

# COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS AND IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

*in the Washington, D.C.,  
Metropolitan Area*

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Matthew Maronick  
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## Executive Summary

Immigrant-serving organizations in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area help immigrants find their way by encouraging them to participate civically and politically. These organizations are growing in number and changing with the region's demographic profile.

### Key findings:

- Some 533 immigrant-serving nonprofits dispersed throughout the region provide a wide range of programs and services to foreign-born communities.
- These organizations are concentrated in Washington, D.C., and the inner suburbs of Maryland and Virginia while immigrant populations are growing steadily in the outer suburbs.
- The number of community-based organizations (CBOs) has greatly increased in the past two decades.
- Immigrant communities provide leaders who create nonprofits; staff, volunteers, and board members who run these organizations; and funding and other support.
- Immigrant integration through culturally sensitive services promotes newcomers' social and political mobility.
- These nonprofits advocate for their communities and encourage constituents to voice their own concerns and issues.
- Each jurisdiction's unique structures and policies affect these nonprofits' service portfolios, funding, and political negotiating environments.
- CBOs are constantly up against fragmented public policies and a knowledge gap about foreign-born populations and the organizations that serve them.





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## Introduction

The United States has undergone unprecedented demographic shifts in the past four decades as immigrants stream in from a far wider range of countries than before. Since 1960, the proportion of the foreign-born population more than doubled—from 5.4 percent in 1960 to 12.4 percent in 2006. The Latino population now represents more than half (54 percent) of foreign-born residents, while Asians account for about a quarter (27 percent). Meanwhile, the share of immigrants born in Europe has declined to less than 15 percent compared with averages above 75 percent in the 1960 Census.<sup>1</sup>

Newcomers enter the country through the traditional immigrant gateway cities of New York, Boston, San Francisco, and Chicago. But new gateways have emerged since the 1990s too—among them, greater metropolitan Atlanta, Dallas/Fort Worth, Las Vegas, and Washington, D.C. (Singer 2004).

The Washington, D.C., metropolitan area is becoming a primary immigration destination, ranking eighth among the top immigrant-receiving communities (Singer 2009). Since 2000, the region has received 3.5 percent of all new U.S.-bound immigrants.<sup>2</sup> About 20.5 percent of metropolitan D.C.'s residents are foreign born, compared with 12.5 percent nationwide.<sup>3</sup>

About three-fourths of the D.C. region's foreign born population is either Latino (39.4 percent) or Asian (34.5 percent). More than 145,000 Salvadorans—roughly a third of all the region's Latino immigrants—call the D.C. area home. The next largest groups come from India (63,000), Korea (59,300), Mexico (50,300), Vietnam (46,200), and China (42,000).<sup>4</sup> While African immigrants make up less than 4 percent of the foreign born in the United States, they make up almost 15 percent here.<sup>5</sup>

The Washington, D.C., environs, particularly its outer suburbs, have witnessed dramatic changes in minority populations in recent decades.

Within the District itself, Census data indicate, the foreign-born population has held steady at roughly 12.9 percent since 2000.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, both Arlington County and the city of Alexandria have experienced almost no growth in their foreign-born population, which accounts for a little over a quarter of the population.<sup>7</sup>

However, a very different story is unfolding in Maryland and the outer counties of Northern Virginia. On the Maryland side, the foreign-born population of Prince George's County has grown from 13.8 percent in 2000 to 18.8 percent in 2007 and in Montgomery County from 26.7 percent in 2000 to nearly 29 percent in 2007.<sup>8</sup> In Virginia, 11.5 percent of Prince William County's population was foreign born in 2000, compared with 21.9 percent in 2007.<sup>9</sup> Loudoun County has seen a similar sharp upswing as foreign-born residents increased from 11.3 percent of the total population in 2000 to more than 21 percent in the 2007.<sup>10</sup>

The growth of immigrant populations in Montgomery and Prince George's counties in Maryland and in Prince William and Loudoun counties in Virginia has coincided with the rise in housing prices and cost of living in the District and in the inner suburbs of Arlington and Alexandria. More affordable home prices, job growth, and decentralization have made the region's outer suburbs more affordable than those in the inner core (Singer, Wilson, and DeRenzis 2009).

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These demographic shifts have changed the region's—and the nation's—social, economic, and political landscape. While public discourse and immigration policies have mainly addressed law enforcement and border control, and, to a lesser degree, employment and access to public programs, scant attention has been given to how immigrants weave their way into the civic and political fabric of American life. This study seeks to address this gap.

## The Study's Methodology

This study examines the integration of immigrants in U.S. society through the lens of community-based organizations.<sup>11</sup> Of particular interest is how well CBOs formed by or serving the foreign-born population are helping particular ethnic or national-origin groups<sup>12</sup> enter the mainstream, and how programs, services, and other activities are influenced by the political environment.

### Research Questions

The project looks at

- the number and kinds of immigrant-serving nonprofits in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area;
- programs, services, and other initiatives that help foreign-born individuals and families integrate into society;
- organizational characteristics and capacities that enable immigrant-serving community-based organizations to serve newcomers; and
- the effects of national, state, and local policies on organizational ability and willingness to assist foreign-born populations and encourage their civic and political involvement.

### Selecting the Sample

Because there are no comprehensive lists of immigrant-serving organizations in the D.C. region, a three-step process first used in earlier studies (Cantor and De Vita 2008; Lee and De Vita 2008) was used to create a list. First, a comprehensive list of 501(c)(3) nonprofits in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area was developed<sup>13</sup> using data from the Urban Institute's National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS)—a national repository of non-profit organizations that file with the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS).<sup>14</sup>

Next, the list was refined by searching for organizations that refer to a racial/ethnic group or nationality or that use common racial/ethnic words or phrases in their names or program descriptions, specifically those associated with the region's largest and fastest-growing immigrant populations—specifically Asian; African; and South, Central, and Latin American nations or cultures. In a second pass, organizations whose names and program descriptions did not indicate any services to immigrant and/or ethnic populations were omitted,<sup>15</sup> along with groups that were primarily national or international. The ros-

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ter then was checked against other lists and information obtained from municipal and regional web sites.<sup>16</sup>

The final list of 533 immigrant-serving organizations that register with the IRS includes nonprofits that filed a Form 990 or 990EZ for tax year 2007. These organizations represent a broad cross-section of community-based, immigrant-serving nonprofits in the D.C. metropolitan area (figure 1).

Finally, from this list of 533 nonprofits, interviews were scheduled with 40 organizational leaders representing 34 agencies (appendix A). Best efforts were made to get a variety of organizations by size, program type, location, and racial or ethnic group served. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data and learn about these organizations. Municipal community liaisons of Washington, D.C., and Montgomery County, Maryland, were also consulted for background information on local policies and practices that might affect immigrants and organizations serving them.<sup>17</sup>

## Characteristics of Nonprofits in the Study

Immigrant-serving community-based organizations can be found throughout the D.C. region, though they are concentrated around the District and inner suburbs (figure 1). The largest share (42 percent) is concentrated in Maryland (table 1). About 47 percent of nonprofits that serve mainly Latinos are located in Maryland, while the bulk of Asian/Pacific Islander CBOs is evenly distributed between Maryland and Virginia. Half of those that provide programs and services to African immigrants and 63 percent of those that serve multiple groups can be found in the District (table 2).

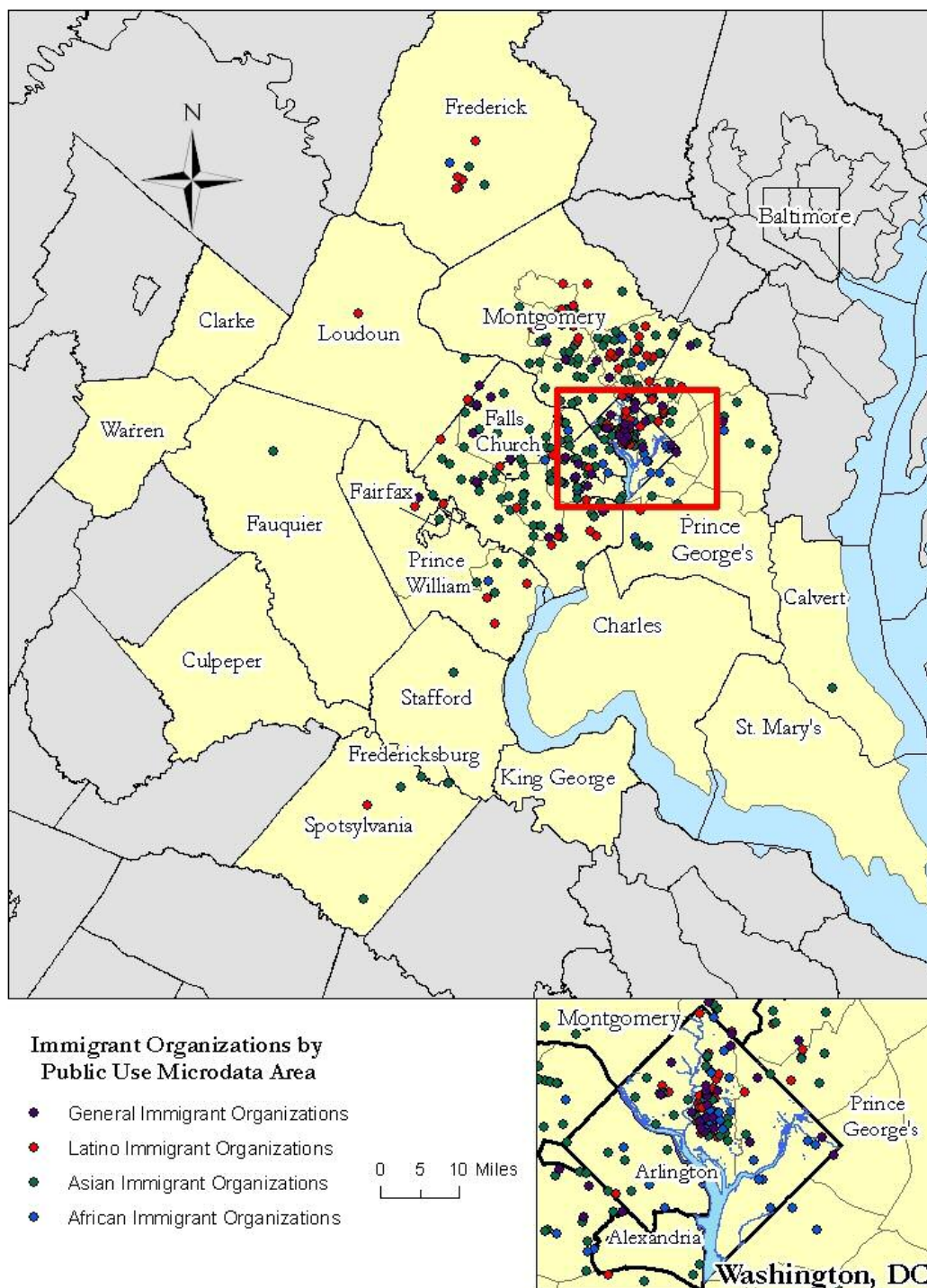
But are nonprofits located where immigrant groups are concentrated? Although a large percentage of Latinos (47 percent) and a majority of Asian/Pacific Islanders (60 percent) live in Virginia, CBOs that serve these groups are mostly clustered in Maryland and the District (appendices C, D, and E). Only 6 percent of Latinos, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and Africans live in Washington, D.C., but 22 percent of organizations that serve them are within city limits (table 3). As discussed later, District nonprofits have the most revenue and resources and those in the outer suburbs have the least.

From this group of metropolitan-area organizations we interviewed leaders of 34 CBOs, including those of the more established and well-known organizations. Although these nonprofits welcome other immigrants, 23 serve mostly Hispanics, 6 have Asian constituencies, 3 mainly focus on Africans, 1 is Turkish, and 1 was established to serve all groups (see appendix A).

Fourteen organizations serve the entire region. Seven CBOs cover only the Northern Virginia area, four encompass Montgomery County, and four serve solely District residents. Another four nonprofits meet the needs of clients in both Washington, D.C., and Montgomery County. One agency serves people in Washington, D.C., and Northern Virginia.

All surveyed organizations were founded in response to social and cultural needs. About two-thirds of them (23 organizations) aim to meet the needs of specific ethnic or racial groups.<sup>18</sup>

**Figure 1. Immigrant-Serving Organizations in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area**



Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008).

**Table 1. Distribution of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits by Region**

| Jurisdiction         | No.        | %          |
|----------------------|------------|------------|
| District of Columbia | 130        | 24         |
| Maryland             | 221        | 42         |
| Virginia             | 182        | 34         |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>533</b> | <b>100</b> |

Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008).

**Table 2. Distribution of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits by Ethnic Group**

| Jurisdiction         | African   |            | Asian/<br>Pacific<br>Islander |            | Latino     |            | Mixed     |            | Other     |            | Total      |            |
|----------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
|                      | No.       | %          | No.                           | %          | No.        | %          | No.       | %          | No.       | %          | No.        | %          |
| District of Columbia | 27        | 51         | 31                            | 11         | 43         | 33         | 15        | 63         | 14        | 27         | 130        | 24         |
| Maryland             | 15        | 28         | 121                           | 44         | 62         | 47         | 3         | 13         | 20        | 39         | 221        | 42         |
| Virginia             | 11        | 21         | 121                           | 44         | 27         | 20         | 6         | 25         | 17        | 33         | 182        | 34         |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>53</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>273</b>                    | <b>100</b> | <b>132</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>24</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>51</b> | <b>100</b> | <b>533</b> | <b>100</b> |

Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008).

Notes: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. Mixed category includes organizations that serve more than one ethnic group. Of the 51 organizations in the other category, 30 are Islamic or Muslim nonprofits.

**Table 3. Distribution of Nonprofits Serving Latinos, Asians, and Africans**

| Jurisdiction             | Latino         |           | Asian/<br>Pacific<br>Islander |           | African        |           | Total          |            |
|--------------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|------------|
|                          | No.            | %         | No.                           | %         | No.            | %         | No.            | %          |
| DC, immigrants           | 35,102         | 4         | 12,181                        | 1         | 10,179         | 1         | 57,462         | 6          |
| DC, nonprofits           | 43             | 9         | 31                            | 7         | 27             | 6         | 101            | 22         |
| MD, immigrants           | 190,513        | 20        | 138,281                       | 14        | 87,464         | 9         | 416,258        | 43         |
| MD, nonprofits           | 62             | 14        | 121                           | 26        | 15             | 3         | 198            | 43         |
| VA, immigrants           | 202,796        | 21        | 221,134                       | 23        | 64,973         | 7         | 488,903        | 51         |
| VA, nonprofits           | 27             | 6         | 121                           | 26        | 11             | 2         | 159            | 35         |
| <b>Total, immigrants</b> | <b>428,411</b> | <b>45</b> | <b>371,596</b>                | <b>39</b> | <b>162,616</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>962,623</b> | <b>100</b> |
| <b>Total, nonprofits</b> | <b>132</b>     | <b>29</b> | <b>273</b>                    | <b>60</b> | <b>53</b>      | <b>12</b> | <b>458</b>     | <b>100</b> |

Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008). Integrated Public Use Microdata Series datasets drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey (2007).

Notes: Nonprofits serving mixed and other groups not included. Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.



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## Organizational Responses to Demographic Shifts

The development of community organizations in the D.C. metropolitan area parallels U.S. immigration history, particularly the history of newcomers settling within the region. A brief glance at demographic shifts and corresponding organizational responses confirms this trend.

After Fidel Castro gained control of Cuba's government in 1959, Cubans started coming to the United States as political refugees. This wave prompted the enactment of the Cuban Refugee Act in 1966,<sup>19</sup> which granted permanent residency to Cubans.

A year earlier, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 also became law,<sup>20</sup> basically ending national quotas on immigrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin, Central, and South America. Another wave of immigrants then came in the latter half of the 1960s. Numerous refugees from Southeast Asia also entered the country during this period and into the 1970s amid the Vietnam War.

The 1980s was a turbulent time in Central and South America. The Sandinistas took power in Nicaragua. "Shining Path" revolutionaries destabilized Peru. The Salvadoran army and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front commenced a civil war. As a response to the upheavals in that part of the world and the new Cuban refugee crisis,<sup>21</sup> the Refugee Act of 1980 was passed.<sup>22</sup> Hundreds of thousands of displaced individuals and families—both legal and illegal—fled northward to the United States.

A decade later, the Immigration Act of 1990 boosted the number of legal residents allowed in the United States per year and expanded the admission of immigrants from regions of the world where visas were not traditionally granted. Soon, refugees fleeing famine, civil wars, and uneven employment in African nations such as Ethiopia, Somalia, and Nigeria entered the United States as legal residents (Arthur 2000).

After September 11, 2001, the United States began restricting immigration, focusing on enforcement and border security. The USA Patriot Act, aimed at stopping potential terrorists, was signed into law six weeks after the attacks.

Organizations we interviewed provide examples of how nonprofits in the area developed throughout these changes, especially during the last 40 years (table 4). A year after the Cuban Refugee Act was legislated, a group of Cuban refugees living throughout Northern Virginia "became convinced of the need to establish an organization that would create programs to ease the difficult process of acculturation and advance social values related to self-reliance and democracy." They incorporated the Committee of the Spanish Speaking Community of Virginia, now called the Hispanic Committee of Virginia. It currently serves mostly Central Americans and promotes microenterprise, economic development, and citizenship.<sup>23</sup>

After the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 prompted substantial migration from Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world, scattered immigrant groups created more organizations within the United States to ease their transition. The American Turkish Association for example, was formed by doctors who came in the late 1960s. It eventually welcomed other Turkish newcomers—engineers, students, entrepreneurs—and now counts blue-collar workers among its ranks.

**Table 4. Distribution of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits by Founding Date and Jurisdiction**

| Founding date | District of Columbia | Maryland   | Virginia   | Total      |
|---------------|----------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Before 1950   | 3                    | 2          | 1          | 6          |
| 1950–59       | 1                    | 2          | 0          | 3          |
| 1960–69       | 7                    | 25         | 13         | 45         |
| 1970–79       | 19                   | 12         | 12         | 43         |
| 1980–89       | 22                   | 33         | 22         | 77         |
| 1990–99       | 47                   | 63         | 64         | 174        |
| 2000–09       | 31                   | 84         | 70         | 185        |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>130</b>           | <b>221</b> | <b>182</b> | <b>533</b> |

*Sources:* The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008).

With the arrival of the first wave of Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian families in the 1970s, Lutheran Social Services of the National Capital Area began providing refugee families with crucial intensive case management and cultural orientation, thereby helping individuals become independent.<sup>24</sup> The organization continues to assist refugees, mostly from war-torn areas in Africa.

As immigrants from Southeast Asia began to settle into the United States, some feared that successive generations might lose their cultural heritage and identity. Beginning in the late 1970s, organizations within the metropolitan region were founded to allay this fear. The Vietnamese Youth Educational Association of Washington, for instance, was established in 1979 to sustain Vietnamese culture and language. The association started with 10 pupils; today over 300 students a year get language instruction.

The Korean community began to grow substantially beginning in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Foley and Hoge 2007). In 1974, the Korean Community Service Center (KCSC) of Greater Washington was established to offer a range of social services and job placement opportunities. Since then, KCSC has broadened the scope of its services to include domestic violence counseling, welfare case management, and youth initiatives.

In 1976, the Ibero-American Chamber of Commerce was created to protect the interests of Portuguese and Spanish immigrant entrepreneurs. It has since changed its name to the Greater Washington Hispanic Chamber to better reflect its current membership of business owners from Latin, Central, and South America.

As the ranks of Salvadoran and other Central American refugees grew in the 1980s, La Clínica del Pueblo opened its doors in 1983 to address the population's growing medical and mental health care needs. For many of these immigrants, cultural and language barriers made getting access to medical care nearly impossible.<sup>25</sup> CASA of Maryland came into being two years later, formed by representatives of various congregations, both Central Americans and native-born U.S. citizens, in response to the needs of thousands of

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Central Americans streaming into the D.C. area.<sup>26</sup> Since then, CASA has expanded to serve all Latinos, has opened satellite offices throughout the region, and has advocated for immigrant rights.

The influx of African immigrants during the 1990s led to the rapid expansion of congregations like Debre Selam Kidist Miriam Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The first point of contact for most newcomers, these congregations provide housing, employment, and educational opportunities.

Local events and demographic changes have also prompted responses from CBOs. After the Mount Pleasant riots of 1991,<sup>27</sup> the Latin Economic Development Corporation was created to increase Latinos' and other immigrants' economic opportunities in greater Washington.<sup>28</sup> When a door-to-door survey revealed that close to 90 percent of Hispanic households lacked health insurance, the Montgomery County Language Minority Health Project launched Proyecto Salud in 1994.<sup>29</sup> Such immigrant-serving CBOs as the Arlington Free Clinic, Asian American LEAD, and Centro Familia also got their start in the 1990s.

These examples highlight how nonprofits have changed with regional demographics and community needs. Some have evolved from all-volunteer groups to professional organizations. Others started as solidarity associations that grew into social service agencies. Some CBOs zeroed in on a particular service area, while others broadened their scope, trying a more holistic approach to meeting the multifaceted needs and problems of immigrant communities.

Every time our patients have presented a new need, we've created a service to meet it, all within the general umbrella of health care. Immediately after we started in 1983, we recognized that we were treating mental health disorders, mostly post-traumatic stress disorder. So we developed mental health services. We then saw our first HIV-positive patient in 1985, so we developed HIV services. Interpreter services just grew out of the need for patients to communicate. As we have stayed true to our patients and as their numbers have grown, so our services have grown. Ours is an opportunistic organization. We are a Band-Aid organization. We see a need, we try to fix it. However I would say that in the last five years, we have made a major shift from being really opportunistic—seeing the need, meeting it—to being more strategic and saying, these are the parameters through which we provide services. These are the goals.

—Executive director of a health center

As table 5 shows, the formation of immigrant-serving nonprofits over time reflects the influx of various racial and ethnic groups as they entered the United States.

## Programs and Services

The 533 organizations identified from the NCCS database make a considerable array of programs and services available to their respective communities. Nonprofits that provide



**Table 5. Distribution of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits by Founding Date and Ethnic Group**

| Founding date | African   | Asian/Pacific<br>Islander | Latino     | Mixed     | Other     | Total      |
|---------------|-----------|---------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Before 1950   | 0         | 1                         | 3          | 2         | 0         | 6          |
| 1950–59       | 0         | 2                         | 0          | 1         | 0         | 3          |
| 1960–69       | 1         | 34                        | 8          | 0         | 2         | 45         |
| 1970–79       | 4         | 23                        | 11         | 2         | 3         | 43         |
| 1980–89       | 7         | 43                        | 13         | 5         | 9         | 77         |
| 1990–99       | 14        | 96                        | 39         | 8         | 17        | 174        |
| 2000–09       | 27        | 74                        | 58         | 6         | 20        | 185        |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>53</b> | <b>273</b>                | <b>132</b> | <b>24</b> | <b>51</b> | <b>533</b> |

Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008).

human services make up 16 percent of the region’s CBOs, while those that promote arts and culture add up to 14 percent of registered nonprofits in the area (tables 6 and 7). Most human service agencies are located in the District and Virginia, while most immigrant congregations and arts and culture organizations are in Maryland and Virginia.

More than half the organizations in the region have religious affiliations. Seventy-six percent of these religion-related nonprofits (212) are congregations that have registered with the IRS,<sup>30</sup> perhaps because churches, mosques, and synagogues perform multiple functions for the immigrant community.

Congregations are often the first and main points of contact for newcomers. They provide a ready-made community with shared religion, language, culture, and norms. Religious community leaders are often keenly aware of newcomers’ needs. They often provide direct services or educate individuals and families about how and where to find help. In

**Table 6. Distribution of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits by Primary Type of Activity and Jurisdiction**

| NTEE category         | District of<br>Columbia | Maryland   | Virginia   | Total      |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Arts and culture      | 20                      | 26         | 28         | 74         |
| Education             | 11                      | 15         | 9          | 35         |
| Human services        | 33                      | 19         | 31         | 83         |
| Civil rights/advocacy | 9                       | 3          | 1          | 13         |
| Religion related      | 35                      | 142        | 103        | 280        |
| Other                 | 22                      | 16         | 10         | 48         |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>130</b>              | <b>221</b> | <b>182</b> | <b>533</b> |

Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008).

**Table 7. Distribution of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits by Primary Type of Activity and Ethnic Group**

| NTEE category         | African   | Asian/Pacific<br>Islander | Latino     | Mixed     | Other     | Total      |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Arts and culture      | 10        | 44                        | 9          | 0         | 11        | 74         |
| Education             | 3         | 19                        | 5          | 4         | 4         | 35         |
| Human services        | 10        | 30                        | 26         | 13        | 4         | 83         |
| Civil rights/advocacy | 0         | 2                         | 6          | 3         | 2         | 13         |
| Religion related      | 21        | 160                       | 72         | 0         | 27        | 280        |
| Other                 | 9         | 18                        | 14         | 4         | 3         | 48         |
| <b>Total</b>          | <b>53</b> | <b>273</b>                | <b>132</b> | <b>24</b> | <b>51</b> | <b>533</b> |

Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008).

this safe environment, immigrants learn from their compatriots about American life and ease into it.

In describing Orthodox Ethiopian churches, Chacko (2003) writes, “The church is not only a locale for religious ceremonies and services, it also provides a venue for meeting far-flung fellow ethnics. The churches also are instrumental in organizing activities for the benefit of the Ethiopian community, including English language classes for new immigrants and native language classes, aimed at second-generation Ethiopians” (2003, 31). This was the case in the Ethiopian church we visited. The program director pointed to a bulletin board with scraps of paper advertising employment opportunities. Congregants post job announcements so new immigrants and fellow churchgoers “can find a job from that notice . . . people who don’t have a job come and see the notice board and some get a job from here.”

Other churches in the metropolitan area may not house immigrant congregations, but they provide services to newcomers. A director of missions described how the growing number of Latino immigrants in the church’s neighborhood motivated members to begin a food distribution program at street corners where day laborers congregated. The outreach program now supports ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) classes, identification-procurement services, and workforce development projects.

Other nonprofits interviewed for our study reflect the various types of immigrant-serving organizations in the D.C. region.

Some CBOs work mainly on health care, with services ranging from clinical care and mental health programs to community health outreach and substance abuse prevention. Many health care nonprofits founded with a clinical specialty have broadened their focus as the immigrant community’s needs have changed. To accommodate the increasing number of immigrants with acute medical needs, one nonprofit opened an acute care clinic to provide “temporary, timely access to care, because our [other] medical clinics were so full that we had very, very little capacity to take on patients that had an acute need,” the nonprofit’s executive director explained.

Other health care nonprofits now provide laboratory services, supporting pharmacy projects and collaborating with private hospitals to treat patients. Despite expanding ser-

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vices, however, the health care directors say they can't keep up with the growing demands of largely uninsured immigrant populations. To provide comprehensive care to the largest number of clients possible without exceeding capacity, some agencies limit care to residents of a particular jurisdiction. A few CBOs we interviewed had resorted to a lottery system to meet overwhelming demand.

Other nonprofits interviewed are dedicated to various social services including housing issues, domestic violence counseling, meal or food distribution, and family resources. A few CBOs in our sample provide financial support services for individuals and business owners, along with community and economic development programs.

While many CBOs are focused on a particular type of program—arts and culture, youth development, employment services, language courses, or legal assistance—most are holistic and multiservice. These nonprofits have, for the most part, expanded services over time to meet the growing or changing needs of new or existing populations.

The director of a youth education CBO said the nonprofit was founded when most Latino immigrants coming to Washington were legal immigrants and professionals who needed help with employment, educational enrichment, and English language skills to prosper in the American economy. The Latino population changed with an influx of Central American refugees in need of distinct, intense services. As this population took root in the community, the nonprofit started programs to meet the newcomers' vastly different needs. "When the Salvadorans started coming in," the CBO director said, "it was about homelessness and post-traumatic stress syndrome and mental health issues. So the organization integrated a lot of that. It changed who we were, because we began to really beef up our human services, social services, and residential work." Increased crime and gang violence compelled the nonprofit to broaden its services and get involved in youth outreach.

## **Clients, Patrons, and Constituents**

Nonprofits serve a wide range and number of constituents. The organizations in our sample provide programs and services for immigrants from diverse backgrounds and cultures: Africans, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and Latinos; first and second generations; children, youth, adults, and the elderly; day laborers, students, professionals, and business owners; documented and undocumented; naturalized citizens and newly arrived individuals and families. Some of the CBOs interviewed serve less than 100 annually, while others serve more than 10,000, depending on available funds and the types of services offered.

Not surprisingly, nonprofits serving fewer than 100 people per year have drastically smaller budgets than CBOs with larger constituencies. Organizations serving populations of several thousand clients have larger reserves to draw upon, with annual budgets exceeding \$10 million. Of the 12 agencies serving more than 1,000 clients, only 2 organizations had operating budgets under \$1 million.

Budgets vary with the types of services provided to individuals and families. Complex programs such as medical care and domestic abuse survivor networks demand significant

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resources per client. In contrast, programs with small budgets may serve larger populations if the services they provide—for example, meals, clothing, and some basic referral services—are less expensive.

## **Community Outreach**

Nonprofits interviewed for our study overwhelmingly rely on word of mouth and capitalize on their reputations to reach the populations they serve. Many nonprofits in our sample use local and ethnic media, and occasionally mainstream media, to publicize their services. These organizations also enlist other agencies, schools, law enforcement, hospitals, churches, and neighborhood associations to promote programs. Far fewer groups publicize themselves at community events such as health fairs and cultural festivals or by giving presentations to constituent populations. Few nonprofits produce and distribute their own publicity materials, newsletters, or brochures. Although most of the organizations we sampled have web sites, they did not report a heavy reliance on the Internet for outreach activities. Only a few organizations use digital formats like e-mail listservs or social networking sites to reach desired audiences. Only a handful of CBOs disseminate flyers or posters to encourage support for their programs and services.

Immigrant-serving groups in our study described similar barriers in reaching individuals and families. One emerging challenge is the migratory nature of newcomers. Some nonprofits acknowledged that a growing percentage of their core populations have moved outside their jurisdictions and cannot be reached through word of mouth and canvassing. Some constituents may have little to no information about what these nonprofits do. Language proficiency is also an ongoing concern, particularly for nonprofits branching out to help individuals outside their core constituencies or for those located in neighborhoods where the immigrant population is changing.

## **Staff and Volunteers**

Among the organizations we interviewed, a small percentage has completely volunteer staff. Most of these organizations rely on paid staff to accomplish their missions and provide services. About a third of these CBOs have fewer than 10 employees, another third have between 10 and 60 people on their staff, and the final third have more than 60 employees. Only five CBOs have more than 100 employees.

Agencies that supplement their staff with volunteers do so in varying degrees. Most reported fewer than 50 volunteers, with a handful using fewer than 10 volunteers. Other CBOs counted between 50 and 100 volunteers working in various programs. Only a few have more than 100 volunteers, with one agency identifying more than 1,000.

Our interviews suggest that nonprofits with larger staff tend to have fewer volunteers. Several organizations with large staff had no volunteers at all. In contrast, several leaders of small-budget CBOs could not hire additional staff and relied on volunteers to provide key services such as language curricula and citizenship classes.

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In their discussion of social capital, Boris and Steuerle (2006) highlight the importance of volunteer labor in supporting the work performed by community nonprofits. In addition to fundamental roles as board members, advocates, and fundraisers, volunteers provide “expertise from business, government, and the community” (20) to support the program objectives of the organization. Boris and Steuerle note that “volunteers enhance civic engagement and spread expertise; people of various backgrounds learn about the needs of their communities and others, and act together to solve them” (2006, 20).

The boards of immigrant-serving nonprofits we interviewed range in size from 8 to 30 individuals. Some have community members sitting on their boards, and a few include one or two constituents. A couple of interviewed CBO leaders reported ethnic and occupational diversity among board members. One Latino agency counts day laborers, steelworkers, and professionals among its members. These women and men bring to the table varied backgrounds and expertise that help guide and strengthen CBOs.

Volunteer expertise is seen as crucial to many of the immigrant-serving nonprofits in our sample. Several executive directors said volunteers provide services above and beyond what they could afford on limited resources. Volunteers are also a fixture of well-established immigrant-serving nonprofits with close connections with the community. An educational nonprofit we interviewed has a comprehensive alumni network and recruits former students to teach courses or provide key support services as volunteers.

Some nonprofits, particularly those better at accessing public and private funds, recruit volunteers by expanding existing programs or extending services into new areas. Larger programs require additional manpower, while initiatives in new locations can attract new volunteers. For instance, a major nonprofit receives government grants to perform health outreach in the community. By promoting its programs and providing instructional trainings in surrounding neighborhoods, the nonprofit gains credibility among residents, some of whom subsequently volunteer to help extend health outreach to a larger swath of the community.

Organizational leaders we interviewed also indicated that volunteers often provide services that mirror their professional backgrounds, such as teachers who teach ESOL and citizenship courses; IT professionals who maintain web sites, improve network access, and instruct computer courses; or nurses who volunteer at free clinics and community outreach events. A nonprofit director mentioned that among the hundreds of volunteers working at her clinic is a volunteer base of “anesthesiologists, pathologists, radiologists . . . 70 to 75 physicians” who provide patrons with specialized health care services.

Volunteers benefit from their time, interviewed leaders said, because they receive valuable training that can translate into skills for future employment. Nonprofit leaders described how staff members began their careers as volunteers but eventually worked their way up as managers and executive directors in the organization. In one instance, a woman began donating her time when the organization was just starting, lacked a budget, and was functioning out of a living room. She persevered with the CBO and now manages its school program. Another nonprofit we interviewed provides immigrants with

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volunteer teaching positions. Over time, these volunteers accrue the necessary credit hours to become certified professional teachers and find employment either within the organization or in other educational agencies. The director said:

Many of the women and a few of the men who run our infants and toddlers and early childhood programs were folks who started as parents with kids in these programs. They have managed to become child care professionals themselves. That ties into our very strong belief that if parents and families don't have a strong economic base, it doesn't matter what else we do. Economic well-being has become another leg of our work. Economic well-being comes from parents having solid employment with benefits and rights.

Another immigrant-serving organization that fosters economic and community development offers its volunteers peer-to-peer education and professional mentorship programs so they can secure employment in the financial and banking sectors.

Some nonprofits in our study have few or no volunteers, often because volunteers do not have the training or background to perform certain specialized services. These CBOs are therefore unable to fill critical positions with volunteers. An executive director explained that "we don't have a lot of volunteers because our work is in schools and in a correctional facility. It's very difficult to find volunteers that fit into that kind of programming." Another director said that she cannot accept the assistance of volunteer doctors at her clinic because of federal regulations regarding health care. "As a federally qualified health center," she said, "it's extremely difficult to have volunteer doctors because of the way that federal malpractice covers us."

## Organizational Leaders

Among nonprofit leaders we interviewed, two-thirds have led their organization for less than 10 years. Two individuals from this cohort founded their agencies in response to a need they had identified in their communities. A few in this group took over the reins from founders. Another 15 percent of leaders have led their nonprofits for 10 to 20 years, and the remaining 15 percent have served as leaders for over 20 years. Six of the leaders interviewed were the CBOs' founders.

Leaders of immigrant-serving nonprofits are viewed by their constituents and the community as legitimate representatives, equipped to speak on behalf of the people they serve with elected officials, government administrators, the wider immigrant community, and the public in general. A majority of those we interviewed are immigrants, children of immigrants, or members of a racial or ethnic minority. Some are nonimmigrants who have chosen to work with newcomers. They report being attuned to the needs and concerns of their constituents, allowing them to deliver programs and services sensitive to and consistent with cultural norms; giving them credibility with the people they serve; and fueling their passion and commitment to their work and their communities.



## Finances

The organizations we identified through the NCCS database report a range of budgets. Those that serve multiple groups have the largest average budgets (in terms of revenue and expenditures), followed by Latino CBOs. Although organizations that serve Asians and Pacific Islanders are the most numerous, they have the lowest average and median budgets. However, it must be noted that among African-serving organizations, which have higher average budgets than those serving Asians and Pacific Islanders, one African non-profit has revenues exceeding \$1 million (table 8).

CBOs located in Washington, D.C., report considerably higher average and median budgets than those in Virginia and Maryland, with revenues nearly double the average of Virginia organizations and triple the average of Maryland nonprofits. Revenue for all organizations within the metropolitan region is acquired mainly from private contributions, government grants, and program service revenue. Revenue from membership dues is comparatively minimal (table 9).

Budgets of immigrant-serving organizations in the metropolitan region are greatly affected by available revenue streams that vary among the different jurisdictions. As table 9 demonstrates, nonprofits in the District and the inner suburbs of Virginia report considerably more total revenue than CBOs in Maryland or the outer counties of Virginia. Organizations in the District reported the most revenue (\$152 million). Private contributions accounted for 36.2 percent, government grants for 30.0 percent, and program service revenue for 28.1 percent. The inner suburban counties of Fairfax, Alexandria, and Arlington, Virginia, have the next highest total revenue. CBOs in these counties receive 45.1 percent of their revenue in the form of government grants but also receive 36.1 percent from private contributions. Only 13.0 percent comes from program service revenue.

**Table 8. Financial Measures of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits in the D.C. Metropolitan Area**

| Characteristic         | Number     | Total Revenue (\$) |                | Total Expenditure (\$) |                | Net Assets (\$)  |               |
|------------------------|------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|
|                        |            | Average            | Median         | Average                | Median         | Average          | Median        |
| African                | 16         | 914,202            | 94,936         | 891,167                | 103,291        | 307,574          | 19,651        |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 82         | 225,095            | 94,510         | 197,585                | 70,812         | 188,388          | 50,691        |
| Latino                 | 50         | 2,672,295          | 952,387        | 2,575,458              | 744,841        | 1,557,584        | 374,038       |
| Mixed                  | 21         | 3,250,988          | 1,604,293      | 2,809,541              | 1,533,785      | 3,699,838        | 522,461       |
| Other                  | 18         | 850,782            | 402,312        | 702,145                | 317,661        | 4,467,125        | 282,766       |
| District of Columbia   | 73         | 2,080,678          | 561,395        | 2,014,064              | 533,387        | 1,662,869        | 316,177       |
| Maryland               | 56         | 661,191            | 94,510         | 489,958                | 77,876         | 1,244,307        | 71,339        |
| Virginia               | 58         | 1,184,707          | 185,059        | 1,088,082              | 152,950        | 433,644          | 76,855        |
| <b>All nonprofits</b>  | <b>187</b> | <b>1,296,681</b>   | <b>185,623</b> | <b>1,199,907</b>       | <b>156,872</b> | <b>1,115,800</b> | <b>90,610</b> |

Source: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File (Public Charities, circa 2007).

Note: Only 187 of the 533 organizations filed a Form 990 or Form 990EZ during circa year 2007. As a result, financial information is only available on these 187 organizations.

**Table 9. Revenue Sources of Immigrant-Serving Nonprofits in the D.C. Metropolitan Area**

| Region                 | No. | Total<br>Revenue (\$) | Percent of Total Revenue |                      |                               |      |                  |
|------------------------|-----|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|------|------------------|
|                        |     |                       | Private<br>contributions | Government<br>grants | Program<br>service<br>revenue | Dues | Other<br>sources |
| District of Columbia   |     |                       |                          |                      |                               |      |                  |
| African                | 7   | 1,393,508             | 47.7                     | 12.2                 | 13.1                          | 5.8  | 21.2             |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 12  | 7,745,675             | 73.4                     | 21.4                 | 2.3                           | 0.4  | 2.4              |
| Latino                 | 33  | 104,344,476           | 30.1                     | 36.8                 | 28.9                          | 0.2  | 4.1              |
| Mixed                  | 12  | 34,581,449            | 48.0                     | 14.9                 | 34.8                          | 0.0  | 2.3              |
| Other                  | 4   | 3,543,047             | 13.3                     | 6.0                  | 3.7                           | 1.9  | 75.2             |
| Total                  | 68  | 151,608,155           | 36.2                     | 30.0                 | 28.1                          | 0.2  | 5.4              |
| Maryland               |     |                       |                          |                      |                               |      |                  |
| African                | 2   | 144,209               | 100.0                    | 0.0                  | 0.0                           | 0.0  | 0.0              |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 25  | 5,512,274             | 40.3                     | 24.3                 | 31.3                          | 1.1  | 3.0              |
| Latino                 | 5   | 8,438,667             | 37.9                     | 27.8                 | 29.4                          | 4.3  | 0.6              |
| Mixed                  | 2   | 19,025,716            | 51.6                     | 12.1                 | 19.3                          | 0.1  | 16.9             |
| Other                  | 5   | 3,009,186             | 75.9                     | 1.1                  | 20.2                          | 0.2  | 2.6              |
| Total                  | 39  | 36,130,052            | 48.9                     | 16.6                 | 23.5                          | 1.2  | 9.7              |
| Inner Virginia suburbs |     |                       |                          |                      |                               |      |                  |
| African                | 2   | 12,655,645            | 41.0                     | 54.5                 | 1.6                           | 0.0  | 2.8              |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 25  | 3,988,782             | 41.8                     | 21.0                 | 31.4                          | 0.5  | 5.3              |
| Latino                 | 5   | 20,465,843            | 36.4                     | 43.8                 | 15.2                          | 0.0  | 4.6              |
| Mixed                  | 6   | 14,618,258            | 30.1                     | 46.1                 | 13.6                          | 0.0  | 10.2             |
| Other                  | 3   | 239,637               | 20.5                     | 0.0                  | 79.2                          | 0.0  | 0.3              |
| Total                  | 41  | 51,968,165            | 36.1                     | 45.1                 | 13.0                          | 0.0  | 5.8              |
| Outer Virginia suburbs |     |                       |                          |                      |                               |      |                  |
| African                | 0   | 0                     | n.a.                     | n.a.                 | n.a.                          | n.a. | n.a.             |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 4   | 460,617               | 91.5                     | 0.0                  | 5.6                           | 0.0  | 2.9              |
| Latino                 | 1   | 71,612                | 100.0                    | 0.0                  | 0.0                           | 0.0  | 0.0              |
| Mixed                  | 0   | 0                     | n.a.                     | n.a.                 | n.a.                          | n.a. | n.a.             |
| Other                  | 1   | 489,064               | 17.8                     | 0.0                  | 82.2                          | 0.0  | 0.0              |
| Total                  | 6   | 1,021,293             | 56.8                     | 0.0                  | 41.9                          | 0.0  | 1.3              |
| Overall total          | 154 | 240,727,665           | 38.2                     | 31.2                 | 24.2                          | 0.3  | 6.1              |

Source: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File (Public Charities, 2007).

Note: Only 154 of the 533 organizations filed a Form 990, which contains more detailed information on sources of revenue for circa year 2007.



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In contrast, nonprofits in Maryland show considerably less nonprofit revenue totaling about \$36 million. This revenue is generated primarily from program services (23.5 percent) and private contributions (48.9 percent). Government grants are significantly less (16.6 percent). Well behind Maryland, the outer Virginia suburbs report six nonprofits with average revenue of \$1 million coming primarily from private contributions.

Compared with the entire nonprofit sector (i.e., all types and sizes of registered organizations except hospitals and higher education institutions) in the D.C. region, immigrant-serving CBOs in the area rely more heavily on private contributions and government grants and less on program service revenue. In the entire D.C. region, the nonprofit sector receives 30.8 percent of its revenue from private contributions and 20.4 percent from government grants. In contrast, immigrant nonprofits report 38.2 percent and 31.2 percent respectively from these sources. Immigrant-serving organizations generate 24.2 of their total revenue from program and service fees, compared with 32.7 percent for all nonprofits in the D.C. region. The region's reliance on various types of resources is similar to that of the nation. Nationwide, 23.3 percent of nonprofit revenue comes from private contributions, 17 percent from government grants, and 53.6 percent from fees for services and goods (Wing, Pollak, and Blackwood 2008).

Although the percentage of private contributions is higher in Maryland than in the District and Virginia's inner suburbs, the latter two jurisdictions have relatively more in government grants to support organizations than do Maryland neighbors and the outer counties of Virginia. Organizations in the District that filed Forms 990 received 30 percent of their annual income from government grants. Among CBOs in Virginia's inner counties, this number was considerably higher at 45 percent of total revenue. In Maryland, only 16.6 percent of nonprofits' total revenue came from government sources. This number drops to almost zero for the few organizations in Loudoun and Prince William counties.

The differences in total revenue and government support of nonprofits may help explain why nonprofits in the outer areas of Virginia and the southern counties of Maryland are less able to support the burgeoning number of immigrants in their jurisdictions while organizations in the District and Virginia's inner counties are somewhat better able to address immigrant needs.

Based on our conversations with nonprofit leaders, it appears that the District and Virginia's inner counties have well-established networks for immigrant groups. These areas provide tailored services for immigrants, have government resources available to immigrants, and have well-established nonprofits with access to government funding and grants. In contrast, most CBOs in Maryland and Virginia's outer counties have fewer funds and little government funding, and lack the breadth and depth of services needed by immigrant populations moving into these jurisdictions. Furthermore, government agencies that address immigrant needs and concerns are lacking, and where these agencies do exist, they have yet to develop relationships with immigrant and ethnic populations. The availability of resources and support in the District and Virginia's inner counties therefore attracts immigrant individuals and families from jurisdictions where basic services are not available.

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Looking at budgets, a few organizations we interviewed have less than \$100,000 for programs and services. About half the organizations have budgets that fall between \$100,000 and \$1 million, and slightly less than half have budgets between \$1.1 and \$17 million.

About half the CBOs interviewed rely on government as their largest source of funding. Most rely on local government, but a few cite state and federal government as their major sources of support. It is not known how much of the funding from local government is passed through from state or federal government programs. Far fewer CBOs rely on either foundations or private donations as their major source of support. Some organizations receive additional revenue in the form of fees for service, but this generally accounts for less than 15 percent of their budget, and interviews emphasized the role of foundations, major donations, or government grants in providing for most of CBOs' economic needs.

Interviews suggest that metropolitan-area nonprofits have been affected by the economic downturn. In terms of funding, two in five respondents report being negatively affected. Although one-third of interviewed nonprofits state that the recession currently has no impact on program and service delivery, they are nonetheless monitoring revenue streams closely, anticipating funder cutbacks. While we do not know the economic impact on smaller nonprofits that rely more on private donations, we can assume that they too are adversely affected because individual giving is affected by the recession.

In terms of demand, most nonprofits have seen a rise in need for services. One organization reported a dramatic 200 to 300 percent increase in demand for legal assistance. There is also a marked increase in demand for employment and ESOL programs as people lose their livelihoods, especially those working in construction and the service industries. Job losses have also resulted in greater demand for health care and other social services such as food and housing. Among CBOs that charge fees for services, they have noticed that more clients are unable to pay. There is also concern that CBOs will not be able to meet a rising demand for services as funders and donors scale back and give less. Sustainability amid increasing demand remains a cause for concern for most respondents.

## Nonprofits and Integration

Research suggests that immigrant-serving community-based organizations “play a central role during all parts of the immigration process and in the social, cultural, political, and economic” integration of newcomers (Cordero-Guzman 2005, 889). At the outset, these agencies help individuals and families find a community; achieve economic stability and self-sufficiency; learn and respect a new social and political system; and become legal permanent residents or citizens. In the long run, CBOs ease cultural and language incorporation while maintaining ethnic identity and solidarity, which are crucial to empowering newcomers to secure their place in American society (Fix 2007; Newland, Tanaka, and Barber 2007).

Our interviews suggest that nonprofits help immigrants integrate into U.S. society in at least three ways. First, nonprofits facilitate incorporation by providing a place where newcomers interact and receive assistance from people who look like them, speak their

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language, and understand their ways and norms. At the very least, immigrants can expect to deal with individuals with whom they can converse and from whom they might receive empathy and understanding. This is the case with a free clinic which, according to its director, has become more culturally sensitive as it sees more individuals from all over the world. In particular, the staff of the clinic “learned and benefited from” serving women from the Middle East and Africa, who prefer dealing with female rather than male health practitioners.

Individuals and families can receive assistance with their immediate needs—employment, housing, health care, legal assistance—within these safe environments. Programs and services also tend to be holistic because newcomers’ needs and issues are multiple and interconnected. Immigrant children’s needs are especially complex and are often intertwined with issues faced by the parents. A director of a youth agency shared stories of young adults who have run to them for help after parents have been arrested and threatened with deportation.

Second, immigrant-serving organizations teach newcomers how to navigate life in their adopted country. As a respondent explained, “Immigrants learn how things work in the United States.” This includes everyday tasks such as setting up bank accounts, making and keeping medical appointments, or setting up a small business, as well as more daunting challenges like raising children who are exposed to the culture and norms of both their parents and their American peers.

Part of [immigrant incorporation] is teaching families about basic things, like the fact that education in this country is very different. In many countries of South America, education is a privilege, not a right. And so, many, many families, if they feel like sending kids to school today, then sure; and if not, then not. We’re teaching a whole different way of how education works. Although people come here to have a better education, they don’t recognize that it’s not about when you want to send your child to school. It is really teaching the process and talking through it, and sometimes going to the school yourself and meeting with teachers and school administrators. We felt very strongly that if we are going to change the community overnight, we need to make sure that they become civic participants in this community. One place where they can really start and they can legally do it is in the school system. Because this city, this country, allows anybody, any child to go to school regardless of their documentation, and that is one place where parents can really do a lot. We can teach parents how they can become involved.

—An executive director on fostering immigrant incorporation

Finally, as immigrants gain a foothold and some measure of economic and social stability, CBOs educate and empower newcomers to work for their place in American society by encouraging them to participate in their communities and in securing political rights. Participation in associations can have positive developmental effects. It can

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increase people's sense of efficacy, provide them with political information, imbue them with political skills, develop their civic virtues, and teach them to be critical (Warren 2001). Some CBOs we interviewed encourage their constituents to appear before city councils to raise their concerns and advocate for themselves. One organization's goal in particular is to educate immigrant youth about their civic responsibilities.

## Civic Engagement

A significant aspect of immigrant integration is civic participation and advocacy. Newcomers are often supported by individuals and groups speaking on their behalf, promoting their cause, and ensuring their share of limited public resources. As Boris and Krehely note in *The State of Nonprofit America*, "among the roles that nonprofit organizations play in American life, few are as important as their role as structures for individuals to participate in civic life . . . through associations, people interact, build organizational skills, and create networks of trust and affiliation—the social capital—that enable them to work together to solve community problems, promote causes, and seek redress or change through the policy process" (1997, 300).

Historically, minority populations have founded nonprofits that reflect their increasing empowerment and engagement in civic and political life (Hung 2007), a response to the diminished availability of affordable housing, sometimes-limited employment opportunities, and the precarious nature of social services for ethnic minorities (Theodore and Martin 2007). Theodore and Martin acknowledge the growth of this "migrant civil society," which incorporates "community organizations, social movements, hometown associations, churches and faith-based organizations, social clubs and other organized groups that represent the interests of migrants and operate between markets, households, and the state" (2007, 271) to address many of the disparities encountered by new waves of immigrants.

The lack of access to housing, employment, and other basic services has not only fostered a growth of social service organizations but also caused many community-based organizations to emerge as proponents of this immigrant underclass through civic engagement and mass mobilization efforts. These CBOs are uniquely positioned to represent their constituents and propose policy and programmatic responses, being attuned to the needs and concerns of individuals and families (Cordero-Guzman 2008). The director of an organization that provides comprehensive services—legal, health, employment, education, and others—stresses the importance of developing civic participation as well as providing core services for his constituency. He explains that advocacy "is part of our integration approach. We believe that as much as you give opportunities to people to participate in our civil society, they are going to be more engaged, and they are going to give more to this society. So to us, it's so essential."

Civic participation takes various forms within the Washington metropolitan area and among immigrant-serving nonprofits. Legislative advocacy is part of civic engagement efforts, with some CBOs helping constituents find their political voice. One youth devel-

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opment organization we spoke with encourages young people to represent themselves, their families, and their communities at the legislative level. Its executive director told us,

when this whole issue of high school assessment tests as a requirement to obtaining their diploma in Maryland came about, we worked very long hours with young people to teach them, to educate them about this issue, and then they prepared testimony and went out to many different sites to advocate . . . and the kids went out and spoke about their situations and their friends' situations and why they thought this was going to negatively impact many minority students. So I think they did great advocacy work around that.

Several organizations also encourage immigrants to enroll in citizenship programs so they can eventually participate in the electoral process. As one nonprofit leader mentioned, "We have a strong component of helping people become new citizens . . . and what we call good U.S. citizens, because we don't want people to feel like 'I'm just a citizen,' and that's it. We believe that to become a really good citizen, you need to participate civically by registering to vote, participating in elections, and all of that."

Other organizations incorporate advocacy through programs intended for their core population. Often these develop over time and change with the shifting needs of the nonprofit or its constituency. One Washington-based nonprofit organized a women's sexual health project, but the executive director "recognized that 80 percent of the women involved had experienced domestic violence at some point . . . so we started to develop domestic violence advocacy as a result of it . . . not just sexual health, but women's empowerment, women's identity, women's voices, and [we] developed this extraordinary group of leaders, of women who were unafraid to talk about their experiences, women who were organizing vigils and annual domestic violence marches, and women who were able to start leading programs that we were doing and take that advocacy to a grander scale."

## **Leadership and Political Participation**

Several organizational leaders in our sample, particularly in the Latino community, report playing an advocacy role on behalf of their organizations. They explained that they do most direct advocacy-related activities themselves, often on their own time and using social capital within their networks, rather than relying on their organizations and staff.

CBO leaders we interviewed are also ardent and committed voices for the racial or ethnic group they serve. They want to keep their constituents' needs and issues in front of policymakers and other stakeholders. Although they have many responsibilities and demands associated with managing their organizations, these leaders make time to speak with and educate elected officials, media, the wider community, and other advocates.

This was apparent when leaders were asked about their personal interactions with government. The interviews revealed a considerable amount of political and community participation. For example, a majority of leaders have met with government officials within the previous year to discuss obtaining grants or work relevant to the organizations' community. Others interact with government officials through coalition or committee

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meetings. Most nonprofits take part in a planning or advisory group that includes government officials or participate in state, local, or federal government hearings. Many others respond to requests for information from government agencies or legislators. A handful of organizations release research reports to the media, the public, or the government. Far fewer CBOs engage their constituencies in lobbying campaigns or have actively lobbied over the last year. Very few nonprofits encourage people to write, call, fax, or e-mail the government regarding a specific issue or to participate in rallies or demonstrations. Even among the nonprofits involved in rallies, lobbying, or letter-writing campaigns, direct advocacy was infrequent. Through formal and informal channels, many organizational heads advocate for their constituents.

[My organization has] an alumni association that has already linked over 60,000 students who have come through this school. Why am I doing that? Let me tell you why. This school, even though it excels in everything, it's adult education for immigrants and is always in danger. So, politically, you have to be really, really very active out there . . . advocacy, so I'm the one that does that. For that, everybody knows me. Nobody else wants to do that. All right, if you don't want to do it, fine. Then I'm going to do my own, I'm going to train my own, so the day I leave, they are really a political force behind it . . . I have a strong advocacy group that's going to protect this school.

—Founder of a highly successful school

Notwithstanding organization leaders who actively advocate on behalf of their communities and nonprofits, many are clear that their missions and mandates come first. The executive director of a community center said, "Because we are a service delivery organization, I always focus on service delivery. Although more and more there is an advocacy part, mainly because a lot of people come to me and ask for my opinion about youth development, we are primarily not an advocacy or policy organization. I do see the need for it but there are other organizations whose main role is advocacy or policy." Others expressly stated that they do not involve themselves or their organizations in any manner of advocacy whatsoever. On the whole, 8 percent of all organizations we interviewed do no advocacy.

### **Coalitions and Political Participation**

An avenue for nonprofit advocacy is through coalitions. Boris and Krehely (1997) note that coalitions "shield organizations from unwanted exposure, leverage scarce resources, and mobilize significant cross-sector constituencies" including business, labor, and other nonprofit agencies while providing a larger platform for organizations to engage in regional or national policy debates.

Interviews indicated that many nonprofit organizations do not have the capacity, resources, or opportunity to participate in direct advocacy. Although one nonprofit executive admits that her organization was heavily involved in advocacy work, "at some



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point, services began to get in the way. You know, you got so busy providing services, that your advocacy work was less intensive. But I think all of us, and particularly me, I don't know about anybody else, but we understand that we can never let up on the advocacy because as soon as we do, we're dead." As such, to engage in advocacy without exceeding their organizations' capacity, many interviewed nonprofits involve themselves with coalitions.

Several nonprofit directors mentioned that they have gained credibility and seen legislatures become more receptive to their minority constituencies through the effective mobilizing of coalitions. As one executive director emphasized, "We get a united voice [through coalitions] . . . [We] become stronger and can more clearly articulate our issues and concerns to the powers that be." Many immigrant-serving nonprofits indicate the value of coalitions to push a policy agenda, but they also stress that coalitions provide opportunities to pool resources, forge partnerships, and share innovative programming ideas with other nonprofits. Another director notes, "We can't work in silos. We have to work on a more broad level . . . and you get creative minds working together around a table, and you come up with some really fantastic concepts and ideas. And that was always very exciting personally to me, so that's why I do that."

Most of the organizations interviewed are affiliated with coalitions—all but five are active in coalitions. Most nonprofits are members of regional or local coalitions, which focus on community concerns or particular social service issues. Among those that participate in regional coalitions, some are involved in regional roundtables, a few have ties with health care coalitions and interfaith networks, and others are involved in regional associations tied to core missions or programs (e.g., domestic violence prevention coalitions, legal services, economic development). Although interviews emphasized participation in regional coalitions where organizational leaders have a larger role in influencing policy, some nonprofits showed less interest in national coalition building because their role is smaller and they feel marginalized by national organizations. As one nonprofit executive explained,

National coalitions always tend to cut the agenda. You're sort of an afterthought. And it's not a very welcoming way to reach out to someone. Someone's already set the agenda, and then you're invited to just mobilize constituents rather than first being asked about your perspective and then talk about mobilizing. So just being called to come and bring bodies is not encouraging . . . we have a lot of other things to do.

Only a third of those we interviewed had membership in national coalitions. Among CBOs that are affiliates of national coalitions, six state direct involvement in the immigration reform debate through mainstream advocacy organizations such as the National Council of La Raza and NALACC (National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities). An additional four nonprofits belong to national advocacy organizations lobbying for their specific area of focus. Interviews suggested that these nonprofit directors were more concerned with their issue area, such as health care, economic development, and community asset building, than with national immigration policy.

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Immigrant-serving nonprofits also collaborate with other groups in their geographic area. Most of these relationships involve referrals to one another but also, to a lesser extent, programmatic partnerships and grant collaboration. On the whole, nearly half of the interviewed organizations interact with other agencies for referrals. The organizational leader of an area clinic described the importance of referrals to get basic services to immigrants who would otherwise be left without medical care. “We get a number of people from the hospital, which is an increasing problem for us, because they have to wait a very long time to get in, and by then, they’ve become desperately sick. And when they come out, they don’t have a family physician. They don’t have a medical home, so they are referred to us.” Far less prevalent are cases of smaller CBOs that capitalize on the reputation of larger nonprofits to access funding. One executive director mentioned that her organization partners with another, larger nonprofit providing HIV services to immigrant populations. Because the partner organization has greater clout with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, they have easier access to federal funding, but they lack the professional background to provide HIV education, counseling, and testing. In a mutually beneficial partnership, the interviewed nonprofit collaborates with the larger nonprofit to successfully administer the health-related campaign and receive some portion of the financing as a subcontractor.

### **Ethnic/Racial Groups and Political Participation**

The commitment and longevity of organizational and community leaders are key elements in promoting any immigrant group’s interests. The Latino community, for instance, has a long history of political involvement within the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, and a few of their more visible representatives are leaders of CBOs. This gives them access to elected officials and helps them secure resources for their organizations. As the executive director of a Latino group points out, Latino immigrants, unlike other immigrants in the area, benefit from “three generations of organizations in our community.” Today, there are “five or six [organizations] that are really strong” and well established in the region. These Latino nonprofits have the networks, size, and influence to compete successfully for and demand resources for their communities and constituents.

In contrast, Asian and African communities are newer, less engaged, and lack long-established leaders who spearhead and encourage participation and advocacy. This may be the result of cultural differences, an idea a few of those interviewed suggested. Interviewees posit that compared with Latinos, Asians tend to be deferential to authority and are thus reticent to demand anything of elected officials, government agents, and government in general. An interviewee pointed to the Confucian heritage shared by many Asian cultures that tends to be hierarchical and puts the common good above an individual’s needs. Many African and Asian immigrants come from countries that do not encourage citizen participation, with some having lived through repressive regimes that instilled fear and distrust of government and its representatives.

Discussing the disadvantages faced by the Korean community in her jurisdiction, a government community liaison commented, “There are only three people in that com-



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munity who serve as cultural brokers. The majority of them are quite isolated . . . when things come up, they have to rely on the one or two people to be the bridge, to be their voices.” This situation also is true of the Vietnamese community. According to a Vietnamese nonprofit director, the Vietnamese community has no leader that deals with politicians.

This is exacerbated by the lack of a philanthropic tradition among many Asian and Pacific Islander cultures, as pointed out by an Asian executive director and community activist. She explained that individuals consider it their duty to come to the aid of their family and clan members but not necessarily their coethnics. She finds herself having to educate her community about American-style philanthropy and articulating why they need to financially support nonprofit organizations like hers.

Latinos also form the largest minority population in the United States while sharing a language and related culture, which makes delivering services and mobilizing easier. This advantage is not lost on an Asian executive director who, referring to the Asian community, said, “We have so many different languages—it’s difficult, unlike the Latinos who can easily talk to one another.” In addition, Latinos have been part of the national fabric longer than other groups that have only recently arrived. A community liaison officer explains, “The Asian American community, just like the Middle Eastern community, is still too new to have mature advocacy machines, and the cultural heritage sort of holds them back from speaking up. It’s a pretty quiet community. Political advocacy is just not in their blood . . . they just want to live a good life and be good citizens.”<sup>31</sup>

The cultural, historical, and demographic advantages of Latino immigrants might explain the disparity between the budgets of Latino organizations and Asian/Pacific Islander and African organizations. Although there are more Asian/Pacific Islander-serving nonprofits than Latino-serving ones, the average revenue for the latter is \$2.7 million while for Asian/Pacific Islander CBOs, it is \$225,095 (table 8). This may also account for the large percentage of congregations serving Africans and Asians and Pacific Islanders—39 percent and 59 percent, respectively (table 7). Congregations tend to provide social programs alongside religious services.

## Political Environment

The importance of advocacy by CBOs, their leaders, and immigrants themselves, is better understood in light of the political environments in which these organizations and their constituents find themselves. Access to much-needed resources is determined in large part by a municipal government’s response to growing immigrant populations. How well newcomers are accommodated can be examined through a jurisdiction’s attitudes, policies, and access to resources provided to individuals and families (table 10).

The number of immigrants has remained constant in the District and inner suburbs of Virginia while increasing in the outer counties of Maryland and Virginia. However the development of nonprofits has not coincided with these demographic changes. Although the District has less than 7 percent of the metropolitan area’s immigrant population, 24 percent of organizations that serve these groups are located in Washington, D.C. Immigrant-

**Table 10. Distribution of Government Services and Immigrant Population Change by Region**

| Political environment   | District of Columbia                | Maryland   | Inner Virginia  | Outer Virginia  |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Government support Offices                                      | Offices of ethnic affairs           | Ethnic community liaison offices<br>Minority Business Opportunities Commission | Multicultural commission  | n.a.  |
| Funding   | Grants to ethnic-serving nonprofits | Grants to ethnic-serving nonprofits  | Grants to ethnic-serving nonprofits                                       | n.a.  |
| Policies and initiatives  | Language Access Law                 | Day-labor centers  | Social services, education, and business loans for foreign-born residents | Social services provided without racial or ethnic designation |
| Percent immigrant population in 2000                            | 12.9                                | Montgomery, 26.7<br>Prince George's, 13.8                                      | Arlington, 27<br>Alexandria, 25.4<br>Fairfax, 24                          | Prince William, 11.5<br>Loudoun, 11.3                         |
| Percent immigrant population in 2007                            | 12.6                                | Montgomery, 28.9<br>Prince George's, 18.8                                      | Arlington, 25.7<br>Alexandria, 24.4<br>Fairfax, 28.3                      | Prince William, 21.9<br>Loudoun, 21.3                         |
| Number of immigrant nonprofits in 2000 (includes congregations) | 99                                  | 119  | 90  | 5   |
| Number of immigrant nonprofits in 2008 (includes congregations) | 130                                 | 221  | 149   | 33  |

serving CBOs are also concentrated in the inner counties of Northern Virginia, including Fairfax, Arlington, and Alexandria; roughly 28 percent of these nonprofits are in this inner ring. In contrast, the outer jurisdictions of Northern Virginia, including Loudoun and Prince William counties, house only 6.2 percent of the immigrant-serving organizations despite increasingly large numbers of minority and foreign-born residents.

Unlike the outer counties of Virginia, Maryland has a growing population of immigrants and a considerable share of immigrant-serving nonprofits. Montgomery and Prince George's counties have 41.5 percent of all the immigrant-serving nonprofits in the metropolitan region. These nonprofits provide many types of services to various immigrant groups. Of the 221 immigrant-serving organizations located within these counties, well over half are religion related, mainly congregations.

In part, the disparity between demographic shifts and nonprofit growth can be explained by a jurisdiction's attitudes, policies, and access to resources given to immigrant

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populations. The District of Columbia and the counties of Arlington and Alexandria, for instance, have been viewed as immigrant friendly due to open policies and legislative efforts on behalf of minorities. These jurisdictions have retained many immigrant-serving organizations even though immigrants have steadily moved to Maryland and the outer counties of Northern Virginia. As a result, many immigrants who have moved out of the District and Virginia's inner counties still return periodically to access nonprofit services that the outer communities do not provide. Several nonprofit leaders from the District did mention that their constituencies stretch into the Maryland counties of Prince George's and Montgomery, where resources are fewer. An executive director said that despite the growing immigrant population of Maryland, the state remains "20 years behind in service coverage," and unable to support its growing Latino and Asian populations.

On the other hand, Prince William and Loudoun have shown considerable reluctance to provide government resources to support immigrant-serving nonprofits and have instituted punitive measures to prevent county services for illegal immigrants. With a small number of nonprofits in the area and almost no government support for immigrant-serving nonprofit organizations, immigrants in Prince William and Loudoun counties reportedly travel to Arlington, Alexandria, and Fairfax to access nonprofit services.

## **Washington, D.C.**

Among all the jurisdictions in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, the District of Columbia has been historically most responsive to immigrant communities. Washington, D.C., offers a multiplicity of culturally appropriate referral services and has implemented citywide legislation meant to increase language access to minority groups. In 1976, the District government began creating offices for different ethnic groups to educate minorities about available services and the most effective ways to procure these services. Presently the D.C. government supports three separate offices, the mayor's offices of Latino Affairs, Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs, and African Affairs, each with the mission to ensure that "the full range of health, education, employment, social services and business information, programs, and services are accessible" to minority populations.<sup>32</sup> These agencies also act as community liaisons and "provide briefings with the mayor and district government agencies about the particular needs and interests" of immigrant and minority residents. The D.C. government also provides the Office of Latino Affairs with limited grant disbursements that can be used to support the social services of various nonprofit groups and community organizations working with Latino populations.

In addition to these liaison offices, Washington, D.C., has passed a series of measures meant to improve social service access to non-English speakers and to those of immigrant origin. The most comprehensive of these resolutions was passed in 2004. Known as the Language Access Act, this law "provides equal access and participation to public services, programs, and activities for residents of the District of Columbia who are limited- or non-English proficient" and has ensured that all city services meet diverse cultural and linguistic competency requirements.<sup>33</sup>

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With regard to federal immigration policies, the District of Columbia has refused to assist U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents in the detention of suspected illegal aliens and does not permit city police officers to collaborate with federal agencies for the purpose of immigration enforcement. Social services are also available to all residents of the District, with D.C. agencies not asking about the immigration status of those seeking city services unless required by state and federal laws.<sup>34</sup>

## Maryland

Montgomery and Prince George's counties have historically been seen as havens for ethnic minorities and have retained governing councils friendly toward immigrant interests.

With the largest immigrant population in Maryland, Montgomery County has been at the forefront of many efforts to provide government resources and culturally appropriate services to ethnic minorities over the past decade.<sup>35</sup> As an extension of existing bilingual services and growing channels of communication with area minorities, Montgomery County created the Office of Community Partnerships in 2007 to help "break down the barriers of race, income, religion, and sector that too often divide the residents of the County and to build bridges between residents and County government."<sup>36</sup> Representatives of this office provide outreach to the largest minority populations within the county including the Latino, Asian, African, and African American communities and seek to redress their grievances with the county executive.

Beyond the Office of Community Partnerships, Montgomery County has enacted legislation tailored to the interests of immigrant populations such as the Montgomery County Latino Health Initiative.<sup>37</sup> In addition, millions of dollars in county money has been allocated to health clinics that provide expanded medical coverage to uninsured immigrant populations throughout the jurisdiction. The county has historically avoided the question of undocumented immigration and does not ask about the legal status of those seeking county services, including ESOL classes, employment services, and legal aid.<sup>38</sup>

Other immigrant-friendly legislation enacted in Montgomery County requires residents to negotiate written employment contracts with domestic workers and provide them with certain mandated benefits. Montgomery County also supports two day-labor centers at ethnic enclaves in Wheaton and Silver Spring that serve foreign workers, and the county provides considerable grants to bolster the services of immigrant-serving nonprofits such as CASA of Maryland and Identity.

More recently, however, a spike in crime within Montgomery County has affected county policies.<sup>39</sup> With a growing number of crimes allegedly committed by undocumented foreigners, government officials now permit police officers to conduct immigration investigations of suspects involved in violent crimes.<sup>40</sup> Immigrant-friendly policies in Montgomery County have also come under the scrutiny of Help Save Maryland, an organization that opposes undocumented immigration. Help Save Maryland has opposed county financing of CASA of Maryland projects with claims that some programs support undocumented immigrants.<sup>41</sup> A report released in January 2007 contends that Mont-

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gomery County agencies spent more than \$3 million on public services for illegal immigrants in the previous year.<sup>42</sup>

Prince George's County has more people living in poverty than any other Washington suburb, and nonprofit leaders see its network of resources and nonprofit referral sources as inadequate and undercapitalized to sustain the needs of the community.<sup>43</sup> One executive director emphasized the lack of health care services when she stated that "the Prince George's Latino community is booming, and there are zero services in P.G. County for Latinos, especially in terms of health. There are clinics where you can speak Spanish and receive medical services for a low cost in Maryland—in Montgomery. But if you don't have Medicaid, there's almost nothing for you in P.G. unless you're paying out of pocket." As a consequence, the immigrant populations of Prince George's County tend to seek out assistance in thriving nonprofit hubs outside the county where services are more readily available or go without services.

Prince George's County still reaches out to immigrant and underserved groups through its Office of Community Relations. Although this office targets a large swath of civic associations, businesses, unions, and faith-based organizations, it is also meant to be a liaison to the immigrant population and the leadership of minority groups within Prince George's County. It supports a Minority Business Opportunities Commission with the mandate to spend 30 percent of all procurement dollars in Prince George's County on business enterprises majority owned by Hispanic, Asian, and African American entrepreneurs.

Prince George's County police officers and social service agencies are "prohibited from asking people about their immigration status," and a 2003 county council resolution prohibits county police and agencies from enforcing federal immigration laws.<sup>44</sup> As for the allocation of public services, Prince George's provides phone referral services in Spanish and houses a human relations commission designated with the authority to "eliminate discrimination through advocacy, education, mediation, and investigation of discrimination complaints while enforcing discrimination laws and providing quality customer service to ensure the rights of those in Prince George's County to pursue their lives free from discrimination."<sup>45</sup>

## Virginia

In contrast to the relatively open stance of Montgomery and Prince George's counties in Maryland, some areas in Virginia are not as accommodating. The director of a CBO explains:

It's a different environment in Virginia. Until the last [2008] election, I thought some of the hostility towards immigrants was going away, but I think it's still there. We just don't hear about it much. When we started, there was a lot of talk in the community, do we or do we not serve immigrants, I mean illegal immigrants, it's always that issue. But we never made an issue of it. We don't ask. But Virginia has not been supportive.

Prince William County gained notoriety in July 2007 as one of the first counties nationwide to implement punitive measures against undocumented immigrants. In the

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wake of growing animosity toward illegal immigrants within the county, legislation was enacted to deny many social services to undocumented aliens and to increase local enforcement of immigration laws. As documented and undocumented immigrants left Prince William for neighboring counties, Prince William legislators argued that the surrounding counties should bolster enforcement of federal immigration law as well and withhold social service dollars going to undocumented aliens.<sup>46</sup>

Despite considerable opposition to the legislation from other local jurisdictions such as Montgomery, Arlington, and Prince George's, the conservative electorate of Prince William County has been strongly supportive of the immigrant crackdown. A 2008 survey of county residents found an 89 percent approval rating for county policies overall and more than 80 percent approval for policies related to illegal immigrants.<sup>47</sup>

The county does not have any specific agency to address the concerns and needs of immigrant communities other than its Department of Social Services and its Human Rights Commission, which protects all residents against "discriminatory practices based on race, color, sex, national origin, religion, marital status, or disability, in employment, housing, public accommodations, education, and credit" within the county.<sup>48</sup> The Prince William County police department provides Spanish-language educational resources meant to protect immigrants against various types of fraud and highlight community resources for the victims of domestic violence. The police department also has information online that describes the extent of police involvement in immigration and deportation practices. The remainder of the web site is only available in English.<sup>49</sup>

Loudoun County's Board of Supervisors unanimously enacted legislation to restrict county services to illegal immigrant populations and impose a stiffer immigration policy in the wake of Prince William's new regulations. As in Prince William County, Loudoun's social services, including welfare, food stamps, and other social benefits, were severed for undocumented foreigners. Loudoun County officials also voted to provide additional penalties against employers using undocumented labor, bolster efforts to coordinate local immigration sweeps with federal authorities, and deny rental and mortgage agreements to undocumented immigrants.

At the government level, social welfare services in Loudoun County are provided without any distinction of origin or ethnic background. The County provides referral services to numerous community nonprofits, but Loudoun does not have a multicultural commission advocating directly for the benefit of ethnic minorities. Unlike Prince William, Loudoun lacks a human rights office, but the entire government web page can be accessed in Spanish.

In contrast, the remaining counties of Northern Virginia, including Fairfax, Arlington, and the city of Alexandria, are more receptive to newcomers and rarely work with federal immigration officials to pursue illegal aliens.<sup>50</sup> They also demonstrate a larger breadth of social services tailored to legal immigrant populations.

Like Prince William County, Fairfax County has cracked down on blighted immigrant boardinghouses and requires proof of legal residence for social services such as food stamps and housing assistance, but Fairfax also provides a large array of services for legal immigrants and has not enacted punitive immigration policies. In 2005, Fairfax County



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ignored provisions of No Child Left Behind by providing proficiency tests instead of the required grade-level examinations to accommodate immigrant students. This practice was continued even after the U.S. Department of Education threatened to withdraw \$17 million in federal aid from the Fairfax Department of Education for noncompliance.<sup>51</sup> Unlike Loudoun and Prince William counties, Fairfax County rejected attempts by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the federal department entrusted with detaining and removing illegal aliens, to enroll county deputies in training programs to actively pursue illegal immigrants. As of 2009, Fairfax only permits ICE personnel to investigate the immigration status of county inmates and forbids local police to enforce federal immigration law.<sup>52</sup>

Like the counties of Loudoun and Prince William, Fairfax provides government services to immigrant groups through the social service departments and does not have liaison offices tailored to the interests of ethnic minorities. Access to social services is restricted to legal residents of Fairfax, and the county does not provide services to undocumented populations. Some resources on the Fairfax government web site are available in Spanish, and the county supports a Human Rights Commission, but there are no community liaison offices within the county government for ethnic minorities.

Both Arlington County and the neighboring city of Alexandria might be regarded as more immigrant friendly. As early as 2004, Arlington County refused to embrace the police powers permitted by the Commonwealth of Virginia to curb illegal aliens. Following the flight of immigrants from Prince William and Loudoun counties in 2007, Arlington's county board issued a unanimous resolution welcoming all immigrants regardless of immigration status. Arlington has made strides to provide culturally conscious services to legal immigrants and has implemented programs designated for ethnic minorities. Arlington County provides immigrant workers with a day-labor center and has passed bills improving mental health counseling for foreign-born workers. The county has been praised as a pioneer in "teaching English to foreigners of all ages, making business licenses and loans accessible to immigrant enterprises, hiring bilingual teachers and police, and establishing social services in ethnic enclaves."<sup>53</sup>

The City of Alexandria has also eschewed a harsh immigration policy and only supports checking the immigration status of violent offenders and previously convicted felons. Like Arlington, Alexandria extends public services to all immigrant populations regardless of status and has procured waivers for No Child Left Behind federal legislation to provide direct tutoring for ethnic minorities with limited English proficiency. In the debate over illegal immigration, many Arlington and Alexandria officials publicly support undocumented aliens. Unlike the city of Takoma Park in Montgomery County, however, neither municipality has yet to provide immigrants with sanctuary status from federal immigration authorities.

Allocation of social services in Arlington and Alexandria does not deviate strikingly from other counties within Northern Virginia because all services are provided through the county department of human services or department of social services. Nevertheless, Arlington County has developed a multicultural advisory commission that acts as a community liaison and advocate for ethnic minorities within the county and has been vocal

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in tailoring services to the needs of ethnic populations and immigrants. In this role, the advisory commission is authorized to advise county board members on issues affecting ethnic communities, foster community dialogue, provide a forum for the discussion of issues affecting the minority population of Arlington, and promote “program activities that foster cultural understanding and diversity.”<sup>54</sup> The city of Alexandria does not have a cultural advisory commission but it does have a multicultural coordinator who oversees projects improving language access for non-English-speaking city residents.

Both Alexandria and Arlington have human rights commissions to prevent discrimination in service provision, and both counties provide referral services to nonprofit agencies.

## Conclusion

Community-based organizations that serve immigrants in the Washington region can help immigrants settle in the United States, but these nonprofits face many challenges.

### Major Roles of Community Organizations in Immigrant Integration

Nonprofits help integrate immigrants through the programs and services they provide. To a lesser degree, CBOs and their leaders advocate on behalf of their constituents and organizations. Based on this investigation, community-based organizations serve seven main functions.

1. They act as community centers where newcomers and succeeding generations of immigrants can interact in their native languages and within the comfort zone of their cultural norms, retain their ethnic or national identities, find stability, and maintain solidarity crucial to economic mobility and political participation.
2. They are essential social service providers that fill the gaps in government provision, particularly in jurisdictions with shrinking budgets or where newcomers are unable to access public programs. They meet the varied needs of immigrants, including legal representation, employment and health services, child care and youth development, financial literacy, and housing, thereby helping individuals and families find stability and establish themselves in their new home.
3. They encourage the economic viability and advancement of individual immigrants and immigrant communities by offering programs and initiatives that stress financial independence. They also employ immigrants.
4. They act as advocates and civic and political representatives of immigrants and racial/ethnic minorities. They promote civic engagement and train individuals to be advocates and leaders of their own communities. They provide immigrants with board and volunteer opportunities.
5. They act as government liaisons. CBOs help government agencies reach immigrant populations with culturally and linguistically appropriate services.
6. They partner with other organizations and associations within the community to build networks beneficial to their constituents and to their communities.



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7. They are channels through which funders, elected officials, and government agencies can reach immigrants. CBOs are best at reaching individuals and families, while coalitions are good at reaching organizations and decisionmakers.

Studies of ethnic participation stress the pivotal role of ethnic community-based organizations, arguing that the denser the network of associations of a particular ethnic group, the more political trust they will have and the more they will participate politically. This is because participation in voluntary associations facilitates social trust, which can lead to political trust and, ultimately, more political participation (Fennema and Tillie 1999; Jacobs and Tillie 2004).

Wong (2007) writes: “Thus, while it is true that, for the most part, political participation does not take place overnight, there may be ways for U.S. civic institutions to speed up that process through direct mobilization and the provision of information that helps immigrants to feel more comfortable and confident taking part in the political system. Trusted community-based institutions represent a vital potential force in promoting political inclusion for immigrant newcomers who contribute to so many other aspects of American life” (2007, 457). She contends that ethnic CBOs have long played an important role in incorporating immigrants into the political process.

A few of the nonprofits we interviewed consider it vital to educate their constituents about the political process and their individual rights and responsibilities. They encourage immigrants to speak up for themselves to school administrators and city council members. One cultural organization informs immigrants indirectly. Its director explained that through conversations between long-time and newly arrived immigrants, the latter learn how to become more involved in their communities and wider society.

Community-based organizations are therefore central to immigrant integration as they provide much-needed services, educate newcomers on civic and political processes, and empower individuals to participate and contribute to society. However, these nonprofits face a number of challenges that impede their work.

### **Challenges Faced by Immigrant-Serving CBOs in the D.C. Region**

Eight key issues were identified by organizational leaders interviewed in this study and from an analysis of the local political, social, and economic landscape.

1. **Misinformation about immigrant populations.** Even individuals, governments, and philanthropic organizations sympathetic to newcomers need to better understand immigrant populations. A leader of an African group complained that a major funder expressed her doubts that Africans would be able to manage funds well. On the other hand, an Asian director lamented that “the challenge to Asian American immigrants is that we have to live under the burden of the myth of the model minority, that Asians always achieve, Asians are smart, Asians are wealthy, and then the negative side of this myth is that it perpetuates the government’s policy of benign neglect.” People think that Asians do not need any assistance.

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An executive director shared his explanation:

People like me who grew up here, who went to school here, who basically had a nice, easy life—we don’t realize the experiences that folks coming here have, the awful things that people went through, that is sort of incomprehensible to the general public here, which basically has it okay . . . They have a degree of comfort, even in a bad financial situation, and they don’t understand it is a lot worse in a lot of parts of the world. You wake up in the middle of the night because your mother says, your father is not coming home. We’ve got to leave now. No, now, let’s go . . . Nobody understands that. Nobody understands that people come here because they can’t eat, or they’re living in absolute destitute poverty where they came from, so standing out on the corner somewhere looking for a job in order to feed their families is much better than where they were. Nobody gets that.

2. **Lack of recognition for organizations that serve immigrant populations.** Some non-profit leaders we interviewed complained that their work with newcomers is not recognized by funders for the benefits they offer. CBOs provide access to immigrant populations through their language- and culturally appropriate programs and services.
3. **No common policy for providing services to immigrants across regions.** Jurisdictions within the metropolitan area have varied attitudes and approaches to newcomers, and immigrant policies are not consistent between jurisdictions. Even within municipal or state governments that are welcoming of immigrants, there is no coherent or coordinated system for serving the population. Nonprofits are thus left with the additional challenge of navigating through varied and disparate bureaucracies to identify possible resources and solutions for problems that arise.
4. **Immigrant populations move to follow jobs and secure affordable housing, but the receiving jurisdictions may not have the needed resources and services.** While growth of the foreign-born population has slowed in the District and Virginia’s inner counties, it has increased markedly in Maryland and Virginia’s outer counties (appendices C, D, and E). Yet nonprofits with the capacity to serve immigrants are clustered within the District and Virginia’s inner counties. As constituents decrease or change, CBOs are faced with the challenge of either moving or serving a wider geographic area. They may eventually establish satellite locations where their clients have relocated or open their doors to other groups, options some nonprofits might not have the capacity or desire to undertake.
5. **Opposition to illegal immigrants in certain jurisdictions is reflected in policies negatively affecting immigrant populations and the organizations that serve them.** This is especially the case in serving individuals or families whose main providers are undocumented. Most funding sources stipulate that grant dollars be made available to those who can provide adequate documentation. Organizations are thus left with the challenge of how to meet the needs of those who come to them without papers.

An interesting case of the negative impact of current immigration policies is recounted by an interviewee who was unable to hire the “perfect” candidate for an important job because the individual was an undocumented alien. “I need immigra-

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tion reform for my infrastructure. In order to expand, we need highly qualified Latino professionals that can be in both worlds. It is difficult to find good staff that can do client-based work and other work such as administrative and development. We need Latino professionals that are bilingual and bicultural.”

Yet even immigrants with permanent status struggle with issues like racial profiling. Organization leaders interviewed for our study recount stories of constituents who have been stopped by police. A Maryland organization has been mischaracterized by opponents of illegal immigration as serving only illegal aliens.

6. **Competition for decreasing resources has become more intense.** As state and local government coffers diminish, foundation endowments shrink, and pocketbooks empty, nonprofits find themselves competing with one another for very limited resources as demand for their assistance steadily increases. It has become increasingly difficult for smaller and struggling CBOs. One leader complains, “There is always a tension, especially when applying for government grants because there are a lot of start-ups, which jeopardizes an organization like ours, which is not a start-up but is not really that established.”
7. **Funders are increasingly demanding accountability, which increases managerial complexities.** A director who used to be in the private sector sums it up best:

I think the nonprofit sector is at a very interesting crossroad. It demands accountability and measurements and so on, importing a lot of corporate practices from the private sector. I think this is one of the reasons why I was attracted to them. At the same time, there is no capital market to support the nonprofit sector. I wish there were because our products and our services are changing the lives of families, students, and youth. While we can measure that, there is not a capital market to say, “You aid all the youth development organizations rated at the top 5 percent, therefore we can sustain you. We will invest in you.” I think that is a huge disconnect. The second disconnect is that funders, for whatever reason, when they say they will fund a program, want to pay for only direct costs. So in other words, no indirect costs. How do I pay for the building, how do I pay for the phone, the Internet and so on, and other allocations? And certainly the most expensive part of running a nonprofit is the salary of our staff. Most of the time salaries have to come from fundraising, which is very difficult. Or we apply for grants from foundations. You have to have a certain reputation in order for people to say, “Yes, I’ll fund your general operating expenses.”

8. **There is a disconnect between grassroots nonprofits and larger organizations.** A few interviewees believe that national and larger nonprofits ignore the potential of working closely with community-based groups. National and larger organizations could harness nonprofits embedded in neighborhoods and communities to collaborate on mutual goals.

Community-based organizations advance immigrant incorporation. They are embedded in immigrant and minority communities, sharing histories and a cultural affinity

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with the particular needs and concerns of newcomers. They provide programs in arts and culture, education, language skills, human services, religion, and a range of other services. They belong to a deep network and broad base of community nonprofits and associations that act as a local safety net for individuals and families whose needs are not readily met by public programs and government agencies. They educate and encourage immigrants to become financially independent and politically active. They are led by dedicated women and men, often immigrants themselves, who work for the best interests of their constituents and organizations. These CBOs adapt to population shifts and other changes as best as they can. Finally, they educate and empower newcomers to stake their place and become productive members of American society.

This study has explored in depth the organizational structures that help immigrants integrate into the Washington, D.C., area. It is a snapshot of the complex dynamic between immigrant populations and organizations within a specific political, social, and economic environment. However, unlike other immigrant gateways, large-scale immigration to the D.C. region is relatively recent, and the D.C. metropolitan area is composed of disparate jurisdictions, each with its own government structure and policies that deal with newcomers. It is therefore important to learn differences and similarities among other immigrant gateways in the United States. Such research will contribute to understanding the process of immigrant integration into U.S. society.

## Notes

1. From U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0029/tab02.html>, accessed July 23, 2009.
2. From the 2007 American Community Survey, <http://factfinder.census.gov>, accessed July 15, 2009.
3. From the 2007 American Community Survey, <http://factfinder.census.gov>, accessed July 23, 2009.
4. This figure excludes immigrants from Taiwan, who total approximately 12,800.
5. From the 2007 American Community Survey, <http://factfinder.census.gov>, accessed July 23, 2009.
6. From U.S. Census Bureau, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/11000.html>, accessed July 16, 2009.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. This research was designed to inform a planned national study of immigrant-serving organizations in collaboration with Judith Saidel and Dina H. Refki of the Center for Women in Government and Civil Society at SUNY Albany and Feminda Handy at the University of Pennsylvania.
12. This study adopts the definition of immigrant organizations developed by Hector Cordero-Guzman (2005).
13. The study used FIPS codes for the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV metropolitan statistical area (<http://www.census.gov/population/www/metroareas/lists/2007/List1.txt>). Jefferson County, West Virginia, was omitted because of a lack of nonprofits specifically serving ethnic groups and the small size of the immigrant population.
14. NCCS data include nonprofit organizations that submit the Form 990, an annual financial report for nonprofits with \$25,000 or more in gross receipts, and those that complete the Form 990-N, also known as e-postcard,

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that confirms contact information and basic information about tax-exempt organizations with less than \$25,000 in gross receipts.

15. Organizations that might serve immigrant populations but whose names and program descriptions do not use words or phrases that refer to Asian, African, and South, Central, and Latin American nations or cultures are therefore not included.
16. D.C. Mayor's Offices on Latino Affairs and Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs, National Capital Region 2-1-1 Database and the Northern Virginia Regional Commission.
17. No community liaisons were identified in Prince George's County, Maryland, or in Virginia counties.
18. Twelve Hispanic/Latino, eight Asian/Pacific Islander, two African, and one Turkish.
19. Officially titled the Cuban Adjustment Act (CAA), Public Law 89-732 was enacted on November 2, 1966. It applies to any native or citizen of Cuba who has been inspected and admitted or paroled into the United States after January 1, 1959, has been physically present for at least one year, and is admissible to the United States as a permanent resident.
20. Also known as the Hart-Celler Act, INS Act of 1965, Public Law 89-236 abolished the national-origin quotas that had been in place in the United States since the Immigration Act of 1924. The 1965 legislation established an annual limitation of 170,000 visas for immigrants from eastern hemisphere countries and restricted visas to no more than 20,000 immigrants per country.
21. The new refugee crisis resulted from Fidel Castro allowing Cubans to leave en masse through the Peruvian embassy in Havana and the port of Mariel.
22. The Refugee Act reformed U.S. immigration policy and began admitting refugees to the United States using specific, well-defined criteria. A 1985 ceiling of 70,000 refugees, with 270,000 immigrants total and 20,000 from any one country, was established.
23. From the Hispanic Committee of Virginia, <http://hcva.org/history.html>, accessed July 1, 2009.
24. From Lutheran Social Services of the National Capital Area, [http://www.lssnca.org/lss/www\\_refugee](http://www.lssnca.org/lss/www_refugee), accessed July 1, 2009.
25. From La Clinica del Pueblo, <http://www.lcdp.org/template/page.cfm?id=86>, accessed July 1, 2009.
26. From CASA of Maryland, [http://www.casademaryland.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=63](http://www.casademaryland.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=63), accessed July 1, 2009.
27. On May 5, 1991, during a Cinco de Mayo street celebration in Mount Pleasant, a black police officer tried to arrest a Salvadoran man for disorderly conduct and shot and wounded the man. Word of the shooting spread throughout the largely Hispanic neighborhood, and a riot ensued that lasted two days.
28. From LEDC, <http://www.ledcdc.org/en/history-and-mission>, accessed July 1, 2009.
29. From Proyecto Salud, <http://www.proyectosalud.org/history.html>, accessed July 1, 2009.
30. Congregations are not required by federal law to register with the IRS; therefore, not all congregations are identified. In addition, congregations that do not have racial/ethnic indicators in their names or programs but serve immigrant groups might not have been identified.
31. Although Asian groups such as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have been in the United States for well over a century, the interviewee and this study refer to Asian groups that have entered the country and settled in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area since the 1970s.
32. From D.C. government's Office on Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs, <http://apia.dc.gov/apia/site/default.asp>, accessed June 26, 2009.
33. From Office on Latino Affairs, <http://ola.dc.gov/ola/cwp/view,a,3,q,568802,olaNav,%7C32536%7C,.asp>, accessed June 26, 2009.
34. Gary Emerling, "Fenty Won't Question Residents' Legal Status," *Washington Times*, October 25, 2007, B01.
35. Kelly Brewington, "Safety, Not Status, Is Focus: City Police Say Immigration Policy Isn't Their Business," *Baltimore Sun*, May 18, 2008, B1.

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36. From Montgomery County Office of Community Partnerships, <http://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/mcgtmpl.asp?url=/Content/EXEC/partnerships/oco.asp>, accessed June 26, 2009.
  37. From Montgomery County Department of Public Health Services, [http://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/hhstmpl.asp?url=/content/hhs/phs/latino\\_health/LHI/index.asp](http://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/hhstmpl.asp?url=/content/hhs/phs/latino_health/LHI/index.asp), accessed June 26, 2009.
  38. Kristen Chick, "County Neutral on Alien Policies: Montgomery to Keep Existing Laws," *Washington Times*, August 9, 2007, B01.
  39. Christine MacDonald, "The ICEman Cometh," *Washington City Paper*, February 18, 2009.
  40. This policy has not been universally accepted, and cities within Montgomery County, including Takoma Park, have deemed themselves sanctuary cities where local police are prohibited from enforcing federal immigration statutes.
  41. Tom LoBianco, "Leggett Touts Aid by County to Illegals; Says Virginians Less 'Enlightened' on Issue," *Washington Times*, October 5, 2007, B01.
  42. Ibid.
  43. Philip Rucker and William Wan, "An Imbalance of Need and Aid; Funding, Number of Service Groups Vary by Area, Study Finds," *Washington Post*, November 30, 2008, C01.
  44. Natasha Altamirano, "Takoma Park Police Seek More Latitude with Aliens," *Washington Times*, July 26, 2007, A01.
  45. From Prince George's County Human Relations Commission, [http://www.co.pg.md.us/Government/Boards/Commissions/human\\_relations.asp](http://www.co.pg.md.us/Government/Boards/Commissions/human_relations.asp), accessed June 26, 2009.
  46. Amy Gardner, "VA Hit with Cost of School Migration; Pr. William Policies Drive Immigrants to Inner Suburbs," *Washington Post*, April 28, 2008, A1.
  47. Kristen Mack, "Resident Survey Finds Shift in Satisfaction with County," *Washington Post*, September 25, 2008, PW01.
  48. See Prince William County Human Rights Commission, <http://www.pwcgov.org/default.aspx?topic=04006600091>, accessed June 26, 2009.
  49. In the Washington metropolitan area, only Loudoun, Montgomery, and Arlington counties have a government web page provided entirely in languages other than English.
  50. Keyonna Summers, "County Doesn't Pursue Illegals; Kilgore Campaign Vow at Issue," *Washington Times*, October 12, 2005, B01; and David C. Lipscomb and Gary Emerling, "Alexandria Ready to Serve Illegals; City Still Obeys State, U.S. laws," *Washington Times*, October 9, 2007, A01.
  51. Michael Alison Chandler, "Hatrack Joins Foes of Rule on Testing Immigrants," *Washington Post*, February 24, 2007, B02.
  52. Tom Jackman and Sondhya Somashekhar, "ICE Agents Will Screen Immigrants at Fairfax Jail; County Gets Video Teleconferencing Equipment, but Sheriff's Office Won't Do Agency's Work," *Washington Post*, November 27, 2008, PW08.
  53. Pamela Constable, "Immigrants Haven't Worn Out the Welcome Mat in Arlington," *Washington Post*, November 15, 2007, A01.
  54. From Arlington County Multicultural Advisory Commission, <http://www.arlingtonva.us/DEPARTMENTS/Commissions/ParksRecreationCommissions/ParksRecreationScriptsCommissionsMulticulturalCommission.aspx>, accessed June 26, 2009.

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## Appendix A

### Immigrant-Serving Community-Based Organizations Included in the Study

|   |   |
|---|---|
| African Resource Center                                   | Korean Community Service Center of Greater Washington                       |
| American Turkish Association                              | La Clinica del Pueblo   |
| Arlington Free Clinic                                     | Latin American Youth Center   |
| Asian American LEAD                                       | LEDC  |
| Asian Pacific American Legal Resource Center              | Liberty's Promise   |
| Asian/Pacific Islander Domestic Violence Resource Project | Lutheran Social Services of the National Capital Area                       |
| Carlos Rosario International Public Charter School        | Madison Chinese Dance Academy   |
| CASA of Maryland  | Mary's Center for Maternal Health   |
| Centro Familia (Institute for Family Development)         | Northern Virginia Family Service  |
| CentroNía   | Progreso Hispano  |
| Debre Selam Kidist Miriam Ethiopian Orthodox Church       | Proyecto Salud Clinica (Montgomery County Language Minority Health Project) |
| FIDMi Mi Tierra   | Saint Anthony de Padua Roman Catholic Church                                |
| Foundry United Methodist Church                           | Saint Stephen's and the Incarnation Episcopal Church                        |
| Greater Washington Hispanic Chamber                       | Spanish Catholic Center   |
| Hermano Pedro Day Shelter                                 | Vietnamese American Community Service Center                                |
| Hispanic Committee of Virginia Identity                   | Vietnamese Youth Educational Association of Washington                      |
| Just Neighbors  |   |

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## Appendix B

### Immigrant-Serving Community-Based Organizations in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Adom Presbyterian Church of Ghana                                 | Association of United Hindu and Jain Temples             |
| Afghan Student Association  | Ayuda  |
| African Community Empowerment Institute                           | Bahais of Bowie  |
| African Cultural and Religious Society of Washington, D.C.        | Bahais of Hyattsville                                    |
| African Heritage Dancers and Drummers                             | Bahais of Manassas                                       |
| African Immigrant and Refugee Foundation                          | Ban Suk Presbyterian Church                              |
| African Women's Cancer Awareness Association                      | Bang Joo Presbyterian Church                             |
| Ahimsa Youth Organization, Inc.                                   | Bangladesh Association of America, Inc.                  |
| Akan Studies Institute  | Bangladesh Center for Community Development              |
| Al-Ansar Education Academy  | Barbara Chambers Children's Center                       |
| Algerian-American Association of Greater Washington               | Barrios Unidos/United Neighborhoods of Northern Virginia |
| All Dulles Area Muslim Society                                    | Bethesda Korean Presbyterian Church                      |
| Amanuel Ethiopian Evangelical Church                              | Bindura Christian Fellowship                             |
| American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee                       | Bo Rim Buddhist Temple                                   |
| American Kurdish Information Network                              | Brazilian and Portuguese Church                          |
| American-Turkish Association of Washington, DC                    | Bub Ju Sa Buddhist Temple                                |
| Anania Shiragatsi Cultural Institute                              | Buddha Dhamma Sangha Association                         |
| Andhra Adventists Association                                     | Buddhist Association of Hampton Roads                    |
| Andrew Cacho African Drummers and Dancers                         | Buddhist Congregational Church of America                |
| Andromeda Transcultural Health Center                             | Buddhist Monastery of Alexandria                         |
| Arabic Christian Fellowship                                       | Buddhist Vihara Society                                  |
| Arabic Church of the Redeemer                                     | Calvary Burmese Church                                   |
| Arabic Gospel Church  | Cambodian Buddhist Society                               |
| Arlington Free Clinic   | Cambodian Development Foundation                         |
| Armenian Youth Center of Greater Washington                       | Cambodian Education Excellence Foundation                |
| Armenian-American Health Association of Greater Washington        | Cambodian Evangelical Church                             |
| Arrasool Islamic Center   | Cameroon Community Outreach                              |
| Arriba Center   | Canaan Korean Presbyterian Church                        |
| Asante Association of Washington Metropolitan Area                | Capital Area Asian American Network                      |
| Asian American LEAD   | Capital Area Immigrants' Rights Coalition                |
| Asian Indians for Community Service                               | Capital Area Tibetan Association                         |
| Asian Pacific American Legal Resource Center                      | Carlos Rosario International Public Charter School       |
| Asian/Pacific Islander Domestic Violence Resource Project         | CASA of Maryland   |
| Asian Women's Self Help Association                               | Casa for Children of the District of Columbia            |
| Aspen Hill Korean Wesleyan Church                                 | Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Washington      |
| Association of Bolivian Women of the Washington Metropolitan Area | Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Arlington           |
| Association for Hispanic Classical Theater                        | Catholic Immigration Services                            |
| Association of Indian Muslims                                     | Catholic Legal Immigration Network                       |
| Association of Pakistani Women in America, Inc.                   | Center for Immigration Law & Practice                    |
|   | Center for Islamic Education                             |
|   | Center for Multicultural Human Services                  |
|   | Central American Resource Center                         |
|   | Central Union Mission Food Bank                          |
|   | Centro Familia (Institute for Family Development)        |

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Centro Hispano de Frederick  
 CentroNia  
 Child and Family Network Care Centers  
 Chin Baptist Mission Church  
 Chinatown Revitalization Council  
 Chinatown Service Center Chinese Community Church  
 Chinese Bible Church of College Park  
 Chinese Christian and Missionary Church  
 Chinese Christian Church of Germantown  
 Chinese Christian Church of Greater Washington, D.C.  
 Chinese Christian Church of Maryland  
 Chinese Christian Church of Virginia  
 Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association  
 Chinese Culture and Community Service Center  
 Chinese Economists Society  
 Chinese-American Professional Association of Metropolitan Washington, D.C.  
 Chulalongkorn University Alumni Association  
 Chunbukyu Church of Maryland  
 Citiwide Computer Training Center  
 Clinton Korean Baptist Church  
 Coalition for the Homeless  
 Coalition of Asian Pacific Americans of Virginia  
 Columbia Heights/Shaw Family Support Collaborative  
 Committee for Vietnamese Refugees and Immigrants  
 Community Mosque of Washington, D.C.  
 Community of Eritreans in Metropolitan Washington, D.C.  
 Concilio Mundial de Iglesias Evangelicas, Evangelicas Apostoles Y Profetas  
 Cornerstone Korean Presbyterian Church  
 Council of Asian Indian Associations of Greater Washington  
 Couples for Christ Metropolitan Washington, D.C.  
 Cristo Viene Pentecostal Church of God  
 Dar al Hijrah Islamic Center  
 DC Metropolitan Asian Pacific American Marrow Network  
 Debre Selam Kidist Mariam Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church  
 Deh Ming Chinese School  
 Devadeep Rajneesh Sannyas Ashram  
 Durga Devi Temple  
 Durga Temple  
 Ebenezer Korean Church  
 Ecumenical Program on Central America

Educational Organization for United Latin Americans  
 Egba-Egbado Descendants Association  
 El Teatro de Danza Contemporanea de El Salvador  
 Emekuku Community Development Project Association  
 Emmanuel Eritean Church  
 Emmanuel Koran Baptist Church  
 Eng Yu Evangelistic Mission  
 Enugu State Association  
 Eritrean Evangelical Church  
 Eritrean Cultural and Civic Center  
 Eternal Gospel Missionary of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church  
 Ethiopian Community Center, Inc.  
 Ethiopian Community Development Council, Inc.  
 Ethiopian Community Development Program  
 Ethiopian Community Evangelical Church  
 Ethiopian Community Services and Development Council  
 Ethiopian Gospel Mission Association  
 Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahdo Church Gedame Tekle Haimanot Bible Association  
 Ethiopian Scholars Foundation  
 Evangelical Arabic Baptist Church  
 Ewha Womans University Alumna Association of Greater Washington Association  
 Experimental Chinese School  
 Fairfax Chinese Christian Church  
 Fairfax Korean Church of the Nazarene  
 Fairfax Korean Presbyterian Church  
 Falam Baptist Church  
 Farmworker Justice  
 Federation of Overseas Hong Kong Chinese Washington, D.C.  
 FIDMi Mi Tierra  
 Fiesta DC  
 Filipino American Association of Stafford Virginia  
 Filipino American Institute of Accountants of Metro DC  
 Filipino American Basketball Association of Metropolitan DC  
 First Hijrah Foundation  
 First Korean Presbyterian Church of Washington  
 First Vietnamese Baptist Church  
 Foundation for Appropriate and Immediate Temporary Help (FAITH)  
 Franconia Korean Baptist Church  
 Frederick Hispanic  
 Frederick Korean Baptist Church

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Fuente de Agua Viva  
 Full Gospel First Korean Church of Washington  
 Full Gospel Washington Korean Church  
 Fullah Progressive Union Islamic Education and Cultural Organization  
 Gainesville Korean Church  
 Gaithersburg Chinese School  
 Gaithersburg Latino  
 Gala Hispanic Theater  
 Galilee Korean Presbyterian Church  
 Germantown Korean Baptist Church  
 Germantown Mosque of Maryland  
 Ghana Youth Council  
 Gospel Korean Presbyterian Church of Washington  
 Grace Chinese Christian Church  
 Grace Filipino Church  
 Grace Indonesian Christian Church  
 Greater Washington Hispanic Chamber of Commerce  
 Greenbelt Vietnamese Baptist Church  
 Guangdong Residents Association of Greater Washington, D.C.  
 Gujararti Samaj of Metropolitan Washington, D.C.  
 Guru Angad Institute of Sikh Studies  
 Ha Un Sung Church  
 Hahnuri Baptist Church  
 Hai-Hua Community Center  
 Halau O Aulani, Inc.  
 Hamere Noah Kidane Meheret Church  
 Han Bit Presbyterian Church of Maryland  
 Han-Ma-Um Seon Center of Washington, D.C.  
 Harvest Chinese Christian Church  
 Herndon Korean Baptist Church  
 Higher Achievement Program  
 Hindu Dharmic Sabha of Washington Metropolitan Area  
 Hindu Temple of Metropolitan Washington  
 Hispanic American Festival  
 Hispanic Business Foundation of Maryland  
 Hispanic Committee of Virginia  
 Hispanic Parents Committee of Maryland  
 Hispanic Youth Foundation  
 Hispanos Unidos  
 Hispanos Unidos Para Rockville  
 Hoa Hao Buddhist Congregational Church  
 Holy Kingdom Korean Methodist Church  
 Hyderabad Association of Washington Metropolitan Area

Identity  
 Igbo Youth Choir of Washington, D.C.  
 Iglesia Apostoles Y Profetas Fuente de Vida  
 Iglesia Apostolica Fuenet del Libani Efesios  
 Iglesia Apostolica Pentecostal  
 Iglesia Bautista Alfa Y Omega  
 Iglesia Bautista Buenas Nuevas Desalvacion  
 Iglesia Bautista de Washington  
 Iglesia Bautista Getsemani  
 Iglesia Biblica Hispano Americana  
 Iglesia Biblica Peniel  
 Iglesia Camino de Salvacion  
 Iglesia Cristina Jesucristo es El Señor  
 Iglesia Cristiana Casa Firme  
 Iglesia Cristiana Pentecostal Un Nuevo Renacer  
 Iglesia Cristiana Vida Abundante  
 Iglesia de Cristo Mahanaim  
 Iglesia de Cristo Ministerios Elim  
 Iglesia de Dios Amanecer en Cristo  
 Iglesia de Dios de Fe  
 Iglesia de Dios en Cristo Jesus  
 Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Alfa Y Omega of Alexandria, Virginia  
 Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Ebenezer  
 Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal La Nueva  
 Iglesia de Dios Pentecostal Nueva Vida  
 Iglesia de Dios Septimo Dia  
 Iglesia de Restauracion Apostoles Y Profetas  
 Iglesia Del Dios Vivo Columna Y Apoyo de la Verdad la Luz del Mundo  
 Iglesia Del Evangelio Completo Alfa Y Omega  
 Iglesia Dios Pentecostal El Calvario Un Oasis en el Desierto  
 Iglesia Evangelica A Dios Sea La Gloria  
 Iglesia Evangelica Apostoles Y Profetas  
 Iglesia Evangelica Apostoles Y Profetas de Gaithersburg  
 Iglesia Evangelica Apostoles Y Profetas de Langley Park  
 Iglesia Evangelica Cristo Te Llama  
 Iglesia Evangelica Ebenezer Mi  
 Iglesia Evangelica Misionera Apostoles Y Profetas  
 Iglesia Evangelica Misionera La Gran Comision  
 Iglesia Evangelica Nueva Jerusalem Rios de Agua Viva  
 Iglesia Evangelica Pentecostes Remanente Fiel  
 Iglesia Evangelica Principe de Paz  
 Iglesia Evangelica Remanente Fiel  
 Iglesia Getsemani

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| Iglesia La Gran Comision Asambleas de Dios                     | Kids Corner   |
| Iglesia Local Hispana de la Alianza Cristiana Y Misionera      | Korea University College of Medicine Alumni Association       |
| Iglesia Luterana Santa Maria                                   | Korean Agate Church   |
| Iglesia Misionera Dios Habla Hoy                               | Korean American Association of Virginia                       |
| Iglesia Misionera Unidos Al Espiritu Santo                     | Korean American Coalition for Homelessness                    |
| Iglesia Movimiento Evangelistico Pentecostal Rios de Agua Viva | Korean American Coalition, Washington, D.C., Chapter          |
| Iglesia Pentecostal Bethel de Maryland                         | Korean American Community Services                            |
| Iglesia Pentecostal Camino Ala Vida Eterna                     | Korean American Family Counseling Center                      |
| Iglesia Pentecostal Cristo Vive                                | Korean American Presbyterian Church (Fairfax, VA)             |
| Iglesia Pentecostal El Aposento Alto                           | Korean American Presbyterian Church (Centreville, VA)         |
| Iglesia Pentecostal El Cordero de Dios                         | Korean American Presbyterian Church (McLean, VA)              |
| Iglesia Pentecostal El Monte Sinai                             | Korean American Presbyterian Church (Springfield, VA)         |
| Iglesia Pentecostal El Tabernacle                              | Korean American Presbyterian Church (Blincoe Ct., Burke, VA)  |
| Iglesia Pentecostal La Ultima Consecha                         | Korean American Presbyterian Church (Ashbourn Dr., Burke, VA) |
| Iglesia Pentecostal La Voz de Cristo al Mundo                  | Korean American Senior Citizens Association                   |
| Iglesia Pentecostal Nueva Vida                                 | Korean American Women's Association                           |
| Iglesia Pentecostal Unida En Accion                            | Korean Antioch Church of Washington Mission                   |
| Iglesia Pentecostes Amor Y Santidad                            | Korean Association of Greater Washington                      |
| Iglesia Pentecostes Eben-Ezer                                  | Korean Association of the State of Maryland Metropolitan Area |
| Iglesia Pentecostes Sinai                                      | Korean Baptist Church of Faith                                |
| Iglesia Roca Iterna  | Korean Baptist Church of Washington                           |
| Imam Mehdi Education Center                                    | Korean Central Senior Center                                  |
| Indonesian Christian Fellowship Church                         | Korean Church in Washington, D.C.                             |
| Iqra Muslim Academy of Metropolitan                            | Korean Community Senior Housing Corp of Maryland              |
| Iranian Alliances across Borders                               | Korean Community Service Center of Greater Washington         |
| Islamic Association Afghan Community                           | Korean Concert Society  |
| Islamic Center of Maryland                                     | Korean Nazareth Church  |
| Islamic Community Center of Laurel                             | Korean Senior Citizens Association of Greater Washington Area |
| Islamic Community Centre of Northern Virginia                  | Korean White Stone Church of Virginia                         |
| Islamic Education Institute                                    | Korean-American Presbyterian Church                           |
| Islamic Jammah Cultural Foundation                             | Korean-American Presbyterian Church                           |
| Islamic Research and Humanitarian Services Center              | Kung Mern Sern Tao Chang Tao Association                      |
| Islamic Social Services Association                            | La Clinica Del Pueblo   |
| Islamic Society of Southern Prince George's County             | LAI BAPTIST Church  |
| Jain Society of Metropolitan Washington                        | Lake Ridge Korean Church                                      |
| Japanese American Citizens League                              | Language ETC  |
| Jerusalem Korean Baptist Church                                | Lao Heritage Foundation                                       |
| Jewish Social Service Agency                                   | Latin American Youth Center                                   |
| Jordan Korean Baptist Church                                   |   |
| Just Neighbors   |   |
| Kankouran West African Dance Company                           |   |
| Karamah-A Muslim Women Lawyers Committee for Human Rights      |   |
| Ket Doan Association   |   |
| Khmer Classical Arts Associaiton                               |   |
| Khmer Institute  |   |

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Latino Economic Development Corp (LEDC)  
 Latino Student Fund  
 Latinos Unidos de Frederick Y Sus Alrededores  
 Latinos Unidos de Maryland  
 Latinos United of Montgomery  
 Levantamos the Center for Afro-Brazilian  
     American Cooperation  
 Liberty Korean Baptist Church  
 Liberty's Promise  
 Life Skills Center  
 Literacy Council of Montgomery County  
 Literacy Council of Northern Virginia  
 Literacy Council of Prince George's County,  
     Maryland  
 Lords Korean Presbyterian Church  
 Lutheran Social Services  
 Madison Chinese Dance Academy  
 Mahdere Sebehat Ledeta Lemariam Ethiopian  
     Orthodox Tewahedo Church  
 Manassas Mosque  
 Mar Thoma Congregation of Greater Washington  
 Mary House  
 Maryland Hindu Milan Mandir Corporation  
 Maryland Vietnamese Mutual Association  
 Mary's Center for Maternal & Child Care  
 McLean Korean Presbyterian Church  
 Medhane Alem Eritrean Orthodox Tewahdo Church  
 Medhane Alem Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido  
     Church  
 Medhane Alem Ethiopian Tewahdo Orthodox  
     Church  
 Meftehie Ethiopian Immigrants Association  
 Mei Hwa Chinese School Incorporated  
 Minority Bhulua College Fund  
 Ministerio Jesus El Buen Pastor/Jesus the Good  
     Shepherd Ministry  
 Mongolian School of the National Capital Area  
 Montgomery Chinese Christian Church  
 Montgomery County Consejo Latino  
 Montgomery County Muslim Foundation  
 Moving Forward Contemporary Asian American  
     Dance Company  
 Mujeres En Accion/Women in Action  
 Multicultural Community Service  
 Muslim Advocates  
 Muslim Association of Virginia  
 Muslim Community Center  
 Muslim Community News and Information Center  
 Muslim Community School  
 Muslim Education Resource Counsel

Muslim Legal Defense and Educational Fund  
 Neighbors Consejo  
 Network of South Asian Professionals  
 New Hope Vietnamese Baptist Church  
 Newcomer Community Service Center  
 Nichiren Soshu Academy, Alexandria Chapter  
 Nichiren Soshu Academy, Baltimore Chapter  
 Nichiren Soshu Academy, Maryland Chapter  
 Nichiren Soshu Academy, Washington Chapter  
 Ninos Unidos de Montgomery County  
 Northern Virginia Chinese Christian Church  
 Northern Virginia Family Services  
 Northern Virginia Vietnamese Senior Citizen  
     Association  
 Nueva Vida  
 Okinawa Kai of Washington, D.C.  
 Onnury Korean Baptist Church  
 Oromo Christian Lutheran Fellowship  
 Oromo Community Organization  
 Oromo Development and Advancement Association  
 Pakistan American Business Association  
 Palyul Changchub Dargyeling—D.C. Area  
 Pangasinan Association  
 Persian Cultural Center  
 Phap Hoa Buddhist Association  
 Philippine Medical Foundation  
 Philippine Nurses Association of Metropolitan D.C.  
 Philippine Nurses Association of Metropolitan  
     Washington, D.C.  
 Phuoc Thanh Buddhist Association  
 Potomac Chinese School  
 Progreso Hispano  
 Proyecto Salud Clinica (Montgomery County  
     Language Minority Health Project)  
 Punjabi Community Hour  
 Reston Interfaith  
 Rishis Vaisnava Center  
 Rockville Chinese School  
 Saigon Arts Culture and Education Institute  
 Saint Aphraim Syrian Orthodox Church  
 Saint Mary Native Orthodox Tewahdo Eritrean  
     Church  
 Salomon Zelaya Rehabilitation Center  
 Seoul Presbyterian Church  
 Shing Hwa Chinese Academy  
 Sierra Leone Women's Association  
 Sikh Council on Religion and Education  
 Sikh Cultural Society of Washington, D.C.  
 Sikh Dharma Brotherhood of Washington, D.C.  
 Sikh Foundation of Virginia



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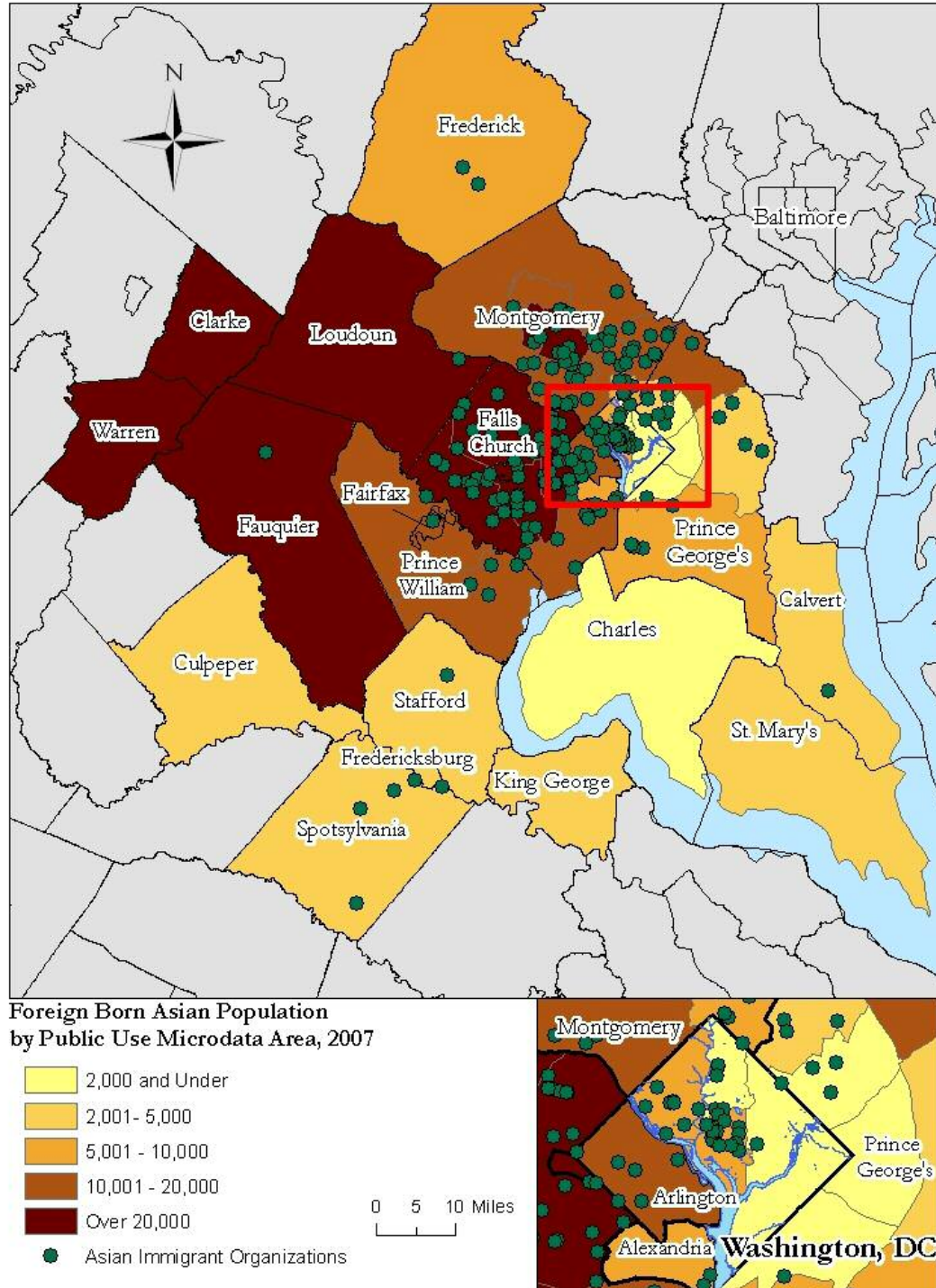
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|--|---|
| Sikh Gurdwara of Greater Washington  | St. Mary Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church                         |
| Sikh Youth Commission  | Sudanese American Community Development Organization                |
| Sikh Youth Forum   | Sung Jin Po Gyo Won Buddhist Temple                                 |
| Silver Spring Hispanic Foursquare Church   | Sutradhar Institute of Dance and Related Arts                       |
| Sinh Thuc Mindful Living Society   | SV Lotus Temple   |
| Somali Family Care Network   | Tabernaculo de la Fe Iglesia Evangelica                             |
| South Asian Americans Leading Together   | Tahirih Justice Center  |
| Spanish Catholic Center  | Taiwanese for Christ  |
| Spanish Education Development (SED) Center                                       | Taiwanese Mission Christian Fellowship                              |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Great Falls                                  | Taiwanese Youth Arts Foundation                                     |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Alexandria                                   | Tamil Sangam of Metropolitan Washington and Baltimore               |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Arlington County                             | Teatro de la Luna   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Falls Church                                 | The Asante Kotoko Association of Washington Metropolitan Area       |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Frederick                                    | The Family Place  |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Gaithersburg                                 | The India School  |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Greater Vienna                               | The Kerala Association of Greater Washington                        |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Greenbelt                                    | The Korean American Community Center                                |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Herndon                                      | The Korean Central Presbyterian Church                              |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Laurel                                       | The Latino Federation of Greater Washington                         |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County Central                    | The Maryland Immigrant Rights Coalition, Inc.                       |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County East                       | The Sierra Leone Community Association Washington Metropolitan Area |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County North                      | The Tenrikyo Capitol Church   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County NW                         | True Buddha Temple  |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County SE                         | Tung-Hsin Choral Society  |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County South                      | Turkish Cultural Foundation   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County SW                         | Turkmenistan Youth and Civic Values Foundation                      |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Montgomery County West                       | Ujima Ya Ujamma   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Prince George's County North                 | United Buddhist Church of America                                   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Prince George's County South                 | United Burundian American Community Association                     |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Prince William County East                   | United Community of Muslims   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Reston                                       | United Oromo Evangelical Churches                                   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Rockville                                    | University United Korean Church                                     |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Spotsylvania County                          | Vajradathu  |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Vienna                                       | Vajrayogini Buddhist Center   |
| Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of Washington, D.C.                             | Vecinos Unidos/Neighbors United                                     |
| St. Ephraim's Benevolent Association of the Greater Washington Metropolitan Area | Vedanta Center of Greater Washington, D.C.                          |
|  | Vien An Buddhist Association  |
|  | Vienna Arabic Language School                                       |
|  | Vietnamese American Buddhist Association Ky Vien Tu                 |
|  | Vietnamese American Community Service Center                        |
|  | Vietnamese American Voters Association, Inc.                        |
|  | Vietnamese Buddhist Association                                     |
|  | Vietnamese Community of Washington Maryland and Virginia            |

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| Vietnamese Gospel Church the Vietnamese Gospel Church              | Washington Metropolitan Association of Chinese Schools         |
| Vietnamese Institute of Philosophy and Religion                    | Washington Metropolitan Community Development Corporation      |
| Vietnamese Literary and Artistic Club of the Washington Metro Area | Washington Metropolitan Sikh Association                       |
| Vietnamese Resettlement Association                                | Washington Metropolitan Tamil Congregation, Indians for Christ |
| Vietnamese Senior Citizen Association                              | Washington School of Chinese Language and Culture              |
| Vietnamese Theological Association, Inc.                           | Washington Sikh Center   |
| Vietnamese Womens Association, Washington, D.C., Area              | Wat Pa Nanachart Buddhist Temple                               |
| Vietnamese Youth Educational Association of Washington             | Watpa Buddharam of Virginia                                    |
| Virginia Kyung Hyang Church  | Wei-Hwa Chinese School   |
| Waldorf Calvary Korean Presbyterian Church                         | Women Empowered Against Violence (WEAVE)                       |
| Washington Asian Philharmonic Orchestra                            | Yeyjin Korean Community Service Center                         |
| Washington Association for Ethiopian Jews                          | Yoruba Temple of Spiritual Elevation and Enlightenment         |
| Washington Buddhist Temple of the Jingak Order                     | Zen Buddhist Group of Washington, D.C.                         |
| Washington Center for Buddhist Studies                             | Zoroastrian Association of Metropolitan Washington             |
| Washington, D.C., Vietnamese Community Center                      | Zoroastrian Center and Darb-E-Mehr of Metropolitan Washington  |
| Washington, D.C., Buddhist Association                             |  |
| Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs   |  |

## Appendix C

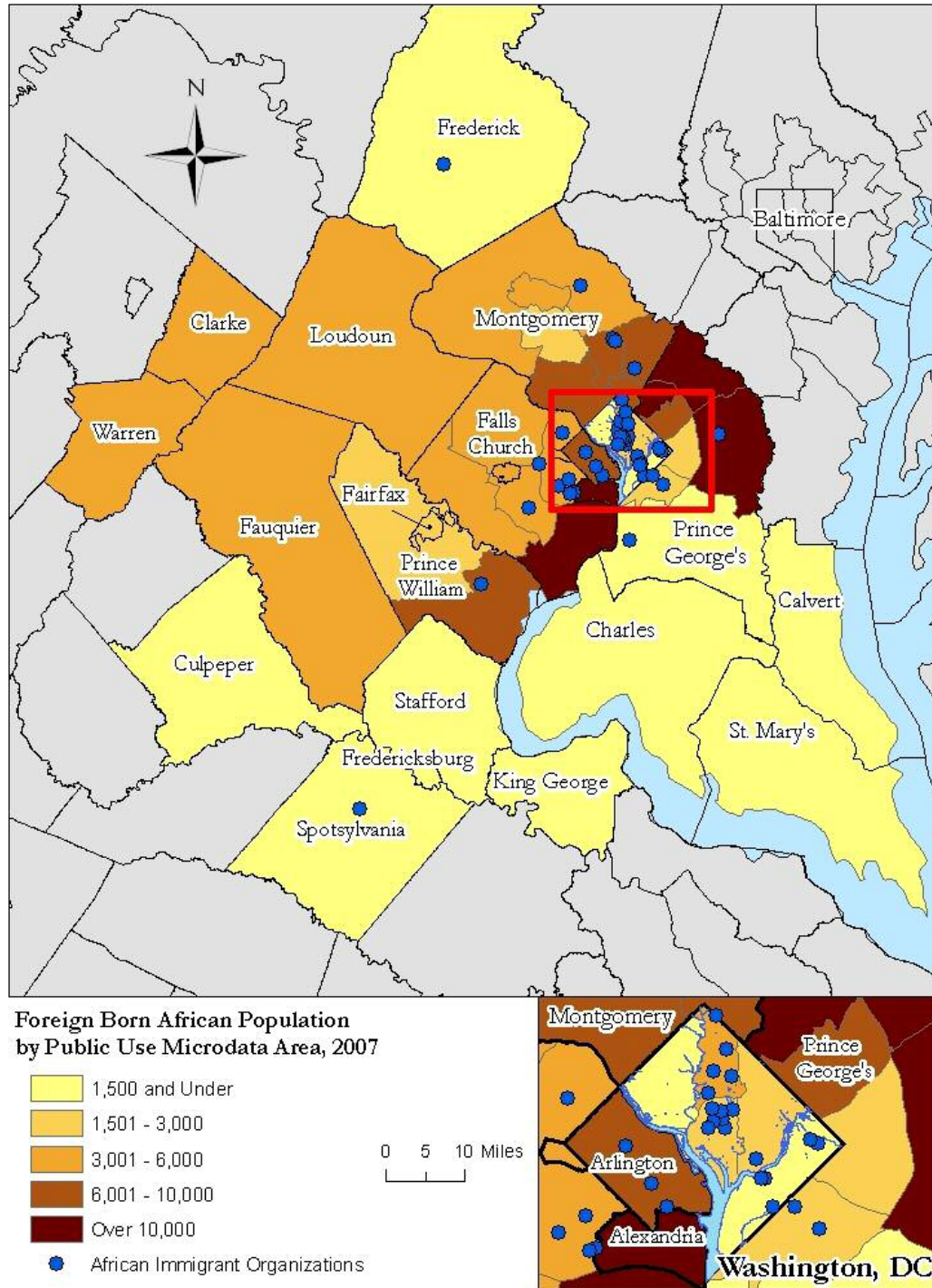
### Foreign-Born Asian Population and Asian Immigrant Organizations in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area



Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008); Urban Institute tabulations from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series datasets drawn from the 2007 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey.

## Appendix D

### Foreign-Born African Population and African Immigrant Organizations in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area

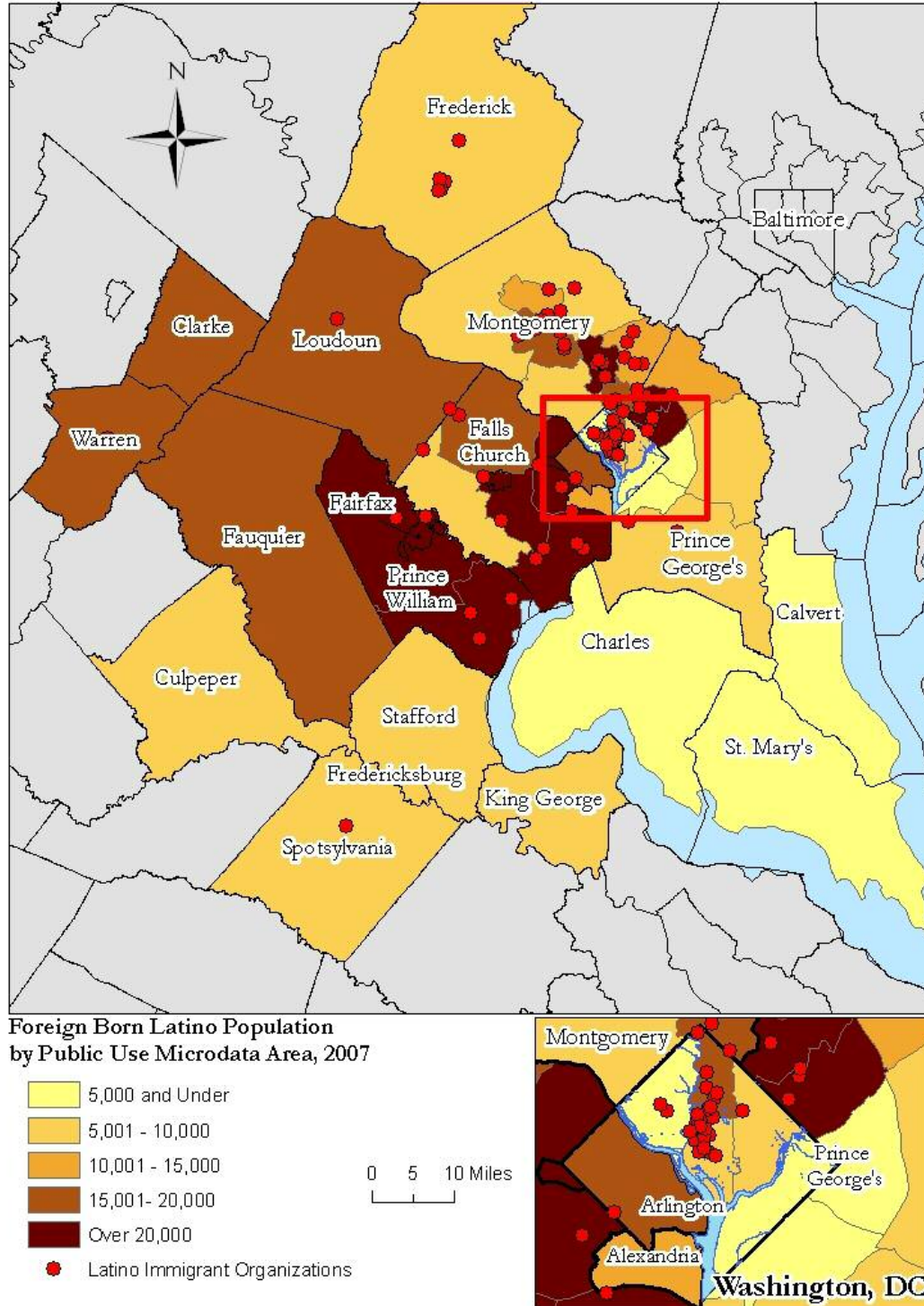


Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008); Urban Institute tabulations from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series datasets drawn from the 2007 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey.



## Appendix E

### Foreign-Born Latino Population and Latino Immigrant Organizations in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area



Sources: The Urban Institute National Center for Charitable Statistics Core File and the Internal Revenue Service, Exempt Organization Business Master File (circa 2008); Urban Institute tabulations from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series datasets drawn from the 2007 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey.









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