Foundations as ¿Amigos o Rebeldes?:
The Influence of Philanthropic Funding on Immigration Policy Outcomes at the Local Level

M. Apolonia Calderon
University of Maryland, College Park
School of Public Policy
apolonia@umd.edu

USC CPPP Philanthropy and Social Change Symposium
March 14-16, 2019
Working Paper*

Abstract

Research within the philanthropic sector has developed to focus on understanding the link between grantmaking and the effects it has on addressing traditional social issues such as health, education, or youth development. While work on the role of the philanthropic sector's influence within more controversial public policy and social issues such as immigration remain underdeveloped. Furthermore, no previous studies have quantitatively tested the role of philanthropic funding on local policy outcomes. This study uses a multi-method approach to understanding the role of the philanthropic community, from grantmaking to nonprofits' service delivery, in influencing local immigration enforcement.

In 2017, the Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR) spearheaded a collaborative effort with 200 U.S. foundations to issue a statement illustrating support for the millions of immigrants and refugees living in the United States. In their joint statement, the foundations recognized their commitment to "creating healthy communities, promoting diversity and inclusion, building a vibrant democracy, and advancing equity and equality for all people, regardless of gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, gender expression, immigration status, and national origin (GCIR 2017). " As overt discriminatory nationalism increases, the statement stood as a signal to public officials and the broader community that the American philanthropic sector was taking a political stance against the new administration's immigration policy and rhetoric.

Uniquely positioned in our American democracy, foundations hold private resources they leverage to promote their private values within the socio-political environment (Anheier & Daly 2006). The independence and mostly unregulated nature of foundations, primarily private and family, allow them to exert influence across public policy process from policy reform to the local delivery of good and services. Most research on foundations qualitatively examines the roles and strategies (Anheier & Hammack 2010; Hess 2005; Dowie 2002; Reckhow 2012) used to influence changes in public policy so as to align it with their values and mission, leaving, largely, unaddressed how funding influences current local policy outputs in communities receiving foundations' monetary resources. Furthermore, attention centers to traditionally important policy issues of education and health, leaving immigration policy underdeveloped.

The 2016 presidential election brought to the forefront extensive negative rhetoric targeting immigrants and their migration to the U.S. Although not a new phenomenon, the presidential rhetoric expressed in 2016 was radically different from the narratives and policy positions of the Obama administration. Although both administrations are taking different policy

stances, during both administrations the U.S. is experiencing high levels of detentions and deportation of immigrants across the U.S. with no major comprehensive immigration reform in sight. From 2008 through 2014, a time of heightening deportations, the philanthropic sector granted about 1.85 billion dollars for immigrants and immigration-related services. Thus, what is the influence of immigration-related philanthropic funding on local punitive immigration policy outputs?

Adapting the theoretical framework of strategic giving (Frumkin 2008), this research argues that grant making related to immigrants or immigration services can help initiate social change and alter more than policy reform by altering the deportability of immigrants within the community served by foundation grantees. These changes result in affecting local policy outputs. Through the funding of nonprofit organizations, foundations' influence is like a "Russian nesting-doll," occurring through inter-linked organizations (Brown 2013, 91). This study uses a multi-method approach to understand the role of the philanthropic community, from grantmaking to nonprofits' service delivery, in influencing local immigration enforcement. Together these studies, provide a conceptual framework for understanding how philanthropy can influence public policy at their most proximate levels of impact, their local communities.

In order to test the assumption of foundation's role in influencing and public policy, I use a newly collected dataset on U.S. foundation grantmaking from 2009-2014 related to direct and indirect immigration services to nonprofit organizations and immigration policy outputs during the same period from the Secure Communities Program such as the number of immigrants identified for possible deportation by their local law enforcement agency. I, purposefully, choose a policy output that would be difficult to shape based on the location of foundations in relation to the public policy process and the local implementation of policy. The association found in the results is incredibly small but illustrates that philanthropic funders are leveraging their grant

dollars in funding nonprofits. Unique to this study is the direct connection between the quantitative data on grant making and the nonprofit organizations interviewed are directly connected as recipients of foundation grants that are in the dataset in order to provide a more systematic analysis of the role of the philanthropic community and their role in the public policy process. Using a theoretical thematic analysis, the study of foundation grantees shows that nonprofits use their position in the community to influence policy through two strategies. The first strategy is through the creation of "citizenship" for the immigrant community leading to micro-level changes in the population of policy targets. The second strategy focuses on macro-level changes through advocacy efforts to change the policy environment to be more immigrant-friendly.

This multi-method research contributes to the literature on philanthropy by being one of the first to empirically test the link between total dollars leveraged within a community and its influence on local immigration policy outputs adding to the literature of one other scholar who empirically tested the relationship between education-related grant making and education policy reform. Its final contribution is the development of a conceptual framework that illustrates the role of the philanthropic community and their strategies for influencing public policy.

Literature Review

As separate institutions from their private and government counterparts, foundations and nonprofit organizations are vital to service delivery for underserved and marginalized individuals and communities (Steuerle and Hodgkinson 2006). As autonomous organizations free from constituencies and government, foundations and their "philanthropists have not typically engaged directly in politics without the cushion of intermediaries (Reckhow 2012, 13)." This independence allows foundations the freedom to extend funding to nonprofits for issue advocacy or public service provision in intentional and individualistic ways aligning with their missions

and values (Frumkin 2008; Anheier and Hammack 2010; Nielsen 2001). In this manner, philanthropic giving by foundations helps create cultural legitimacy (Hwang and Powell 2009), raises the prominence of issues and service providers, and the encourages by the broader public to support their desired actions and positions (Hammack and Anheier 2010).

Research on the U.S. philanthropic foundations' role in reform focuses on a handful of major foundations historical to contemporary influence in evolving issues and initiating change within the policy areas of education, healthcare, and social welfare policy (Anheier and Hammack 2010). The majority of this research is conducted through a qualitative lens to evaluate their strategies in depth and follow their influence leading to policy reform or the initiation of private-public partnerships. Stemming from this line of research, scholars have attempted to classify foundation's roles into strategic patterns and actions by examining foundations influence as intermediary organizations (Scott and Jabbar 2014), institutional entrepreneurs (Quinn, Tompkins-Stange, and Meyerson 2013) and responsive actors (Mosley and Galaskiewicz 2015). As a mechanism of accomplishing their mission, foundations act as innovators or institutional entrepreneurs that promote innovation and fund research for market interventions, think tanks, policymakers, and the broader public (Clemens and Lee 2010; Scott and Jabbar 2014).

A handful of studies have approached the study of foundations, qualitatively. The studies by Mosley and Galaskiewicz (2010, 2015) do not look at how funding influences policy outputs. Instead, they seek to understand how responsive foundations are to changes in their policy environment. Prior work placed foundations as catalysts for change but did not discuss how foundations responded to shifts within their policy environment. Their results illustrated foundations' funding responsiveness is dependent upon local conditions rather than national agenda focus. Although foundations are considered to help serve a population at risk, the results

of the studies by Mosley and Galaskiewicz indicate that local foundations efforts are not always driven by alleviating social needs.

Reckhow (2012) provides the first systematic analysis of the top 15 grant making foundations by analyzing the factors that influenced their grant making patterns. Additionally, by using social network analysis and qualitative interviews, she explains the policy consequences their funding had on two of the largest school districts in the United States. Her multi-method approach provides a quantitative analysis that points to foundations grant making patterns motivated by centralized power structures and organizational capacity of the nonprofit sector rather than by a charitable orientation. She finds that school districts with a centralized locus of power such as superintendents or mayoral control received higher amounts of funding. With the centralization of power, foundations can identify points of entry by which to use their grant dollars and grantees to influence education reform. The permanence of foundations' influence is shaped by the actors that helped reform the system. By funding advocacy organizations and nonprofits over the school district, policy changes, while slower, had time to build support and legitimacy to provide long-term, gradual, "policy victory." Reckhow's research is one of the first scholars to address the influences on grant making patterns and their consequences on lasting policy reform, quantitatively. However, lacking from her research is how the funding that flowed into school districts influenced the current education outcomes of students.

The influence of philanthropic foundations in public policy revolves around two central narratives describing a strategic role where grant making is driven by a charitable desire to alleviate social needs or as social innovators seeking to find solutions to social problems. In both narratives, government, for a multitude of reasons, has not been able to provide the adequate solution or address the needs of the community (Hammack & Anheier 2010; Fleishman 2007; Sandfort 2008). By concentrating on the end goal of policy reform, researchers unintentionally

overlook the influence that their grant making which supports the "framing of issues, developing public will, supporting advocacy organizations, and funding policy implementation and evaluation (Ferris 2003, 5)" exert on current policy outcomes.

Theory

As a way of creating lasting social systemic change, foundations have turned more to "results-oriented giving" (Frumkin 2008; Ferris & Williams 2010; Reckhow 2012). Frumkin (2006) extends the basic theoretical assumption of philanthropic policy influence by viewing grant making as a strategic tool used instrumentally to achieve the greatest impact. Expressive giving is at the core of all philanthropy as it symbolizes "uncomplicated benevolence that takes the simple form of a gift (Frumkin 2008; 157)." Without knowing the intention of every foundation, the theoretical arguments use the assumptions that foundations grant funding to accomplish change or alleviate a social problem. Going beyond satisfying the personal, charitable goodwill of donors, instrumental giving views grantmaking as a mechanism to fund the implementation of solutions to address problems in the community or society (Frumkin 2008; Sandfort 2008; Fleishman 2007). With this assumption, I argue that foundations providing grants related to immigrants or immigration policy are seeking to help immigrants' integration process or advocate for immigration reform. By providing funding to either cause, foundations will indirectly affect local policy outputs associated with the current implementation of immigration policy enforcement.

The theory of leverage focuses on the tools that foundations use to fund the process of addressing social issues. Focusing on grant making as the tool of leverage, foundations who provide a more substantial the amount of money nonprofits provide a significant larger amount of for nonprofit organizations to engage in alleviating social issues. Instrumental giving is grant making based on the decision of funding nonprofits or programs believed to provide funding for

the most adequate solutions to addressing their choice of social issue. Focusing on immigration, instrumental giving to nonprofit organizations can be given to fund three major nonprofit programs and services: citizenship services, integration programs, and government advocacy. Each instrumental grant category funds different solutions for addressing problems faced by the immigrant community or advocating for immigration reform. The first two grant categories address micro and meso level changes in the immigrant community and the third focuses on macro-level changes. Each instrumental giving pattern will be related to influencing the immigrant community's level of deportability and chances for identification as deportable.

Foundation funding for citizenship services to the immigrant community focus on helping change the political status of immigrants. In these cases, funding to nonprofits will help address the individual's level of deportability. For example, an individual who is a permanent resident looking to apply for naturalization may not find the adequate help at USCIS. So, they turn to their local nonprofit offering citizenship courses and help with the application process. Another example would be that of an undocumented immigrant looking to gain formal status within the U.S. Similar to the previous permanent resident example, this individual can turn to their local nonprofit providing citizenship and or legal services for residency applications. In both cases, grant funding for immigrant/immigration citizenship services changes the deportability level of immigrants by adjusting their formal political status. Changes from resident to naturalized citizen provide the most significant level of change in an individual's deportability compared to status adjustments from undocumented to documented. Thus, status adjustments culminate in decreasing the size of the deportable target population. By decreasing the deportable target population, increasing grants targeted for citizenship services will be related to a decrease in the identification of deportable immigrants.

H1a: As grants targeted for citizenship services increases, there will be a decrease in the size of the deportable immigrant community. Thus, foundation funding will be related to decreasing the identification of deportable immigrants.

With no formal bureaucratic organization focused on helping immigrants integrate into life within the U.S., nonprofits have stepped in to fill the void with financial help from foundations. Foundations have legitimized this underserved and marginalized community with limited to no sociopolitical citizenship through their grant making for immigrant services and immigrant-serving nonprofits. In this way, the philanthropic sector provides non-naturalized immigrants, including undocumented immigrants, with what Bosniak (2008) terms the "citizenship of noncitizens," by including immigrants in their service provision extending them the opportunity to access basic life necessitates without regard to formal political status. With an unmet need for services and policy reform, foundations' grant making supports nonprofits in creating environments and relationships where the immigrant community is unafraid to seek out services and engage compared to an environment where immigrants fear of deportations isolates them from reaching out to local government for aid (Cordero-Guzman 2005; Frasure and Jones-Correa 2010). De Graauw (2016) details how nonprofits within San Francisco not only advocated for changes in local policies but worked alongside local government to help with the incorporation of immigrants into their local communities. With nonprofits unable to expend more than 20% on political efforts, nonprofits have used their administrative capacity to create advocacy alliances for collaboration efforts across sectors and targeted issue framing to change the perception of immigrants needing services (De Graauw 2016). Although this illustrates a particular case in San Francisco, the strategies explored resonate to the broader community of immigrant-serving nonprofits across the U.S. looking to close the gap between immigrants and local governments that might expose them federal scrutiny by providing a range of services from

language training to health care access (Andersen 2010; Blooemrad 2006; Cordero-Guzman et al. 2008; de Graauw 2004;2016; de Leon et al. 2009; Gleeson 2012; Jones-Correa 2008a,b; Modares and Kitson 2008). Integration services and programs are often facilitated through collaborating organizations seeking to not only integrate immigrants, but address the larger community's perspective of immigrants as non-members of the community. The multi-method approach from service to advocacy focuses on providing holistic changes to an immigrant's deportability from the micro all the way up to the macro-level. In this way, increasing the funding for integration will be related to decreasing the identification of deportable immigrants. *H1b: Increasing grants associated with integration services will be related to decreases in the identification of deportable immigrants.*

The last instrumental pattern of giving captures funding for solutions related to government advocacy such as policy advocacy at all levels of government to policy education campaigns in the community or with political actors. Funding for government-related activities is different from grants made to integration and citizenship because funding in those areas is explicitly given to support programs and services for the immigrant community. In both cases, the outcome is to Americanize them which will have an adverse effect on their level of deportability. It is unlikely that a foundation with an anti-immigrant stance would give funds to nonprofits providing integration or citizenship programs to immigrants. While grant making to support nonprofit lobbying of government can lead to stricter or tightening of immigration policy or enforcement. Brown (2013) points out that despite the surge in pro-immigration funding by foundations, the growth of the Tea Party in 2008, spurred grant making by conservative foundations to promote anti-immigrant rhetoric pushing for policies aimed at making immigrants' ability to reside in the U.S. difficult to the increased border enforcement. The policy change cycle is not immediate and the window for change even smaller, increasing grants related

to macro-level changes will be related to influences in policy implementation. However, as this instrumental category is a catch-all for immigration policy advocacy, no direction is stated as grants can be given both maintain the status quo of current laws or to induce reform.

H1c: Increasing grants related to government will affect the identification of deportable immigrants.

If as one of their end goals, foundations seek to build thriving communities (Frumkin 2008), then funding will also be related to the types of immigrants identified for deportation. Immigrants with criminal backgrounds involving felony crimes pose a threat to community safety and well-being. While identifying immigrants who are part of the community and pose no threat may lead to community instability as identification creates fear of interacting with state actors and subsequently the possible deportation of immigrants (Shoichet 2018; Nichols et al. 2018; Warren & Kerwin 2017; Leyro 2013; Hagan et al. 2011; Abrona et al. 2010; Mendoza & Olivos 2009; Watson 2014). So, foundation funding relating to integration and providing legal services for immigrants that pose no threat to the community would lead to reducing their deportability at a higher level compared to high priority deportable immigrants. Immigrants with felony convictions might have a more difficult time being able to qualify for naturalization or they may not even seek out aid from the nonprofit community. As such, funding for integration or citizenship would be unlikely to influence the identification of high priority per capita immigrants. Therefore, foundation funding would help reduce the disparity in over-identification of low to high priority immigrants as grants related to social or political citizenship increase. As previously mentioned, it is unlikely that conservative or anti-immigrant foundations would provide funding for integration programs and citizenship services, but they would fund nonprofits that advocate for anti-immigrant legislation or restrictionist immigration policy. So, funding for government advocacy would be related to increasing the identification of high

priority immigrants over low priority per capita immigrants. Additionally, increasing the funding related to government advocacy will increase the level of identification high priority deportable immigrants unlike the negative effect of funding for integration and citizenship services on the per capita identification of low priority immigrants.

H2: Increasing grant funding targeted for citizenship or integration services, is related to reducing the enforcement disparity between low and high priority deportable immigrant identifications. Funding for government advocacy is unrelated to affecting the enforcement disparity.

H3: While government advocacy grant funding will be related to increasing high priority immigrant identifications, increasing grant funding targeted for citizenship or integration services will negatively affect the identification of low priority immigrants and be unrelated to the identification of high priority immigrants.

Data & Research Methods

To test the theoretical arguments about on relationship between philanthropic funding and immigration policy outcomes, a newly compiled dataset spanning the tenure of Secure Communities under the Obama administration was joined with grant making data collected by the Foundation Center. The dataset contains information for the 48 continental states.

The data collected for this analysis comes from three main sources. The dependent variable, the measure for policy outcomes, is compiled using interoperability reports released by the Department of Homeland Security's Office of Immigration and Customs Enforcement and Removal Operations. Grant information was purchased from the Foundation Center for the years of 2008 to 2014. The final sources of data for the control variables comes from U.S. Census' datasets: American Community Survey's (ACS) five-year estimates and the yearly U.S. Census of State and Local Government. This research employs a seemingly unrelated regression analysis

(SUR) with clustered standard errors[1] by county to analyze the effects of philanthropic funding on immigration policy outcomes. As the policy outputs are mutually exclusive, unlike a traditional Ordinary Least Squares Regression, SUR is able to control for the interdependent nature that can lead to the possibility of correlation among the error terms (Zellner 1962; Moon & Perron 2006).

The first set of models will evaluate the influence of giving on the overall immigration policy outcomes and its influence on redressing disparities in enforcement. The second focuses on philanthropic influence on individual priority level outcomes. Each model analyzes each instrumental giving strategy as a mechanism affecting immigration outputs. It should be noted that not every county received grant funding for immigration.

Policy Outputs: Immigration

The first immigration measure focuses on measuring the strength of local agency to act as a force multiplier for the federal government. The goal of Secure Communities was to locate deportable immigrants from the interior of the U.S. To capture the strength of the force multiplier in identifying deportable immigrants, the total number of matched deportable immigrants is divided by the total noncitizen[2] population. This measure captures how many immigrants per capita are being identified as deportable by the local sheriff's department. The larger this measure, the more strongly a county acts a force multiplier. On average, a county had a noncitizen per capita identification of 0.07 with a 0.40 standard deviation. Table 6 contains the summary statistics of each policy output.

[1] Models with state fixed effects and year fixed effects are not reported but were run. The relationships between philanthropic funding and policy outcomes remain unchanged when state fixed effects or year fixed effects are included. Year fixed effects are not included because of multi-collinearity experienced between the year 2014 and a variable measuring prosecutorial discretion.

[2] Noncitizen population contains the counts of all persons foreign born that are not naturalized citizens.

Despite having deportation priorities, Secure Communities disproportionately identified higher rates of immigrants with only misdemeanor convictions or a civil violation of unlawful presence on their records rather than identifying and deporting individuals with felony criminal records. To measure the influence of philanthropy on creating equity in policy outcomes, I operationalized an enforcement disparity measure as the ratio of low to high priority deportable immigrants identified. In the sample data, the average disparity in enforcement is about 2 low priority immigrants to every one high priority immigrant with a standard deviation of about 3 low priority immigrants.

The last two measures capture the influence of philanthropic funding on the individual immigration priority policy outcomes. As the mission of foundations is to create healthy and thriving communities, grant funding will influence the priority policy outcomes of Secure Communities differently. The two measures are operationalized by taking the total number of immigrants identified in each priority level over the total number of non-citizens in a county. The average county had a high priority per capita measure of 0.04 with 0.18 standard deviation. On average, the low priority per capita identification was slightly more than double the high priority per capita at 0.6 with a standard deviation of 0.37.

Philanthropic Funding

Grant making data comes from the Foundation Center[3]. The data was purchased with the parameters to receive all grants that were made with the words "immigrants", "immigrants and migrants", "undocumented immigrants", and "immigration" within the nonprofit population or grant activity fields. The Foundation Center provided about 27,000 grants related to immigration.

[3] Reckhow (2012) notes that she collected 990 forms rather than use the Foundation Center data based on Greene's (2005) observation that the Foundation Center data is biased. The bias occurs as the Foundation Center categorizes grants based off of reports and self-classifications from their reporting foundations. The idea is used here because it is optimal and indicative of instrumental giving for immigration especially if the foundation has coded the grant themselves.

For this sample, from 2008 to 2014, U.S. foundations made close to 26,000 grants domestically related to immigrants or immigration-related services.

As foundations leverage their private resources to help fund nonprofits promoting their private values, immigration-related giving was not a top funding priority of the philanthropic community. During the era of Secure Communities (2008 through 2014), there was an average of 81,000 grant-making foundations in the United States which gifted a little over 378 billion dollars across nonprofits for a range of policy issues. From this $378 billion[4], only 1.85 billion in philanthropic grants were designated for immigration-related services within the forty-eight continental United States and the District of Columbia. Figure 1 shows the yearly aggregated funding related to immigration from 2008 through 2009. With the economic downturn in 2008, the first four years of funding steadily show giving between $232 million to $246 million. In about 2012, giving related to immigration begins to pick up with the highest amount awarded in 2014 at $335 million. Figure 2 shows the total aggregate funding received by U.S. counties from 2008 to 2014. The average county received about $84,000 dollars in total for immigration-related giving with a standard deviation of about $1.3 million. The figure illustrates a pattern of unequal funding distribution where many communities with immigrants received even less per immigrant if any funding at all. To operationalize grant making for each year, all individual grants are coded into one of the three instrumental categories, based on their overriding grant activity. Then, the individual grant amounts are adjusted to 2016 constant dollars and aggregated up to the county level by category. Table 2 contains the summary statistics on each instrumental funding category. Each county receives a value for all three instrumental categories, but if the county received no philanthropic funding that value is zero.

[4] All dollar amounts have been adjusted for inflation and represent 2016 constant dollars.

Using the information provided by the Foundation Center, each individual grant receives a code representing one of the three instrumental categories that best matched their overriding grant activity[5]. Based off the theoretical arguments, the following instrumental grant funding categories were created based off the overriding grant activities in the data:

1. ***Immigration Services (Citizenship Services)****: Immigrant Rights, Immigrant Services, Immigration & naturalization, Immigration Law*

2. ***Integration Services (Social Citizenship):*** *Education, Health, Human Services, Community Development, etc.*

3. ***Government Advocacy:*** *Freedoms, Rights, Community Policing, National Security, Police Agencies, Customs & Border Control, etc.*

Based on yearly giving patterns, foundations averaged larger grant funding allocations for instrumental funding focused on providing integration services for the immigrant community over citizenship services or government advocacy. The average county received about $39,000 for integration services with a standard deviation of under $500,000 compared to average $24,000 with a standard deviation of less than $480,000 for citizenship services. Government advocacy had the lowest average funding of about $20,000 with a standard deviation of about $411,000. Figure 3 illustrates philanthropic foundations' yearly instrumental patterns of giving. Each of the instrumental categories fluctuates in their total share of funding, but integration services continually remained the largest share awarded. Beginning in 2010, the share of funding for integration begins to decrease with both political citizenship and advocacy equally expanding their total share of funding.

[5] Each grant received up to five activity codes illustrating the various programs or services the grant will help fund, but operationalization was based on the separate variable provided by the foundation center that identified the overriding grant activity providing the top description for the basis of the grant.

Controls

The following empirical analysis will use a basic model that controls for bureaucratic implementation and enforcement of immigration policy by including controls for organizational capacity and policy environment (Brewer and Seldon 2000; Boyne & Meier 2009). Table 3 contains the summary statistics for the control variables included in all the models.

To control for the capacity of local law enforcement agencies in identifying deportable immigrants, I include a measure of the size of the total police protection that includes the total employment of officers within county and city law enforcement officers. The local law enforcement presence, unfortunately, is not reported at each county level. Rather, the Annual State and Local Government Employment Survey reports aggregates up to the state level all local law enforcement agencies budgets and personnel. The second measure is the aggregated total operating budget of local law enforcement agencies. Jaeger (2016) and Farris & Holman (2017) have identified that local sheriff's budgets are related to their willingness to comply with ICE. Both measures are used to help control for bureaucratic capacity to enforce immigration policy and are logged to normalize distribution.

Policy outcomes depend on the inputs into the organization and policy environment in which bureaucrats operate. To control for the most basic level of inputs into both local and federal enforcement bureaucracies, I control for the total submissions of fingerprints within a county as it illustrates the total number of recorded attempts to reduce crime or identify immigrants. Because of the wide variation and the over dispersion of structural zeros, the final operationalization of submissions is logged.

In order to control for the influence of the policy environment, a set of controls capturing the social, political, and economic climate influencing immigration enforcement are in each model. The first set of controls accounts for the policy targets and non-policy targets of the

community. According to past research (Cox and Miles 2013; Wong 2012), the activation and enforcement of sComm occurred in counties with high levels of specific populations, Hispanics and noncitizen. In addition to Hispanics being the face of immigration, historical immigration narratives focused on the Asian population within the United States (Daniel 2005). As the two foremost policy target populations, as these populations increase in a county, they will cause an increase in the disparity of enforcement between low priority to high priority matches within a county. In addition to Hispanic and non-Hispanic Asian populations, included in the model is the percentage of non-Hispanic Whites and non-Hispanic African Americans. The final social measure captures the level of education with a county. As the percentage of individuals with less than a high school education increases it is expected that so will the pressure for immigration enforcement.

Historically and contemporarily, immigration policy remains polarized with both sides of the aisle arguing for different enforcement and reform typically fueled by rhetoric concerning economic distressed caused by immigration. Anti-immigration rhetoric spikes during times of crisis with the Republican party calling for stricter immigration policies (Chand & Schreckhise 2016; Daniels 2005; Tichenor 2002; Welch 2002). Due to the differences among political parties, controls for the restrictive political economy of immigration enforcement (Calavita 2010,1996; Ngai 2004; Tichenor 2002) are expected to increase policy outcomes. Partisanship is operationalized as the percentage of votes[6] in the 2008 and 2012 election for the Republican candidate (i.e., McCain in 2008 and Romney 2012). The years from 2008 to 2010 contain the 2008 percentage and the years from 2011 through 2014 have the 2012 voting percentage.

[6] Voting percentages at the county level were collected from the Data.gov website that is managed by the U.S. General Administration, Technology Transformation Service. The website follows the Project Open Data schema that requires all datasets to report: title, description, tags, last update, publisher and contact name.

To account for economic conditions that might influence a push for stricter immigration enforcement, six variables are included that cover financial stability, non-homeownership, employment conditions, and use of public benefits. Financial stability of a county is captured by using the logged median income in 2016 constant dollars. The percentage of non-homeowners is included as a measure of economic vitality in community. As unemployment rates increase, the narrative of the immigrants taking American jobs is used to bolster support for stricter immigration enforcement, as such the rate of unemployment is included. The final set of economic variables focus on controlling for the narrative of immigrants as public charges (Moloney 2012). The percentage of the population that is on public assistance is included expecting that take up rates of public assistance increases so will the immigration enforcement in a community.

Results

Based on the analysis of the three different patterns of instrumental funding, the results provide support for the hypotheses that philanthropic funding is related to policy outputs. Additionally, support for the theory that variation in instrumental funding influences policy outcomes differently based on how the policy outcomes relate to their mission is also supported.

Philanthropic Funding & Secure Communities

Table 4 displays the results of the analysis of each respective instrumental funding category on total per capita enforcement and the enforcement disparity ratio. Grant activities of every grant in the dataset were coded into three categories that address different aspects of an immigrant's life affecting their deportability and identification for deportation. The first category focuses on influencing the political status of immigrants. This category captures all grants awarded to help change the individual political status of immigrants. Support for the influence of instrumental giving is found for total enforcement and redressing issues in

immigration enforcement. A one percent increase in funding for political citizenship negatively influences immigration enforcement per capita by 0.02% and decreases the disparity in identifying more low priority deportable immigrants to high priority deportable immigrants by 0.007%, all else being equal.

The second category of instrumental giving based on grant activity captures integration of immigrants into their larger community. If federal immigration policy is enforced, local law enforcement agencies will prioritize immigrants posing a threat to the community over not community members that are non-threatening low priority immigrants. Funding related to integration services has a statistically significant and negative relationship with the per capita total enforcement and leads to a reduction in the enforcement disparity. A one percent increase in integration services decreases the total enforcement per capita in a county by 0.04% and decreases the identification of low priority to high priority deportable immigrants by 0.01%.

The final category captures funding related to government advocacy. This category embodies the spirit of engaging in macro-level policy process from community education issue campaigns to political advocacy by nonprofits. In aggregating grant making up to the county level, the political orientations of foundations and nonprofits are muddled. It is hard to detail the exact direction of the effect funding should exhibit on policy outputs. For example, a conservative foundation granting to a conservative anti-immigration nonprofit will be advocating for anti-immigrant legislation or stricter immigration reform opposite of the strategy of progressive, pro-immigrant foundations and nonprofits. However, conservative foundations are unlikely to award funding for the immigrant community to access services or programs that help them attain formal political citizenship or integrate into the community. As such, funding to government can influence immigration policy outcomes in either direction. The results indicate that instrumental giving related to government activities has a statistically significant and

positive influence on total per capita identification of deportable immigrants, but is negatively associated enforcement disparity ratio, helps redress the disparity in immigration enforcement. A one percent increase in funding for government activities, increases the total per capita enforcement within a county by 0.05%. This is the largest influence of funding across all three categories of instrumental giving by grant activity. While very small, a one percent increase in government funding is related to closing the disparity between the identification of low priority immigrants to high priority immigrants by 0.01%, all else being equal.

The previous analysis illustrated that funding related to creating political and social citizenship negatively influence the total per capita enforcement and helps create equity in identification patterns. Probing the relationship between instrumental funding and sub-policy outcomes, Table 10 contains the results of instrumental funding's influence on priority level identification outcomes. Instrumental giving for social and political citizenship services has a negative effect on each priority level output with a slightly larger influence on the per capita identification of low priority immigrants compared to the effect on per capita identification of high priority deportable immigrants. Increasing funding related to political citizenship by one percent decreases the identification of low priority per capita immigrants by 0.02% and high priority per capita immigrants by 0.01%. Social citizenship funding has a stronger effect on the outcomes than does political citizenship funding by 0.01% for each priority level outcomes. All else constant, a one percent increase in the philanthropic funds for social citizenship decreases the per capita identification of low priority deportable immigrants by 0.03% and high priority immigrants by 0.02%. It is surprising that funding for government, regardless of the threat level posed by immigrants, increases the identification of both priority level per capita outcomes by 0.05%.

Nonprofits as Intermediaries in Public Policy

The devolution of immigration enforcement to local law enforcement agencies (Provine et al. 2016; Decker et al. 2009) and government services to local third sector organizations (Salamon 2012; Eikenberry 2006; Clemens 2006; Grønberg & Paarlberg 2001) has created the ideal place for foundations to indirectly affect local policy outputs by financing mediating organizations. In their positions within the community, nonprofits are ideally positioned to address the needs of immigrants unconstrained by bureaucratic red tape (De Graauw 2008; Douglass 2001; Thayer & Scott 2001). Although the philanthropic community is unable to grant formal political citizenship, a right reserved to the federal government, their charitable work seeks to influence the direction of public policy from implementation to outcomes. The philanthropic sector provides a framework for the integration of the immigrant community, documented and undocumented alike. This framework helps confer citizenship and promotes receptive environments to promote democratic inclusion and incorporation, in light of government's gridlock on comprehensive immigration reform and its historic stance on barring the incorporation of immigrants through social policy benefits (Bloemraad & De Grauuw 2012).

Research is rich on the role nonprofits play as intermediary organizations facilitating immigrant integration to political incorporation (Brown 2013; de Graauw 2007, 2008, 2014, 2016; Martin 2012; Leitner & Strunck 2014; Wilson 2013; Villalón 2010; De Leon et al. 2009; Handy & Greenspan 2009; Hung 2007). Using an inductive theoretical thematic analysis, this research is one of the first to study grantees of foundations and their work as it relates, ultimately, to the affecting the deportability of immigrants within the community. As the central actors and organizations engaging with the immigrant community at the local level, the nonprofit perspective provides greater insights into how funding can influence immigrants' deportability in a way that the quantitative analysis is unable to illustrate.

Research Design

This research concentrates on understanding the link between immigrant-serving nonprofits and local immigration policy outcomes. My research is unique compared to previous research on immigrant-serving nonprofits, as it is the first to focus on interviewing recipients of foundation grants. I choose to interview nonprofit grantees as a way to link the indirect influence of philanthropic foundations on public policy outcomes. To provide insights into the role of nonprofits in influencing policy, the dataset of interviews for this research is analyzed using a theoretical thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006). I acknowledge that the interviews are conducted years after the grants were received. To overcome the limitation of not having interviews in the years immediately following the grant making, I assume that nonprofits typically function and provide similar services across time with modifications to the services to increase their impact. It is unlikely that nonprofits would dramatically change their service provision if they are focused on one particular sub-group of individuals like immigrants. Advocacy efforts may improve and speaking to them between 3 to 8 years later would discuss the new methods of advocacy with the same underlying goal of serving the immigrant community. There is one significant difference that is obvious between when the grants were received and the time of the interviews, the presidential administration. On the minds of many service providers, especially legal services, was the possible termination of the DACA program.

This research did not seek out to prove or disprove any of the hypotheses previously generated by the literature. Rather, the focus is on providing a conceptual framework that offers insights into how foundation grantees provide services and advocacy to the immigrant community. Additionally, to understand how these programs and services affect the immigrant community's deportability. To accomplish this, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 43 nonprofit organizations across 12 counties. The counties of interest were selected based off of

the size of their foreign-born population. Counties with a foreign-born population of more than 17% were selected for two reasons. First, it coincides with traditional destination states which are more likely to have immigrant-serving nonprofits (Hung 2007; Gleeson & Bloemraad 2013). Furthermore, a high foreign-born population is considered a high policy target population as it is more likely to have a higher percentage of noncitizens. The one exception is the District of Columbia. As the nation's capital and hub for federal advocacy, it is important to include the perspectives of national nonprofit offices. Additionally, from 2008 through 2014, the District of Columbia was the number one funded county. The counties included in the sample all received philanthropic funding higher than the average $4 million granted to the 14% of the U.S. counties receiving philanthropic funds. These twelve counties are all in the top 60% of funded counties. Each of the counties where interviews took place received philanthropic funding during the era of Secure Communities, but not all nonprofits interviewed received funding during this time[7]. The following are the counties selected by state for interviews[8]:

- California: Alameda, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco
- District of Columbia
- Illinois: Cook
- Texas: Bexar, Brazos, Harris, Hidalgo, Dallas, Travis

The sample of nonprofits was created using the grant data from the previous chapter and Guidestar. The nonprofit organizations invited to participate in the interviews were selected because they identified as immigrant-serving nonprofits in grant dataset or received a grant for immigration services. An email invitation with a phone call follow-up was sent to all immigrant-

[7] This occurred as a function of not having grantees declining or not responding to interview request. So, using Guidestar, I searched the nonprofits in the counties of interest based on the keywords of "immigrants." Guidestar provided a search results based off the nonprofits whose mission statements contained the words "immigrants."
[8] Summary Statistics containing financial information and Secure Communities policy outputs by interview state and county can be found in the supplemental appendix.

serving nonprofits or nonprofit grant recipients with a grant activity of immigration services. Of the 43 responding nonprofits, I conducted semi-structured interviews with nonprofit directors, Executive Directors or Directors of Program & Services. The sample of interviewed nonprofits is 43 organizations, but I conducted 50 interviews. The majority, 68%, of the directors interviewed were women. The interviews lasted an average of an hour with most of them conducted at the nonprofit or a location close to the nonprofit office.

The selection of nonprofits for this research deviates slightly compared to previous research on immigrant or migrant-serving nonprofits whose selection is based on organizational specific traits such as the ethnic composition of leadership, the name of the organization (ethnic sounding), or the percentage of immigrant/migrant clientele[9] (De Graauw 2016; Martin 2012; Hung 2007; Cordero-Guzmán 2005; Cortes 1998). Instead, I relied on pre-aggregated grant making dataset from my previous analysis to ensure the link between the quantitative and qualitative analysis. In most cases, my coding scheme overlaps the coding schemes in previous research especially for immigrant-serving nonprofits as they prioritize serving the immigrant community displayed by listing immigrants or immigrants and migrants as the top served population and having leadership with ethnic or immigrant identity in positions of leadership. All organizations interviewed were registered 501(c)(3) organizations.

Unlike the previous research which limits their work to nonprofits with total annual revenue of $25,000, I did not begin with this limitation when selecting nonprofits for participation. I removed this limitation based on the assumption that grassroots nonprofits for

[9] I do acknowledge that previous research's selection based off the specific organizational traits displaying an ethnic connection to the immigrant community would provide a larger sample of nonprofits to study.

immigrants may not always meet the total revenue requirement, especially in areas where the community is low-income (Roth & Allard 2016; Roth et al. 2015; Gleeson & Bloemraad 2013)[10].

Of the nonprofits interviewed, 81% are recipients of philanthropic grants anytime between 2008 through 2014 with 71% of the interviewees identified in the dataset as immigrant serving nonprofits. Only two of the nonprofits were one-time recipients and the rest being awarded multiple grants throughout the years. Table 6 provides details on amount of grants awarded by instrumental grant category across the interviewed counties from 2008 through 2014. Figure 4 illustrates the funding percentage of the 900 grants received by instrumental category for all nonprofit grantees interviewed. Compared to the previous chapter where yearly funding concentrated on providing for integration services, the interviewees' received the most funding for political citizenship services with government advocacy coming in second at 24%. The funding for integration services was not far behind receiving about 21% of the funding awarded to 35 nonprofits interviewed.

The semi-structured interviews were analyzed using a theoretical thematic analysis to provide further detail into service delivery and advocacy as mechanisms alter immigrants' deportability and affecting immigration enforcement outputs. The transcribed interviews are coded first by searching for two structural codes based on the previous literature that defines the roles of nonprofits as service delivery and advocacy. Once the interviews were coded based on the two structural codes, these sections of the interviews grouped and searched for the underlying concepts that affect the immigrants' level of deportability on a micro and macro level. The final stage links the themes through direct manifestation or through an interpretative connection that associates the work by nonprofits to changes in immigrants' deportability (Saladaña 2015).

[10] The 43 interviews conducted are not meant to be a nationally representative sample, but I am working with the assumption the interviewed immigrant-serving nonprofits share similarities with broader immigrant-serving nonprofits across the U.S., especially in traditional-destination states, as there is now national conference on immigrant integration since 2009 (De Graauw & Bloemraad 2017).

Nonprofits as Intermediaries of Change

As meso-level (De Graauw 2016) mediating institutions, immigrant-serving nonprofits are distinctively positioned to create social change for the immigrant by using micro and macro-level strategies within the policy environment. Their position allows them the ability to reach across society and into the larger socio-political arena bridging the spheres of public and private life to initiate changes in immigrants' deportability within their local community. These nonprofits create essential connections with the immigrant community built on trust and culturally responsive service delivery that may not always be present in non-immigrant serving agencies. As one director describes, "*a lot of the feedback on the existing agencies [domestic violence shelters] is they didn't understand [the community] especially the legal issues, but [also] the cultural issues. There was no linguistic competency or ability to serve survivors. Without [serving] the immigrant rights, they didn't have a good experience, not as in bad, but they [immigrant survivors] just didn't feel like their needs were met*[11]." With their connection to the immigrant community, as their link to vital programs and services, nonprofits can create micro-level changes within each immigrant's level of deportability through the process of integration. Integration occurs by providing immigrants with access to attaining political citizenship and through the social citizenship conferred to them by the nonprofit. Social citizenship represents an acceptance by the local community that allows immigrants the ability to have access to the most basic life necessities without living in a state of heightened deportability or fear.

Nonprofits acknowledge that " *programs might not necessarily move at the rate [needed] to be able to make a difference everywhere we want to [change]*[12]." As such, the second strategy targets social change by affecting the macro-level structures through advocacy efforts aimed at

[11] Executive Director
[12] Executive Director

issue awareness or policy reform pressuring state actors to support anti-immigrant legislation or enforce immigration laws at the local level. As institutional actors with networks across the public and private spheres of community, nonprofits can engage in strategic coalition building and advocacy. Their advocacy efforts focus not only on policy change but on *"building democracy in America [by] empower[ing] immigrants…rather than coming down from on-high with all the answers*[13]." This empowerment seeks to ensure that immigrants' experiences become part of the narrative and the solution. No one other than the immigrant community truly understand how the current political system affects their lives. Through empowerment of immigrants, this advocacy seeks to change the dominant policy narrative, "*a major component is shifting around who…[the] immigrant and refugee communities are, and really humanizing the experiences broken policies impact…Because so often, these stories are always framed as [the] good versus [the] bad immigrant*[14]." The advocacy efforts target changes in the environment and policy narrative to garner broad community support to reduce the focus on immigrants' deportability and immigration enforcement leading to a push for immigration reform with a path way to citizenship.

Nonprofits as Service Providers

Unlike government agencies that are more selective in their service delivery, nonprofits extend citizenship to all of the immigrant community regardless of status. Bosniak (2008) discusses citizenship as a socially constructed concept given life through government and society. She illustrates citizenship as a concept with hard edges and a soft center. The hard edges represent political citizenship, the formal status to reside in the United States through naturalization or residency along with the rights and responsibilities that come with the

[13] Director of Legal Services
[14] Director of Advocacy

respective status. Nonprofits serve as complementary to the USCIS[15] agents in the process by helping immigrants with their status adjustments from documented to naturalized or undocumented to documented. The soft part of citizenship is the membership created and extended through the work and advocacy that nonprofits engage in and on behalf of immigrants to help integrate immigrants or create inclusive communities on their behalf. Social citizenship provides immigrants with access to basic life necessities, opportunities for self-development to advancement, and legitimacy as individuals and members of the community. The political and social citizenship provide legalization and integration into the broader community that provides micro-level changes in their policy target status. Together these synergistic citizenships help alter the size of the policy target population leading to a reduction in enforcement outputs.

Political Citizenship

Many nonprofits offer programs that help provide legal advice for status adjustments to labor rights representation. All nonprofits that offer legal services have expressed that their caseloads demands are more extensive than the supply of attorneys or certified legal representatives available to assist in providing aid. Most nonprofits have waitlists and are only able to do intake forms and provide general information or referrals to other nonprofits or immigration attorneys. These legal services have risen in popularity due to their reduced prices compared to that of private immigration attorneys. With all the services provided by nonprofits, the political citizenship programs are acknowledged as the the best protection to avoid deportation. As one director of legal services noted, "*I include those [pro-immigrant] perspectives when I talk to people in public meetings, but I'd be deluding myself if I think that's going to be overarchingly*

[15] United States Citizenship and Immigration Services who processes naturalization and all visas for immigrants applying to enter into the United States or regularize their status.

effective. The most empowering thing I do for the kids is I win them [formal naturalization, permanent residency, asylum] status."

With the current backlog of applications across sectors, nonprofits help ease the administrative burden by helping ensure accurate applications are submitted, and immigrants prepare for all portions of the residency and naturalization process as a means of reducing the probability of a denied naturalization or residency application. With today's climate, nonprofits are seeing "*more complicated cases in [our] workshops.*" The director explained further the imperative nature of knowing the full history of individuals. "*People are coming in who have more tickets, more violations, more things we need to be aware of...given this president sharing everything now is just really crucial because withholding anything would definitely be counted against you. So as an attorney, if I know it now, we can try to deal with it and get the assistance they need as opposed to having it [withheld information] come up during the interview, then they are stuck*[16]*."* At best, immigrants are allowed to leave their interview, but as Gilbert (2008) points out that immigrants denied naturalization because of a past criminal record can be processed for deportation at the time they are being interviewed by USCIS representatives. Additionally, USCIS does not have to provide detailed explanations for denied applications and immigrants are rarely able to challenge the outcome in immigration court. Although it cannot speed up the process, it can reduce barriers to attaining naturalization. The legal services provided by nonprofits, especially to low-income immigrants, reduces the chances of denial and deportation for any incorrect or withheld information. Ultimately, nonprofit organizations are targeting a status change as they "*look for the ability for our families to be able to thrive and [in] giving them the tools via services, education, or empowerment…we're not looking for assimilation, but we do want [the] ultimate protection from deportation, citizenship. We want*

[16] Executive Director

people to be able to vote, so we are pretty active in trying to find legal permanent residents [that are eligible] to become citizens. It's a big piece of what we do in terms of our immigration legal services.[17]"

Social Citizenship

The first five years of arrival for immigrants are the most important to establishing their path to integration. A period, during which even documented, and especially undocumented immigrants, do not have access to any public benefits only those provided by nonprofits (De Graauw & Bloemraad 2017). Social citizenship provides immigrants with access to basic life necessities, opportunities such as self-development to social advancement, and legitimacy as individuals and members of the community. At the heart of social citizenship is the path to integration for immigrants. As one Executive Director views their role in the community, "*We want Thais who are economically disadvantaged to access opportunities for economic mobility and be able to really become self-sufficient… we do comprehensive, wrap around social and human services addressing the needs of low-income not just Thais. We're sort of multipurpose and what I call an ecosystem for social change*.[18]"

Immigrants access multiple services at their local nonprofit from language courses to workforce development, and family-focused services such as food pantries, youth development programs for their children. These services all help provide immigrants with access to mobility across the various measures of integration: social, economic, and cultural (Jiménez 2011; Jones-Correa 2011; Nee & Alba 2012). Integration is not a unidirectional process, but a bidirectional process between immigrants and the receiving community. The community encompasses all institutions from private to public, and nonprofits help facilitate the interaction with immigrants

[17] Director of Legal Services
[18] Executive Director

to promote inclusivity and advancement initiating the process of integration. One director mentioned, in regard to their strategic expansion from refugee serving to incorporate more of the immigrant community, *"the health and social services are open to everyone... we have a health fair in partnership with local clinics and universities to address basic health issues to mental health issues. In partnership with the local community college, we have instructors coming here, to provide a range of education, so if an individual wants [to get] their GED, we can provide that, but we also do [provide] ESL…to more empowerment and entrepreneurship [courses], so with adult education, we can certify individuals to open up businesses*." Through their service delivery nonprofits attempt to resolve the tensions between their community norms and the norms of the immigrant community (Gilbert 2008). This serves as a stepping stone for immigrants to be able to understand the broader American culture and their community's norms as a way of helping them live, work, and socially engage with other members of their broader community.

Through the political and social citizenship that nonprofits extend the immigrant community, the philanthropic community works to create individual micro-level changes. Although the process is not instantaneous, the micro-level change seeks to protects immigrants from deportation through a formal change in their official political status. In the end, this micro-level change alters the size of the population of deportable immigrants. The second change occurs as nonprofits empower and work to help immigrants reshape the immigrant narrative within the community and the broader policy environment. To reshape the narrative, nonprofits help provide immigrants with the necessary skills, education, and leads them to be civically engaged as a way of showing their commitment to their community and life as an American. This integration process helps immigrants not only portray but actively engage and promote qualities of "good moral character." In order to attain naturalization, immigrants must meet the

requirement of "good moral character," but this decision is ultimately left to the bureaucratic agent of USCIS. Through their entire repertoire of programs and services, the immigrant-serving nonprofit community works to help ensure that immigrant and their families are preparing and establishing a successful life in their communities by providing them with the skills and qualities deemed as American. As one Executive Director reflected on the mission of their partnership with local businesses to help the immigrant employees gain English Language training, he hoped that employers would understand and promote the view that "*my immigrant workforce is contributing to my bottom line, learning English, and becoming American that's the apple pie outcome of immigration, if you're against that well you got issues*." In his view, his nonprofit was engaging not only immigrants in the community but their employers to show that the immigrant community is not only of "good moral character," but that they are contributing to the local economy and incorporating into the community. As such, why should they be denied a path to citizenship?

Nonprofits as Advocates

In their position as mediating institutions, nonprofits are situated best to serve as the bridge connecting the community with the larger socio-political structure that has defined their deportability. In this role, nonprofits are institutions of advocacy reacting to proposed or current changes in policy, but also as revolutionaries empowering and motivating immigrants to serve as advocates. Most, if not all nonprofits, engaged in advocacy efforts. If nonprofit directors responded in the negative when asked if they worked to advocate for their members, they elaborated with a response that equated advocacy to political lobbying. For the handful that viewed advocacy as lobbying, they made sure to mention they did not engage in advocacy efforts as it would threaten their 501(c)(3) status.

Scholars have defined advocacy in multiple ways (Almog-bar Schmid 2014), but at its core suggests activities that pertain to defining, educating, and promoting issues in attempts to mobilize or alter the public policy process. Advocacy is fundamental to helping produce policy changes through reform or the creation of new public policy (Mintrom 1997; Mintrom & Vergari 1996; Mintrom & Norman 2009; Sabatier 1988; De Graauw 2007; Le Roux & Goerdel 2009; Chin 2017; Schmid et al. 2008; Vaughan & Arsneault 2008; Kingdon & Thurber 1984).

Through the education issue campaigns and testimonies within public agencies and legislatures, nonprofits organizations provide citizenry and bureaucratic agents with feedback on policy as a means to motivate them to vocalize and support pro-immigration policy reform rather than anti-immigrant legislation. For example, specifically working with law enforcement, one director states "*we are doing more legislative advocacy…but we are [also] dealing with trying to engage local law enforcement to understand the U-visa system in order to get the needed signatures for [survivor] applications. They [law enforcement] have several misconceptions that [if they sign] they're helping [promote 'illegal"] immigration when, in fact, the [U-visa certification] component is designed to help law enforcement reach the criminal offenders*[19]."

Administrative & Policy Advocacy

For more than a decade, immigration reform has remained one of the yearly policy discussions, but reform has remained an elusive act. The federal government remains the only level of government able to extend formal political citizenship, but states and local governments retain the right to pass legislation influencing immigrant's ability to reside and quality of life within their jurisdictions. In the absence of immigration reform, nonprofits refocused advocacy efforts to levels of government most proximate to the lives of immigrants. Nonprofits are focusing their advocacy efforts to push for policy changes across a spectrum of issues that affect the life of an

[19] Executive Director

individual from criminal justice to access to health. The policy areas targeted by the immigrant-serving nonprofit community do not solely focus on immigration reform but intersect with immigration policy. Changes across policy areas such as health care, criminal justice, and environmental regulations can all impact the visibility of immigrants and increase their level of deportability. One example within criminal justice policy, a group of nonprofits was able to successfully reform legislation on mandatory sentencing that affects immigrants in a more punitive manner than citizens. As previously mentioned, immigrants facing a state misdemeanor sentence of more than 364 days increases their deportability drastically (Keenan 2007). An immigrant's state misdemeanor has now become a felony conviction on their criminal record due to their lack of U.S. citizenship. This "felony" conviction now labels this immigrant as a high priority deportable immigrant. At least within California, one director recounts their policy reform victory, "*we had a law recently that changed the sentencing, the [misdemeanor] mandatory sentencing, [from 365 days] to 364 days, so we are trying to get that replicated in other states. We are trying to make sure that these little tweaks that can have a massive impact go into effect in as many places as possible, and work with local government, [and] the local school board on policies.*[20]" The criminal justice system and our immigration regime are intimately intertwined, but are not set up to protect the immigrant community or their rights. With IRIRA's unprecedented expansion of crimes that serve as the basis for inadmissibility, the change in the law in California affects the deportability of an immigrant by ensuring that their state charge is unaffected by IRIRA's creation of a "criminal offender" by amplifying a low level crime (Bello 2016). This law reduces the size of the population eligible for deportation by not allowing a state misdemeanor conviction to translate into a felony based on immigration status. The goal is to advocate across more states and localities to pass a similar law, but this might

[20] Development Director

remain unattainable without financial support from foundations. This particular organization produces material to educate lawyers and service providers about the intersection of immigration and the criminal justice system. "*We work with attorneys, immigration attorneys…and more broadly organizations and individuals who serve immigrants. Basically, immigration law is so complicated and so dynamic that any human mistake can get people deported. So we want to make sure that doesn't happen. We want to make sure that everyone who serves immigrants is aware of all the opportunities and the risk that immigrants face, and can therefore, as an attorney, serve them better*[21]."

Furthermore, not all public defenders are trained or know to understand how taking a plea deal can affect the status and eligibility of immigrants. Increasing the funding to nonprofits with legal clinics promotes training as well as expands the number of attorneys that can provide pro or low bono legal services to all immigrants regardless of their status before a court of law. Legal aid clinics can only provide representation to documented immigrants, but foundation support provides assistance for undocumented immigrants to receive legal representation.

Nonprofits may have begun targeting their advocacy efforts towards their state and local governments, but this has not stopped the collaboration across regions. In fact, nonprofits that have a national office in D.C are more likely to have that office engage the most in federal level policy reform and tap their regional offices as sources of information about what issues need to serve as focal points for advocacy alongside the recommendations to advocate for at the national level. With one region office open and another set to open in a different state, this director of legal services stated, "*There's a lot of coordination and information sharing between local office service staff, so what they're seeing on the ground in their communities is being collected in*

[21] Development Director

examples and stories to do policy advocacy at the federal level, but sometimes in support of local and state too[22]."

Representation & Collaboration

The final two pieces of advocacy efforts led by nonprofits go hand in hand. The idea that policy creates politics, but only for those whose voices are heard, leaves out the disadvantaged and marginalized communities. As bridges, nonprofits not only create the opportunities for their members to engage with policymakers and the broader community but create the programs that lead to the empowerment of the immigrant community to use their stories and their lived experiences as campaigns to change their communities. With a lack of political power to cast a vote as part of the official electorate, nonprofits and their staff use their positions to cultiate relationships and networks in order to help open lines of communication and drive policy reform. As one director put it, "*This is what you do, you become a commissioner, you cash in personally, I cashed in for the movement, and said, "I want you [the mayor and commissioners] to work on immigration, you should work on DACA." I pitched the mayor. I pitched his senior staff, I helped do a meet-and-greet with immigrant rights groups, who had mostly all been with (publicly supportive of) his opponent*[23]." This nonprofit Executive Director helped bridge not only a partisan divide but promoted that the mayor views undocumented immigrants as part of his electorate. Using more of a co-production method, another Executive Director expressed her work as "*working very closely with the Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs…we're on panels for them, we advise them, we provide consultations, they come to all of our different community town hall meetings…there's no funding [there], but there are opportunities for collaboration and*

[22] Director of Legal Services
[23] Executive Director

co-sponsorship[24]*."* In both cases, each director used their networks and connection to bridge the community with actors holding political power to shape policy.

In almost all nonprofits that had high advocacy efforts, acknowledged that in order to produce the proper policy reform, immigrants' perspectives must be heard. At the end of the day, the policies will be affecting their lives, but the people making them are unlikely to understand the immigrant experience. Advocacy cannot occur without advocates. Nonprofits serve as critical organizations to empowering and developing the civic voice of immigrants. Many nonprofits had programs to individually develop the leadership abilities of immigrant women and men to act as canvassers, protest leaders, and promotoras of information clinics such as Know Your Rights or worker/labor rights. Some nonprofits offering legal services even helped naturalized immigrants become accredited with the Board of Immigration Appeals. This accreditation in recognized nonprofits allows non-lawyers to represent clients before U.S. immigration agencies, such as USCIS, ICE, and Immigration Courts (NYIC 2018). Not only do immigrants volunteer to be leaders in their community by providing information to fellow community members, but it comes full circle by training underrepresented individuals to effectively uplift their voice into the policy process that formally excludes them having the ability to elect officials passing legislation at all levels of the government. Policy advocacy spans all issue areas and uses the lived experiences of the community to discuss the current impact and possible impact that might occur in the event of the proposed policy change. For example, prior to the election the promotoras in this organization were conducting community outreach focusing on providing immigrants with information on naturalizations. After the election, they mobilized by expanding their base of advocates and vamping up their Know Your Rights Presentations and family planning in light of possible deportation. Along with their work for protection from deportation, the promotoras

[24] Executive Director

prepared to provide testimony in support of legislation that was about to sunset negatively affecting the life of their children.

Conclusion

During an interview with an Executive Director who did not receive any foundation grants from 2008 through 2014, he expressed "*foundations don't fund revolutions…that would lead to their self-destruction*." In the big picture, if foundations provided enough funding to throw a wrench in the U.S. deportation regime, it might in fact lead to their destruction. Government could seek policy change revoking their charitable status, restructuring their 501(c)(3) status, or possibility limiting their financial contributions to the nonprofit community, especially in today's political climate. Kerwin et al. (2017) notes that immigrant-serving nonprofits "working within the existing statutory and administrative frameworks of federal policy…achieved steady and significant gains in legal status for large numbers of immigrants over the past four years (1)."

Despite, the limited resources that nonprofits work with every day, this research supports Kerwin et al. (2017)'s finding. If foundations and nonprofits want to engage in social change for the immigrant community, foundations need to show a stronger commitment to the nonprofit community. The monetary resources gained from government contracts limits who nonprofits are able to serve and their program revenue will only allow for so much expansion. Foundation funding is integral to helping produce protection for immigrants inside and outside sanctuary communities. If foundations are genuinely committed to helping change immigration policy, they should begin to invest in long-term commitment nonprofits beyond the large bureaucratic nonprofits. Grassroots nonprofits are the key to serving immigrants afraid of exposing themselves in this highly politicize climate calling for increased deportations. These smaller organizations are located closer and understand not only the immigrant identity but the racialized immigrant identity.

Although foundations don't fund revolutions, they are financing the armory by which nonprofits act as revolutionaries and reactors targeting micro, meso, and macro level changes to influence the deportability of immigrants. This research contributes to the growing literature on philanthropy and immigration integration by developing a conceptual framework on the mechanisms that connect philanthropy to public policy. The work that the philanthropic sector engages in takes time and resources to reach their end goal of influencing public policy. At the end of the day, foundations and nonprofits must choose whether they are working to create social change or provide immediate services. Their decision will impact the way their path to influencing public policy from implementation to outcomes.

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Table 1: Secure Communities Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Total Deportable Immigrants Identified	122	1,073	0	51,745
Total Deportable Immigrants Identified Per Capita (Force Multiplier)	0.07	0.40	0	40
Total Deportable Immigrants Identified Per Capita (Logged)	-4.37	1.96	-13.31	3.69
Total High Priority Deportable Immigrants Identified	35	335	0	16,239
Total High Priority Deportable Immigrants Identified Per Capita	0.04	0.18	0	5.62
Total High Priority Deportable Immigrants Identified Per Capita (Logged)	-4.96	1.79	-13.31	1.73
Total Low Priority Deportable Immigrants Identified	90	786	0	37,269
Total Low Priority Deportable Immigrants Identified Per Capita	0.06	0.37	0	36
Total Low Priority Deportable Immigrants Identified Per Capita (Logged)	-4.42	1.86	-13.31	3.58
Identification Disparity Ratio (Low to High)	2.49	3.26	1	83
Identification Disparity Ratio (Logged)	0.54	0.77	-2.33	4.42
Total Number of Non-citizens	6,672	46,321	0	1,957,868
Observations	18,586			

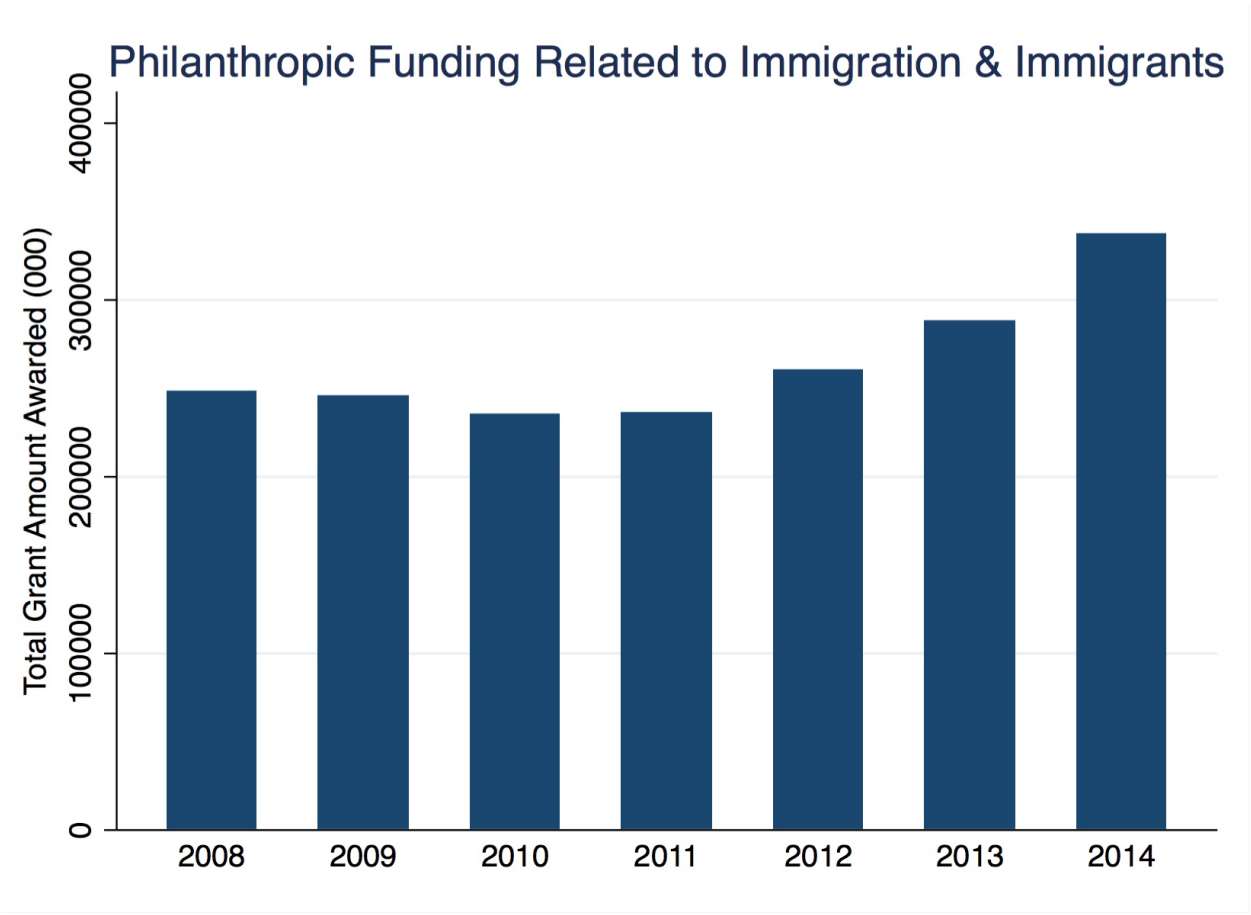

Figure 1: Foundations' Total Immigration Related Giving 2008-2014

Data:The Foundation Center

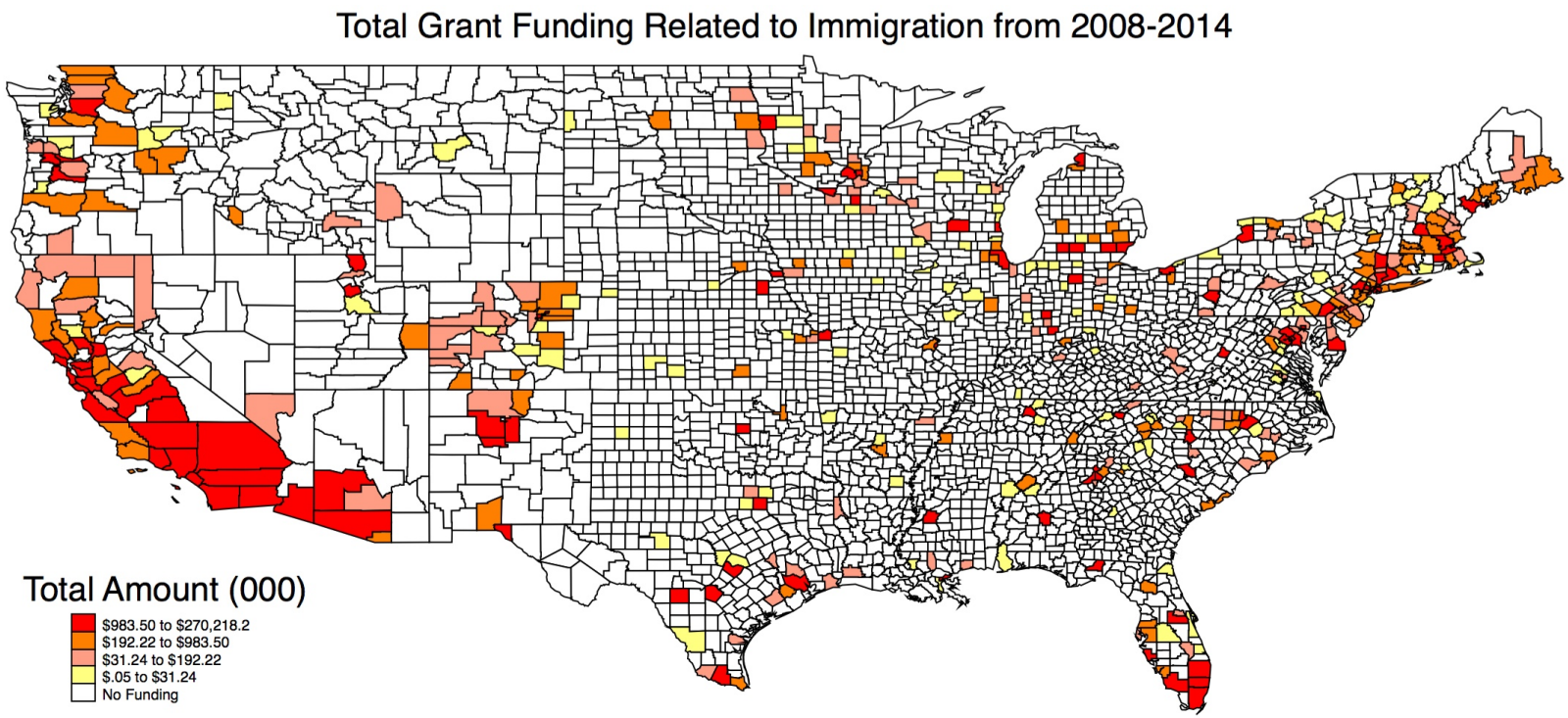

Figure 2: Foundations' Total Immigraiton Related Giving by County 2008-2014

Data: The Foundation Center

Table 2: Philanthrophic Funding Summary Statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Total County Aggregated Immigration Related Funding	$83,627	$1,285,147	$0	$56,488,577
Total Funding for Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits	$49,320	$735,418	$0	$28,212,654
Total Grant Funding for Immigration Services	$23,916	$478,416	$0	$26,603,126
Total Grant Funding for Integration Services	$39,339	$498,533	$0	$22,259,190
Total Grant Funding Related to Government Lobbying	$20,371	$411,506	$0	$20,268,575
Total Grant Funding for Immigration Services (logged)	0.46	2.23	0	17.10
Total Grant Funding for Integration Services (logged)	0.73	2.82	0	16.92
Total Grant Funding Related to Government Lobbying (logged)	0.33	1.92	0	16.83
Observations	18,586			

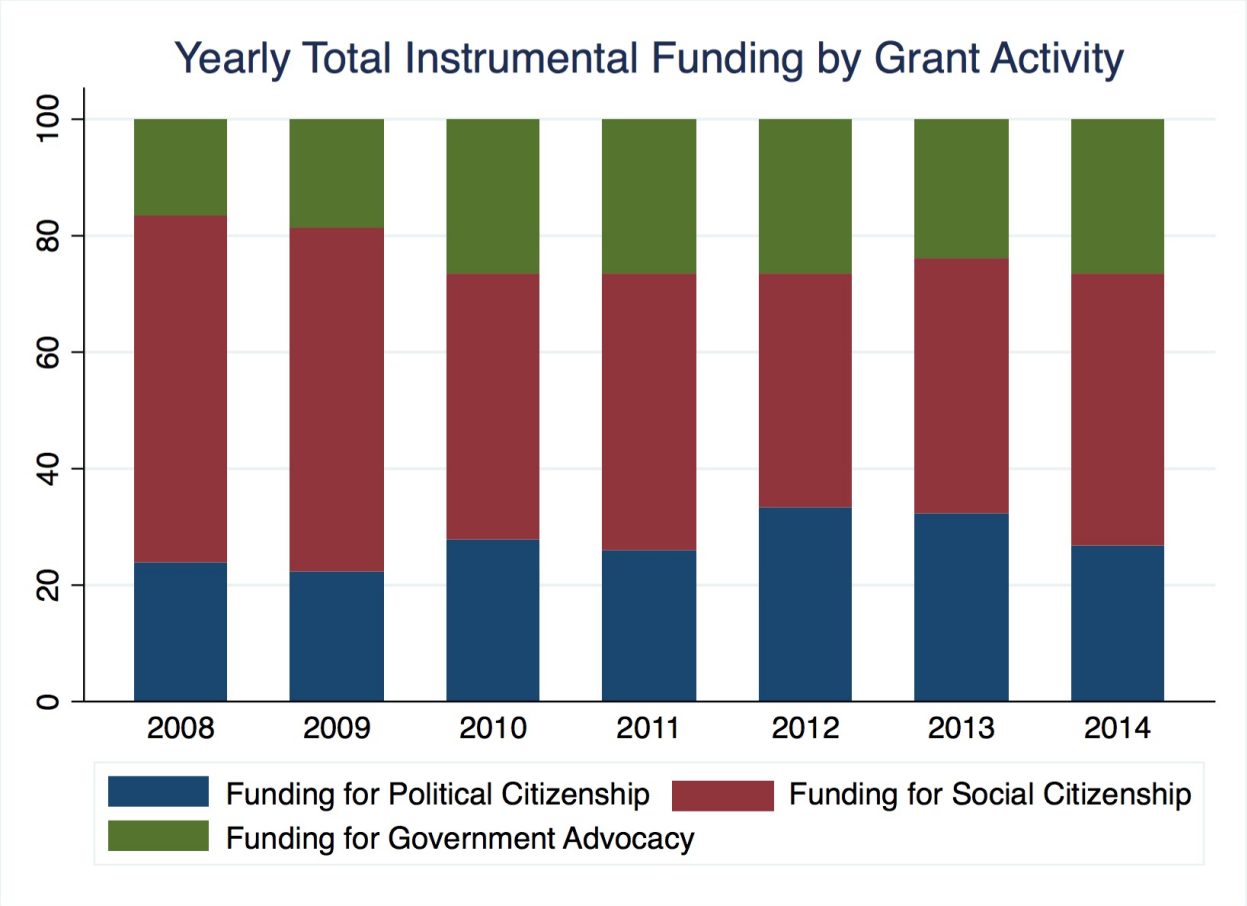

Figure 3: Foundations' Total Yearly Instrumental Giving by Grant Activity

Data: The Foundation Center

Table 3: Summary statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Total State Aggregated Philanthropic Funding Received (000) (logged)	13.29	1.37	9.80	16.20
Aggregated Local Law Enforcement Agencies' Budget (logged)	4.89	1.07	2.17	7.37
Aggregated Local Law Enforcement Agencies' Employees (logged)	9.61	1.01	6.84	11.51
Days in Secure Communities	339.65	703.94	-1179	2256
Total Submissions (Logged)	-0.40	3.48	-4.61	8.35
Non-Citizen Population (%)	2.75	3.58	0	37.95
White Population (%)	78.80	19.29	1.04	100
Black Population (%)	8.89	14.51	0	86.76
Asian Population (%)	1.05	1.99	0	33.36
Hispanic Population (%)	8.14	13.15	0	98.63
Unemployment Rate	8.11	3.61	0	36.11
Non-Homeowner Population (%)	27.18	7.64	5.27	77.45
Less than a High School Education Population (%)	16.21	7.18	0.69	55.12
Public Assistance Population (%)	2.39	1.52	0	24.83
Republican (%)	58.36	14.26	6.50	95.86
Median Income (Logged)	10.77	0.24	9.87	11.84
Observations	18,586			

Table 4: The Effect of Instrumental Funding By Grant Activity on Immigration Policy Outcomes

	Total Enforcement Per Capita		Disparity Ratio	
Grant Funding for Immigration Services	-0.02*	(0.007)	-0.01*	(0.003)
Grant Funding for Integration Services	-.04**	(0.006)	-0.01**	(0.002)
Grant Funding Related to Government	0.05**	(0.008)	-0.01**	(0.003)
State Philanthropic Funds	-0.07**	(0.02)	0.01	(0.01)
Bureaucratic Capacity				
Total L.E.A Budget (logged)	0.57**	(0.07)	-0.41**	(0.03)
Total L.E.A Employees(logged)	-0.78**	(0.08)	0.40**	(0.03)
Days in Secure Communities	0.0005**	(0.00003)	-.0001**	(0.000)
Total Submissions (logged)	0.22**	(0.01)	0.17**	(0.002)
Prosecutorial Discretion	0.005	(0.04)	-0.17**	(0.01)
Community Environment				
Non-Citizen Population (%)			0.03**	(0.002)
White Population (%)	-0.03**	(0.002)	-0.003**	(0.001)
Black Population (%)	-.02**	(0.002)	-0.002*	(0.001)
Asian Population (%)	-.10**	(0.008)	-0.03**	(0.003)
Hispanic Population (%)	-0.04**	(0.002)	-0.004**	(0.001)
Median Income (logged)	-2.79**	(0.07)	0.22**	(0.03)
Public Assistance (%)	-0.05**	(0.01)	-0.02**	(0.004)
Education (%)	-.005*	(0.003)	-0.005**	(0.001)
Unemployment	-0.08**	(0.004)	-0.006*	(0.002)
Non-homeownership (%)	-0.04**	(0.002)	.003**	(0.001)
Republican (%)	0.01**	(0.001)	.003**	(0.001)
Border County	0.65**	(0.14)	-0.22**	(0.06)
Constant	35.42**	(0.93)	-3.39**	(0.37)
Observations	18,586		18,586	
R^2	0.42		0.42	

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.001$

All Grant Amounts are Logged

Table 5: The Effect of Instrumental Funding By Grant Activity on Priority Level Policy Outcomes

	High Priority Per Capita		Low Priority Per Capita	
Grant Funding for Immigration Services	-0.01*	(0.006)	-0.02*	(0.007)
Grant Funding for Integration Services	-0.02**	(0.005)	-0.03**	(0.005)
Grant Funding Related to Government	0.05**	(0.007)	0.05**	(0.007)
State Received Philanthropic Funds	-0.04**	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Bureaucratic Capacity				
Total L.E.A Budget (logged)	0.79*	(0.07)	0.41**	(0.07)
Total L.E.A Employees (logged)	-1.05**	(0.07)	-0.70**	(0.07)
Days in Secure Communities	0.0001**	(0.0000)	0.0003**	(0.0000)
Total Submissions (logged)	0.07**	(0.005)	0.24**	(0.005)
Prosecutorial Discretion	0.58**	(0.04)	0.42**	(0.040)
Community Environment				
White Population (%)	0.02**	(0.002)	-0.03**	(0.002)
Black Population (%)	-0.02**	(0.002)	-0.02**	(0.002)
Asian Population (%)	-0.07**	(0.008)	-0.09**	(0.009)
Hispanic Population (%)	-0.04**	(0.002)	-0.04**	(0.002)
Median Income (logged)	2.92**	(0.07)	-2.16**	(0.08)
Public Assistance (%)	-0.03	(0.01)	-0.05**	(0.01)
Education (%)	-0.001	(0.002)	-0.002	(0.002)
Unemployment	-0.02**	(0.004)	-0.09**	(0.004)
Non-homeownership (%)	0.05**	(0.002)	-0.04**	(0.002)
Republican (%)	0.007**	(0.001)	0.01**	(0.001)
Border County	0.82**	(0.13)	0.64**	(0.13)
Constant	37.22**	(0.89)	32.89**	(0.88)
Observations	18,586		18,586	
R^2	0.44		0.50	

Standard errors in parentheses

$^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.001$

All Grant Amounts are Logged

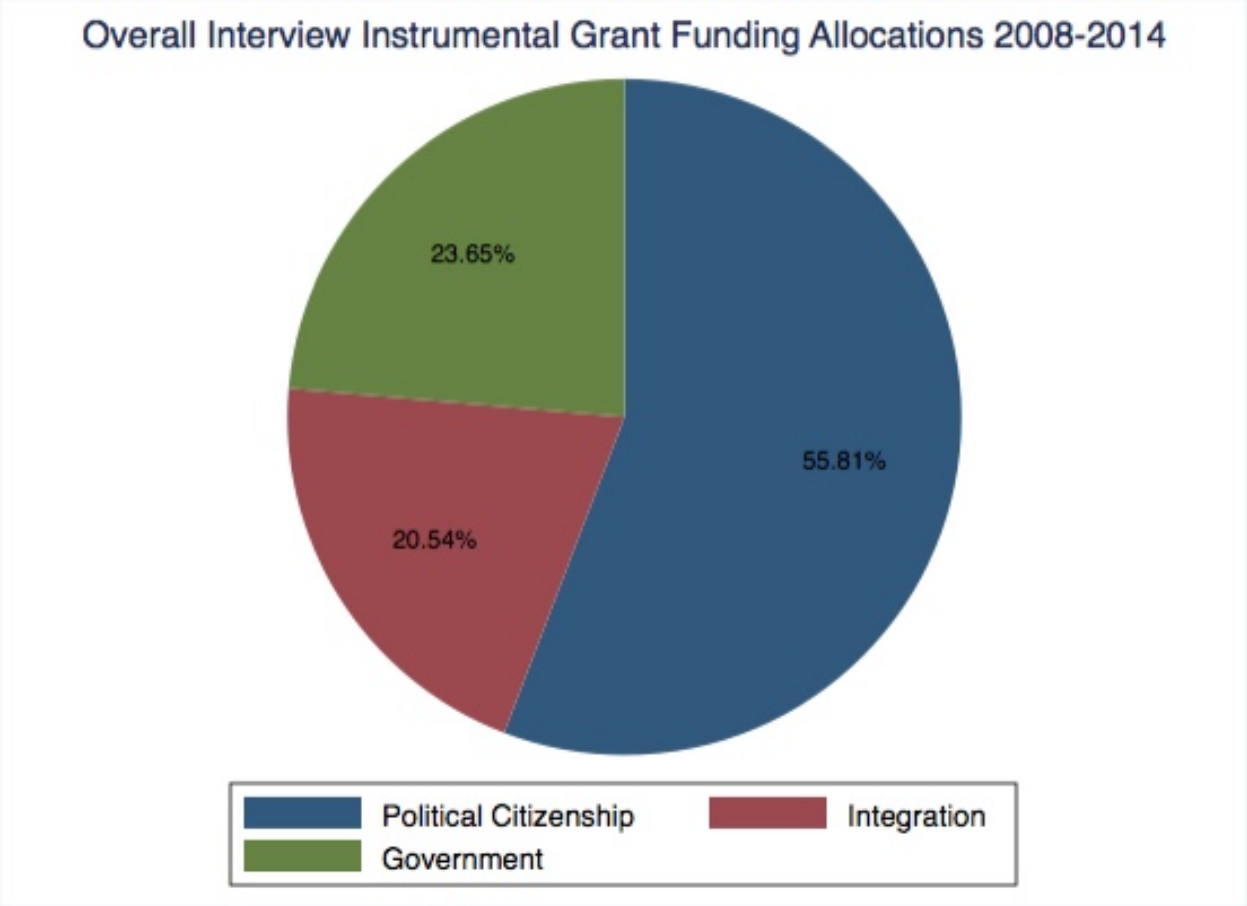

Figure 4: Philanthropic Allocations by Instrumental Funding based on Grant Activity

Data source: The Foundation Center

Table 6: Nonprofits & Grant Activity 2008-2014

County	Number of Grants	Political Citizenship	Integration Services	Government Advocacy	Immigrant Serving	Refugee Serving	Nonprofits Serving Immigrants
Alameda	34	33	1	0	1	0	0
Los Angeles	127	70	13	44	6	0	0
San Diego	75	8	24	43	3	0	1
San Francisco	231	171	43	17	2	0	0
District of Columbia	198	67	33	164	4	1	2
Cook	97	33	57	7	2	0	4
Dallas	49	0	49	0	1	0	0
Harris	24	22	2	0	2	1	0
Hidalgo	59	18	20	21	3	0	0
Travis	27	2	10	15	1	1	0
Total Grantees	921	424	252	311	25	2	6
Not Grantees					4		4