Public Policy Institute of California

Civic Inequalities: Immigrant Volunteerism and Community Organizations in California

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Foreword

The importance of civic participation and volunteerism cannot be overstated. We know from the PPIC Statewide Survey that many Californians do not trust their elected officials to spend taxpayers' money wisely or to be responsive to the public's needs and desires. The perception that civic participation is not worth the effort haunts the long-standing high regard we have had for voting and other forms of civic life. For some, one counterproductive strategy has been to simply disengage.

Now that California has a majority minority population, the level and intensity of civic participation by immigrants is of special concern—and is the subject of this report by S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Celia Viramontes. The authors describe civic engagement among immigrant groups, identify obstacles to participation, and discuss pathways to greater participation through religious groups, multiservice organizations, and transnational associations.

Immigrant families who are just entering the mainstream of American life, even those who may not have the citizenship status to vote, might well develop a greater understanding of policymaking if they are engaged in organizations that have a voice in the political process. Indeed, Ramakrishnan and Viramontes find that despite numerous barriers, such as limited time and lack of information about political processes, immigrants do participate in community organizations. And most important, they participate in hometown associations—a part of the American immigrant tradition—where language and legal status are not barriers to joining.

Civic participation by immigrants is of great significance to California's future. Immigrants and their children are making decisions today that will shape California in the future. The authors give us reason

to be encouraged—the path of active community involvement is wide open and is being used in ways that hark back to earlier generations of new Americans.

David W. Lyon
President and CEO
Public Policy Institute of California

Summary

In recent years, concern has grown about the level of civic participation in the United States. Civic participation, also known as volunteerism, refers to membership and involvement in groups such as neighborhood associations, faith-based groups, educational associations, and ethnic organizations. Policy analysts have begun to focus on volunteerism for several reasons; perhaps foremost among them is that group disparities in volunteerism may lead to persistent differences in political participation and policy influence, with disadvantages felt primarily among immigrant and minority populations.

Studies of civic engagement have focused on two potentially troubling aspects of civic volunteerism and political participation: overall declines in participation rates and the persistence of group disparities by race, ethnicity, and immigrant generation (Putnam, 2000; Burns, Schlozman, and Verba, 2001; Ramakrishnan and Baldassare, 2004). Many analysts worry that declining levels of volunteerism in the present will lead to continued decreases in political interest and participation in the future. Some also believe that low levels of volunteerism will adversely affect the provision of public goods and services in many communities—especially as cuts in government spending leave the provision of social services to civic and voluntary organizations. Finally, many are concerned that group disparities in volunteerism will lead to persistent gaps in political participation, leaving immigrants and members of racial and ethnic minorities with a reduced ability to influence policy.

Perhaps nowhere in the country are issues of civic inequalities across immigrant and racial groups more important than in California, where no racial group can claim majority status and where first- and second-generation immigrants account for nearly one-half of the resident population. So far, we have a fairly detailed understanding of group disparities in socioeconomic outcomes, such as educational attainment

and homeownership, and in political activities, such as voting and writing to elected officials. However, few studies have examined the issue of immigrant civic engagement in significant detail. This report seeks to fill that gap by asking a number of critical questions: What barriers to civic participation do immigrants face, and how may they be distinct from those faced by native-born residents? How do conceptions of volunteerism differ across immigrant groups, and what consequences might they have for volunteer work? And how do the pathways to political participation differ between immigrants who participate in mainstream civic organizations and those who are involved in ethnic-specific organizations that are transnationally or domestically oriented?

These questions are important to creating a clear and detailed understanding of immigrant involvement in civic organizations and the political implications of such involvement. In this report, we examine evidence from individual-level surveys, focus groups of various immigrant groups, and case studies of immigrant and ethnic organizations in a handful of cities across California. Among the report's major findings are the following:

1. *First-generation immigrants display relatively low rates of volunteerism, but participation rates among second-generation immigrants are comparable to rates among later-generation immigrants.* Evidence from the Current Population Survey (CPS) indicates that first-generation immigrants are less likely than those in later immigrant generations to participate in formal organizations. Although the CPS does not do an adequate job in capturing immigrant participation in informal activities and nontraditional groups, such as transnational associations, it is important to pay attention to participation differences in formal and traditional types of organizations, such as Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) and civic clubs, because these activities have been shown to bear a significant relationship to participation and influence in local politics.
2. *Immigrants are more likely than the native-born to lack information about community organizations and opportunities for volunteerism.* Our survey and focus group evidence indicate that

the most consistent barrier to participation among immigrants of different racial/ethnic groups is the absence of information regarding organizations and volunteer opportunities. Information about mainstream organizations is especially lacking, since immigrants are less likely to be connected to social networks that serve as grounds for recruitment into mainstream civic groups. The lack of information is also exists partly because many immigrants do not feel linguistically or culturally equipped to investigate or seek out information on mainstream community organizations.

3. *Immigrants take longer than native-born residents to adjust to new communities, which lowers participation rates.* Our focus group sessions indicate that native-born residents adjust relatively easily to new surroundings. They view moving as an individual choice and seek out communities of interest in their new surroundings, such as religious organizations, athletic leagues, and PTA groups. By contrast, many immigrants see adjustment to new communities as a protracted process, even when moving domestically. Immigrants are more likely than the native-born to note that adjustment to new communities will take some time, especially if their previous residences were in ethnic enclaves or closer to extended family members. Adjusting to new surroundings is especially difficult for international movers, given the linguistic and cultural barriers to social and political participation. Adjustment difficulties tend to depress participation in community organizations, although living in ethnic enclaves and participating in transnational associations can mitigate this pattern.
4. *Ethnic organizations are generally disadvantaged in relation to mainstream organizations when it comes to resources, continuity, and visibility and influence in local affairs.* Ethnic organizations lag behind mainstream organizations in several respects. They are generally younger, lack regular sources of revenue, and are dependent on the continued involvement of a few individuals. Many ethnic organizations also lack nonprofit status, making it more difficult for them to apply for government and foundation

grants. Finally, ethnic organizations are also outpaced by mainstream organizations when it comes to connections to decisionmakers and sources of funding. The lower visibility and influence of ethnic organizations in local affairs can perpetuate resource disadvantages across all organizations, since those organizations that have full-time staff and are well-connected to local officials are more likely to receive monetary and in-kind support from government agencies, foundations, and other civic organizations.

5. *Disparities between ethnic and mainstream organizations, and the lack of outreach by mainstream organizations to newcomer populations, have serious implications for leadership development and intergroup relations*. Our case study evidence indicates that efforts at meaningful outreach by mainstream civic groups to immigrant residents are rare. Indeed, in some cases, ethnic members find limited advancement to leadership positions within mainstream organizations and thus leave to create their own ethnic-specific institutions. However, ethnic organizations also tend to be insular, focusing on particular communities either because of linguistic and cultural barriers to participation in mainstream life or out of a concern with helping members of their own particular communities and people in their countries of origin.
6. *Some of the best ways to increase immigrant civic participation are through religious groups, multiservice organizations, and transnational associations.* Religious groups and multiservice organizations are among the few institutions that focus on "bridge-building" between members of different racial and ethnic groups. Some religious organizations do so out of a desire to expand their membership, but others do so as an expression of their values of compassion and outreach. Although many multiservice organizations cater to a particular ethnic group, we also found evidence of groups that serve different communities, whether defined by race/ethnicity, language use, or immigrant generation. In some instances, however, even institutions with diverse clientele find it difficult to incorporate more immigrants

and nonwhites into their leadership structure, which in turn may be due to the lack of a critical mass in ethnic leadership. Finally, transnational associations provide an avenue for recent immigrants to get involved in civic affairs by enabling them to contribute to the development of communities in their homelands. Transnational organizations are relatively safe spaces for immigrants, since a lack of English proficiency or legal status does not prevent them from participating in the civic lives of their communities. Transnational associations, such as the Mexican hometown associations, are also leading to important economic and political changes in their home regions as well as in the United States.

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Acronyms

ACCESS	Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services
CAIR	Council on American-Islamic Relations
CPS	Current Population Survey
CTC	California Theater Center
ESL	English as a Second Language
FAAAH	Filipino American Association of Anaheim Hills
FABAG	Filipino American Business Association of Glendale
HTA	Hometown Association
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service; now Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
JACL	Japanese American Citizens League
LULAC	League of United Latin American Citizens
MACSA	Mexican American Community Services Agency
NALEO	National Association of Latino Elected Officials
OCAPICA	Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Agency
OCCCO	Orange County Congregation of Community Organizations
PICO	Pacific Institute of Community Organizations
PTA	Parent Teacher Association
PTSA	Parent Teacher Student Association
PYHOA	Paint Your Heart Out Anaheim
SAP-VN	Social Assistance Program for Vietnam
SIPA	Search to Involve Pilipino Americans
SIREN	Services, Immigrant Rights, and Education Network
VFW	Veterans of Foreign Wars

1. Introduction

Immigrants today constitute a large proportion of the resident population in California. The foreign-born account for more than one in four California residents (27% in 2004), and second-generation immigrants constitute about 21 percent of the total population. The relationship between immigration and racial/ethnic diversification is unmistakable, with first- and second-generation immigrants accounting for more than two-thirds of Latino residents and about nine in 10 Asian Americans. In trying to understand the relationship of this demographic diversity to governance in California, policy analysts have paid considerable attention to group disparities in such areas as educational attainment, earnings, and homeownership (Reed et al., 2005; Johnson and Bailey, 2005). Group differences in citizenship and political participation in California have also received a fair amount of attention, with studies noting that native-born whites are overrepresented in various types of political activities, such as voting, writing letters to elected officials, and contributing money to political campaigns (Johnson et al., 1999; Ramakrishnan and Baldassare, 2004; Citrin and Highton, 2002). By contrast, studies of civic participation, also known as volunteerism, in California are relatively rare, with evidence primarily based on a few individual-level surveys of civic participation (Ramakrishnan and Baldassare, 2004).[1]

There are several important relationships between volunteerism and political participation: Community organizations often provide members with skills and leadership experiences that enable more sophisticated forms of political participation; they tend to subsidize the costs of obtaining political information; they help reinforce norms regarding the importance of political participation; and they are likely

[1]Civic participation refers to involvement in such groups as neighborhood associations, faith-based groups, educational organizations, and ethnic associations.

venues for elected officials seeking to communicate with constituents and for political parties and candidate organizations seeking to mobilize voters (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995; Lake and Huckfeldt, 1998). For all of these reasons, group disparities in volunteerism may lead to persistent differences in political participation and policy influence, with disadvantages felt primarily among immigrant and minority populations.

Low levels of civic participation may also mean fewer opportunities for residents to have their needs and interests addressed by local governments. As recent studies of local governance in California have shown, effective governance depends on open channels of communication between government officials and constituents (Ramakrishnan and Lewis, 2005). Community organizations often enable such communication, providing government officials with a sense of the needs and concerns of residents and also giving them opportunities to alert their constituents to regulations and changes in policy.

Finally, low levels of interpersonal and intergroup trust may hamper the ability of localities to provide social services and goods to their residents. Such problems tend to be more acute in times of fiscal austerity, when cuts in government spending compel civic and voluntary organizations to play an increasingly important role in the provision of social services. The role of community organizations in providing public goods may also be important in response to emergencies and natural disasters, especially when government actors are unable to fulfill all the services necessary for a speedy and effective recovery.

Low levels of civic participation, then, entail significant costs, especially for politically vulnerable groups. This chapter provides a brief overview of volunteerism among racial groups and immigrant generations in California and discusses the reasons it is useful to provide a more detailed look at immigrant civic participation. We also provide an explanation of our research methods and describe our primary sources of information, including focus groups and case studies.

An Overview of Volunteerism Among Racial Groups and Immigrant Generations

What do surveys indicate about volunteerism across racial groups and immigrant generations in California? The Current Population Survey (CPS) Volunteer Supplement is one of the most reliable sources of information on participation in formal community organizations, with a relatively large sample size that contains information about the nativity of respondents and their parents (Ramakrishnan, 2006). At the same time, the CPS is limited in that it does not contain detailed information on the organizations in which individuals participate, and it tends to underreport participation in informal associations and nontraditional groups, such as Mexican hometown associations.[2] Still, because of its sample size and the representativeness and reliability of its data-collection methods, the Volunteer Supplement remains one of the best surveys of civic volunteerism across racial and ethnic groups.

Table 1.1 presents differences in civic participation across immigrant generations and racial/ethnic groups in California, with comparisons drawn to the rest of the United States. As the figures indicate, participation in formal organizations is lowest among first-generation immigrants, particularly Latino and Asian immigrants, and increases dramatically from the first to the second generation—from 13 to 24 percent among Latinos and from 12 to 29 percent among Asian Americans. Still, whites in the third generation and higher have the highest rates of volunteerism, according to the CPS. Overall participation rates among first-generation Latinos tends to be higher in California than in the rest of the United States, whereas overall participation rates among first-generation Asian immigrants is slightly lower. Still, the larger patterns of racial and generational differences in volunteerism are similar in California and the rest of the United States.

These numbers reveal a sizable gap in civic participation between first and subsequent immigrant generations. However, they provide only

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[2]The Current Population Survey asks only about participation as it relates to formal organizations. Also, the responses are coded into a finite set of organization types that do not include certain kinds of organizations, such as hometown associations, and do not differentiate between mainstream and ethnic organizations for various types of activities.

Table 1.1

Rates of Participation in Formal Civic Organizations Among Adult Residents, by Race/Ethnicity and Immigrant Generation

	California (%)	Rest of the U.S. (%)
Total	25	28
Latino		
First generation	13	9
Second generation	24	20
Third generation+	22	20
Asian		
First generation	12	16
Second generation	29	27
Third generation+	34	30
White		
First generation	17	18
Second generation	28	30
Third generation+	32	32
Black		
First generation	(a)	19
Second generation	(a)	25
Third generation+	25	19

SOURCE: Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement, 2002.

[a]Insufficient number of respondents to produce reliable estimates of participation.

a rough estimate of volunteerism among these groups. As we noted above, the CPS does not fully capture participation in informal associations and nontraditional forms of community organization. Also, the data offer only some insights into why these generational gaps may exist—controlling for socioeconomic status and household language use accounts for a fair share of the group disparities noted in Table 1.1—but significant gaps still remain unexplained after taking those factors into account. Finally, the CPS is a survey of individuals, telling us little about the characteristics of the organizations in which residents participate, or how these organizations may differ from each other in such important characteristics as resources, visibility, and influence in local affairs.

This study seeks to go beyond current survey information, such as that presented in Table 1.1, to provide a more detailed look at immigrant civic participation and how it may differ from the participation of native-born residents. In doing so, we examine key issues at both the individual and organizational levels, ranging from the linguistic and cultural barriers immigrants face with respect to participation in new communities, to the role of organizational outreach to newcomer populations. Our study focuses on these central questions:

1. Do immigrants face a unique set of barriers relating to participation in civic organizations?
2. How do conceptions and attitudes regarding volunteerism among immigrants compare to those among the native-born?
3. How prevalent are ethnic organizations, compared to mainstream civic organizations at the local level? How do these two types of organizations differ in terms of institutional histories and organizational characteristics?
4. What are the resource disparities between mainstream and ethnic organizations? What are the social and political implications of these inequalities?
5. How might local governments, private foundations, and leaders of mainstream and ethnic organizations work to reduce disparities in civic participation?

Research Methods

To address these questions, we relied on 10 focus groups drawn from the San Jose, Los Angeles, and Orange County Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs). In each area, we also conducted case studies of two cities of varying size, analyzing their community organizations, immigrant populations, political institutions, and elected officials. The case study cities were chosen with an eye toward variation in city size, socioeconomic status, and immigrant national origins (Table 1.2).

Focus Groups

Focus groups and in-depth interviews are important tools for fleshing out how immigrants conceive of volunteerism and charitable

Table 1.2

Select Characteristics of Case Study Cities

	Population	Foreign-Born (%)	Median Income ($)	Top Two National Origin Groups (Foreign-Born)
Los Angeles County				
Glendale	195,047	54	41,805	Iran, Armenia
West Covina	104,893	32	53,002	Mexico, Philippines
Orange County				
Anaheim	327,357	38	47,122	Mexico, Vietnam
Garden Grove	165,710	43	47,754	Vietnam, Mexico
Santa Clara County				
San Jose	893,889	37	70,243	Mexico, Vietnam
Sunnyvale	131,905	39	74,409	India, China

behavior and tracking how these conceptions vary across immigrant generations and national origins. The interaction between respondents in a focus group also helps to stimulate rich responses to varying conceptions and opinions. We conducted five focus groups in the San Jose area and five in the Los Angeles/Orange County area, using firms with a proven record of research on particular ethnic or national origin groups. Focus group participants were paid for their time and were screened out of the process if they had participated in a focus group six months before our sessions.

Each focus group ran for two hours and included about 10 participants of the same racial, ethnic, or national origin group, with the exception of one focus group in Southern California that was composed of whites and blacks. Each group was further subdivided by gender, nativity, and socioeconomic status (as measured by occupation and educational attainment). Four of the focus groups were conducted in languages other than English (two in Vietnamese and two in Spanish). The remaining focus groups were in English, including two focus groups for Latinos and two for Asian Americans. The proportion of first-generation immigrants in our focus groups was as follows: 19 percent in the group of whites and blacks; 40 percent in the English-language Latino groups; 60 percent in the English-language Asian groups; and 95

percent each in the Spanish- and Vietnamese-language groups. Finally, even though each focus group was diverse in terms of socioeconomic status, we should note that the English-language Asian focus groups had the highest average educational attainment and the Spanish-language Latino groups had the lowest.

The focus groups explored such questions as:

- How do conceptions of community and civic participation vary across national groups and immigrant generations?
- How might the adjustment to new residential contexts vary between immigrants and native-born residents, and how might such differences relate to civic participation?
- How much do members of various groups know about different community organizations, and what are their perceptions of mainstream civic organizations?

Both the open-ended nature of these questions and the ability of participants to respond to other members of the group often led to a richer understanding of volunteerism than can be found in responses to most telephone surveys. In addition, we designed worksheets intended to draw individual reaction and debate over hypothetical examples of people engaged in various forms of civic and political activities (see Appendix A).

Case Studies

The case studies are built on extensive interviews with a variety of local stakeholders and community organizations. In each case study city, we used stratified samples to conduct two rounds of interviews. The first round of interviews involved elected officials, staff in social service agencies, and journalists in ethnic and mainstream media. The elected officials were selected at random after an initial stratification based on race/ethnicity, and agency staff members were selected based on their relevance to civic participation or social service provision.

The second round of interviews involved leaders and staff of mainstream and ethnic community organizations. For each city, we built an organizational database using information from Melissa Data GuideStar, and local ethnic directories (see Appendix B). We

supplemented this list with names of organizations and informal associations mentioned by our first round of interviewees. The database then classified these organizations according to their central activities or defining issues, such as children's education, arts/culture, or religion, in a manner consistent with national surveys of volunteerism. These categories were further subdivided into ethnic or nonethnic-specific organizations. These subdivided categories then served as stratified samples from which we selected organizations at random and made several attempts to contact an organization staff member. In the event of nonresponse or lack of contact, we selected at random from the remaining organizations within the stratum.

In each city, we conducted 20 to 25 interviews of government officials and the leaders/outreach staff of community organizations—for a total of about 130 elite interviews. A brief profile of each organization used in this report can be found in Appendix C.

Looking Ahead

Although this report is ambitious in its collection of original data from focus groups and case study interviews, it has some limitations that are important to note before turning to the central findings and analysis. First, even though our evidence points to new ways to measure individual attitudes and participation in ethnic community organizations, our findings remain suggestive in the absence of systematic survey data using these new measures. There are limitations to our case study methods as well. For instance, we asked our interview informants about prominent organizations engaged in various types of activities, including advocacy. However, we did not ask specifically about unions, which the secondary literature indicates as playing a growing, though limited, role in the lives of immigrant residents (see Chapter 3).[3] Finally, our study of civic participation is limited to participation "from

[3]Some may argue that such mainstream groups as the Lions and Kiwanis clubs are no longer relevant for local governance in California and that unions play a much stronger role. Our case study evidence indicates that, in all but the largest cities, such as San Jose, civic organizations continue to play a significant role, with mainstream organizations having a far greater degree of visibility and influence than immigrant civic organizations or labor unions (apart from public employee unions).

the ground up" and therefore does not address the issue of meetings and activities convened by government agencies and community foundations with the explicit purpose of soliciting input for local decisionmaking. These issues, which generally fall under the rubric of collaborative governance, have been extensively studied in other contexts and remain areas for future research on immigrant participation in California (Forester, 1999; Fung, 2004).

In the rest of this report, our analysis of immigrant civic participation proceeds from the *individual level*, where we examine barriers and attitudes to participation, to the *organizational level*, where we elaborate on institutional histories and resource disparities, to the *societal level*, where we examine the implications for leadership development, organizational visibility, and intergroup relations. In Chapter 2, we focus on various individual-level factors that may account for the lower level of participation in community organizations among Latino and Asian immigrants. These factors include adjustment to life in the United States as well as priorities and values that are particular to various immigrant communities. We find that that attitudinal differences do not account for much of the difference in participation rates between immigrants and the native-born but that a lack of information and feelings of discomfort in mainstream settings do play significant roles in inhibiting immigrant civic participation.

In Chapter 3, we shift from the individual level to the organizational level, as we provide an in-depth look at various community organizations in our six case study cities. We classify community organizations according to their missions and activities, including civic/neighborhood groups and religious groups as well as service, advocacy, and transnational organizations. When analyzing organizations by type, we pay particular attention to differences in the share of mainstream and ethnic organizations in a particular city. We also point to the emergence of hybrid organizations that have mainstream origins but large proportions of immigrant members and leaders.

In Chapter 4, we examine resource disparities between mainstream and ethnic community organizations and explain why mainstream groups typically have more sponsorship and greater levels of institutional continuity. We also look at factors particular to immigrant communities

that may hinder the development of ethnic organizations, such as lack of citizenship among certain groups and lack of cultural capital among organization leaders.

Chapter 5 analyzes the social and political implications of these resource disparities between mainstream and ethnic community organizations. We pay particular attention to such issues as the development of civic leaders, the visibility and influence of groups in local affairs, outreach to immigrants by mainstream organizations, and racial and ethnic relations at the local level. We also look at the transnational implications of immigrant civic participation, such as the rising influence of hometown associations in the politics and development of regions in Mexico.

Finally, our report concludes with various recommendations, outlined in Chapter 6, to increase the participation of immigrants in civic life and to reduce the social, economic, and political inequalities between mainstream and ethnic organizations in California's diverse cities.

2. Explaining Participation Gaps at the Individual Level

So far, we have seen that participation in civic organizations is lowest among first-generation immigrants but that the involvement of second-generation immigrants is on par with the participation of those in the third generation and beyond. The question naturally arises as to why this is so.

In this chapter, we look at various individual-level factors that help account for the lower levels of formal civic participation among first-generation immigrants. These factors include various barriers associated with adjusting to social life in the United States, such as a lack of relevant information about service needs or volunteering opportunities and the absence of recruitment and outreach among existing organizations. As we shall see, individual-level factors also include differences in immigrant attitudes about the value of volunteerism, especially in light of other priorities, such as helping one's family establish its foothold in the United States.

Barriers to Participation

There may be several reasons why first-generation immigrants are less likely than those in later immigrant generations to volunteer, including a lack of free time, of sufficient information about volunteering opportunities, and of recruitment and outreach efforts. The Current Population Survey enables us to explore these various possibilities through basic questions regarding the contexts in which people first became volunteers; it also asks questions about factors that would encourage nonparticipants to volunteer. However, to probe more deeply into the nature of these barriers to learn how they may differ across groups, we need to rely on the richer evidence provided by our

focus group work in the San Francisco Bay Area and in the Los Angeles/Orange County region.

First, we will address the issue of free time. The CPS asked the following open-ended question of those not currently engaged in formal volunteer activity: "There are many good reasons why people don't volunteer. What would encourage (you/name of respondent) to volunteer?" Although a quarter of respondents did not indicate any factor that would prompt them to volunteer, more free time was the most common answer given by respondents, with nearly half of California residents mentioning it as an issue.

Some may argue that free time is more of a concern among first-generation immigrants who are seeking to establish an economic foothold in the United States. As Table 2.1 indicates, the evidence is decidedly mixed. The proportion of respondents citing free time as a relevant concern differs according to racial/ethnic group and immigrant generation. Needing more free time is cited just as often among Latinos, regardless of their immigrant generation, as among whites in the third generation and higher. However, the lack of free time seems to be less of a concern among first-generation whites, whereas it is a significantly higher concern among Asian immigrants in the first and second generation.

In trying to understand the importance of free time among members of different groups, it is important to consider the effects of other factors, such as age, employment status, and the presence of children in the household. Our data reveal that those who are employed and living with children are indeed more likely to say that time is an issue, whereas those who are older and retired are less likely to do so. In California, Asian Americans are more likely than native-born whites to have children in the household (56% versus 48%) and are only two-thirds as likely to be retired (10% versus 15%). These factors do indeed account for most of the participation gap between Asians and whites. Among Latinos, however, controlling for age, employment status, and the presence of children actually reduces the importance of time as a barrier to participation. Thus, the notion that the lack of free time is especially important for immigrants holds true only to a limited extent—it applies primarily to first- and second-generation Asian immigrants and even

Table 2.1

Factors to Increase Civic Volunteerism Among Current Nonparticipants in California, by Race and Immigrant Generation

	More Time (%)	Better Health (%)	More Information (%)	Child Care (%)
Total	49	10	6	3
Latino				
First generation	48	6	7	5
Second generation	48	7	4	7
Third generation+	46	7	7	5
Asian				
First generation	58	6	9	4
Second generation	59	2	10	4
Third generation+	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
White				
First generation	36	12	5	2
Second generation	44	16	3	2
Third generation+	50	12	5	2
Black				
First generation	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Second generation	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Third generation+	40	15	2	3

SOURCE: Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement, 2002.

[a]Insufficient number of respondents to produce reliable estimates of participation.

then, such gaps are accounted for primarily by employment status and the presence of children in the household.

Another barrier to volunteerism given by many respondents is their health, with about 10 percent of nonparticipants mentioning it as an issue. However, health is less of a concern among Latinos and Asian Americans than among whites and blacks in the state. These differences remain even after controlling for such factors as age and employment status, which have a significant bearing on whether health is a relevant concern for civic participation.

One issue that does receive a higher response among first-generation immigrants in the Current Population Survey is the need for better information on volunteer opportunities. However, this applies only to Latino and Asian immigrants and not to white immigrants, who are as likely as native-born whites to mention the lack of information as a significant barrier. The low levels of information about civic organizations among Latino and Asian immigrants were also evident in our focus group sessions. In a worksheet, we asked respondents to write down what they knew about the membership and activities of mainstream organizations, such as Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs), the Rotary Club, and neighborhood associations. Respondents in the Latino and Asian immigrant focus groups were about half as likely as those in the native-born white and black groups to know about the membership and activities of the organizations mentioned. For instance, only 10 percent to 20 percent of respondents in the immigrant focus groups knew about the Rotary Club, compared to 30 percent to 40 percent of respondents in the native-born focus groups.

In addition to lacking sufficient information about civic organizations, respondents in our immigrant-heavy focus groups also expressed concerns about not being invited or not feeling welcome at group meetings. When respondents in a Vietnamese focus group in Southern California were asked about whether they were involved in neighborhood associations, only two indicated that they were. The moderator then probed why most did not participate:

MODERATOR:	Besides Ms. V and Mr. T, anybody else have become members of that association? Why not? [*Looks at Ms. H*] Ms. H?
Ms. H:	Oh, our neighborhood is so quiet, nobody asked me.
Mr. C :	Sometimes, you know, there's some good neighborhoods, so they don't have that sort of organization. They don't have any sort of organization like that. Why should we?
Ms. H:	Maybe they see that we are Asians, maybe they—that's why they didn't invite us.
Mr. C:	If we go then, our English is not good.

The concern about not feeling welcome was not limited to our foreign-language focus groups or to language concerns per se. In our English-language Asian focus group in the Bay Area, even U.S.-born respondents indicated that groups like the Rotary Club were not meant for them. One respondent in her thirties said that she thought of the Rotary Club as an older, white male group, and she did not think that she would feel welcome in such a group, even if she were interested in joining. The lack of meaningful diversity or outreach by the Rotary Club was also evident in the following exchange with an Asian American focus group respondent:

Mr. Y:	Well, why I wouldn't join it is because, you know, I'm not old, and I ain't white, and I sure ain't rich . . . but I did volunteer for them once, and basically, we just took all the little elementary school kids to the Oakland Coliseum to see a baseball game, so that was nice; but, yeah, most of the members there, they were just, like, older white people.
MODERATOR:	Do you think that at some point, like, when you become old, do you think you will be a part of it?
Mr. Y:	Heck no.
MODERATOR:	Why—why do you say that?
Mr. Y:	'Cause I ain't white. But I mean I just think that the things they do, it's kind of more biased, you know. You could do other activities instead of just go to baseball games, right? You could help out communities better by spending that money doing something other than taking kids to baseball games.
MODERATOR:	Like what? What would you recommend?
Mr. Y:	You know, build a new library. Funding—get new books, new textbooks. Getting new furniture, remodeling classrooms.
MODERATOR:	So if they changed what they do, and they changed their membership, maybe you would join?
Mr. Y:	Maybe I'll join, yeah. [They've] got to get a race change first, though.

Thus, outreach efforts by such mainstream organizations as the Rotary Club may need to involve not just informing first- and second-generation immigrants about volunteer opportunities but also making potential participants feel more welcome. Part of this outreach may require changing some activities and programs to increase the appeal of the organization to a more diverse membership. Finally, as Mr. Y's comments suggest, successful outreach may also require a critical mass of immigrant members to draw in others who may be reluctant to be among the first to join a mainstream civic organization. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, ambitious outreach efforts among mainstream organizations are rare, although the creation of ethnic counterparts to mainstream civic clubs seems to be a viable solution that could get repeated in other contexts.

Attitudes and Conceptions Regarding Volunteerism

Adjustments to Change

The extent to which people participate in their communities depends to some degree on their attachments to their communities of origin. Among native-born residents, for example, someone who moves to a new suburb after living in a nearby city for several decades may find it difficult to get adjusted to the new community or to get involved in civic and political activities. In a similar manner, immigrants may retain attachments to their home countries or ethnic enclaves that prevent them from engaging fully in the new communities in which they live. In our focus groups, we addressed both aspects of rootedness and change by asking two separate questions: One regarding a domestic move and the other regarding a transnational move. The question about a domestic move went as follows:

MODERATOR: What about people who, let's say, have moved out from Los Angeles to the suburbs. Would they still consider their old neighborhood in LA to be their community? Would they still go back and visit? How long do you think it will take for them to stop seeing LA as their community?

In general, native-born respondents were more likely than the foreign-born to note that the answer depends on individual characteristics, such as personality and choice. This was most true in the case of whites and blacks. For instance, Ms. B, a middle-aged white woman in Southern California, noted that although she was raised in Los Angeles, she doesn't feel that it is her community. But, "where I live now as an adult—and I've *chosen* that area—I consider that my community (original emphasis)." Some respondents even went so far as to state that their notions of community were ever-changing, depending on their life circumstances. Mr. G, a young black man in Southern California, noted: "I feel that where I end up, I like to just adopt it as my community for that time being . . . I adopt another community every time I move somewhere." Others pointed to life circumstances that would determine how long one would continue to maintain attachments toward one's previous community. For instance, Mr. D (*white, Bay Area*)[1] noted, "It depends on your time in life. If you have children, new children, then you automatically look for other parents. Or they find each other out of a need." Finally, some noted that one's attachments to previous communities would depend on the reasons for moving in the first place. For instance, the following comment by Mr. E (*white, Bay Area*) resonated well with the other focus group participants: "It depends. I mean if you're moving from a good neighborhood to a bad neighborhood, then you're going to think about it for a long time. If you move from a bad neighborhood to a good neighborhood, you're going to think about it for about five minutes."

The emphasis on individual personality and choice was less prevalent in the Latino and Asian American focus groups, especially among foreign-born respondents. Instead, respondents noted that the ease of adjustment would depend on such factors as one's level of comfort with mainstream society and whether one still had family members in the old community. For instance, Mr. T (*Vietnamese, Bay Area, In-Language*) noted, "I think they are never, never going to forget San Jose. Even

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[1]The labeling convention for focus group respondents is race/ethnicity, region, and language of focus group where necessary (English vs. In-Language). "In-Language" refers to responses that were not made in English.

though they don't live in San Jose, I think that, once you live in a place for a long time, you have a lot of memories of the place. Especially if there is your own community there, you will long remember."

To probe the issue of immigrant adaptation further, we asked a question regarding adjustment to life in the United States after coming from another country:

MODERATOR: How about people who recently came to the United States? Would they still consider their home country or home region to be their community? Would they still go back and visit? How long do you think it will take for them to stop seeing their homeland as their community?

Respondents in all focus groups generally thought that it would take longer for people to transition away from seeing their homelands as their communities and to see their new places of settlement as communities in which to get involved. However, there were some important exceptions across national origin groups. In the Vietnamese-language focus groups, the respondents generally saw the process of immigration as eliminating ties to their home country and wholly adopting a new place as their community. Indeed, some even thought it a misnomer to call their homeland a community, referring to Vietnam instead as the "old country" from which they had made a clean break. Mr. V (*Vietnamese, Southern California, In-Language*) noted, "I don't think Vietnam is my community, but that is my old country because I don't have activities over there anymore. I have activities here." This sentiment was echoed by many others in the Vietnamese-language groups. For instance, Mr. L (*Vietnamese, Bay Area, In-Language*) stated: "We want to progress, where we live, and we have to accept our new community. In my opinion, I would rather accept the new community, rather than to look back in the old community, because this is where I have a chance to get to know more people."

In other groups, the longing or wish to return was seen as very much relevant to how attached immigrants would remain to their home countries and to how such attachment may affect their involvement in

their U.S.-based communities. This was especially so in the Latino focus groups:

> Two years ago, we came here, and [my husband] still hasn't adjusted. And he says, "I don't live here. I live there. I am from Enseñada. I am from Mexico." And he is always thinking about going back. And I said, "Well, if you want to go back, it's fine. But, there is nothing there—there is no work, no money. We can do something here, and then you can go back every six months or three months." And he said, "OK." (*Latina, Bay Area, In-Language*)

> A lot of them leave their kids over there . . . they leave everything and of course they're going to be yearning for that place. But, you know, they're here because they have work here. Here they can—and they can help out the family over there in Mexico—but I think they never forget them over there. (*Latina, Southern California, In-Language*)

Sentiments in the pan-Asian focus groups were decidedly more mixed. For instance, in an English-language focus group in the Bay Area, Ms. Y noted: "I came to this country 10 years ago . . . and it took me one year to totally throw away those—you know, the old friends, the old culture, and I spent a lot of time to force myself to adjust." Mr. J, who was in the same group, disagreed, noting that he too had been in the United States for about 10 years and had even spent a few years in Canada before that. However, he still has a strong sense of connection to his community in China and was far from having adjusted fully to life in the United States.

Among the most common reasons cited for this longer transition period were language barriers, differences in customs, and the presence of friends and relatives back home. Many respondents also noted that the age at which immigrants came to the United States often plays a significant role in shaping the transition, with the process of adjustment much more difficult for those who migrated as adults. This sentiment appeared even in the Vietnamese focus groups, where homeland attachments were considerably weaker than in the pan-Asian groups or the Spanish-language groups. Thus, for instance, Mr. T (*Vietnamese, San Jose, In-Language*) noted: "It all depends on how old you are, when you left. . . . I left when I was 50. Even 50 years from now, I am not going to forget."

Relying on these testimonials alone, it is unclear whether attachments to the home country inhibit civic participation or whether they simply prompt a change in the focus of immigrant civic activity away from domestic organizations and toward transnational organizations. The Current Population Survey is only somewhat helpful in answering this question. It indicates that participation in community organizations among first-generation immigrants increases from 9 percent among those with fewer than 10 years in the United States to 17 percent among those in the United States for more than two decades. However, as we discussed above, the survey does a poor job of capturing immigrant involvement in transnational activities.

The evidence from our focus groups and from interviews with hometown associations and other ethnic organizations suggests that there is a fair amount of involvement in transnational activities among recent immigrants to the United States (see Chapter 4). These activities include not only participation in formal organizations, such as various Mexican hometown associations, but also involvement in informal activities, such as sending money for charitable causes in the home country or doing volunteer work during visits there. It is difficult to estimate the level of immigrant participation in organized and informal transnational activities, using our qualitative methods, because our focus groups and case studies were not conducted in the same manner as a random-sample survey of individuals that is representative of the entire state's population. Still, absent such a survey, our evidence suggests that, although home country attachments may diminish overall levels of civic participation in domestic organizations among recent immigrants, there is nevertheless a significant degree of involvement in transnational civic activities and associations.

The Value of Volunteerism

Notions regarding the intrinsic worth of volunteer work may also affect immigrants' civic behavior. To probe attitudes toward volunteerism, we designed a worksheet of hypothetical examples of people engaged in various forms of civic and political activities (see Appendix A). In the worksheet, we varied the characteristics of the hypothetical volunteer by age, gender, and type of activity to gauge

variations in responses among focus group participants. We also varied the name of the hypothetical cases according to the ethnic makeup of our focus groups. After reading each example, respondents were asked to evaluate the situation by checking off one or more of the following labels: hobby, family commitment, neglecting family duty, volunteering, charity, community involvement, religious involvement, community service, personal time, other. The participants then discussed their evaluations. In this section, we discuss two attitudes toward volunteerism that may have a significant bearing on immigrant civic participation: The importance of family obligations and attitudes toward personal ambition and political involvement.

Family Obligations

We expected mentions of familial obligations to be more prevalent among the immigrant-heavy focus groups than among the native-born groups. We also anticipated the mentions of family obligation and neglect to be more frequently applied to women than to men, with perhaps the male focus group participants more likely than female participants to mention family neglect. Taking first the hypothetical case of "Linda," a full-time worker and mother of two elementary school children who volunteers in a botanical garden every Saturday, we found that family neglect was rarely mentioned. In most focus groups, fewer than one in five respondents thought of Linda as neglecting her family duties. Responses suggesting family neglect included:

> Wasting time, isn't she? If she has work and she has the kids in the house, why is she doing that? (*Latino, Southern California, In-Language*)

> I know that what my faith teaches me is the ideal, is that one of the parents, and, primarily, the mother, will be at home with that child. It is God, family, and then others, and that—that's what my faith teaches me. (*male, white, Bay Area*)

> She has two children at home and . . . she works full time, she should spend her time for her kids. (*female, Asian, Southern California, English*)

Perhaps the most forceful articulation of this perspective was by Mr. C (*Vietnamese, Bay Area, In-Language*): "If you have bigger kids, then you can do volunteer work, and no one is going to blame you, but

if you have small children, you have to take care of them. . . . I don't think this is volunteerism. I don't think that this is participating in a community. I think she is trying to evade her responsibility to her family. She leaves everything to her husband. Yes. She would rather do volunteer work to satisfy herself."

Interestingly, however, there was no relationship between the composition of the focus group and descriptions of Linda as neglecting her family duties. Females were only slightly less likely than males to offer such an opinion, and Latino and Asian immigrants were no more likely than their native-born ethnic and white counterparts to describe Linda as neglecting her family duties. Indeed, the mention of family neglect was highest in the Bay Area group composed of native-born whites, in which three out of 10 respondents agreed with this sentiment.

However, the prevailing sentiment in our focus groups by far was that Linda was not neglecting her family obligations. Indeed, many respondents reframed her involvement in the botanical garden as a positive influence on her children. This was true not only of female focus group participants but also of the males who saw Linda's volunteering as setting a good example for her children. Some also noted that taking time away from home would enable people to be better parents by "having a place to blow off some steam." Finally, a handful of respondents noted that people have obligations to communities that may necessitate making alternative arrangements at home. As Mr. T (*Vietnamese, Bay Area, In-Language*) noted, "The community has chores that have to be done, and so in doing that, she's doing community work."

Although the description of family neglect bore little relationship to the gender, national origin, and nativity of focus group respondents, some important differences among participants emerged in relation to the gender of the hypothetical participant. In addition to the case of Linda, the worksheet included "Frank," a full-time worker with two middle-school children, who organizes a bowling league and goes bowling on Tuesday nights. Although the description of family neglect in Linda's case was a consistent but minority opinion (about 20% of all participants), virtually none of the focus group respondents saw Frank as neglecting his family duties (3%). This difference occurred partly

because participants saw elementary school children as more needy of parental attention, but a few respondents noted that their standards for fathers and mothers were indeed different. In a Bay Area focus group, Ms. R (*Asian, English*) reconciled her varying evaluations of the two cases by explaining that "A mom . . . should be there for the kids. Make sure they're tucked in, that kind of thing, I guess; but, for a dad sometimes . . . he can come home late from work, or he's you know, out doing different things." Another female participant in the same group echoed the sentiment:

> It's possible, because in Linda's case, the kids are in elementary school. Little kids tend to be very close to moms. So, you know, even—even they would like to play with dad, and go around for skiing trips with dad, and do other things—when it comes to when they're sick or needing attending to, Moms are the better people. Depending on the age, it's possible that a Mom's absence is felt more than a Dad's absence.

In general, the focus group respondents were generally more likely to give Frank the benefit of the doubt on the issue of family neglect. Mr. C (*Vietnamese, Bay Area, In-Language*) was only one of two respondents who expressed similar reactions to Frank's bowling and Linda's work in the botanical garden:

> I have children in the teenage years. I know it's very difficult, and sometimes I just have to follow them, and to watch them, monitor them, when they go to a party, even, because here in the United States, the teenage years are really wild, really difficult, and so if he keeps doing that as a routine on every Tuesday, then the children will find, will soon know that Tuesdays, when he's not around, they will—they will hang around.

Personal Ambition and Political Involvement

In addition to considerations of family obligations and neglect, the focus groups addressed issues of personal ambition and political involvement in relation to volunteerism through the following hypothetical scenario:

> "Michael" has owned a small grocery store for 10 years. The first few years were difficult; but now he is making enough money to buy a house. Just recently, Michael joined the local Chamber of Commerce. There, he gets to meet and talk with other small business owners about common concerns. Once a month, the

mayor comes by and talks to them about what is happening in City Hall. Michael finds local politics very interesting and thinks that he might want to run for city council someday.

Instead of using a check-off box to motivate the discussion surrounding this example, we focused on a narrow set of open-ended questions concerning Michael's motivations for getting involved in the Chamber of Commerce and the social desirability of getting involved in politics and running for elected office. We chose this alternative method to probe deeper into the complexities of how respondents viewed community participation and its relationship to political ambition and participation.

In general, focus groups composed of native-born respondents were more cynical than the foreign-born in describing Michael's motivations for getting involved in the Chamber of Commerce and his ambitions for political office. Responses in the English-language groups were more likely to focus on individualistic motivations:[2]

> I think personal gain. And business, I don't feel, is part of the community. People are. So him personally going out there, he's going out there to make himself some money. (*female, white, Bay Area*)

> I don't think that he's greedy at all, just because he could be making even a lot more money if he keeps doing his business, but it's more like power. He wants authority . . . he wants to be famous. (*male Asian, Southern California, English*)

> City people will sometimes get preferential tax treatment. . . . It says he knows the mayor—there are certain public funds and grants that most people don't get, you know, it's really hard to get. So maybe he can look for some loopholes and get some free grants. (*Latino, Bay Area, English*)

By contrast, respondents in the Spanish-language groups were more likely to point to Michael's attachment to his community and his desire to contribute to it.[3] Indeed, in defining the community that Michael

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[2]Similar sentiments were also expressed in the non-English-language groups but were more rare. In the English-language groups, the native-born were generally more likely than the foreign-born to express cynical sentiments.

[3]The names in the Spanish-language groups were adapted from the Spanish names (e.g., "Michael" instead of "Miguel").

was interested in, many respondents thought not only of business owners but of the larger Latino community as well:

> I think that that's good because this way he'll learn where he can help out in the community, you know, what do they need to become stronger, to be involved with everyone there? (*Latina, Southern California, Spanish*)

> He wants to get involved in politics, I think, just to get more information, and share this information with other people in the community. (*Latino, Bay Area, Spanish*)

> He wants to get more informed and be able to help more friends or other business owners, and share his ideas with them. . . . I think he is interested in helping himself, and helping others, so I think this is "community service," yes. (*Latina, Bay Area, Spanish*)

These remarks are consistent with the findings from studies showing that Latino immigrants tend to be more trusting of political authority than are native-born whites and even native-born Latinos (Michelson, 2003; Baldassare, 2002). What is interesting to note from these focus group remarks is that, even when considering political behavior among coethnics, immigrant Latinos generally hold less cynical views than native-born Latinos and Asian Americans do.

Respondents in the Vietnamese-language groups occupied an intermediate position between the Spanish-language groups and native-born whites. Like native-born whites, they viewed involvement in the Chamber of Commerce and subsequent participation in politics as largely self-interested activities. Unlike native-born whites, however, respondents in the Vietnamese focus groups did not see political ambition as incompatible with the public good (in this case, the needs of the ethnic community). Thus, even though most respondents thought of Michael as being motivated by personal gain, they all thought that it was a good thing for him to be involved in the Chamber and considering a run for political office. Some even saw political ambition as part of an evolutionary process of expanding one's sphere of self-interest. As Mr. D (*Vietnamese, Southern California, In-Language*) put it, "First of all, he takes care of himself, he takes care of his whole family. Just like our ancestors used to say, one after another in terms of aspirations." Another Vietnamese respondent in the Bay Area (Mr. A) put a decidedly modern

twist to this explanation by referencing the psychologist Abraham Maslow:

> I think there are two reasons. Number one, they have the good intention. Of course, they want to help the community, but the second motive, like someone said earlier, and so if you learn about—if you remember what you learned about Maslow, in human development, the first thing people worry about is the food. If they have enough food to eat, then they—they will worry about people around them. And then you want people to trust you. Then you want people to love you. Then you want a name for yourself. You want [them] to know you, and so I think, for these people, they want to use their knowledge. They want to use their ability to help the community; but, at the same time, they also want a lot of people to know them. I think those are . . . the two purposes.

Finally, it should be noted that native-born Latinos and Asians expressed sentiments that were similar to those of the Vietnamese groups—seeing personal ambition as the primary factor for getting involved but also noting its compatibility with the needs of the community. However, their cynicism toward career politicians was similar to that expressed by native-born whites, a few noting that even the most well-intentioned aspirant would eventually become corrupted by the political process and disconnected from the needs of the community.

The Role of Religious Values

National studies and surveys of civic participation have shown that involvement in religious organizations often leads to greater participation in other types of community organizations (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995), either because of the civic skills gained from participation in religious groups or because of a greater awareness about issues pertaining to the local community. However, there may be instances in which religious faith and involvement in a religious community lead to lower participation, such as when beliefs regarding gender roles discourage the participation of women outside the home. For instance, in the Northern California focus group composed of native-born whites, one participant noted that his Catholic faith has taught him that mothers should stay at home and take care of children. His was a minority opinion, however, as participants noted that parents could serve as an

important role model for their children by getting involved in church and other community activities.

Religion may influence civic participation not just in terms of rates of involvement but also in terms of the kinds of activities in which residents participate. One hypothetical case presented to the focus groups involved "Richard," a retired plumber, who referees in his church's soccer league every Saturday. When asked to characterize Richard's involvement, "volunteering" and "community involvement" were the most prevalent answers, garnering 86 percent and 71 percent of responses, respectively. However, many respondents also indicated that they viewed his activity as a hobby (62%), a religious involvement/duty (61%), and as his personal time (58%). Some focus group participants felt that involvement in a church soccer league did not constitute religious involvement because it did not entail the teaching of scripture. For instance, a native-born Asian American woman in the Bay Area noted: "If he was teaching Bible class, for one, I would probably think it's more 'religious involvement.' On the other hand, giving his time is—is basically a 'community service.'" Most, however, felt that there was no contradiction in thinking of a primarily recreational activity as a form of religious involvement; thus, 60 percent of those who checked off hobby also checked off religious involvement/duty.

Such findings are significant for future survey efforts on civic participation because they indicate that religious involvement need not be confined to participation in religious services or faith-based charitable work. Many focus group respondents, when asked why they thought of Richard's involvement as religious, noted that he could have volunteered in any soccer league but chose to do so for the church league because of his commitment to his religious community. A typical response was that of Mr. D (Vietnamese, Southern California, In-Language): "It depends on his faith, his belief. So I don't know about Mr. Tung if he is religious. . . . But, if let's say the soccer team doesn't belong to the church, he probably wouldn't do that." One of the Latino focus group respondents (Mr. J) in San Jose drew on his personal experience to elaborate why religious commitment and recreation are intimately bound in the case of church soccer leagues:

> The community also doesn't allow you to do a lot of the things that, as a church, you do. For instance . . . in San Jose, they have these leagues all throughout the city, and we were part of this league on the South Side, and every time after the games were over, we would have some refreshments for the kids. You know, a snack, and stuff like that, and—and they wouldn't allow us to pray for the food. So what happened is that they told us that we couldn't do things that we, as believers, believe to do, and eventually, we—we stopped being part of that league, and created our own sports league. So it was, we want to be part of the community, but sometimes the community doesn't allow you to do certain things.

This assessment of church sports leagues not only points out the compatibility of seeing an activity as both recreational and religious, it also highlights some of the ways in which such leagues may conflict with secular institutions that seek a separation between the two spheres. Of course, there are other reasons why churches may seek to form sports leagues—from getting children to be more interested in religious institutions to providing congregation members with additional means of getting involved. Still, it is significant to note from this example in San Jose that such leagues can also form when religiously oriented coaches and teams find secular sports leagues to be inhospitable to their religious needs—even those as seemingly small as being able to pray before games or soon afterward.

Conclusions

This chapter has looked at various individual-level factors responsible for the lower levels of formal civic participation among first-generation immigrants. Contrary to our expectations, the issue of free time is the same for immigrants as for the native-born, with the notable exception of Asian immigrants who are more likely to report the lack of free time as a barrier to participation. Attitudes regarding the value of volunteerism also play a relatively small role in accounting for differences in participation rates across groups. Thus, for instance, Latino and Asian immigrants are no more likely than whites to prioritize family obligations over community involvement, and they are even less likely than native-born whites to view personal ambition as a hindrance to serving one's community.

By contrast, the lack of information about organizations and opportunities is more prevalent among Latino and Asian immigrants than among native-born whites and blacks. This finding is evident not only in existing survey data but also in our focus group sessions, which indicate that these information gaps are partly due to immigrants' lack of exposure to organizations. Many immigrants feel uncomfortable participating in mainstream organizations, because of either linguistic barriers or a lack of cultural fluency in mainstream society. Our focus groups also indicate that when immigrants move to new communities, it takes them longer to adjust to their new context and feel invested in local institutions. This is especially true of international moves but is also true of domestic moves, for example, from one city or neighborhood to another. Finally, discussions of attitudinal differences across racial groups and immigrant generations inevitably bring up questions of differences in "culture."[4] Thus, for instance, some may argue that immigrants from East Asia may be less likely to participate in community organizations because their Confucian culture teaches them to have greater respect for authority or to place more of an emphasis on obligations to the needs of one's family rather than to those of the larger community. Others may contend that the Catholic "culture of hierarchy" discourages many Latino immigrants from getting involved in the civic and political lives of their communities.

We find such arguments of cultural essentialism unconvincing for several reasons.[5] First, as other studies of civic participation have shown, particular religious beliefs or values have less effect on civic participation than does the structure of religious congregations or the way belief is used to mold action (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995; Smith, 1991). Our focus groups also show differences in opinion among those who share the same religious beliefs or cultural backgrounds. In our Northern California focus group in which a Catholic participant asserted that mothers of young children should limit their community involvement,

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[4]Two of the reviewers of this report encouraged greater examination into cultural explanations for differences in values and attitudes toward volunteerism.

[5]Cultural essentialism refers to fixed traits for particular groups that do not vary across individuals and that explain group outcomes.

he was challenged by other Catholics in the group, prompting him to concede that people of the same faith may disagree: "I go to church and so many people . . . they're on opposite ends of the fence."

Another limitation to arguments of cultural essentialism is that values and norms may be shared across immigrant groups that have less to do with national origins than with shared life circumstances, such as trying to establish an economic foothold in the United States. Thus, for instance, we found that personal ambition is seen as fully compatible with community service among immigrants from countries as varied as Vietnam, Mexico, and the Philippines, suggesting that such beliefs have less to do with the cultures of those particular countries, and more to do with the role of personal initiative in surviving and succeeding as an immigrant to the United States.

3. Mainstream and Ethnic Organizations

In assessing the state of civic participation in California, it is important to look beyond the experience of individual residents and to examine civic life at the organizational level. In this chapter, we provide an in-depth exploration of community organizations in six case study cities—two each in the counties of Santa Clara, Los Angeles, and Orange (more details on the case studies can be found in the Appendices). Civic organizations differ from each other in various respects, such as their members' characteristics, organizational structure, mission and goals, events and activities, longevity, and influence and involvement in politics. In terms of immigrant civic involvement, it is helpful to first make a distinction between those that are predominantly immigrant or ethnic in nature versus those that can be labeled as "mainstream," i.e., those that primarily serve a nonimmigrant population, usually composed primarily of U.S.-born whites.

In our case study cities, we found it relatively easy to distinguish between ethnic and mainstream community organizations, based foremost on whether they make reference to national origin groups or racial/ethnic categories in the organization's name or mission. For instance, it is fairly obvious that groups such as Korean Community Services (Garden Grove) and Grupo de Autismo (Anaheim) are ethnic organizations, whereas others, such as Friends of Anaheim Public Library, can be labeled mainstream. In many instances, however, there are groups with mainstream-sounding names but which indeed are primarily ethnic. For instance, We Give Thanks, Inc., a philanthropic organization that runs a Thanksgiving dinner and toy-giving program in Anaheim, is managed by a local Mexican restaurant and is composed primarily of Latino volunteers. Similarly, the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services (ACCESS) California is an Arab

American organization that works on issues of health access, immigration services, and women's empowerment. For these groups, information on ethnic composition is not apparent from the organization's name but can be obtained from detailed mission statements and interviews with organization leaders and staff. Thus, we define community organizations as "ethnic" if immigrant or ethnic groups are explicitly mentioned in the mission statement (whether formally written or expressed during elite interviews), or if a majority of members, clients, or volunteers are from immigrant or ethnic groups.

In the six cities we studied, ethnic organizations account for 1,002 civic organizations, or about 12 percent of the total number of community organizations (Table 3.1).[1] Remarkably, this proportion of ethnic versus mainstream organizations is similar across cities, ranging from 10 percent in Sunnyvale to about 12 percent in Glendale. The only exception is Garden Grove, where the ethnic share of community

Table 3.1

Selected Organization and Population Characteristics in Six California Cities

	% Ethnic	% Mainstream	Total	% Foreign-Born Residents, 2000	% Nonwhite Residents, 2000
San Jose	11	89	4,389	37	64
Sunnyvale	10	90	653	39	54
Anaheim	11	89	1,195	38	64
Garden Grove	23	77	533	43	67
Glendale	12	88	1,388	54	46
West Covina	11	89	397	32	77

SOURCE: The original dataset is based on coding of organizational directories (see Appendix C).

[1]These figures do not include informal associations that are not listed in any of the directories we used. The problem with informal associations is that there is no predetermined universe to which we can make comparisons to our "snowball samples"—that is, referrals from our subjects on the existence of such organizations. In addition, conducting a snowball sample comparison of mainstream informal associations is beyond the scope of this project.

organizations is 23 percent, thanks to the large number of Korean and Vietnamese associations in the city.[2] As we shall see in Chapter 5, concentrations of ethnic businesses and funding from government agencies help account for the greater proportions of ethnic organizations among particular immigrant groups in particular cities.

Even in the case of Garden Grove, it is significant to note that the proportion of ethnic organizations is considerably lower than the proportion of foreign-born residents (Table 3.1). Indeed, in all of our case study cities, the proportion of ethnic organizations lags significantly behind the proportion of immigrant or nonwhite residents. This gap does not necessarily represent a problem for participation equality. However, it does become more problematic when we consider the greater influence of mainstream organizations in local affairs as well as the reluctance or inability of these organizations to attract immigrant members or to serve as mentors to leaders of ethnic organizations (see Chapter 5 for more details on these issues).

The differences between ethnic and mainstream organizations are apparent not only in their sheer numbers but also in the type of activities in which they are engaged. Table 3.2 presents the spread of ethnic and mainstream organizations across various types of activities. The first set of figures shows the distribution of organizations across all cities considered; the second set of figures excludes San Jose.[3]

In both cases, some clear patterns emerge. Mainstream organizations are more likely than ethnic organizations to be concentrated in civic clubs and those focused on education, sports, and health. Ethnic organizations, on the other hand, are more likely than their mainstream counterparts to be concentrated in the religious and multiservice

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[2]Garden Grove is home to both "Little Saigon" and "Korea Town." Although the proportion of Korean residents is only 4 percent, compared to 21 percent for Vietnamese residents, the number of Korean organizations is greater because of the large presence of Korean businesses and organizations catering to the needs of senior citizens living throughout Orange County.

[3]Both figures are important because San Jose is a large city (a regional capital of sorts) where certain types of community organizations may be more likely to exist than others. Also, coding errors may be higher in San Jose because of the relatively large number of organizations in the city.

Table 3.2

Distribution of Activities in Ethnic and Mainstream Organizations

	Including San Jose		Excluding San Jose	
	% Ethnic	% Mainstream	% Ethnic	% Mainstream
Advocacy	5	1	5	1
Agricultural	0	< 1	0	< 1
Animal care	0	1	0	< 1
Arts/music	16	6	6	3
Business/professional	8	11	2	3
Citizenship/government	1	1	1	1
Civic	7	11	2	5
Disabled	1	1	1	1
Education	5	13	3	6
Environmental	< 1	1	< 1	< 1
Health	3	7	1	3
Homelessness[a]	0	< 1	0	< 1
Housing[a]	< 1	2	< 1	1
Labor union	0	2	0	1
Multiservice	12	4	6	2
Poverty	1	1	1	< 1
Public safety/emergency	0	1	0	< 1
Recreation	3	8	2	4
Religious	28	22	19	11
Sexual orientation	0	< 1	0	< 1
Shelter[a]	< 1	1	< 1	< 1
Sports	1	5	0	2
Transnational	7	1	5	< 1
Veterans	1	1	0	1

SOURCE: The original dataset is based on coding of organizational directories (see Appendix C).

[a]We code organizations as "housing" if they are providers of affordable housing or deal with issues of housing affordability; "shelter" if they provide shelter to youth, women, and the homeless; and "homelessness" if they provide assistance to the homeless without actually serving as a shelter.

sectors. Also, perhaps not surprisingly, ethnic organizations are more concentrated in transnational activities, advocacy, and cultural expression, such as arts and music. Still, given the considerably larger number of ethnic associations in these cities, the number of mainstream organizations exceeds the number of ethnic organizations in all activities, with the notable exception of transnational activities (Table 3.3).

So far, we have looked at the number of ethnic organizations in comparison to mainstream groups, with respect both to overall numbers and to particular types of activities. Although numbers may provide clues to potential biases in the organization of civic life, a more detailed

Table 3.3

Ethnic Organizations as a Percentage of All Organizations, by Activity Type

	% Ethnic	% Mainstream
Advocacy	33	67
Arts/music	29	71
Business/professional	10	90
Citizenship/government	15	85
Civic	9	91
Disabled	7	93
Education	5	95
Environmental	2	98
Health	7	93
Homelessness	0	100
Housing	3	97
Multiservice	29	71
Poverty	14	86
Recreation	5	95
Religious	16	84
Sexual Orientation	13	87
Shelter	8	92
Sports	2	98
Transnational	65	35
Veterans	11	89

SOURCE: The original dataset is based on coding of organizational directories (see Appendix C).

examination of various organizations will help to determine what, if anything, is different about the histories, characteristics, and activities of mainstream and ethnic community organizations.

In the rest of this chapter, we present an overview of these features of community organizations in our six case study cities in Northern and Southern California (San Jose, Sunnyvale, Glendale, West Covina, Garden Grove, and Anaheim), all with an eye toward charting the differences between mainstream and ethnic organizations. Table 3.4 provides an overview of the types of organizations we interviewed in our case study cities. Instead of presenting all organizations together, we separate them by major types of activities: civic, multiservice, educational, religious, advocacy, and transnational. (For a complete list of organizational descriptions in these cities, see Appendix C.)

Longevity is one important factor in making comparisons between mainstream and ethnic organizations. Perhaps not surprisingly, mainstream organizations are among the oldest community organizations in these localities, with ethnic organizations starting to emerge in the 1970s and becoming more numerous starting in the 1990s, as immigrants became a sizable and growing share of the resident population. At the same time, mainstream organizations can also be found among new "start-up" organizations in these cities. As we shall see in the next chapter, some of these new mainstream organizations fare better than their ethnic counterparts because of advantages in such factors as sponsorship and the cultural capital of organization leaders.

Two organizational characteristics in Table 3.4 bear further elaboration. First, although it is generally possible to distinguish between mainstream and ethnic organizations, we did find several instances of organizations with mainstream origins that now have a predominantly ethnic membership.[4] Second, the number of organizations differs depending on their activities and ethnic composition. Across most activities, mainstream organizations were

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[4]Reclassifying *hybrid* organizations as ethnic or mainstream in our organizational database does not lead to a sizable change in the proportion of ethnic organizations in any of the case study cities.

Table 3.4

Typology of Organizational Types in Case Study Cities

Activity Type and Ethnic Composition	Examples	Organization Age (years)	Prevalence
Civic/neighborhood			
Mainstream	Lions, Kiwanis	> 80	High
	Paint Your Heart Out, West Covina Beautiful	10–60	
Ethnic	Filipino American Association	< 10	Medium
	Arab American Council	< 10	
Hybrid	Filipino American Kiwanis, Toastmasters	< 10	Low
Multiservice			
Mainstream/ hybrid	Boys/Girls Club, Sunnyvale Community Services	10–60	High
Ethnic	Korean Community Services, Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Agency (OCAPICA)	10–30	Medium
Educational			
Mainstream	Parent Teacher Associations	> 80	High
Ethnic	Latinos Unidos, Grupo de Autismo Angeles, We Care for Youth	5–30	Low
Hybrid	Loara Elementary School PTA, Rincon Intermediate School PTA	30–80	Low
Religious			
Mainstream	Central Christian Church, Crystal Cathedral	30–80	High
Ethnic	St. Boniface, Vietnamese Pure Land Buddhist Temple	10–30	High
Immigrant/advocacy			
Ethnic	Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)	10–40	Medium
Transnational			
Ethnic	Zacatecan, Yucatan, Jalisco clubs; Social Assistance Program for Vietnam (SAP-VN)	5–30	High
Informal			
Ethnic	*Promotoras*, soccer leagues	< 10	High

numerous in every city we studied, with the notable exception of mainstream unions, which are more prevalent in large cities, such as San Jose, than in smaller cities, such as West Covina and Sunnyvale. By contrast, we found fewer ethnic organizations in our case studies, although ethnic religious organizations and transnational associations are relatively common.

Civic Clubs and Neighborhood Associations

Civic clubs are voluntary associations that meet regularly for social purposes and occasionally perform charitable works. The prototypical examples of mainstream civic clubs are the Lions Club, Kiwanis International, and Rotary Club—organizations that have been in the United States for nearly a century. Civic clubs are generally seen as being concerned about the overall welfare of the city rather than of members of any particular group, whether defined by ethnicity, age, or occupation. In this study, civic clubs include other local organizations, beyond those mentioned above, perceived by government officials to be concerned about the overall welfare of the city.

Mainstream Organizations

The Lions Club is of one of the largest and most recognized civic organizations in the world, with chartered clubs in 187 countries. Created in 1917 by Melvin Jones and the Business Circle of Chicago, the group was concerned primarily with building a business network for its members while working toward the betterment of their communities and the world at large. The Lions Club was originally restricted to men only but began admitting women into their membership in 1987, after a U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding the California Supreme Court's decision that gender discrimination violated the state's Unruh Act, which banned discrimination based on race, gender, religion, or ethnic origin (*Board of Directors, Rotary International v. Rotary Club of Duarte*). In most of our case study cities, the Lions Club chapters have been in existence since the 1920s, with the West Covina chapter as the latest entrant in 1960.

Like the Lions Club, Kiwanis International represents a long-standing civic club with worldwide membership in nearly 100 countries.

Founded in 1915, the organization was conceived initially as a venue for business networking and charitable work, but the group has shifted to an exclusively service orientation, whose mission is now emblazoned as "serving the children of the world." Despite being compelled to admit women in 1987, Kiwanis membership in the United States is still predominantly male (83%).[5] Finally, both Lions and Kiwanis members are chosen by invitation only and tend to be older (the average age for Kiwanis members is 57) and of higher socioeconomic status than the rest of the U.S. population (Kiwanis International, 2006; Ly, 2005).

Mainstream civic organizations working on community revitalization and beautification can be found in abundance throughout our case study areas. Many of these organizations evolve and change over time. For instance, Paint Your Heart Out Anaheim (PYHOA), a volunteer-run nonprofit organization whose goal is to refurbish homes of disabled or low-income seniors, was originally housed under the beautification program Anaheim Beautiful. In 2001, the organization formed its own board of directors and become an independent organization because of a growth in its services. The circumstances that led to the group's evolution were favorable ones, precipitated by a demand for its services and encouragement by umbrella organizations.[6] In a similar vein, West Covina Beautiful is one of the oldest nonprofit community organizations in West Covina, formed by a group of civic-minded residents of the city, who in 1948 sought to promote environmentally sound and beneficial beautification programs. The original founders of the organization have passed away, and the 20 active members are primarily white senior citizen women who work closely with city council and city departments to promote projects.[7]

Examples of mainstream civic clubs also include various groups working on emergency preparedness. For instance, the Fire Associates of Santa Clara Valley is a volunteer organization whose mission is to provide support to all fire departments in the Santa Clara area during

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[5]No such comparable data exist for the Lions Clubs, although journalistic accounts and our site visits indicate a strong bias toward male members in the Lions Club as well.

[6]Organizational interview, July 29, 2004.

[7]Organizational interview, March 15, 2005.

multiple alarm fires, drills, and exercises. Established in 1969, the organization is affiliated with the International Fire Buffs Associates and is run by an all-volunteer, six-member board of directors elected by a membership of 35 dues-paying individuals. In the case of the Fire Associates of Santa Clara Valley, new members are not recruited per se into the organization but are instead referred to the organization by fire departments across the county. The vast majority of members within this organization are older, white male professionals including a large number of retired engineers.

The League of Women Voters is a civic club of a different sort—one that focuses primarily on voter education and other aspects of the electoral process. Local leagues form part of state and national federations and are each controlled by a board of directors. We interviewed the local chapter in Cupertino/Sunnyvale and found that the organization is composed primarily of older, often retired, women. As with other mainstream civic clubs in the area, the League of Women Voters is a durable organization that is nonetheless facing the challenge of integrating new and younger members into the organization.

Finally, neighborhood associations and homeowners associations represent another important arena of long-standing civic participation, particularly among established, long-term residents. The Glenoaks Homeowners Association, for example, was formed in the 1960s by residents of the Glendale Canyons regions in response to littering and dumping in the area. Current members have resided in the city for 40 to 50 years and have seen few changes in the organization. In most of our case study cities, prominent and influential neighborhood associations, such as the this one are composed primarily of white residents, although in cities like San Jose that have strong neighborhood initiatives, areas with high concentrations of Latinos do have a significant amount of participation in neighborhood affairs by first-generation immigrants.

Ethnic Organizations

Ethnic civic clubs engage in charitable activities that are similar to those of mainstream civic clubs but with a focus on the needs of local and transnational ethnic communities. For instance, the Filipino American Association of Anaheim Hills seeks to promote Filipino culture

and heritage, foster fellowship among members in the community, and reach out to the broader community through charitable and social welfare projects in Anaheim and in the Philippines. The organization was established in 1994 and is structured as a nonprofit public benefit organization run by unpaid volunteers, including a 12-member board of directors and a dues-paying membership of 300 individuals.[8]

Similarly, the Arab American Council in Anaheim is an ethnic civic organization whose organizational goal, since its inception in 1996, has been to promote cultural and civic activities that bridge multicultural communities. Created and financed primarily by Mr. Ahmad Alam, a first-generation Arab American businessman, the organization began as a cultural organization hosting a citywide Arab American Festival that brought the Arab community into closer contact with other groups. The group is working vigorously on an Arab Town project, and an Arab American Chamber of Commerce to coalesce the Arab American shops and businesses that have sprung up along Brookhurst Avenue in the western section of Anaheim in the past 15 years.[9]

Hybrid Organizations

The rise of hybrid civic organizations—groups based on mainstream civic clubs but with a predominantly ethnic membership—is a relatively recent phenomenon in our case study cities. The Filipino American Kiwanis Club of Glendale came into being in 2000 through the efforts of members of an existing ethnic business association, the Filipino American Business Association of Glendale (FABAG). Members of FABAG—primarily first-generation Filipino immigrants who have been residents of Glendale since the 1970s—were seeking to incorporate a cultural component into the association, but the focus on business precluded this effort. As a result, seven to ten members elected to form a Filipino Kiwanis Club. The ethnic-specific focus of the organization has also permitted a transnational dimension to the organization's activities, including charity work in the Philippines.[10]

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[8]Organizational interview, March 24, 2005.

[9]Organizational interview, July 16, 2004.

[10]Organizational interview, August 2, 2005.

Toastmasters Clubs, a long-standing civic club with a 40-year history, have also witnessed an increase in hybrid, or de facto ethnic, organizations. The creation of a Toastmasters Club is largely a self-initiated process that requires a minimum of 15 members to charter a new club. In 2003, the Toastmasters Club of Anaheim was incorporated into an existing organization, the Orange County Conservation Corps, an organization founded 10 years earlier with the mission of providing job training, education, and employment opportunities for out-of-school and out-of-work youth. The Executive Director of the Toastmasters Club encouraged the formation of the new club in an effort to provide opportunities for core members, particularly the youth, to get public-speaking experience. As a result of this unique arrangement, the Toastmasters Club incorporates members who are primarily second-generation immigrant Latino youth from Anaheim and Santa Ana.[11]

Other de facto ethnic Toastmasters arose in a different manner: for instance, the Fairoaks Sunnyvale Toastmasters Club, which was formed at an apartment complex where a number of members reside. The Fairoaks club comprises primarily Chinese and Indian immigrants, many of them on temporary work visas and employed in the Silicon Valley.

Multiservice Organizations

We define multiservice organizations as groups that provide multiple social services to clientele who are not limited to a particular occupation or age group (youth, elderly, etc). In our case study cities, we found no instances of multiservice organizations that served only white residents—perhaps not surprising, given that these organizations provide social services in highly diverse cities. However, there were several organizations catering to the needs of various ethnic populations. Among ethnic organizations, those in the multiservice category were among the most well recognized among local officials, although many still face challenges in ensuring their organizational survival.

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[11]Organizational interview, August 19, 2004.

Hybrid Organizations

Mainstream multiservice organizations are changing. Many that were not originally created to serve a particular ethnic community are quickly evolving into multiservice, multiethnic agencies that cater to diverse and immigrant populations. Unlike mainstream civic clubs that have largely refrained from incorporating immigrant residents, mainstream multiservice organizations have done a better job of conducting outreach to immigrants.

The Boys and Girls Club of Garden Grove illustrates the evolution of mainstream multiservice organizations into hybrid ones and the New Horizons Family Center of Glendale illustrates the more recent development of hybrid organizations at the time of their very founding. The Boys and Girls Club of Garden Grove is a long-standing mainstream organization in Orange County that has also adapted its programs and services to meet the needs of a multilingual and diverse population. It was founded in 1956 as part of a nationwide network of Boys Clubs. A group of community leaders sought to build a center that could provide a safe haven for after-school enrichment. Given the demographics of Garden Grove at the time, the clients were primarily middle-class whites. The shift toward dual wage earners in the family and the influx of Asian and Latino immigrants into Garden Grove in the 1970s precipitated major changes within the organization, as it evolved from a recreation center into a multiservice agency providing programs not only for youth but also for adults. Currently, the organization serves as a bridge between the Garden Grove Unified School District and Asian and Latino immigrant communities by providing much needed resources, information, and tools to parents who have difficulty accessing the school system because of language barriers or the time constraints posed by working multiple jobs during the day.[12]

The New Horizons Family Center was established in 1994 to help families affected by domestic violence in South Glendale. From its origin, the center was designed to serve the diverse population of Glendale, including whites, Armenians, and Latinos. In 2002, the agency expanded its services as adult clients began to bring their children

[12]Organizational interview, July 27, 2005.

with them to counseling appointments, often because of a lack of day care and after-school programs in the area. In response to this trend, the center created two additional offices in Glendale that could house a teen program, a mental health clinic, and a youth recreation center.[13]

The New Horizons Family Center does outreach to the ethnic communities in Glendale, particularly Armenian and Latino, through family literacy programs, parenting education, English as a second language (ESL) classes, and recreational activities, including folk dance and basketball. The wide range of activities offered at the center draw a large immigrant clientele. The staff has also become highly diversified, with a large number of Latino, Armenian, and Asian individuals who can provide services in native languages.

Several other examples of mainstream multiservice agencies have added immigrant outreach and language support capacity to cater to an increasingly diverse population. For instance, Sunnyvale Community Services provides emergency assistance, including financial help and emergency food bags, to the entire community. It also coordinates a program called Conexiones, or Connections, a Latino outreach and education program that addresses such topics as employment, health, domestic violence, and legal issues. Thus, unlike mainstream civic clubs that have largely refrained from incorporating immigrant residents, mainstream multiservice organizations have done a better job of conducting outreach to immigrants.

Ethnic Organizations

Various ethnic multiservice organizations in our case study cities originated at critical moments of mass immigration into the United States. For example, St. Anselm's Cross Cultural Community Center was founded in 1976, immediately following the Vietnam War. Father Samir Habibi began working on refugee assistance out of St. Anselm's Church in Garden Grove and helped build a refugee community center that offered English classes and provided babysitters for Vietnamese families. Over the next few years, Father Habibi and volunteers gathered information about receiving refugee money from Washington, D.C. By

[13]Organizational interview, April 4, 2005.

1980, the Cross Cultural Community Center was incorporated, with government funding from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement. Today, the center continues to be housed under St. Anselm's church but has developed an independent identity with 40 paid staff and a board of directors. Although the original emphasis was on serving Southeast Asian refugees, today the center provides assistance to families from the Middle East, Africa, and Central America, offering information and referral, citizenship and ESL classes, and resettlement and social adjustment services.[14]

Church origins also played an important role in the development of Korean Community Services in Garden Grove. In the mid-1970s, Reverend Matthew Ahn, a pastor of a Korean church in Hollywood and a recent immigrant to the United States, began to provide social services for immigrants out of the basement of his church. He subsequently received Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) funding from the U.S. government to create an organization classified 501(c)(3). From the 1970s through the 1990s, the organization focused its efforts on providing services for the Korean immigrant community. Today, KC Services, as the organization is now known, has evolved from an immigrant relief organization to a multiservice organization that reaches out to the larger community, focusing on quality of life needs by providing pottery classes, family violence intervention programs, and other services in Garden Grove, Fullerton, Anaheim, and Buena Park.[15]

Multiservice organizations serving multiple Asian groups were rare in our case study cities, presumably because the diverse language needs of various national groups make pan-Asian organizations more difficult to establish and expensive to run. However, one prominent example of a pan-Asian multiservice organization is OCAPICA. The founder and current director, Mary Anne Foo, was motivated to create the organization because of the very absence of a pan-Asian organization that could unify all the diverse Asian ethnic subgroups in Orange County. The group began in 1997 as an organization primarily concerned with health issues. However, the group decided to broaden its goals after

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[14]Organizational interview, July 1, 2004.

[15]Organizational interview, July 1, 2004.

taking stock of the effect on health status and behaviors of such factors as education, legal status, and language proficiency.[16] In a few of our case studies, we saw instances of multiservice organizations serving Arab immigrants. For instance, the Anaheim-based ACCESS of California was created in 1998. Nahla Kayali, founder and president of the organization, emigrated from Palestine in 1974 and entered the social service field in Orange County. Aware of the degree of cultural isolation faced by the Muslim community, Kayali sought to build an organization to serve Muslim, Arab, and South Asian immigrant communities unable to communicate comfortably in English. Initially focused on health access, the 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization has expanded into other areas, including food distribution, immigration services, and women's empowerment, the latter consisting of encouragement to women to start their own businesses.[17]

Educational Groups

We focused our study on educational organizations at the K–12 level, which are heavily composed of PTAs and their variants (Parent Teacher Organizations and Parent Teacher Student Associations (PTSAs)). Most PTAs in our case study cities started off as mainstream organizations but have started to become more hybrid to varying degrees. In recent years, there has been a rise in ethnic organizations that cater to the specific language and cultural needs of immigrant parents. However, unlike mainstream educational organizations that are typically formally affiliated with a particular school, these ethnic organizations have a less formal relationship with educational institutions.

Mainstream and Hybrid Organizations

Educational organizations and parent groups, including PTAs, have historically been a key site of volunteer involvement, particularly among women. Interviews with PTA groups in our case study cities reveal that, although national and state PTAs are long-standing organizations, the formation and maintenance of these groups at the local level present

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[16]Organizational interview, July 6, 2004.

[17]Organizational interview, July 27, 2004.

more of a challenge. In some local schools, PTAs are virtually nonexistent. The formation of a PTA is largely a locally driven process, requiring the initiative of a core group of individuals with the time, social network, and resources to galvanize parent involvement. For example, the Garden Grove High School PTSA was formed only two years ago and only after the current president campaigned for two years to get the support of other parents who, like herself, had been involved in their children's elementary school PTA. Once the motivation and leadership was in place, the prior experience among parents facilitated the rapid creation of a PTSA at the high school.[18]

Although some schools have not had PTA involvement, others have seen their PTAs decline in membership and participation. Monte Vista Elementary School in the West Covina Unified School District, for example, has had a long history of PTA involvement since the school's founding in 1957. In recent years, however, the PTA lost membership (from about 60 members to eight members), owing in large part to organizational and financial troubles. The situation has improved somewhat over the past two years, as the group has grown to 30 dues-paying members, but still, only half the membership volunteers time to the organization. Immigrant and Latino parental involvement in Monte Vista PTA is low, despite the fact that Latinos make up about 70 percent of the total study body.[19] However, the same is not true for Rincon Intermediate School, also in West Covina, where the PTA has shifted in composition from whites to second- and later-generation Latinos, many of whom were raised in West Covina and attended schools in the city. The vast majority of parents involved in the Rincon PTA consists of middle class professional Latinas, with a small number of more recent Filipino immigrants.[20]

In Anaheim, one PTA group in particular has had a long history of active parent involvement. The Loara Elementary School PTA in the Anaheim City School District has been in existence since the school's founding, almost 100 years ago. Historically, the group has been

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[18]Organizational interview, May 2, 2005.

[19]Organizational interview, May 25, 2005.

[20]Organizational interview, July 22, 2005.

composed primarily of middle class, white parents. The changing demographics in Anaheim recently precipitated changes within the membership, with a greater number of second- and third-generation Latino parents participating. However, the involvement of first-generation immigrant Latinos is low, owing in large part to a series of immigration raids in the city, which caused immigrant parents involved in the PTA to abandon any visible volunteer participation at the school.[21]

Ethnic Organizations

Hoover High School in Glendale represents one of the most ethnically diverse schools in the Glendale Unified School District. Four years ago, a group of Latino parents came together, with the support of administrators and the community, to create Latinos Unidos, a school club that would function as a PTA, without the formal status of being one. According to the group's president, Latinos Unidos was created in order to address such problems as language barriers, cultural dissonance between the students' home culture and the school culture, and parents' fear, because of their undocumented status, of approaching mainstream educational institutions and officials. The PTA-like group conducts its meetings entirely in Spanish and its leadership consists of first-generation Latinos who are bilingual and can serve as go-betweens for immigrant parents and school officials. The group was recently incorporated as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with a core membership of 20 individuals, of which 10 are very active.[22]

Hoover High School is also the site of community-based educational group reaching out to Armenian and Latino youth. We Care for Youth is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization based at Hoover High but without affiliation to the school or district. Two individuals initiated the group—Linda Maxwell, a community liaison working at that time for Channel 52 KVEA, and Jose Quintanar, a community college professor

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[21]Organizational interview, May 5, 2005.

[22]Organizational interview, April 12, 2005.

at Glendale College.[23] From 1991 to 1995, Maxwell and Quintanar ran the organization as a volunteer operation and, with the support of city officials, business people, school district personnel, and police, were able to incorporate the organization as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Although the organization began as a mentoring organization, it has evolved substantially to include employment readiness training for youth through a related nonprofit organization, Bliss Unlimited.[24]

Parent groups and youth outreach organizations like Latinos Unidos and We Care for Youth in Glendale originate from a perceived need on the part of immigrant parents and community members that services provided within existing organizations do not address the cultural and linguistic needs of diverse families. In Anaheim, a similar dynamic led to the rise of Grupo de Autismo Angeles, or "Angels Autism Group," an organization composed of Latino immigrant parents, all volunteers. It was founded in 1998 when Gloria and Jose Luis Hernandez, immigrant parents who live in Anaheim, learned that their 18-month-old son had been diagnosed with autism. The couple attempted to gather information about their son's condition through local resources, including the UCLA Medical Center and the Regional Center of Orange County, which contracts with the state to help developmentally disabled persons. Finding that the information provided to them was primarily in English, or outdated in Spanish, the couple had to do their own research. They purchased a computer and learned how to access Spanish-language autism web sites. Together with four other couples with autistic children in the cities of Anaheim and Santa Ana, the Hernandezes formed a group that became the nucleus of Grupo de Autismo Angeles. The private home of the couple became a headquarters for the organization, which has recently become a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization serving 140 immigrant families in Orange County.[25]

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[23]Maxwell made contact with a group of 20 Toll Middle School girls who had been involved in gangs. Quintanar, who was then an advisor to a Latino club on campus at Glendale College, brought students to Toll Middle School to mentor the group of 20 youth.

[24]Organizational interview, May 18, 2005.

[25]Organizational interview, July 30, 2004.

Religious Groups

Participation in religious life represents one of the most active arenas for civic volunteerism among ethnic and immigrant communities. Mainstream religious organizations, in particular, are experiencing a growth in the number of immigrant families among their parishioners and seem on their way to becoming hybrid associations. At the same time, ethnic organizations continue to serve as important houses of worship and community service for Asian and Latino residents.

Mainstream Organizations

Mainstream religious organizations have seen a great deal of change over time, and some have incorporated the demographic shifts of their communities. The Holy Family Catholic Church of Glendale, founded in 1907, has seen a growth in the presence of Filipino and Mexican immigrants since the 1970s. At the same time, over the 1990s the church has seen a decline in the number of Anglo parishioners, many of whom have passed away or, in a pattern that the current pastor described as "white flight," have moved out of the city. There are currently 600 volunteers throughout the church, many of them second- and third-generation Filipino Americans who participate actively in rosary groups, as well as recent Latino immigrants whose activities are clustered around the Spanish mass, religious education, ministry of hospitality, and choir.[26] The Central Christian Church of Glendale, founded in 1908, is also evolving into a multicultural church community, although Anglo parishioners continue to be the core base of members. The most visible change within the church is increased participation of young high school students. This change can be attributed to the fact that the Central Christian Church is located across the street from Glendale High School, which has incorporated a community service component into its high school graduation requirements.[27] As a result, many second-generation Filipino, Latino, and Armenian youth participate in such church-

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[26]Organizational interview, July 29, 2005.

[27]Individual high schools have implemented this new graduation requirement, and school districts are moving toward making this a districtwide policy. Beginning in 2007, Los Angeles Unified School District will institute this policy.

affiliated volunteer programs as Project Achieve, which provides meals to families living in a transitional homeless shelter in Glendale. About 50 to 60 volunteers participate in this program regularly.[28]

Even mainstream megachurches have begun to incorporate immigrants into their fold. Founded in 1955, the Crystal Cathedral Ministry in Garden Grove is an important religious institution in Orange County, with a strong history of community and volunteer involvement. In 2004, the ministry reported well over 3,000 volunteers. The Cathedral has a large Anglo congregation of approximately 6,000 families and a separate, Spanish-language ministry of approximately 1,200 members. The organization's ethnic diversity is evidenced by the fact that 23 languages are spoken by church members and volunteers. Participation is highest within the Anglo congregation, but Asian Americans also participate in the English-language services and activities.

The participation of Latino immigrants within the Hispanic ministry demonstrates the strong potential for bridge-building to take place within the larger congregation. Currently, Latinos participate within the Spanish-language services and programs largely because of language preference and comfort level. About half of the members within the Hispanic ministry are recent immigrants who are drawn to the cathedral because of two programs in particular: the ministry of work and ESL courses offered at the church. The ministry of work operates under the Hispanic ministry and provides capacity-building in the areas of job searching and labor laws. A Spanish-speaking volunteer leads this class of mostly Latino immigrants. Immigrants are also drawn to the ESL courses offered on Saturdays and taught by volunteers. These two programs have served as a catalyst in increasing first-generation immigrant participation at the Crystal Cathedral. Immigrant participation also takes place through the Awana Club, a program for children ages 3–12 that incorporates play with the learning of scripture. Many participants are second-generation Latino youth who meet weekly and participate in the church's annual events, such as the Bible Contest and Olympics.

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[28]Organizational interview, May 23, 2005.

Ethnic Organizations

We found one instance of an ethnic-specific church that has transformed itself into a multicultural institution. The West Covina Christian Church, founded in 1933, began as a mission outreach of the Los Angeles Holiness Church. The second-generation Japanese American community, or Nisei, played a vital role in the church's growth, which was closed down from 1942 to 1947 as a result of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. In 1950, a Japanese language school in West Covina became the site for worship services. The church was moved to Monrovia in 1954, and in 1981 the community elected to identify the church as an ethnic church by renaming it the San Gabriel Valley Japanese Christian church. Most recently, however, the church dropped its ethnic identifier and became the West Covina Christian Church, a shift that pastoral leaders believed was appropriate, given the multiethnic makeup of the West Covina community it now serves, consisting of Japanese Americans, Anglos, and a more recent immigrant Hispanic population.[29]

Other ethnic religious organizations have different histories. Some concentrate on a single racial/ethnic population, whereas others serve more diverse communities. St. Boniface Church, which draws a large Latino immigrant community, is one of 14 Catholic churches in Orange County affiliated with the Orange County Congregation of Community Organizations (OCCCO), a branch of a national faith-based organizing network, the Pacific Institute of Community Organizations (PICO), recently renamed "People Improving Community through Organizing" to reflect the organization's national growth. PICO was founded in 1972 under the leadership of Father John Baumann, a Jesuit priest in Chicago who sought to build a model of community organizing that brings congregations of all denominations and faiths to the center of civic and community involvement. OCCCO has recruited Latino immigrant leaders from within the church to take part in leadership seminars and civic-level efforts to address health and immigration issues facing the community.[30]

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[29]Organizational interview, April 14, 2005.

[30]Organizational interview, August 10, 2004.

The Bethany Center in West Covina has been part of the Christian Ministry Center at St. Martha's Catholic Parish since the church's founding. Bethany Center is completely volunteer-based. It runs a food bank, provides information and referral services, and will soon be providing classes on healthy living. The 22 volunteers are recruited through the church ministries and represent a cross section of the West Covina community, including Latino and Filipino immigrants and whites.[31]

The Glendale Community Center, a program of Catholic Charities, evolved out of a concern for the needs of underserved communities. The Glendale Community Center was established in 1955 through the Catholic Youth Organization, a program of Catholic Charities aimed at young people's physical, emotional, and spiritual development in collaboration with their families, churches, and communities through participatory experiences rooted in Catholic values. It began as a center for at-risk youth but evolved throughout the 1970s and 1980s into a family-based multiservice center that now provides a range of comprehensive services to needy Armenian and Latino families living in South Glendale.[32]

St. Peter's Armenian Church and Youth Ministries Center is a new church in Glendale, created in 2003. The church has received the support of various members of the Armenian Apostolic community who are volunteer dues-paying members. In addition to being a worship center for the Armenian Catholic community, the church encourages civic engagement of second-generation Armenian and Latino youth who attend Hoover High School. These activities include various community service projects and events done in conjunction with We Care for Youth, including a week-long symposium to address the roots and causes of violence.[33]

Finally, it is also important to highlight some of the instances of non-Christian religious organizations in our case study cities. Not surprisingly, these organizations are composed primarily of Asian

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[31]Organizational interview, July 22, 2005.

[32]Organizational interview, July 7, 2005.

[33]Organizational interview, June 22, 2005.

Americans. For instance, West Covina, home to a large Japanese American community in the early to mid 20th century, features the West Covina Higashi Honganji Buddhist Temple. The founders of the temple, mostly members of the second-generation Japanese American community, built the temple in 1959. A Sunday school for children was also created, and by 1965, 30 families were members of the church. In 1966, the church officially became a branch of the Higashi Honganji Temple of Los Angeles. The year 1990 marked an important period in the temple's history, as it became financially independent from the Los Angeles–based Higashi Honganji Temple. Membership has now grown to 300, including third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans, as well as a younger cohort of more recent immigrants who arrived after World War II.[34]

Two other Buddhist temples interviewed for this study have a more recent history, having been created in the last two decades. The Jung Hye Sa Korean Buddhist Temple in Anaheim was created 21 years ago by laypeople who came together with nuns and monks recently arrived from Korea.[35] The temple has seen a large increase in membership, with a total of 100 current members. Chua Quan Am Vietnamese Pure Land Buddhist Temple in Garden Grove was founded by Dao Quang. A boat refugee in 1986, Quang arrived to the United States in 1988. In 1999, with the support of fellow refugees, Quang founded Chua Quan Am Temple in a small house in Garden Grove on the edge of Little Saigon. There are currently 200–400 members, primarily first-generation Vietnamese immigrants, as well as a younger cohort of second-generation Vietnamese Americans who participate in weekly Sunday activities and prayers.[36]

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[34]Organizational interview, July 10, 2005.

[35]Organizational interview, July 14, 2005.

[36]Organizational interview, July 30, 2005, with translation assistance provided by a member nun.

Other Immigrant-Serving Organizations

Immigrant Advocacy Groups

In many of our case study cities, multiservice organizations with a predominantly immigrant clientele also played an advocacy role, pushing local and county governments to pay more attention to the needs of immigrant residents. In addition to these groups, we also found several instances of local chapters of national civil rights organizations advocating immigrant concerns, such as the Japanese American Citizens League and the League of United Latin American Citizens.

The basis for the formation of immigrant rights groups lies primarily within the context of political and social exclusion. For example, the largest wave of Japanese immigration to the United States took place in the early 20th century, at a time of intense social and political opposition to further immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and Asia. A set of restrictive laws regarding immigrants' rights characterized this period in U.S. history: the 1924 National Origins Act and alien land laws that prohibited noncitizens from owning any land. The Japanese American Citizens League was created in this climate of xenophobia. Founded in 1929, by an entire generation of second-generation Japanese Americans, the JACL initially focused on the Japanese American community, but over time, the organization has broadened its activities to include issues facing other immigrant communities. Whereas JACL chapters have had a long history in large cities, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, chapters in suburban cities, such as Garden Grove, did not form until the 1960s.[37]

Like the JACL, the League of United Latin American Citizens traces its organizational history back to 1929. The historical context leading to the group's formation is a complex one, pointing to the Mexican American community's preoccupation at that time with full inclusion into the American political system. Formed in Texas, LULAC stressed the full political incorporation of Mexican American citizens, drawing a sharp distinction between this demographic group and immigrant noncitizens. LULAC councils were open to U.S.-born citizens only, and

[37] Organizational interview, August 18, 2004.

the organization led struggles for Mexican American political advancement and full rights (Gutierrez, 1995). Now, however, LULAC advocates immigrant-friendly policies, including allowing drivers licenses for undocumented immigrants, and opposes policies intended to restrict immigration to the United States. Currently, LULAC has a national office in Washington, D.C., as well as state chapters, county district offices, and local councils. Many of the local councils in our case study cities were founded in the past two decades, with the Garden Grove council founded in 1999.

Hometown Associations

Transnational organizations originate from social and kinship networks formed by first-generation immigrant communities in the United States. These hometown associations, which draw members from the same local town or village, come about largely through familial ties and friendships formed with *paisanos*, or fellow countrymen. Individual hometown associations arise from a strong desire on the part of migrants to contribute to the social and economic well-being of their communities in Mexico. Club San Pedro of Zacatecas, for example, was formed in 1983 as an informal group of migrants concerned with renovating the temple and building a community plaza in Zacatecas.[38]

Other groups are formed in response to a specific event. The Federación de Clubes Yucatecos-U.S.A., or Federation of Yucatecan Clubs, was formed as a reaction to Hurricane Ysidoro, which hit the state of Yucatán in 2002. A group of 50 Yucatecan migrants from the Los Angeles area, hailing from such cities as Pasadena, Glendale, and Inglewood, sought out the Mexican Consulate in Los Angeles in an attempt to assist their families in Yucatán. Consulate officials encouraged them to form a group, and in October 2002, Club Yucatán de California was incorporated as a nonprofit organization. Subsequently, a number of hometown associations, including Club Yucatán de Inglewood, and Club Folklórico Herencia Yucateca were formed. By 2004, the organization changed its name to Federation of Yucatecan Clubs and joined the Mexican Council of Federations, a Los

[38]Organizational interview, April 9, 2005.

Angeles–based umbrella organization that unites more than five different Mexican clubs in the area.[39]

Environmental issues in Mexico also serve as a catalyst for the formation of a hometown association. This is the case for Club Fraternidad Las Animas de Zacatecas, which grew out of a response to the contamination and ecological hazards posed by a government-built wastewater treatment plant that was causing fish to die and people in the local vicinity to become ill. The club was formed in 1997 and incorporated into the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California.[40] The club's president went door to door speaking to immediate relatives and friends in various communities throughout Southern California, including East Los Angeles, West Covina, and the San Fernando Valley, to alert them to this situation.

Other hometown associations were formed as a result of the active encouragement on the part of municipal presidents or local mayors in Mexico. In the case of Club Santa Rita of the Federation of Jalisco Clubs of Southern California, 11 members were approached by Santa Rita's mayor to form the group, and with the assistance of Consular officials it was incorporated as an organization in 2004.[41] Club San Martín de Bolaños was formed in 1992 by a group of four individuals, encouraged by the local priest in their hometown. As interest in the informal group grew, members elected to form an official club, now registered with the Mexican Consulate in Los Angeles and the Federation of Jalisco Clubs of Southern California.[42]

Informal Associations

Informal associations that incorporate a large number of immigrants proved to be the most difficult to identify and to study, both because they were much less likely to be listed in any directory of ethnic organizations and because they were largely invisible to government officials in our case study cities. However, we did manage to get a sense

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[39]Organizational interview, April 18, 2005.

[40]Organizational interview, April 2, 2005.

[41]Organizational interview, April 28, 2005.

[42]Organizational interview, April 13, 2005.

of the range of informal organizations from interviews with leaders of ethnic nonprofits and from a few interviews with participants in informal associations who were referred to us by other interviewees. Two types of informal associations stood out as being prevalent in different parts of California: *promotoras*, or peer health advocates, and sports leagues.

Promotoras conduct outreach to immigrant communities on various health-related issues, often working in community settings that range from such public venues as health fairs and churches to private get-togethers among community members. Women work as promotoras for various types of organizations, including large nonprofits, such as Planned Parenthood, university hospitals, and various other health providers. Promotoras often earn a modest stipend for their peer education efforts, although there are many who work as unpaid volunteers for such groups as the Visión y Compromiso, Promotoras Network, founded in 2001 by Maria Lemus. Visión y Compromiso supports the work of promotoras by offering various training institutes and networking opportunities for members and serves as a liaison between local networks of volunteers and health administrators and policymakers.[43]

Sports leagues represent another important arena for immigrant civic participation and are usually organized by national origin or hometown region. In Orange County, for instance, hometown-based teams have flourished since the 1990s. The United Latin Soccer League, a sports association in Santa Ana, works closely with these teams, providing opportunities for team competition with other self-initiated soccer teams in the area. Unlike other organizations that are led by second-generation immigrants or long-term immigrant residents who have bilingual and bicultural skills, Latino soccer teams are often set up by recent immigrants who have limited English proficiency. Since the density of their hometown-based social networks facilitates the creation of sports teams, the lack of English proficiency is not a liability given the low startup costs and the fact that most of their interactions are with other teams that are Spanish-language-dominant. About 120 teams are active within the United Latin Soccer League, with each group composed of 20

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[43]Organizational interview, July 16, 2005.

players, making the league one of the largest civic associations in the region.[44]

Unions

Although our case study work does not deal extensively with unions, it is worth mentioning that union movements have begun to focus on organizing immigrant workers, with "locals" in California leading the charge since the 1990s (Milkman, 2000). Particular unions, such as the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE, now UNITE HERE), have provided leadership opportunities for immigrant workers and have specifically been advocates for such immigrant-related concerns as protection from work termination for those with disputed work documents[45] and a general amnesty for undocumented immigrant workers. These unions can be thought of as hybrid organizations—groups with mainstream origins and institutional frameworks but with first- and second-generation immigrants as the majority of members.

There are several limitations to the extent to which unions serve immigrant communities in California, however. First, immigrants in California are less likely than the native-born to belong to unions, even though they may make up a large part of the membership of particular locals (Waldinger and Der-Martirosian, 2000). In addition, unions are considerably smaller today than they were in the 1960s and 1970s, and several unions have split from the AFL-CIO because of disagreements over organizing strategies and political strategies. Furthermore, our case study interviews indicate that mainstream unions with smaller proportions of immigrant members, such as the Amalgamated Transit Union and the Communication Workers of America, do not devote much attention to the needs and concerns of their immigrant members. Finally, even those unions with majority immigrant memberships focus primarily on workplace concerns, such as wages, benefits, and working

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[44]Organizational interview, July 22, 2005.

[45]For instance, HERE pushes for contracts with employers stipulating that the presence of mismatched social security numbers does not constitute sufficient grounds for termination.

conditions, and are largely absent from the provision of general public and civic concerns, such as the arts, recreation, school quality, and the stewardship of remittances sent to "hometowns" or "home regions." Therefore, we do not consider unions to be a significant source or potential arena for the kinds of civic involvement this study focuses on.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have seen distinct histories and trajectories for mainstream and ethnic organizations across various types of activities, as well as the emergence of hybrid organizations that started off as mainstream organizations but that have increasingly taken on an immigrant or ethnic character. For every type of activity other than transnational participation, mainstream organizations are among the oldest and most prevalent organizations across our case study cities. By contrast, ethnic organizations are among the youngest, with most associations forming only within the past few decades. Those ethnic organizations with longer institutional histories usually operate in larger cities or were formed in particular historical moments, such as the arrival of Vietnamese refugees or the establishment of sizable second-generation Japanese immigrant communities.

Finally, hybrid organizations, such as the Loara Elementary School PTA, are long-standing mainstream organizations that have only recently seen a shift in membership and leadership from whites to Latinos, whereas others, such as the Filipino American Kiwanis, are entirely new creations springing from existing mainstream organizations. Other organizations, such as the Boys and Girls Club of Garden Grove, are just beginning to make the transition from mainstream to hybrid, and it remains to be seen whether immigrants will be integrated more fully into the membership and leadership of such groups.

4. Why Some Organizations Flourish While Others Do Not

So far, we have looked at varying histories, characteristics, and activities of mainstream and ethnic organizations across different types of activities. Differences between mainstream and ethnic organizations may not be a cause for concern—unless group differences are marked by resource inequalities that have significant consequences for visibility and influence in local affairs. In this chapter, we explore the resource inequalities that exist between mainstream and ethnic organizations, and we analyze key factors leading to organizational success. These factors are not simply related to funding but also include organizational longevity, generational continuity, cultural capital, and institutional visibility. In addition, this chapter discusses some limits to success for ethnic organizations, such as the effects of undocumented status on the part of members and some of the ways that religious organizations and transnational associations create safe spaces for immigrant participation.

Resource Limitations

Resources available to organizations come in three key forms: funding, sponsorship or mentorship, and time available among members to cultivate the organization's success. Mainstream civic organizations, in particular, benefit from the fundraising expertise and skills of executive directors who solicit funding from a wide array of sources. Paint Your Heart Out Anaheim, for example, is primarily a privately funded organization, with support from such foundations as the William Gillespie, Allstate, and Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundations. The organization also sponsors special fundraisers, including a wine and jazz festival. PYHOA will also soon be hiring an associate director in charge

of creating a planned giving program to facilitate one-on-one interaction with donors.[1]

This ability to mobilize resources is also evident in long-standing civic clubs, such as mainstream Kiwanis and Lions Clubs. The most important factor contributing to the success of these organizations is the social standing of long-time active members. The West Covina Lions Club, for example, receives $150 in annual dues from each of its members. The group's largely middle class membership has been instrumental in the ability to engage in substantial charitable activities, including donating money to the Cancer Society and the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation. Through the club's annual fundraiser, a "Night on the Town" event that includes a movie-going trip, tickets are sold for $20 and half of the proceeds are donated to charitable causes.

Expendable time also plays a crucial role in the success of these civic groups. Members of the West Covina Lions Clubs include a large number of older, white men nearing retirement age, with plenty of free time to devote to volunteer activities.[2] This pattern holds true as well for the Glendale Kiwanis Club, West Covina Beautiful, and the Glenoaks Homeowners Association, all of which have an older membership base. Glendale Kiwanis members are primarily upper class business professionals who contribute substantially to the organization's financial budget through $220 annual membership dues. Like Paint Your Heart Out Anaheim, the group holds an annual jazz festival and other fundraising events involving the sponsorship of such groups as the Rotary Club.[3]

In contrast, groups reaching out to a large immigrant population face considerable challenges in obtaining funding, mentoring, or sponsorship from charitable organizations and foundations. For instance, Grupo de Autismo Angeles in Anaheim initially received the support of the Regional Center of Orange County, including the use of a meeting room. The center also helped the group produce copies of a Spanish-language booklet on autism that the members themselves

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[1]Organizational interview, July 29, 2004.

[2]Organizational interview, July 30, 2005.

[3]Organizational interview, April 1, 2005.

produced. The center subsequently withdrew its support as the group began to push for more services and programs. The president reflected on the challenges posed by being a small, ethnic-specific organization without institutional ties to a large mainstream organization:

> We don't have financial assistance of any kind. The only thing we do is my wife makes tamales, and we do raffles. We bring speakers free of charge. And, because the treasurer and all of us are volunteers, it's very difficult. We applied for funds from the Carlos Santa Foundation. But sometimes, you have to have the well-known name of the Autism Society of America. But that would mean having to affiliate with them, and losing our organizational name and identity. We lose everything. We don't want to do that.[4]

The example of Grupo de Autismo Angeles indicates that even if some ethnic organizations may benefit from institutional affiliations with larger and more prosperous mainstream groups, concerns about the loss of autonomy and brand identity emerge as significant tradeoffs. Other advocacy groups in Anaheim echoed the concern over subsuming the organization's ethnic-specific identity and agenda under a larger mainstream organization to secure funding and resources. Latinos Unidos, the Spanish-language-based parent group at Hoover High School in Glendale, has employed an informal strategy of fundraising: During monthly meetings, members pass a hat around to solicit donations from members. Unlike formal PTAs, the group has not instituted formal membership dues out of concern that this will diminish participation on the part of the vastly low-income Latino immigrant parents.[5] Similarly, the advocacy group Los Amigos of Orange County receives no financial assistance from local or state government, charitable organizations, or foundations. However, in this case, the lack of structure and membership dues is deliberate, according to the group's president, who bears most of the costs of operation by using his central business office resources to submit letters to city officials regarding issues raised at weekly breakfast meetings. The president noted that financial independence ensures that the group is "immune to any repercussions when we talk to police departments, state agencies, politicians, or

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[4]Organizational interview, July 30, 2004.

[5]Organizational interview, April 12, 2005.

institutions."[6] At the same time, the lack of monetary and staff resources puts Los Amigos at a distinct disadvantage in terms of visibility and influence when compared to other well-heeled groups, such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Lions Club.

Exceptions to this general lack of resources among ethnic community groups are the ethnic multiservice organizations that serve refugee populations. These groups have somewhat more financial stability than advocacy organizations, owing in large part to their ability to draw on federal, state, and local government support. This is particularly the case in Garden Grove, which was the destination point for Vietnamese refugees in the 1970s. St. Anselm's Cross Cultural Community Center, for instance, receives support from the Office of Refugee Resettlement, affiliated with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, as well as from the State Department of Education, for citizenship services. Local agencies, including the Orange County Social Services Refugee Department, Catholic Charities, and the Office on Aging, also provide crucial support in the area of technical assistance and mentorship. And yet government sponsorship has not led to a breakthrough in private sources of funding. In the words of St. Anslem's executive director, "Refugees have not been the most popular thing in this country, and government money has been the only money available."[7]

Korean Community Services in Garden Grove also benefited from governmental funding during its early years. This support, however, did not guarantee the organization's financial stability, and in the mid-1990s, it began to experience turmoil and had to face the problem of compromising its core ethnic organizational identity to secure funding. The organization thus changed its name to KC Services and broadened its mission. As the director noted,

> You speak to any Korean or Asian agency in this county, you'll find everyone in the same boat. There are token pieces of funding, but nothing to sustain an organization long term. I also find that private organizations' funding priorities are not ethnic organizations. We took out the Korean wording from

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[6]Organizational interview, July 2, 2004.

[7]Organizational interview, July 1, 2004.

> our mission statement a couple of years ago, but still struggle with that. We don't want to chew off a big part of our business, but we just needed to survive.[8]

Government funding has also played a role in recently formed Arab American social service organizations in Anaheim, such as ACCESS California, including support from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, as well as from local sources, such as Children and Families Commission of Orange County and Catholic Charities. However, the role of mentorship has also been critical to the organization's success, as it relies on ACCESS of Dearborn, Michigan, which has provided grants for the hiring of staff.[9]

Thus, in Anaheim and Garden Grove, two cities that have been strong immigrant- and refugee-receiving locales, the role of governmental funding has been instrumental in the initial creation of ethnic multiservice organizations. Such support, however, rarely translates into greater donations from private sources. As the case of Korean Community Services demonstrates, the scarcity of funds may lead some organizations to rethink their ethnic-specific focus.

Collaborations and Alliances

Given the limited financial resources available to many ethnic and immigrant-serving organizations, collaborations and alliances with similar groups become critical to organizational sustenance. However, many of these alliances are built on an identification with similarly marginalized ethnic agencies, and resource-rich mainstream institutions usually do not figure prominently as collaborators or allies to immigrant-serving groups. In Garden Grove, for example, the board chair of the Korean American Federation identified primarily other Korean organizations among its collaborators, including the Korean American Citizens League, Korean American Family Service Center, and Orange County Korean Health Education and Information Center. Similarly, the director of Korean Community Services identified the Korean American Federation, Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander

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[8]Organizational interview, July 1, 2004.

[9]Organizational interview, July 27, 2004.

Community Agency, and Korean American Coalition as key collaborators, particularly in the area of information sharing and support for activities. Collaboration with groups such as OCAPICA, which receives funding from local governments, has enabled many Asian immigrant organizations to maintain their services and expand into new areas. However, the insular quality of these networks has often perpetuated the invisibility of these groups among more influential and resource-rich mainstream organizations. Thus, for instance, Kiwanis Clubs, Lions Clubs, and Chambers of Commerce remain untapped resources for many of these organizations.

In some instances, the potential for collaboration among ethnic organizations depends on the congruence among organizations in terms of their goals or demographics. The cases of La Raza Lawyers of Santa Clara County and Comite César Chávez are instructive in this regard. In San Jose, predominantly Latino organizations, such as La Raza Lawyers of Santa Clara County and the Comite César Chávez, collaborate mostly with other ethnic-specific organizations that share their vision and partake in similar activities. La Raza Lawyers, for instance, partners with the National Hispanic Bar Association to increase the number of Latino lawyers within the bar association and to attend conferences hosted by the organization. Members of the La Raza Lawyers are U.S.-born Latinos with ties to political and advocacy groups, including such influential mainstream organizations as the Silicon Valley Democratic Forum. The cultural capital of these members, including their English fluency, educational credentials, and bilingual capabilities, facilitates this coalition-building. The organization, however, has not made significant strides in incorporating members of immigrant communities, largely because foreign-born lawyers account for a small proportion of Latino lawyers in the area. Collaborations with immigrant-serving groups are limited as well. Instead, La Raza Lawyers interfaces mostly with mainstream political groups and ethnic-specific legal organizations.

By contrast, Comite César Chávez, based in East San Jose, incorporates a large immigrant population into their core group, which consists of 25–30 individuals. The Comite collaborates extensively with immigrant-serving organizations both locally and regionally. At the local level, the Comite has benefited from the support of Services, Immigrant

Rights, and Education Network (SIREN), a large multiservice organization in San Jose that also advocates immigrant rights. These collaborations have included a series of popular education courses and leadership training for immigrants. At a larger regional level, members of the Comite have participated in organizational development and leadership training workshops in collaboration with the Partnership for Immigrant Leadership and Action in San Francisco (formerly called the Northern California Citizenship Project). The organization has also received the support of the Mayfair Improvement Initiative, a project sponsored by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Community Foundation of Silicon Valley to engage communities in revitalizing their neighborhoods. Members of the Comite belong to the Mayfair neighborhood and have received support in the form of ESL classes and immigration law training. Comite, then, is an example of a group that collaborates successfully with both ethnic and mainstream organizations.

Finally, when examining the issue of collaboration among community organizations serving immigrants, it is also important to look at activities among religious groups. Immigrant participation in religious organizations is quite high in such cities as West Covina and Glendale, where ethnic communities, particularly Latinos and Filipinos, have not gained a strong foothold in city politics or developed the level of organizational capacity and visibility that similar communities have enjoyed in cities such as San Jose and Anaheim. Churches, in particular, have strong alliances with other religious multiservice organizations that reach out to this population. Holy Family Catholic Parish in Glendale collaborates regularly with the Glendale Community Center of Catholic Charities through a mission that includes feeding the homeless, assisting with the food bank, and referring parishioners to the agency for immigration advice. These alliances, in turn, facilitate immigrant involvement in volunteerism. As Father Jose Shea explained: "For immigrants, language is the issue to greater participation. But for them to serve food to other Hispanics—they can do that. They feel

comfortable. So they do work and volunteer in areas like Catholic Charities."[10]

As with other types of organizations, collaborations with religious groups are circumscribed by the needs and demographic characteristics of the groups that each is trying to serve. For instance, Iglesia de la Comunidad is a Presbyterian church in Glendale with a largely professional, light-skinned Cuban membership. This church has made alliances with the New Horizons Family Center, which caters to Latino and Armenian immigrant communities in Glendale, as well as with the Glendale Unified School District, which assigns ESL instructors to teach twice a week as part of the church's community outreach efforts. Through these efforts, Iglesia de la Comunidad incorporates members of the Mexican immigrant community who would not necessarily partake in the church's activities, given that the church is Presbyterian and the vast majority of Latino immigrants consists of Roman Catholics. In this regard, Iglesia de la Comunidad is making substantial efforts to reach out to this community. As Pastor Roberto Colon explained, "Most of our programs are for the new immigrants. We invite them. We don't try to proselytize people, but we do try to make them feel at home. Through the graduation from the ESL classes, the church is able to pull them together." Despite the church's efforts to integrate this community, Mexican immigrants are reluctant to join the church, in part on religious grounds and in part because the parishioner base is composed of a different ethnic and class group. Creating an atmosphere in which Mexican immigrants feel comfortable interacting with what they perceive to be different and well-to-do Latinos within the community has been a challenge.

Generational Succession

The issue of generational succession is another important factor in explaining why certain organizations flourish while others struggle. For example, parental involvement in educational organizations is often an indicator of the degree to which leadership is successfully transferred from one generation of parents to the next. Many parent groups at

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[10]Organizational interview, July 29, 2005.

school sites have had long breaks in their organizational activities, becoming completely inactive due to the lack of generational succession within the leadership. This is the case of the Glenoaks Elementary Community Foundation in Glendale. Currently, the group has 20 active members, and the future success of the organization is tenuous. As the current president noted, "This year, we will have a large exodus from the board because people get burnt out. The past president is moving out of the school district, so he no longer has a vested interest in it. There are one or two board members who have children going on to junior high. I wish I had better insight on how to get beyond the core group to get others involved."[11]

Transnational organizations have faced similar challenges to their organizational longevity, in large part because of the lack of institutionalization of their leadership. For example, Club San Pedro of Zacatecas was formed in Garden Grove 20 years ago as an informal grouping of friends and relatives, without a formal leadership structure or a system for electing new leaders. The club went through a period of inactivity but has recently been reactivated, with the support of elders who initiated the group in the mid-1980s and a younger cohort of migrant leaders at the helm of the organization. Recently, the group registered itself as a formal member of the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California to participate in the Mexican government's "3 for 1" matching funds program, which the federation oversees.[12] The move toward becoming a nonprofit organization with a full board of directors, all unpaid, will likely increase the organization's ability to sustain itself through greater institutionalization.[13]

Mainstream civic organizations have had some degree of success in maintaining institutional stability through a highly structured mechanism for electing board members and officers. And yet, with the aging of their memberships, a different type of generational succession problem looms large. For instance, the president of West Covina

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[11]Organizational interview, July 26, 2005.

[12]This program involves the matching of municipal, state, and federal government funds for each dollar contributed toward development projects in Mexico.

[13]Organizational interview, April 9, 2005.

Beautiful expressed concerns over declining volunteerism within the organization, noting that "I see more and more of the older people still remaining in, and filling the positions. The younger people are taking lesser roles. Young mothers are really busy. The older volunteers look at the younger mothers and wonder, 'How do you feed your family with the schedule you have?'"[14] In the case of the West Covina Lions Club, generational succession has not been a challenge until recently, with the organization successfully electing new presidents since 1960. However, with the current membership base reaching retirement age and a good number of members having passed away, many in the organization have begun to reflect on its future success. One member of the organization noted that the future of the Lions Clubs will depend largely on the emergence of parallel ethnic organizations that will, in effect, reinvent the organization to include a wide array of charitable activities appealing to a younger and more diverse population.[15]

Finally, some long-standing civil rights organizations have experienced successful generational succession, as in the examples of the Orange County Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens Leagues and the LULAC Council, both in Garden Grove. A distinguishing feature of these organizations is that they belong to a national parent organization with a board of directors consisting of professional, well-established individuals, who provide strong leadership and support to individual chapters across the country. In the case of the JACL, the focus on developing youth leaders has been a paramount objective of the organization, and one that has guaranteed that successful generational succession takes place: In the Orange County Chapter of the JACL, second-, third-, and fourth-generation Japanese Americans each make up roughly one-third of the board. The Orange County chapter has had 28 presidents since its founding in 1965, and the third and fourth generations are well-positioned to take over leadership of the organization in the coming decades.[16] The Garden Grove LULAC Council, though recently created, nonetheless displays a similar concern

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[14]Organizational interview, March 15, 2005.

[15]Organizational interview, July 30, 2005.

[16]Organizational interview, August 18, 2004.

for cultivating leadership within the younger generation of U.S-born Latinos. Currently, the council has a large number of members ages 40 to 50, but a greater number of young people have begun to participate in the organization through the LULAC Youth Academy, a three-day leadership program for high school students. The emphasis on youth academies that cultivate the leadership potential of subsequent generations has proven promising for the organization, as more young people are participating in the council's monthly meetings and learning the skills associated with leading an organization, including setting an agenda, taking minutes, and interacting with city officials.[17]

Cultural Capital of Organizational Leadership

In addition to resources, collaborations and alliances, and generational succession, organizations succeed on the basis of the cultural capital that leaders bring to their respective groups. This is particularly true for ethnic organizations, in which English proficiency, bilingualism, and the ability to act as a cultural broker are invaluable skills that can enable ethnic and immigrant-based organizations to thrive. Conversely, ethnic organizations whose leadership remains culturally and linguistically isolated from the mainstream suffer from limited opportunities to engage mainstream civic organizations and potential funders. For instance, the Korean American Federation of Orange County, despite being a long-standing association, has a membership base that is heavily monolingual, with few bilingual members able to interface with foundations or institutions. The president covers the organization's expenses through a contribution of $3,000 a year, and individual board members pay $500. In the words of the board chairman, "We don't have a full staff that is English proficient and who can write grant applications or anything like that. We don't get any grants from foundations. It's very difficult. We'd like to receive assistance from other sources, but we don't know how to get those."[18]

Immigrant hometown associations and federations face similar challenges related to the lack of English fluency and of knowledge related

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[17]Organizational interview, July 23, 2004.

[18]Organizational interview, August 2, 2004.

to grant-seeking. However, as more hometown associations attain 501(c)(3) nonprofit status—a trend that has been taking place in recent years through the encouragement of the Mexican Council of Federations, and the desire on the part of hometown groups to participate in the 3 for 1 matching funds program—these groups will be better positioned to seek funding. Finally, the complexities posed by language barriers are further compounded in the case of a few hometown associations, such as the Federation of Yucatecan Clubs, which has seen an increasing number of Mayan immigrants from the region who speak neither Spanish nor English. These organizations thus face a dual task of linguistic outreach—both to mainstream organizations and funders as well as to new populations that lack Spanish as well as English proficiency.[19]

The cultural capital of organization leaders has implications beyond funding. For instance, Latinos Unidos in Glendale engages Latino immigrant parents who would otherwise not be inclined to participate in the school's mainstream PTA because of cultural and language barriers. However, the largely monolingual Spanish-speaking parents are the core membership of the group, not the leadership. The leadership is composed of first-generation immigrants as well as a couple of U.S.-born Latinos who act as cultural and linguistic mediators between school officials and the parents. The bilingual and bicultural assets that these individuals bring to the organization are precisely what make Latinos Unidos viable. As the group's president explained:

> I would say there is a pronounced difference between the leadership and the membership. The leadership is more informed. We use laptops. We can read and write. A lot of our members are illiterate. They don't have computers at home. We try to be a go-between between the non–English-speaking members and the school because they are afraid to show up on campus because they don't know who to talk to, or they don't know who speaks Spanish, so they feel intimidated.[20]

In the context of members' lack of English fluency, the role of cultural intermediaries thus becomes as important a resource as financial support.

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[19]Organizational interview, April 18, 2005.

[20]Organizational interview, April 12, 2005.

Institutional History and Visibility

Organizations with a long-standing history in their respective cities tend to have greater visibility and connections to local power structures, which in turn contribute to their organization's ongoing success. Thus, for instance, mainstream civic clubs are among the most visible community organizations to local officials in our case study cities. Unlike fraternal organizations, such as the Elks and Knights of Columbus that declined in significance after the 1920s, service clubs, such as the Lions and Kiwanis, continue to remain relevant to local governance. As Kaufman (2002) has noted in his historical analysis of civic associations, service groups, such as the Lions and the Kiwanis, were formed just as fraternal associations were declining because they served an entirely different constituency—a growing class of upwardly mobile professionals interested in local governance. Our case studies indicate that the Lions and Kiwanis clubs remain connected to politics in medium-sized cities, as many of them serve as springboards to local elected office or appointed office and as sounding boards for policy among those in elected office.

Even among mainstream groups established in the past few decades, access to power ensures their continued relevance to local governance. For instance, West Covina Beautiful gets promoted on the city's official website and its most important event, the city's birthday celebration, is widely publicized by the Chamber of Commerce. The benefits of having a strong working relationship with local power structures also apply to the Glenoaks Homeowners Association in Glendale. The city of Glendale website includes a link to the Homeowners Association webpage. Additionally, the group belongs to the neighborhood coordinating council, which represents different neighborhood groups in Glendale, many of whom interact closely with the city council on issues of concern to members.

Parallel ethnic or hybrid civic organizations, for their part, have quickly gained a reputation as viable and important institutions, commanding the attending of local city officials and mainstream civic organizations alike. For instance, the fact that many members of the Filipino American Kiwanis Club have belonged to or participated in the

mainstream Kiwanis Club plays a crucial role in this group's ability to draw the attention of local officials in Glendale. When the Filipino American Kiwanis Club was inaugurated in 2001, more than 250 Kiwanians of various local councils in Glendale were in attendance, highlighting the group's role as a bridge-builder between mainstream and ethnic groups in the city. Moreover, the group receives the support of city elected officials, who regularly attend its fundraising events.[21] Hybrid civic clubs thus seem to have crossover appeal to mainstream civic and political institutions, while at the same time addressing the needs and concerns of particular immigrant groups.

In contrast to these groups, transnational immigrant organizations and Spanish-speaking parent groups, such as Latinos Unidos in Glendale and Grupo de Autismo Angeles in Anaheim, remain virtually unknown and invisible to local power structures. Although the relative newness of these organizations contributes to their invisibility, a host of other factors are at play, including language barriers that limit participation in events and in meetings sponsored by mainstream organizations, and the undocumented status of individuals, who fear interaction with public officials.

Lack of Citizenship and Documentation Status

Undocumented status and its relationship to community participation is a significant issue in many immigrant communities in California, especially among Latinos. The reluctance on the part of immigrants to participate in civic organizations becomes more pronounced when there are significant costs to participation in public life. In our case study cities, this reluctance and fear has been played out most notably in Anaheim, where the issue of illegal immigration has been contentious. Five years ago, in a much-publicized incident, the board of the Anaheim school district sought to approve a lawsuit against the government of Mexico to pay for the education of every undocumented child in Anaheim public schools. The lawsuit did not come to pass, but the current mayor pro tem cited this proposal as a major divisive issue, one that heightened the tension between the

[21] Organizational interview, August 2, 2005.

immigrant community and the school district. As a result of this proposal, many immigrant parents were reluctant to participate in PTAs and in broader school activities.[22] As the president of the Loara Elementary School PTA noted, immigration raids and "INS" (Immigration and Naturalization Service; now Immigration and Customs Enforcement) crackdowns in the city have significantly reduced the involvement of immigrant parents in schools:

> Something happened at one of our local markets, an immigration raid, and that became an issue. Somebody started talking about this and saying that because PTA is political, that their name would get on their list, and somehow we would give the list to the government, and this scared all these folks. I explained [to members] that this is not true. This is not a reporting agency. A parent who had always been involved with the jog-a-thon stopped coming.[23]

And yet the lack of citizenship does not translate into complete civic nonengagement. Our case study interviews indicate that immigrants resort instead to a practice of what we term "selective civic engagement" based on careful consideration of such factors as the degree of safety the involvement affords (both legal and psychological), the opportunity to share experiences with others who face similar barriers to incorporation, and the opportunity to feel useful to their families and communities in their homeland.

When it comes to issues of safety, many religious organizations serve as a haven for immigrants and their families. This is especially so among Roman Catholic churches that provide Mexican immigrants with a sense of familiarity and continuity with their homeland religious institutions. Well before Cardinal Roger Mahony's defense of organizations that serve undocumented immigrants,[24] Catholic parishes have served as a relatively safe space for immigrants to seek basic social services. Still,

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[22]Interview, Richard Chavez, Mayor Pro Tem, City of Anaheim, July 8, 2004. This finding was confirmed not only by the mayor but by various PTAs.

[23]Organizational interview, May 5, 2005.

[24]In late 2005 and early 2006, Cardinal Roger Mahony of the Los Angeles Archdiocese argued in newspaper interviews and opinion columns that proposed legislation such as the U.S. House-sponsored Sensenbrenner-King bill would harm the charitable mission of Catholic institutions and said that he would instruct his priests not to comply with the law (Mahony, 2006).

many immigrants are reluctant to register their names and those of their families at the church, suggesting that even in these relatively "safe" places, fear predominates.[25]

In addition to the church, immigrants who lack legal status often turn to informal associations, such as sports leagues formed by social networks with friends and acquaintances from their native hometown. Sports remain a viable arena for participation, given that it requires little to no interaction with public officials or institutions. However, here too, the rise in crackdowns on illegal immigration has dampened participation in cities such as Anaheim.

Transnational immigrant hometown associations provide many immigrants with another safe space for civic activity, one that also enables them to serve their communities of origin. Indeed, the sense of accomplishment and gaining the respect of family members left behind often serve to counteract to the feelings of disrespect and racial stigma that many undocumented immigrants experience in the United States, especially among those who were professionals in their native country. In this regard, selective civic engagement serves an important role in giving undocumented immigrants a sense of social worth in a context where public participation in formal civic organizations carries considerable risks.

Conclusions

Mainstream and ethnic organizations differ from each other not only in terms of their membership and institutional histories but also in the various types of organizational characteristics that have a significant bearing on their success. In our case study cities, mainstream organizations are among the most resource-rich, with revenues coming from dues-paying members or from corporations and local foundations. Among ethnic groups, advocacy organizations are the most resource-poor, often depending on the time and monetary contributions of a handful of individuals. Ethnic organizations that lack nonprofit status

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[25]Both Father Joseph Shea of Holy Family Catholic Parish in Glendale and Oscar Vargas, President of the Comite Hispano of St. Boniface Church in Anaheim, shared this view.

also face significant challenges in ensuring institutional continuity, often relying on sporadic and informal means of generating resources. Multiservice organizations occupy an intermediate status in terms of resources: They often draw on government funding and have formal nonprofit status, but they do not receive much money from private sources and are not linked to local power brokers in the same manner as mainstream civic groups. Collaborations and alliances with other organizations can serve to improve the organizational stature of ethnic organizations but, as we have seen, these alliances rarely include groups that are well funded, and they are often limited by such group differences as class and language.

Ethnic organizations face some particular challenges to success. Many leaders of ethnic organizations do not possess the cultural capital to seek alliances with mainstream organizations and funding from local foundations. The lack of legal status is another factor that depresses immigrant participation in community organizations, especially in cities with highly publicized cases of raids against illegal immigrants or where the issue of illegal immigration has been a contentious topic in school politics and local politics. Decreases in participation can be found in both mainstream and ethnic organizations, with the notable exception of transnational organizations, which provide a relatively safe space for immigrants to get involved in civic affairs.

Finally, the issue of generational succession affects nearly all types of community organizations. For instance, many PTAs face declines in involvement by parents whose children move beyond elementary school, and many ethnic organizations rely on the continued involvement of a core group of members and face difficulties in transferring leadership from one generation to the next. Mainstream civic clubs have had a notable record of institutional continuity through the periodic election of new leadership. Yet they, too, face a problem of generational succession because of their inability to reach out to new members in cities where native-born whites are becoming dwindling minorities.

5. Social and Political Implications

The previous two chapters provided a detailed picture of the varieties of immigrant and ethnic civic organizations, including differences in organizational histories and important characteristics, such as monetary resources, generational succession, collaborative relationships, and barriers to participation. In general, mainstream organizations are more advantaged than ethnic organizations when it comes to resources and institutional continuity. In this chapter, we extend the analysis to examine the social and political implications of these disparities in civic organizations. In particular, we focus on the development of leaders in ethnic and mainstream communities, on the visibility and influence of mainstream and ethnic groups in local affairs, and on the state of racial and ethnic relations in California. We pay attention to these topics because they give us an early indication of any difficulty that localities may face in integrating their diverse populations and developing future civic and political leaders in California.

Leadership Development

The development of leaders depends greatly on three important factors: the governance structure of organizations, access to resources available to staff and members, and mentoring opportunities transmitted from one generation to the next. Mainstream organizations, in particular, are better positioned to acquire the necessary resources to cultivate leadership skills within their membership.

The organizational structure of local PTAs provides a good illustration. In California, individual school site PTAs represent units, belonging to Councils of PTAs, created for the purpose of conferencing, leadership training, and coordination of member units. These Councils of PTAs, in turn, are clustered into District PTAs, representing

geographical divisions of the California State PTA. The state PTA serves as a link between the national organization and the membership within the state. For individual school site PTAs, or units, this top-down governance structure serves an important function, with resources at the higher levels providing critical technical assistance and support in strengthening the leadership at the local levels.

Informants from PTAs in West Covina and Garden Grove, for example, made reference to the indispensable role that the Council of PTAs plays in providing workshops and leadership and financial training seminars on how to effectively manage local PTA units. In addition, various levels of the organization regularly mail to local chapter presidents toolkits and fundraising materials, which aid in the development of effective leadership. The president of the Garden Grove High School PTA noted, for example, that members of the group now hold PTSA Council positions, by virtue of the fact that they have been active members of the organization dating back to their children's elementary school years.

The network of resources that formal educational organizations, such as PTAs, enjoy through association with larger state and national entities is visibly absent in the case of ethnic-specific educational organizations. Latinos Unidos in Glendale, for example, exists independent of the local PTA, even while it functions as a PTA-like group. For the group, this translates into limited opportunities for leadership development.

The leadership base of many mainstream organizations consists of business owners, professionals, and directors of nonprofit organizations who possess connections and access to resources deemed valuable to the organization's growth and visibility. For instance, the Garden Grove Boys and Girls Club has a 22-member board of directors who are primarily white, middle class local business leaders or management owners—this, despite the fact that the group's clientele is primarily nonwhite and poor. The chief professional officer of the organization reflected on the lack of diversity within the leadership:

> Our biggest challenge that we are dealing with eye to eye is the diversity of our leadership board. To get some of our ethnic communities involved is a real challenge. We have done outreach, but we haven't reached the comfort level we need to provide in order to get folks to stay or for them to seek us out. We

> do reflect on this: Do we come across as being closed to any of these young ethnic professionals? Do they walk into this room and feel that they are in such a minority that it's not a comfortable situation, as is the case with some service clubs?[1]

For some mainstream organizations, creating this inclusive atmosphere is an important first step toward the diversification of their leadership. However, there is somewhat of a "catch-22," whereby new immigrant or ethnic leaders may feel isolated without the presence of other ethnic members in leadership positions. In such circumstances, larger-scale recruitment efforts and changes in programmatic activities may be necessary to diversify the leadership of mainstream organizations. Indeed, as we noted in Chapter 3, service employee and hotel employee unions have employed such strategies to move successfully beyond this first stage and are well on their way to becoming hybrid organizations—those that have mainstream origins but with a substantial presence of immigrant members and leaders.

In some mainstream organizations, the top-down governance scheme hinders the leadership development of ethnic and immigrant members. The development of Iglesia de la Comunidad in Glendale provides an apt illustration: Previously a Hispanic ministry within the Grandview Presbyterian Church, Iglesia was recently formed when the Latino immigrant leaders within the ministry left the larger organization to form a new church. This split was primarily due to the limited opportunities for leadership development and advancement for the Cuban, Guatemalan, and Salvadoran members of the ministry. In the words of Pastor Roberto Colon:

> After two years being associate pastor for the Hispanic ministry, I realized that there was no way that this group of strong leaders that we had in the Hispanic congregation had any future under the leadership of the Anglo church. They had been there forever and were more powerful. We had a lot of potential within our group, but it was going nowhere.[2]

The challenge of leadership development is not limited to top-down organizations. Horizontally organized groups often lack the resources

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[1]Organizational interview, July 27, 2005.

[2]Organizational interview, July 15, 2005.

necessary to sustain involvement and to cultivate and expand the leadership potential of members. Thus, while a horizontal organizational structure encourages involvement across a broad portion of the membership, this can also lead to burnout among activists who shoulder a disproportionate share of investments in time, money, and other resources. For instance, most hometown associations originate from a core group of five to 10 individuals who take the initiative in leading the organization and often assume personal fiscal responsibility for the expenses that accrue. As the project director for the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California explained:

> The common denominator you will find among the leadership of all the hometown clubs is that the financial costs of running the organization are all shouldered by the president and the board members, from the gasoline to telephone expenses. Many of them need the support of foundations or organizations that can help defray the costs of transportation or communication. Often, clubs will become defunct or inactive for a period of time and eventually resurface again.[3]

A lack of resources, then, can severely affect the development of new leaders and eventually lead to the demise of these immigrant-led organizations. As a response to the needs of these hometown associations, the Council of Mexican Federations of Los Angeles and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund partnered in spring 2005 to create an Immigrant Leadership Program for Responsible Educational Development, a 15-week program targeting leaders of immigrant hometown associations. The program is building the leadership and networking skills of individuals and the organizational capacity of hometown associations, including the attainment of 501(c)(3) nonprofit status.

Visibility and Influence in Local Government

We asked our local informants who they considered to be the most prominent groups on a range of activities and issues (including arts/music/culture, education, the environment, health, poverty, labor, and advocacy). Although a disproportionate share of ethnic

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[3]Organizational interview, April 1, 2005.

organizations focus on issues of art, music, and culture, most informants mentioned mainstream groups as being the most prominent, including city symphonies, playhouses and historic theaters, and mainstream dance and music groups. In Sunnyvale, for instance, a spokesperson for the Arts Commission noted that most of the cultural groups applying for cosponsorship and use of city facilities are mainstream organizations, such as theater groups, the Sunnyvale Art Club, and the Sunnyvale Photo Club. Although a few ethnic groups had reserved rooms in the past, the spokesperson could not recall any group in particular that would be considered prominent. Interviews with Arts Commission members in other cities and counties also revealed a growing interest in conducting community outreach, because of the relative invisibility of immigrant and ethnic organizations relative to mainstream ones. In many cases, however, lack of organizational capacity among ethnic arts/culture groups remains a barrier. When asked about the prominence of Asian cultural groups, one grant administrator in Southern California noted:

> There are a lot of organizations that represent the Asian culture, as broad as that is. A few of them we fund, some of them we don't. There are many of those folk ensembles that do not even have nonprofit status so they wouldn't be able to apply for funding.

In a few cities, such as San Jose and Garden Grove, informants were able to name a few ethnic organizations. In many instances, however, these were multiservice agencies or community centers, and not arts/culture groups in particular—such as the Mexican American Community Services Agency (MACSA) in San Jose and the India Community Center in Sunnyvale. Although the mention of multiservice agencies may be a positive development, it still leaves many arts and cultural organizations invisible to local government officials.

When asked about civic associations, informants across the various cities tended to mention such mainstream groups as the Rotary Club, local chambers of commerce, and homeowners associations. Informants also saw neighborhood associations as strong in cities with formal relationships between city government and neighborhood associations, such as San Jose, Sunnyvale, and Anaheim. Although no particular ethnic organizations were mentioned, informants in cities such as San

Jose and Anaheim did note that immigrants have a say in local affairs in Latino neighborhoods. One informant in San Jose noted that, under the Strong Neighborhood Initiative, the city was able to provide bilingual support for association meetings, which in turn encouraged participation by immigrant residents with limited English proficiency:

> They are very active in particular neighborhoods. In District 5 [Strong Neighborhood Initiative] programs are held bilingually—where a large number of SNI constituents are monolingual or bilingual Spanish. The advisory committee [for the district] meets bilingually, and so there is great turnout.[4]

Informants also cited particular neighborhood associations in cities such as Glendale where residents were concerned about limiting commercial development. There was no indication, however, that immigrants were involved in these anti-growth associations and movements.

In many instances, neighborhood associations and business groups were seen as being among the more prominent "advocacy groups" in the city. Indeed, in West Covina, one elected official noted that the Chamber of Commerce was the only significant advocacy group around:

> Well, you've got the Chamber of Commerce—that is a business advocacy group. . . . We really don't have a lot of other organized advocacy groups in West Covina. The people who come to the city council meetings are either regular attendees—I call them gadflies—who are oftentimes fielding questions not centered around any particular issue. . . . Sometimes neighborhoods will get stirred up over issues. But not a lot of other organized groups, other than the Chamber of Commerce, who is there to represent and promote business.[5]

In Glendale, the Chamber of Commerce and the downtown business association were both seen as prominent advocacy groups, although homeowners associations were also seen as very strong and active. As one informant noted:

> [In terms of] advocacy groups, there are some, mostly homeowners associations in Glendale. They have come, that's the most noticeable political change in Glendale. That homeowners actually stood up to the development trend in Glendale. Glendale has been on a very strong development trend from the 80s and through the 90s, and the homeowners finally coalesced about five years ago to stop hillside development, which was a huge sea change in how the city

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[4]Informant interview, July 12, 2004.

[5]Informant interview, July 16, 2004.

> conducted business. They used to routinely approve hillside development and the creation of tract homes and the homeowners stood up to that. So right now there are about two dozen homeowner associations segregated by neighborhood.[6]

In terms of ethnic organizations in Glendale, the only advocacy groups mentioned were Armenian, although the city's Latino population is nearly as numerous as its Armenian population:

> There is the Armenian National Committee, western regional office, and they often advocate for additional governmental assistance to Armenian youth programs and they advocate on behalf of Armenian groups that feel they've been discriminated against. . . . There are other groups but they're not quite so active. There's a Hispanic Business Professionals Organization, and there's also a Filipino Professional association as well, but I don't really see them advocating all that much.[7]

At the same time, local officials also noted that it was much more of a challenge to get Latinos and Latino organizations to apply for grants and to take on a more prominent role in the civic and political life of Glendale:

> The thing is, what's really frustrating to me, my understanding is Latinos make up a third of the population here also and it's very difficult to get anybody from the Latino community to show up or be a representative . . . I find them very uninvolved and very invisible in Glendale and then we also have two council people that are Latino and they're not too much of a help, you know. Dario Fromer is our assemblyman and he's Latino, you know. . . . I have just not figured out how to get to the Latino community here.[8]

This statement is notable because it indicates that, even with the election of Latino or Asian Americans to local office, immigrant organizations in smaller cities may remain invisible to agencies and foundations that provide sponsorship or services to community groups.

In the larger cities we studied, informants had little difficulty coming up with names of ethnic advocacy organizations, such as Hemandad Mexicana and Los Amigos in Anaheim, and MACSA and SIREN in San Jose. However, in smaller cities, such as Glendale and West Covina, informants either did not know of any organizations providing advocacy

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[6]Informant interview, July 1, 2004.

[7]Informant interview, July 1, 2004.

[8]Informant interview, July 7, 2004.

or services to immigrants or they presumed that immigrant residents were accessing services in nearby large cities, such as Los Angeles or Pasadena. In some instances, officials who did not know of any ethnic organizations providing services or advocacy to immigrants relied on their personal connections to remain informed. However, such connections may only provide a limited window into the needs of various ethnic communities, especially given ethnic and class diversity among Latino and Asian immigrants. For instance, when we asked one informant in Southern California about organizations serving Asian immigrants, she noted:

> Well there's one, I have a contact . . . who's Filipino, and basically if I ever need anything about the Asian community I go to her; she's been very, very active in this region. She happens to live in [this city]. And she's the one I think who made the Asian community more prominent here.[9]

Modes of Assimilation and Acculturation

Given the relative prominence of mainstream organizations within the larger civic and political arena, it is important to assess the extent to which these groups conduct outreach to members of immigrant and ethnic communities. Most mainstream organizations do not appear to have any formal strategy to incorporate immigrants or nonwhites into their membership. In fact, when queried as to the extent of immigrant involvement within their organizations, many informants seem to place the burden on immigrant residents, pointing either to limited English proficiency or lack of interest. A few noted that recruitment would get easier once immigrant populations became more established and assimilated into the rest of the city. For instance, the president of one civic club noted, "Many of them [immigrants] prefer, at least until they get comfortable with the community and language, to stay close to their church or ethnic group, rather than getting out and mixing. That's a challenge we're facing that's affected membership."

In terms of specific outreach efforts to incorporate the immigrant community, this same informant noted such activities as chamber mixers and interaction with businesses, clients, and vendors. These arenas,

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[9]Informant interview, July 7, 2004.

however, represent traditional sites of social networking for the mainstream community and not for ethnic or immigrant communities. In the case of West Covina Beautiful, for example, new members are incorporated primarily through word of mouth and through mailers distributed to individuals who have been members for the past three years.

Rather than civic clubs bringing new immigrant members into their organizations, immigrants appear to be reinventing mainstream civic organizations. A member of the West Covina Lions Club described this phenomenon:

> Today, Lions Clubs are losing their popularity and membership. They are just not relevant anymore, so there is the rise in ethnic clubs. Here, in this community, there are five Taiwanese Lions Clubs that are addressing concerns in Taiwan. And the fact is we are recruiting new members, but we're not keeping them. It is a problem of retention. Their needs aren't being fulfilled. Our clubs fulfill the needs of the 1960s. We have to become modern and up to date.[10]

Rather than aggressively incorporating members of immigrant and ethnic communities, mainstream civic organizations appear instead to provide a supporting role to these parallel ethnic organizations. Significantly, however, these parallel ethnic organizations do not have the same visibility and influence among local government officials as their mainstream counterparts, partly because they are newer and have far fewer resources.

Intergenerational dynamics play an important role in the acculturation and incorporation process of immigrants. Mainstream organizations, for their part, have limited success in incorporating first-generation immigrants but have a greater degree of success in incorporating second- and third-generation immigrants. This is especially true among multiservice organizations and PTAs. For instance, PTA groups in most of our cities reported that first-generation immigrant participation is minimal, whereas second- and third-generation Latino and Asian immigrant participation is growing. Similarly, an officer in the Garden Grove Boys and Girls Club noted that

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[10]Organizational interview, July 30, 2005.

the young Latino, Asian, and Filipino staff members within the organization were former club members or grew up in the neighborhood where the club operates. This trend suggests that early exposure to, and experiences with, organizations and groups can play a decisive role in whether successive generations will participate. Notably, however, membership and staff involvement within these organizations have not yet translated into greater leadership.

Hybrid and ethnic civic organizations display a mode of assimilation characterized by a strong desire to integrate into the mainstream while maintaining allegiance to ethnic-specific issues and concerns. Both the Filipino American Kiwanis Club of Glendale and the Filipino American Association of Anaheim Hills exhibit this conscious dual orientation, which places these organizations in a favorable position to act as bridge-builders between ethnic and mainstream communities. The Filipino American Kiwanis group participates in charitable activities, including purchasing books and computers for the Glendale Unified School District, as well as providing aid to Sisters of Social Service, a Philippine-based group that shelters displaced children from Manila. The Filipino American Association of Anaheim Hills similarly focuses its energies on providing charitable aid to Sisters of Social Service, as well as collaborating with the Anaheim Hills Community Council to sponsor the annual Fourth of July celebration. Both groups attempt to serve as a bridge between their constituents and mainstream groups, but language barriers diminish the degree of civic presence that these groups can have. For instance, even though the vast majority of members of the Filipino American Association of Anaheim Hills consists of upper middle class and established first-generation immigrants, limited cultural fluency and comfort in speaking with mainstream audiences inhibit high profile participation in the wider Anaheim community. As the president of the group explained:

> I was co-chairman of the Anaheim Hills Community Council, and I was looking for somebody to take my place. I represented the Filipino American community. When I ask them to take my place, they back away. Sometimes, it's language, or sense of social inferiority or something like that.[11]

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[11]Organizational interview, March 24, 2005.

Intergroup Relations

The present state of civic organization in California has a significant bearing not only on such factors as disparities in political influence but also on daily social relations between members of different racial and ethnic groups. In our case studies, the lack of outreach by mainstream organizations and the insularity of many immigrant-serving organizations point to the continued lack of bridge-building efforts between communities. We have already noted the effect of segmented civic participation on immigrant acculturation and the receptivity of mainstream groups. Here, we elaborate further on intergroup relations using three of our case study cities: Anaheim, Glendale, and Garden Grove.

From a residential and organizational perspective, Anaheim appears to be a highly polarized city, particularly along racial and ethnic lines. Latino organizations are geographically clustered in the central part of the city, where the vast majority of Latinos live. A smaller Vietnamese community is concentrated in Western Anaheim, along with a growing Arab American community, which has witnessed a proliferation of Arab American businesses along Brookhurst and Euclid Avenues. The Anaheim Hills area is home to an older white population.[12]

The residential segregation evident throughout the city is evidenced by fractures and fissures at the organizational level. The greatest divide in intergroup relations appears to be taking place between the Latino and white communities. Groups such as Paint Your Heart Out Anaheim and mainstream PTAs count few Latino immigrants among their members. However, Latinos are active within ethnic-specific groups, such as Los Amigos of Orange County and Grupo de Autismo Angeles. Similarly, mainstream organizations are doing little to attract Arab immigrants, leaving the latter to focus on their own cultural and service organizations, such as the Arab American Council and ACCESS California.

Key events in the recent past have also exacerbated the degree of social isolation among Arab and Latino immigrants in Anaheim. The rise in hate crimes against Arab immigrants has prompted many to turn

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[12]Organizational interview, July 8, 2004.

to their own communities as sources of support, and public crackdowns on illegal immigration have made many Latino immigrants reluctant to get involved in civic life, and especially so in activities sponsored by mainstream groups.

Glendale represents another interesting example of intergroup fragmentation, particularly in terms of the Armenian and other communities. As the president of Mashdotz College, an Armenian institution in the city, noted:

> One major concern of mine is not the Armenian organizations but, rather, the mainstream ones, which haven't been able to attract people from ethnic communities. I'm governor of Rotary International. I see the difference in the meetings. For instance, in Rotary club of Glendale, out of 80 members, only three are Armenian. Now, because of my efforts, we have five Armenians. So our community organizations don't reflect ethnic diversity of community.[13]

The degree of social fragmentation in Glendale led this individual to create the Ethno-America Institute, a nonprofit organization that seeks to bridge ethnic and mainstream communities in the city by organizing workshops and conferences to boost intergroup interactions. Lack of participation in mainstream organizations, however, does not appear to have hindered the Armenian community's ability to make strides in local and electoral politics. Indeed, the visibility that comes from their segmented civic participation seems to be a mobilizing resource for Armenians in local politics.

However, this success has created a struggle for power and resources that has contributed to escalating tensions between the Armenian and Latino communities in Glendale. This tension has been played out most notably in the educational arena among high school youth. Jose Quintanar, founder of We Care for Youth, explains how the deep divisions have their roots in these two immigrant communities' marginalization from the mainstream:

> My perspective is that before Armenians came, the Latinos were scapegoats for everything that went wrong with the city. Then the Armenians came and they became scapegoats. The Latinos kind of dropped to the background, and Armenians came to the forefront. So, the issue of the conflict between Armenian and Latino youth is symptomatic of what goes on in any community

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[13]Organizational interview, June 29, 2005.

> where people are struggling to get ahead, particularly in immigrant communities, because they are all fighting for the same jobs and the same place in the schools.[14]

In Garden Grove, ethnic fragmentation is evident not only in divisions between mainstream and ethnic groups but also in competition for resources and recognition among various ethnic organizations. This is particularly the case with organizations serving Asian immigrants, with perceptions among Korean organization leaders that their communities operate under the shadows of the larger and better-organized Vietnamese community. As with the Armenian community in Glendale, the Garden Grove Vietnamese population has not participated extensively in mainstream organizations and yet it is making inroads into local politics and has gained a significant level of visibility among elected officials. It is questionable, however, whether the Armenian and Vietnamese examples of segmented civic participation and electoral success can be extended to other communities that have fewer resources and account for a smaller proportion of the citizen population.

For instance, many Korean civic leaders have tried in vain to get the city to establish a community center for Korean residents after the city initially endorsed a proposal for a three-acre Vietnamese cultural center.[15] And it was only recently that the Korean business community was able to get a freeway sign for the Korean shopping district, even though it contains scores of ethnic businesses. As one Korean organization leader noted: "We all realize that the Vietnamese community has more voting power and has made more inroads in the political arena. But we have to learn to respect each other. We would like to take the lead in bringing these communities together, so we have a better understanding, and there is better coordination and cooperation when issues arise."

Against this backdrop of group competition over status and resources, a few organizations are emerging as bridge-builders, fostering

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[14]Organizational interview, May 18, 2005.

[15]Although the city council withdrew its support for the Vietnamese center in November 2004 after learning of a technical violation of the state's open meeting laws, it pledged to find the center a new home in the city (Vu, 2004).

greater integration and cooperation between groups. Notably, the efforts seem to have greater success among second-generation youth than among the first generation in charge of ethnic organizations. Thus, for instance, St. Peter's Armenian Church in Glendale and the Youth Ministries Center partner with We Care for Youth to encourage greater civic engagement on the part of second-generation Latino and Armenian youth. These activities range from some narrow ethnic-specific issues, such as writing letters to State Representative Adam Schiff regarding the Armenian genocide, to larger activities that engage both the Latino and Armenian communities. Similarly, OCAPICA seeks to cultivate leadership in the Asian American community regardless of national origin and seems to have had more success with second-generation immigrant youth than with first-generation immigrant adults.

Finally, competition over resources also extends to organizations within each ethnic community. As the Director of KC Services stated when explaining why his organization was seeking to expand beyond Garden Grove:

> When refocusing our efforts, we chose deliberately not to focus in Garden Grove because the city had so many little organizations competing for activities. The Garden Grove office does provide counseling in Korean, but there are pockets of Fullerton where public schools are half Korean. I envision a huge business and commerce growing around Fullerton and Irvine.[16]

The organization has thus established its headquarters in Fullerton, where the Korean community is growing, and competition within organizations has not yet taken hold.

Social and Political Influences of Hometown Associations

Transnational organizations in the United States originate from a strong desire on the part of their members to improve the social and economic conditions of their home countries, where many relatives and friends remain. In our study, we focus on the dense network of Mexican hometown associations (HTAs), which are leading the way in forging an agenda that seeks to improve economic development and increase the

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[16]Organizational interview, July 1, 2004.

transparency of local and national politics in Mexico, while at the same time beginning to get more involved in civic and political activities oriented toward the United States. For most hometown groups, these efforts take place through the promotion of infrastructure projects that are realized through grassroots-based fundraising activities known as *kermeses*, or hometown gatherings, where up to thousands of dollars might be raised in a single night through the purchase of food and drinks and the auctioning of prizes.

The creation of the Mexican federal government's "3 for 1 program," in which every dollar raised by migrant clubs is matched by the federal, state, and local levels of government in Mexico, can be traced to an agreement forged between the state of Zacatecas and the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs in Los Angeles in 1986. The program was adopted at the national level in Mexico after the strong lobbying efforts of Zacatecan immigrants at the Congress of Mexico. As the public relations officer of the Federation described, this action served to "empower Mexican states in a single project by bringing unity, transforming governmental relations, and asking for accountability."[17]

For migrants in the United States, participation in the 3 for 1 program extends beyond the simple act of depositing funds into the local economies in Mexico; it represents a viable channel for exerting influence in local governance. This work, which is carried out in a nonpartisan fashion, is increasing the level of civic participation not only of migrants in the United States but also of communities in Mexico that have historically been unable to have a strong voice in local matters. For example, the Federation of Yucatecan Clubs has members residing throughout Southern California, including Pasadena, Glendale, Garden Grove, and Inglewood. As the club's president explained, members of the hometown clubs are regularly in contact with their families in Yucatan, who inform them of the local government's actions, such as shutting down the water, or other quality of life issues. For migrants in the United States, this information sets into motion a process of writing letters to the mayor and, if necessary, traveling to Yucatan to exert pressure on local officials to meet the needs of families.

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[17]Organizational interview, April 2, 2005.

In addition, to guarantee that the proposed projects through the 3 for 1 program are being realized in the appropriate fashion and timetable, many hometown associations have created "mirror clubs" in their hometown, which oversee the construction of rest homes and schools and the completion of bridges and highways. Members of the Santa Rita hometown association of Jalisco in Garden Grove, and Club San Martín de Bolaños in Covina, rely on these counterpart clubs to provide assessment and oversight and to hold government entities accountable for completion of these projects.

The civic activities that Mexican hometown associations take part in on a binational basis also reveal the strong potential for influencing and transforming governmental relations and the political process in Mexico. After years of lobbying and petitioning on the part of migrant groups, in 2003, the state Legislature of Zacatecas approved the "Ley Migrante," or migrant bill, which allows migrants with dual citizenship, and their U.S.-born children, to participate in the election of mayors and representatives from their hometowns. Such a bill also paved the way for migrants to be appointed as "representatives" within the two major political parties in Mexico. Among the parties involved in this effort were Zacatecan migrants, along with the Frente Civico Zacatecano, a civic front political organization that functions independently of the Zacatecan federation. The role that Mexican migrants in the United States are playing in the local and state politics in Mexico as a result of this historic bill was best expressed by a member of the Zacatecan federation, who declined to be one of the migrant representatives because of a strong personal desire to continue to work on a transnational level:

> With this, we were able to create a change in the Mexican constitution, that now, we can vote. Migrants are the ones deciding who gets to be voted in Mexico for Mayor positions. With a phone call, we can change the way electoral politics are done. They come here as candidates. We quiz them to make sure they will deliver what they claim. Migrants are a decisionmaking population, and we contribute so much economically, we should have a say.[18]

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[18]Organizational interview, April 2, 2005.

Finally, hometown associations in the United States are also gaining the recognition of U.S. public officials. Transnational groups incorporate a large number of undocumented immigrants, but the leadership of individual hometown associations and certainly the umbrella organizations or federations consists of first-generation long-term immigrant residents who have become naturalized citizens. The potential of hometown associations in mobilizing new voters is not lost on elected officials. As the president of the Federation of Jalisco Clubs expressed: "The candidates themselves seek us out, because those who participate in the Jalisco clubs are very involved in their communities. Both [then–Los Angeles mayoral candidates] Antonio Villaraigosa and James Hahn invited us to participate in their campaigns which makes us feel good, but we always reiterate that as a federation, we cannot participate because of our nonprofit status. But as individuals we do."[19]

A few hometown associations and federations with a more explicitly political stance are beginning to emerge. These organizations have opted to remain informal organizations, without 501(c)(3) status, to be able to exert political pressure. This is the case with the Federación Oaxaqueña de Comunidades y Organizaciones Indigenas de California (FOCOICA). Established in 2001, the organization recently endorsed local political candidates including Los Angeles Councilmember Ed Reyes of District 1 and, most recently, Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa. The more politically activist orientation of the Oaxacan Federation can perhaps be best explained by the fact that these associations are modeled after specific indigenous communities from Oaxaca.

The 501(c)(3) limitations on party and candidate contributions notwithstanding, many immigrant hometown associations are gaining access to policymakers through aggressive outreach efforts. Members of the Federation of Puebla Clubs of Southern California, the Council of Mexican Federations of North America, and the Federation of Michoacan Clubs, for example, initiated a meeting with members of the California Latino Legislative Caucus, which resulted in a joint legislative hearing on August 19, 2005, to discuss the emergence of immigrant hometown associations as a binational force of political and economic

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[19]Organizational interview, April 17, 2005.

development. Particular issues affecting members, such as educational spending and immigrant access to services, have also motivated the shift toward greater involvement in local affairs. Thus, for instance, the federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California gathered more than 10,000 signatures from individual clubs in support of California Assembly Bill 540, which allows undocumented immigrant students access to higher education, and the Federation of Jalisco Clubs, with 111 clubs throughout Southern California—including in our case study cities—has gotten involved in such issues as the granting of drivers licenses for undocumented immigrants. The president of the Jalisco Federation elaborated on the binational or dual civic orientation toward which the group has been moving:

> We belong to a commission that supported Gil Cedillo with SB 60 initially, and then SB 1160.[20] We will continue to do this. In fact, we suggested to the state government of Jalisco that they get involved by visiting the governor and pleading that, together, we do something so that we could advance on this issue.[21]

The involvement of Mexican hometown associations in advocating the rights of immigrants in the United States is not limited to particular issues, such as the ability to obtain drivers licenses. In spring 2006, hometown associations and federations played a significant role in the pro-immigrant protests in California as well as in other parts of the United States. Indeed, the Mexican Council of Federations was one of the strongest advocates for immigrant boycotts and walkouts on May 1 as it appealed for support from members, business owners, and public officials in both the United States and Mexico (Zaragosa, 2006; Taxin, 2006). The federations are also looking to have an effect on electoral politics, as they partnered with the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO) and other organizations in a large-scale effort to mobilize Latino voters in the June 2006 California primary (National Association of Latino Elected Officials, 2006).

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[20]These were bills that would grant drivers licenses to undocumented immigrants in California.

[21]Organizational interview, April 17, 2005.

Interviews with hometown associations and federations across Southern California suggest that participation in immigrant hometown associations can foster a dual orientation with regard to homeland issues and concerns, as well as to U.S.-based social and political activities. As immigrants continue to enhance their organizational capacity by acquiring nonprofit status and developing a network of partners that can provide technical assistance through leadership academies, such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF's) LIDER program, they will be better positioned to increase their civic presence in the United States without abandoning the home country issues and causes that led to their initial formation.

Conclusions

Mainstream organizations differ from ethnic organizations in terms of their organizational resources and institutional histories, and these in turn produce and reproduce inequalities in the extent to which the two types of organizations are seen as visible and influential in local affairs. In general, mainstream organizations are much more prominent than ethnic organizations in the minds of local government officials, although advocacy groups and, to some extent, transnational associations are getting on the radar screen of local officials. The advantaged position accorded to mainstream organizations would not pose a problem for civic equality if such groups did a successful job of incorporating immigrants into their membership and leadership. Our case study evidence indicates that efforts at meaningful outreach to immigrant residents are rare. Indeed, in some cases ethnic members find limited advancement to leadership positions in mainstream organizations and thus leave the organization to create their own ethnic-specific institutions. However, these new organizations do not have nearly the same level of resources as their mainstream counterparts, nor do they have much visibility and influence in local affairs.

Current dynamics in civic participation also have a significant bearing on the state of racial and ethnic relations in California. Among mainstream organizations, religious and multiservice groups seem to be doing the most in terms of integrating immigrant and ethnic populations, whereas civic clubs appear to be doing the least. In many of

our cities, local officials also noted a somewhat insular orientation among ethnic organizations that focus exclusively on particular communities. In some cases, this insularity does not seem to harm the visibility and influence of politically ascendant immigrant groups, such as the Armenians in Glendale and the Vietnamese in Garden Grove. Even in these cases, however, other groups, such as Latinos and Koreans, remain on the margins of civic life.

Immigrant transnational groups are having a significant effect on economic development and social relations in their countries of origin and in the politics of California as well. In this report, we have focused on Mexican hometown associations, but studies of transnational associations, among other groups, show a similar increase in the civic engagement of immigrants in their home regions that go well beyond sending remittances to family members (Levitt, 2001; Labelle and Midy, 1999). In terms of political involvement, we see that Mexican hometown associations in California have a strong desire to have a political effect in their home country. Yet this desire is often tempered by a similarly strong need to remain nonpolitical given their nonprofit status. One the one hand, members recognize the enormous economic contribution they make to their respective home states via remittances and investment in Mexico-sponsored 3 for 1 projects. At the same time, they are wary of becoming too politically engaged and causing partisan political divisions within their membership. The challenge of finding the right balance is one that these immigrant groups will continue to face in the coming years.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

We have analyzed various types of evidence to get a better grasp on how immigrants participate in civic life, how their participation may differ from the involvement of native-born residents, and how these differences relate to inequalities in civic life, including disparities in organizational resources and visibility to local decisionmakers. Although existing survey data fail to take into account participation in informal associations and nontraditional groups, such as transnational organizations, they do provide us important information regarding participation in formal, traditional organizations that are among the most active and visible to local policymakers. The Current Population Survey provides the most comprehensive and up-to-date account of formal participation in California, and it indicates that first-generation immigrants have a considerably lower level of volunteerism than the native-born, but that there is no appreciable difference in participation between second-generation immigrants and those in later immigrant generations.

Factors that help explain the lower rates of participation among immigrants go beyond the standard set of socioeconomic characteristics, although they do indeed account for part of the variation. Our focus group data indicate that linguistic and cultural barriers play a significant role in preventing many immigrants from getting involved in such mainstream organizations as neighborhood associations and civic clubs. These barriers include not only having limited English proficiency but feelings of hesitancy associated with having a noticeable accent or not feeling particularly welcome in mainstream settings. Our focus group data and evidence from the Current Population Survey also indicate that the lack of information about organizations and volunteer opportunities is higher among first-generation immigrants than among those in later

immigrant generations. Immigrants find it more difficult than native-born residents to adjust to their new surroundings; this is especially true for those making international moves that involve linguistic and cultural adjustment, but it also holds true for those making domestic moves from one city or neighborhood to another and may affect civic participation. Civic organizations could help mitigate these barriers by conducting extensive outreach to newcomer populations. However, our case study interviews indicate that such outreach is rare among mainstream organizations, and that the groups most poised to help with immigrant transitions are multiservice organizations and transnational associations.

In addition to looking at individual civic participation, this study has also examined the differences in the organizational histories and resource characteristics of mainstream and ethnic organizations. In general, mainstream organizations are advantaged relative to ethnic organizations: They have been in existence for many more years, and they tend to have a steady stream of funding from member dues, prominent fundraisers, and private donations. Mainstream organizations are also more likely to be visible to local decisionmakers and deemed to be prominent and influential in local affairs. By contrast, many ethnic organizations face the challenge of scarce funding, a dearth of potential leaders, and a lack of visibility among potential funders and local decisionmakers. Multiservice organizations are an exception in this regard, as many of them receive monetary support and recognition from government agencies. The lack of legal status among members also limits the viability of some ethnic organizations, because undocumented immigrants drop out of civic participation in cities where the issue of illegal immigration has been a contentious topic. However, transnational organizations seem to be relatively immune to this decline in participation as they continue to provide relatively safe spaces for immigrants to become "selectively engaged" in civic affairs.

The advantaged position accorded to mainstream organizations would not pose a problem for civic equality if such groups did a successful job of incorporating immigrants into their membership and leadership. Our case study evidence indicates that efforts at meaningful outreach to immigrant residents are rare. In some mainstream organizations, ethnic members find limited advancement to leadership

positions and thus leave the organization to create their own ethnic-specific institutions. However, these new organizations typically do not have nearly the same number of resources as their mainstream counterparts, nor do they have much visibility and influence in local affairs. Finally, the creation of hybrid civic clubs (such as the Filipino Kiwanis Club in Glendale) and the mobilization of immigrants by labor unions serve as examples of how such outreach may be done.

Current dynamics in civic participation have a significant bearing on the state of racial and ethnic relations in California. Among mainstream organizations, religious and multiservice groups seem to be doing the most in terms of integrating immigrant and ethnic populations, whereas civic clubs appear to be doing the least. In many of our cities, local officials noted a somewhat insular orientation among ethnic organizations that focus exclusively on particular communities. In some cases, this insularity does not seem to harm the visibility and influence of politically ascendant immigrant groups, such as the Armenians in Glendale and the Vietnamese in Garden Grove. Even in these cases, however, other groups, such as Latinos and Koreans, remain on the margins of civic life. Without a more inclusive effort at increasing the civic participation of sizable immigrant or ethnic populations, communities run the risk of persistent ethnic tensions that can occasionally spill out into political and social conflicts.

Finally, the issue of generational succession affects nearly all types of community organizations. For instance, many PTAs face declines in involvement by parents whose children move beyond elementary school, and many ethnic organizations rely on the continued involvement of a core group of members and face difficulties in transferring leadership from one generation to the next. Mainstream civic clubs have had a notable record of institutional continuity through the periodic election of new leadership. Yet they, too, face a problem of generational succession because of their inability to reach out to new members in cities where native-born whites are becoming dwindling minorities.

What can be done to mitigate inequalities in civic participation in California, given that (1) immigrants are generally less likely to be informed about volunteering opportunities and more likely to feel unwelcome in mainstream civic settings, (2) some ethnic organizations

may be hampered by a certain amount of insularity, and (3) mainstream organizations hold significant resource advantages over their ethnic peers while at the same time are reluctant or unable to conduct successful outreach to immigrant populations? Our focus group and case study evidence point to several possible solutions:

1. *Local governments can increase their levels of sponsorship and contact with ethnic organizations.* Local elected officials and civic leaders need to initiate or redouble their efforts to get in contact with leaders of various immigrant and ethnic organizations in their cities. At present, city elected officials are in regular contact primarily with mainstream associations. When they do meet with ethnic organizations, such contact is sporadic, often limited to one or two groups, and relates only to a narrow set of issues or concerns. A broadening of contact with ethnic civic associations will certainly entail costs in terms of councilmember time and, in some cases, resources for translated documents and simultaneous interpretation. However, it will also give elected officials a better sense of the needs and concerns of various constituencies and help them improve their governance of cities that increasingly have a majority of minority residents. In some cities, such as Sunnyvale, the city council has created task forces to examine the need for civic outreach and explore ways to expand outreach to ethnic organizations. In other cases, city and county governments have tied the disbursement of arts/culture and parks/recreation funds to increases in the racial and ethnic diversity of beneficiaries. Some cities and counties have also established leadership academies to train ethnic leaders in such skills as obtaining nonprofit 501(c)(3) status and applying for grants; others, such as Santa Clara, have even loosened requirements that groups have formal nonprofit status before receiving funds. Finally, cities such as San Jose have implemented "strong neighborhood initiatives" that not only bring politics "closer to home" but also create district-like systems of governance where ethnic-based communities can emerge and gain civic presence and political voice. City and

county officials should consider these and other measures to ensure that the presence of mainstream organizations does not come at the cost of maintaining the invisibility of ethnic associations.

2. *Mainstream organizations can increase outreach to immigrant residents by addressing the needs and concerns of first- and second-generation immigrant communities.* The issue of whether mainstream organizations are adequately incorporating immigrants becomes more pressing in the context of economic and political disparities between mainstream and ethnic groups. Conducting outreach to newcomer populations will also be crucial in determining which organizations will continue to thrive in majority-minority cities. Mainstream organizations that so far have had success in encouraging immigrant involvement—such as particular unions, various Catholic parishes, and protestant churches, such as Crystal Cathedral—have all modified their programs and offerings to make them more appealing to immigrant members. These modifications include the provision of greater language access, such as Spanish-language religious services and, in many cases, advocating immigrant members' rights with respect to federal policies and societal acceptance. Many mainstream organizations may be reluctant to play an overt advocacy role, either because of a fear of losing nonprofit status or because it would be a serious break from the present-day mission and activities of the organization (Berry and Arons, 2003). Even in such instances, however, our focus group evidence indicates that mainstream organizations can become more appealing by tailoring new activities and issues of concern to first- and second-generation immigrants. In the absence of such meaningful outreach, mainstream organizations face the risk of becoming increasingly unrepresentative of the larger community and marginal to the concerns of local elected officials that find newer avenues to political power.
3. *Promote leadership development.* In addition to addressing issues of concern to first- and second-generation immigrants, mainstream organizations can ensure greater immigrant

incorporation by providing opportunities for leadership and advancement. This has the benefit not only of ensuring leadership continuity in a context of demographic change but also in recruiting new members and increasing the involvement of existing immigrant members. Indeed, the literature on labor unions and immigrants indicates that providing leadership opportunities to immigrants can assist organizations in recruiting new members and in mobilizing around issues that resonate with immigrant members (Sherman and Voss, 2000; Zabin, 2000). Finally, our case study evidence suggests that leadership development needs to go beyond the token promotion of one or two individuals to clearly demonstrate the commitment of the organization to the development of future leaders who are Latino or Asian American.

4. *Promote spinoffs rather than splinters.* We found several instances of ethnic organizations that formed when immigrants left mainstream organizations because of inadequate services or blocked opportunities for leadership and advancement. Although the development of these separate organizations may benefit immigrant communities in the long run, our case study evidence indicates that in the short term, splinter groups usually lack financial resources and access to social and political networks to ensure organizational vitality and continuity. On the other hand, "spinoff" groups, such as the Filipino American Kiwanis Club, continue to receive support from their mainstream counterparts in terms of fundraising and making connections with local decisionmakers. Unlike splinter groups, spinoffs hold the promise of ensuring the vitality of new groups while continuing the relevance of mainstream "parent" organizations.
5. *Increase funding opportunities for immigrant-serving community organizations.* Transnational associations, community health organizations, religious groups, and cultural associations are at the forefront of providing opportunities for immigrants to get involved in the civic lives of their communities. These organizations are especially vital for civic participation among

recent immigrants, those with limited English proficiency, and those who lack legal permanent resident status in the United States. Yet, most of these organizations face significant resource constraints and lack established relationships with state and local foundations and charitable organizations. These immigrant-serving organizations would benefit from greater attention by foundations and charitable organizations whose support of immigrant residents is currently oriented toward large, well-established social service providers. Mentoring efforts by larger, well-established community organizations will also help immigrant-serving organizations qualify for external support, whether it be through assistance in the acquisition of 501(c)(3) nonprofit status or in the development of grant-writing skills.

Appendix A

Focus Group Worksheet

Linda works full time and has two children in elementary school. Every Saturday, she helps out the local botanical garden. She works for free, tending to plants in the greenhouse. She has been doing this for six years and now manages the work that other volunteers do. How would you describe Linda's activity? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ A hobby
- ☐ Family commitment
- ☐ Neglecting family duty
- ☐ Volunteering
- ☐ Charity
- ☐ Community involvement
- ☐ Religious involvement
- ☐ Community service
- ☐ Personal time
- ☐ Other _____

Richard is a retired plumber. Every Saturday, he is a referee in his church's soccer league. How would you describe Richard's involvement? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ A hobby
- ☐ Family commitment
- ☐ Neglecting family duty
- ☐ Volunteering
- ☐ Charity
- ☐ Community involvement
- ☐ Religious involvement
- ☐ Community service
- ☐ Personal time
- ☐ Other _____

Susan is a homemaker, with two children in high school. She helps out by working on the Parent Teacher Association newsletter that is sent out to the families of children in school. How would you describe Susan's involvement? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

A hobby
- ☐ Family commitment
- ☐ Neglecting family duty
- ☐ Volunteering
- ☐ Charity
- ☐ Community involvement
- ☐ Religious involvement
- ☐ Community service
- ☐ Personal time
- ☐ Other _____

Frank works full time and has two children in middle school. He helps organize a bowling league in his free time. He goes bowling every Tuesday night. How would you describe Frank's activity? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

- ☐ A hobby
- ☐ Family commitment
- ☐ Neglecting family duty
- ☐ Volunteering
- ☐ Charity
- ☐ Community involvement
- ☐ Religious involvement
- ☐ Community service
- ☐ Personal time
- ☐ Other _____

Appendix B

Organizational Directories

Our list of organizations for sampling and interviews was derived from three sources:

1. *Melissa Data and GuideStar*

   Melissa Data is a for-profit corporation specializing in bulk mailings. It sells a database of 1.3 million nonprofit organizations, with contact name, mailing address, type of organization (based on the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Code of 1986, which defines the category under which an organization may be exempt), tax I.D. number, and assets/income information when available.

   GuideStar is a nonprofit, registered 501(c)(3) established to provide readily accessible nonprofit data, mainly to the nonprofit sector. (It also tailors its data for business, grantmakers, government, donors, media, researchers, and other entitities.) A central goal is transparency, so that donors can make informed decisions before committing funds. GuideStar provides information on 1.5 million nonprofit organizations, which it claims are all the tax-exempt nonprofits registered with the IRS. GuideStar data come from IRS 990 forms and the IRS Business Master File. Nonprofits included in the database can voluntarily add their annual reports, audited financial statements, letters of determination, and other documents.

   Both databases are limited in that they include only those groups that have officially filed for tax-exempt status with the IRS. Consequently, they offer good coverage of large, established groups, but their coverage of small groups is more spotty.

2. *Local, publicly available directories*

   To generate a more exhaustive list of ethnic organizations, we used ethnic telephone directories wherever possible—we could use only those directories printed in English or Spanish, given the language skills of the researchers involved in this project.

3. *Snowball samplings*

   In addition to these publicly available data, we included those organizations that were mentioned in our informant interviews of government officials as well as in our organizational interviews.

Appendix C

Organizational Profiles

Anaheim

ACCESS (Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services) California is a community-based 501(c)(3) organization dedicated to empowering the underserved Arab American and Muslim community and to enhancing its quality of life through self-determination, referrals, or involvement in government. It provides social services, including health and immigration services, as well as emergency funds. Established in 1998, ACCESS is governed by a 20-member board of directors and an executive director. Immigrant participation in the organization is encouraged primarily through an empowerment model that seeks to stabilize the social and economic situation of poor Arab American or Muslim refugee women while encouraging their active civic participation. ACCESS has organized community meetings with the city's elected officials to discuss projects to elevate Muslims' presence in the city, including the creation of a community center for youth and women that would serve as a place for recreation and voter registration. ACCESS receives support from a wide network of foundations and charitable organizations, including ACCESS of Dearborn, Michigan, which is providing critical support and mentorship to assist the durability of this recently created organization.

The **Arab American Council** seeks to build unity among the Arab American community and to project a positive image through an annual citywide Arab American Festival that showcases the culture and history of this group. It was founded in 1996, the year of its inaugural festival, as a cultural arts organization and is currently a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with a four-member board of directors consisting of male Arab American business leaders. Second-generation immigrant involvement is encouraged and facilitated through a grassroots network that includes the organization's newspaper, *Arab World Newspaper*.

Members participate actively in civic and political affairs, including writing letters to newspaper editors regarding post-9/11 hate crimes and meeting with city officials, such as the mayor, in town hall meetings to discuss ways to increase Arab American participation in the city. Despite being a recent organization, the Arab American Council has gained visibility since its founding and is poised to become a major force in the city through its promotion of a Little Arabia town project and an Arab American Chamber of Commerce.

The **Council on American-Islamic Relations** (**CAIR**) is nonprofit 510(c)4 grassroots civil rights and advocacy group whose mission is to empower the American Muslim community by encouraging participation in political and social activism. It provides training in such areas as media relations, public speaking, and lobbying, held in local mosques and other community settings, in which members discuss issues of concern ranging from hate crimes to immigrant detention. Established in 1994, CAIR is a national organization with 30 chapters nationwide, including CAIR of California, governed by a five-member California board, and a Southern California chapter, governed by an 11-member executive committee and seven paid staff. CAIR encourages civic and political participation through Government 101 training aimed at informing the community of local resources and branches of government. It also holds town hall meetings that foster dialogue between community members and local elected officials. Civic participation is a cornerstone of CAIR's activities—voter registration drives held at local mosques in November 2004 generated 2,000 attendees. With a 10-year history, CAIR has established itself as a highly visible civil rights organization whose growing membership and strong alliances with long-standing civil rights groups suggest the potential for organizational longevity.

The goal of the **Filipino American Association of Anaheim Hills** (**FAAAH**) is to preserve Filipino culture and heritage, foster fellowship among community members, and perform outreach through the promulgation of charitable and social welfare projects, including buildings homes for the needy in the Philippines and supporting local groups through charity. FAAAH is a membership-based organization established in 1994 and is structured as a nonprofit public-benefit

organization run by unpaid volunteers, including a 12-member board of directors and a dues-paying membership of 300 individuals. Immigrant involvement takes place through active participation of entire families that span various generations and are incorporated into the organization as key players. Participation in political activities is limited as the organization stresses cultural preservation and activities. As a small organization, FAAAH is sustained through special events and fundraisers that give members complete autonomy and control over the use of funds, which has allowed the organization to establish itself as a stable organization. It has a 10-year history and a membership that continues to grow.

The mission of the **Friends of the Anaheim Public Library** is to support the library in all its activities through the promotion of book sales, participation in literacy programs that encourage children to read, and maintenance of the local history room of the library. In existence since 1969, the group has a 12-member board of directors who are the organization's core annual dues-paying members. Immigrant involvement is limited, as most members are long-term residents of the city who are retired senior citizens. Participation in political activities is limited. This is a long-standing community group whose membership has remained steady but will be facing the challenge of replacing volunteers, many of whom are older senior citizens.

As a support group for Latino Spanish-speaking parents with autistic children, **Grupo de Autismo Angeles** engages in information-sharing through culturally and linguistically appropriate regular meetings and community forums aimed at increasing awareness and understanding of autism. Founded in 1998 by a group of concerned immigrant parents, Grupo de Autismo is currently a nonprofit organization with a seven-member board of directors who serve as volunteers. The organization relies heavily on a grassroots approach that incorporates new members as integral actors within the organization, many of whom are Latina immigrant mothers. The group has participated in political activities focused specifically on issues of special education funding by writing to elected officials and organizing trips to the state capital to bring attention to budgets cuts in the area of special education. As a small organization, Grupo de Autismo Angeles receives little funding from foundations or

charitable organizations and has faced substantial challenges in establishing a strong financial base because of its lack of institutional ties and networks to grant-making institutions and organizations.

The mission of the **Jung Hye Sa Korean Buddhist Temple** is to teach and practice Buddhism through weekly ceremonies, worship services, and social gatherings in members' homes. Founded 21 years ago by laypeople who subsequently recruited nuns from Korea, the temple is governed by a set of rules and a five-member board of directors who are laypeople, a head monk who serves as president, and a nun who serves as secretary. Membership consists of long-term, established, first-generation Korean immigrants who have participated actively within the temple since its founding. Political participation is limited. This long-standing religious organization has sustained itself primarily through member dues and donations.

Loara Elementary School Parent Teacher Association is a nonprofit educational organization that seeks to increase parental involvement in schools and advocates greater educational opportunities for students, including international forums to engage diverse parents, reading to children, and fundraisers. A member of the California Parent Teacher Association, the Loara PTA has a 100-year charter history and belongs to the 4th district PTA, comprising Anaheim and Orange Counties. The eight-member board is elected by a dues-paying membership consisting of 250 individuals. Immigrant parent participation in the organization is low. The greatest participation is on the part of long-term residents and mothers with school-age children at the site. In addition to school-level activities, the PTA encourages advocacy on a city and state level, including holding county-level rallies in support of greater school funding and visiting legislators to discuss school policies during a California State PTA convention held in Sacramento in 2005. As a member of the California PTA for 100 years, the organization has maintained a strong membership despite a decline in recent years.

Los Amigos of Orange County is a Latino advocacy organization committed to discussing issues of importance in Anaheim and contributing to the betterment of the community through weekly meetings that encourage direct engagement with city officials to discuss such issues as community-police relations, education, and immigration.

Created in 1976, the organization has no formal structure and is presided over by a self-appointed leader who has led the organization since its inception. Immigrants are empowered through the organization's advocacy efforts but are marginal participants rather than consistent members within the organization. Los Amigos members participate actively in civic and political affairs, most notably through writing to elected officials regarding such immigration issues as drivers licenses for undocumented immigrants and the passage of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act. The organization's informal structure and its complete independence from funders or other outside agencies that might curtail activities important to members have contributed to its long-standing presence in the city.

The goal of the **Orange County Congregation of Community Organizations** (**OCCCO**) is to train communities of churches in a method of organization that creates individual, institutional, and community change via leadership development and public speaking seminars for immigrant leaders recruited through local churches. Created in 1992 through the assistance of the PICO Network, which built a sponsoring committee of several churches in the area, OCCCO is currently a 501(c)(3) organization with a 12-member board of directors, an executive director, and four paid staff. Local organizing committees work through community churches to identify and recruit immigrant participants and incorporate them as key players within the organization. Members have engaged in highly visible civic and political activities, including attending public hearings and writing to elected officials. As a member of the PICO Network, OCCCO has sustained itself through grants from charitable organizations and foundations and is supported by strong alliances with local and county agencies, which have enabled the organization to do its work.

The organizational mission of **Paint Your Heart Out Anaheim** (**PYHOA**) is to assist low-income, senior, or disabled homeowners with refurbishing or repairing their homes through yard cleanups, painting, and relandscaping. Founded in 1990, PYHOA began as a program of Anaheim Beautiful and existed under the umbrella organization of the Anaheim Community Foundation until 2001, when it became an independent organization. A 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization, PYHOA

has a 20-member board of directors, three paid staff, and 1,200 volunteers. The organization maintains a volunteer-driven focus by recruiting volunteer teams from business and civic groups, churches, and neighbors. As a privately funded organization with generous assistance from private foundations and charitable organizations, PYHOA has remained a durable organization since its founding, and is moving toward creating a planned giving program that will work one-on-one with donors to increase the organization's long-term success.

Toastmasters of Anaheim is a civic group whose mission is to improve the speaking skills of its members through regular meetings in which speeches are prepared, delivered, and critiqued for quality and effectiveness. The Anaheim chapter of Toastmasters was established in 2003 and belongs to Toastmasters National, an umbrella organization. The organization is presided over by the chapter president and has a total membership of 25, including 10 to 12 youth. This club was incorporated into an existing organization known as the Orange County Conservation Corps, a job training center for at-risk youth in Anaheim. The mode of participation is primarily top-down, with the greatest participation by second-generation immigrant youth served by the organization and by Orange County Conservation Corps employees who are asked to participate by the executive director. Political participation within the organization is limited. This is a recently created organization whose potential for longevity may depend largely on the participation of the youth served by the Orange County Conservation Corps.

Garden Grove

The mission of the **Boys and Girls Club of Garden Grove** is to provide high-quality programs and services for children and youth to help them reach their full potential through activities that promote school readiness and academic support, as well as a family literacy program that offers English as Second Language classes to immigrant parents. The original Boys and Girls Club of Garden Grove was founded in 1956 as a Boys Club and is now a fully integrated organization that serves both boys and girls and is run as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with a 22-member board of directors who are unpaid volunteers. The mode of participation within the organization

consists of an empowerment model in which entire families participate, including a sizable immigrant population, who are considered members of the organization and are served by the organization. Political participation is limited, given the organization's emphasis on providing services. This long-standing organization has witnessed tremendous demographic changes within the city and has adapted its programs to the changing needs of the community, particularly immigrant families, while retaining its core mission.

Club San Pedro, of the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California, is a Mexican hometown association whose mission is to aid in the social and economic development of the community of San Pedro in the state of Zacatecas, Mexico, through local U.S. fundraising activities that assist in developing such infrastructure projects as bringing potable water to the town. Formed 20 years ago as an informal association of families and friends, Club San Pedro has recently registered itself as a formal member of the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California, an umbrella organization in existence since 1972. The organization adheres to bylaws set by the federation and is currently run by a 12-member board of directors who are all unpaid volunteers. Immigrant involvement in the organization is high and takes place through a grassroots model that relies on migrant circuits forged through families, with leadership exercised primarily by established, first-generation Mexican immigrant males, with heavy involvement on the part of Mexican immigrant women in cultural and artistic activities. As a reemerging club following a period of declining membership, Club San Pedro has engaged in few political activities but encouraged members to vote in the 2006 Mexican presidential election. The durability of hometown associations, such as Club San Pedro, is tenuous, given that the organization depends heavily on the personal donations and volunteer involvement of members, many of whom are working-class individuals with no institutional ties or networks to grant-making institutions or foundations.

Club Santa Rita, of the Federation of Jalisco Clubs, is an all-volunteer Mexican hometown association whose mission is to promote social and economic development projects, including bringing potable water into the town of Santa Rita in the state of Jalisco, Mexico. It holds

local fundraisers and other social activities. Created in 2004 as an informal group, Club Santa Rita has recently registered itself as a member of the Federation of Jalisco Clubs and has an 11-member board of directors and 100 members at large. Immigrant involvement in the organization is high and includes recent immigrants and long-term residents. Leadership is exercised primarily by males but women participate actively as well. As a recently formed organization, Club Santa Rita has had minimal involvement in civic and political activities. The long-term success of the organization will depend largely on its ability to attract new members.

The Garden Grove High School PTSA is an association of parents, teachers, and students whose goals are to increase communication between the community and the school and to increase educational opportunities for students through active parent involvement in school meetings and through fundraising to support academic, social, and athletic programs. Created in 2004, the PTSA is incorporated into the California State PTA and is governed by a set of bylaws and a seven-member board of directors. All 115 members are dues-paying volunteers. Immigrant involvement is limited and participation takes place through the active recruitment of parents. As a newly formed PTSA, member participation in civic affairs has been minimal. This is a new organization whose potential for organizational longevity will depend largely on the successful incorporation of new members, especially immigrant parents.

The **Garden Grove Interfaith Council** seeks to built unity and understanding among diverse faith communities by sponsoring community forums and dialogues, an annual interfaith banquet, and an annual program, Change of Heart, which brings awareness to the problem of homelessness and poverty on both a local and global level through informational speakers who provide first-hand testimonials. It is structured as an informal membership-based volunteer organization with an eight-member board of directors from communities of various faiths. Immigrant involvement is low. The Interfaith Council has participated in civic forums alongside various religious and city leaders, particularly Muslim mosques, to foster greater interethnic and religious understanding. This recently created organization has received support

from the Garden Grove City Council but has faced challenges in creating a large membership interested in interfaith matters.

The **Korean American Federation** assists recent Korean immigrants by serving as an information-referral resource regarding public social services and by fostering greater understanding of U.S. public policies and laws through such activities as English as a Second Language classes, seminars featuring community leaders, and cultural events. Created in 1979, it is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with an executive committee including a president and a 35-member board of directors who are all unpaid volunteers. First-generation immigrant involvement takes place through a client-centered, empowerment model that attempts to incorporate new immigrants as key stakeholders not only within the organization but also in the city as a whole. Immigrants have participated in public hearings regarding the development of a Korean community meeting center that would serve as a hub for community activities. Despite being a long-standing organization, the Korean American Federation has struggled financially to obtain funding and to create a truly bilingual leadership capable of bridging the Korean community and the larger mainstream community in the city.

The mission of the **League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Garden Grove Council** is to protect the civil rights of Latinos through advocacy work, by acting as an intermediary between the concerned community and city officials, and through a range of activities including monthly membership meetings and a youth academy aimed at enhancing the public speaking and leadership skills of high school students. The Garden Grove Council was created in 1999 and belongs to an Orange County LULAC and national LULAC organization, whose history dates back to 1929. The council operates as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with a four-member board of directors, 24 dues-paying members, and 200 at-large volunteers who adhere to bylaws as set by the national LULAC. Through an empowered form of participation, LULAC incorporates new members who are Latino U.S. citizens; immigrants have little involvement. The council engages in various civic and political activities, including voter registration drives held in conjunction with the National Association of Latino Elected Officials, and presentations before school board meetings to discuss curriculum

issues. As a recently formed council, this group has the support of large and established civil rights organizations, including its parent organization, which suggests the potential for organizational growth and longevity.

The **Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Agency** (**OCAPICA**) seeks to enhance the well-being of Asians and Pacific Islanders through inclusive partnerships in the areas of service, education, advocacy, organizing, and research by providing after-school academic youth programs and community health programs focused on Asian health and by developing educational curricula around the diverse history of this pan-ethnic group. Founded in 1997 by a group of community leaders, OCAPICA is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with nine paid staff, including an executive director and a 15-member board of directors. Recent immigrants are incorporated into the organization as clients, primarily in the area of health referrals, but they also participate in leadership programs that promote greater access to elected officials. OCAPICA serves as a bridge between the Asian pan-ethnic community and the city by hosting policy mixers in which elected officials interact with the community. It also works in collaboration with other community-based groups, for example, organizing the first Asian American Citizenship Clinic to increase civic participation. A recently formed organization, OCAPICA has gained a visible presence in the community as one of the few organizations catering to multiethnic Asian groups and has received considerable support from charitable foundations and organizations to carry out its work in the future.

The organizational goal of the **Social Assistance Program for Vietnam** (**SAP-VN**) is to provide medical, educational, and social services to needy people in Vietnam, particularly handicapped children, through charitable contributions that would cover hospital expenses and travel associated with orthopedic and cleft-palate surgery. Established in 1992 by a group of Vietnamese professionals, SAP-VN is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with a seven-member volunteer board of directors and 15 additional volunteers. Membership is composed of established, first-generation Vietnamese immigrant professionals. Participation in political affairs does not fall within the purview of the organization. With a 13-year history, SAP-VN has maintained organizational stability,

despite limited funding, and has survived primarily as a result of a core group of members who have personally contributed to the financial health of the organization.

St. Anselm's Cross Cultural Community Center assists refugee and immigrant individuals and families working to achieve and maintain self-sufficiency, family stability, and community integration. It provides a wide range of services including refugee resettlement and immigration assistance, English instruction, citizenship services, and employment preparation workshops. Established in 1976 and originally named St. Anselm's Immigrant and Refugee Center, St. Anselm's Center was created by the leaders of St. Anselm's Church as a response to the flow of Vietnamese refugees into the United States. The organization is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization governed by a 15-member board of directors and 40 paid staff. The mode of participation is top-down, with immigrant involvement taking place through an empowerment model that seeks to stabilize the social and economic situation of this population. Through its citizenship and ESL classes, St. Anselm's Center encourages active civic participation and voting. The organization's long-standing presence in the city can be traced to its early beginnings as a refugee-serving organization, which enabled it to receive support from federal agencies as well as such national voluntary agencies as Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Services and the Church World Service Immigration and Refugee Program.

The mission of **Saint Columban Parish** is to be a sacramental, multicultural church unified through prayer, faith-sharing, and action that engages members in religious and worship services, liturgical ministries, and community-wide involvement in food bank donations. Built in 1965, the church is a nonprofit organization led by a head pastor and a 25-member parish council that serves as a board of directors. Immigrant participation is high, with a high concentration of established first-generation Vietnamese immigrants and a more recent Mexican immigrant population that participates primarily in the Hispanic ministry of the church. Participation in civic activities is limited. St. Columban Parish is a long-standing religious organization in the city.

United Latin Soccer League Club is an association of organized soccer teams whose mission is to encourage recreation and sports within

the Latino community by facilitating and coordinating game schedules and competitions throughout the city and by providing venues for such activities. Founded in 1992, it is organized as a soccer association with two paid staff. Membership comprises 120 teams, each of which includes 20 players, many of whom are recent Mexican immigrants. Participation in civic affairs is limited, although the association strives to be a bridge between city officials and the largely immigrant community by inviting speakers, including city council members, to discuss the process of naturalization and voting. The organization has developed a strong reputation in the city as an important resource for immigrant involvement in sports.

The mission of the **Chua Quan Am Vietnamese Pure Land Buddhist Temple** is to develop and practice a basic knowledge of Buddhism through religious activities that include chanting sessions and prayers and through involvement in volunteer activities that include feeding the homeless and providing aid to communities in Vietnam during natural disasters. Founded in 2003, the temple has a 25-member board of directors, who represent the community's laypeople, and 14 volunteer monks and nuns. Immigrant participation is high, particularly among first-generation Vietnamese, who are established long-term residents of the city and are incorporated into the organization as laypeople. Participation in larger civic activities is limited. This is a recently created temple facing some opposition to its growth from neighboring residents concerned with increased traffic and elevated noise.

Glendale

Federación Poblana del Sur de California (Federation of Puebla Clubs of Southern California) is an umbrella organization of Mexican hometown associations from the state of Puebla, Mexico, whose organizational goal is to unify the community of Puebla in California and contribute to the social betterment of native hometowns and local U.S. communities through fundraising efforts for youth scholarships, promotion of cultural activities, and the reconstruction of pre-Columbian temples in Mexico. Created in 2004, Federación Poblana is in the process of being incorporated as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit

organization and has a 14-member volunteer board of directors. Immigrant involvement takes place through a grassroots, bottom-up model of incorporation that depends on migrant circuits and close family relationships, with leadership exercised primarily by long-term, first-generation immigrant males. Immigrant women participate actively in cultural activities and fundraising efforts. With a membership base that totals close to 3,000 individuals across Southern California, Federación Poblana encourages the active civic participation of immigrants, such as attending public hearings and forums with elected officials. For example, the organization recently convened with members of California's Latino Legislative Caucus to discuss the emerging role of immigrant hometown associations as a binational force and as a potential base for increased Latino civic participation. This is a new organization whose potential for organizational longevity will depend largely on the acquisition of nonprofit status to solicit funding from foundations and charitable organizations.

The **Glendale Community Center, a program of Catholic Charities,** seeks to address the needs of the vulnerable and the poor and to strive for social justice through a wide array of services including immigration and citizenship services, after-school youth programs, and a Loaves and Fishes food pantry. It also supervises an immigrant day laborer center by providing food, classes, and job opportunities. Established 50 years ago through the Catholic Youth Organization as a center for at-risk youth, today the Glendale Community Center addresses holistic issues of poor, underserved, and immigrant families. It is structured as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with an executive director, 10-member board of directors, and six paid staff. Through an empowerment model that seeks to address the basic needs of clients, the organization reaches out to immigrant families and day laborers who make up its core clientele. On occasion, immigrant day laborers served by the day laborer center have participated in civic activities, including attending city council meetings regarding funding cuts to the center.

The **Glenoaks Elementary Community Foundation** supports the education of students at Glenoaks Elementary School through fundraising activities focused on library and technology programs at the school. Created in 1991, it is currently a 501(c)(3) nonprofit

organization with a president, treasurer, secretary, and 20-member board of directors, all volunteers. Immigrant parent participation is low. Civic participation at the city level is not emphasized, as the group works primarily to raise funds for the school. Member involvement in the organization has fluctuated throughout the years and recent declines in participation have weakened the organization's capacity to carry out additional programs and activities.

The mission of the **Glenoaks Homeowners Association** is to protect the peace and harmony of the community by addressing development issues in the area. It holds regular meetings, and members attend city council meetings regarding hillside development. Created in the 1960s, the association is a nonprofit organization with a four-member board of directors and 16 unpaid volunteer, dues-paying members who reside in the Glenoaks Canyon region and represent about 200 homes. Immigrant participation is minimal. Members are incorporated into the organization as key players. Civic participation takes place through attendance at city council meetings and writing to elected officials. This is a durable organization with consistent involvement on the part of long-term residents of the city who have participated in the association since its beginnings.

Holy Family Catholic Community seeks to instill the teachings of Christ and to build a community of worship, ministry, and mission through worship services, liturgical ministries, religious education programs, and community-service activities, including hospital outreach and feeding the homeless in collaboration with Catholic Charities. Founded in 1907 and begun as a largely Anglo-based parish, today Holy Family Catholic Community is a multicultural church structured as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization belonging to the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. It has a head pastor, a volunteer parish council consisting of 22 individuals, and 15 paid staff. Recent Latino immigrants participate actively within the church, particularly in the Spanish religious education and worship services. Parishoners also include a large number of first-generation Filipinos, many of whom are long-term residents of the city. Civic participation is encouraged through voter registration drives conducted in English and Spanish. This long-standing religious organization has witnessed tremendous demographic changes in the city

and has adapted its programs and services to serve this changing community.

Iglesia de la Comunidad is a community-based church whose mission is to bring a comprehensive transformation of the community and to address its physical and emotional needs through worship services, opportunities for fellowship, and communitywide participation in service activities, including an after-school tutoring program and English as a Second Language courses. Begun 30 years ago as a Hispanic ministry of Grandview Presbyterian Church, Iglesia de la Comunidad became a separate entity structured as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization in September 2005 to allow for greater Hispanic leadership development within the organization. As an independent church, Iglesia de la Comunidad has a volunteer governing board of six church members and a head pastor. First-generation Cuban immigrants who have been long-term residents of the city represent the core membership of the church. The church encourages active civic participation, including voting, and has attempted to reach out to recent immigrants through its ESL program. Iglesia de la Comunidad is a long-standing organization within the city that is undergoing restructuring to meet the needs of its members.

The mission of the **Kiwanis Club of Glendale** is to provide a way to form friendships, render services, and cultivate a service-oriented citizenship among its members through charitable activities that include children's reading programs at the library, scholarships for high school students, and contributions to homeless shelters, the Glendale YMCA, and Meals for Seniors. Chartered on April 18, 1922, as a member of the international umbrella organization Kiwanis International, the organization is a 501(c)(4) service club with an all-volunteer 19-member board of directors who adhere to bylaws set by Kiwanis. Immigrant involvement is low; the greatest participation is on the part of an older, established, male resident population of the city, which has contributed to the organization since its early beginnings. The Kiwanis Club encourages active civic participation by hosting speakers and presenters on such issues as commercial development within the city. This durable organization has the largest membership in the California-Nevada-

Hawaii district of Kiwanis and a long history of civic engagement and volunteerism within the city.

Latinos Unidos is a Spanish-speaking parent educational group whose mission is to serve as a link between local area schools and immigrant parents by hosting regular monthly meetings and sponsoring forums and workshops that feature keynote speakers from the educational community. Its founding in 1999 was precipitated by growing concerns on the part of both Latino parents at Hoover High School and other community members regarding language barriers and accessibility to school resources and information. Latinos Unidos is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with a six-member board of directors who serve as volunteers and 75 at-large members. The organization relies on a bottom-up approach to incorporating recent first-generation immigrants, although leadership is exercised primarily by first-generation, long-term residents who are bilingual and perform an intermediary role between the membership and the school. Civic participation is constrained by the fact that vast majority of members are illiterate and unable to write letters to officials or to newspapers; however, many participated in community forums featuring school board candidates. Latinos Unidos has little financial support from foundations or charitable organizations and has a membership made up of working class individuals with little financial capital to guarantee the organization's durability, thus making the development of a strong and active membership base of paramount concern to ensuring the health of the organization.

The mission of the **New Horizons Family Center** is to promote the healthy development of children and families through programs focused on child abuse prevention, school readiness, and family literacy. It also provides after-school enrichment and tutoring as well as family counseling. Founded in 1994, New Horizons is a multiethnic 501(c)(3) nonprofit agency with a 19-member board of directors and a paid staff. Latino and Armenian immigrant families are incorporated into the organization through an empowerment model that seeks to provide holistic services. The organization seeks to expand beyond the provision of social services by encouraging active civic participation of immigrants, including such activities as writing letters to senators regarding the vital

need for community development block grants and participating in a school board candidate forum sponsored by other community groups. With a 10-year history, New Horizons has established itself as a critical resource for immigrant families, and its organizational longevity will depend greatly on continued support from foundations, local governments, and charitable organizations.

Search to Involve Pilipino Americans (**SIPA**) seeks to enhance the quality of life of Filipino Americans and other community members through programs devoted to health education, community outreach, recreational and after-school enrichment for youth, and community economic development projects. Created in 1972 by community leaders and the Filipino Christian Church as a response to the wave of Filipino and Asian immigration following the 1965 Immigration Act, SIPA is today a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with a 15- to 21-member board of directors and 20 paid staff, including an executive director. Immigrants are incorporated into the organization primarily as clients receiving services. Civic participation is an ancillary and secondary activity within the organization, as the emphasis is placed on providing social services. This long-standing organization has developed strong relationships with established civil rights organizations as well as foundations and charitable organization to allow the organization to carry out its work.

St. Peters Armenian Church and Youth Ministries Center is a community-based church concerned with fostering friendship, community, and service to others through Sunday worship services and youth mentoring and tutoring programs. It also runs a newly formed mission of the ministry, In His Shoes, which encourages young people to organize local feeds for the homeless, support drives for hospitalized patients, and participates in toy drives for children in shelters. A member of the 2,000-year-old Armenian church incorporated into the Western Diocese, St. Peters Church was built in 2003 through charitable contributions and donations from the community. It is a nonprofit organization with a paid executive director, who serves as parish priest, and an 11-member parish council, all volunteers. Immigrant second-generation involvement, particularly among Armenian youth, is high. St. Peters Armenian Church is actively involved in civic affairs and has

sponsored voter registration drives and community forums in conjunction with other community groups to bring political candidates before the community. This new organization has a growing membership and relies largely on contributions and donations of members.

We Care For Youth provides opportunities for youth to build confidence and ensure their success by providing pre-employment readiness training, youth leadership, and programs focused on violence prevention. Established in 1991 as a response to escalating violence among the city's youth, the organization is today a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization with two paid staff and a nine-member board of directors. Second-generation immigrant Latino and Armenian youth constitute the core membership and are incorporated as key players within the organization. Youth are involved in a wide range of civic activities, including hosting citywide forums on violence in conjunction with St. Peters Armenian Church. This young organization has served more than 7,000 youth and will continue to rely on foundations and charitable organizations for its continued success.

San Jose

The **American Lung Association of Santa Clara and San Benito Counties** is a countywide health organization with a mission of preventing lung disease and promoting lung health through educational programs and activities, including a program that teaches children with asthma how to manage illness, and tobacco-control programs. Established in 1911, the Santa Clara affiliate belongs to the national American Lung Association. The local organization has a 17-member board of directors, a paid staff, and up to 500 volunteers annually, of whom 10 are very active. Volunteers hail from diverse communities in Santa Clara County, with a few second-generation immigrant youth participating. The organization encourages volunteers to engage in such activities as attending city council meetings that address issues of clean air, but thus far, participation in these larger civic activities has been minimal. This long-standing organization has received the support of corporations, foundation, and government agencies to carry out its work.

Comite César Chávez is an immigrant-led grassroots group, based in the Mayfair neighborhood of East San Jose, whose mission is to cultivate leadership within the community, educate families about their rights, and have an effect at the city, county, and state levels. Established in 2001 with the support from the Mayfair Improvement Initiative and staffing from the Services, Immigrant Rights, and Education Network, the group comprises 25 members from the Latino immigrant community. The group engages in such activities as community forums on voter registration and naturalization, which convene up to 100 members of the community at large, including a large portion of undocumented immigrants. The group has also created a six-week Leadership Mini-Institute, drawing on immigrant leadership models offered by the Partnership for Immigrant Leadership and Action (PILA) in San Francisco and the City of San Jose's Immigrant Leadership Forum. Most recently, the group has gained the support of the city to build an adult learning center to serve as a hub for educational and civic activities. This is a recently created organization whose potential for organizational longevity will depend largely on continued support from the city and immigrant-rights organizations that provide much-needed technical support.

The **Fire Associates of Santa Clara Valley** is a 501(c)(4) volunteer organization whose mission is to provide support at drills, exercises, and multiple-alarm fires to all fire departments in the Santa Clara area. Established in 1969, the organization is affiliated with the International Fire Buffs Associates and is run by an all-volunteer, six-member board of directors elected by 35 dues-paying members. Members of the organization are primarily middle class, white male professionals, with a substantial number of retired individuals. The group does not engage in civic and political activities. This long-standing organization initially began in San Jose and eventually expanded countywide. It enjoys the support of all fire departments across Santa Clara County and the Santa Clara County Chiefs Association.

The mission of the **Friends of the Guadalupe River Park and Gardens** is to provide community leadership for the development and active use of the park through education and advocacy. Established in 1995, the organization is governed by a 35-member volunteer board of

directors, a staff of six, and 100 core volunteers. Volunteers are drawn from diverse communities in San Jose and include Latino, Asian, and white residents, with greater participation on the part of older, retired residents of the city. The organization's focus is on community education outreach, particularly on schools in the area, and participation in civic and political activities does fall within the scope of the organization's activities. The organization has seen an increase in volunteerism because of the growing recognition of the park and gardens, both on a local and an international level, and enjoys the financial support of the Department of Planning and Recreation and Neighborhood Services.

The **La Raza Lawyers of Santa Clara County** is an unincorporated association of Chicano and Latino attorneys dedicated to promoting diversity in both the bench and the bar of the greater Silicon Valley and of Santa Clara County both through mentorship of Latino law students and through programs and scholarships. The organization has been active since the mid-1990s and is an affiliate of the State of California La Raza Lawyers Association. The organization is governed by an eight-member board of directors and has an annual dues-paying membership of about 100 individuals. The membership base is composed of first-generation, U.S.-born Latinos and a few immigrants. The group is highly visible and participates in civic and political activities, including the creation of the Silicon Valley Democratic Forum, which provides an arena for local and state candidates for political office to make presentations. The La Raza Lawyers Association also endorses candidates for office. This new organization has great visibility and potential for continued growth and success given members' strong cultural capital and their association with other highly influential political and civic groups.

The **Tully-Senter Strong Neighborhood Initiative** is a committee of neighborhood residents from the Tully-Senter area of San Jose whose mission is to improve neighborhood conditions, enhance community safety, and strengthen community associations through such activities as the promotion of a school hub, the development of a neighborhood park, and traffic reduction. The committee was formed in 2001 as the result of a commitment made by the mayor and city council of San Jose to strengthen city neighborhoods through a citywide Strong

Neighborhood Initiative, done in conjunction with the city's Redevelopment Agency, and the Department of Planning and Recreation and Neighborhood Services. The committee is headed by a seven-member volunteer board of directors and has five to 10 additional members. Committee members represent a cross section of the community, including white, Latino, and Vietnamese residents, with some involvement on the part of immigrants. The group has engaged in such activities as developing a neighborhood improvement plan in 2002, approved by the city council, outlining the priority actions of the group. This newly created group is receiving strong support from the city but faces challenges in integrating members of the immigrant community.

Sunnyvale

The **California Theatre Center (CTC)** is a 501(c)(3) theater company that presents over 20 plays and performances a year. It also offers a strong year-round educational program for school children and a Summer Theater Conservatory, which trains young people in theater skills, allowing them to perform on stage with CTC actors. Founded in 1976, the theater has a staff of 25 to 30 individuals, including the actors, and a four- to five-member board of directors. The organization draws student volunteers from local high schools who have participated in the conservatory program. Immigrant participation within the organization is limited. The organization does not engage in civic and political activities. This long-standing organization has endured largely through private funding and ticket sales.

Earthsave International, Bay Area Chapter is a membership-based organization whose mission is to promote healthy and life-sustaining food choices through information and practical programs. The chapter is part of International Earthsave. Locally, the group has a core group of four dues-paying members. Membership is composed of white senior citizens and students. Created in 2002, the local chapter has not engaged extensively in civic or political activities and has experienced challenges in recruiting members.

The **League of Women Voters of Cupertino and Sunnyvale** is a membership-based organization that encourages the informed and active participation of citizens in government through unbiased voter

community education, performed through candidate forums and pro/con presentations of ballot measures to local civic groups and churches. The local league belongs to the state and national League of Women Voters. The local league is governed by a 10-member board of directors and incorporates 25–30 dues-paying members. Membership is composed primarily of white female senior citizens who are retired. Members participate in civic and political activities that include researching issues, such as instant run-off elections, coming to a consensus among members regarding a position, and lobbying such entities as the Board of Supervisors to influence public policy. This durable organization is nonetheless facing the challenge of integrating new and younger members into the organization.

Sunnyvale Community Services is an independent nonprofit social services and emergency assistance agency whose mission is to prevent homelessness and hunger for low-income families by providing food, financial aid, and information and referral services. Founded in 1970, the organization is governed by a 21-member board of directors, eight paid staff, and a strong volunteer base of 250 individuals year-round and 800 at Christmas. Volunteers are Latinos, Asians, and whites who live in the surrounding area, with a high number of retired citizens and a smaller number of immigrants. Staff members engage in such civic activities as attending city council meetings and addressing such issues as low-income housing. This long-standing organization has succeeded in fulfilling its mission through strong partnerships forged with city and county agencies as well as through generous financial assistance from various foundations, corporations, and grant-making institutions.

The **Toastmasters Fairoaks Club in Sunnyvale** is a membership-based organization dedicated to improving the public speaking skills of its members. Chartered in 2002, the club has a six-member board of officers elected by 35 dues-paying members at large. Immigrant participation within the organization is high, with a large number of Indian and Chinese individuals. The club does not engage in civic and political activities. This new organization has a growing membership and the potential for continued immigrant involvement.

Veteran of Foreign Wars (VFW), Sunnyvale Post 2421 is a nonprofit organization whose mission is to assist veterans and their

families through various activities including financial support to the Veterans Affairs Hospital in Palo Alto and Menlo Park and the national home for orphaned children of VFW members. Established in 1995, the local chapter is governed by a seven-member board of officers elected by a dues-paying membership of 75 individuals, all volunteers. Immigrant participation is low but has included a few second-generation Japanese Americans as well as Latinos. Participation in civic and political activities is limited. This recently created post in the Sunnyvale area incorporated members of a neighboring VFW post in Mountain View in early 2004 that had experienced declining membership. The two posts were consolidated to create a strong membership base, but the organization faces challenges to its longevity, given that the vast majority of members consists of elderly World War II veterans.

West Covina

Bethany Center at St. Martha's Catholic Community collaborates with multiservice and health agencies to organize free health fairs that provide food, clothing, health classes, housing, and job referrals to residents of West Covina, La Puente, and Valinda. The center is run by volunteers, many of them parishioners, and is presided over by the church pastors. Latino immigrants participate extensively within the center as both volunteers and clients, receiving much-needed social services as well as assisting with volunteer events. In recent years, the center has encouraged volunteers to participate in civic activities that have included working in conjunction with such organizations as One-L.A. to promote naturalization and voting. The organization's ability to continue to carry out its work will depend largely on the charitable support of social service agencies and organizations.

Club Fraternidad Las Animas is a hometown association of immigrants from the state of Zacatecas, Mexico, whose mission is to be an advocate for communities on both sides of the border through the promotion of infrastructure projects abroad and civic involvement in the United States. Founded in 1997, the all-volunteer group comprises 12 board members and thousands of members at large throughout Southern California. It is affiliated with the larger umbrella organization, the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California. Immigrant

participation is high, with a high percentage of long-term residents and naturalized citizens active within the organization as board members. The group encourages members to engage in civic activities and has collaborated with such organizations as the National Association of Latino Elected Officials in providing citizenship completion workshops to members. This relatively young organization has the potential for continued growth in membership.

Club San Martín de Bolaños is a Mexican hometown association composed of immigrants from the state of Jalisco, Mexico, whose primary mission is to assist needy communities abroad through infrastructure projects that include building schools and rest homes. Formed in 1992, the group has an all-volunteer board of directors comprising five to six individuals and 300 members at large. It is a member of the larger umbrella organization, Federation of Jalisco Clubs. First-generation immigrant involvement is high, with a large portion of long-term residents and naturalized citizens among its leadership. The group has not participated extensively in civic activities. This young organization has a large membership base whose greatest challenge lies in acquiring charitable support from foundations and organizations.

The **Monte Vista Elementary School PTA** seeks to provide educational opportunities for students and increase parent interaction with the school system through schoolwide activities that promote literacy. The PTA is a nonprofit organization with a leadership board of 30 dues-paying members and 15 active volunteers, all of whom adhere to a set of bylaws and a constitution as set forth by the California State PTA. Immigrant parent involvement within the organization is low, with greater participation on the part of U.S.-born second- and third-generation Latino parents. The organization's focus is primarily on building school-parent relationships and it has not delved deeply into larger civic activities. The continued vitality and success of the group will depend largely on its ability to recruit immigrant parents who make up a large portion of the parent population at the school.

The **Promotora Network** is a nonprofit organization that promotes community well-being by supporting community health workers in California. Originally founded in 2000 as the Promotora Project, it evolved into a network and, eventually, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit

organization in 2003. The organization has nine regional coordinators, a four-member board of directors, and a total of 80 unpaid volunteers. The organization's membership base is primarily first-generation immigrant Latinas. The group highly encourages the civic and political involvement of members through an annual Legislative Day, which brings 60–100 Latina community health workers in contact with legislators to discuss key issues in the community and to orient members regarding the legislative process. This is a young organization whose continued success in engaging Latina immigrants will depend largely on charitable contributions and support from health and social service organizations as well as foundations.

Rincon Intermediate School PTA promotes activities that foster greater school parent interaction through regular meetings to discuss students' needs and concerns. With a membership base of 20–30 individuals and an all-volunteer board, the PTA follows a constitution and bylaws outlined by the California State PTA. First-generation immigrant involvement is low, although there is increased participation on the part of U.S.-born second-, third-, and fourth-generation Latino and Asian parents. The group has not engaged in larger civic activities, as the focus in recent years has been on increasing membership. Challenges facing the organization include incorporating first-generation immigrant parents.

West Covina Beautiful is a civic organization with a mission of beautifying the city through clean-up campaigns, anti-litter drives, and an annual Arbor Day tree planting ceremony. Founded in 1974, it is structured as a nonprofit organization, governed by a 10-member board of directors, with 50 dues-paying members, 12 of whom are active members. Immigrant participation within the group is low, as members are mostly white, female, long-term residents of the city. The organization encourages members to partake in such activities as attending city council meetings that might pertain to environmental or beautification issues. This long-standing organization receives strong support from the city to carry out its activities. Challenges include broadening the membership base to include younger members of the community.

The **West Covina Central Christian Church** provides religious education and fellowship to its parishioners through congregation and mass as well as opportunities for community service, including tutoring local elementary school students. Founded in 1933, the church currently has three pastors and hundreds of parishioners from multiethnic communities, including Japanese American, Anglo, and a recent Latino immigrant population. The organization does not engage directly in civic activities. This long-standing religious institution is experiencing rapid growth in its membership, a reflection of the population change taking place within the city.

The mission of the **West Covina Higashi Honganji Buddhist Temple** is to provide a space for Buddhist study, reflection, and meditation through prayer, fellowship, and cultural activities. Founded in 1959, the temple serves 300 members at large and has an all-volunteer board of directors. First-generation immigrant involvement is minimal, with greatest participation on the part of third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans. The temple does not engage in larger civic activities. This long-standing organization in the city incorporates a large segment of the Japanese American community spanning various generations.

The mission of the **West Covina Lions Club** is to promote charitable activities through donations to health and philanthropic organizations. With a more than 30-year history, it is composed of a board of directors and dues-paying members, all of whom serve in a volunteer capacity and adhere to bylaws set by the International Lions Club. Immigrant participation is limited, as members are primarily older, white, long-term residents of the city. The organization actively encourages the civic participation of members, particularly voting in local elections, by inviting speakers and candidates to present their platform. This durable organization has a long-standing history of civic and community involvement whose greatest challenge lies in incorporating new and younger members of ethnic and immigrant communities to ensure continued growth.

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