a safe, fair, and equitable workplace for all workers (Interview 7). Local 75 also attempts to intervene in workplace issues. Interviewee Carol Cooper provided one example of this type of intervention that dealt with Hispanic immigrants. An employer asked for an immigrant worker’s social security number, (which is illegal), and the union was able to intervene and protect the worker’s rights (Interview 7). According to the representative interviewed, forming a union is a small and tangible step that makes a big difference in the lives of the workers (Interview 7).

By helping Hispanic immigrants get organized and fight for their rights in the workplace, UFCW Local 75 is also preparing them to fight for their rights in other areas of their lives (Interview 7). This is an indirect form of participation in policy change. UFCW Local 75 also takes part in the NDC and, through that coalition participates directly in affecting policy change. The union’s role in the coalition is to serve as a connection to immigrant food and commercial workers, and to contribute its knowledge of the immigrant population to the movement for policy change. The UFCW Local 75 also helps facilitate the “Know Your Rights” trainings.
League of United Latin American Citizens

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Cincinnati Council works with the intention of empowering the Hispanic community of Cincinnati. The Council provides needed services to the Hispanic population through job listings on its website, educational opportunities, and participation in state and national LULAC conventions. LULAC Cincinnati works to educate the Hispanic community and the population at large, supplies food donations to local food banks, and works on collaborative projects with nonprofit organizations—including a technology lab at Su Casa (Interview 8).

The Cincinnati Council maintains a political platform that is aligned with that of the national organization, but addresses issues in the greater Cincinnati area specifically (Interview 8). The LULAC Cincinnati Council fills a unique service provision niche for the Hispanic immigrant population, acting as a public advocate on behalf of the population in certain circumstances. In order to accomplish this, LULAC focuses on relationship building and a proactive approach to immigration reform (Interview 8). One strategy LULAC utilizes to work towards policy change is publicizing its work on immigration issues and attempting to garner support. This requires that a substantial portion of the organization’s resources—both human and financial—are allocated to public relations (Interview 8).

Andy Nelson, the LULAC representative interviewed for this study, indicated that another organizational strategy for moving policy change forward is building relationships with politicians and policymakers and cultivating a relationship with the public (Interview 8). In order to accomplish this goal, LULAC—an all volunteer-based organization—must dedicate a substantial amount of personal time and utilize the personal and professional relationships of its members (Interview 8). Relationship building goes hand in hand with the organization’s public
relations efforts. LULAC also focuses on institution building and plans to expand its organization as part of this goal (Interview 8).

The proposed expansion will entail the creation of a 501(c)3 nonprofit statewide organization that is focused on civil defense and education. Within this organization, education could mean lobbying politicians or bringing class action lawsuits (Interview 8). According to Mr. Nelson, this new organization would serve as an integral step in LULAC’s efforts to build institutions in the Hispanic community of Ohio. This proactive plan will prepare the organization to deal with future issues, because institutional infrastructure will help to leverage relationships, ultimately bringing about positive change for the Hispanic immigrant community (Interview 8).

LULAC combines general service provision and projects to meet the needs of the Hispanic community with direct participation in attempting to affect policy change on behalf of the population. The organization focuses on public relations, relationship building and institution building as a means of bringing the challenges faced by the Hispanic immigrant community to the attention of the press and greater public. LULAC works to disseminate a positive image of the Hispanic population to the greater Cincinnati community in hopes of garnering support for immigration reform and other policy initiatives. This unique approach sets LULAC apart from other organizations interviewed for this study.

Saint Charles Borromeo Catholic Church/Catholic Hispanic Ministry

This church was identified as a key service provision organization to the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati through the researcher’s attendance at the NDC meetings.

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10 The LULAC Cincinnati Council is a 501(c)4 organization. As mentioned in the literature review, 501(c)4 organizations are social welfare organizations that serve a public purpose but cannot receive tax-deductible donations, allowing the organizations to participate in lobbying activities and placing fewer restrictions on their operations (Warren 2004, 39). 501(c)4 organizations serve specific communities and are often membership organizations, where members are motivated to further the organization’s mission because it will serve their own interests (Reid 2004, 22).
The interview was conducted with Father Jorge, the pastor and coordinator at Saint Charles Borromeo—referred to as San Carlos by the Hispanic community—in Carthage. This Church is “a community of faith that tends to the needs of the Hispanic community of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati” (Saint Charles Borromeo Catholic Church 2010). The Church serves as the site of the Catholic Hispanic Ministry for the Archdiocese and most of the Church’s parishioners are Hispanic immigrants. The Church offers all parish services in Spanish, including: religious education, sacraments and celebration, and masses (The Archdiocese of Cincinnati 2003). Su Casa and the Church often partner in service endeavors, and the population served by Su Casa is largely the same as those who attend San Carlos.

Interviewing Father Jorge also provided insight into the advocacy work of the Catholic Hispanic Ministry. The researcher expected that this advocacy work would take place within the organizational confines of the Church. Through the interview with Father Jorge the researcher found that his role as an advocate for the Hispanic population is complex and the interview resulted in a story of one priest’s efforts to work on behalf of the Latino community.

As a representative of the Church, Father Jorge provides a direct link to the Hispanic immigrant community of Cincinnati. He is able to identify and work on issues that other organizations may not be able to address. He is also able to organize the population, because the Hispanic immigrant community trusts the Church and if he is involved, people are more willing to participate and are likely to be less fearful (Interview 9). Father Jorge’s self-identification as a member of the community informs his advocacy work. The priest utilizes his ability to access and understand the population as a member of the community and his role as a faith leader to advocate on behalf of the population (Interview 9). This connection to the Hispanic population translates to direct participation in policy change initiatives, including the NDC. As a member of
the NDC, Father Jorge’s role involves the provision of insight into the needs of the population and partial representation of the faith community in coalition initiatives and efforts.

Summary

Each organization and individual interviewed for this study plays a distinct role in providing needed services and advocacy for the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati. The organizations’ service provision and level of participation in policy change span a wide range (as summarized in Table 5). Although each organization has a separate mission and utilizes an array of techniques to accomplish its goals, all of these organizations form a network of advocacy on behalf of the Latino immigrant population, best exemplified by the NDC. The information gathered about the organizations and elucidated above triangulated to illuminate several themes in the case study, outlined in greater detail below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Type of Participation in Policy Change</th>
<th>Participation in No Deportations Coalition (NDC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati Interfaith Workers Center (CIWC)</td>
<td>1) Addresses wage theft and labor abuses and 2) Works on immigration reform and protecting immigrants.</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su Casa Hispanic Center of Cincinnati</td>
<td>1) Information and Referral, 2) Employment Services 3) Legal Services, 4) Education, 5) Health Promotion, 6) Spanish Literacy, and 7) Emergency Food Assistance.</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>No (only as meeting place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Maria Community Services (SMCS)</td>
<td>1) Affordable housing, 2) Early childhood development/parenting, 3) Health/wellness, and 4) Youth development.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Welcome Center (IWC)</td>
<td>1) Ohio Benefits Bank, 2) ESL Classes, and 3) International Coffee Hour.</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA (HCCUSA)</td>
<td>1) Promoting the Latino business community and 2) Debunking myths about the Hispanic population through education.</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>Unofficially via a representative of several other organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Justice and Policy Center (OJPC)</td>
<td>1) Advocating for a just statewide criminal justice system and 2) Eliminating “racial disparities in the criminal justice system,” (OJPC 2010).</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Food and Commercial Workers Local 75 (UFCW Local 75)</td>
<td>1) Representing and organizing workers in food and commercial industries (many are Hispanic immigrants) and 2) Attempting to identify and cultivate leaders among its Hispanic worker population.</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)</td>
<td>1) Empowering the Hispanic population of Cincinnati and 2) Utilizing a proactive approach to immigration reform through institution building, relationship building, and public relations.</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Unofficially via a representative of several other organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Carlos Catholic Church/Catholic Hispanic Ministry</td>
<td>1) All parish services in Spanish and 2) Advocacy on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population by the parish priest.</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Analysis**

Based on the information presented above, the researcher identified three common threads in the nonprofit effort to affect policy change on behalf of Hispanic immigrants in Cincinnati. First, the nonprofits utilize collaboration as an integral component of affecting policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population. Second, many of the interviewees are facing similar constraints inhibiting their ability to influence policy. Third, many of the organizations use education as a key component of policy change efforts. Each theme is explored further and helps to construct a narrative about how nonprofit organizations in Cincinnati serving Latino immigrants are working to affect policy change.

**Collaboration**

The nonprofit organizations attempting to affect policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati collaborate. Collaboration among these organizations takes many different forms and varies by the organization—although many of the organizations interviewed are collaborating with one another. The previous section describes the unique roles played by each organization in service provision to the Latino immigrant population and how each organization forms a collaborative network created to affect policy change on behalf of the population, as exemplified by the NDC. Collaboration among these organizations and individuals takes many forms including partnerships within and outside of the network of organizations interviewed and coordination surrounding one issue/event, such as the NDC.

**Partnerships within the Network**

Most of the organizations mentioned some level of collaboration or partnership with other organizations in this study to provide certain services. For example, Su Casa noted partnerships with the CIWC to help its clients with wage theft and recovery, SMCS for health fairs, and a partnership with LULAC to create a technology center (Interview 2). LULAC views
its partnership with Su Casa as an integral component of accomplishing its mission. The organization utilized positive relationships with both Proctor and Gamble and Time Warner Cable to provide the children of Su Casa with access to technology, laying the infrastructure for future learning and giving them productive activities to contribute to their learning process and increase their likelihood of pursuing higher education (Interview 8). Ultimately, this type of partnership can lay the groundwork for future policy change, by cultivating a new generation of leaders.

SMCS and the IWC have a formal organizational partnership, because as mentioned above the IWC is a program of SMCS. Both entities work towards meeting the needs of the population within the Price Hill neighborhood. Each achieves this goal in different ways; however, the IWC can rely on the relationships and resources of the larger organization. Neither organization directly involves itself in affecting policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population; however, they work collaboratively to meet the needs of this population within Price Hill and provide Hispanic immigrants with the necessary tools and resources to fight for their own rights.

*Partnerships Outside the Network*

Organizations like the HCCUSA and LULAC partner with organizations and individuals outside of the network of immediate nonprofit service providers to the Hispanic immigrant community. The HCCUSA has partnered with the University of Cincinnati to produce economic studies on the contribution of the Hispanic population to Cincinnati’s economy. In addition, the HCCUSA has partnered with numerous other organizations (nonprofit and private sector) on *Cincinnati: A City of Immigrants*. The HCCUSA also collaborates with corporate sponsors and other organizations to host events that help debunk myths about the Hispanic immigrant population including: Cinci Cinco, Hispanic Heritage Month, and other festivals (Interview 5).
LULAC also utilizes partnerships with organizations outside the immediate network of service providers to help improve the perception of the immigrant population, and eventually garner support for immigration reform.

LULAC actively participates in the network of organizations providing services to the Hispanic immigrant population; however, the organization also forms relationships and partnerships with organizations that others might shy away from (Interview 8). For example, LULAC has built a relationship with the Coalition Opposed to Additional Spending and Taxes (COAST) in order to help establish a positive perception of the Hispanic community among diverse groups (Interview 8). LULAC has aligned itself with the American Jewish Council/Jewish Foundation, which allows the organization to utilize the political capital of the American Jewish Council/Jewish Foundation when fighting for Hispanic immigrants’ rights in the Cincinnati area (Interview 8). LULAC is also reaching out to the neighborhood councils, in the interest of facilitating neighborhood group participation in the upcoming national convention of the organization, which will take place in Cincinnati (Interview 8). What may be perceived as unconventional partnerships help LULAC to lay the groundwork for institution building and to build relationships that will help the organization advocate on behalf of immigrants and therefore affect policy change on behalf of the population.

**Coordination Surrounding One Issue/Event**

Several of the organizations/individuals interviewed mentioned their efforts to collaborate in order to address specific issues or events. For example, the UFCW Local 75 participated in a rally for immigration reform, as did all of the other organizations interviewed except SMCS and IWC. Several of the organizations, including Su Casa, San Carlos, and the CIWC mentioned coordinated efforts to address the revocation of licenses and car registrations for those without a valid social security number in December 2009. Another example of
organizations collaborating around a specific issue is the No Deportations Coalition, described in more detail below.

*No Deportations Coalition*

Four of the organizations interviewed are participating formally in the NDC: 1) CIWC, 2) UFCW Local 75, 3) OJPC, and 4) San Carlos Church. Initially, the coalition formed with the intention of fighting the Secure Communities program\(^\text{11}\) (which at the time communities thought they could opt out of) on three levels—legally, politically, and through service. The coalition has evolved and its vision has expanded beyond one program and is now focused on creating a city that is safe for all immigrants. By bringing a multitude of organizations to the table to work towards one goal, the NDC is able to capitalize on the strengths of each organization.

To approach immigration reform from the legal perspective, the NDC utilized the knowledge and skills of the OJPC. The OJPC has helped the NDC submit several Freedom of Information Act requests, as a way to legally obtain information on the police departments’ policies towards immigrants. Outside of these legal efforts, the coalition is utilizing service and tapping into the unique services provided and populations reached by its members. For example, the representatives from the CIWC, the OJPC, San Carlos Church and UFCW Local 75 have teamed up to reach out to the Hispanic immigrant population via “Know Your Rights Trainings” in both English and Spanish. By having multiple organizations involved, the coalition is able to reach a wider audience and educate individuals on their rights when facing discriminatory practices, including deportation.

\(^{11}\) The Secure Communities program is a U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) initiative to provide the technology necessary to link local police departments with ICE. The program allows local police departments to run the fingerprints of criminals through the ICE system to determine if there is any immigration violation. For more information, please see Chapter 3.
Some of the organizations interviewed are participating in the coalition through representatives but do not consider themselves official members of the coalition. For example, one participant in the NDC is also a LULAC member. According to the LULAC representative interviewed for this study, active participation in the coalition is impossible for a number of reasons, including resource constraints (it is a volunteer-based organization) that force the organization to prioritize the issues in which it becomes involved (Interview 8). LULAC represents itself and its priorities, and although it would like to participate it can only do what is within the purview of its organization (Interview 8). Su Casa does not actively participate in the coalition, although it does serve as a venue for coalition meetings.

The collaborative organizational network created by the NDC provides an opportunity for all of the organizations serving the Latino immigrant population to come together in an effort to affect change. The representatives interviewed on behalf of the OJPC provided interesting insight into the value of a coalition like NDC. The OJPC, which has participated in other coalitions focused on addressing injustices, believes in the power of coalitions and collaboration, and felt that participating in the No Deportations Coalition was a good opportunity to enter the fight for immigration reform (Interview 6). The organizations’ representatives feel that the member groups of the coalition bring different skill sets and with enough people the NDC can bring about change (Interview 6). The value of this coordinated effort is still unknown as the NDC is in its early stages, but the willingness of the organizations to collaborate may bolster each individual organization’s cause and ultimately affect policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati.

**Constraints Nonprofit Organizations Face When Affecting Policy Change**

Organizational participation in affecting change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati is constrained by several factors, including: 1) restrictive characteristics
of the Hispanic immigrant population, 2) nonprofit regulations and limited resources, and 3) oversight of umbrella organizations and the Catholic Church. Specific instances of the organizations interviewed for this study facing these constraints are outlined below.

**Restrictive Characteristics of the Hispanic Immigrant Population**

One of the greatest constraints to nonprofit organizations working on policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population in Cincinnati is the hidden nature of the immigrant population. Numerous organizations noted that Hispanic immigrants were unwilling to come forward and organize around policy issues because they were fearful of facing deportation or other legal problems as a result of their involvement. Father Jorge emphasized that it was very difficult to gain the trust of the undocumented immigrants (Interview 9). The Church utilizes its position because immigrants trust the Church and trust that the Church will not involve them in anything that might expose them or put them at risk (Interview 9). Father Jorge noted that other organizations—those not founded in the faith community—want to reach out to the Hispanic immigrant population, but oftentimes the immigrant population does not trust that these agencies will protect them (Interview 9). As a result, organizations often use the Church’s help to facilitate and build trust within the community (Interview 9). Other organizations reach out in different ways to build trust within the community and garner support for policy change initiatives.

SMCS reached out to the population through sports, a tool that the Church is also using, to build trust with the community. The representative of SMCS cited his love of soccer as a key connection-building tool between the organization and the immigrant population (Interview 3). When the local soccer team was first formed, only one or two guys showed up. These men were scouts sent to make sure that SMCS was safe. The next night word had spread and 15 guys showed up to play indoor soccer. Through this endeavor, SMCS developed a great relationship
with the young immigrants in the Price Hill neighborhood (Interview 3). This type of trust building requires time to cultivate trust and relationships, which may be particularly difficult for organizations new to the policy change effort. In addition, organizations providing multiple services to both immigrants and the larger population may lack the resources to dedicate to trust building.

The OJPC is new to participating in immigration reform, and considers its involvement in the NDC one way to build trust with the immigrant community. Organizational representatives noted they felt the Hispanic immigrant population was hidden and although the issues were there, they were not being tapped into and addressed (Interview 6). UFCW Local 75 cited that attempting to organize and build capacity within a population that is fearful of the law is very difficult. The Local 75 representative noted that it is even more difficult to identify individuals in the population as potential leaders, because of documentation issues and the difficulty of building enough trust for people within the population to actually become leaders (Interview 7). This representative emphasized the need for organizers and leaders to look like the Hispanic immigrants they are trying to organize and to speak the same language for successful organization (Interview 7). Several other interviewees also stressed the need for Hispanic leaders to help organize the Hispanic immigrant community and ultimately influence policy change.

LULAC noted that it is difficult to organize the Hispanic immigrant community without Hispanic organizers and representatives. Having Hispanic board members and organizational representatives makes it easier to reach out and become inclusive of the community (Interview 8). The unstable nature of employment, especially for undocumented immigrants, results in high mobility, which also makes organizing the population and identifying leaders difficult. The International Welcome Center noted that retention for its ESL classes is low primarily because
many of the class participants lack stable employment, forcing them to switch jobs and move continuously (Interview 4). The challenge of identifying stable community leaders within the Hispanic immigrant community threatens the success of efforts to organize this population to affect policy change. The perception and stereotypes of the Hispanic immigrant population also make impacting policy change extremely challenging.

Both representatives for the HCCUSA and LULAC mentioned the difficulty of working within and challenging the stereotypes and perceptions of the Hispanic immigrant population. The HCCUSA spends much of its resources and time attempting to debunk myths about the population. The representative noted that it is difficult to overcome stereotypes and misperceptions about the population (Interview 5). LULAC noted that many of its efforts are aimed towards challenging the negative tone used when writing about the Hispanic immigrant community in the press. The LULAC representative provided an example of a local sheriff, who was very vocal about his efforts to deport Hispanic immigrants, and had people in the media giving voice to his negative attitudes. In order to counteract this vitriol and portray the Hispanic community in a more positive light, LULAC began building positive relationships with the media and using personal and professional relationships as well as factual information from reputable academic sources and policy institutions to counter the negative press (Interview 8). By proactively working to eradicate the myths about the Hispanic immigrant community, LULAC is building the infrastructure, institutions, and relationships necessary to affect policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant community in the future. Many of the nonprofits interviewed are also facing regulatory and resource restrictions, further limiting their ability to change policy on behalf of the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati.
Nonprofit Regulations and Limited Resources

Of the nine organizations interviewed, only SMCS mentioned the restrictions placed on nonprofit organizations by the Federal Tax Code as a constraint for participating in policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population. The SMCS representative noted that the organization is only involved in policy change within the limitations placed on nonprofit organizations although the organization can do advocacy work and hold educational forums (Interview 3). These restrictions limit the amount of advocacy the organization can do, and completely restrict it from advocating for candidates. It can, however, advocate on certain issues should its board elect to do so (Interview 3). Although other interviewed organizations did not mention the Federal restrictions on nonprofit organizations, many mentioned the constraints that result from limited resources—funding, time, and manpower—on a nonprofit organization’s ability to work towards influencing policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population.

Most of the organizations interviewed cited a lack of resources necessary to effectively impact policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant community. The OJPC cited limitations due to the size and funding of the organization that prevented expansion of its work on immigration. The organization plans to use its participation in the NDC as a catalyst for future immigration policy reform initiatives and to access grants to fund official work on immigration (Interview 6). UFCW Local 75 also struggles with reaching out to the Hispanic immigrant population, when it is limited by a lack of resources to hire an additional Spanish-speaking representative that can handle representation (i.e. educating the workers about what their rights are within the union system) (Interview 7). LULAC also cited a lack of resources due to its solely voluntary workforce. Although the organization has an 80-person membership, the most active members are the members of the board who invest a large number of volunteer hours to
achieve the organization’s mission. It is a great deal of work for a volunteer group to fight immigration policy battles and financial and human resources are quickly exhausted, which is why the organization must conduct a cost-benefit analysis of each issue in which they become involved (Interview 8). The limited resources faced by nonprofit organizations attempting to affect policy change on behalf of Hispanic immigrants in Cincinnati, may result in some organizations limiting their participation in policy change efforts.

**Oversight by Umbrella Organizations and the Catholic Church**

Many of the organizations interviewed are part of a larger umbrella organization (e.g. UFCW Local 75 and LULAC) or are Catholic organizations (e.g. San Carlos Church and Su Casa). For both LULAC and UFCW Local 75 the parent organizations have little oversight over the local group’s actions in attempting to change policy on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population. The representative of UFCW Local 75 sees the national level as a larger scale that dictates the policies and issues the union supports, and while Local 75 adopts this stance, it is left at the discretion of the local chapter to determine its level of involvement in a given issue (Interview 7). UFCW Local 75 participates in changing policy on behalf of the immigrant population in Cincinnati, because it is an issue that directly affects the workers it organizes and represents (Interview 7). Similarly, according to the representative interviewed for this study, national LULAC has little oversight over the actions of the Cincinnati Council. Each local council takes a different approach and focuses on different things specific to their community (Interview 8). Although the local council follows the policy mandates of the national organization, each council addresses policy change in a manner that fits with the locality (Interview 8).

The Catholic Church also has oversight over two of the organizations interviewed, Su Casa and San Carlos. The two entities gave varying descriptions of the Church’s role in their
ability to work on policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati. Su Casa is under the umbrella of Catholic Charities of Southwestern Ohio, a Catholic faith-based organization. The organizational representative stated that Su Casa generally follows the Church’s lead and that the Social Action Office of the Archdiocese advocates for policy reform and establishes a political platform (Interview 2). Although Su Casa provides support for political reform initiatives (e.g. acting as a venue for No Deportations Coalition meetings), and participates occasionally in legislative visits, the organization adopts the official policy stance of the Church and participates in policy change efforts within their guidelines (Interview 2).

Father Jorge, the representative of San Carlos, provided a different perspective on how the Catholic Church influences the involvement of San Carlos Parish as well as his personal involvement in trying to change policy on behalf of Latino immigrants. According to Father Jorge, the Church serves as a sanctuary for immigrants because people are comfortable coming to the Church for help and guidance. Many Hispanic immigrants are overwhelmed by the experience of immigration; their faith gives them strength and they trust that the Church is a safe haven (Interview 9). Because immigration policy directly affects this population, Father Jorge represents the interests of his parishioners in initiatives for policy change.

In the interview, Father Jorge stated that he does not advocate on behalf of the immigrants because it is explicitly in his job description as a priest, but because he is a member of the community and feels morally obligated to advocate for a population that is in dire need (Interview 9). The Church serves as a central point for immigrants to feel safe and find someone who will represent their best interest. The Church is part of a faith community, which goes beyond the concept of separate ideologies and uses faith as a foundation for trying to do what is right (Interview 9). It is evident from this discussion that the Church’s oversight impacts an
individual working as a clergy member in a parish church differently than a nonprofit organization. An understanding of how the Church and parent organizations influence organizational participation in policy change for Latino immigrants is integral to a complete understanding of the case study.

**Education as a Form of Participation in Policy Change**

There is a diverse set of methods utilized by interviewed organizations to educate their clientele and the general population about policies and policy change. Education is a broad term, with many meanings; therefore it is vital to consider how education is defined in the context of this study. For the purposes of this study, education is a form of participation in policy change; when the educational effort is meant to debunk myths associated with the Latino immigrant population and by translation create an informed voting population. Further, education is considered a form of participation in policy change when it is used to enable the Latino immigrant population to better represent its own policy interests. Educating the Hispanic immigrant population prepares them to respond to issues and challenges in an informed way. Some organizations use this form of education as their only participation in the policy change process while others use it as one part of a larger agenda to affect policy change.

**Education as the Only Aspect of Organizational Participation in Policy Change**

The organizations that educate their members and the public at large about policies affecting immigrants as their primary tool to address policy change include: Su Casa, the HCCUSA, and the IWC. Su Casa serves as a venue for educational efforts by LULAC as well as other interviewed organizations. Su Casa also informs its clientele about other organizations’ work on policy issues providing the clients with the opportunity to participate in policy change (Interview 2). By acting as a venue for key educational initiatives, Su Casa helps to increase attendance and as a result increase the education of the Hispanic immigrant population about
policy issues that directly affect them, because as outlined in previous sections, Hispanic immigrants feel comfortable congregating at Su Casa (Interview 2).

The HCCUSA utilizes educational efforts to empower its members and the community. The HCCUSA educates youth via the Cincinnati: A City of Immigrants initiative because although many adult citizens today are having trouble understanding the importance of immigrants to our society, the organization hopes to help the future leaders of our community understand this concept (Interview 5). The HCCUSA also makes efforts to connect its members and create social networks that will help keep its clients informed about current policy issues and change initiatives. Many of the members of the HCCUSA are also members of key policy change advocacy institutions, including LULAC (Interview 5).

The IWC also uses education as its primary tool for policy change. Although the IWC does not participate directly in policy change initiatives, it does attempt to educate its members on policy issues that affect them. For example, during International Coffee Hour, the executive director of the IWC invited an immigration lawyer who spoke about how to get a visa now that they are already in the country and where they can seek help should they need it (Interview 4). It is important to the IWC that their clients are knowledgeable about their rights. A huge obstacle in understanding these rights is the English language barrier, which is why the IWC places great emphasis on ESL classes and International Coffee Hour—both help educate and empower immigrants (Interview 4). This level of education makes the clients of IWC capable of campaigning for policy change, or at least understanding their fundamental rights and how they can protect those rights (Interview 4).

**Education as Part of a Larger Political Action Effort**

Most of the organizations interviewed use education as one component of a larger political action agenda. The CIWC reaches out to the community through the provision of
training on workers’ and immigrants’ rights (Interview 1). This includes training workers on workplace safety and fairness. The CIWC also uses knowledgeable members to educate its membership on legal issues, for example an attorney who can educate people on their rights in general as well as specific instances such as should they open the door if the police do not have a search warrant (Interview 1). Through its education program, the CIWC hopes its clients will take the information and disseminate it across their social network. Ultimately, the organization’s hope is that well-educated members will influence others to vote for needed policy changes and put pressure on political figures (Interview 1). Other organizations, like San Carlos, take a social advocacy-based approach to education as a part of policy change.

Father Jorge believes that as an advocate for the Hispanic immigrant community, part of his advocacy work includes educating and empowering immigrants to advocate for policy change on their own (Interview 9). This approach is valuable because the immigrant population understands the system and can work within it. Father Jorge specifically cited the importance of understanding the system in order to protect children in the event the parents are deported (Interview 9). Encouraging this knowledge and understanding empowers the community, enabling them to develop their own solution and advocate for themselves, instead of relying on others (Interview 9). The Church actively participates in educational programs and is often used as a source for the audience for educational initiatives. Father Jorge refers to the people attending the Church as a captive audience, explaining that the Church presents the perfect opportunity to educate and empower a large number of Hispanic immigrants at once (Interview 9).

The focus on leadership development and education is also a central tenet of the UFCW Local 75’s efforts to affect policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant population. The union focuses on cultivating leadership among its workers. The UFCW Local 75 provides
workers the tools they need to organize and fight for their rights. Since a large proportion of these workers are Hispanic immigrants, these same tools can be used to prepare the workers to organize around different issues—including immigration policy issues—in the future (Interview 7). The empowerment and education of community leaders is integral to the successful organization of the community and eventually to the community’s ability to affect policy change.

LULAC takes a unique approach to educational efforts, focusing primarily on public relations to educate not only the Hispanic immigrant population but also the general population. This includes hosting educational movies and immigration parties, which engage people with immigration issues and foster discussion (Interview 8). Education also comes from the publicity surrounding the organization’s actions. For example, in a recent immigration case, there was extensive media coverage on local and national news sources, educating the community and the nation about immigration policy issues (Interview 8). This type of educational effort is one way that LULAC is working to affect policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants. The organization is also developing its own 501(c)3 organization, where one of the key tenets will be education (Interview 8). LULAC’s public approach to education initiatives that target the voting population at large, sets it apart from the other organizations interviewed, and makes a valuable contribution to efforts to affect policy change on behalf of the Hispanic immigrant community.

Several of the interviewed organizations are participating in a specific educational effort to affect policy change, the “Know Your Rights Trainings” for the NDC. The CIWC, UFCW Local 75, and OJPC have all participated in the development of these trainings about the rights of immigrant populations when interacting with the police and ICE. This is a collaborative educational effort and is only one part of the NDC’s larger effort to affect policy change. The collaborative nature of this educational effort sets it apart from individual organizational efforts,
because it is able to reach out to the various components of the Hispanic immigrant population served by each organization on the coalition. The NDC “Know Your Rights Trainings” are one example of the educational benefits of coordination among nonprofits in Cincinnati attempting to affect policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population.

This training initiative also speaks to a concern that educational tools for policy change can be top-down—with organizational representatives who are not members of the affected population constructing and conducting the trainings. Top-down educational initiatives may not be effective in helping immigrants represent their own rights in policy change initiatives, because immigrants may have difficulty relating to and trusting the trainers. Although a combination of organizational representatives and members of the Hispanic immigrant population conduct the “Know Your Rights Trainings,” members of the affected population are not the leaders of the training initiative.

Based on the researcher’s interaction with the NDC and the organizations participating in the “Know Your Rights Trainings” it is clear that there is difficulty in identifying leaders in the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati (Interview 7; Interview 9). Interviewees attributed this to the hidden nature of the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati (detailed in the previous section). This may also be attributable to the relatively small size of the Latino population in the Cincinnati area (as compared to other gateway cities). Therefore, at this time, top-down educational initiatives like the “Know Your Rights Trainings” may be one of the only avenues organizations can use to educate and empower immigrants to represent their own rights. As the NDC continues its efforts, best practices for educating and involving the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati in policy change will develop.
Summary

The large network of nonprofit organizations serving the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati is working to affect policy change in a variety of ways. Each organization serves its own unique niche, providing needed services to the population. In addition, many of the organizations are direct participants in attempting to affect policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population in order to enhance the population’s quality of life and facilitate the creation of a city of equals.

Through interviews with nine of the organizations working towards this cause, several key themes are evident in the effort to affect policy change. The organizations are all utilizing educational initiatives to promote self-efficacy and encourage the Latino immigrant population to work to affect policy change for themselves. Substantial effort is also aimed towards educating the general population about the positive contribution the Latino immigrant population is making to the greater Cincinnati community in order to garner support for policy change from other citizens.

All of the organizations interviewed are challenged by several similar constraints. It is difficult to fight for change on behalf of a population that is fearful of the law. Further, the organizations are not for profit and therefore face substantial resource constraints. Finally, some of the organizations are governed by larger bodies—umbrella organizations and the Catholic Church—and must remain cognizant of the rules, regulations, and political constraints of those organizations at all times. This creates an extremely challenging environment for the organizations interviewed to work within, and requires constant innovation and creativity in order to continue accomplishing their organizational missions.

One of the most effective ways for nonprofit organizations to affect policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants in Cincinnati is to collaborate with other organizations on this effort.
The best example of this is the NDC, where numerous organizations with similar goals are coming together to attempt to affect policy change. All of the organizations interviewed are utilizing collaboration in some way to better meet the needs of the Hispanic immigrant population. Further exploration into how collaboration can best be used to affect policy change on behalf of this population is needed, but it appears that the current network of nonprofits working toward this cause in Cincinnati are off to a good start.
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

This study set out to answer the research question, how are Cincinnati area nonprofits serving Latino immigrants participating in policy change? It is evident from the findings and analysis chapter that the researcher was at least partially able to answer the above research question. The data collected via semi-structured interviews with nonprofit organizations attempting to affect policy change on behalf of immigrants resulted in a preliminary understanding of how these organizations work for policy change. In some instances, the researcher’s analysis is supported by the scholarly conversation outlined in Chapter 2. Support for other findings is missing from the scholarly literature, indicating the need for further study. The researcher’s analysis also identified several issues in need of further exploration in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of how Cincinnati area nonprofits serving Latino immigrants are participating in policy change. This study is the first step in understanding how Cincinnati nonprofits serving Latino immigrants are working to affect policy change.

Correspondence Between Findings and Academic Literature

The scholarly literature provides the framework for the findings and analysis of this study. The role of nonprofit organizations in policy change is outlined in detail in the academic literature. Nonprofits often organize social movements and encourage political and civic engagement (Frumkin 2002). Further, nonprofit organizations play an integral role in representing the voice of underrepresented populations to the government in order to affect policy change (Berry 2003; Warren 2004). The nonprofit organizations composing the case study for this thesis perform similar roles to those outlined in the literature in regards to policy change.

Many of the interviewed organizations provide a voice to the Latino immigrant population and act as the only representation the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati has in the political sphere. One of the key techniques nonprofit organizations in Cincinnati are using
to better represent the Latino immigrant population is education. The organizations educate the population through outreach initiatives like the NDC’s “Know Your Rights” trainings. According to Frumkin, this type of educational strategy helps to build trust and cooperation within a community and involve the population in politics (Frumkin 2002). It is too early to determine if the “Know Your Rights” trainings are effective in building capacity within the immigrant population and increasing the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati’s participation in policy change. Most of the leaders of the “Know Your Rights Trainings” are not members of the Latino immigrant population, and this calls into question whether a top-down educational initiative can be effective in helping Latino immigrants advocate on their own behalf for policy change. This is information that will need to be gathered and evaluated at a later date.

The nonprofit scholarly conversation mentions the numerous constraints this type of organization faces in accomplishing its mission. These obstacles include limited resources and IRS regulations on policy and advocacy work. Both obstacles are faced by the nonprofits in this case study. As noted in Chapter 4, several of the organizations are limited in hiring additional help or becoming more involved in policy change initiatives because of limited resources. Only one of the nonprofit organizations mentioned the IRS regulations on political advocacy as a deterrent to getting involved in policy change, despite the fact that this area is covered extensively in the literature.

The literature surrounding the formation of immigrant communities corroborates the other constraint within which the nonprofits examined for this case study are operating—building trust within the immigrant population. As shown in the literature review, immigrant communities and social networks form in many different ways. It is the job of the nonprofit organizations to utilize community trust building and outreach techniques to establish a
relationship with the population. Two techniques utilized by the organizations in this case study are sports and religion. The organizations interviewed for this study utilized both techniques to build trust in the community and to disseminate information about policy change initiatives.

The key role of religion in the formation of community identity for the Hispanic immigrant population of Cincinnati also emerged in the data collected. This population gravitates to the Catholic Church for guidance and services. The scholarly conversation emphasizes the importance of religion as part of immigrant community identity, as immigrants trust religious institutions to care for and protect them (Agrawal 2008). This was reflected in collected data as several of the interviewed organizations utilized a close relationship with the religious community to reach out to the Hispanic immigrant population and advocate on its behalf.

Finally, the organizations in this case study correspond to the academic literature pertaining to both nonprofits and immigrant communities because the network of nonprofits is attempting to work for policy change via a coalition surrounding a specific issue. The literature notes that nonprofits often form coalitions to lobby the government for policy change, because as individual organizations they are too weak to affect real change (Smith 2004; Frumkin 2002). Within this case study this type of coalition building is seen in the NDC. The NDC’s vision is to create a Cincinnati that is safe for all immigrants. This mirrors the mission of the Right to the City Alliance, described by Leavitt, which purports that a city should be welcoming to immigrants and treat all of its residents as equals (Leavitt, Samara, and Brady 2009). The literature also encourages organization around a specific issue because it facilitates social capital building, trust, cooperation, and reciprocity (Warren 2004). The NDC is still new and little is known about the coalition’s ability to build social capital within the immigrant community and ultimately advocate for policy reform on behalf of the population. The connection between
available academic literature and the NDC suggest that the nonprofit organizations serving Latino immigrants in Cincinnati may be moving toward accomplishing the goal of the coalition—an equal and fair city for all Cincinnati residents.

**Divergence Between Findings and Academic Literature**

Despite the correspondence between the academic literature and the findings and analysis of this study, there are some points of analysis missing from the literature. For example, there is little literature on nonprofit organizations affecting policy change on behalf of immigrant populations. Although several authors alluded to the representation provided by nonprofits to disadvantaged populations (Berry 2003) and the services provided to immigrant populations by nonprofit organizations (Hum 2010), there is not a body of literature specific to the research question of this study. It is possible that research pertaining to this subject is limited because immigrants can be undocumented, presenting complex legal issues and limiting available information about the organization and representation of this population by nonprofit organizations.

One of the key themes evident throughout the data gathered for this study was the element of collaboration and the network created by the numerous nonprofit organizations involved in policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants in Cincinnati. Minimal academic literature on the value of nonprofit collaboration was evaluated for this study (beyond that cited above) and this body of literature would have been useful in helping the researcher understand the collaborative efforts of the organizations and the implications of collaboration. Further, there is little academic literature on collaboration among nonprofit organizations serving immigrant populations. This would have also been useful to frame the analysis of this study.

There are also several areas where extensive literature is available, and although the researcher expected to have similar findings, the findings and analysis of this study did not
correspond. The immigrant community identity formation literature emphasized the role of ethnic concentrations in helping formulate identity. Only one organization mentioned a concentration of Hispanic immigrants in Cincinnati (e.g. SMCS in the Price Hill neighborhood). Beyond this, no other interviewed organization mentioned the role of ethnic concentrations in community identity formation.

The nonprofit literature included a broad discussion of the role of nonprofit organizations relative to government and for-profit entities. Little mention was made of this relationship in the interviews for this study. Instead, organizations seemed more focused on accomplishing goals and meeting the immediate needs of the population they serve. Similarly, although the literature discussed the tax regulations of nonprofits in detail, only one organization made mention of it during data collection, suggesting that in terms of this case study, tax regulations were not a major deterrent to nonprofit organizations participating in policy change. In the areas where the available academic literature and the findings and analysis of this study diverge, further research may be required. The researcher has made several suggestions for further research below.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

There are several areas of research that would help fill in the gaps between the scholarly literature and the findings and analysis of this study, as well as, improve nonprofit service provision and advocacy for policy change for the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati. It would be useful for a researcher to explore a similar case study and compare it to this study. Currently, there is little research similar to that contained above and a basis of comparison could perhaps provide more substantial insights into how nonprofit organizations are affecting policy change on behalf of Latino immigrants. Further research would also be useful in the collaboration and coordination of nonprofit organizations. Despite the fact that this continuously came up in interviews and was a key element of the NDC, there is little academic literature
regarding nonprofit collaboration as an effective means of affecting policy change. Further exploration of this topic area could help nonprofit networks serving immigrants improve collaborative efforts and concomitantly contribute to policy reform. One way to accomplish this research would be a study that focused on monitoring the evolution, actions, and results of the NDC.

Based on the data gathered during the interviews for this study, the researcher noted several areas where the Latino immigrant population of Cincinnati is in need of additional services or policy change efforts. The two most prominent issues that need to be addressed within the population are domestic violence and housing discrimination. Both issues were mentioned by several organizations and warrant further exploration. These issues are politically and culturally complex and will require extensive research to ensure that proper techniques are used to address the problem and reform the policy system so that immigrants are protected from housing discrimination and domestic violence in the future. The frequency with which these issues were mentioned can also inform the nonprofit organizations’ service provision efforts.

Conclusions

This study begins to answer the research question how are Cincinnati area nonprofits serving Latino immigrants participating in policy change? Many of the findings and analysis correspond directly with academic literature. There are also several gaps in the literature that the study begins to fill. Overall, this study shows that there is a strong network of nonprofit organizations in Cincinnati participating in policy change on behalf of the Latino immigrant population. Many of these organizations are working together on initiatives to provide needed services to the Latino population and several of the interviewed organizations are working together specifically on policy change efforts (e.g. the NDC). This network warrants further study to determine the effectiveness of this technique in achieving policy change. This thesis lays
the foundation for future research and related case studies, to determine how nonprofits serving Latino immigrants might better affect policy change on behalf of the population they serve.
Reference List


Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA. 2010. About the Chamber.

Hispanic Chamber Cincinnati USA. 2010. Programs.


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Appendix A: Methodological Evolution

This appendix provides a snapshot of the evolution of this research process. Table 6 is a timeline of the research process. This table indicates when the researcher began and finished the study, as well as, the steps in between.

<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gather preliminary data and information through review of existing documents and literature review.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview nonprofit organizations to understand their role in policy processes. Ask nonprofits what other entities participated in the process and select other interviewees.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Interview other participants selected based on the information ascertained in the preliminary interviews and other interactions with the case study.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Continue to gather information from outside sources including website materials, literature, periodicals, etc.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Code the data—look for like terms and similarities between the various interview notes.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Triangulate the data.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reach conclusions and complete final writing and editing.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Defend thesis.</td>
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<td>X</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 7 includes the questions the researcher asked during the first round of semi-structured interviews for the research study. These questions helped the researcher ascertain information and facilitated the snowball sampling technique as interviewees identified other organizations of interest.

**Table 7: First Round of Questions for Nonprofits in Cincinnati Serving Immigrants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic Area</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Organizational Background</strong></td>
<td><em>Can you tell me a little about your organization? What you focus on? What your history is?</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Mission</td>
<td>What is your mission? How are you working to accomplish it? Such as what programs are you conducting?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How effectively do you think you are accomplishing this mission? Why? How?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Served</td>
<td>Why this population?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What are the needs of this population?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Are there divisions within this population (i.e. different communities or sectors)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issues</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priority Issues</td>
<td>Which issues do you see as in most need of being addressed? Why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness at Addressing Issues</td>
<td>Why have you been effective?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What were the challenges you faced?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where do you see opportunity for improvement?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What kind of change have you initiated (vehicle registration issue)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Issues</td>
<td>How often do you address policy issues?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How do you choose policy issues to address?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have you been effective in addressing policy issues?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Which communities do you reach out to/involve and for which policy issues?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Partnerships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Why did you choose to partner with these organizations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have these partnerships been successful? Why or why not?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Outreach

#### Identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How are communities identified as in need of outreach?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which communities/groups are targeted for which issues and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you make entrée into the communities?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Effectiveness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are certain populations easier to work with? Why/why not?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How effectively have you reached out in the past? What made these efforts successes/failures?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What would you do differently now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there any populations that you think you are partially or completely missing? If so, why?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Community Details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What are the sources of information for immigrant communities?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do you work with the standard sources of information to reach immigrant communities?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8 includes the questions for the second round of semi-structured interviews conducted for this study. From a comparison of Table 7 and Table 8 it is clear that the questions evolved as the research study changed and the researcher refined the information sought.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category: Service provision (including advocacy for policy change).</th>
<th>Interviewees: Individuals working in nonprofit organizations and outside organizations serving Latino immigrants in Cincinnati.</th>
<th>Questions:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What population do you serve? Is it confined to a geographic area? Is it only a certain income level or kind of worker?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How do you serve the Latino immigrant population?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What services do you provide that other organizations do not? (This gets at the “what niche do you fill” question.)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you collaborate or work with other organizations in some way? If so, how and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do your services include participating in advocacy for policy change? If not, why not?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category: Participation in policy change</th>
<th>Interviewees: Individuals working in nonprofit organizations and outside organizations serving Latino immigrants in Cincinnati.</th>
<th>Questions:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What form has your participation in policy change taken?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Why did you get involved in these initiatives?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Was your participation in policy change mandated from the national level or an umbrella organization?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | | Is there a specific time when you get/got involved in policy initiatives (i.e. when the No Deportations Coalition first
| Perception of the efforts of nonprofit organizations to affect policy change and potential for such organizations to participate in policy change in the future. | Individuals working in nonprofit organizations and outside organizations serving Latino immigrants in Cincinnati. | What challenges does your organization face in serving the population’s needs (in the context of the organizational mission)?

In terms of policy initiatives, what do you feel your organization and other organizations might do to make the greatest impact?

What role do you think your organization will play in the No Deportations Coalition?

Have you participated in any other coalitions? If so, what was your role? |