Juggling Logics: How Nonprofit Staff Construct an Immigrant Service Field in a New Destination

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THESIS

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I dedicate this to my mother, Aurea, my sister, Erika and undergraduate advisor, the late Allan Schnaiberg. I would not be here without your unwavering love and support.

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SUMMARY

This inductive qualitative study examines the nonprofit sector in two Illinois suburbs. It describes the process of how nonprofit professionals collaborate with local elites to create and sustain immigrant services in community based agencies and regional private and public agencies. It shows how the race and ethnicity of local elites and nonprofit professionals influences the status of distinct agencies.

The evidence presented is drawn from eighty semi-structured interviews with nonprofits professionals and local officials, over one thousand hours of observations in the two communities spent attending professional association meetings and spending time with community leaders. This comparative case study shows: (1) how Latina entrepreneurs have to work within the unofficial guidelines of the white power elite; (2) how the conflicts between Latino professionals' understanding of Latino social needs provides space for their white colleagues to experience occupational mobility; and (3) how the challenges of low organizational density limits the extent to which suburban nonprofits can engage in statewide efforts towards immigrant specific programming. My findings provide models that can be tested to: a) measure ethnic homogeneity within professions; b) examine the relationship between race, community networks, and organizational legitimacy; c) and a model to examine the relationship between community, organizational density, and social policy change.

IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION NETWORKS, FIELDS, AND INSTITUTIONAL COMPLETENESS

SETTING THE STAGE

To assess the state of immigrant organizations in suburban Chicago, I started with professional networking meetings that were organized around distinct social issues. Staff from distinct regional and local government and nonprofit agencies attended either to share information or discuss changes in organizational programming. Between 2004 and 2008, a variety of regional and national advocacy organizations collaborated with local organizations to mobilize immigrants to lobby for immigration policy change. Their actions and protests made apparent that interorganizational networks were key resources in advancing the lobbying for comprehensive immigration reform. The national organizations or regional agencies were headquartered in larger urban centers. Chicago's was one of the most important in the series of political actions. In a set of suburbs north of Chicago, there was one agency that my respondents continuously referred to when it came to Latino immigrants and their status in the community: "The Hispanic Alliance."

Interorganizational networks can help alleviate social inequality by sharing resources like information, complementing each other's programming, or helping their colleagues gain a larger, more diverse client base. With the suburbanization of poverty and immigrants moving to nontraditional locations, scholars of inequality who study suburban nonprofits learn what factors differentiate suburban inequality from urban inequality. The case of immigrant services allows scholars of social inequality to examine the relationship between assimilation, space, and organizations. With immigrants by passing cities and moving directly to suburbs, the

organizational infrastructure in suburbs allows scholars to investigate the extent to which shared ethnicity matters to assimilation processes.

The Hispanic Alliance gatherings were one of several issue-based networking meetings in the county. Its membership is comprised of regional private nonprofits, government service agencies, financial organizations, faith-based organizations and community-based organizations. Nonprofit service agencies were the most important formal organizations that addressed immigrant-related concerns. The majority of meetings were held in Waukegan's public library. When a person walked in, she checked in with the board members and paid for the optional lunch provided. Members received a discount on lunch. The tables, with four to six seats, slowly filled up with local professionals who checked in and served themselves lunch. Some tables were occupied by staff from one agency, while others were collections of individuals or pairs from agencies based in Lake County, Illinois. The majority of people at meetings worked in Lake County.

One of the primary goals of the meeting was to use their members' lunch hour to share the projects the Alliance was involved in, community events, and provide a space for a local agency to present on a local service. Services discussed ranged from housing concerns, community programming, to immigrant-specific services. The Hispanic Alliance, a networking group created by Latina immigrant-serving professionals, was a space where immigrant service providers connected with distinct nonprofits and government agencies to bring attention to the marginalized Latino immigrant community. The meeting opened with a summary of community events the Alliance had been engaged with since last month's meeting. They also discussed important events coming up before next month's meeting, followed by an invited guest's presentation. The presenter had ten minutes to describe the function of her or his organization or

agency. Once this second part of the meeting was over, they quickly went through member announcements and new guest introductions. Members were from organizations throughout northern Lake County and attended such meetings for two reasons: (1) to learn about other services throughout the region that would helpful to their clients and; (2) to share information on events, services or programming their organization was providing. The geographic dispersal of the services benefited from spaces such as Hispanic Alliance meetings. It was how distant agencies became familiar with each other.

I attended meetings between late 2010 and 2014. In the fall of 2013, the Hispanic Alliance meeting presenter explained changes in Illinois's GED process. Starting on the first day of January 2014, the test was undergoing several changes. First, the cost increased by 250%. Second, the test was going to have four different sections versus five. Third, someone interested in the test would have to register and pay online. Fourth, the content would change to be more relevant to the needs of the current job market. One of the important implications of the changes was that people who had not completed the old version of the test by December 31st would lose the scores from the sections they had completed and have to start from scratch. Yahira, an immigrant woman who worked for the Catholic immigrant center, had been angered by the changes and shared her frustrations during the question and answer period. She worried how the changes would affect immigrant clients and the agencies that provided GED courses. In attempting to study and complete the requirements, she struggled in finding the right GED program in Waukegan and believed the change would negatively affect the Latino immigrant community. There were five local agencies in northern Lake County whose clientele was predominantly Latino immigrants, and they shared the burden of meeting the social needs of immigrants. They would have to find grants, staff and/or volunteers, and space to meet the

requirements of the new system. The Alliance's president and the testing coordinator attempted to calm her down. Eventually, due to the time constraints, the president, a Latina professional under the age of 35, announced they had to move along, to respect people's lunch hour.

The scene above highlights several issues that faced immigrant-serving professionals in suburban Chicago. First, the advocacy organizations that received national attention did not have a formal presence in Lake County. Social service agencies and social service staff were the key actors in Lake County's immigrant service sector. Second, the 2000's and 2010's have been a period of time where the social service sector has experienced many changes. From the suburbanization of poverty and immigrant settlement, to local communities becoming responsible for immigration policy and changes in how programming is provided, immigrant-serving professionals had to be aware of the climate in both arenas. They also have to find ways to help their agencies meet the need. Third, the geographic dispersal and low organizational capacity or the suburbs made networks between organizations and their staff important. Fourth, the individuals who interacted with immigrants the most, like Yahira, were sometimes placed in a position where they had to voices the needs of Latino immigrants. Fifth, people who did not interact exclusively with immigrants relied on the Hispanic Alliance to gather information and connect with immigrant service professionals. Nonprofit staff were not only responsible for meeting immigrants' needs, but were also sources of information for their clients. They were responsible for learning about the resources outside of their organization's community. Sixth, I found that the people many community leaders and local officials relied on – to answer questions regarding Latino immigrant concerns – were either women or professionals of Latin American decent. These six observations lead to my dissertation question: In new immigrant destinations, with an immigrant organization field, how does the race, class, and gender of staff influence the

resources immigrants have access to? Answering this question addresses the relationship between workplace inequality, the needs of a marginalized community, and policy change. The stagnant immigration policy climate post 2006 and the suburbaniziation of immigrant settlement makes suburban Chicago an ideal case to answer this question.

To answer the question, I used in-depth interviews conducted between 2010 and 2014, observations made at Hispanic Alliance meetings as well as other nonprofit professional networking meetings, and data from a Lake County survey on immigrant attitudes conducted in the summer of 2010. I found that ethnicity and gender of staff matter more than ethnicity of organization. Scholars of ethnic communities have shown how the networks between ethnic owned businesses and ethnic elite create safe environment that have long-term positive effects on immigrant integration (Breton 1964, for example). However, suburban spatial organization and the proliferation of racialized jobs as a way to meet new market needs introduces a distinct way to understand the function of co-ethnicity as a resource for immigrants' well-being. In the two Lake County communities I studied, not only do ethnic organizations exist. Staff at government and private nonprofits also engaged with immigrants. As a result, I focused on the network of staff who serve immigrants, how they facilitated interorganizational networks, and how these networks helped create immigrant specific programming and ethnic social service agencies. Examining the status of networks across organizations, I also found that Latinos needed to build and sustain networks with local whites to help change the negative climate. Because positions of local power were held by whites and Latinos of both sexes were made responsible, I address how race/ ethnicity and interact in how the distinct groups describe their work, their community and their relationship to the Latino immigrant community. My findings support the claim that, to understand the stagnant immigration policy climate, we must understand how knowledge about

immigrants is produced and translated into policy decisions. I argue that the racialized career paths social service providers are on limit the ability of co-ethnic service professionals to create change. I show how their career constrains and attempts to become socioeconomically mobile limit their engagement in the grassroots advocacy model that was prevalent in traditional destinations throughout the 2000's.

I have described the problem and summarized general findings that I address in each of the substantive chapters. Before describing how I organized my findings and the logic behind the overall organization, I define key concepts and situate the dissertation in immigrant integration studies, organizational studies, and workplace studies. I claim that, to understand policy change, we have to understand the stories of the people who influence lawmakers and interact with marginalized communities. Nonprofits mediate between marginalized communities and the state. However, they are also sites where distinct forms of inequality of area apparent and have implications on the quality of life of the people they serve. I address the relationship between workplace inequality and the experience of immigrants, as a subpopulation of marginalized communities because of the importance co-ethnicity and Latinidad in the nonprofit sector. By Latinidad I am referring to the belief that there are social, cultural, and in my case, professional behaviors and practices that signal whether an individual behaves in solidarity with other Latinos, regardless of legal status and immigrant generation.

To understand the work of immigrant-serving organizations, immigration scholars must draw from the organizational fields literature and outline the organizations' partners in meeting immigrants' social needs. An organization field is an abstract space of action comprised of nonprofit, for profit, and government organizations and individuals involved in providing a service or producing a commodity (Scott and Davis 2007). Identifying the logics to which

professionals perform, I show how the suburban immigrant service field has boundaries. As I observed from attending Hispanic Alliance meetings, immigrant-serving agencies worked with local government bureaucracies, as well as local and regional private agencies. This network of organizations depends on the professional networks of the people who work in them. How did spaces like the Hispanic Alliance foster networks and interagency collaborations? I reveal that membership in the Hispanic Alliance was a professional rite of passage for nonprofit professionals who were immigrant advocates. I describe the networks of immigrant service providers at the individual and organizational level. In doing so, I identify an ethnic professionalized advocacy logic that interacts with a racialized gendered responsibility logic that organize and are organized by the individuals who construct the immigrant service field. How the individual staff navigate the networks is the subject of the dissertation. In pursuing this topic, I learned how the relationships between professionals shape the ways in which organizational networks develop. The two logics that are embodied in staff and organization interactions reveal how the immigrant service field sustains a racialized gendered social hierarchy where whiteness and maleness are the most privileged categories.

NEW GATEWAYS AND CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF PLACE

As other new immigrant destinations scholars have shown, Mexican migration to non-urban locations has changed the racial make up of the communities (ex. Pastor 2014, Marrow 2011; Zuniga and Hernandez-Leon 2006; Massey 2008). Urban scholars have shown how the federal transportation and housing policies in the first half of the 20th century constructed suburbs as white middle-class spaces free of urban poverty (ex. Vicino 2008). On the other hand, large urban centers are sites in which difference is celebrated and engagement in the global economy matters most. Immigrants are changing the places historically organized to protect white, middle

class America and the smaller cities that could not expand at the rate of cities such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Immigrants from the global south are raising questions of racial and class diversity in places that were comprised of European immigrants who entered before 1950 or whites that were able to take advantage of the affordable housing in quieter, bedroom communities.

Case Study

I focus on two municipalities within the county in the northern part of Lake County, a re-emerging immigrant destination. Waukegan had experienced Latino migration with Puerto Ricans settling there in the 1960's and the Mexican population came at the end of the 20th century. The Round Lake communities, twenty minutes west of Waukegan, experienced Latino immigrant population growth in the 2000's. I interviewed staff at agencies based in the county seat and at agencies who interacted with Latino immigrants. I also attended meetings for two other groups of local professionals outside the Hispanic Alliance. I focus on the Hispanic Alliance, where Latino immigration concerns came up the most, to observe how staff exchanged information regarding immigrant specific concerns. Among its members were social service agencies. These organizations and their staff were responsible for addressing questions around immigrant advocacy.

Aside from the exponential Latino immigration population growth, I chose these two communities for two more reasons. First, the nonprofit staff interviewed discussed these as the locus of immigrant services and addressed the relationship between both. Second, their proximity to Chicago, a major actor in the national immigrant rights movements allowed me to explore how proximity affected the climate in the communities. I use the sites to show how regional

advocacy has geographic limits because of how regional incorporates smaller communities into a development or reform movement that privileges actors in the largest urban center.

Waukegan, a small city north of Chicago and county seat went from having 14% of its residents being Latino in 1980, to being a Latino majority city in their 2010 decennial census with 52.7% of the city residents being Latino. Round Lake Beach, one of four historically white suburbs in the second community area I chose as a field site, the Round Lake area, is a suburb that is becoming predominantly Latino. The Hispanic, Non-white population in both communities went from approximately 12% to almost 40% of their population between 1990 and 2010. The places within the county range from wealthy suburbs to smaller cities, exburbs, and ethnoburbs. In the latter some of the latter set of places, over 90% of the students participate in free lunch programs.

The two suburbs have distinct histories, with Waukegan having incorporated in the 19th century and the Round Lake area receiving much of its development post World War II. As a result, the Round Lake area corresponds to the stereotypical white bedroom suburbs lay people are familiar with. Waukegan, on the other hand, was a small industrial (edge) city that has been attempting to recuperate economic stability in the post-industrial society we now exist in. Their spatial and place development stories differ, and though they have distinct population histories and local economies, their Mexican populations began growing around the same time. This correlates with the development of immigrant specific services in both areas. The histories of both areas' immigrant service organizations are linked. The staff at the agencies participate in the same networking group and collaborate on immigrant specific programming. These networks, also linked to the Chicago-based advocacy agency, reveal that the relationship between place and organizational fields and how they shape the power relationships between organizational

networks. The networks between agencies that service immigrants, I claim, is a model to understand how other political and economic networks function within municipalities in non-global cities.

Destination Typology

My concept of place draws from the work of urban scholars (Singer; Pastor and colleagues). Sociologists starting in the late 1990's began to identify the changing patterns of migrant settlement and how this challenged the traditional relationship between space and assimilation (Alba et al 1999; Hernandez Leon and Zuniga 2006; Massey 2008). Singer (2004) created one of the most widely used typologies of new destinations. New gateways refer to communities that have recently come to experience an exponential growth in their migrant population (Singer 2004). Re-emerging gateways are those that had experienced high levels of international migration and had a break over a few decades before receiving new waves of the foreign born. These definitions define Waukegan as a re-emerging gateway and new destination for Mexicans. The Round Lake Area is a new immigrant gateway. For the purposes of this study, a suburb is a place with its own governing structure that has a limited role in driving regional development. Unlike large cities, suburbs are not economic centers whose influence extends beyond their limits, but small communities concerned with local development and constructing community identities that differ from global or primate cities.

ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSIMILATION

Institutional Completeness And Organizational Fields

Organizational networks are studied in a variety of ways. They can be studied across places, within place and the same form, of between different forms and how they compare and compete. I examined networks between staff and how they shaped interorganizational networks

between private and government agencies. By private agencies, I refer to nonprofit organizations and faith-based organizations that receive funding from both private foundations and state and federal funds. An organizational field, as stated above, is a space inhabited by a variety of organizations and individuals who provide a good or produce a commodity. The end product is how we have come to understand the relationship between the distinct stakeholders. In this case, it is to facilitate immigrants' well being in the host society. As a result, the suburban immigrant field is comprised of nonprofits, government bureaucracies, faith-based organizations, immigration lawyers, the immigrants' consulate, and any other agency that provides immigrants a good or service.

Immigration scholars, to varying degrees, have shown how place or community matters. Whether by discussing ethnic economies or ethnic enclaves, immigration scholars have found that immigrants settle in communities where other immigrants from their hometowns have found jobs and affordable housing. The networks that attract them are also the same networks that shape the identity of the ethnic community. Once immigrants establish themselves, they also recruit others from their hometown who then live near the original small group of foreigners who settled in the new community. They create their own services and employed co-ethnics. It was this closed community that has historically eased the cultural shock upon arrival. The variety of services provided by co-ethnics is a measure of institutional completeness (Breton 1964). Services are not limited to employment and foods, but include faith-based organizations and social welfare agencies. Social welfare agencies tended to be founded by elites of an ethnic community (Breton 1964). The more organizations founded and staffed by co-ethnics, the higher the rate of completeness and the less interaction there will be between immigrants and mainstream organizations. The diversity of services sustained by co-ethnic networks was one

way of creating a safe space and place. A closed network of co-ethnics where middlemen managed relations between external consumers of ethnic products looked differently in Lake County. In the suburbs, I found that Latino immigrant communities were more spread out geographically and the number of agencies were fewer and were also spread out. As a result, immigrants were more likely to interface with a variety of non-ethnic organizations as well. The interface with non-ethnic organizations was in part because these organizations employed co-ethnic staff. Co-ethnic staff at these agencies became responsible for creating safe place and space within interracial and interethnic organizations. The work within networks across organizations has been shown to be a method of advocating for marginalized communities (Marwell 2007; Cordero-Guzman et al 2008). I examine how advocacy for Latino immigrants through these relationships shapes how immigrant integration through formal organizations operates.

Breton's (1964) study introduced the importance of co-ethnicity in facilitating membership into the host society and claims that ethnic elites' involvement and creation of social welfare organizations was a method of indicating their status. In creating the organizations, they became social entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneurship literature, however, has not addressed ethnicity (Jones and Donmoyer 2015; Jiao 2011; Tan and Yoo 2011). In suburban Lake County, ethnicity of staff within ethnic organizations and government agencies show how part of their status within the community is linked to how they manage the relationship between the ethnic group and mainstream society. Ethnic social entrepreneurs then, held different positions within a variety of organizations. This, with the low organizational capacity in the suburbs, required me to reframe the concept. Institutional completeness, in this case is not measured in terms of ethnicity, but in terms of breadth of services in northern part of Lake County. Orientating the

study towards the specific services makes using an organizational fields framework important. There were fewer organizations in suburban counties and the few that existed were more spread out. For example, there was one shelter for domestic violence survivors in the northern part of the county. Yahira, staff at Waukegan's Catholic immigrant center, worked at a smaller agency that the Hispanic Alliance's president. The two Latinas were among a group of women and men were navigated the nonprofit market in agencies' efforts to gain access to the Latino immigrant client base. I claim their work in navigating the nonprofit labor market risked the original function of co-ethnicity and its ability to facilitate gradual integration.

These set of factors raise the following questions: How many people at how many agencies provided a specific service? How did they manage their geographic jurisdiction? What resources did their workplace provide to help them provide the service and interact with the Latino immigrant client? Not only did these questions frame my understanding of the suburban immigrant service field, but they also required me to address workplace inequality and how the suburbanization of poverty affected the answers to the questions. In the suburbs, co-ethnicity was not only an asset within the community, but I learned it became a form of capital to help non-ethnic organizations expand their market. In this case, making Latinos responsible for meeting the needs of Latino immigrants is one aspect of racialized gendered responsibility.

Historically, co-ethnics preserved and protected the non-U.S. American group and buffered against discrimination. In communities where the diversity and density of immigrant organizations and immigrant programming staff is low, questions about policy change towards softening the blow of discrimination are answered differently. I show how, in the case of Latino immigrant-serving organizations, the response to discrimination is determined by a small group of whites and Latinos who have distinct conceptualizations of Latino policy change. The

resulting Latino advocacy logic constrains how professional networks can be used to create social change.

Ethnic Economies And Workplace Inequality

Co-ethnic networks have proved useful for nonwhites in a predominantly white workplace (Ibarra 1995). It can be because of linked fate or shared experiences, but non-whites who are hired together fare better in the predominantly white spaces. Co-ethnic networks can also be sites where classed and gendered tensions arise. Studies on Latina professionals have shown how co-ethnicity with client can add more work to Latinas in professions that provide services to a Latino immigrant client base. They are also sites where racialized gendered performances are policed. Whether in what one wears, how feminine or masculine their workplace persona is, scholars have shown how Latinas professional performance is under scrutiny (Agius Vallejo 2009; Garcia-Lopez 2008; Garcia-Lopez and Segura 2008). This and other studies of workplace inequality that examine racial and gendered performances required me to address how co-ethnicity was an asset and a liability in the immigrant service field.

Most studies have not examined differences between two ethnic/ racial groups and two genders. Studies interested in employing an intersectional framework either focus on one racial group or one gender. By comparing two distinct racial groups across gender categories, I am able to show how the intersecting categories construct a complex social hierarchy that affects how immigrant services are provided and how ethnic organizations are institutionalized. I found it was not enough to identify the middlemen minorities and how they brokered between ethnic immigrant communities and local white leaders. First, the middlemen were women. Second, white men were instrumental in helping Latinas establish leadership within the field. The gendered professional tie was a predictor of successful ethnic social entpreneurship. For Latina

professionals, interracial ties were strategic tools they used to accomplish their goals. Intraethnic ties were complicated sites of tension that revealed classed and gendered differences within the Latino community in Waukegan and the Round Lake area. Yahira, the Alliance's president, and the testing coordinator, as discussed in the beginning of the chapter, are evidence of this. Yahira had completed her GED while the other two women were college graduates. The two college graduates managing the expression of the less formally educated Latina immigrant exemplifies some of the classed tensions I describe around how service professionals advocated for immigrants. Nonprofit staff deemed responsible for creating a safe place and space for immigrants were also subject to professional and workplace tensions.

There were differences in terms of the relationship between staff and client, between staff, and between staff and community leader. Co-ethnicity was viewed useful for those hiring staff to interact with Latino immigrants. Some respondents were aware that being conscious of this assumed relationship was useful. I show how the ethnic logic that created racialized jobs, also reveals classed tensions within the Latino professional community. Co-ethnicity was how organizations could learn about their new client base. The idea was hiring a Latino meant that the Latino person hired knew how to speak Spanish, was familiar with the legal and economic challenges low income Latin Americans immigrants face, and that this knowledge would produce a positive relationship between the Latino immigrant and the organization. Staff varied in terms of awareness of this relationship and embodying the knowledge. In practice, knowledge was not a function of and did not result from co-ethnicity. Studies on acculturation or assimilation show how immigrants and their children, through interacting with mainstream societies, accumulate cultural capital that may distance them from the immigrant community (ex Portes and Rumbaut 2001). I found that it was the meaning behind the hiring practice that shaped

the staff composition of organizations. The ethnic logic behind hiring conflated co-ethnicity with knowledge on the respective immigrant community.

Respondents were not only immigrant service professionals, but also elected officials, immigrant activists, and community leaders who were active in organizations like the Hispanic Alliance. The racial makeup of the distinct groups of respondents differed. Most of the elected officials in both communities were white. The only exceptions were Waukegan-based elected officials. The nine-member City Council had two Puerto Ricans, two Blacks, and five whites. The management staff at Lake County agencies were predominantly white. Many of the front-line workers who interacted with staff were either Latino and/or bilingual. The non-Latino front-line workers were white women who felt an affinity towards the Latino immigrant community either because they lived in Latin America for a period of time or were married to an Latin American immigrant. Hispanic Alliance board members, most of whom were of Latin American descent, used their position to help promote their status in the community. This self-promotion complicated local immigrant advocacy efforts. I found that Latino professionals, unlike their colleagues, were placed in positions where some found themselves negotiating their professional interests with their social and political values.

Local immigrant advocacy efforts and the challenges associated with it were most strongly linked with staff interactions. In terms of staff interaction within and between organizations, the size and complexity of the organization mattered. Staff at smaller agencies tended to be more supportive of each other while staff at larger regional agencies interacted less. More importantly, it was the networks between agencies that mattered. Hispanic Alliance was a site where not only a new organization or service-oriented professional was supposed to obtain knowledge on the Latino immigrant community. It was also a site where professionals wrote the

rules of behavior for Latino service-oriented professionals. It was the people who followed the racialized rules, as I discuss in chapters three and four, who facilitated engagement with the local elite and was believed to facilitate occupational mobility. Co-ethnicity between professionals, a network tool used to facilitate immigrant integration for both first generation immigrant and the U.S. born, was also a site where rules for membership were constructed. To be a Latino professional in Lake County was also tied to being a professional Latino. By professional Latino, I am referring to the practice of justifying one's civic and professional behavior because of a strong relationship with the Latino community, both immigrant and U.S. born. Professional ethnicity was the task of the Hispanic Alliance. In this case, professional Latinidad governed co-ethnic networks and the immigrant service field. Joining the Hispanic Alliance and learning the rules was sufficient to become a respected member of the local Latino elite. Those who did not complete these rites of passage, struggled professionally. One of the most important rules governed by co-ethnic networks was the dominant logic behind a professional Latinidad.

Latino professionals, treated as middlemen between local officials and the Latino immigrant community, did not engage in grassroots organizing or contentious politics. Ethnic logic within the Latino community required co-ethnics to engage in practices that demonstrated their affinity towards and connection to other Latinos, regardless of legal status or immigrant generation. Ethnic logic within an ethnic community and outside of it, I show, had distinct practices associated with it. The immigrant service field authorities adhered to the professionalized practice in terms of immigrant advocacy. Engaging in dialogue with local elite and joining boards of directors that they would facilitate incremental change.

Co-ethnicity was a liability when it came to becoming a social entrepreneur. In chapter three, I show how two unsuccessful attempts at forming ethnic organizations with an ethnic

empowerment agenda were insufficient to secure a key, secure role in the field. Occupational mobility was central to the relationship between immigrant integration and advocacy because executive directors of nonprofits are more likely to connect with elected officials to lobby for resources (Mosley 2009, 2010; Marwell 2004, 2007). I discovered a complicated relationship between career trajectories and how professional and political networks operated. Throughout the dissertation, I examine four factors that shaped staff interaction with elected officials: (1) the position an individual held in the organization; (2) organizational form; (3) race and gender of staff and; (4) whether the individual was an active member of the Hispanic Alliance. I show how professional constraints tempered the interactions between staff and local officials.

Racialized, gendered, and classed social hierarchies influenced interactions. Race and gender are performed through interactions at the level of service provision and the performances are linked to whether an individual can secure occupational mobility. The function and practice of professional ethnicity I discuss here and illustrate in subsequent chapters, I show ethnicity and gender operate at three distinct levels: (1) staff level (through interactions); (2) Organizational level (form and staff composition); (3) and at the field level. Whites seemed to have more freedom to choose whether to be responsible for meeting Latino immigrant needs, with women more likely to take responsibility. Latinos, because of the assumed relationship between co-ethnicity and knowledge, did not have the professional flexibility. Latinas were the most prominent and stable group within the immigrant service field. I found this was because of the racialized and gendered practices within the labor market and immigrant service field construction. The strength of the ties Latinas had with local whites was positively correlated with their entrepreneurial efforts. Empathy from whites helped legitimize the ethnic human service labor market. This insecure labor market helps explain Latinos' short-term engagement. It

seemed that Latina entrepreneurs managed the insecurity through finding ways to sustain the interracial networks.

Respondents were concerned about the number of job candidates with the credentials to fulfill the social service responsibilities. In the small local agencies they often worked together, trained each other, and circulated around different key organizations. The mobility concerns in both small and large agencies were not linked to moving up within an organization, but job security and how each conceptualized social advocacy at work. Examining the race, gender, educational credentials and size of the labor pool allowed me to uncover new processes of ethnic identity formation in the workplace. Latinas were responsible for maintaining the field in two ways. First, they created programming and needed interracial networks to facilitate that. Second, they maintained the field by engaging with other immigrant service professionals and building strong ties in those spaces. The Hispanic Alliance was the one space where most of the immigrant service professionals congregated. However, there were divisions within this small group. As mentioned above, there were rites of passage Latina immigrant service professionals had to complete. Aside from engaging with the Hispanic Alliance, formal education credentials, language fluency and her professional network's racial diversity mattered. I found that educational differences between Latino immigrant women and Latinas who grew up in the U.S. created a division that complicated how professional networks could be used towards advocating local policy change.

White women, on the other hand, were in a unique social location that allowed them to gain various forms of knowledge that facilitated their mobility in immigrant services. Co-ethnicity was not a stable predictor for adopting an inclusive Latino policy change agenda. Affinity towards immigrant and immigrant-specific social challenges and knowledge of the

complicated process of adjusting an immigrant's legal status were more likely to explain who was concerned with changing the immigration policy climate. However, hiring practices and career paths made by the individuals within the sector continued to reinforce the relationship between co-ethnicity, knowledge, and responsibility. These processes reveal a fractured Latino advocacy agenda in an unstable professional sector. For most of my respondents, advocacy work is linked to programming and grant security because the staff do not have the resources to accomplish more. This differed from the model of organizing introduced in the beginning of the chapter. Where large urban centers had denser organizational networks and a longer more established history of migrant communities and ethnic organizations, I found that suburban Latinos were operating within a smaller organization field with limited resources and were creating a model that they could find support for.

This complicates the stability of Latinidad as a stable racial category for mobilizing distinct immigrant generations in suburban communities. As the Latino population grows, understanding dynamics between distinct generations is important to sociological understanding of race and ethnicity, especially if U.S. born are hired to interact with Latino immigrants. The social service sector is a site in which social scientists can explore the relations between distinct immigrant generations, and examine how we understand the multi-generation assimilation model in a space. The distinct ethnic logics in professional and social spaces reveal that the distinct spaces each have their own set of codes and symbols that signal belonging to an ethnic group. The professional logic sustains the racial order whereas the logic within co-ethnic networks is governed by class and immigrant generation interests. The gendered responsibility I address in the last two chapters, coupled with the key roles women play in the field, also reveal a racialized burden Latinas face in the human service sector. Their male counterparts, on the other hand,

must address the racialized burden with the gendered norms within the Latino community. I show how this illuminates the challenges the multi-generational process of assimilation and the assumed shared experiences between Latino professional and immigrant client. Latinas are most likely to protect ethnic cultural practices. As a result of the rate at which they are completing college degrees in relation to Latinos, they can also become responsible for shaping the policy that creates the practices that facilitate assimilation. I provide evidence that accounts for how gender, class, and immigrant generation create divisions that make difficult a professionalized advocacy agenda that is focused on the Latino community specifically. The professionalized advocacy agenda is not about creating power within a marginalized community. I found that the agenda work was about formalizing the field and legitimating the careers of the women who authored and regulated the professional ethnic logic. The professional ethnic logic comprised a set of practices that local whites also engaged in and were comfortable with. One the one hand, protecting one's ethnicity created a safe space for Latinos to engage with non-Latinos. On the other hand, the professional Latino practices highlights the classed and generational differences that fractured the ambiguous ethnic category.

Immigrant services are sites where pan-ethnicity is constructed and where the interaction comes up against the immigrant public charge narrative. I show that pan-ethnic identity was not institutionalized through the interactions Latino immigrant client and Latino immigrant service professional. Instead, it was institutionalized through the practices associated with constructing the immigrant service field. I show where and how local whites were involved. For some immigrant service professionals, their conceptualization of Latinidad shaped how they interpreted the challenges of the migrant adjusting to their new societies. For white respondents, it was their inclusive understanding of Latinidad that distinguished them from Latino

respondents. I show how an inclusive interpretation of Latinidad and immigrant services informed who was hired. I also describe how the expectation of an inclusive racialized advocacy agenda linked to addressing restrictive immigration policies and exposed flaws in connecting Latinidad to inclusive immigrant policy change. I argue that the fractured nature Latino advocacy factors into the restrictive policy climate. I address the concept of advocacy and how it connects to immigrant integration below.

Immigrant Bureaucratic Incorporation And The Spectrum Of Advocacy

I outlined the organizational dynamics that establish the rules of the immigrant service field to explain how this relates to current scholarly conversations on the relationship between immigrants, nonprofits and the state. As stated in the beginning, nonprofit organizations mediate between immigrants and the state. Diversity of forms and services are a measure of institutional completeness. In my case, the diversity of staff and their interactions reveal the logics that govern the field and its power dynamics. In the 2000's immigrant advocacy organizations that had forged ties with key elected officials attempted to use their relationships with small agencies and elected officials to lobby for change. Until now, that has not produced the results hoped for after hundreds of thousands of people filled the streets in Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York that helped stop the Sensenbrenner bill from being passed. As a result, other nonprofit agencies engaged in other forms of advocacy have to be studied. In studying human service agencies, I have found that ethnicity of staff and clients matter. How ethnicity operates depends on the socioeconomic status and gender of the staff person. The distinct career trajectories along racial and gender lines reveals what individuals and what networks of individuals construct the guidelines for immigrant services and immigrant social rights. Yahira, who was connected to both grassroots activists and immigrant service professionals, wanted to address both civil and

social rights in her capacity, but her agency did not have the human or financial resources to allow her to do. As a result, addressing the challenges in meeting social rights seemed to be the only formalized space in which to discuss the other forms of marginalization Latino immigrants experienced.

Immigrant integration, or how foreigners become full members of U.S. society, is an outcome of the work of a variety of organizations. Within the immigrant integration literature, the staff of these organizations have been invisible actors or an extension of the organization and climate they work in. I make their experiences visible to show how workplace inequality constrains their ability to engage in policy making. The rules or social policies that shape the immigrant service field are constructed through the interactions between government and nonprofit elites. Showing where people who are most knowledgeable on the social needs of Latino immigrants are within the nonprofit field reveals how their knowledge is commodified. The commodification process legitimates the organization as an immigrant service provider, but does not always facilitate occupational mobility. I make the staff of immigrant-serving organizations visible to show how their career trajectories influence immigrant integration questions. The commodification of knowledge of immigrant social needs legitimates the concentration of Latinos in front line work and constraints Latinos in administrative roles. Knowledge of immigrant social needs is either concentrated at the front line, competes with others' social needs, or repackaged during interactions with local elites. The repackaging excludes the criminalization and political marginalization of the group so as to avoid straining already vulnerable professional ties.

I examine social service agencies rather than social movement organizations because social movement organizations were not formalized in my research site. Informal networks

existed but were unsuccessful in institutionalizing streams of funding for their work. I draw from the experiences of immigrant service professionals in order to understand the every day lives of the people as they exist before, during, and after the social movements or political actions that immigrants engage in in the stagnant immigration policy climate. Local immigrant activists were interested in building immigrant political power, and the immigrant service professionals were more interested in finding ways to keep their jobs and, in the case of Latino human service professionals, becoming members of the local elite. Not only is this group most likely to exist regardless of the social movement, they are also most likely to be the first to institutionalize a particular logic space that appeases the widest array of research-rich stakeholders. To varying levels of awareness, the human service professionals with the strongest ties with local elites have the most authority in defining what immigrant integration is and the programming that best fits their definition. While this argument is not new, I add how racialized and gendered meanings govern the interactions. It is how they define the concept through organizational practices that also shows how their work institutionalizes a racialized gendered social order.

I concentrate on staff because organizations are comprised of individuals who interpret climates based on their own subjectivities and relationship to service work. The funds they receive shape the services an organization provides. Identifying the workplace interactions that shape how staff decide on services reveals what social rights matter to the field stakeholders who fund programming. These include English classes, job training, and how they manage to gain access to the public services they are eligible for. I distance myself from a state-centered conversation to an organization as workplace focus to address a variety of relationships. I show it is the power dynamics within the workplace that explain how knowledge does not travel through the various vertical and horizontal networks.

The staff are responsible for teaching immigrants how to fit in to their new communities. Their social location shapes how they educate. The logics behind the various forms of education immigrant service professionals provide matter. Their role is to explain immigrants' social needs, the complicated political system to both stakeholder and immigrant client, and the social and cultural norms to the immigrant client. Above, I have discussed co-ethnicity, place, and briefly mentioned gender. The relationship between Latino mobility in the nonprofit sector and Latino immigrant services will be elaborated on in the dissertation. Racialized jobs in a feminized workplace show how Latinas became responsible for stabilizing the immigrant service field. The authority over a marginalized community's social rights belongs to the men in authoritative positions and the marginalized women who interact with them. The racialized jobs they occupy do not predict whether they will embrace an inclusive advocacy agenda. What the racialized job of Latino immigrant service professional does is provide suburban Latinos a space to engage with community leaders and become one themselves.

In the two suburban communities I study, immigrant service professionals are subject to and help institutionalize the meaning systems that define their formal and informal job responsibilities. It is a matter of how they sustain ethnic categories and how this exercise is linked to professionalized advocacy practices. White men sponsoring Latinas and the number of Latinas sustaining the professionalized advocacy logic are evidence that construction and institutionalization of the immigrant service field is a racialized gendered process. I show how men are involved briefly in constructing its limits while women are tasked and made responsible for sustaining it. Gendered responsibility is indicated by men's short-term engagement and their relationship with women in the field. The gendered responsibility differs along racial and ethnic lines. Latinas engage a professional mothering of young Latinas and Latinos, yet are the

professional daughters of key white men in the field. It is the transfer of authority within the field, and how the authority is put into practice at work that reveals the racial and gender inequality. Attending Hispanic Alliance meetings and hiring Latinos and Latinas are how staff help the human service agencies they work for play a part in sustaining a pan-ethnic identity. Pan-ethnic ties are sites where practices associated with Latinidad are constructed. Linking Latinidad to a practice of Latino immigrant social justice involves white women immigrant serving professionals who are married to Latinos in positions.

Employment practices that keep Latinos in racialized jobs with limited resources has implications for the relationship between ethnicity and how immigration policy changes in small communities. First, I show how poorly funded suburban racialized jobs limit the extent to which grassroots advocacy work can evolve into a formal organization. Second, professionalized advocacy becomes the task of a group comprised of Latinas and white women. Third, the shifting authority between creation and institutionalization reveals the relationship between gender and power within an organizational field. I show that local policy challenges are competing with an insecure nonprofit labor market. Those most at risk are Latinos because the assumed relationship between co-ethnicity with immigrant and knowledge of immigrant social needs. Because the value of Latino professionals is linked to how much information or capital they have within the Latino immigrant community, the asset at hiring becomes the liability when attemping to become upwardly mobile.

Also, when Latino immigrant advocates are concentrated in front line work, those in management positions are left to engage in professionalized advocacy towards immigration reform. However, the women in these positions also had to manage their staff and secure grants to keep their staff. The concentration of immigrant advocates in direct service work, combined

with the small number of directors responsible for professionalized advocacy institutionalizes an ethnoracial order in how advocacy works. Local policy change through relationships with local elites depends on whether the heads of ethnic organizations have enough professional, cultural, and ethnic capital to make visible the restrictive practices their community leaders engage in. The relationships between staff and between staff and community stakeholders are where taken-for-granted assumptions about ethnic identity shape future interracial workplace relationships in the nonprofit sector.

What my dissertation adds is how racial and ethnic logics influence organizational behavior. Staff are important stakeholders who not only perform according to the professional and racialized codes of conduct, but also exercise forms of authority in shaping the policy that shapes how their organizations can behave. How they manage the distinct meaning systems reveals what measures of legitimacy shape what kind of advocacy work they, as staff, can engage in. Staff's ability to change the codes that shape organizational behavior depends on the location of the staff within the organization and how their experience as professionals interacts with the codes that shape the organizations for which they work. My dissertation is a case where the code of Latino ethnic logic has class, education, and ethnoracial fractions that unintentionally sustain the hostile immigrant climate.

Contrasting immigrant advocacy in Chicago (Cordero-Guzman et al 2008; Flores-Gonzalez and Pallares 2010) with that in Lake County reveals the geographic limitations of advocacy logics. I argue that grassroots advocacy culture institutionalized in Chicago clashes with the suburban climate. The Latino ethnic logic dominant in the suburbs does not complement the work of Chicago's regional immigrant advocacy groups. Chicago's relationships with Springfield shape statewide policy, but with few suburban stakeholders involved in the

conversation, a new challenge is presented to the grassroots advocacy formalization process. I show how the work of managing the Latino logics serves as a barrier to attempts at grassroots advocacy formalization. The Hispanic Alliance, originally started as a suburban advocacy group of Latina nonprofit professionals, has survived a hostile climate because of its focus on professionalizing a Latino logic that was accessible and comforting to the white elites they worked with.

ARCHITECTURE OF DISSERTATION

Each chapter addresses a specific factor that provides evidence on the relationship between staff's professional status and the construction of the immigrant service field. The chapters explain how immigrant services came to Lake County through the creation of jobs and organizations, then detail how the professionals navigate the labor market and local community relations. I show how this in turn explains stunted immigration reform in a state with mixed contexts of reception. Each addresses distinct network formations and how information exchange happens at distinct levels. Each chapter outlines a distinct process that explains how the Latino professionalized advocacy logic is institutionalized. I demonstrate how this compliments the restrictive immigration political climate in Lake County. The substantive chapters are divided into two parts. The first two chapters (Chapters 2 and 3) address the networks of organizations grounded in Lake County and regional agencies. The latter two chapters focus on staff relations. I introduce the Hispanic Alliance in the second chapter discuss it in detail in the fourth chapter.

Chapter 2 reveals the regional limits of the immigrant service field by detailing how Lake County's state-funded immigrant-serving staff cannot meet the expectations of the Chicago-based immigrant advocacy organization. I focus on the relationship between a regional advocacy

organization, MARIA, Illinois's Department of Human Services, and the attempt to expand the Chicago-based agenda into Lake County. I show how the Chicago based organizing model cannot survive because its suburban partners do not have the finances or staff capacity to sustain their work while managing the restrictive political climate against immigrants. In revealing the geographic boundaries of field logics, I lay the groundwork for the Latino professionalized advocacy logic that frames the behavior of immigrant service professionals.

Chapter 3 focuses on the immigrant service professionals in Lake County and the range of organizations they work for. The professionals either work for regional agencies or local agencies. In describing their experiences, I address the relationship between racialized jobs and social entrepreneurship and show how the Latinas responsible for creating programming are ethnic social entrepreneurs. The local constraints introduced in Chapter 2 are further elaborated in Chapter 3 to show which networks facilitated the creation of programming and services. Interracial networks were important in the creation and maintenance of Latino immigrant services in two ways. First, it was the expansion of regional agencies into the suburbs. Second, interracial networks facilitated the creation of immigrant-specific organizations. These two happened simultaneously and reveal the insecure funding streams, the small number of positions geared towards immigrant specific programming and interaction, and the importance of having community elites as allies. It is in this chapter that I present the first piece of evidence linking co-ethnicity, being knowledgeable about immigrant social needs, and responsibility towards constructing the field. I illustrate how this relationship is one step towards establishing a professional identity grounded in ethnic ties.

Chapters 4 and 5 address staffs' career trajectories and their networks. Chapter 4 focuses on the non-entrepreneurs and describes the competing conceptualizations of Latinidad. The

competing conceptualization of co-ethnicity are linked to immigrant generation and the extent to which the respondent embodies the relationship between empathy towards immigrant social needs, responsibility towards changing the climate of reception, and the staff's ethnicity. The difference between Latinas and white women's status in the workplace reinforces the relationship between ethnicity and responsibility. I show this creates the space for white women to professionally ascend within the Latino immigrant service sector. In Chapter 5, I focus on the relationship between men and women. I discuss men's tangential relationship with the sector, how this relates to racial categories, and end with analysis of Latina's mentoring models within the sector. In this chapter, I show how gender interacts with the factors that regulate intraethnic networks. One's relationship to a Latina entrepreneur, Hispanic Alliance membership status, and gender differences in career practices, reveals how responsibility towards immigrant advocacy is racialized and gendered. The concluding chapter addresses the findings' implications on local advocacy logics, the young professionals inheriting the service sector, and a re-evaluation of how to understand the challenges of serving immigrants in new immigrant destinations. Socioeconomic inequality and intergroup relations, with the growing number of immigrants settling outside of urban centers, is no longer a specifically urban social phenomenon. Nonprofits, as intermediaries between marginalized communities and the state, must be studied as workplaces because it is how the individuals navigate the labor market that will help scholars understand how policy decisions are made at distinct levels of governance.

LIMITED LOGICS: PLACE-BASED CONSTRAINTS ON FIELD FORMATION

This chapter describes the statewide interorganizational context to illustrate the geographic boundaries of advocacy logics in the immigrant service organizational field. Using a grounded, qualitative approach and design, I show that suburban immigrant service professionals manage competing immigrant integration narratives at the local and regional level to demonstrate that the challenges within immigrant federalism are not limited to the relationship between federal and state bureaucracies (Ramakrishnan and Gulasckaram 2012), but include the relationship between state and municipal bureaucracies. I also show that, by revealing the geographic limits, nonprofits are responsible for working within their local contexts to manage the interests of community stakeholders. I argue, by examining suburban professionals' challenges in meeting Latino immigrants' social needs, that organizational fields geographic boundaries' result from governance structures and the networks nonprofits have built with the various levels of government bureaucracy. I show that these boundaries are constructed by the place's history and how this history shapes what immigrant integration logic governs the behavior of immigrant service professionals.

I make my case in the following ways. First, because Illinois is home to two sanctuary counties and one sanctuary city, I analyze the attempt to create a statewide immigrant integration agenda to highlight the authority Chicago-based agencies exercise in formulating it and executing its goals. Second, I describe the attempts of the Midwestern Association of Refugee and Immigrant Advocates (MARIA) made in implementing programs through suburban agencies and the challenges their staff faced. The challenges staff face, I show, is one factor that halts the attempts at institutionalizing grassroots advocacy organizations. Third, I briefly address local attempts at grassroots organizing as another piece of evidence that explains why grassroots

advocacy was unsuccessful. This section reveals that conflicts among individuals claiming to be immigrant advocates worsened the workplace challenged faced by MARIA trained staff. The last section presents how a professionalized Latino advocacy logic was constructed by a collection of immigrant service professionals and Latinos professionals in other sectors. I demonstrate that this logic not only becomes the dominant logic shaping the mission of immigrant serving organizations, but also shapes how immigrant serving organizations were institutionalized, the subject of the following chapter. Introducing the professionalized advocacy logic in this chapter lays the groundwork for addressing racialized, gendered, and classed practices discussed in later chapters.

ILLINOIS IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION AGENDA

Illinois's Immigrant Service Line Item and 2005 Executive Order

Illinois's state budget had a line item for immigrant services from the mid 1990's to 2015. It was initially passed by then Republican governor, Jim Edgar. The funding was for programming in English and computer skills. In 2005, then Illinois governor Rod Blagojevich signed an executive order for a New Americans policy initiative. The order created a committee of experts, the New Americans Policy Council (NAPC), who worked with "immigrant leaders, Illinois governmental leaders, and an advisory committee of national policy experts over the next two years to recommend strategic directions for Illinois immigrant policy" (ICIRR 2006a 2). NAPC deliberated between 2005 and 2007 to advise the state on best strategies for immigration policy related to health care, social services, job training, home ownership, security, and citizenship, to name a few. Illinois's 21st century immigrant integration narrative set a nationwide precedent as a result of relationships between Chicago-based agencies and the governor's office.

The first piece of evidence of the immigrant integration field's geographic limits is addressing who comprised the NAPC. The majority of the NAPC was comprised of Chicago-based agencies. The line item and executive order are linked to Chicago's organizational capacity. Chicago, as a traditional destination throughout the twentieth century, was also the site of dozens of ethnic organizations that were founded to meeting the needs of the diverse immigration population within the city. The Midwestern Association of Refugee and Immigrant Advocates (MARIA), a Chicago-based agency with membership across the state, was one of the principal organizational actors in working with the governor's office after 2002. As a membership coalition, the organization was connected to the majority of immigrant service organizations in the city and suburbs.

MARIA was involved in working with then Governor Blagojevich with creating the order and including a state-funding citizenship application program to help legal residents apply gain naturalization. The director of Illinois' Department of Health and Human services between the late 1980's and early 2000's was involved in founding MARIA and worked closely with Chicago-based ethnic agencies in the 1990's and 2000's around questions of immigrant and refugees social needs (Montalto 2012). Cordero-Guzman and colleagues (2008) showED how Illinois's coalition model was distinct from other states and how organizational networks were crucial to mobilizing immigrants for the 2006 May Day marches. It was the strength and age of these ties that served as the groundwork for creating the statewide agenda and also explain why Chicago-based agencies were at the center of creating the statewide agenda.

The NAPC recommendations were grounded in the history of migration to Illinois and how it shaped Illinois's economic prominence in the county. The history of migration is based on Chicago's rich immigration history. As a result, the evidence to make the case for a statewide

agenda was drawn from narratives of twentieth century migration to Chicago. The actors involved in putting the recommendations together were national advocacy organizations, state government bureaucracies, along with philanthropic and business leaders. The eighteen agencies were convened by MARIA (Gonzalez 2010). Of the twenty-five individuals who made up the council, seven were from organizations and businesses outside of Chicago or Cook County and elected officials were not included. The council's logic was "The successful integration of our new arrivals and their children is essential for the continued prosperity of the state's increasingly globalized economy. Illinois is a moderate state and has responded to […] the need for immigrant integration in a practical, bi-partisan way" (ICIRR 2006b 1). The lack of diversity in representation deciding on a state wide policy is evidence that Chicago actors were driving the narrative of what programming was necessary and what challenges the state would face. The council's existence is evidence that networks matter, and is also evidence that the ties between state agencies and Chicago agencies would determine the fate of the state. Identifying the geographic boundaries to the immigrant integration agenda is important because it is the first step in explaining why the professionalized advocacy logic that was formalized in Lake County. Immigrants have contributed to Illinois's economic vitality since the early 19th century:

> Since 1818, immigrants have been an integral part of its cultural makeup and key contributors to its economic development …. They built hundreds of small market towns around the needs of agricultural communities, some of which later grew into vital cities. [Cities] were the economic hubs favored by immigrants because they offered work and the opportunity to develop new industries." (6)

Here, the report links the state's economic strengths to the contributions of immigrants. Immigrants constructed the state's economic centers which evolved into cities. Immigrants, they suggest, took advantage of the changing economy. Not only they did they build small market towns, they also created the economic infrastructure that helped encourage more migration to the

market towns and cities. The general description, throughout the report, made references to Chicago as the ideal type of their story. In connecting migrant's economic contributions to the transition towards a global economy, Chicago remained at the center of the narrative of regional development. There was no reference to whether immigrants were rebuilding suburban communities. The danger with the strong ties between Chicago immigrant-serving organizations and state bureaucracies was that it took for granted whether suburban communities would see immigrant population growth as an economic asset.

Recommendations

The first year of recommendations addressed four challenges: "1. Assist adult newcomers to quickly become fully contributing and integrated members of society by addressing barriers of language, skill transfer, citizenship status, and skill acquisition; 2. Assist children of immigrants to maximize their potential; 3. Ensure that immigrants can access the services and opportunities offered by the State; 4. Ensure practical, local access to state programs." (ICIRR 2006b 3-4) The report emphasized state context, highlighted suburban challenges, and provided statistical summaries of the immigrant population by county and their economic contributions. The report identifies key partners in executing the recommendations. These include: The Illinois Community College Board, Illinois Board of Education, the Department of Commerce and Economic Opportunity, Women Employed, the Joyce Foundation, the Chicago Jobs Council, Early Learning Council, with the State of Illinois as the principal actor encouraging their involvement in creating pathways towards jobs, language acquisition and funding human services that gave immigrants the skills to meet the state's labor needs.

The policy recommendations from the second year focused on housing, community safety, and economic development. One of the objectives of the NAPC was to "develop

measures on the most effective and strategic measures that the state of Illinois can take to integrate fully into the economic and civic life of the state, for the benefit of the state, the immigrants themselves, and their host communities" (ICIRR 2006a, 3). The first year's recommendations focused on the organizational and government bureaucracies that provided programming. In focusing on an immigrant's quality of life, the organizational participants tie an immigrants' well-being to the well being of their communities. The second-year report provides definitions for each measure: *Housing* refers to homeownership and access to housing in areas where immigrants live that meet their families' needs; *Community safety* is measured by language barriers and building a mutually beneficial relationship with law enforcement; lastly, *economic development* is linked to encouraging immigrant entrepreneurship. These concepts refer to distinct measures of economic belonging: immigrants needed places to leave where they felt safe and could therefore make positive contributions to the communities they called home.

In both suburban communities, the presence and economic contributions of Latino immigrants was visible. Whether by the number of Mexican restaurants, or how the most active economic corridors had Mexican or Latino enterprises, the Mexican immigrant population was making economic contributions to both communities. However, community practices in both areas pointed to making Mexican immigrants feel less welcome than what the NAPC was working towards. Latino immigrants moved to the area because of affordable housing, but it was the arena of safety, as discussed later in this chapter, that they felt most insecure.

Recommendations Enacted

MARIA staffed the meetings, produced reports, and administered state funds to immigrant serving organizations throughout the state. They were the agency most interested in institutionalizing a statewide immigrant integration agenda. The report was successful in

identifying the key state economic and government actors that would have to be involved to execute the recommendations. The state-funded services expanded at the same time the executive order was signed to fund programs to help legal residents become citizens. This, combined with funding for immigrant organizations to help immigrants gain access to the public services they had access to, were key sources of government funding for community agencies throughout the state. MARIA used the state executive order model to help other regional advocacy organizations outside of Illinois to fashion the partnerships the reports suggested. The state policy roadmap represented by the recommendations was not useful within the state's boundaries. Below I show how and why.

SUBURBAN REALITY

The climate in Waukegan and the Round Lake area contrasted the positive themes within the two reports and are the second piece of evidence to demonstrate the geographic limits of the immigrant service field. The atmosphere in in which immigrant service professionals had to interact with immigrants was shaped be two factors: the tense climate in Lake County; the differences in understanding among residents, professionals, and community stakeholders within two communities with less organizational capacity. This climate shaped how they found ways to secure and use available funding for immigrant-specific programming. Funding streams connected Springfield, Chicago, and the Lake County communities where I conducted my research. That is where the state regional field concept as an asset stopped. Below I describe the tensions within the community, among local stakeholders, and use a case of one professional who was caught in the midst of competing network expectations to elaborate on the sources of tensions and how they constrained the work of immigrant service professionals.

Immigrant Insecurity

Isabella, a Lake County resident who grew up in the wealthier part of the county, was at first scared of Waukegan. She sat on various boards and saw herself responsible for building relationships among immigrant service professionals and local community leaders. When describing the perception of Latinos in Waukegan, she stated: "People from other communities don't feel safe because they assume, because you are Latino, you don't provide or you don't promote safety … Latinos are the ones who have ruined the city." Isabella's claims are supported by the practices associated with local regulations and ordinances that were passed before and during the executive order. They also made immigrants feel insecure. Waukegan, the county seat, had more restrictive policies. First, in 2003, the city passed a traffic ordinance mandating a $500 ticket for uninsured drivers and requiring that their cars be towed and impounded. Isabella illustrated how it worked:

> They used to do safety checks like every Friday and a lot of – and they knew what they were doing. They were doing like – 'cause a lot of [Latino] drivers do not have drivers' licenses … they used to do a lot of safety checks and they used to take cars away from families and they will charge 500 if they don't have license-no, if they don't have insurance, and they if they don't have licenses they will take their car away, and I heard stories that they would leave the families in the road, but then when we met with the mayor, he would ay, 'Nooo, that's not true, we put – WE give rides to the families.' The police officers would give rides to the families, but then I will hear stories from the other members of the community, that will say, oh no, they will leave the kids there and the moms, and they don't care. … They stopped doing it because the administration didn't have the money

Sitting on local boards allowed her to interact with various community leaders within the local government bureaucracies and other local professionals. The local connections were more important to manage and protect than engaging with Chicago agencies. In describing how the ordinance operated she shows a few challenges in how the community understood safety. First,

the security checks were frequent. Second, she suggests that Waukegan police engaged in racial profiling. One could only obtain a license with legal status. Those without licenses were undocumented. Many respondents believed that the new Latino residents were also undocumented. Third, the people stopped and whose cars were taken claimed that they were abandoned in the streets. What matters most in her recount is that it suggests a strained relationship between law enforcement and Latino immigrant residents. Immigrant activists and immigrant residents confirmed that Latino immigrants felt insecure in the two communities. Families running errands feared getting around because they could get stopped and run the risk of being put in proceedings. Roman, a Mexican immigrant activist, extends the discussion of safety and immigrant profiling below:

> the previous mayor, they had roadblocks every month. Just with excuse of, you know, 'we're making sure people has their seatbelt on,' right, for 'security' they will make it a security issue. 'we want people to be driving, not under the influence.' … the language the sheriff used to use back then was, you know, 'we want to make sure that these criminals are not here.' Um, and they were going to homes, based on their record. On their criminal background. Uh, people who were facing deportation, they will be picked up. … When they were doing that, they were picking up people who were not criminals. Just for being immigrants

He outlines how the towing ordinance facilitated a form of racial profiling against these perceived to be outsiders. The roadblocks brought immigrants in contact with law enforcement. Though the sheriff uses the term criminal to describe dangerous drivers, Roman's description suggests that the towing ordnance was a local policy to criminalize immigrants and begin their deportation proceedings. The undesired criminals were the Latino immigrants that some longtime residents did not want present in their communities. Not only did the ordinance financially burden the immigrant, it also made them fearful of local law enforcement. Law

enforcement could then, by prosecuting the immigrant for the ticket, somehow find out s/he was undocumented and turn him/ her over to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials.

The towing ordinance was the first step. Near the end of 2006, the ordinance was struck down by a federal judge. There were two other efforts to give law enforcement legal authority to act on the behalf of ICE. The first was in 2007. The city council introduced and passed 287(g), which gave Waukegan police the authority to act on behalf of ICE in detaining undocumented immigrants. Thought it passed, a mass mobilization outside of Waukegan's City Hall was generally believed to be one of the reasons United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) did not finalize the decision. The second occurred in 2010. Secure Communities, operated similarly and gave county authorities jurisdiction, was not denied by the Lake County Board. Another immigrant service professional describes how the new policy built on the fear and insecurity of immigrant communities here:

> There's another, there's one thing I've noticed a LOT since Lake County has become um one of the Secure Communities, … So [immigrants] come in here, and they ask me, 'I need, I need an immigration attorney.' And I ask, 'well, what was the situation that you have, before I can recommend you the right path to follow?' … like for example this morning. This morning at 9:39 when I walk in, there's uh 2 ladies, their brother had expired license plates. Well, that automatically triggered him to be arrested, because he had prior outstanding tickets. And our community for example does not understand that, once you get pulled over twice, for driving w/o a drivers license, before Secure Communities you were lucky 'cause you would get a ticket and you would have to go to court. And when you go to court, they issue you a DL number, so that the court could track you. And so if they pull you over 2 times and you haven't taken care of the outstanding issues, they automatically revoke your license. So they're very confused, 'how could they revoke something I don't have' … and so once they're tracking them, they um, they can find time for having, driving with a revoked drivers license. So imagine how confusing that is for someone – 'well, how could you arrest me for something I don't have?'

Secure Communities not only sustained the fear introduced with the 287(g) proposal and the towing ordinances. Above, Clarissa shows how immigrant-serving professionals had to learn the details of the immigrant need and legal concern before they could advise. Providing informed counsel was many times the work of any nonprofit professional who interacted directly with immigrants. They had to create the programming, engage local community leadership, and be knowledgeable about the local policies. State agencies or resources rarely come up during interviews outside of funding related discussions.

A key aspect of that was managing relationships with local leaders and officials. Community officials and local community leaders who tended not to engage directly with immigrant residents feared how immigrants changed the community's identity. On the other hand, the individuals responsible for creating neutral spaces for resident interaction where immigrants could feel safe also had to worry about the daily concerns of a population that local policies marginalized. Observations and field work over four years revealed how local immigrant service professionals had to manage the negative perception community leaders and officials had with the consistent state of fear in which Latino immigrants lived. Jane, a long time resident and career nonprofit professional, said the following about the Latino community in Waukegan:

> From what I understand, there's a great divide in the community, of resentment toward the Hispanic population … People in Waukegan, the Latino population was scared to death and they were moving out of Waukegan, they weren't moving into Waukegan, …I don't remember it being an issue, now because it is the majority, they are the majority, there's conflict, over you know, resources probably, … I think the, the more they're becoming the majority the more the power base gets threatened

A Divided Community

A key aspect of the recommendations' success was encouraging and securing cross sector collaboration. However, community leaders and residents had distinct opinions of how Latino immigrants affected the two Lake County communities. A 2010 survey of Lake County residents conducted found that most residents did not feel economically threatened by Latino immigrants (Krysan, Hall, Washington 2013). Waukegan and the Round Lake area were no different. Whether it was questions of whether Latinos affected crime rates, affected property value, or hurt the local economy, the majority of respondents indicated that Latinos did not make things worse (see Chapter 7). On other hand, the majority of residents in both communities supported national-level restrictive immigration policies. These included worksite raids, border control, and deportations. Some community leaders worried about how Latino immigrants would change the social order.

For example, a community leader said the following about the Latino population in Waukegan:

> We have a large, large, large Hispanic population, an unregistered Hispanic population that are not paying taxes into the system. So of course, if they are not paying taxes to support their families, then we are. And we are not paying enough. …there is not enough resources to educate them adequately or support them. So not only do my kids suffer, but their kids suffer. …

The narrative of economic burden was not espoused by the population in the two communities. However, immigrant service professionals interacted with community leaders who were concerned about how the Latino immigrant population growth would affect their already unstable economies. Round Lake area community leaders were concerned that Latino immigrant residents did not speak English and were not familiar with local ordinances such driving and noise. The rate of growth changed the racial make up of both communities. First, Waukegan

became a majority Latino community. For the Round Lake area, the population growth was most evident in the school age population, with over 70% of its school district of Latin American decent. The perception of a divided community not only came from community leaders and elected officials, but was also evident in the community programming in both communities.

The recommendations made state government responsible for funding and encouraging the communities within Illinois to make programming available and help the staff deliver the services. Respondents revealed that Latino professionals within and outside of the nonprofit sector were responsible for facilitating interaction and integration. When I first entered the communities, the respondents were quick to distinguish Lake County municipalities from Chicago. The distinctions began with place-based concerns. These ranged from transportation – for both client and professional – to the communities' identities. Another distinction was based on racialized patterns of consumption of space. One government agency professional, Juan, said the following:

> If you're doing a program that appeals to a white European community, you're going to get people out there. You need to reach out to [Latinos]. They need to feel welcomed in their community, in order to participate. If people don't feel welcome in a community, they're not going to embrace it as their own.

Community programming, sponsored by both local nonprofits and government bureaucracies, frames a racially organized place narrative. He does not name specific programming, but he believed that the traditions in the suburbs were not understood or accessible to Latinos and Latino immigrants. Above, Juan suggests that Latinos did not attend programming that was not catered to them. For community officials to increase the number of Latino residents at events, they would have to reach out to Latinos. By reaching out, Juan claims, they would feel in their new host society and claim it was their home.

I observed the distinctions Juan describes during my fieldwork. Both Waukegan and the Round Lake area constructed community narratives that linked race and space through the use of public space. In the case of the Round Lake area, community programming was linked to suburban bedroom communities. Chill bowl suppers and summer barbeques at police headquarters are two examples of community events that were attended by more white residents than Latinos. Some of Waukegan's most celebrated public events were its Monarch Festival, Ray Bradbury reading and writing festivals, and the Jack Benny legacy celebrated with a statue in a downtown plaza. The racial make up of these local community festivals, whether promoting health, local legends, or facilitating interactions between community residents, is evidence that the identity local community leaders were eager to promote was accessible and/ or connected to the white community only.

Whereas the NAPC was grounded in the collaboration of state actors from to government, private, and nonprofit sector, the cross sector collaborations were sites filled with tension. What I found instead were ceremonial ties between distinct administrative, regulatory, and human service bureaucrats. The strategic ties were assets for the human service professionals who served immigrants. For government bureaucrats, these ties allowed them to gain insight into the Latino immigrant community. The efforts local officials engaged in to construct safe, secure communities were not necessarily aimed at the new group.

To build the ties Juan mentions above, local human service professionals and government agency workers had to connect with immigrant-serving professionals and have them participate in the committees that planned community programming. The individuals who created the bridge were the immigrant-serving professionals themselves. One respondent stated "what we would have to do is … we'd have to be aware of these projects and then contact [the organizers] saying,

'what's going on over there?'" Respondents identified both instances where local officials reached out to immigrant service professionals and where Latino professionals reached out to local officials. Independent of how the relationship was fostered, there was programming that was sponsored by government agencies, and there were programs that were geared to more diverse audiences. When Latino professionals were involved and joined boards, the community programming committees to show that racial diversity of those in attendance mattered.

Immigrant serving community-based agencies or Latino professionals were responsible for creating Latino-immigrant friendly spaces and activities. Ethnic elite followed the pattern Breton (1964) found in his 20th century study of Canadian immigrant communities. However, they accomplished this through distinct avenues. Whereas 20th century immigrants created agencies within the ethnic community, I found that Latino professionals engaged in civic projects both within the ethnic community and outside of it in a more complex version. Along with other studies, I found that ethnic organizations created community events to cater specifically to Latino immigrants. For example, Amigo del Inmigrante was the lead organizer of the annual Kermes. The families who attended were not only Latino, but were from distinct racial backgrounds. The event was also co-sponsored by local businesses and government agencies. Waukegan's annual Mexican festival in September was lead by one Latino real estate agent who sought financial co-sponsorships from community institutions.

Programming outside of ethnic organizations also involved Latino professionals. Latino community leaders discussed sitting on community programming boards and building ties with Chicago based agencies to bring cultural programming to the community as well. For example, these ties facilitated films from Chicago's Latino Film Festival to be shown in Waukegan. Jane also mentioned a local play: "I'm involved in this small professional theater that is opening in

Waukegan and the first play is going to be a play called 'Kita y Fernanda.' It's all in Spanish, and it's by this Latina playwright. We're very excited about being able to put this on." The local professionals interested and responsible for creating Latino immigrant programming to facilitate interaction between residents of distinct racial groups also provided safe spaces for Latino residents. Creating socially neutral spaces for interracial interaction was key for both Latino residents and non-Latino residents because of how the former was perceived.

As much as the NAPC named the state as the driving force, what I have demonstrated here is that the local immigrant-serving professionals are at the center of managing the challenges of meeting immigrant social needs and that the challenges came from how people in influential positions conceptualized an immigrant's contribution to the community. So far, I have outlined two dimensions of my argument for the geographic limits of the immigrant service field. First, the statewide agenda shows how the recommendations draw from Chicago context as inspiration. Second, the local realities in Waukegan and the Round Lake Area show why the collaborations the reports encouraged were not feasible in small communties. The section below returns to the Chicago agency model and MARIA's attempts to implement its programming through local agencies in Waukegan and the Round Lake area. Many key immigrant service professionals were trained by Chicago-based advocacy organizations and were required to bring the skills developed there into the suburbs. Returning to Chicago efforts in Lake County shows another dimension of the geographic limits of the immigrant service organizational field: the workplace challenges in attempting to implement a logic that is not grounded in local context.

Problematic Programming for Professionals: Chicago's Regional Limits

MARIA's regional authority within Illinois was not limited to engaging in advocacy and government collaborations. They also administered funds that went to immigrant-serving

organizations to pay for many of the staff's salaries. State-funded programming was not linked to membership. MARIA's privately-funded programming, whether professional development or MARIA-administered initiatives, were benefits of being a member of the coalition. The latter was geared towards encouraging migrant civic behavior with the hopes that their engagement would help change immigration policy at the federal, state and local levels. They sponsored a voter registration and political organizing fellowship and other civic trainings. They also formed a relationship with AmeriCorp to create a cross-cultural civic engagement program called "Building Bridges." In reviewing the programs MARIA managed from Chicago, I reveal another gap in the regional agenda. It is not only that suburban agencies were a minority player in shaping the state's immigrant integration recommendations. Below, I show how dynamics of suburban workplaces constrain programming effectiveness. By programming effectiveness, I am referring to whether the suburban agencies were able to fulfill MARIA's programmatic goals. The programming that they administered aimed to empower immigrants and build the agencies' capacity. Instead, the training that local professionals receive did not equip them to face the suburban-specific challenges like organizational capacity, funding streams, and geographic jurisdictions. I analyze two programs below to describe the challenges young local professionals faced in meeting MARIA's expectations within the Lake County local agencies.

Immigrant Voter Registration Fellowship

Started in 2004, the voter registration project Immigrant Voter Registration Fellowship (IVRF) was a summer and early fall program that recruited young people to work at community-based agencies to register people to vote. The aim was to increase migrant voting power in making the case for comprehensive immigration reform. Combined with the citizenship program, the logic rested on showing that immigrants wanted to become full members of U.S. society by

showing their allegiance to our country and proving they had a stake in who became elected officials. If the number of immigrant voters had the potential to swing elections, the belief was that immigrants and the advocacy agencies engaged in immigrant rights would have a stronger platform on which to build comprehensive immigration reform. The number of young people ranged from 15 to 25 each year and most were from Chicago-based agencies. The desire was that, after the end of the voter registration campaign, the temporary worker would become full time staff, either as a community organizer or in some other capacity that was useful for the community agency. Many of the fellows were concentrated in the city.

The suburban fellows were often shared between agencies and had larger geographic jurisictions than the fellows in Chicago. The registrant in Lake County had been based at the Catholic Immigrant Center. Four of my respondents held this position. In 2012, the person in this position had been shared between the Catholic Immigrant Center, Amigo del Inmigrante, and Immigrant Service Center. Their work was not only to register immigrant voters, but it was also to recruit volunteers who would help them reach the fellowship's objectives. Each election year, MARIA had a target number of voters to reach and the success of the fellow depended on how their ability to recruit volunteers and connect with immigrant residents, as well as the resources the community-based agency had to help them reach their goals. As a result, the temporary staff person had two supervisors. The person also had to attend Chicago-based trainings. I discussed the program with respondents at the agencies, and they had mixed feelings. On the one hand, it gave them an opportunity to hire young, ambitious, energetic staff to engage immigrant clients. On the other, they found that the working conditions of the staff were very challenging and unrealistic within the suburban climate.

Building Bridges

Building Bridges differed from IVRF in two ways. First, the tenure of the temporary staff was nine months, where as IVRF was a 5 month program ending after elections. Second, the staff's objective was to foster relationships between immigrant-serving agencies and other community agencies to create dialogue around com-unity issues that concerned both immigrant and native residents. One of my white women respondents, Patty described the various challenges associated with this position. She was a native of the county, became fluent in Spanish from college courses and living abroad, and was interested in giving back to her community. First, she describes how her position linked to my research sites, and her workplace challenges in Lake County and as an MARIA representative.

> Honestly, I don't really do a lot of work in Round Lake. … My geographical – where I'm supposed to be tapping in I don't really know. I just know that I'm physically in Waukegan and I live in Mundelein so I try to go around that area. But I don't have a lot of structure to the work that I'm doing, which has been really frustrating and hard.
>
> So I guess money is from AmeriCorp, but what I've been feeling a lot lately is that MARIA's trying to fit a square peg into a round hole. They're trying to force me into this organizer role all the while saying we know that organizing doesn't really work up here because MARIA doesn't really have a presence up here, but we're going to subconsciously, passive aggressively fit you into this organizing role and use you as – for our political gains, but we're going to be really sly about it.

Here she identifies the geographic challenges and informal job responsibilities. From the reports above, MARIA is a bureaucratic piece of the large immigrant service programming machine for the state of Illinois. Patty describes how that the social cultural programming she was responsible for conflicted with the political goals of MARIA. Later in the interview, she discusses how the job exploited her energy. Second, she addresses her isolation by describing how she convinced a potential co-worker not to take the job.

> oh, they wanted to get a girl to do the job at the Catholic Center. At first I freaked out like that and then I said well, you know what? Maybe having a team member would be good – a person who really gets it who's in the area with me. We can sit and brainstorm and put on events together. So – because one thing I've been saying and recommending is that we need two people at each site. So maybe not two and two different sites, but we need two people at each site. There needs to be a semblance of a team to do the work that we're being asked to do, to be event planners, and to go collaborate with people in all these great big events and changes peoples' hearts and minds.
>
> That's what we're – that's our tag line; change peoples' hearts and minds. Okay, so anyway, I sat down with her for lunch and she was a really sweet girl, really nice – and I told her the truth about what she was getting herself into. She ran as fast as she could the other way. They, kind of, blamed me for not being – but I said – I'm like I'm going to tell you the truth about it. I'm not – they told you, you only have to drive a little bit, they told you, you only have to go to Chicago two times a month, they told you all these things. I'm like that's not true.
>
> If you want to do this job well you need to be really active and you need to be going – you'll be going to the City at least four times, if not five for the month. It's going to cost you a lot of money. It's going to – I drive a lot.

She provides three reasons for feelings of dissociation. One reason was that ISC did not offer much training or support. Second, was the difficult commute she had to Chicago four times a month. The third reason was how her job description was not clear about how long her commuting time would be. The activity was not just linked to community between the county and Chicago, but was also connected to identifying potential programming partners and creative activities that would bring immigrant and non-immigrant residents together. She, like the voting fellows described above, was responsible for building the suburban agency's capacity around questions of immigrant integration. However, the MARIA-trained staff in both positions didn't have the resources at their disposal to accomplish what was expected. ISC had hired her predecessor as a full-time staff person who was also disheartened by the experience, but empathized and helped her get programming off the ground. This connection was important because, as Patty states:

> I had no support. I had no – I was just like, 'what am I doing?' My first day nobody was using that office. My first day I showed up they weren't even there. Marilinda wasn't there, Leena wasn't there, no one was there. I was, like – I called Kaley [my supervisor] because I'm still scared I'm going to get in trouble. I say, Kaley, no one's here. She was like okay, well just start the next day. It's fine. It was just so absurd – whatever. So after I brought my concerns up to what's her name – Kathleen – she was like, oh, shit. She was like yeah, you're right. I need to check myself – help you succeed in this position.

The success of MARIA representatives in Lake County, as Patty demonstrates, involved finding a professional support system that was invested in MARIA's goals. Her story demonstrates that the suburban climate was not conducive to MARIA's goals and did not align with the narrative constructed by the NAPC on immigrant policy. The stories build on the stress immigrant service providers wrestled with. On the one hand, they lived in a community where Latino immigrants were insecure about their safety and security of their social status. On the other hand, they were responsible for figuring out how to create something that addressed these needs, adapting the Chicago model for organizing to the Lake County context, working in organizations whose staff was overextended, and traveling long commutes within the county and around the county. Adapting an abstract model to a new context has been discussed in other organizational studies, What distinguishes suburban immigrant service professionals are factors of transportation, distance between agencies, and organizational capacity. They illuminate how MARIA's goals and local suburban goals produce tensions immigrant service professionals have to navigate.

The organizational capacity in Chicago is higher, and organizational networks working towards social change were more legitimate field actors in the city than the suburbs. With IVRF and "Building Bridges" I have shown that the people hired to engage in the Chicago-based model did not have the professional support system that the organizational networks in Chicago may take for granted. The practice of coalition building that made the 2006 immigrant rights

marches successful (Cordero-Guzman et al 2008) did not extend into Lake County. Local activists attempted to organization Latino immigrants in both communities. Below, I discuss the final piece of evidence for my argument on the geographic limits of the immigrant service field. Lake County activists involved in traditional grassroots mobilization efforts did so through semi-formal networks, not as formal community-based agencies.

ADVOCACY INFRASTRUCTURE ATTEMPTS

There have been political actions and short-lived immigrant advocacy projects in Lake County, but they have struggled in becoming institutionalized as formal organizations. The groups described below have collaborated with other agencies and each other on candidate forums, political actions like the 287(g) protest, and mobilizing voters for local office campaigns. These efforts were attempts to show immigrant political power. Some started by people who first entered the profession of immigrant concerns through MARIA initiatives failed because the solidarity among the leaders was fragile. The agencies, their collaborations and successes is the topic of the next section. The fragility in efforts towards creating an institutionalized suburban advocacy platform is further discussed below. I share the examples below to demonstrate that there were home grown efforts towards empowering the most marginalized and to provide evidence why the professionalized advocacy logic became the dominant logic in the suburban service field.

The stories of immigrant advocacy organization attempts to strengthen the case for the importance of immigrant service providers in how they use organizations to push distinct forms of advocacy logics. Social movement scholars have shown how grassroots efforts of mobilization evolved into formal organizations that provide spaces to complement the social services. In outlining the challenges in formalizing successful actions into formal advocacy

organizations, I provide the groundwork to explain why professionalized advocacy became the dominant logic in shaping the immigrant services field in Waukegan and the Round Lake Area.

Grassroots Training And Competing Egos

There were two short-lived efforts at advocacy organizations that were affiliated with Waukegan's Catholic immigrant center and key Latino community leaders. The efforts between 2007 and 2010 involved Latinos and Latino immigrants from a range of professions who were interested in holding local officials accountable and strengthening the political strength of Latinos. However, both efforts were short lived due to leadership conflict, lack of consistent commitment from interested parties, and challenges in raising funds for full time staff. More informal efforts at labor organizing and political organizing happened afterward, but never amounting to a formal organization. I argue that the three cases below reveal a relationship between race of staff, organizational form, and mission and are evidence of a climate where only social service agencies can be the bureaucratic form that can be formalized in the 2010's. This relationships explain why the immigrant-serving professional within social service agencies becomes the most important advocate in the immigrant organizational field. Below, I focus on the relation between failed forms and race of stakeholders to show that the intersection of race and class of stakeholders determines which advocacy agenda can become institutionalized. I use this evidence to argue that, to understand which logics dominate the field, the professional and civic goals of distinct classes must be taken into account. It is the extent to which groups of distinct socioeconomic statuses address their shared interests that will determine the diversity of advocacy logics.

Latino Advisory Board

The first attempt started in the mid 2000's and is a case of the limits of pan-ethnic

solidarity as an organizing tool. Immigrant community organizers and Latino white-collar professionals came together to create an organization that followed MARIA's model within the suburban context. Two of the individuals involved participated in MARIA short-term positions at local agencies**.** The goal was to create the immigrant organization MARIA needed in the suburbs to carry out its goals with local Latino leaders. Roman, mentioned above, was hired by MARIA to help get the Latino Advisory Board (LAB) off the ground. They were originally housed in the Catholic immigrant center, had three employees. The board of directors had more members. They cosponsored a local candidates' forum in 2008 to engage local candidates on immigrant specific issues. However, one evening, when the board of directors met, a conflict arose among the members. The conflict among members was between the Latino professional class and immigrant grassroots organizers. It also revolved around the question of what form of advocacy they would engage in: whether one of collaboration and mediation with the local elite or grassroots efforts at mobilizing the marginalized immigrant community to make demands on the local governing structures. Failure to agree and construct a comprehensive agenda prevented further formalization efforts. With no steady stream of income, the organization floundered. One of the original board of directors uses the logo as the organizational event coordinator for an annual Mexican festival in the community. Outside of that, the LAB'S engagement in immigrant concerns no longer happens.

Social Justice Group

LAB was attempted under Rev. Greg's leadership. Fr. Greg, pastor of Waukegan's predominantly Latino Catholic parish, maintained a strong relationship with the Latino immigrant community in the time he served as pastor in the 2000's and was involved in some of the immigrant mobilizations in 2006. His successor attempted to build on the momentum, but

have the Catholic Church and its leadership managing the efforts among Local Latino leaders. They believed that the Church, an external local party and local organization, would be a better option than the Chicago-based model that MARIA represented. The parish was a member of two distinct coalitions: MARIA and the Archdiocese of Chicago. Its dual membership provided the church space to conduct initiatives outside of MARIA's funding streams. The 2010 pastor of the parish wanted to bring community leaders together and create a faith-based social justice-oriented leadership group and among these was the question of immigrant reform. The Church enlisted the help of Suburban Allies, a county-wide community organizing agency to facilitate the leadership training. Mason, a Chicago based community organizer working with Suburban Allies describes the purpose of the program below:

> Well, Suburban Allies has been working with the conglomeration of three parishes. … I think this happens sometimes in organizing that you get a Rev Greg, I don't know this first hand but I'm guessing that when he's engaged and wants to, he can get lots of people to support an effort and when he's gone, he's gone and there's not necessarily the kind of leadership that continues to be engaged. … My sense is that what Ali and I walked into was the notion that there was a new tram of priests and the pastor he's put together and there needs to be a new model that we work with in that community and that parish to develop more lay leadership over a long period of time and develop some potential there. There are fantastic people there and a ton going on with the social services but obviously not that much going on the political side or social justice side and so I think with both the feeling of the need as well as the opportunity

Rev. Greg's transfer to a Chicago parish left a void. His replacement approached Suburban Allies to help him construct a model of lay, or nonreligious, leadership development. His replacement recognized the need to mobilize immigrant leaders and advocates outside the social services arena. People who became involved were engaged in labor related concerns, had been involved in the LAB, and a few were from the Hispanic Alliance. They met on a regular basis and received training in community organizing tactics like relational meetings and how to

mobilize community residents. However, the pastor who organized this effort left before serving two years. As a result, he left the parish and had left community leaders without a neutral space in which to engage in conversations about social justice initiatives for local immigrant rights. Whereas Rev. Greg had a strong relationship with the immigrant leaders until he supported 287(g), his replacement had stronger ties to Catholic diocese bureaucratic structure. This was a case where change from above was short lived. Other studies on faith-based organizations and immigrant incorporation and leadership development demonstrate a positive relationship. However, this case shows how leadership turnover within the parish prevents a sustained neutral space from being institutionalized.

Both of these cases illustrate that the desire for a community-based, grassroots effort to engage local leaders around local immigrant friendly policies needed permanent white leadership to sustain the work of a diverse group of Latino immigrant advocates. The Catholic Church was at the center of these efforts because they had the physical space, white allies in the two pastors who served between 2004 and 2010, and a neutral space where Latinos could congregate. However, once the two white men left, Latino community leaders faced challenges in formalizing their efforts. The loose collection of Latino and Latino immigrant community leaders informally provided the leadership development services needed to create and sustain a local social movement, but could not accomplish this in a mixed class space. Latino professionals, as I begin to discuss below, had distinct goals and understandings around the concept of Latino advocacy. The distinct community leaders had goals that were linked to promotion of individual leader goals, instead of change resulting from mobilizing various Latino and Latino immigrant leaders around one narrative of change. The next section briefly describes how the Latino college-educated engaged in these questions.

Hispanic Professionalized Advocacy

There were two institutionalized Latino professional networking spaces in Lake County: the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and the Hispanic Alliance. I focus on the latter for four of reasons. First, it was a collection of Latino professionals from distinct industries where the bulk of the membership were in pink-collar and white-collar jobs. Second, it differs from the two cases above because a middle class narrative coalesced the group. Third, it is the only association concerned with community education of the needs of Latinos and Latin American immigrants. Fourth, and most importantly, it was founded by a group of five Latina social service professionals in the 1990's, and, therefore is the longest standing organization that aims to engage Latinos and non-Latinos. These factors also made the Hispanic Alliance the professional networking space that was responsible for addressing questions of immigrant integration. The advocacy logic that governed their behavior was linked to practices of community education and individual professional and civic mobility.

When describing the function of the Alliance, one of its presidents, Elizabeth, defined the community education practice in the following way: "[I]always have to remind people that [the Hispanic Alliance is] ... here to make sure that Latino issues are always being talked about. It's not about protesting, ... It's about building that relationship for us to be able to say can you and I sit down and talk, on a one on one." Whereas MARIA and other Chicago based agencies had institutionalized relationships with local officials, the new agencies and local Latino advocates were working on building the connections. The young connections between immigrant service providers and local elite was enough to create programming and organizations (Chapter 3). Many felt that the Latino community was not in a position to challenge the status quo. Instead, as Elizabeth suggests, the young Latino community needed to legitimate the Latino community

through conversations with the local elite who had to quickly become acquainted with the fastest growing population in the region.

The Hispanic Alliance, which will be discussed further in Chapter 4, differed greatly from the grassroots efforts described above. LAB and the Social Justice group, with strong ties to Chicago-based politically-oriented organizations, did not establish a leadership team that could fundraise to sustain their grassroots efforts. Those who engaged in both of these spaces, when reflecting on their involvement, were weary of the others who were involved. The Alliance's mission was professional networking and did not have paid staff. Their meetings were in public spaces in the County that were offered through the member organizations. They therefore did not have to pay for space. The funds raised then, were for scholarship organizations and its board of directors were volunteer positions. The Alliance's board of directors on the other hand, saw itself as create the space for interracial and interethnic dialogue. That was the most important resource to secure because there was a need to explain to the white community leaders and white elected officials that Latinos, as a general group, wanted to co-exist with the other groups with a longer historic presence. The individuals involved in LAB and, to a lesser extent the Social Justice group, were oriented towards Latino immigrants and empowering them to speak for themselves.

The relationship between ideology and organizational networks is evidence that the climate in Waukegan and the Round Lake Area was not conducive to formalizing the series of political actions into a formal grassroots organization. Elizabeth, a key Latina community leader and daughter of one the founders of the Hispanic Alliance, was one of a group of Latino professionals who wanted to create other avenues, embodied in building and sustaining networks with other field stakeholders. They believed formalizing these networks would be more successful at empowering the Latino community, of which immigrants were one branch.

Community education was important to Latino immigrant integration for three reasons. First, the professionals had to manage the extent to which the general public internalized the criminalization narrative that dominated national discourse. Second, the climate of insecurity both long-time residents and Latino immigrants lived in made immigrant-serving professionals responsible for translating across the two groups. Third, those who saw themselves as advocates also made themselves responsible for creating programming in which the two groups could safely interact. The programming was geared towards highlighting celebrating Mexican or Latin American cultural practices. Community education, then, was geared towards showing both Latino immigrants and suburban residents that Latinos belonged in these suburbs and could enrich the suburbs. Creating a sense of belonging was seen as the primary social need to meet.

A behavior associated with community education included sitting on a community board was changing how to provide public programming to the Latino community. From bringing the Chicago Latino Film Festival to Waukegan's Genessee Theatre in 2010 to working with park districts to provide Latino specific cultural programming, the group of young Latino civic leaders felt that these types of programs would help change the friction between the Latino community, non-Latinos, and local government. Isabella, for example, discussed sitting on local civic boards. One of the boards on which she served was the Waukegan Park District. Below she describes the Park District's efforts towards cultural programming that included learning to play the piano and performing Shakespeare. She challenged their definition of cultural:

> If I pick up your program, and I want my daughter to be involved in community or cultural events, I will not send her to any of this. 'Cause none of those are Latino or cult--to me culture is [...] not just piano classes or Shakespeare. I mean all the things that they have has culture, they're all European. And they're not--you know, that's something that they are struggling; they are struggling to adapt to that change. And they're not keeping up with what's going on.

Latino professionals who engage in civic projects have to show those they work with how cultural programming can be racist and/ or classist. In this example, she was interested in celebrating the arts that tied into the Latino community's forms of expression. Later on in the interview, she discussed mariachis and folkloric Mexican dancing. This type of work differs from the advocacy MARIA expected its members to engage in. The agencies that were members of MARIA did not have staff engaged in the work the Hispanic Alliance saw as important. What Isabella describes above demonstrates how community education was grounded in the belief that formalizing Latino specific cultural programming was expected to help change the climate for Latinos and immigrants. If Latinos could serve on boards to assure that community events were accurately portraying Latino traditions, then non-Latinos could positively interact with Latinos in a neutral space. In the construction of the Latino immigrant service field, Latino professionals had to institutionalize neutral Latino specific programming as the first step towards constructing the immigrant service field.

Michelle, for example, one of the only non-Latina respondents connected both to the Waukegan grassroots immigrant advocacy group that existed between 2007 and 2009 and the Hispanic Alliance, provided important information about the interaction between place, immigrant advocacy narratives, and organizational form. She witnessed some of the protesting outside of Waukegan City Hall contesting 287(g). According to what she remembered there were 4,000 people outside the building; "[i]n a town of what - 85 - 90,000 people? Like that's a big protest and of course I remember like in the paper [...] Mayor Hyde had claimed that, 'oh, there were - came from Chicago, and all that,' but we never found their buses." The buses she referred would have brought Chicago-area protesters or community organizers into Waukegan. Chicago immigrant activists were there, but the majority of the people outside of City Hall were

Waukegan residents. This demonstrates that the Latino immigrants were able to mobilize collectively, but the local leadership did not believe that local immigrants were that organized. The conversations that Elizabeth and Isabella were involved with were other efforts at informing the local elite that Latinos were permanently present in Waukegan specifically, and Northern Lake County more generally. The Hispanic Alliance "[was] not active with the 287(g) [protests]." Other members of the Alliance mentioned 287(g) to show how Waukegan could be considered unfriendly towards immigrants. For the middle class, the contentious policies that shaped the racist climate were evidence of local elite ignorance, not racist practices that were aimed at criminalizing Latinos. It was the Alliance's role to address the ignorance.

When we asked Michelle about what she thought about the Hispanic Alliance, she said the following:

> so we [as social service providers] go to these things just to be in the community and know other people, let people know about the programs...I think that's pretty much the gist of it. But I knew about it before, maybe when I did [IVRF] I did a meeting or two? I mean...it...it's interesting, it--its not a bad group, I mean, in terms of community organizing I think some people sort of look down on it a little bit because sometimes it tries to act like it does that stuff when it really doesn't. But, I mean, it's like a networking group.

Though Michelle did not view the sharing of information as an important form of community organizing, the Latino professionals engaged in the work saw that their contribution to the community was networking with the elite to educate them on the needs of Latinos and immigrants. The discussion in the first part of this chapter showed how important various forms of education are important in the suburban context. The goals of the reports were to demonstrate that immigrants have been making positive contributions to the state's economy; that networks between immigrant-serving organizations and government bureaucracies were a key factor in positive integration and would help communities adjust and adapt to the new population.

The climate is similar in the Round Lake area. Callie wants to encourage the immigrant civic engagement that MARIA was interested in, but found that her work to encourage immigrant leadership conflicts with her role as executive director of a 501(c) 3 nonprofit. She was part of roundtable discussions with a Chicago Latino policy organization that wanted to create a state wide Latino policy agenda, but her board did not want the organization to get involved in this project. When talking to her about immigrant policy advocacy, she felt that it was not the role of a social service organization to engage in that work because she risked her alliances with political officials, the organization's executive board, and her position in the community in general. These networks, as shown in Chapter 2, helped Latinas create programming and formalize organizations. Her story elaborates that the relationships had to be maintained the protect Amigo's status among the local white elite. As part of the roundtables, she learned about the manner in which the state distributed funds by demographics. The Latino Agenda group wanted to present their findings to the Latino Caucus in Springfield. She describes what happened when she went to her board to suggest the organization get involved:

> Then the executive board said, no, that's lobbying. Then, I had to take a deep breath. At the last meeting [...] I came back and said, this is something we really need to re-evaluate because if not, we will not be at the table. [...] We all know, we receive public funds, and I am not going to work to lobby [...] but I am there to advocate for Amigo del Inmigrante's funds.

The executive board did not want Amigo del Inmigrante to engage in any form of contentious politics. Elizabeth did not mention which table Latino professionals had to join. Their seat at the table had to be secured and protected. Her predecessor's desire to get involved in the 2006 marches created tensions between her with the board. It is rumored to be one of the reasons this woman left and Callie took over. As a result of this history and the board's perspective, Callie negotiated engaging in grassroots efforts with institutionalizing the sole agency geared towards

Latino immigrants in the Round Lake Area. Amigo's board of directors shaped the form and mission of Amigo del Inmigrante. Their standing as long-serving local elite trumped the exponential growth of Latino immigrant population.

LESSONS ABOUT ORGANIZATIONAL FIELDS, GEOGRAPHIC BOUNDARIES, AND ADVOCACY LOGICS

These stories of engagement reveal the relationship between place, field logics, workplace behavior and social change and identify three patterns that explain why case of suburban immigrant integration allows organizational scholars to see the relationship between work, a community's political climate, and social policy. First, there were few who were involved in the community education advocacy efforts. Because of the size and age of the Latino community, there were not enough people to have on civic boards or involved in civic projects with the necessary skills or knowledge to engage in efforts at community education. The push for community education was more important work and took precedent over political advocacy. Second, the three examples of advocacy organizations above show how racialized classed leadership interacts with the political climate. Not only did Latino nonprofit professionals have to manage relationships with local white elites to create programming, they also had to navigate the relationships with other Latino professionals of varied occupational backgrounds to work at changing the political climate. Working-class immigrants were an informally organized group who could not formalize their work with the creation of an organization. Third, the newness of the community and the small number of people engaged in this work highlights how workplace relationships affect how they can engage in politics. In this case, I have shown how the strength and composition of professional ties, and lack of diversity in the closed networks, legitimated the professionalized advocacy logic dominant in the immigrant service field.

The institutionalization of a Latino professionalized advocacy logic grounded in a

community education practices show various forms of civic education needed. My findings described in this chapter describe three. First, the size and age of the Latino professionals and their diversity required the construction of a class and immigrant generation neutral space. LAB and the Social Justice Group was comprised of a diverse collection of individuals who could not sustain intra-ethnic/ interracial relations or steady streams of funding to sustain grassroots organizations. Their actions influenced local Waukegan elections, but their successes are associated with outcomes. The Hispanic Alliance, in their efforts at developing young Latino professionals from the area to encourage them to join nonprofit boards, were interested in changing Latino immigrant perception through relationship building with the white elected officials. Second, the professionals showed that consumer education in community Latino cultural programming was the safest institutionalized space for intergroup interaction. Third, there was a need to educate local officials on the Latinos' permanent presence as nonthreatening.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have used the Illinois immigrant integration agenda efforts to show how the immigrant service field has geographic limits with three forms of evidence. First, I show how suburban agencies were not deeply involved in formulating the recommendations. Second, in addressing the suburban reality the professionals face, I show how the suburban context differed from the Chicago context. Third, I briefly describe the grassroots attempts and the barriers towards formalizing that organizational form. In doing so, I also show how the advocacy logic that shaped the field is constructed and institutionalized by Latino professionals who were understood as the most accessible gatekeepers (to community leaders) for the Latino and Latino immigrant communities in both Waukegan and Round Lake Area. In the following chapter, I elaborate on the local agencies in both Waukegan and Round Lake Area to identify the

individuals and organizations who met immigrant social needs. In doing so, I reveal the importance of interracial networks, and racialized gendered professional performances and career trajectories, which I address in Chapters 4 and 5.

ETHNIC SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP – THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE LOCAL FIELD AND VALUE OF CO-ETHNIC CAPITAL

In the previous chapter, I illustrated how the immigrant services field had geographic limits because regional agencies took for granted the importance of building strong ties with local community officials. This chapter addresses the relationship between race of individual, the nonprofit labor market, and the local power structure to show how strength of ties influenced what kind of programming was available to Latino immigrants. In doing so, it accomplishes three tasks. First, it elaborates on the local context in both communities to show how local nonprofit professionals and community leaders constructed the immigrant service field in both communities. Second, I discuss the staff at other regional agencies and local organizations to show who is at the center of the immigrant service field. Third, it identifies key immigrant-serving organizations and key immigrant service professionals whose career trajectories will be elaborated in the second half of the dissertation. I provide evidence that supports my claim that the experience of immigrant service professionals reveals power relations that constrain local immigrant policy change. This chapter is the first step in showing how gendered and racialized power relationships explain the dominant professionalized advocacy logic that immigrant service professionals support through their work.

To illustrate the relationship between who is hired, the services offered, and how staff interact with community leaders, I detail how it was the combination of racialized jobs and interracial networks that secure resources to formalize immigrant services and programming. I show how racialized jobs can be an avenue to become an ethnic social entrepreneur. The experiences of the ethnic social entrepreneurs detailed below shows how interracial networks were important to execute a successful project. My discussion below shows how the differences

between ethnic social entrepreneurship and racialized jobs highlights the changing value of co-ethnicity as a measure of legitimacy.

Social entrepreneurship differs from ethnic entrepreneurship because co-ethnicity, as a form of cultural capital, becomes less valuable as a Latino social service professional moves from a racialized job into a position in which she or he engages in entrepreneurial endeavors. In their discussion of social entrepreneurship scholarship, Dacin, Dacin , and Tracey (2011) state that "the primary mission of the social entrepreneur being one of creating social value by providing solutions to social problems." (1204) I show how, in the stories of the Latina social entrepreneurs, creating social value was linked to preserving one's status within her workplace. Immigrant social professionals had to show that meeting Latino immigrant needs was socially valuable in order to protect their jobs. In the case of Latina entrepreneurs, I show how they were responsible for two sets of social problems. First, immigrant service professionals were responsible for meeting the needs of low-income Latino immigrants. These social needs exist in a social space where residents held mixed feelings about Latino immigrants' contribution to the local and national economies. The second social problem was educating residents and community leaders on the complexity of immigrant adjustment and immigrant social needs in general. Their work then, was to show how creating programming and educating the community was of social value. In summarizing how distinct organizations were created, I show that the Latina social entrepreneurs who were successful in institutionalizing a program or formalizing an organization did so as a result of strong ties with the white local elite.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I describe the social programming that immigrant service professionals were responsible for. Second, I discuss how Waukegan government bureaucracies and social service agencies created racialized jobs. The need for a

bilingual staff person was synonymous with hiring a Latino or Latina. Third, I discuss the community-based agencies in both Waukegan and the Round Lake Area. It is in sharing the stories of how local agencies were created that I show how Latina social entrepreneurs required interracial networks to create sustainable programing. In the last section, I provide some evidence on the importance of career histories. This discussion lays the groundwork to examine the racialized career paths in the chapter that follows.

BREADTH OF SERVICES

The previous chapter on regional networks and immigrant services focused on programming geared to developing immigrants' political citizenship. I shift towards social citizenship in this chapter because the work of local nonprofit professionals focused on programming that developed human and cultural capital. The community education practices described in the previous chapter, as a behavior associated with the professionalized advocacy logic, is associated with immigrant social needs. This not only includes English as a Second Language (ESL), GED, literacy courses, citizenship classes, and immigrant adjustment paperwork, but also programs that help immigrants become familiar with public benefits and other community resources. The former are important services that the providers described as key to meeting social needs of the Latino immigrant client base because they exist in part to help immigrants gain access to more job options. Latino immigrants tend to come in with less than a high school degree and are more than likely not to speak English very well. The predominantly Mexican immigrant population came to the communities with low levels of education and mixed levels of literacy. Their levels of human capital make ESL and GED classes important for the adult population. Literacy programs are important because they help immigrant residents build self-confidence and become more confident in interacting with government bureaucracies and

their own children, who are being socialized in the U.S. Learning English also helps with increasing the potential for interaction with non-Spanish speakers. Combined with the civic courses that are structured to help immigrants pass the citizenship exam, the logic is that the various forms of education will help immigrant residents internalize the norms of the new country in which they reside.

Immigrant service professionals were responsible for teaching community officials what immigrant social needs were and for translating the norms of the new host society to immigrants. Immigrant service professionals brokered between immigrants and native residents. Like middleman minorities, the staff of immigrant-serving organizations were between the ethnic community and the native community. The distinction between ethnic entrepreneurs and my respondents were the forms of capital exchanged within both spaces. The human service professionals who interact with immigrants are to make the case that learning English and completing school are a priority as the immigrants work to create more opportunities for themselves and for their families.

The mission of the organization, combined with changes in immigration and welfare policies, are sets of meanings that shape their behavior. In the mid 1990's, both social policy arenas transferred responsibility from federal bureaucracies to state and local bureaucracies (Singer 2004). Not only did local communities become responsible for policy-making, but other types of services also emerged. When Illinois passed legislation (July 2013) that allowed immigrants with no legal status to obtain driver's certificates, some agencies began to provide Spanish language classes to help Spanish-speaking migrants pass the driver's test. In 2012, federal legislation created a program, The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), for youth who entered the U.S. without documentation. DACA allows individuals who were 31

years old before June of 2012 and fit a list of requirements to apply for relief from removal. The deferment lasts two years and can be renewed every two years. The Immigrant Family Resource Program (IFRP) provides immigrant service organizations grant money for staff to assist immigrants in learning what types of public benefits they are eligible for. Human service agencies interested in serving the immigrant client base are then required to have trained staff and programming that helps newcomers increase levels of human capital and facilitate their access to other public services they are eligible for. These new programs not only offered more resources to immigrant resident populations, but they also required the immigrant-serving staff who delivered the resources to know how legal status affected access. The staff also had to teach community members and community partners how the changes in policy affected the immigrant residents. In the case of new immigrant gateways, there were not many agencies who received the grants to complete these tasks. As a result, the ratio between agencies and geographic jurisdiction was lower than in cities. The suburban staff then had to cover more geographic terrain.

The range of services shows that immigrants' social needs grew from four forms of knowledge acquisition on the part of both immigrant client and immigrant-serving professional. First, the services are to educate adult immigrants, whether by increasing their literacy in Spanish and/ or English. This helps them become better equipped to join the U.S. economy in more varied jobs than low-skilled work. Second, the program that helps to bridge immigrants to welfare-specific benefits suggests that social service providers need to learn the rules that regulate how immigrants can access public benefits. Third, immigrant service professionals, then, are required have knowledge of the range of regulations that govern how immigrants can gain skills necessary to participate more fully in U.S. society. Fourth, staff are also required to

know how to secure financial resources that fund the programming that helps adult immigrants accomplish this. Immigrant service professionals had to accumulate knowledge on the immigrant client, the communities in which they worked, the government, foundation, and donor climate in which they operated, and the federal and local immigrant specific policy changes. The 2000's experienced many policy fluctuations at both the state and federal level that further constrained resources allocated to smaller municipalities.

Respondents agreed that to provide these services it was first important to find the resources – either grants, volunteers, or bilingual human service professionals – to create the programming. Most importantly, immigrant-serving organizations require knowledgeable staff who can teach immigrants and secure funding streams. What is involved in securing funding streams is not only applying for grants, but also making sure the funding streams complement the goals of local community stakeholders. These include the organizations' other clients, their boards' of directors, or other community officials. The discussion in this chapter reveals how job security is one theme that interacts with meeting immigrant social needs.

I show how Waukegan and Round Lake Area organizations accomplished this in the rest of the chapter. First, I address how agencies, including Waukegan's public library, entered the immigrant services sector by hiring nonprofit professionals of Mexican or Latin American descent. I compare the library's story to the practices of other regional agencies and their hiring practices to strengthen the case I make for local agencies and trust building within the Latino immigrant community. I show how larger agencies saw immigrant-specific services as one of many services they provided. Second, I detail how the key immigrant-serving organizations in each community were founded and how each organization achieved the status of key immigrant service provider. I found that, in terms of immigrant-specific services, suburban community-

based organizations and the people who worked in them held a higher professional status. These agencies shaped how community residents understood immigrant needs. The other agencies discussed focused on the immigrant client base to secure their own stability within the nonprofit sector. The distinct cases show that it is how the ethnic social entrepreneurs gain and manage the trust of key decision makers that shapes the status of an agency within the immigrant service sector.

STEP ONE: CREATING POSITIONS OR RACIALIZED JOBS AND EXPANDING THE MARKET

I began spending time in Lake County in the spring of 2010 and conducted my last interview in the winter of 2014. The time I spent in the field and the interviews I conducted allowed me to develop a thorough understanding of local nonprofit relations. I would not have been able to construct a comprehensive portrait of immigrant services without engaging with the providers themselves and learning how other community leaders understood immigrant services. I start with how regional and local agencies expanded their services with the creation of racialized positions within their agencies. Whereas the goal of the statewide immigrant integration agenda was to legitimate a grassroots advocacy logic that was grounded in empowering the migrant civic identity, the local government bureaucracies and regional agencies were conforming to market pressures.

Waukegan

Immigrant services first came to Lake County in the mid-1990's. Marilinda was a social worker for a Chicago-based human service agency and she transferred to their Waukegan branch because of the need for bilingual staff. She was there for fifteen years and saw the position as a stepping stone for starting a Latino immigrant-specific nonprofit. She was one of a small number

of Spanish-speaking women in Waukegan hired to work with the Spanish-speaking residents. When she first started as a bilingual social worker, there were very few bilingual staff members at the human service agencies in Waukegan. This would help immigrant residents avoid the long commute to Chicago to have their social needs addressed. Also, at larger agencies with varied programs, the positions were dependent on grants, and when the grant's tenure expired, immigrant clients risked slowing or halting the process for a petition. Immigrant service professionals loss of funding typically resulted in new responsibilities or termination . Marilinda's professional goal was to found an organization that could cater to Latino immigrant needs that was not explicitly linked to an immigrant or Latino-specific short term grant.

Marilinda's story is an example of two processes that were part of the construction of the immigrant service sector. First, she is an example of how racialized jobs facilitate agencies expanding their services to the suburbs. Second, regional agencies within Lake County also entered the sector by creating positions for bilingual social service providers. Whether my respondents were direct service providers or in management, they all agreed that having bilingual staff facilitated the relationship building between Latino immigrant clients and the organization. A greater number of respondents filled these positions. The individuals who were hired to serve Spanish-speaking residents had various levels of awareness in terms of the authority they may have exercised in that position. Some, like Francisca, a sexual assault counselor at the time of our 2010 interview, saw her position as another job where she could help people. Others saw it as an opportunity to engage with Latino immigrants and empower them. Regardless of how staff described their roles, the positions created are evidence that the Latino immigration population growth in 1990's and 2000's, caused human service agencies and government bureaucracies to

staff their organizations with individuals who were fluent in Spanish. The people who fit this description were, for the most part Latinas or white women, with a few young Latinos.

The majority of the positions created within the organizations had titles such as outreach coordinator, community specialist, or one that included bilingual in its name. Francisca's position, for example, was a contract position through a private grant. The county sexual assault center that received the grant had not hired or created a position for a bilingual therapist/social worker. Her job responsibilities had her driving throughout the county engaging with immigrant families. Juan and Carla, formerly employed by a county health agency, were employed in community education where one of their primary responsibilities was to interact with Spanish speaking clients. There were also a handful of research participants who worked at larger Chicago-based agencies who either traveled between both communities or formed part of a smaller staff contingent based in Lake County. This small group spent more time in Chicago consequently isolated from the Waukegan-based network.

A central player in this network, Clarissa, worked at different agencies. Her experience at the library provides more evidence of how co-ethnicity mattered to local community leaders. The library was concerned about increasing human circulation within the building and was looking for ways to engage Waukegan Latino residents, who were over 50% of the city's population. They hired Texas-based consultants to work with them. Lisa, who worked in library management, described the lessons she learned from the consultants and how they connected to the process she underwent to hire Clarissa.

> I'm in these meetings because I wanna learn everything I can about reaching the Latino market from these professional people who are flying in and they said what you wanna do is create a navigator program based on the healthcare model. You utilize volunteers to present the story who also meet people up the door and walk them through and I'm like bingo, I know and they said … hire a Latino who's already trusted because you will save years of work

Clarissa was the first person who came to her mind. She served as social director of human concerns at the majority Latino Waukegan Catholic parish for five years before resigning. Even though the library had just laid off five people, she argued with her boss about the need to hire a Latino who was connected to the community. A few weeks after she introduced him to Clarissa, he created a position and found the funding to hire her. Clarissa's programming increased human circulation in the library. When looking at the change, Lisa stated, "We were doing it for a different grant and we went from 31 programs in 2011 to 408 in 2013. Adult program attendance has increased 47 percent in the last two years." Clarissa's story was one side of the spectrum of how to measure the influence bilingual staff had on an agency in a community where the majority of its residents were non-English speaking Clarissa was hired at a mid-level management position in order to create new programming. Her connection to the community and work history in the nonprofit sector made her an asset to the library. The library benefited from her work history.

The public library became an important immigrant service provider by hiring Clarissa. After she resigned from the social concerns director of the Catholic Church's in 2011, she met with Lisa who was very interested in offering Clarissa a position within the library. Lisa's description shows how community advocacy was a key component of the job description. One of her first steps was to survey Waukegan residents on what needs they needed met. Results from the survey resulted in an expansion of e library services to include GED and ESL courses. When Illinois's legislature created driver's certificate for non-legal residents through 2013 legislation, the library instituted a program to assist Spanish speaking residents in passing the test to gain their certificate. The staff under the community advocacy division recruited volunteers for the

GED courses. The library had to secure additional grant funding which allowed library staff to dedicate part of their workday assisting residents in filling out the paperwork for the benefits associated with the ObamaCare marketplace. Clarissa's literacy programming was nationally recognized.

I return to Francisca because the story of her role in the county sexual assault center is evidence of the relationship between co-ethnicity and knowledge of immigrant concerns. Clarissa gained knowledge of the Latino immigrant community from her own experience entering the U.S. and from the stories she collected at the parish. Francisca, also migrated to the U.S. when she was young, and drew on the knowledge gained throughout her career. She has about ten years of experience in working in Lake County's social service sector. As a Central American, her migration story differed from many of the Mexican immigrants, but her family's migration experience gave her knowledge that was useful to her workplace. When describing her responsibilities at the countywide agency where she was the only bilingual staff person, she discussed how her work differed from monolingual colleagues.

> [W]hen I'm working with a family or a client I also have to be considerate of that separation that there's more family--sometimes immediate--in another country, and that separation ... takes precedence over the sexual abuse um than immigration--that fear ... it's a big struggle which is different from the other counselors and ... I actually did a little presentation for our team that talks about those struggles and they had no idea that a lot of these things were a big issue

This part of her interview indicates that the needs of her clients were more complex because the immigration story was an important part of their experience. She had to tackle those issues first and not only with clients but also with co-workers. She and Clarissa are examples of how agencies work to meet the needs of the new population , but also prioritize recruiting staff who were not only bilingual, but also understood the market of Latino/immigrant services. The immigrant service professional had to be aware of the immigrant experience and how it affected

the client's relationship to the agency and access to programming.

The bilingual front line workers' experience addressed three themes: one, engaging with Spanish speaking residents; two, increasing the client base of the organizations for which they worked; and three, earning legitimacy within the new Latino immigrant client base. The goal of the agencies in hiring bilingual staff was to become and remain a legitimate service provider in the suburban immigrant social service sector. Legitimacy was a function of the knowledge of staff at the client interaction level and how this linked to the organization's mission. For example, the library wanted to be "the people's university." With the majority of Waukegan being of Latin American descent, Waukegan's library had to shift programming so that it could be accessible to Waukegan's Spanish-speaking residents. The staff had to reflect that the organizations were equipped to meet the social needs of their communities' shifting demographic. Though Lisa was concerned with the "Latino market," the programming Clarissa created for the library was primary for Spanish-speaking immigrants. On the other hand, regional private agencies, expanded to meet the needs of new places. Nonprofits benefited from tasking the financial risks to expand their services because the expansion provided a new way to gain funding for the general organization.

The creation of positions, then, was the first step in creating the immigrant service sector. Regional human service agencies and public institutions needed staff who were responsible for or could communicate with the Spanish speaking residents of the communities. Because the human service agency density is higher in Waukegan, more bilingual professionals work for Waukegan-based organizations than Round Lake area organizations. Below, I show how it was white community leaders that were the first to create an Immigrant resource center in the Round Lake area after expanding on Marilinda's role as founder of immigrant services in Waukegan.

STEP TWO: FORMING COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS

As stated above, I found that local agencies were the authorities of immigrant-specific needs in both communities. They were formed by local professionals who were believed to have knowledge of the Latino immigrant experience. The Latino immigrant client was the one sector of the demographic with whom they had the most interaction. The three local agencies discussed below show how Latinas engaged in various forms of capital accumulation in inter-ethnic networks. These networks were sites where information was exchanged. The women discuss how the relationships allowed them to provide more help to clients because the learned of the range of services and agencies available to Latino immigrants in Waukegan. In showing how the women and men formed agencies, I build on the importance of ethnicity of professional by showing how Latinos managed power relations. I reveal that Latina's ability to sustain networks with white community elite helps them sustain immigrant-specific programming.

Marilinda, introduced earlier, was one of the few Latinas who went from holding a racialized job as a bilingual front line worker in the mid 1990's to heading an organization in the mid 2000's. Because of the small number of staff in the area, she saw starting an immigrant-specific organization as important. She saw the agency that transferred her to Waukegan as a complicated bureaucracy that was inaccessible to the Latino immigrants she served. In a climate with few immigrant organizations where immigrants felt insecure, she felt large agencies were too complicated. What was important was establishing an accessible space. When asked why she created the organization, she responded, "It was my dream to have a place where people could identify with and could feel comfortable to come and receive services, to then find a way to provide services [to others]." She wanted a community organization that former clients would then feel connected enough to then volunteer and donate.

Marilinda founded The Immigrant Support Center (ISC) in 2005, once housed in Waukegan's Catholic Church's property, The Catholic Church offered her a space in their Catholic school property. After two years, she worked on finding an independent space. She started with two staff, one of whom stayed behind at the Catholic Church center when the ISC became independent of the church. Marilinda was housed at various storefronts and her staff was small until about 2013. In 2010, a local immigrant labor group was briefly housed with ISC and shared the rent. Shortly after this space collaboration, ISC moved out of the space and found a location with more room. The larger space seems to have corresponded with a growth in number of staff. For at least five years, she offered assistance with immigrant paperwork to help family adjust and renew green cards, along with applying for grants, and coordinating volunteers. In 2013, she added two new staff: a program director, and a citizenship workshop coordinator who was getting accredited by the Board of Immigrant Appeals (BIA) to assist immigrants with U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) paperwork. She also hired two staff; one helped with DACA applications through two distinct grants from a Chicago-based immigrant advocacy organization. . Patty, discussed in the previous chapter, was responsible for creating programming to facilitate connections between immigrants and U.S. natives. Marilinda formed a board of directors in 2013.

During our interview in 2010, she described the challenges she faced in getting funding and finding a space. She, unlike other successful immigrant service entrepreneurs described below, worked independently for over a decade. Revered as the founder of the Latino immigrant services sector in Waukegan, she also had managed challenging relationships with key community institutions. Leaving the Catholic space was not a matter of choice, but an obligation due to the church's bureaucracy needs changing. She was funded by a citizenship program grant

for nine years as a social worker. When she left the Chicago-based agency to create programming with the Catholic Church's building, the citizenship program was going to be the first program. However, the collaborative relationship lasted less than two years.

Others' description of the relationship between ISC, the Catholic parish, and Marilinda reveal discrepancies. While Marilinda saw the relationship as a collaboration, others saw the relationship as one that launched the ISC. Interviews with parish leaders, both religious and secular, revealed that the extra space the parish owned was not intended to be solely an immigrant services building. The space, a former Catholic grade school, was garnered through parish consolidation that occurred in the late 1990's and early 2000's. Among the three parishes consolidated, the predominantly Latino Catholic parish served as the leader in the merger. The pastor, Reverend Greg, religious head of the predominantly Latino Catholic parish, had a strong relationship with the Latino immigrant community in Waukegan. At first, the school building was used for ESL courses sponsored by the local community college, the domestic violence ministry, and with time, parish leaders recognized that the building could be used for Latino immigrant-specific services. When the ISC was negotiating with the parish to use its space, the parish was also becoming more involved with immigrant advocacy. Their initiatives included an immigrant voter registration campaign and citizenship services – both programs funded by a Chicago-based immigrant advocacy organization. When I asked respondents about why the Catholic immigrant center was created, I received the following response from one of the former directors: "The idea was to help the immigrant community. I think that could mean a lot of things. It could mean it stays at the status quo or it means that it expands and it creates more programs where there are bigger needs." The Catholic immigrant center first included ISC as part of its infrastructure. Less than two years after both agencies began their collaborative

relationship, ISC was replaced by staff from a regional Catholic service agency. Services at the center have included civics classes, yoga classes, and the formation of a civic ministry. The center has also partnered with the Mexican consulate to provide them a space to interact with Waukegan based Mexican nationals.

The identity of the Catholic immigrant center has changed since the middle 2000's. Respondents from my round of 2013 interviews described the center more as a service referral agency and parish ministry than a human service organization. The number of staff did rise above three. The center, from the mid 2000's and 2013 has had five different women serve as executive directors, more often as a member of the church's staff until 2013, when the position was renamed to program coordinator. The first executive director, Clarissa, served for approximately five years. She was active in the parish and at one point supervised Marilinda. Rose, who served after her, was there for less than a year and built on the programming Clarissa created. Jessica followed and was in the position less than a year before she was let go. The management of the center and its services changed hands because the church wasn't sure how much of its resources it would dedicate to the ministry. The subtle language distinction shows how church leaders and Marilinda viewed the organization hierarchy. Whereas Marilinda saw the ISC and the Catholic parish on equal footing, the Church leaders and Church bureaucracy originally saw the ISC as housed within the parish structure. The distinct understandings of the relationship contributed to the challenges Marlinda faced after leaving the Catholic immigrant center. She was more concerned with creating a safe space and place for Latino immigrants. The church leaders, when reflecting on their programming and role in the community, were more concerned with managing resources within the parish and managing their Black, white, and Latino parishioners. The Catholic Church, with a more complex organizational structure, had

more resources than Marilinda. Marilinda trusted the personal connections she made with local leadership and staff. She did not see the larger organizational structure's resources as a threat. The Goliath that was the Catholic Church and Catholic human service agency against David, the small Latino immigrant-serving organization, would not mirror the biblical outcome at this point in time.

The changing identity of the center, from parish ministry to semi-independent service organization, coincided with the priest rotation. After Reverend Greg left in 2009, the parish had seen at least three new priests who were appointed to be in charge of the large multiracial parish. Not all were bilingual or were there long enough to build a connection with any of the parishioner bases. The pastor and center director turnover rate, coupled with the history of tensions after the merger, suggest that parish leadership would do well not to show any form of preference for a specific sector of parishioners. The 2013 director of the center, Jessica, had the following to say about decision making processes at the center: "You're more as an advisor because the ultimate decision maker is really the pastor… I think it was a learning lesson for me. I'm thinking if you're being hired as a director you need to direct … And that's not – everything can be overturned because of – the true CEO is the pastor." I address how the parish clergy worked with Latinas in the fifth chapter, where I discuss the relationship between race, gender, and management. Jessica's quote is evidence that Latinas were secondary to white male authority. Neither her legal background nor training in Chicago were sufficient sources of knowledge that could level out the power dynamics. I elaborate this in chapter five.

Though there were discrepancies in how Marilinda and Catholic center leaders described the relationship between the Church and immigrant services, the power structure within the church and racial tensions constrained how center directors attempted to expand services within

the Catholic center. The Catholic human service agency immigrant specialist staff who came to work at the center only came in once a week to see clients. The other days she worked from Chicago. The Catholic parish, through the merger, grouped conflicting parishioners together and gained a lot of physical space that they wanted to make use of. Space availability provided the space for Marilinda to create a Latino immigrant-specific organization. However, the existence and survival of the Catholic immigrant center depended on what parish leadership thought was best for its diverse parish. The parish consolidation challenged the status of Latino immigrant services within the social concerns ministry agenda of the once predominantly Latino parish. Parish leaders, after Reverend Greg left, were most concerned with making decisions that did not jeopardize the status of the church among its diverse congregants.

Each woman who served as director of the Catholic center mentioned how they received calls about many distinct social needs from immigrant/ Latino residents. This shaped the programming each was able to offer at the center. The pastor had to approve the programming initiatives. The domestic violence ministry, with funding from Lake Forest based parishes, evolved into a Latino-specific domestic violence shelter. This was spearheaded by Clarissa when she was director of the center. She had received many calls from Latina migrant women who did not feel safe in the shelter that was available. They felt, and Clarissa agreed, that the shelter that existed did not have the tools to meet the needs of Latina immigrant victims. While she was able to convert one of the spaces the parish inherited with the merger, the funding for the shelter came from outside the Waukegan community. The 2012 director, Rose, provides a great description of how all three – the domestic violence shelter, Catholic Church center, and ISC are connected:

> It was Clarissa. She was the director of Catholic center at that point. Well, ok, so the center started with Marilinda who is now Executive Director of ISC. She was approached by Greg because the Chicago immigrant advocacy organization had approached the parish saying, we want to give you money to do citizenship. Her

> dream was to make ISC and so that was her basically pilot site. After her came Alice, who's an immigration attorney in Waukegan. And she ran the center for a while. Clarissa came on board - and each added different initiatives. Very, very important. Clarissa came on board, and not only was she directing the center but was also overseeing the human concerns ministries. And she had ladies coming to her saying, hi, I'm a victim of domestic violence, what do I do? And she said, I want to make a center. And she approached the deacon, Derek, and she approached some friends of us, from a local parish, St. Pat's in Lake Forest. She made that idea come to life. And Derek and she worked together to form a small group, of primarily Catholic individuals who did all the fundraising and even like literally to help renovate that place. And even when Derek stepped down from his role as business manager, he oversaw the final touches on that shelter and um I'm curious to hear what story you will be told of how it was created and how it came to be. ... The DV shelter, but that is - it really *was* the labor of Derek, Clarissa, and I'm just thinking of two ladies in particular from St. Pat's. But there were also ladies from St. Gilbert's, St. Mary, and many other parishes. It was an *amazing* example of grassroots effort to - I mean, it was just so - people - they got the vision, they got how this would change lives - tremendous.

Clarissa, unlike Marilinda, found a way to connect to other parishes to help her grassroots initiative. Marilinda described the tensions between expectations and did not address any network of support she might have. Clarissa, like Marilinda, did feel limited by the parish's structure and did not feel supported by Greg's successor. However, she tapped into external resources to complement the meager resources she received from her home parish. The women who worked at the Catholic center were drawn to the position to help Latino immigrants and each were parishioners of the parish. The Catholic Church's religious leadership created the center to meet the needs of their constituents and the women were drawn to the organization because of the Church's connection to immigrants. Whereas ISC was founded because Marilinda wanted to fill the empty niche, the Catholic center formalization was a grassroots effort and immigrant resident driven. However, as the structure of the parish changed through consolidation and high turnover among priests, the women who worked at the organization, to varying degrees, felt limited by the structure. How the women worked at the center used its resources not only

shows why the parish is a key immigrant-serving agency. The Latino immigrant's connection to the parish and its consistent engagement with it, force the parish to create programming for them. The women's work described above also shows how they navigated complicated collaboration efforts. The Church had racially diverse parishioners and complicated duties to the many functions. Clarissa is an example of the women who did not have challenges in working with the center because they identified that the center was a ministry within the church instead of an independent organization.

The Latina social entrepreneurs discussed above show how professional networks with Latinos and local white professionals engaged in the community shaped programming and organizational outcomes. Marilinda's and Clarissa's relationship with the clergy differed and influenced their entrepreneurial status; however, that was not the only factor. Clarissa had more forms of mainstream cultural capital than Marilinda. First, Clarissa had spent twenty years in the private sector and Marilinda had spent her entire career in social services. Second, Clarissa had a stronger command of the English language compared to Marilinda. Marilinda felt exploited in her relationship with the parish while Clarissa found ways to move within her network constraints. While both provided new avenues for the parish to engage in meeting Latino immigrant needs, their professional histories and interpretation of their work seems to explain their distinct outcomes. Their stories reveal how ethnic social entrepreneurs had to work within or around competing missions to accomplish organizational goals. It was how each related to white authority, a topic I address more in detail in the fifth chapter, that shaped how they worked within and founded local agencies.

Round Lake Area

The Round Lake Area is a collection of small suburban and rural communities that is 40

minutes west of Waukegan. It's size, governing structure, and place identity distinguished it from the urban center and county seat of Lake County. The white population was larger than the Latino, but the rate of Latino growth in the communities created tensions between the newcomers and long-time residents. The communities' population size and characteristics also explains why there were fewer agencies and satellite offices in the area than there were in Waukegan. Until Amigo del Inmigrante was founded, residents would have to travel twenty minutes to Waukegan. When I first entered the field there, the human service providers I had learned about were two ethnic community-based organizations and a regional drug advocacy center. There was also a strong Latino Catholic parish base in the area, but respondents did not mention it having a social service ministry. The two ethnic community-based organizations had distinct stories. Their founders had relatively similar backgrounds but distinct philosophies in creating Latino immigrant service organizations.

Amigo del Inmigrante, the oldest of the two immigrant social service organizations, is known in both the Round Lake area and Waukegan area. The clients and the majority of staff are Latino immigrants who live in the area. The board of directors, on the other hand, is predominantly white. The organization started as a government resource center for immigrants and became independent in the early 2000's. The Latino Federation, founded in the early 2000's, did not gain 501 (c)3 status until 2009. The organization started boxing classes run out of the garage of the founder, former Round Lake area police officer, Javier. One of the reasons he wanted to have 501 (c)3 status was to be able to apply for and receive government funding and provide immigrant-specific services. The organization, with a staff of two, offered basic English classes (Javier called them pre ESL) and boxing courses. The organization was recognized by the USA boxing league and charged fees for the boxing courses, but it closed in 2011. Javier had

legal or financial problems that forced him to close down. The distinct rationalization descriptions of the two organization's extends the patterns discussed above.

First, the support of established local elite mattered. Amigo del lnmigrante, unlike the Federation, was originally a local government-sponsored Latino Resource Center created by Brian, a police officer, a village mayor, and other local officials. It eventually became a private social service organization. The founders, all of whom were white, felt that the community needed a center where the Latino residents could access general services. Having local public officials found the organization secured certain levels of support from other local officials of the Round Lake area communities. Most of the Round Lake area villages' elected officials, all of whom were white, were supportive of the work Amigo del Inmigrante was doing for the Spanish speaking residents of the Round Lake communities. Second, finding a Latina face for the organization who worked within the existing norms was also important. Callie, its third executive director, held the position from 2007 to 2014. Callie came to the U.S. upon completing a bachelors degree in Colombia. She started as a case manager at Amigo del Inmigrante and when her predecessor left, the executive board promoted Callie. Callie, during her tenure as executive director, made a variety of changes and presided over many program expansions. After serving as executive director for over seven years, she decided to resign her position to raise her two daughters, the last one was born in the beginning of 2014.

There were also differences between the Round Lake Area and Waukegan. First, Waukegan, as one of the largest municipalities in the county, had more social service agency sites than the Round Lake Area. Second, whereas the two Waukegan agencies have overlapping histories, the Round Lake area agencies always existed independently. Third, the Latino Federation and Amigo del Inmigrante did not collaborate. Javier believed they were competing

for the same resources. He believed that this created tensions and that this conflict resulted from the connections Amigo del Inmigrante had with elected officials in the Round Lake area. Fourth, Waukegan networks facilitated Latina nonprofit entrepreneurship whereas the low organizational capacity in the Round Lake area was the logic behind creating both agencies.

So far, Marilinda's, Clarissa's, and Javier's story have revealed that ethnicity mattered. However, each case was driven by how each, as co-ethnics, saw the need to create services. Callie was more distant from that co-ethnic responsibility narrative that her colleagues discussed. The Round Lake Area networks found a Latina to become the face of the organization. Callie was the second Latina executive director and maintained a positive relationship with the board. Her predecessor left in part because she and the board conflicted over whether the agency should have participated in the Chicago-based mobilizing initiatives around comprehensive immigration reform. When Callie accepted the position, she empathized with both parties. However, as executive director, she also understood she had to protect the agency's community connections because strong ties with local officials allowed to get broker for resources. When I first met Callie in the spring of 2010, she talked about the local state representatives. They were involved with Amigo del Inmigrante and attended events. Callie found that the relationship she maintained with a local state congressperson was an asset to Amigo del Inmigrante: "When something is happening, I email Dee [the congressperson's wife], we need [something] to, you know? About two years ago we were about to close because we lost a grant, Mike helped us secure [a form of funding]. He, in whatever way he can, will help us one hundred percent. We are very lucky to have that relationship." Callie's description of this relationship shows how the state representative considers her organization not only a legitimate social service provider, but a community resource. She, unlike the individuals discussed thus far, represented a case where she

inherited networks that allowed her to navigate spaces some of her peers did not describe. This is linked to the history of each of the distinct organizations and the geographical context.

Callie, when she originally described the distinction between the Federation and Amigo del Imigrante, recognized how each worked independently. She also was not aware that the organization provided services outside of the boxing courses. When describing the organization and its work, she stated:

> [Javier] was like working with youth but this kid from the scouts said, oh no, I can't work with him, the man is very special. I don't know. But he - to me it seemed like he had the idea to do something. I don't know - like with leadership - and he began to work with youth, with the idea of boxing ... but that initiative, I don't know. I don't know if it stopped there. I am not sure what happened. I also think it has to do with his personality because there have been groups--some women who were Amigo del Inmigrante's clients were trying to help him, and the last time I heard, one woman said that she wasn't helping him anymore - that he was really disorganized. Then, I think there are initiatives that lack structure. Because it's not just about having the desire to do something. You have to have structure and you have to have someone who is responsible that takes a project and finishes it.

Outside of working with youth, she was not aware that he offered any immigrant-specific services. She was also aware of the rumors that the organization's staff did not follow through with their projects. Observations we made in the field that corroborated what Callie heard from some of her clients.

Another distinction between the two Round Lake organizations was board composition. Amigo del Inmigrante's Board was predominantly white whereas Javier was interested in creating a board of directors comprised of Latino area residents and leaders. Whereas Callie inherited networks as she was promoted from within, Javier, like Marilinda, had to start from scratch. On the other hand, unlike Callie and Marilinda, Javier did not have a professional background in social services. Before he started the youth boxing program, Javier was a police officer and made the switch because he was interested in creating youth specific programming.

Both Javier and Marilinda wanted to provide something that each felt was missing in their respective communities. When discussing why he created the Latino Federation, Javier, like Marilinda wanted a human service organization for the Latino/ immigrant community run by Latinos. At the time I entered the two communities, immigrant advocacy was a big concern among service providers and immigrant residents. What protected Callie's status within her board was how she avoided participating in the immigration policy reform debate publicly. Amigo's early history provides more evidence to how nonprofit entrepreneurs construct, sustain, and employ their networks. Sustaining networks with community leaders who can protect one's organization's funding streams was one of Callie's priorities. This distinguished her from Javier, Marilinda, and her predecessor at Amigo del Inmigrante, who were driven by immigrant client needs and the status of the Latino/ immigrant community at the time.

All four organizations show how networks were key resources. They were linked to the creation and sustenance of immigrant-specific community-based human service agencies. In the small urban context, the ethnic social entrepreneur needed a dense network of funders and local leaders to create an organization for immigrant-specific programming. In the Round Lake Area, a small network of white local officials had more success in creating and sustaining an agency for immigrants than the Latino who resisted working with white residents. The story of each of these organizations reveals that, to understand how organizations are formed in new immigrant gateways, scholars have to examine the social location of the founders and the extent to which their networks helped them navigate the climate.

In the two communities I studied, whites collaborated with Latina professionals to create the spaces. The interactions above suggest racialized gendered hierarchies are preserved through the creation of Latino immigrant services. The other chapters in the dissertation strengthen the

case. For example, Brian and Marilinda were key entrepreneurs in constructing the immigrant nonprofit sector in the Round Lake area and Waukegan respectively. Brian came in with his experience as a cop and partnered with local officials. They eventually found a Latina to oversee the organization. Marilinda, on the other hand, came in with a Chicago-based organization, and briefly partnered with the Catholic Church before branching out onto her own. While she and Javier argued for the case of preserving ethnic authority in how they worked with community members, Clarissa and Callie worked more at accumulating resources for their programming's survival. All four show how race and ethnicity mattered because those in authoritative positions within the professional networks were white and worked with Latinas and Latinos to construct the sector. The Round Lake area ethnic organizations show that, in the small rural communities, collaborating with the power elite, who were white, influences the life cycle of an immigrant-serving organization. Clarissa's and Callie's entrepreneurial work was not in founding organizations, but was working within an existing nonprofit to create the immigrant services niche within it. Marilinda and Javier, unlike the other strategic entrepreneurs, did not describe positive or beneficial relationships with members of the local white power elite. There was little evidence that espousing the ethnic solidarity agenda was financially useful.They believed that Latino residents liked the idea of having an ethnic organization for and by Latinos, however that was not sufficient to secure either organization as the key immigrant service provider in the communities they were in. Marilinda and Javier did not have the networks to help them secure diverse and consistent funding sources. ISC's board of directors was formed in 2014.

The community-based organizations show that ethnic motivations were insufficient to sustain their work and immigrant-specific programming. The importance of networks between nonprofits and government agencies was discussed in chapter two and has been addressed in

various case studies in the urban poverty literature (see Marwell 2007). However, they have not addressed the professional histories of the individuals involved in building and sustaining the networks. What each of these stories shows is that success was linked to securing and protecting funding streams. This was linked to creating and sustaining resource rich networks. Whether the wealth of Lake Forest Catholics or the political capital of local officials, Clarissa and Callie show how Latina entrepreneur's alliances with local white elites helped them push initiatives forward. They shared similar concerns about the racist climate and found they had to negotiate when and where to make that public.

CONCLUSION

I described the range of immigrant services, how local and regional agencies expanded into the Latino social service market through racialized jobs, and summarized how Latino immigrant serving organizations were founded. The exponential growth of the Spanish speaking population, many of whom were in low skilled labor, required that community organizations to hire staff and create programming to meet their needs within an unstable climate around immigrant reception.

The construction of the Latino immigrant service sector depended on three factors that were linked to the relationships among people with resources. First, the communities needed a collection of nonprofit professionals moving between agencies and managing relationships with the local elite to secure services. The second factor was the relationship between white community leaders and the immigrant service sector. The entrepreneurs needed to recruit those who accepted immigrant social needs as an important social problem to solve and who had the resources to help the social entrepreneurs have the needs met. The third was awareness and or acceptance of the need for Latino immigrant-specific services. Entrepreneurs and white power

elites decided how to create the spaces for immigrant-specific social needs. It was how the Latinos in agency decision-making positions secured resources and managed relationships with the white elite that shaped which individuals and agencies became the authorities of Latino immigrant needs. How this small collective used their authority in relation to those who occupied racialized jobs will be addressed in the second half of this manuscript. The legitimacy of a Latina entrepreneur's status within the nonprofit sector was secured by building positive networks with white community elite, demonstrating she had a strong connection with the Latino immigrant community, and accepting the existing power structure in the communities where she worked. This showed how the occupational hierarchy within the nonprofit sector is racialized. Latina entrepreneurship was constrained by the racial hierarchy that shapes community relations. Marilinda and Javier, in attempting to build a network of stakeholders outside of the racialized hierarchy were unsuccessful in making their organizations legitimate leaders within the immigrant service sector.

The bi-racial unequal networks were connected to Latino immigrant social needs. While acceptance by white community elites facilitated Latina entrepreneurship, their entrepreneurial behavior was in how their knowledge exposed white community elites on immigrant social needs. Their needs ranged from having a staff who spoke the immigrant clients' language to having an organization that offered the legal and educational services that helped adult immigrants adjust to their new host society. Callie, Clarissa, and Marilinda and the other nonprofit professionals who served Latino immigrants, managed relations with funders and white power brokers to protect the programming that white community elites were comfortable with. The programming was constrained to services that did not upset the racial hierarchy within either community. Though demographic shifts show that the Latino population was growing at a higher

rate than the white population, the programming could not include forms of civic engagement that threatened the racial status quo.

The next two chapters discuss racialized career paths and gendered ethnic entrepreneurship to make the case for gendered racialized responsibility.

OCCUPATIONAL TRAJECTORIES AND ETHNIC FRAGMENTATION

In the first chapter, I argued that the political bureaucratic incorporation literature ignored the experience of the bureaucrats themselves. The second and third chapters show how local and regional narratives shaped entrepreneurial efforts, informed workplace dynamics, and explain the emergence of a professionalized advocacy agenda among Latino immigrant service professionals. This chapter unpacks the relationship between the civic and professional by examining the career trajectories of women immigrant service providers. In this chapter, I examine the relationship between civic society, career paths, and race/ ethnicity. I use the concept civic to address the professionals relationship to the community in general and Latino immigrant community more specifically. Nonprofit scholars have addressed the emotional work social workers engage in but have not examined how this links to the community's civic society. From five years of spending time in the community, I discovered that the status of Latino civic society, or the relationship between political climate of reception towards the change in demographics, was tied to the professionals goals of the individuals who were responsible for taking care of them. I examine how the social service providers' relationships to their job are related to ideas of politicized narratives in care work that are linked to racial/ ethnic identity membership. Hispanic Alliance meetings are the space where I observed how the symbolic power of racialized knowledge was used as a tool for professional advancement.

I examine the intersections of formal education to race, shared ethnicity, and bilingualism as qualifications in the immigrant services sector. The racialized knowledge, or information on Latino immigrants' social needs, the Latina entrepreneurs are assumed to embody is more deeply explored in this chapter to show how the form of knowledge capital is used by Latinas and white women. To begin, I share the stories of three women who have started their careers in the

nonprofit sector. These three women have distinct work histories, education levels, and relations with the Latino immigrant community. All are fluent in Spanish and only one grew up speaking both English and Spanish. The differences in career paths, educational levels, and relations with Latino immigrants are key themes throughout this chapter.

Martha, a woman who migrated to the area when she was fifteen years old, started working at Amigo del Inmigrante with less than a high school education. Below, she describes how she started:

> I had a friend who worked here with the collection for employment. Two years ago, Eunice and I were friends. One day we had lunch together and she told me she was really happy, because she found a job that was really interesting. I wasn't working at the time and I told her when they need a volunteer you know I have free time, let me know. And she described her job: she helped people find jobs. I told her, when she saw a part time opportunity, to let me know. Less than a month passed by that one of the part time child care employees left. [Eunice] called me told me of the position and that they needed help, to come the next day, I'll schedule you a meeting with Callie. The day I came in to see Callie was the day I started.

She started working part-time in childcare, and her position evolved from part time child care to full time case manager. She has been at Amigo for over three years, and in the time she has been working there she also earned her GED.

Michelle, a college-educated Wisconsin native white woman, started working with the Latino immigrants in the county as an immigration paralegal and worked with the Catholic church and its affiliates for three years before moving on to a large, private social services organization. Below, she describes how working at a diner chain rural Wisconsin made her aware of the complicated immigration system:

> I think it was the second summer that I found out that NONE of the Mexican staff had papers. And I was just - I was I was just like what, you know? And I was just really surprised, because I was like, well, obviously the government knows about this if I, as an undercover waitress at IHOP found this out … you know what I mean? So that's when it first not making sense and I got to know a lot of the people there and started caring about that.

Carla was at a government agency working with Latino youth. She was president of the Hispanic Alliance, a Latino professional networking organization, when I first entered the field. She, unlike the other two mentioned above, came to Waukegan from El Salvador via California when she was six years old. She earned bachelors and masters degrees at two different Chicago-area universities and has built her social service career in the county. She, unlike the other two, was concerned with the status of Latino families in the county and how Latino professionals could get involved in changing the climate of reception.

> I see a lot more professional Latinos getting involved in different areas of the community to help improve and be a voice or be advocates for those Latinos who can't sit on boards or who can't be vocal for their concerns. But there's still a lot of work to be done. Like in terms of the educational setting, I think that Latino parents, still, at this point, don't feel welcomed. Don't feel comfortable enough in going into the schools and demanding their rights as parents.

She also distinguished herself from the other two women by linking the professional with the political. She is aware of the tensions between Latino (immigrant) parents and the reception of the small communities, and she believes that the civically engaged Latino professionals may possess the political/civic cultural capital to engage with formal bureaucracies and speak for the fearful Latino immigrant. When I returned to the community two years after my preliminary work, I found out she no longer worked at the county agency and was no longer connected to the Hispanic Alliance, the professional networking association of which she was president when we first met. I only saw her at the Hispanic Alliance fundraiser, sitting at a table with none of the original group of Latinas that headed the Hispanic Alliance.

The three stories above highlight patterns that were revealed among the staff and the community of organizations that I observed while in the field. The majority of the staff who interact with Latino immigrant clients were women under the age of 35. The majority were also either U.S.-born Latinas or Mexican/Latin American immigrants. There were also a few white women, who like Michelle, felt a special affinity towards the Latin American immigrant population. Most importantly, like many other respondents, the three had been members of the Hispanic Alliance, a county-wide networking organization concerned with the education and needs of the county's Latino community. The Hispanic Alliance was not the only space where social service providers congregated monthly to discuss concerns, but it was signaled in early fieldwork as the space to learn about the status of Latinos and Latino immigrants in Lake County.

The women and men who worked in agencies remained connected to each other within the space the Hispanic Alliance and other monthly networking meetings provided (for more on the distinct spaces I observed, see methods chapter). When I first entered the field, Carla was president. Martha and Michelle were regular attendees. Within a year, Michelle was on the executive board and Carla was no longer involved. My last year in the field, Michelle was no longer on the board, and Martha continued to be a regular attendee. For many on the eastern side of the county the Hispanic Alliance was the one stop shop to recruit bilingual professionals and for local Latino leadership.

How the Hispanic Alliance defined leadership according to ethnicity, language, and education was linked to the challenges social service providers faced. To tackle these themes, I start by describing the Hispanic Alliance's role in Latino immigrant social needs and how it connects to the key immigrant services agencies described in the second chapter. Here I

illlustrate that the space showed how the professional and civic evolved into one and the same for the most active within the Hispanic Alliance. Second, I elaborate on how Martha, Carla, and Michelle represent three professional categories within the immigrant social service sector. I show that the three categories problematized the institutionalized relationship between co-ethnicity, professional goals, and civic aims. This tension is evidence of the racialized emotional work that distinguishes the career choices of the three groups. Third, I use these women's racialized career paths to illuminate the formal and informal credentials for serving Latino immigrants. The final section addresses the ways in which credentials are legitimated by distinct parties to show that the mixed network of nonprofit professionals serving immigrants exposes Latino ethnic fragmentation. This chapter expands on the concept racialized professionalism (Watkins-Hayes 2009) by describing how ethnicity and workplace expectations function in professional networking spaces and influence occupational routes. I demonstrate that career trajectories develop into a constraint within the immigrant service sector. I argue that the racialized career paths explain the lack of experiential, racial/ethnic, and class diversity on community engagement boards and other civic spaces where community residents can advocate to change the political or social climate of reception towards Latino immigrants.

NONPROFIT PROFESSIONALS AND THE HISPANIC ALLIANCE

When I first entered the field with questions of the Latino immigrant community, some suggested I begin attending the Hispanic Alliance meetings. I expected to find organizations similar to the Chicago community agencies that tended towards community organizing as a vehicle for social change. Originally, the four Spanish-speaking nonprofit professionals who founded the Alliance in the early 1990's wanted to form an organization to lobby for resources for the Latino immigrant community both in the social service sector and political sphere. They

realized they needed to connect with each other to share resources and collaborate, because not many agencies were providing adequate resources to the Spanish speaking community. Networking was understood as a first step to institutionalizing the Latino immigrant service sector.

However, that is not what I found when I began attending meetings. I attended most meetings between the summer of 2010 through early 2014. The meetings were approximately an hour long, where lunch was provided for a small donation. At each meeting a distinct entity, whether nonprofit or government agency, gave a ten- to twenty-minute presentation on the services the organization provided. Attendees, if they had information to share about a fundraiser, event, programming, or invited guest, could request to speak briefly at the end of the meeting. Most of my respondents had been members of the association, many of them as a result of their workplace's membership. More often than not, non-Latino organizations had their Latino staff attend the meetings. Those who attended saw the monthly meeting as a way to obtain community information, learn about local policy change, and get information on job opportunities in the community. Those offering information on open positions were more often than not in recruiting bilingual staff. Every adult Latino who lived on the east side of the county had attended at least one meeting. The women discussed above had also been active in the organization. New professionals of Latino decent became acquainted with the Alliance early in their career development. The advocacy oriented goals evolved into a professional networking and advancement space. What was described as a desire to institutionalize the immigrant services sector revealed the need for bilingual staff at the distinct agencies to people the sector.

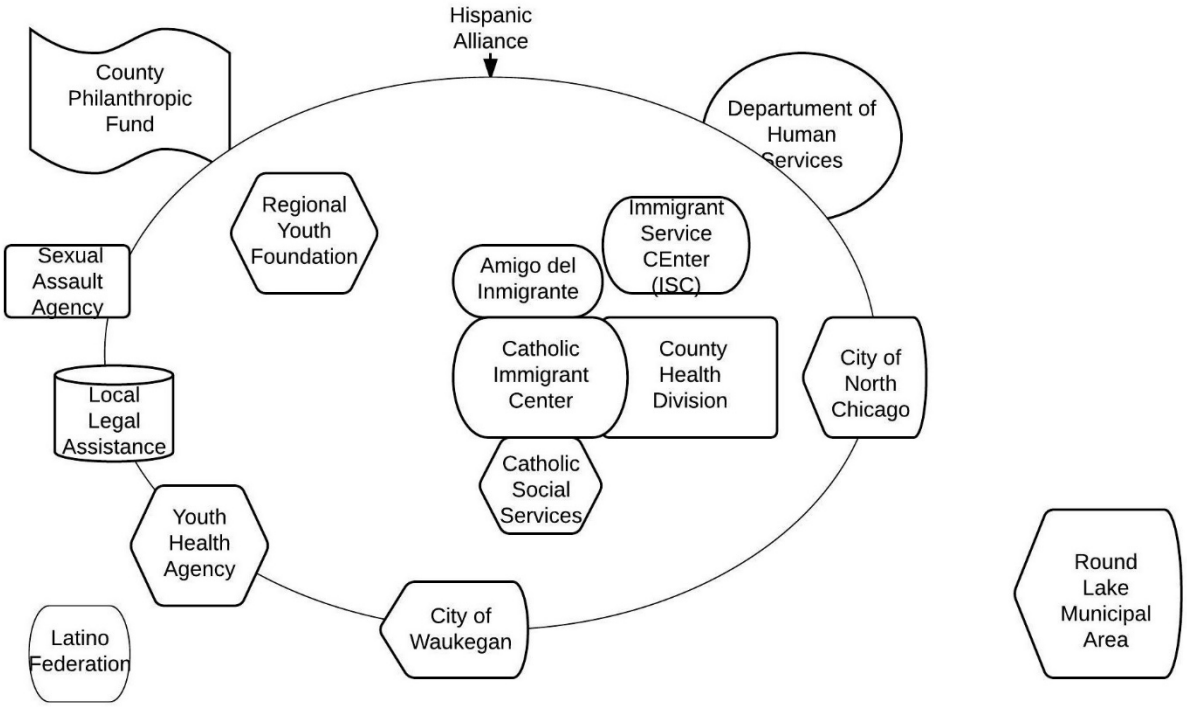
Tenure of engagement was also short term for many. Of the original four women who founded the organization, only two served as advisors to the new group of U.S.-born Latinos

who were on the executive board. I rarely saw Marilinda at the monthly meetings, but when the younger generation of leaders talked about important Latino leaders, she was often praised and recognized by distinct organizations for her commitment to the Latino immigrant community. Her other cofounders were irregular attendees at meetings, rarely discussed as key immigrant service entrepreneurs, but attended the fundraiser that occurred every two years and other key community events of which the Hispanic Alliance was a co-sponsor. Those who regularly attended were staff from local and regional agencies. Executive directors made rare appearances. The monthly meetings of the Hispanic Alliance and other issue-based professional organizations were useful sites to connect with the staff at these agencies, to learn about other social service programming and to discover how state and federal policy would change programming. For example, it was at a 2014 Hispanic Alliance meeting where I heard how immigrant service agencies were partnering to prepare themselves for how administrative relief might affect their immigrant clients. It is where I also learned, in 2013, about changes to the GED test for the state of Illinois.

The Hispanic Alliance was an important network for nonprofit professionals and provided a space where a range of agencies presented their services to those who attended the meetings. It was the only county-based professional network that included Latino immigrant services as a key theme, where immigrant service providers at various agencies interacted, which lead new community residents or individuals unfamiliar with the local climate as the space where the racial hostility would be addressed. The Hispanic Alliance saw itself as the Latino community gatekeeper. Its mission included language on professional networking, accessibility of services, and education. From attending meetings for over three years, I observed that addressing these strategic issues hinged on bringing in people who had information that was

important to both the Latino immigrant and U.S.-born Latino client groups. The Hispanic Alliance saw itself as the Latino community broker between the immigrant service non-profit staff and local municipalities. Throughout its fifteen-year tenure, it participated in the creation of a minority-majority county legislative district, has provided college scholarships, and cosponsored citizenship workshops with the city of Waukegan. When narratives that suggested racial hostility against the Latino/immigrant population, I witnessed on distinct occasions, how its board of directors worked at calming the tensions instead of directly engaging in it. The figure below illustrates how the Hispanic Alliance saw itself in the community and how social service agencies fit within its network.

Figure 1 – Hispanic Alliance Map - Organizational Level Interaction



I have the community-based agencies at the center because the Latino immigrant client was the center of their social service identity. These were the agencies where Latino immigrants

felt more comfortable and much of that trust was linked to the staff at the agencies. The larger regional agencies were on the border of the Hispanic Alliance not because of their membership, but because they were not directly engaged in conversations about immigrant needs. At these agencies, the staff who had been hired to interact specifically or more frequently with immigrants were a smaller ratio of the agencies' staff composition. The immigrant client was not the primary client or the immigrant social need was considered to be within the resident social need framework.

Also, not all professionals who interfaced with immigrants were permanent members of the Alliance. Alberto, one of the newest immigration attorneys in the county, and Magdalena, an immigration paralegal, were both connected to the Hispanic Alliance early in their careers. Their membership was short-lived. Alberto left because he did not see the organization as professionally useful in the long term. Magdalena had only joined when she worked under Marilinda in the early 2000's. Immigrant residents saw both Alberto and Magdalena as reliable and trustworthy Latino immigrant advocates. Alberto and Magdalena limited their advocacy to client engagement and helping immigrants and their families. I bring them up for two reasons. First, their career biographies demonstrated that there was an unspoken rule that engaging with the Hispanic Alliance was a rite of passage. Second, those who engaged with the Alliance for a brief period argued that the association did nothing to change the reception status of Latino immigrants. As I discussed in the previous chapter, there were various attempts to create an advocacy organization to address local immigrant policy, but the efforts were short lived and not formally institutionalized. The lack of local, formal immigrant advocacy organizations made the networking potential the Alliance had more powerful. The question then becomes, how do the

professionals in the sector understand the relationship between their jobs and the relationship to the community?

By describing career paths below, I uncover the credentials that shape the status of a person understood as the Latino community's gatekeeper in the county. My respondents broadly fit into three categories. First are some who constructed ***accidental career paths*** in nonprofits – choosing the nonprofit sector because it was a better option than manual labor. The second and third categories are occupied by young professionals, women and men in their twenties or early thirties who wanted to give back. Responses from white professionals are grounded in a ***social responsibility career path***. Within that category are white bilingual women who felt connected to the Latino/ Mexican immigrant community. The third category are bilingual, college-educated Latinos who are placed on ***ethnically responsible career paths***. I find that white women and U.S.-socialized Latinas have more in common professionally. Their educational and career trajectories are similar enough that they accumulated similar measures of cultural capital. Below, I show how their ethnic distinctions professionally separated them. As a result, the Latinas and Latina immigrant service providers were assumed to have similar professional and civic goals. The assumption is that both Latina immigrant service providers and Latinas take racialized jobs because of a desire to better their ethnic community. The discussion below addresses how the Hispanic Alliance membership rite of passage fits into these racialized career paths. I show how membership provides a space, intentional or not, to construct a professional Latino narrative not linked to race or ethnicity, but linked to service and professionalized advocacy. The distinctions are taken for granted by the local elite as suggested in Chapter 3 and further elaborated here. The two Latina groups' methods of describing their relationship to the immigrant service field reveal

that co-ethnicity does not imply shared civic agenda between immigrants and the professionals socialized in the U.S.

The segmented assimilation literature argues that children of immigrants who adopt white middle class and ethnic cultural capital are most likely to be successful. To varying degrees, my respondents exercise this in the nonprofit profession. It is this work they attempt to preserve ethnic and mainstream social capital. This reveals the complex set of narratives of Latinidad. By discussing the socially responsible white women who participate in the space, I challenge the assumed relationship between ethnicity and knowledge. I use their stories to reveal how Latin American immigrants and U.S. Latinos are not the only professionals embodying the ethnicized cultural capital that is the foundation of the Latino immigrant service sector. How Latino and White social service providers enter the nonprofit sector, choose to remain, and engage with other providers within the Hispanic Alliance reveals that the definition of Latino gatekeeper is based on the extent to which they can perform immigrant or ethnic solidarity and empathy. Race/ethnicity or gender of staff does not predict the likelihood to perform solidarity of empathy for the unstable, insecure experiences of Latino immigrants in the region. Instead, what the race/ethnicity of the women reveal is how a non-Latino identity, in this case, allows other forms of capital to be recognize in one's professional performance. I argue that white professionals' legitimacy narrative, through the lens of their racial privilege in being able to sit on the border of Latino and white power brokers, is the site of the nonprofit glass escalator they are riding to become nonprofit management in the immigrant nonprofit sector. Latino professionals, because of their formal credentials, may believe they are on the same ascent. However, I will show that the competing narratives within and outside of the Latino community, U.S.-born and immigrant,

have broken the assumed escalator for college educated Latinos. This, as a result, has the potential to speed up the white women's ascent.

RACIALIZED CAREER PATHS

Accidental Careers

Six of the women who worked at Amigo del Inmigrante started there with a high school education or less and as part time workers. Also only two of Amigos' direct service employees were U.S.-born. With time and more funding streams, their positions evolved from part time to full time. Their schedule also allowed them all to return to school. While at Amigo, Martha earned a GED. As mentioned above, she started working at Amigo through a friend who worked there. Her story is typical of many of the staff at Amigo del Inmigrante. At the time of her interview, Martha worked full time and her salary was from more than one grant. She was funded in part by the Immigrant Family Resource Program (IFRP) and was responsible for following up with clients on how they interacted with Department of Human Services (DHS). She was one of three staff who described how Amigo staff had to work with both immigrant clients and DHS to help the former gain access to assistance. To accomplish this task, they had to be knowledgeable about what the DHS requirements were and also have the set of informal skills to interact with immigrant clients. Kylie describes one the challenges she encountered with a client:

> Sometimes it could be their lack of cooperation. If I'm processing an application for them and they don't bring in their documents, it's like, "Okay, we've done this two times already. You need to bring this in or we can't do it for you," or when sometimes they'll try to conceal information, things like that. They'll get their stories mixed up about what's going on, so that's why I have to step in and be like, "Okay, look, if you don't tell us the truth, they're going to find out.

Respondents who interacted directly with immigrant clients discussed their lack of faith in the government, their tendency to tell long stories and/or leave long messages, or their general fear

in sharing details that might endanger them. The front-line worker had to find ways to build trust with them and Amigo staff felt that they were better equipped than DHS workers to work with DHS workers. Martha explained:

> A client told me, no, I was waiting for you to schedule the meeting – then I went with the woman and look, she treated me really badly. As a result, I want to believe that they feel comfortable coming here, really. Sometimes I feed like [DHS] transfers people to voicemail and they don't let you and they're still like inhibited … the majority of our clients do not focus on how they can better themselves, their focus is to work.

Here, Martha describes the tension between DHS staff and a client. Amigo staff attribute that to the DHS worker caseload and client-to-worker ratio. She, like other Amigo staff, believed that immigrants felt more comfortable with them than with the one DHS bilingual staff person who was most likely overextended. To pass the immigrant client off to a voicemail instead of taking their call created more distance between the government agency and immigrant client. Amigo staff did both because they have more bilingual staff than the Lake County DHS office and the staff-to-client ratio allowed them to have relatively more time to connect with clients. This responsibility frames the work providers perform in explaining to their client that well-being and belonging is not limited to their income or financial status. The grant that funded their positions required the women to teach their immigrant clients how to interact with a government agency/services and learn the social norms in the U.S. As described below, all of this takes more time that could have been used interacting with more clients or filling out the database on client interactions. Martha's coworker stated:

> Then its applications they already sent us that are in limbo, it's more paperwork for us because we have to document everything in our database like the reason the person did not return or when we sent them to DHS. DHS would ask them for documents and they would have to do doublé the work because the client would

> then schedule a meeting with us to bring us the documents. It sounds easy to simply send the documents by fax, but we always ask them to schedule an appointment not only to educate them but because we need to document everything. It's not just sending the fax – it's sending the fax, recording who asked for the document, what documents they asked for and archiving all of that information.

The frontline workers at agencies like Amigo supplement the work of government agencies that don't have the resources (staff/time) to interact with non U.S. natives. The on-the-job training received is not only linked to learning database management and client benefit requirements, but also how to juggle that with distinguishing the quality of interaction from larger agencies that have more clients to serve. For example, one respondent stated that, unlike a DHS worker, she will listen to a ten-minute message where the pertinent information is only in the last two minutes. She knows that is how her immigrant client communicates their needs. She, like the other women who started part time and evolved to full time, were learning the formal skills of working at a nonprofit. The informal knowledge that facilitated interaction could not be taught. It did not have to be taught to them. Their standpoint as immigrants themselves, as former clients, sensitized them to the challenges immigrant clients faced.

At Amigo, the only staff with a college degree or more were the program director, the grants manager (part-time worker), and the executive director. For most of my fieldwork, of these three, only the Columbian executive director was of Latin American origin. The other women were white. Martha was the one who attended the Hispanic Alliance meetings most often. If she could not make it, at least one other would attend. For Martha and her coworkers, attending the Hispanic Alliance was not only a way to share what Amigo was doing, but it was also a job responsibility. Organizational memberships allowed up to three staff to attend meetings and take advantage of the discounted lunch prices.

Martha and her coworkers rotated in attending Hispanic Alliance meetings. Their engagement was low. Because they did not have college degrees, they could not serve on the Alliance's executive board. Only Rose and Callie had the formal qualifications to do so. Callie never considered it. Rose had served on it when she worked the Catholic Immigrant Center. However, her tenure on the board was short-lived. Her ability to empathize with other immigrants because of her biography and how her on-the-job training helped her and her coworkers translate U.S. bureaucratic norms and expectations were forms of capital that transferred to the organizational level. Empathy and personal experience as forms of capital, emobodied by the staff, legitimated Amigo's work within the immigrant community. The two forms of knowledge, understanding the challenges of other Latino immigrants and understanding how to explain how human service agencies operate, were what facilitated trust-building between the immigrant client and the organization. These forms of knowledge described below, help explain the racial/ ethnic distinctions in professional evolution.

Ethnically Responsible Career Paths

Carla and Michelle represent another group of respondents. They are individuals under the age of 40 who have received college degrees and chose to work in Lake County because of a call to serve low-income county residents or more specifically, Latino immigrants and the Latino community in general. However, the distinctions in their career trajectories also reveal that the experience of white women in social service agencies differs from the experience of young Latino professionals. I begin with how Carla exemplifies an *ethnically responsible career path* before addressing how Michelle illustrates the *socially responsible career path*.

When originally interviewed in 2010, Carla was president of the Hispanic Alliance and worked for the Lake County Health Department in youth-oriented programming. She, like many

of the other twenty and thirty-something Latino nonprofit professionals I interviewed, had chosen to return home to start her career. There was need for Latino talent to complement Latino population growth. There was also a need for positive Latino role models. When Carla described her work responsibilities, she stated she had to make changes to the presentations to immigrant and Latino families. The generic presentations given by coworkers were not connecting to the Latino families she was responsible for recruiting and engaging. The health department's "The Future is Ours" program was "only for Latina students in 6th grade, [and] teaches the girls the importance of their culture. But also we teach 'em different topics like goal setting, future careers, their bodies, um refusal skills, and so forth, but always with a Latino flare to it, so like throwing in dichos as well." Carla saw her work as responsible for showcasing how the needs of the Latino community differ from non-Latinos. The needs are not only immigrant-related, but are also connected to finding ways to provide programming related to the ethnic background of the clients. The use of "dichos" or sayings familiar to Latin American families was a tool Carla used to make the programming accessible to the young women with whom she worked. She saw this as an asset to how services were provided. As a Latina who grew up in Waukegan, and with high academic achievements, she wanted to put herself in a position to mentor other Latino youth in the community. When talking about her Waukegan childhood, she would mentioned how her high school teachers did not have high expectations from Latino students. She saw her professional and civic activities as a way to show Latino youth they had more options.

Her professional and civic activities were geared toward young Latinos growing up in the U.S. She participated in some of the Catholic Church initiatives to foster Latino leadership and create solidarity, but not for the length of the programming. She differed from the accidental careers on three counts. First, her work was geared towards U.S. Latino youth. Second, she grew

up in the U.S. Third, she described the professional and the civic as related. Though her work was geared towards U.S. Latinos, there were ways she was also responsible for engaging Latino immigrants. She chose to accept the responsibility towards co-ethnics whereas Martha was responsible because of the job she had. Carla was interested in how to make the programming accessible to immigrant parents' understanding. Her role as Hispanic Alliance president also required her to engage with Latino immigrant service providers and required her to be attuned to the local immigration policy climate.

As president of the Hispanic Alliance, she was a strict time keeper, because she recognized that attendees only had an hour lunch and did not waste their time. Immigrant-specific services were discussed during some of the presentations under her tenure. In those instances, she had to make sure to keep the space amicable. She introduced the speaker at each meeting and held them to the ten-minute limit given to each speaker at every meeting. The first part of each meeting was for attendees to eat their lunch and for the executive board to go over Hispanic Alliance projects. After the speaker completed their portion, members – who had put their name on a list at the beginning of a meeting – were given time to make brief announcement about their agencies' major events or programming. The library space was reserved for approximately an hour and a half to allow for post-meeting informal chatter and clean up.

Carla's route to the position of president followed a consistent pattern her predecessors had put in place. She had previously been vice president and had maintained what appeared to be a close relationship with the two presidents, now members at large, who had preceded her. The two former presidents and two founder advisors comprised a closed network of Latinas that one joined if the women agreed upon it. Engaging with these women and attending several meetings, I discovered there was a strong desire from this group of women to secure talented Latinos in the

county. Securing the talent and funneling them into distinct forms of philanthropic engagement was seen as the avenue to create change within the Latino reception climate. This talented group was comprised of college-educated Latinos who either worked in nonprofit or government service agencies. Their positions when not directly engaged with immigrants were titled community specialist, manager of community engagement. This encouragement of linking the professional and the civic was grounded in three assumptions. First, college-educated Latinos in these jobs were supposed to be responsible for engaging with or at least concerned about social issues that were linked to the Latino community. Second, racialized responsibility towards co-ethnics complemented or embodied their professional goals. Third, their civic identity was grounded in a racialized responsibility narrative. These assumptions did not account for whether gender, class, or other forms of identification were important to the Latino professionals.

Socially Responsible Career Paths

My white respondents entered the nonprofit sector with desires to give back or to serve the disenfranchised. Most of them did not engage with the Hispanic Alliance. They were in management positions at their agencies where the expectation was front line workers would attend the regional issues-based meetings and return to the agency to share the knowledge acquired. Michelle represents this group. She and a handful of white women who did engage directly with Latino immigrant clients' are exceptions to how most white women respondents saw themselves. The majority of the white women accepted the racialized responsibility Carla identified. Hiring bilingual staff was how they served Latino immigrants. Michelle, as a member of the minority group of women reveals how important biographical context is to the relationship between racialized and bureaucratic knowledge capitals.

When I first met Michelle in 2010, she worked with Marilinda and a group of Latino immigrant laborers who were sharing space with ISC. Her background and interests were immigrant community organizing. After her brief periods as an immigration paralegal and an immigrant community organizer, the Wisconsin native worked for a Waukegan Latino civic organization that was also housed in the Catholic Church immigrant center. When the organization faltered due to leadership conflict and funding issues, she began to work with Marlinda with the understanding she would raise the money for her salary. When that did not work, she found a job with the Catholic service agency's Lake County office. The twenty-something, partnered with a Mexican immigrant man, was committed to being involved with the Latino immigrant community and was eager to be part of the network of people who wanted to make the lives of Latino immigrants better. She was involved in the local protests challenging the passage of 287g in 2007. When I asked her about the Hispanic Alliance in 2010, she said that they did not have a substantive purpose. She saw them as a network of Latino professionals:

> So we [as social service providers] go to these things just to be in the community and know other people, let people know about the programs...I think that's pretty much the gist of it. But I knew about it before, maybe when I did the voter registration I did a meeting or two? I mean...it...it's interesting, it--its not a bad group, I mean, in terms of community organizing I think some people sort of look down on it a little bit because sometimes it tries to act like it does that stuff when it really doesn't. But, I mean, it's like a networking group.

She believed the Hispanic Alliance was only a networking group. Because of her experience working with immigrant rights activists and advocacy groups, she didn't believe that educating community leaders or Latino immigrant residents about the programs social service providers offered was an avenue to create community change. Later on she stated that the Alliance does little "projects in the community sometimes, and a scholarship here and there."

When I returned to the field after a six month hiatus in the summer of 2011, I was surprised to learn that she was on the board as programing coordinator. Her description of the Hispanic Alliance and her civic identity with the realm of immigrant needs were on opposite sides of the advocacy spectrum. When I asked her, she told me she saw the leadership position as a professional development opportunity. She was also no longer engaged with immigrant laborers because she did not have the time. She worked for a regional faith-based nonprofit in emergency services. Her volunteering time was dedicated to the Hispanic Alliance, in part because it was a civic engagement practice that was connected to her professional responsibilities.

There are two other white women, also college educated, who had similar stories. Rose, the program director at Amigo del Imigrante, was married to a Mexican immigrant who was undocumented at the time they first met. The other was an Americorp VISTA worker at the ISC who was hired by the Waukegan Public Library when her one-year commitment was up.

Rose has worked for many of the key immigrant-serving organizations in Lake County. She majored in psychology at a Christian liberal arts college and felt that working in the nonprofit sector would allow her to put her degree to work. She had worked as a teacher before becoming a grant writer at the YWCA. She, like the Amigo staff discussed above, learned grant-writing skills on the job and the on-the-job training provided a level of occupational mobility. She was also an active parishioner at the Waukegan Catholic Church and worked as the Catholic Immigrant Center director for less than a year before taking the programming director job at Amigo del Inmigrante. Lastly, at some point before I began my fieldwork, she also briefly served on the volunteer executive board of the Hispanic Alliance. Below, she describes her affinity

towards Mexican immigrant clients by describing the challenges associated with her husband's legal status adjustment:

> I've experienced him being in Mexico, waiting to be approved, waiting for the waiver to be accepted so there wasn't a ten-year bar against him and not KNOWING would I be relocating to Mexico, is that going to be our future. So, going from, you know, that experience, to seeing every day. There were different - people came to us with different stories at the Catholic immigrant center then they come to Amigo del Inmigrante with. people came to us at the Catholic center saying my husband was just deported, I have three kids, what do I do, and that was on a weekly basis. And it really lead us to develop the faith and public life ministry, which was very much Rev. David's initiative and to begin to meet with the city, and work very closely with MARIA to address some of these issues, and have resources for people. There's a tremendous amount of need in that community and we were just beginning to build partnerships. While I was there, I'm very proud of the fact that we partnered a lot with ISC. And we won two grants together. We were the fiscal agent of one, they were the fiscal agent of another. One was even a United Way grant which I thought gave a tremendous amount of credibility to both our organizations AND demonstrated how the United Way completely recognized the need to JUST - it was just to provide Latino immigrants - well, immigrants in general with access to public benefits and food stamps.

Here, her knowledge exists on a variety of levels. First, as the wife of a formerly undocumented immigrant, she experienced firsthand the stress and emotional toll associated with the waiting period. Second, because she worked at the Catholic Center in one community and later at Amigo, she could compare how client interaction differed between the two organizations. Third, her work in Waukegan shows how important organization collaboration was in providing immigrant-specific services. It was the ability of the Catholic Center to foster and sustain a funding partnership that helped both women meet Mexican immigrant needs in Waukegan. She, unlike her Latino counterparts, described being able to use knowledge accumulated at work to help inform specific programming, as was the case with a social justice initiative coordinated by the Catholic Church. The direct engagement she had with immigrant clients at the Catholic Center, combined with a pastor who was committed to social justice, gave her room to create

programming that empowered Latin American immigrants. Once this socially conscious pastor left, the program did not survive. Her biography and work history reveal that she possessed a wealthy of both bureaucratic and racialized knowledge. Michelle and Rose demonstrate a career flexibility that my Latino respondents did not. Their flexibility was a product of how their whiteness allowed their work to be read in abstract terms instead of racialized terms. For my white respondents, the civic and professional were not as strongly tied together as they were for my Latino respondents. The racist climate in Waukegan sensitized some of the college-educated Latinos to recruit others like them to engage in power broker positions.

FORMAL AND INFORMAL CREDENTIALS

The racialized career paths that assumed a strong relationship between racialized emotional work and race-based advocacy show how occupational trajectories within the nonprofit sector are linked to Latino immigrant social needs. Amigo staff reveal several things. First, their educational levels and professional path, compared to the young, college-educated professionals, reveal how personal experiences within a Latino immigrant family facilitates staff interaction with clients and community leaders. It is the Latino staff member's experience as an immigrant (in the case of Amigo staff and street level bureaucrats at the Catholic Center) or as growing up within a Latino immigrant family (Carla), that make them authorities on the Latino immigrant client need. College degrees were supposed to allow the young professionals more room to experiment professionally. However, the ethnic responsibility assumed among Latino professionals constrains the professional trajectories of the U.S. born. The prevailing notion that co-ethnicity between staff and client was the best way for an organization to demonstrate it had knowledge of the Latino immigrant clients' needs limited the occupational options for Latinos. Legitimacy concerns were more specific to how the individual represented her organization's

programming to immigrant clients, instead of client perception. Presence of Latino or bilingual staff were sufficient to believe the organization was able to build a relationship with Latino immigrant clients. Staff ethnicity as a measure of legitimacy reveals assumed relationships between co-ethnicity and empathy. When nonprofits engage in hiring practices under that assumption, that relationship becomes institutionalized. The people hired into what are understood as racialized jobs, in the case of my white respondents, have to justify how they are or have become empathetic. My Latino respondents, on the other hand, spend more time explaining other job related factors. My accidental career path respondents accept and acknowledge that shared immigrant experience facilitates with immigrant clients. This provided them the space to learn and teach others about how human service bureaucracies functioned. My Latino respondents are engaged in distinctive work in how they explain their relationship to their jobs. They have to find other ways to negotiate this ethnicized empathy with their long-term career goals.

Educational achievement was another key measure to facilitate occupational mobility. This is not only measured by how much schooling one received after high school, but also by how one engaged in public spaces. This moves away from the Latino immigrant need conversation, and extends the visibility discussion that was begun in the first chapter. Public visibility lent the entrepreneurs certain credibility to become nonprofit leaders. For the younger generation, how they used public visibility and how they connected with visible Latino leadership reveals tensions between Latino immigrant needs and U.S. Latino professional goals.

SEGEMENTED ASSIMILATION OR IMMIGRANT ADVOCACY

Marilinda described how she saw the Hispanic Alliance:

> The other plus is that the Hispanic Alliance is moving now with young leaders. Which is - for me it's important. It's - there's a platform for a certain group, and at the same time

> they see, and decide the by-laws and all say, oh, my commitment is to give to the community, as a college graduate. It's also served to promote - for people to learn how to present a public agenda, ok? Another type of leadership.

As stated above, the Hispanic Alliance was originally formed as a Latino immigrant advocacy group by Latina nonprofit professionals who worked with Latino clients. Marilinda describes how it has evolved into a space for college-educated Latino professional development. The creation and institutionalization of a Latino professional civic group occurs in conjunction with a national and local climate where Latino immigrants are being portrayed either as criminals who are endangering the nation's economic and political infrastructure or as insecure, unstable residents because a comprehensive immigration reform package has not been decided upon at the federal level. The local, regional and national climate create opportunities in distinct parts of Illinois and the U.S. to encourage the migrant and co-ethnic mobilization around the question of immigration reform (Flores-Gonzalez and Pallares 2010, Cordero-Guzman et al 2008; Bada, Selee and Fox 2006). However, the dominant narrative constructed by the few who were in formal and public civic engagement spaces did not follow the expected pattern. This was a byproduct of how the individuals negotiated their professional and civic identities.

The younger generation was interested in training their peers how to interact with elected officials and other community power players. Having a college degree was a requirement to serve on the Alliance's volunteer executive board. Community leaders without one, like Clarissa (discussed in the second chapter), could not serve on the board. The consistent leaders then, accepted the responsibility to reach out to college-educated professionals to serve on the board. Whether they were in professions where they interacted with Latino immigrants or the U.S.-born Latinos was not a requirement. Formal credentials, independent of ethnicity, became a metric against which to measure leadership potential within the Latino community. The assumed

relationship between ethnicity, knowledge, and advocacy that was an asset to Latinos as professionals was not imported into leadership development within the organization whose function was to advocate for the Latino community. Other forms of cultural capital associated with upwards assimilation, such as education, public speaking, fluency in English, were more valuable. How Latino professionals within the Hispanic Alliance negotiated which forms of capital mattered in relation to Latino leadership reveals a gap between the skills local Latinos had and the need for Latino talent in the community. The Hispanic Alliance, a key formal organizational actor in the local Latino uplift efforts, valued forms of capital that were highly rewarded in mainstream society.

The practices reveal discrepancies in how co-ethnic leadership potential was measured. The wealth of knowledge the Latino social service professional gained in her work and what was considered useful information in leadership did not completely overlap. For those highly engaged within the Hispanic Alliance, there was a need for Latino professionals to serve on civic boards and boards of directors of social service agencies to speak for Latinos/ immigrants who did not feel confident or comfortable enough to do it for themselves. While this was the conversation among the group of people who had been highly engaged in the Hispanic Alliance and had served on its executive board, others discussed the lack of qualified people to hire as social service providers. Callie stated that "here [in Lake County], it's difficult to find college-educated bilingual applicants … But seriously, bilingual Latinos, with a degree, you'll put one out there and more than one agency will fight over the candidate." Many in the community believed that college-educated Latino bilingual staff were important resources to agencies eager to engage with the Spanish speaking population, including social service agencies. The ethnically responsible career paths described above, regardless of whether they were accidental, show that

other forms of knowledge were assets within the immigrant service sector: (1) knowledge of the immigrant adjustment process and; (2) being aware of the bureaucratic related struggles to receiving public assistance. The informal knowledge was an asset for invisible interactions between client and staff, but not an asset to public leadership choices.

The size of the Latino immigrant population required service-oriented workplaces, like nonprofits, to find ways to hire bilingual staff who met their formal credential requirements and who could build a rapport with immigrant clients. The younger college-educated professionals might begin in a direct service position, but have the potential to become mobile within the professional field. Amigo staff and Clarissa, key actors within the immigrant nonprofit sector, also did not fit the criteria, since none have college degrees. Pressures towards performing to upward assimilation norms constructed a classed division within the Latino leadership. The Hispanic Alliance had the authority, as the formally institutionalized, longest standing civic organization in the county, to regulate Latino leadership in public spaces. Its formal relationships within Northern Lake County suggested that Latinos in public leadership positions were more interested in internalizing the cultural capital valued by mainstream society. The capital that helped them interact with clients and was highly valued in the organization's hiring practices did not extend to mainstream civic society. The tendency to embody upward social mobility among the Hispanic Alliance leadership devalued the racialized knowledge that lead many of them to the leadership positions they had in the first place. Their practices suggested that occupational mobility that facilitated professionalized civic engagement required them to downplay their ethnic identity and working class immigrant knowledge

Challenges immigrant-serving nonprofits faced were not only linked to Latino immigrant-specific programming and funding. As I show above, they were linked to the

availability of staff who were qualified to serve them and the knowledge they had on the challenges immigrant faced was used at work and in their civic engagement activities. The stories I share above show that knowledge of and sensitivity towards client's personal experiences are not associated with a college education. However, the distinction between the young professionals shows how this was linked to being categorized as or identifying as Latino. For those of Latin American descent, co-ethnicity was enough. Juan, the Hispanic Alliance's president in 2015 and worked for health specific organizations, stated the following about this: "Because my Spanish skills are a little better than most of the people at this agency, I'm in charge of all the translations that go out into the community" (2010). Callie also addressed co-ethnicity as an asset in terms of what she wanted Amigo's board of directors to look like: "They understand the people we are serving. They are the same Latinos who didn't have the educational opportunities that they themselves had. They have to support." Callie and Juan are among a core group of key Latino nonprofit professional leaders who attempt to encourage Latino responsibility towards Latin American immigrant needs. This group sees as their responsibility to engage with community power brokers and protect the resources they can secure for Latinos and Latin American immigrants. Their work rests on the assumption that co-ethnicity between client and staff leads to the latter accepting responsibility and consciousness of the immigrant experience. When a U.S. Latino chooses an ethnically responsible career path, there is an expectation that her career goals are somehow linked to ethnic uplift. This value or assumed relationship was accepted by community elites and the small group of Latino professionals like Juan, Callie and Carla who understood that the professional and civic were extensions of the same ideology. It is their authority within the community that makes this value, constructed by few, so powerful in shaping the sector.

Many of the Latino social service professionals with college degrees saw their jobs in nonprofits as a source of income. Some took it further and saw them as a space where Latinos could come together and create social change for the Latino – immigrant and U.S.-born – community that resided in the county. Those interested in grassroots politics or forms of contentious change did not engage the Alliance for long. The Hispanic Alliance was to serve as the space where they could congregate and only those who espoused the complex racialized and classed narratives of professional and civic identities remained. The professionals who were best suited to engage local officials and funders, according to this perspective, were Latinos with college degrees who were good at public speaking and who did not address the unstable immigration policy climate. The narrative of Latino immigrant criminals or burden came up against the work of the Latino social service provider group who constructing themselves as upwardly mobile residents. This meant that they did not engage local policy issues linked to the immigrant social need they were hired to alleviate.

The wavering membership and authority of entrepreneurs who did not engage with the Alliance directly showed that co-ethnics were not solely responsible for Latino immigrant services. Individuals who visibly addressed Latino/ immigrant needs were either white, not college educated or did not embody the cultural capital associated with white collar professions as the Hispanic Alliance leadership would have liked. Juan summed up one version of the Hispanic Alliance's functions: "you have this group of Latino professionals working in service organizations that can have an impact on what happens in a community. I wanted to be part of an organization that promoted change and promoted the Latino culture in the community." Latino cultural promotion, securing funding streams or grants, not expansion of immigrant services, was the focus of the Alliance. However, it was also the only consistent space where nonprofit

professionals serving immigrants congregated. The classed dimension within the Hispanic Alliance's civic identity exposed the gap between Latino needs, immigrant needs, and the challenges of generational assimilation processes.

My respondents were all interested in making their community better. Among Latino social service providers, the definition of community changed according to whether they were explaining logics from the standpoint of their professional, civic, or social identity. They negotiated all three within the boundaries of the Hispanic Alliance. The Hispanic Alliance leadership held the belief that Latino professionals with college degrees were responsible for uplifting the community through their professions. For some, to uplift meant to promote and educate about Latino identity. For others, it meant to address or challenge anti-immigrant local policy. Some felt that promotion would lead to policy change. Working with immigrants to help them improve their quality of life – through direct service or affiliation with a nonprofit – was the avenue Latino professionals were supposed to employ, and the Hispanic Alliance was a space for Latinos to exercise this and meet others who shared their values. The goal of bringing Latino professionals together was challenged by the competing classed and advocacy goals of the individuals who worked with Latinos and Latino immigrants.

However, not all college-educated Latinos felt this way, and not all social service providers were of Latin American descent. The white respondents discussed above, for example, were inspired by values, but were able to leave their immigrant-specific jobs to work in other sectors and occupations. The complicated goal negotiation Latinos engaged in as professionals and civic brokers were not identified or addressed among white respondents. For the latter, the spheres were not interrelated. The stories show that occupational motivations and options will shape who interacts with immigrant clients, to what extent, and how this engagement shapes

nonprofit leadership. High-level client engagement does not open the door to nonprofit leadership. Formal credentials, including knowledge of at least English, facilitate occupational ascension. These patterns reveal that nonprofit leaders in the second generation, though assumed to have a connection to the Latino immigrant experience, might not be as sensitive to the local context of immigrant reception or the immigrant client base itself. The younger staff's occupational trajectories reveal that individuals who demonstrate sensitivity will not reach occupational leadership positions within the nonprofit sector as quickly as those who have the formal credentials and social networks to do so. I found that a key component of immigrant services was the political climate in which individuals created programming and organizations. By discussing their careers and how they rationalized the relationship between civic and professional identities, I reveal how the co-ethnics who many non-Latino community elites believed to be the Latino community gatekeepers did not feel comfortable in engaging the hostile climate because of their concerns with their professional standing. They had to protect local relationships and institutionalize them. The anti-immigrant climate then was recognized as something to work around

ETHNIC FRAGMENTATION: IMMIGRANT VS ETHNIC SERVICES

Latino community leaders highly engaged with the Hispanic Alliance wanted to see Latinos involved in various forms of local civic life. Involvement, as I describe here, was grounded in a narrow narrative. This ranged from diversifying the boards of nonprofit agencies so that Latino professionals could be in a position to advocate for Latino and Latino immigrant clients, to serving on local festival committees. Doing so would build bridges between residents. I revisit some of the points made earlier in the chapter to discuss the implications on solidarity between the Latino immigrant community and the Latino professional community. The

professionalized advocacy I describe earlier in the dissertation is further detailed below. The small group of Latino college-educated professionals who were in charge of the Hispanic Alliance also wanted to be responsible for what it meant to be Latino, and they shared this message to younger Latinos and white colleagues. Though Kevin was not a social service professional, his experience on this committee provides evidence that parallels Carla's above:

> "[T]here was a recent event put on by the Waukegan Public Library and it was touted as a multicultural festival. Well, the committee was mostly put on by uh a ... group of people, and the the majority of the people were not Latino ... - I was the only Latino - me and someone else were actually another - were the only Latinos and unfortunately I was not there at the beginning to kind of set the path for this. But, I mean, the posters that were made, they were targeted toward - I mean there was like pottery made that looked like - you know, pottery made that that was like for - like from a Mexican. There was a guitar in the front there was like a certain dress from a Mexican culture and - like the things that were being put out there - just doesn't make any sense."

Those sponsoring the multicultural festival were eager to cater to Latino residents and believed that having a Latino member of the community involved in the marketing would help them reach the community. He was encouraged to sit on the board to be part of the decision-making process. This is one of the many stories in which Kevin described the struggles he faced when working with non-Latino civic leaders who attempted to encourage Latino residents to increase their participation in government-sponsored festivals. He saw that, because he was one of the only Latinos involved, he was responsible for changing how Latinos were marketed to. His other experiences also demonstrate that some non-Latinos expected him to perform this task. Latino professionals were a useful marketing tool. Their function in these rules were what some understood as embodying civic engagement.

The small number of Latino social service providers who were highly engaged with Hispanic Alliance leadership saw themselves as the authority of Latinos. They were not discussing anti-immigrant policy, but the construction of local Latino identity. For example,

when the county sheriff who brought in Secure Communities spoke at an Alliance meeting, Clarissa publicly challenged the Catholic police officer, because supporting the measure went against traditional Catholic values. The Alliance leadership were displeased with the public engagement. The Alliance also did not engage in the 287(g) protest or other anti-immigrant local ordinances. They wanted to serve as gatekeepers between local elected officials, local organizations, and the general Latino population. The Latino immigrant client distinction was not made and allowed them to avoid policy engagement.

Disengaging in the local immigrant policy conversation demonstrated that teaching non-Latinos what Latinidad was sufficient as a form of professionalized advocacy. The role of public educator did not endanger the security of the Latino immigrant residents. It also revealed that the need for bilingual front-line workers competed with the desire among the small group of ideal providers. The small network were eager to have Latinos at the distinct levels of a nonprofit agency. It was not enough to interact with Latino immigrants directly, but Latinos had to be running nonprofits as staff and as board members. The Latino professionals who were not as engaged with the Alliance either operated independently or operated within smaller informal networks. The competing narratives among the distinct small networks within the Hispanic Alliance's membership were a sign of ethnic heterogeneity and how it's taken for granted by non-Latinos. The climate around comprehensive immigration reform, suburbanization of poverty, and challenges suburban nonprofits face in bringing state or federal monies to fund their programming creates an unstable funding climate for immigrant-specific services. I found that the competing narratives also contributed to the insecure immigrant service nonprofit sector.

The gap between the young professionals and the entrepreneurs results from a competing system of qualifications for immigrant service provider and is a function of the relationship

between the civic and professional. Some believed that the civic was an extension of the professional. The professional who interacted with immigrants was armed with a combination of language, co-ethnicity, and formal education. The informal skills learned through work experience and racially mixed professional socialization are assets to the immigrant service provider. However, they were not for the Latino professional who joined civic boards. My respondents make evident that professionals gain sensitivity to the Latino immigrant client base by personal experience as an immigrant, any direct engagement with immigration policy and legal adjustment, or by consistent direct engagement with the immigrant client base itself. Marilinda provided one of the original reasons the Hispanic Alliance was founded:

> When I started well, I said, you, now, it's a lot for me, you know? ... Some [Latino/ immigrants] want child care, for example, which is what I came [up to Waukegan] to do, but then, I want immigration, I want resources, I want, you know, deportations, and I want, ok? What is there in the county to help us? Who is there - also, in that time we pushed so that competent people would be hired to provide services [to the immigrant/ Latino community]. That is, we accomplished that in 15 years in the county. That it wouldn't be the maintenance person to come and interpret for someone who was soliciting medical help. We pushed a lot in that time. From there the Hispanic Alliance came forth ... [translated]

The young Latino professionals have either inherited or internalized a sense of responsibility because of a last name, what they look like, or assumed Spanish proficiency. However, the challenges they face as professionals reveal the problems associated with believing that these measures are sufficient for Latin American immigrant client interaction. My respondents show that the more credentialed they are, the more they can be read as responsible for taking on the burden of addressing both Latino immigrant and U.S.-born Latino clients. The lack of knowledge the college-educated Latino professionals had on immigration policy - local and federal – shows that making them responsible for immigrant progress can endanger the Latino immigrant.

The hiring practices of nonprofits, in attempting to gain access to the Spanish speaking population, created a group of immigrant serving professionals who were accumulating both bureaucratic and racialized knowledge capital. This positioned them to influence the racially hostile anti-immigrant climate. For those who formed or engaged in the Hispanic Alliance network, this was not the case. The assumed status of the Hispanic Alliance and the occupational trajectories discussed here expose occupational tensions that influence the climate of the immigrant services sector. Nonprofit professionals and some non-Latino community leaders saw the Hispanic Alliance as the space to learn about Latino immigrant needs and recruit Latino talent for their workplaces. The discussion above shows that Latino talent and Latino immigrant advocacy are not on the same spectrum. To be Latino and college educated did not mean that a professional interest in immigrant rights was also present in the list of skills someone of Latin American decent possessed. As a result, the concern around Latino immigrant needs, 287(g), Secure Communities, or other local policies that criminalized Latin American immigrants were clouded within the larger frame of Latino concerns.

Above, I shared how Marilinda praised the role the Hispanic Alliance played in training a new type of Latino leadership. However, the training of the Latino professional competes with Latino immigrant needs. The new goal of the Latino nonprofit professional, according to this description, was to be able to engage in a public space with a racially mixed crowd. Isabella, former Alliance president stated, "Everyone in the Hispanic Alliance is educated and that is I guess the difference between any other organization in Lake County ... 'cause we are all professionals. We are all there because we want to make a difference in our communities not because we have a personal agenda." This distinction was made for two reasons. First, she distinguished the Alliance from other short-lived community based advocacy organizations. The

people involved in attempting to formalize immigrant advocacy efforts could not come to a consensus (see Chapter 2). They were also of mixed immigrant generations and mixed education levels. Second, the impact they were interested in making was in the lives of Latino youth and in the lives of the general population in how they understood what it meant to be Latino in Lake County. The importance she places on formal education credentials and a shared agenda among the Latino educated class is challenged by the evidence I provided above. The group she describes is small compared to the multiple narratives. What sets it apart is that the Hispanic Alliance, as the institutionalization of the narrative into an advocacy organization lends legitimacy towards it.

It is in examining the need of immigrant services that the tensions between U.S.-born and immigrant are revealed. The nonprofit, by employing Latinos as pink-collar professionals responsible for Latino client relationship building, shows how their professional responsibilities exacerbate the immigrant services tensions. Marilinda described how the nonprofit sector of immigrant related services in the Waukegan area was not legitimized yet:

> we're still not there, so how are we going to make an impact so that the organizations say we have to be more equal. How many of you are providing counseling services, for example. And these organizations, to each one they provide funding. How many are serving the Latino community, compared to the numbers [of Latinos in the community]. Each organization needs its funding, because one alone can't do everything. But, you know, it's the way - it's - what they see is that we are fighting, and that we can't work together. [translated]

According to Marilinda, organizations that offer general social services, like counseling, do not have to compete for resources because each one has access to funds. It seems that, because the market for counseling services has already been approved, funders do not question its priority or the importance of having more than one organization offer these types of services. However, it's not just the funding competition that matters, but the conflicting visions and varied goals of the

people who have been hired to address these concerns. The stories above show that the counseling agency is not only a competitor for funds, but for staff. It is how these individuals choose which agencies to work for that will, in part, shape how funding is distributed at suburban nonprofits.

CONCLUSION

The political bureaucratic incorporation literature ignored the experience of the bureaucrats themselves, and by describing the relationship between racialized jobs and bureaucratic incorporation, I reveal that racialized career paths imply a relationship between civic and professional goals. I unpacked the relationship between the civic and professional by examining the career trajectories of women immigrant service providers. By addressing the relationship between civic society, career paths, and race/ ethnicity, I show how racialized knowledge around immigrant social needs is a valued capital in the workplace but of limited value in civic society. I show how the emotional work of women immigrant service providers exposes the relationship between co-ethnicity and responsibility. How Latinas describe their work complicates that assumption. The Hispanic Alliance, as the place where the professional meets the political, shows how the intersection of class, ethnicity and civil society allows a small group of Latino professionals to construct a Latino policy agenda that avoids the immigrant social needs question.

The lack of formalized advocacy channels within these small communities presents another constraint on the Latino immigrant service sector. Programming cannot include spaces to educate the larger public on immigrant-specific needs or extend passed training immigrants how to become productive members of the economy. The next chapter addresses the final dimension

of this study: gender differences. It is in this chapter that I will address gendered paths of professionalized civic engagement within the group of Latino nonprofit professionals.

GENDERING RACIAL RESPONSIBILITIES: GENDERED WORK IN THE IMMIGRANT SERVICE FIELD

The previous chapters reveal distinct factors that shape networks that constructed the immigrant service field. After addressing place-based constraints, I provided distinct pieces of evidence to illustrate how shared ethnicity is both an asset and liability in the construction of the immigrant service field. This chapter provides a final piece of evidence that explains how ethnicity defines behavior. In presenting more evidence on how empathy towards Latino immigrants operates, I provide an analysis of how gender intersects with the notion of racialized responsibility that was introduced in the previous chapter. To understand the importance of gender, I assess how gendered performances at work interact with racialized responsibility. I show how differences in one's relationship to the immigrant service field, are also gendered by describing men's relationship to the immigrant service field. My male respondents, Latino or white, in explaining their tenuous relationship with immigrant services, also share that women make many important decisions. This, combined with the racialized career paths finding in the previous chapter, explains how Latinas became responsible for the maintenance of the sector. Describing how gender differences intersect with racialized responsibility, I introduce the term racialized gendered responsibility.

Racialized gendered responsibility describes a professional logic to which immigrant service professionals perform. From my respondents and fieldwork, I found that Latinos and white men were not as embedded in the networks that sustain the immigrant service field as women were and it is this relationship that shows how responsibility is both gendered and racialized. To make my case for racialized gendered responsibility, I organize my evidence into two sections. I begin with the experience of men in the nonprofit sector who were engaged with

the immigrant service field at brief moments: either by working with Latinas or working for them. First, I describe how white men interact with Latinas and other white women. Second, I introduce the experience of Latino immigrant service professionals. The stories I share show how men have space to create and engage in abstract rationalization processes. In the second section of evidence, I return to the story of Latina entrepreneurs and how they interact with their staff and colleagues. It is by comparing the three distinct social groups that construct a comprehensive intersectional analysis of how race and gender operate in the immigrant service field. Whereas my first two chapters argued for the importance of place and field boundaries, they also introduced the importance of race and gender categories when discussing the key actors who provided services and founded organizations. This chapter completes the intersectional analysis at the staff level to elaborate more fully on how racialized gendered meaning systems shape the immigrant service field.

OSCILLATING OUTSIDERS: MEN'S IMMIGRANT CAREWORK

The first time men became visible in the immigrant service sector was in how they helped Latinas create programming and services (see Chapter 3). Of the ten men included in this study, only one lacked a college degree. The others had a varied combination of work experience and education credentials. All but one worked in direct services, where they provided immigrant-specific programming. The majority either worked at an immigrant-specific organization in a management or human resources capacity or worked at a regional private or government agency. The government professionals were engaged in immigrant services either through their professional networking activities or because a coworker encouraged them to get involved. The Latinos, in both nonprofit and government agencies, were also concerned with finding ways to accumulate skills that would make them more mobile within Lake County's labor market.

Latinos who worked in the county tended to be from the area. Their families migrated here, and they stayed to work here. The white men, on the other hand, tended to come from outside of Lake County. The older white men had extensive work experience, which gave them a consciousness of how best to perform their professional responsibilities in public sector jobs. Whether the Catholic priest who became engaged in the immigrant rights movement or the former police officer who founded the Latino resource center, they were concerned with what was best for the community and how their professional status allowed them to accomplish the task. Below I introduce three examples that illustrate how the intersection of race/ ethnicity and gender operated in the immigrant service field.

For example, Brian, the police chief introduced in the third chapter and co-founder of Amigo del Inmigrante, spent the majority of his career between the military and law enforcement. When describing his proud professional moments, he said the following:

> The most significant thing I've been involved with in my career adult life is Amigo del Inmigrante. More significant than serving in the Marine Corps, more significant than all the other things I did – policing, and I – again, I think I, you know, tried to do some things, but nothing could, you know, compare to the impact that that place has had on lives of families and communities, and you know, futures. And we do great programs here [at Amigo].

Ronald, also a career public servant, had a distinct set of concerns. While Brian was interested in meeting the social needs of the Round Lake Area, Ronald was concerned with keeping the library's doors open. He saw his role as encouraging his staff to help the library fulfill its mission:

> There's a lot to do here. There's a lot of need here. We can really make a difference here, so that's what we're doing. Then when I got a staff, like my two assistant directors, and someone like Clarissa, Lisa, and the rest of those guys, all

> I have to do is get out of their way. It's great. They are putting us on the map. I'm just the director.
>
> It's great. It's wonderful. They see the need out there. Clarissa put together a *promatoras* group, and they go out and find out what they really need out there rather than us sitting back here going, "Why don't we do something like this? Why don't we have a program like this? Maybe somebody will come to it." We already know it's going to be a success before we even do it because of them, and it got us to the White House.

Ronald, like Brian, recognizes the needs of the community and praises the team of women who work for him and how they are able to engage the community and bring the library national recognition. Decision making at the library differed from how Amigo del Inmigrante ran at first. At the library, the women made key decisions for the library with little input from its director. When Brian was at the front of Amigo del Inmigrante, he engaged with its cofounders and first two directors. Ronald and Brian had distinct approaches to their work as public servants, and women were a key factor for their organizations' legitimacy.

The young Latinos I interviewed who worked at the agencies had a distinct relationship to the immigrant services sector. Guillermo, a young South American who originally came to the States to pursue a graduate degree, describes how he ended up working in Lake County.

> When I graduated from university, I worked in everything – the majority of my experiences were in the nonprofit sector. … I wanted – what I realized was that my passion was in public service, more specifically focusing on urban development, and that includes economic and community development. […] When I couldn't find anything else, I learned about the Lake County position, which was interesting because there were two positions. It was a weird position because it had a finance part, that was a grant writing proposal part, and Budget management interested me a lot; but then there was the community engagement part, which was another part that is basically my background. So I was interested in it because I could further develop my skills, and I could focus on the financial part. … I saw it more as an opportunity than a challenge because I don't know a lot about the area. For me, it was a new experience

Guillermo expressed a conscious desire to work in public service and, after not being able to find a job in Chicago's nonprofit sector, he learned of the Lake County position and took the job. Like the adult immigrant women who worked at Amigo, Guillermo entered into the nonprofit labor force because it was his only option. Working at the Catholic regional agency was a way for Guillermo to put his knowledge to work, engage with his Catholic faith, and to gain more skills. Compared to the women in this study, Guillermo differed in his motivation to join the immigration service sector. He hoped his position would facilitate entry into other positions linked to community development. As someone who was educated abroad and interested in developing a public service career in the U.S., Guillermo viewed his position in the immigrant service sector as a stepping stone that would land him a position directly addressing questions regarding community development. Guillermo is the third example of men's relationship to the immigrant service field and differs from the white men discussed above because he focused on the profession and not the organization or community.

Brian, Ronald, and Guillermo are three examples of how men interacted with the Latino immigrant service field. I elaborate their stories below to illustrate that short-term engagement with the field was a male practice. As hinted at in previous chapters, women were key actors in sustaining the field of immigrant services. Their relationship with men put them in that position. I start with white male respondents because they were responsible for recruiting the Latinas who would build the bridge with the Latino immigrant community. I then follow with Latinos before revisiting Latinas because it is how Latinos differed from both groups that illustrates how the intersection of co-ethnicity and gender operates around the idea of responsibility.

White Sponsorship

In the second chapter, I discussed how some of the white men were key to Latina professional's status in the community. The white men paired with Latinas helped the latter establish themselves as social entrepreneurs. This was not a deliberate process, but one that reveals the racialized gendered social order that shaped the constraints of the immigrant service field. The white men were typically over 50 years old and held senior staff positions in the agencies that employed them. , Holding a senior position benefitted the white men in this study because it provided easy access to professional networks comprised of community elites. They also had authority over hiring and final decision making about how the organizations' spaces were used. I sought to understand how white men in the immigrant service sector used their strategic position and access to resources to help both Latino immigrants and the immigrant service professionals who interacted with immigrant clients.

White men served on the boards of regional agencies and Amigo del Inmigrante. Many were local professionals and, in the case of Amigo del Inmigrante, local elected officials. I learned about the relationship between the white men in this study and the immigrant services sector by attending Hispanic Alliance meetings and analyzing the distinct histories of immigrant programming and immigrant-serving organizations. What made them men strategic allies for Latina social entrepreneurs was their knowledge of the need for immigrant services and for staff that would build the relationship with immigrant clients. In the case of Rev Greg, it was his experience in Latin America, fluency in Spanish, tenure at the parish, and position within the parish that contributed to the legitimacy of his status within immigrant services. Knowledge of immigrants' social needs, empathy towards distinct forms of marginalization, and profession status facilitated a positive relationship with the immigrant community for most of his tenure as

pastor, and encouraged the leadership of Clarissa and Marilinda. The space Clarissa and Marilinda created was shaped by the parish's lack of funds and how Deacon Dan's administrative abilities complemented Rev. Greg's charm within the Latino immigrant community. The men provided the space , but the Latinas had to be tenacious enough to sustain their own programming. As social concerns director under Rev. Greg and Deacon Dan, Clarissa learned of the need for a Latino-oriented domestic violence shelter and tapped into her networks with other Lake County parishes to raise the money to create and sustain it.

I return to the white men I began this chapter to explain other forms of white sponsorship. Both Brian and Ronald lacked Spanish fluency and each originated from predominantly white communities outside the county. Brian, as police chief, found an ally in a local municipal president in establishing the government funded Latino Resource Center. Here, Brian describes how he and newly elected mayor came up with the idea of creating Amigo del Inmigrante:

> When I got here, I had- you know, I didn't know what I didn't know. You know, after a period of time, I now made my observations and knew where my challenges were um and the new mayor asked me to come in and the question she posed to me was: 'what can we do in the next 4 years to make the most difference? ...'
>
> And I already knew in my head um what I wanted to do. I had previously visited a resource center in Rolling Meadows. I knew about it. I knew what it did. I knew how it had an affect on this community and actually Doug Larsen – I had known him from previous when he was in Rolling Meadows and actually arranged to bring probably 20 people from the round lake area down to his resource center - not his, but the Rolling Meadows Police Department Resource Center. And, they had a great partnership, you know, with Northwest Community Hospital. They had computer lab, they had health services, they had homework help. They had all the things that I envisioned and I said this is this is what we need. So I first explained it, then I showed it to 'em. Well, when ILA saw that, she was done. She came back, got on the phone, and went after the legislators to get us money and she was vigilant. You're not saying no to her. So she um you know, pushed and got us this funding, which was you know 50,000 from each. So 100,000 from state senator Bill Peterson and Mark Beaubien and, you know, that was the impetus. But we - we knew it was coming, we surveyed the community to say,

> ‘what do you need?’ A lot of it is all the things you would already expect: ESL, and GED, and you know, citizenship, um homework help, advocacy, information and referral - all the things that Amigo del Inmigrante does

Brian, a new police chief in a community that was experiencing rapid growth in its immigrant population, wanted to better his community. When describing his career choices, whether serving in the military or being transferred from distinct police districts, he was most interested in how he could make a difference. The motivation to better the community is shared by the women respondents such as Clarissa and Marilinda but the difference was to whom the white men had access. As a relatively new police chief, the new mayor saw him as an ally in a community where many had been long-term officials. As I showed in chapters two and three, the strength of ties mattered. one measure of strength was the authority of the people within that tie. Having a strong relationship with the mayor helped Brian. The mayor used her status to connect to local state congressmen to raise the money for her government agency. These elected officials used their networks to secure resources to meet the needs of the new Spanish-speaking community. Like the Catholic Church, the village structure provided the elected officials the bureaucratic space to make the most use of their resources to help the community's new racial group. For Ronald and Brian, it was a question of ensuring the government bureaucracies fulfilled their local missions. They saw engaging in Latino immigrant-specific services as an extension of their mission. To ensure a legitimate engagement in Latino immigrant-specific services, the two men had to build relationships with Latinas who would build the relationship with the Latino immigrant client base that each needed to fulfill the mission of public service.

The relationship with Latino professionals also highlighted how ethnicity and race mattered. As much as Latinidad was a measure of legitimacy among a Latino immigrants, it was

a liability when addressing questions of power among the elites. Brian was also aware of how he differed from Latinos professionals interested in doing similar work. He described how race interacted with local dynamics. He linked this difference to why Amigo del Inmigrante could exist in the Round Lake area and not in Waukegan. He does this below, by distinguishing himself from Waukegan's police chief and listing a series of factors that may explain the difference:

> I'll tell you, I was friends with the first Latino chief of police in Waukegan. I went to a Hispanic Illinois [State] Law Enforcement Association was honoring him. HISLEA? I went to that for him and he told me he wished he could have something like Amigo del Inmigrante in Waukegan. This is a Latino chief talking to an Anglo - chief. The Anglo chief has it.
>
> We can go around - but he also - may be he had different volumes of crime and politics - sometimes you need a mayor that can stand behind you and help, you know. May be he didn't have that at the time. I'm just *guessing*. But you know, but you know, but you know what I'm saying. But it's funny that here's a friend of mine, a peer, a guy that,you know, that would have loved to have done that. Would have *loved* to have done that. ... You know, unfortunately he passed … I mean, he was a very Marine um - as many of us are. Seriously. There are so many of us that are out there, but he - you know, he had an interesting background and beginning. I want to think that he - he came to Texas. I think he - I want to say he like worked the fields. He did all kinds of uh difficult jobs. I mean he had a very tough beginning and rose to, you know, chief of police and he was a wonderful guy. But that's - the dilemma is, that in this case, you know, for whatever reason, Ila and I were able to do it and may be a little of that was based on, I don't know. I mean, I have my own ideas but it'll sound self-whatever if I say it. But as you're making positive changes, when this another positive change, people tend to give you a little lee way, you know, if I'm taking lots of people and taking care of them - whether's it's Christmas time for shop with a cop - whatever I'm doing. I have credibility with the community, you know and if this is a what I say is a needed thing.

Brian's equivalent in Waukegan was a Latino police chief serving under mayoral regime that supported some of the most restrictive local immigration policies. The Latino police chief did not have a strong relationship with his mayor. Even though Waukegan is a re-emerging gateway, the long-time white residents continue to hold the most important seats of power. The

Latino chief's biography is similar to many Mexican immigrant men who have migrated to the U.S. in terms of his experience in manual labor. The challenges he faced and the position he held in the community impressed Brian and one could argue was evidence of the bootstraps ideology embedded in the American Dream logic. However, like the Latino service professionals discussed in previous chapters, the Latino chief could not challenge the existing climate in Waukegan. As the first Latino police chief, this was a measure of progress that could not be jeopardized. He like other Latino government bureaucrats interviewed, had broken the glass ceiling, and walking on the shattered glass meant he had to tread carefully in how he used his relationships with local officials. Brian was aware of the anti-immigrant sentiments in Waukegan. However, when describing his success in the Round Lake area, he refers to the care work he engaged in. In rationalizing his own status and opportunity to create change, Brian recognizes and then almost immediately dismisses the climate in which his Latino counterpart worked.

In contrast to Brian's experience, Ronald did not express explicit concern for the growing population in Waukegan. Instead, Ronald was aware of how he had to manage the library's debt in a racially hostile climate. As Brian suggested, Waukegan was more explicitly hostile towards Latinos than the Round Lake area was. Recognizing the racist climate contextualizes Ronald's status in the library. Latinos had a longer presence in Waukegan and the growth was not as rapid. Like Brian, Ronald, as public servant, had to determine whether he was going to challenge the existing order. Their career trajectories differed. Whereas Brian was recruited, Ronald was eager to leave his West Coast library to return to the Midwest. The government agency Ronald inherited as library director was in financial debt and he was required to change their financial status and increase the number of library patrons. Ronald, like many other immigrant service

professionals, had a career history marked by job insecurity. The library he left to join Waukegan's he described as a corrupt system. His immediate objective in joining Waukegan's library was to prove his worth without disrupting the normative culture. Growing up in a small, working class community in Wisconsin and his familiarity with public libraries is what made taking the library directorship in Waukegan attractive to him in the first place. Whereas Rev. Greg and Deacon Dan were appointed and Brian was recruited, Ronald was in search of something he was familiar with.

Anything outside of small town Midwest and public libraries was outside of Ronald's comfort zone. His women employees stepped in to inform him how to handle foreign challenges. It was one of Ronald's staff, Lisa, who was in charge of marketing and expansion of services, who made him aware of Clarissa's importance. Below, Ronald describes how he learned about Clarissa:

> Lisa found her because they were both members of a networking group. She got to speaking with her and said, "You need to come work for us." She was working at the Catholic Center. Clarissa's like, "Yeah, really? What can I do for you? You're just a public library?"
>
> We had a day retreat [and] Lisa said, "Can I invite this Clarissa?" I said sure. She came because we wanted to have a couple of people there from the community so they could let us know if we were doing the right thing. I don't even remember what we were talking about that day.
>
> Clarissa saw the way we interacted, and we had a good time. I guess she thought, "I'd really like to be a part of that," so we created a position for her. She's just taken it and run with it. She sent me a picture today of her with the governor.
>
> What's next? If they're going to pick people for the space program, to walk on Mars, next thing you know, she'll be one of them. She'd be all over the place, and she's fantastic. All of them. I was so glad to meet her, and then to get her on board with it. I just hope she's here with me until I finish up.
>
> [She's] totally awesome. We'll go into something, like North Shore Gas has a reception for something, and they're a big benefactor of ours. We'll go there, and

> Clarissa will just work the room. She's unbelievable. All the honors she's gotten in the last few years, totally deserved, I think.
>
> Without her, we'd be doing okay, but we'd be way behind. We never would have got to the White House, I don't think.

Ronald's laissez faire description of Clarissa's role in the beginning of the chapter and his description of Clarissa's impact above add another dimension to the story. Whereas Brian and the Round Lake mayor were responsible for creating a government agency to meet Latino immigrant needs, Brian, hired women to help him fulfill the library's mission. One of the decisions Ronald made that help accomplish the library's mission was delegating the responsibility of staffing decisions to the women in the department. For example, Lisa was able to invite Clarissa to the library's retreat. Lisa invited Clarissa informally before asking Ronald if she could. Lisa, as discussed in chapter three, met Clarissa at an independent professional development course and recognized that Clarissa would help the library engage with the Latino immigrant community. Her task was to convince Ronald. Clarissa helped make the library relevant. She not only came in with a wealth of knowledge on the community and an ability to interact with his staff, but she also took responsibility for programming and fundraising capabilities for the library. It was her ability to raise private funds that helped her fund some of the programming. As a government agency, the library staff had to be creative about what kind of educational programming to offer foreign residents.

Each pairing of a white male and either a white woman or a Latina shows what factors made white local elites empathetic to the Latino immigrant community. Knowledge, empathy and their organization's need for legitimacy were three factors that shaped the men's behavior. However, the men were able to leave. Of the ones discussed above, Ronald was the only one who remained director. He was also the oldest and planned to stay in the position until he was

olde enough to retire. Brian, Rev. Greg, and Deacon Dan left the spaces they managed to be run by others. The changing of the guard placed more responsibility on the women who were left behind. In each pairing, the gendered responsibility of programming and legitimacy was evident.

Latino Males: Long Term Plans, Short Term Engagement

How Latino male descriptions of their relationship to the immigrant service field differed from the white men above show how ethnicity interacted with the nonprofit labor market. White men's experiences present one piece of evidence towards the gendering of immigrant services. Sharing the experience of Latino males not only complements the evidence towards feminizing the work, but their brief attachment to the immigrant service sector provides more evidence towards the feminizing and racializing of responsibility within immigrant services. As I argued in the last chapter, responsibility for Latino immigrant social needs was placed in the hands of individuals of Latin American decent. Latino males' proactive engagement varied as much as Brian's and Ronald's, however, like their Latina counterparts, they were still considered responsible for working with Latino immigrants. Latino male immigrant service professionals interacted with the Latina social entrepreneurs differently from the white males above. Women were their coworkers and managers. First, it is important to note that the women I interviewed had been in their positions for most of my time in the field. While it took me months to interview them, I knew of them and saw them at various networking events I attended. Many of my young male respondents had not held their positions within the immigrant service field for more than two years. Unlike the Latinas discussed in the last chapter, the short-term grants that funded the positions Latinos held were seen as stepping stones into a more desirable position.

I met Guillermo a few years into my fieldwork. Denise, a Chicago-based Catholic regional director interested in developing a Lake County Latino advisory council, introduced us.

Denise's goal was to create a Latino advisory council based in Lake County to work with the Catholic regional agency that would also help fundraise for its Lake County services. She saw Guillermo, perhaps as one of the few Latinos who worked at the agency in Lake County, as an asset in this work. This explained why Guillermo was invited to the planning meetings for the advisory council Denise was interested in creating. Denise wanted Lake County staff to help her in her efforts to mobilize Latino leadership in the County, and many of the white women who worked above Guillermo were not engaged in such work.

Guillermo represents the short-term engagement of Latinos in the immigrant service sector in two ways. First, a female supervisor introduced him to the field. In his case, the Latina was not based in Lake County and wanted him to work on constructing Lake County's Latino/ immigrant advocacy agenda. For him, the importance of women manifested itself differently than it did for the white men. In his case, a Latina immigrant professional relied on him to carry on the work. Second, Guillermo embodies the relationship between education and his profession distinctly from some of my Latina respondents. Guillermo, like the other Latino human service professionals, had a bachelors degree. Earlier in this chapter, I describe how education was linked to Guillermo personal commitment and interests in public service. Guillermo interest in public service was not in addressing the insecure environment Lake County Latino immigrants lived in rather he wanted to address questions related to development in Latin America. Below, he talks about his intellectual interests and how he keeps that in the forefront.

> I was always interested in public transportation. So I wrote my thesis on Bogota [Colombia] public transit, Transmilenio. It was very interesting and I liked it a lot. And I'm still connected to DePaul and I collaborate with as an instructor in a broadcasting study we do in Brazil. Well, it's on community development – community analysis**.** I like it a lot because at least I can remain connected.

He differed from Latinas in four ways. First, the position he held at the private regional agency did not align with his intellectual interests. Second, stressing his intellectual interests shows that immigrant social needs were not among his primary career priorities. Describing his research also shows how there is a class/ status difference between him and the Latina immigrant women. Third, unlike the immigrant women who entered social services, he worked for the nonprofit because he could not find full time work in what he really wanted to do. Unlike Roman, (see Chapter 2) Brian, or many Latina respondents, Guillermo was not as concerned with the Latino immigrant reception climate. He is also one of the few people who did not live in Lake County. Fourth, he was able to find a part time job where he did engage with his interests. Not living in Lake County makes him an extreme case, but like other Latino males in the field, he balanced earning an income with finding a position that allowed him to pursue his long-term professional interests.

Respondents, regardless of gender, were interesting in finding jobs that allowed them to connect their personal interests, career goals, and income needs. Whereas women and engaged men placed emphasis on the idea of helping people, Guillermo, like most other men, were more interested in community infrastructure. As much as constructing and sustaining the immigrant service field was about creating organizations to address community needs, he was more interested in material resources like transportation than he was interested in creating a political or fundraising agenda that tapped into local Latino networks. Like most of the women, Guillermo was concerned about community development, but his conceptualization was material and not social-emotional or political. He wanted to be involved with community planning, but Waukegan or Round Lake were not Guillermo's preferred locations. In describing how he made the decision to work in Lake County, he outlines his criteria:

> I had a plan A, B, C, D, and E. A, B, and C were focused on changing my profession, but that didn't really happen. When I arrived at D and E, it was to return to where I was before, which was work for nonprofits, but D was to work for Catholic organizations, because that's what I had always done. This transition, in reality, was a little complicated and a great challenge. And when the first few options didn't work out, E was my default and that's when the Lake County position came up.

He, unlike the women discussed in chapter four, considered several options when looking for a job. These plans, A through E, had value with plan A being his preferred. Plans D and E were based on previous work experience and would not provide him with the level of engagement and skill building he was interested in. The desire to learn was not different from other respondents. What distinguishes his explanation process was how he articulated his goals. His intentionality and how the various plans fell through shows how working in nonprofits was not about responsibility, taking care of socials needs, or putting his values to work. He worked for the regional Catholic agency because he could not find anything else.

The Latinos I interviewed tended to rationalize their work in the immigrant non-profit sector differently from Latinas. When he described his quality of life, he emphasized the amenities living in Chicago compared to Waukegan. He complained about the commute, but preferred the social resources in Chicago to the shorter commute if he would have been able to find a place in Lake County. Roman, discussed in the second chapter, was one of the few men interested in staying at a community agency. The unstable funding structure required him to seek employment elsewhere. The requirements in the nonprofit sector, such as having legal status, formal education, and dominance of both English and Spanish, combined with unstable funding structures, forced him to be creative in funding secure sources of income. After the 2010 interview, Roman ended up finding employment in the fitness industry. Guillermo and Roman present opposing sides of the spectrum where Latino males in the immigrant service field

operated. Each was on one extreme of the short-term engagement narrative used. What the men all had in common was their tenuous achievement in the immigrant service sector. While Guillermo expressed a tenuous attachment, Roman was strongly attached the advocacy logics described in the second chapter because he was eager to be involved in the work towards comprehensive immigration reform. However, the agencies for which Roman worked could not find a steady grant to fund the work he wanted to do. Guillermo, was able to find steady work at a nonprofit, but was frustrated. When I asked him about how he would describe the Catholic regional agency, he said the following

> It's like very conservative**.** Because it's boring. Because again, I think its culture, people that are really scared of their superiors and superiors are here and come and look you in their eyes, they probably will be asking you a favor, but probably not asking you how are you today, how are you feeling? I think that is very segregated between the high manager and the rest.
>
> But like I said with me it's different, in my department and the people that I work with and I have made a precedent in that sense, which has cost me fights with people. Sometimes it sucks, but if I have to take it from the rest I will take it. If I'm fortunate enough, the light has pulled me in that position that I can take it from the rest I will because I've been there and I know how nasty that feels. Somebody's coming and stepping on you.

Guillermo's description differed from women at local agencies. First, he did not like his work place. Second, coworker interaction was dependent on the departmental division within the bureaucracy. The interaction between distinct divisions within the Catholic regional agency was very low. The complex structure within regional agencies created a workplace hierarchy that women at smaller agencies did not experience or address. Third, because the community agencies had much smaller numbers of staff, their employees had to attend every community social issue meeting. As a result, staff at small agencies knew more people at different agencies. It was the number of people at the range of agencies in the area that helped immigrant service

professionals stay informed. At the regional agency, with the high number of staff that attended meetings, there was an unclear path of how the various staff channeled the knowledge to their supervisors. Guillermo's assessment of the regional agency suggests that he had little control over his department and it was managing the department or division that mattered. Women were concerned with relationship building with clients, coworkers and community partners. Latinos, on the other hand, were concerned with how each of them performed his professional responsibilities. Guillermo, like his Latina counterparts, was constrained by agency size. The constraints however, helped explain his distance from the advocacy work, yet his ethnicity was enough to encourage his involvement in the immigrant advocacy agenda.

What I have shown in sharing the story of older white men and young Latinos is how they assess their professional responsibilities within their agencies' infrastructure and how this links to the community. White men could lean on women to help their organization maintain its legitimacy. Guillermo's story represents how the Latinos who remained in service bureaucracies managed their career goals within their workplace's infrastructure. The most interesting thing about men's work is how it revealed the importance of women's networks and how these were employed. More specifically, men were instruments for women, whether it was earning the trust of white men with resources or finding Latino males who could strengthen the case for racializing an agenda. This not only reinforces the importance of Latina's professional relationships, but requires a deeper investigation in how their networking practices influenced the immigrant service industry in Lake County.

MADRINA MENTORING MODELS

The men's tenuous relationship with the immigrant service field suggests that women were maternal professional actors within the field. To explore this finding further, I return to the

story of Latina social entrepreneurs (see Chapter 3) to show how responsibility for Latino immigrants' social needs was feminized. The ethnic entrepreneurship literature shows that family networks within the ethnic economy were critical to economic mobility (Valdez 2016; Zhou 2004). Within the ethnic economy, working class immigrants and their children practiced family solidarity as an avenue towards mobility that helped sustain the ethnic economy. I build on the argument within social entrepreneurship and use the family metaphor within the workplace to show that ethnic ties at work operate differently.

I extend the family metaphor within the ethnic entrepreneurship literature in addressing the maternal performances of the Latina key leaders. *Madrinas,* the Spanish word for godmothers, was the best way to describe the relationship Latina entrepreneurs had with their staff and with immigrant services. Godparents, in the Roman Catholic tradition, are responsible for assisting the godchild's parents in raising the child within the Catholic faith. The women who fill the role tend to be related to one of the birth parents or good friends with one of the birth parents. The emotive networks families draw on for godparents are one example of the collectivist strategy ethnic communities use to help young people come of age. In the immigrant service professional context, I claim that professional madrinas sponsored individuals and guided them through distinct rites of passage and were responsible for training the staff and preparing them for the work of suburban immigrant services. Relationships among women were shaped by an organization's location, access to resources, and opportunities for collaboration. This chapter explores these relationships within the agencies themselves. While the emphasis so far has been formal networks and how they shape the climate and context of Latino immigrant services in the county, I found the informal interactions between the entrepreneurs themselves and the entrepreneurs and their staff were just as important; within agency networks matter, too. Above,

I showed that men relied on women to help fulfill their organization's mission. The importance of women and the number of women respondents required that I address how the relationships between Latinas at different career stages and the status of the immigrant service sector.

In previous chapters, I used the stories of Marilinda, Callie, Clarissa, and Jessica to address the factors that made one a successful social entrepreneur. Their stories also helped me illustrate how agencies became leaders within the immigrant service field. Having focused on how they contributed to field and organizational level analyses, I now turn to their specific career trajectories. How Latina immigrant service professionals worked with white women was discussed in chapter four. In chapters three and four, I showed how Latinas were considered the public face and leaders in advancing an agenda advocating for Latino immigrants. Marilinda, Callie, and Clarissa reached prominent positions whereas Jessica, the Waukegan native, struggled in advancing her career. Here I review their distinct leadership styles and how they interact with their own staff and coworkers to illuminate the factors that shaped their professional status. I use the extended family metaphor and godmother image because, as I have shown in other chapters, the practice or value of ethnic solidarity assumes that the fates of people of the same ethnic background are linked. It is this shared mobility experience and form of cultural capital that needs to be addressed in the immigrant service field. I start with Jessica's story to revisit the importance of the location where one was professionalized and to show how credentials were insufficient to advance entrepreneurial endeavors. I then revisit Marilinda, Clarissa, and Callie, the more prominent women, to address their relationship with their subordinates to flesh out the maternal performances at each of their agencies. I characterize each as either a distant aunt, disconnected pioneer, or fairy godmother. I use these categories within the professional madrina framework to address the person's relationship to the labor market, the

network of Latino professionals, and their relationship with young immigrant service professionals.

The Distant Aunt

Many of the young Latinas who came of age in the U.S. struggled with the function of the Hispanic Alliance. These young women, college educated and engaged in Latino social issues at their college campuses, wanted to participate in a similar space as professionals. When they realized that the Hispanic Alliance did not engage in that kind of work, they were frustrated. Jessica's story, shared below, is an example of this. She is a Waukegan native whose professional identity was shaped by her work experience in the advocacy agencies of Chicago. In 2013, she was director of the Catholic Immigrant Center, and I asked her to identify the challenges local agencies face.

> Challenges? I think for a community service center the challenges are always gonna be financial, just having enough fund to be able to offer the programs that the community needs and to be able to maintain them, so I think that's a huge challenge. The second challenge I think would be finding the resources and having a good network of Latinos that really push the Latino agenda forward. Is there a Latino agenda in Lake County, you know? … I don't think there is. Well, I take that back. Maybe there is individually, but there's not in cohesion, which is sad.

She mentions three challenges. The first was financial. Studies on social services in small communities have recognized the financial challenges faced in nontraditional poverty stricken regions (Allard 2009, for example). The second referred to related challenges – securing resources and a cohesive network of Latino professionals. Unlike the women discussed below, she was not highly engaged in the work of the Hispanic Alliance. In terms of securing resources, she faced many setbacks in attempting to open her own immigration law practice or creating a legal clinic within the Catholic immigrant center. She did not understand the function of the

Alliance. What struck me about Jessica's description above is the other factor that she adds to explain the ambiguity of the Latino agenda: her claim that Latino agendas are individualized. the collective solidarity assumed in racializing responsibility did not account for the lack of a cohesive agenda. Valdez's (2016) intersectional analysis of ethnic entrepreneurs shows how those with higher socioeconomic status are less likely to link their success to families. Instead, middle class status is a factor that explains the social distancing from family mobility. Valdez's framing of ethnic economic entrepreneurship is useful here because it supports what Jessica observed. Creating programming or founding organizations was about how one individual was at the center of an agency's legitimacy within the Latino immigrant community. Jessica attempted to collaborate with other women in the field, and was unsuccessful. She also did not have a staff to work with or mentor, in part because the Catholic immigrant center kept changing its function.

Jessica's professional history, and privileging of the Chicago model of grassroots advocacy distinguished her efforts and from the professionalized advocacy her colleagues engaged in. On the one hand, government bureaucrats and nonprofit managers discussed the need of having bilingual staff with credentials. In this case, her law degree would have made her an attractive candidate. On the other hand, her resistance to the dominant model of advocacy constrained her professional trajectory. Professionals who grew up in the community were most intrinsically motivated to help their community grow. However, as Jessica demonstrates, they faced challenges creating spaces to sustain relationships that would facilitate their efforts. Identifying the fractured relations, she states below, is a matter of perspective. When I asked her to explain, she said the following:

> I don't know. Like I said, I'm a newbie to Lake County. We're not all alike and we have different talents that we bring to the table, but being mature about it is just a different dynamic. I think Lake County is amongst – the Latino community

> is politically immature, you know, and because there's not enough resources everybody wants a bite of the apple and I feel like it's either you or them.

As a Latina who grew up in Lake County, self-identifying as a newbie shows that the place where one was professionalized socially matters. Her early career with MARIA (discussed in Chapter 2) and other Chicago community-based agencies shaped her understanding of Waukegan's political maturity. The resource competition my respondents spoke of is consistent with other studies on nonprofits. The political immaturity Jessica identifies is attributed to the fractured relations and inability for the talented group of Latino professionals to collaborate. In chapter 2, I discuss how the immaturity is also linked to the infrastructure's age. The Latino immigrant population was growing at a rate the organizations could not meet in a place where the population density was too low to attract the rate of funding Chicago-based agencies were accustomed to receiving. Jessica, like other young Latino and Latina professionals who were interested in constructing a comprehensive Latino advocacy agenda in the suburbs, were unaware of ways to bring their diverse talents to work together. The dichotomy she ends with was expressed by other Latino professionals and the elusive "them" was a small group who believed in the authority of the Hispanic Alliance. The authority of the Hispanic Alliance was questioned by many, accepted by some, and questioned publicly by very few. The professional challenges young immigrant service professionals faced, some of which have been described in other chapters, is one of the most important factors that defined their vulnerable, complicated authority within the immigrant service field. Whether recalling Pam's story as an AmeriCorp fellow, or Roman's story as a community activist, the young professionals had to find jobs that allowed them to put their passions to work. In order to do that, many needed a professional mentor to guide them through the process. Jessica, who was let go a few weeks after our interview, struggled as a young Latina attorney to find a professional sponsor in the community

she grew up in yet. Jessica's experience made her an attractive mentor for young Latino activists. However, her lack of engagement in the community raised questions as to whether she had the professional social capital that would help local young Latinos become engaged in advocacy work.

The Disconnected Pioneer

Marilinda's contributions to the sector were celebrated many times during my fieldwork. Her name was offered repeatedly when I asked for respondent suggestions, and she was employed by two of the most important local agencies. She worked with many of the important immigrant service providers in the county, and she was one of the founders of the Hispanic Alliance, an organization held in high esteem in terms of immigrant services. But her professional aspirations and insight were not evident in her practices. On the one hand, she amassed the knowledge, was connected to many colleagues because of her tenure in the field, and had founded her own organization. Her agency was founded under the leadership of Greg, Dan and Clarissa. However, she took for granted that the parish had other more stable resources in the form of the Catholic regional agency that ended up being a reason why she could no longer take advantage of the space the parish had. Marilinda's commitment to the Latino immigrant community, her professional history, her connection to key agencies, and her assessment of the sector contextualize her management style and the workplace model she created.

For approximately ten years, Marilinda's agency was comprised of three staff. They managed volunteers for the agency's citizenship program and assisted with immigration paperwork, even though Marlinda was not officially accredited by the Board of Immigration Appeals. When her agency's staff increased after leaving the Catholic center, she did not create a bureaucratic infrastructure to support it. According to Marlinda, the obstacles she faced were

largely due to the funding challenges in the small urban community and the racially hostile climate. Her staff, in describing their workplace, addressed lack of leadership and direction. They either managed their own responsibilities, or, in the case of her program director, attended events and meetings that Marilinda could not attend. Her workload was shared among the different people who came to work at ISC, and the struggle for funding and balancing fragile collaborations were challenging. Some staff found that the credit for programming mattered more than the programming itself. The logic there was that taking sole credit for programming would help in fundraising and grant writing. Sharing responsibilities jeopardized that. Marlinda viewed the library and the Catholic center as her agency's competition. Though the staff relations facilitated creating joint ventures, these ventures became complicated when seeking funding to help formalize ISC's work and legitimize its status within the immigrant service field. Marlinda's status as the godmother of immigrant services had more to do with her professional history than with how she interacted with her staff. She understood staff or agency collaborations as a vehicle to create the space for Latino immigrants and as a method to institutionalize ISC. ISC's vulnerability limited her ability to mentor her staff.

The Fairy Godmothers

At better-funded, more stable agencies, whether regional or government, the workplace dynamics differed. The women entrepreneurs who worked in these spaces interacted with staff differently from the ISC case described above. These women also had more forms of cultural and human capital to exchange. Clarissa, a Mexican who grew up in the U.S. and worked in the private sector for approximately two decades before transitioning into the nonprofit sector, displayed a professional demeanor that made her accessible to both local white elites, Latino immigrants, and young Latina professionals in the community. Her experience in the private

sector and training in community organizing separated her from many of her colleagues and from other entrepreneurs. All of this, along with not being an executive director of any agency, provided her the room to be creative with establishing sustainable programming for Latino immigrants in the community. When she got frustrated with leadership, she happened to connect with someone who was interested in her skill set for the agency where they worked. She started at her Catholic church because her faith was so important to her, and when the parish bureaucracy did not align with her values, she had the human resources to be mobile.

Clarissa has been at the library for over five years. She increased the number of library patrons, created programming for Latino/ immigrant residents, and worked with many young Latinos who worked in the library's community engagement division. While the Catholic center was the space to develop entrepreneurs when all the factors aligned, the library was the space that had the potential to develop young Latino pink-collar professionals because there were at least three working there simultaneously for months at a time. Clarissa's vision was something that engaged with and inspired the young professionals who worked with her. The library's ambiguous mission and commitment to being a public university allowed Clarissa to create programming to educate Waukegan's majority Latino population.

I knew about Clarissa for three years before meeting her at the Hispanic Alliance's strategic planning meeting. When we met and I described my research, she was excited to share her story and how she approached her responsibilities. She provides a clear description of the recipe she followed to secure programmatic success:

> Yeah, I go into it and I analyze who has the power here. What are they most passionate about? What burns them up and what would they be willing to take a bullet for? So, and then does their passion match my passion? Can I collaborate with them to work to create a shift and a change.

> So even within our own staff. Ok, let me have one-on-one's with key staff players here because if I'm going to present the program, if I'm going to present, I already have them backing me up. So, out in the community, well, who's passionate about this, this and this? And then if I create it, are they going to support me? That's how I've always operated, but I also went to the 10-day training. I also went to you know, uh, the IAF training that teaches you how to have an effective one-on-one. So may be part of this whole, again, leadership is teaching leaders how to have effective one-on-one 's. How to be able to talk to potential supporters of their organization - of this organization. How shameful that within the organization within the board, which is now a smaller nucleus of the org, they don't know each other. They haven't had lunch with each other. They haven't had a one-on-one to say, tell me what you're passionate about. You just get elected? What was the criteria you used for getting elected? And, you know, you can only get elected twice within the board, then you're out.

Her professional status was founded on her strategic approach to professional interactions. Clarissa's ability to build mixed class and mixed race professional ties was an asset to every organization that employed her and was useful to the staff she managed. Her professional strengths lie in her ability not only to build relationships, but also in how her programming connected with the interests of her staff and community stakeholders. It was how she used shared interests that helped her legitimate the work she was doing at each of the agencies where she worked. Her colleagues and the staff she supervised, recognized her ability to engage and rally supporters. While her colleagues recognized her charisma and skills, there was no discussion of whether she shared that knowledge or skills with those around her. Clarissa has been the most connected. As a highly engaged parishioner, Clarissa became the social concerns director when Marilinda started ISC there. Marilinda's professional trajectory within the immigrant service field connects her to almost every Latino immigrant-serving professional in both Waukegan and the Round Lake area.

Callie differed from the women above in how her family migrated, her class status, and the degree to which she felt affinity towards the Mexican immigrant population. Like Marilinda,

she was an adult when she came to the U.S. However, her migration story differed. She and her family were born in Colombia. Callie's father was a mid-management worker at a private company in the county. She therefore had a higher socioeconomic status than the women described above. The young twenty-something spent the first ten years of her professional life at Amigo del Inmigrante and left the sector when her husband, a Chilean, entered private sector employment. This gave her time to raise her young children. When she became executive director at Amigo del Inmigrante, she recognized she could not engage in the contentious politics of her predecessor. Callie wanted to use her position to protect the status of the organization in terms of how community elites viewed it. Amigo del Inmigrante was the only agency with more than two staff in the Round Lake area available to Latino immigrants.

Callie recognized that she had to be creative about staff choices. There were not many bilingual professionals interested in social services in Lake County, the organization was small and still working on securing steady funding streams. By hiring women through part-time work, she inadvertently created a path for immigrant women volunteers to find jobs within Amigo del Inmigrante. The combination of available talent and little competition created a space for immigrant women without formal credentials to establish a pink-collar profession. The accidental career paths described in the previous chapter is a result of the labor pool and low organizational density. These two factors also made it important for Amigo staff to connect with Waukegan based agencies to engage and collaborate. The lack of peers in the Round Lake area made important the cross community collaboration.

The four women discussed in this section demonstrate how formal and informal credentials interacted and determined who were the most accessible mentors within the immigrant service field. Jessica and Marilinda held more formal credentials than Callie and

Clarissa. However, both Callie and Clarissa engaged in and maintained interracial networks to create career paths and programming that helped Latino immigrant residents. It was the forms of capital that the women had accumulated in their distinct jobs and civic engagement projects that distinguished Jessica and Marilinda from their counterparts. Their stories support earlier claims in the dissertation of how logics grounded in the community shape organizational outcomes. The women also show how forms of capital shape how the women can mentor the next generation of immigrant service professionals. They show that at smaller agencies, women who are conscious of their constraints and work within them creatively sustain immigrant-specific programming. This was not about challenging the dominant narratives that each struggled with to varying degrees. The more grave concern was protecting their jobs and by extension, their staff's salaries.

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A GENDERED RACIALIZED RESPONSIBILITY

I have shown how comparing the stories of men to the management models of women illustrates how intersectional analysis can be a useful analytic tool when comparing distinct social groups. In describing men's relationship to the immigrant service field, I demonstrate how the maintenance of the field became feminized. Illustrating their tenuous attachment to the field created the need to address how the Latinas in mid management or director positions worked with their staff. By adding racial and ethnic categories to the analysis, I showed how white male sponsorship and Latino males' long-term professional goals, feminized the social responsibility narrative I described in the last chapter. The abstract career goals of men contrasted with Latina entrepreneurs' management styles. How men interacted with women not only showed how the work was feminized, but also gendered. The management models I presented were the final pieces of evidence that illustrated how the racialized gendered responsibility logic worked.

Above I show how men have space to create and engage in abstract rationalization processes. Authority to create does not lend itself to desire to engage in preserving the work and the status of the organization. For the male respondents, long-term career plans and desired trajectories interfered. Latinas, on the other hand, depending on their resumes, were more constrained because whether by choice or by lack of options, they were made responsible to sustain the programming. This required them to negotiate their skills to protect their own jobs and cultivating their managerial talents to create programming, maintain staff, and support their organization's identity.

RACE, GENDER, AND PLACE: HOW DOES IT ALL WORK

In the previous chapters, I have provided evidence to argue that organizational field boundaries are linked to place and the experience of the individuals who people the organizations within that abstract space of action. I opened the dissertation by showing how organizational theory can provide a framework to understand the relationship between advocacy, assimilation, and ethnic community building. The substantive chapters outline the geographic limits to a regional immigrant integration agenda, the importance of local ties, and the relationship between race, gender, career trajectories, and how knowledge is used. Some of the evidence I use supports other case studies on the relationship between nonprofits and the state (Marrow 2009, Marwell 2007, Moseley 2009 and 2010). However, the study design and departing from the experience of staff raises new questions for how scholars are to understand how nonprofits address inequality. More importantly, I build on the practice of exploring the relationship between racial formation and organizational behavior (Mora 2014). Below I revisit the claims I made throughout the dissertation, their implications on other professions, other ethnic groups, and how sociologists should investigate the relationship between nonprofits and social change.

Implications of Findings

Scholars have shown how immigrants are changing the social reality of small communities. These communities do not have the infrastructure large urban centers tended to have, and I show how the staffs at the suburban agencies are responsible for creating the infrastructure in small communities. I show that it is not enough to study how they build relationships with elected officials or clients. Their experience within the nonprofit which includes how and why they are hired, how are they are able to move within and between agencies, and the status of their agency factor into how they interact with clients, consumers, and

the agency stakeholders. For example, in comparing the women who entered the nonprofit sector accidentally to the white women and Latinas who framed their work around notions of responsibility, I showed that the status of the labor pool matters. Immigrant women, who did not have the formal credentials of the other two women groups, were subject to the status of the grants that funded them and were more likely to remain at the front line. Direct interaction allowed them to accumulate knowledge on Latino immigrant-specific challenges. The ability immigrant service professionals have to interact and communicate with community leaders depended on the numbers of spaces that both immigrant service professionals and community officials occupied. Hispanic Alliance was one of them. I opened the dissertation with a scene in which Yahira, an accidental career respondent, communicated the challenges she felt immigrants would face with the new GED testing. In that scene, I also showed how two college educated women, one Latina and one white, had to ease concerns and move the meeting along. The tension in the room was palatable and Yahira, who was in the minority in the room, did not have many other places or spaces to share her concerns about how Latino immigrants were marginalized. The Hispanic Alliance meetings served as a space in which she had the potential to interact with other community leaders, and more importantly, with the more polished Latina and Latino professionals who had stronger ties with elected officials and other local elite. The feminized responsibility is a common theme in almost every chapter. The relationship between Yahira, the Hispanic Alliance president, and the testing coordinator is an example of how it operates between staff and client and between colleagues at distinct organizations. In the second chapter, I discussed how many of the ethnic social entrepreneurs were women. I elaborated how racialized responsibility operated among Latina and white women. By comparing the relationships women and men have with the immigrant service field in the fifth chapter, I show

that sex differences highlighted in other chapters are not superficial. In that chapter, I show how the racialized responsibility is gendered. It was not enough to follow the tradition of gendering a process within the field or profession by focusing on women. I illustrated sex differences to argue that long-term responsibility was feminized and short-term engagement was a masculine practice. To make a comprehensive argument about how gender matters, it was important to address whether and how men's engagement in the immigrant service field differed from women.

Panethnic/ Racial Formation and Organizations

Focusing on a specific immigrant group also raised questions on ethnic formation. Mora's groundbreaking study on the creation of the Hispanic panethnic category was the first step of attempting to bridge the scholarship of racial formation and organizational fields. My case study not only adds gender, but shifts the question to a local process that happens when gender is already accepted as an identifier. By explaining the intersection of gender, race/ethnicity, and occupational mobility (as a measure of class), I show how the ambiguity that was useful in the 1960's and 1970's was problematic for Waukegan and the Round Lake area. What is new is not how the ambiguity was a site of conflict because many scholars have addressed that question (see for example, DeGenova and Ramos-Zayas 2002). I expand how scholars should investigate the ambiguity by detailing how the conflict within the category was linked to gendered and classed expectations/narratives. The first chapter introduced professional Latinidad, and I elaborate professionalized ethnic advocacy in the second and fourth chapters. By doing so, I show that the upwardly mobile Latinos, through professional and political networks, constructed and institutionalized an advocacy logic that was ambiguous enough to be tolerated by the local elite. Their work, unlike Mora's respondents, is not about constructing a category to

lobby for resources for a marginalized community. The logic is that Latinos employ that discourse while their practices are geared towards individual advancement that, in Waukegan, ran the risk of ignoring the restrictive policies that caused immigrants to live in fear. While large cities may have a range of logics to use to mobilize distinct class status groups, small communities like Waukegan and the Round Lake Area are limited. In the second and third chapters, I showed how protecting local networks limits their ability to engage in the statewide agenda being promoted by Chicago-based agencies. I am not saying informal networks of working class Latinos and Latino immigrants did not exist or attempt to mobilize. I showed how they did not have the formal presence that was considered legitimate by local actors. It was the professional Latinos, whether by choice, coincidence, or something in between, that was responsible for educating community leaders on how best to interact with the Latino community, immigrant and U.S. born. The members of the local elite, whether organization directors, elected officials, or other community leaders, depend on the Latino professional they interact with to teach them how to engage with Latino immigrants. Latinos engaged for brief periods of time, and I found that it was women, Latina and white, who were most accessible and most responsible for engaging local leaders. White women were the most fluid and tended to more opportunities to interact because they were in positions that allowed them to do so.

Organizations and Place

The goal of this project was to examine how suburban Latino immigrants constructed their community through organizations. I found that it was Latina pink-collar professionals who were at the center of the formalized spaces of interaction. Their relationships with white men and women facilitated the creation of programming and formalization of services. Whether it was helping Latino immigrants with their drivers' tests, creating a domestic violence women's

shelter, or creating an organization for Latino immigrants specifically, Latina women were at the center. This was either because they brought the services or because a white man or woman believed that a member of the Latino community was most likely to help an organization build a trusting relationship with the new client base. Latinas and Latinos were responsible for relationship building across distinct stakeholders while also building relationships to protect their jobs, their agencies, and their careers. The invisible work of nonwhites and women has been the subject of several studies on workplace inequality. However, few studies have compared distinct genders, ethnic and racial groups to make the case. What was most interesting about the design of the study was I was able to observe, discuss, and document how distinct groups interacted and how it related to a specific (and ambiguous) concept: the question of immigrant integration. I moved away from a story of activists and questions of transnational engagement to discuss how ethnic communities are being constructed in new destinations.

To accomplish this, it was important to move away from government bureaucracies. The history of immigration scholarship on ethnic organizations required me to start by looking into what kinds of agencies existed in the suburbs. Immigrants in cities have a long history of organizing themselves, and none of the scholarship on new immigrant destinations addressed this question. Not only have I addressed how suburban ethnic social service agencies were created, but I showed how non-Latinos were an instrumental part of their formation. I also showed how they differed from regional nonprofits. I did this not only by showing how MARIA faced challenges in expanding their agenda, but also by showing how they created distinct work environments and had different "skin in the game" from the small, ethnic community agencies. While the larger agencies had more capacity, the smaller agencies felt they were the safer spaces for immigrant clients. Independent of organizational form, staff empathy and knowledge matter.

The knowledge was assumed to be linked to ethnic background, but it was really a function of experience and engagement with immigrants. Many professionals accomplished this on the job or through networking with the individuals who engaged with immigrants the most. The importance of staff is not to claim that Latino immigrants believed or supported this argument. I demonstrated how staff were interpreted by their coworkers and elected officials. Latino immigrants organized themselves, but what has been missing from the literature on immigrant integration is the story and experiences of the people hired by agencies to facilitate a distinct form of community organization. The data I collected reflect the following question: how do middlemen understand themselves and how are they understood by the consumers and elected officials (outside of the closed ethnic community) who need them? In the last two chapters, I answered it through elaborating the responsibility narrative adopted by my respondents.

Responsibility Narrative and Other Professions

The question of responsibility is seen in other professions where the client base is racially and ethnically diverse. As a student at several elite institutions, I have witnessed how many distinct administrations have argued that hiring faculty and staff to mirror their clients or consumers might facilitate legitimacy within marginalized communities. I have also read several studies and reports about the invisible labor that these individuals engage in. What has been missing from these studies is how workplace practices – outside of hiring logics and the lack of rewards attached to this labor – sustain the disinvestment from other staff and faculty. Do staff and faculty create a space within the organization or outside of it to address the burden from these forms of labor? That is, how do we study the extent to which nonwhites are asked to speak for and advocate for nonwhite students and nonwhite clients? Watkins-Hayes (2009) study on Black and Latino social workers shows how classed narratives complicate same race

interactions. Lewis (2001) also addresses the theme of the invisible labor to discuss the emotional strain placed on British black social workers. I have built on their work by showing that the responsibilities assigned to their nonwhite respondents were also a product of how same race, co-ethnic and white colleagues inadvertently encourage the behavior of caring for co-ethnic clients. I do not measure to consciousness with which these practices happen. I showed that the co-ethnic responsibility was a practice all parties, to varying degrees, engage in. I build on Mora's work not just by extending the argument that panethnicity is a collective effort that involves parties outside of the ethnic communities, but also by showing how the practice is evidence of a racialized gendered social order. White men's limited engagement with the field in general, varied dependence on women, and freedom to enter and exit without having their status or importance questioned is evidence of their privileged gender and racial category. The work of Latino men and women in the field is evidence of how ethnicity is both an asset and liability within their careers. It is how they manage its double-edged sword that is a tool for other scholars of ethnic and racial groups. Racializing jobs, a practice that began with affirmative action policies, has extended to include non-Blacks. I have shown how, in the case of Latino immigrant services, it is a professional stepping stone for white women and a complicated position for both Latino men and Latinas. In this case, the practice of bilingualism, intermarriage, and empathy towards Latin Americans served to help white women to feel a connection towards the Latino community. The number of white women who fit this category was small, and it will be important to investigate to whether positions for non-white bilingual professionals is avenue for professional advance of not only co-ethnics, but whites as well. More importantly, are these positions professionally useful to women who intermarry only? To what extent can whites, versus other racial and ethnic groups, stay in racialized positions? Does this facilitate their

professional advancement, or do they suffer the same limited consequences my Latino respondents did? My findings suggest that they can use the social responsibility narrative to make career choices Latinos cannot. The limits Latinos face, I have shown, is linked to how knowledge of immigrant social needs is a racialization practice. I used the concept of racialized gendered responsibility to show how ethnic capital is used in the labor market, how it allows white women to be flexible in the job market, and to show how work place practices sustain the privileges associated with whiteness and maleness.

Organizations, Place, and Assimilation

So far I have addressed the gendered racialized processes I detailed in the previous chapters. But the organizational behavior I address requires that I revisit the place context. One of the original goals of this project was to address how immigrants and ethnic groups create community in suburbs. I have shown how the process is classed. By focusing on immigrant service professionals, I move away from studies that focus on Latino immigrants and the challenges within the manual labor market. The story of pink-collar professionals, I claimed, was important to unpack to understand how assimilation works in the 21st century. First, the experience of adult children of immigrants is understudied within the assimilation literature. Second, the spatial assimilation process that was prominent in the 20th century does not hold with immigrants foregoing urban centers. Third, with the existence of multiple gateways within Illinois's borders, I was able to address how logics in urban centers survived the commute to smaller cities and suburbs. I found that the logics had geographic boundaries due in part to how nonprofits managed local relations. I showed how immigrant service professionals developed and institutionalized a distinct set of practices to lessen the tension around Latino immigrant reception among community leaders. The work of Latino immigrant organizers, geared towards

empowering disenfranchised immigrants, was not a model of organizing suburban officials were comfortable engaging with.

The group of professionals who served them was more accessible. I show how suburban middlemen sat on the borders of distinct social relations. First, they were between local elected officials and Chicago-based advocacy organizations. While this is unique of other new destination studies, what this finding indicates is that future research on immigrant destinations must map political relations between nonprofits and elected officials. The finding raises the question of whether Marwell's (2007) model of political exchange is municipality-specific, regional, or multi-level. Second, they were between Latino immigrant clients and co-workers. Third, they were between the ambiguous, abstract Latino community and local leaders. Filling the structural holes between networks placed them in strategic positions. However, the power relations in which they found themselves along these various borders made vulnerable the power they were believed to have. Fourth, in the case of Latino respondents, networks among co-ethnics were also sites of tension. The gendered and classed narratives - whether in discussing one's relationship to the profession, to social change, or to the immigrant community – revealed sets of rules that reinforced why Latinas were responsible for sustaining the immigrant service field. Co-ethnic networks, often understood as sites to protect against various forms of discrimination and facilitate upward assimilation, were also sites of tension that illustrated that normative codes associated with ethnic belonging excluded individuals who did not perform. The institutionalized codes of behavior within these networks also affect how policy is constructed and enacted by the group of people hired to help immigrants.

It is the third and fourth points made above that create the room to discuss how adult career trajectories inform what categories immigrants and their children are assimilating into. I

have provided evidence to support the claim that straight-line assimilation paths are insufficient to explain Latinos' relationship to their host society. Studies on border identities provide a frame to show how Latino professionals are creating a new place of belonging that is situational. The negotiations made at the distinct borders in which they operate suggest that where they belong is in the role of border agent. In constructing the immigrant service field, I have shown how ethnic professionals, with the help of local white elite, are creating a space in which an ethnic middle class can create a new space for socioeconomically mobile co-ethnics. However, this space is fractured by how the border agents internalized gendered and racialized norms to legitimate the actions they take to become upwardly mobile.

Other Ethnic Groups

The processes I have described will be useful to study other ethnic groups. I must note that the levels of human, social, and cultural capital an immigrant comes in with influences to what extent border agents have authority over the state of assimilation paths for distinct immigrant and ethnic groups. Latin American immigrants from Mexico, Central America and parts of the Caribbean, after 1965, have tended to enter with low levels of human capital. Groups who enter with higher levels of human capital, I claim, will have different outcomes. Controlling for the levels of capital, scholars would also have to account for gendered patterns of academic achievement. I do not believe it is an accident that Latinas are responsible for field institutionalization. First, studies have shown how women, in their role as mothers, are also responsible for keeping a community's memory and passing it down. Second, Latinas are graduating college at higher rates than their Latino counterparts. Third, a study on completion rates, the authors note that gendered narratives about manual labor and house work also create a space for daughters to stay home, do their homework, and therefore set themselves up for higher

rates of academic achievement (Felicano and Rumbaut 2005). The relationship between migrant generation human capital, second generation academic achievement, and how these affect the career trajectories and civic projects of the future generations will help us understand the relationship between patterns of assimilation and policy change.

Future studies on the relationship between racial and ethnic formation, gender, socioeconomic mobility, and the social order of a community will have to address what groups of individuals are involved in creating programming or providing services to distinct sectors of the population to see whether the actions help sustain or change the dominant social order some people are hired to change.

METHODS

LOGIC

I focused on staff in nonprofit agencies because few studies examined the relationship between their career trajectories and changes in policy. The point of departure was the experience of women of color for two reasons. First, organization studies have shown how nonprofits are feminized work places. Second, I was interested in addressing how co-ethnicity functioned as a measure of legitimacy. I privileged the epistemic perspectives of the women professionals of color to show how power dynamics were racialized and gendered. I showed how the experiences of Latina professionals differed from their Latino and white counterparts. The normative codes that shaped how they described their experiences and decision- making processes comprise a key set of logics that shape the organizational field in my field site.

To learn about their workplace experiences, I conducted in-depth interviews, attended networking meetings of three distinct professional networking organizations, and reviewed organizational documents. The semi-structured interviews covered a variety of themes that included career choice, professional motivations, relationship to the communities, and levels of professional networking (see APPENDIX A and B). I also asked participants about their colleagues and general community dynamics. Field notes taken during my visits across four years were incorporated to the findings from the interviews.

I spent between 3 to 6 months at a time in the field at a time. The consistent engagement and re-engagement created the space to analyze distinct sets of data and see how things changed over time. During revisits, I would review findings with respondents and take notes of how themes, behaviors, and professional networks changed over time. Below I outline my changing

role in the community. How I made decisions about data collection and analysis. I end with how my analysis produced the concepts discussed in the substantive chapters.

GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCHER TO CO-INVESTIGATOR

Chicago Area Study

University of Illinois at Chicago's Chicago Area Study project my first year of graduate study provided the opportunity to begin this project. The practicum, funded by parties at UIC and the National Science Foundation, brought together over a dozen graduate students and gave faculty investigators the means to design and conduct a multi-method research project on Lake County Illinois Latino immigrants. The two-fold purpose of the study were to engage in multi-method research by surveying community residents on immigrant attitudes and training graduate students in creating and conducting the survey. The methodological purpose used an address-based sampling method, in which households were randomly selected from the communities' census tracts in the summer of 2010. Most of the over 1000 cases were collected by a private company, but I was responsible for conducting 20 surveys going door-to-door in Waukegan, IL, one of the communities in our study.

While surveying residents, I also engaged in fieldwork in Round Lake Park and Waukegan, two of the communities that were part of our project. The principal investigators learned of a nonprofit conducting a study on immigrant civic engagement and introduced me to its executive director, who was interested in hiring a research assistant to help her interview local leaders in Waukegan and the Round Lake area. She introduced me to Elizabeth, president of the Hispanic Alliance. After I conducted an interview with her, she invited me to the Hispanic Alliance meeting to recruit more respondents. It was this collaboration that began my fieldwork.

The interviews I conducted for her, coupled with the studies I was reviewing on migrant civic engagement, revealed the gap in the literature this study begins to fill.

The interviews I conducted of nonprofit professionals in Lake County explore how the nonprofit sector in the communities have responded to the growth of the immigrant population. I also attended professional networking meetings, and volunteered at organization's activities. I conducted twenty in-depth interviews that were part of a larger in-depth interview set of a few hundred. The graduate student researchers reviewed and tailored the master interview schedule to each of our specific research interests. The final qualitative interview dataset, shared some of the same questions and covered themes ranging from immigrant integration, intergroup interactions, the state of the community, labor market concerns, and policing. A Round Lake Park social service organization also received a grant to study immigrant civic engagement in the Round Lake Area and became a research partner. I assisted the organization's executive director the summer of 2010 by conducting interviews with immigrant community leaders across Lake County, analyzing the data we were both collecting, and wrote summary reports. In the fall of 2010, I also co-facilitated focus groups with one of the area nonprofits. This last research project assisted the organization in writing its strategic plan. We presented the results to the Round Lake area in which area public officials, nonprofit professionals, and residents were in attendance.

Because I am also fluent in Spanish, I conducted interviews in Spanish per the request of respondents or when I felt more comfortable asking questions in Spanish instead of English. I found navigating the process to conducting the interview revealed tensions that shaped how the interview went and, more importantly, respondent self-perceptions regarding group membership. For example, two of my respondents for whom English was a second language seemed to prefer English instead of Spanish. After the interviews, I realized one preferred English because she no

longer felt she could communicate in Spanish. The latter, I realized, provided English responses more because she communicated certain information better in English than in Spanish. I attribute this to the important link between English fluency and professional identity.

Collecting survey data while conducting the interviews provided the opportunity to familiarize myself with the community, the transportation issues the professionals discussed, and to familiarize myself with the geographic dispersion of the organizations and Latino residents in the two municipal areas where my organization samples were located. Driving to the sample addresses also exposed me to the link between class, race, and neighborhood. It was collecting the surveys that I learned where low-income Latinos were concentrated and how far they were from the distinct human service organizations. I also observed how the south side of Waukegan was where Latino owned businesses were concentrated. The number of Mexican restaurants out the south side of the city was high. Surveyors and I used to joke that it would not be hard to find Mexican food in Waukegan. However, we were not sure where the safest places for Mexican immigrants were. The community-based organizations common in Chicago within immigrant communities were not as visible in Waukegan.

Surveying residents also exposed me to the north side of Waukegan, which felt more like a quiet suburb, than the busy south side of Waukegan. It was also on the north side that I found the Target. Walmart, was on the southwest side of the city. The location of stores such as these, the housing stock in the distinct parts, and the building density on different sides of the city revealed Waukegan's class organization. These trips revealed the two sides of Waukegan/ two identities. On the one hand, you had the urban development that resulted from Latino immigrant entrepreneurship. One the other hand, the more developed areas either looked like a quiet small town or suburban subdivisions. Navigating the city of Waukegan with these three distinct

identities contextualized the class/ geography specific challenged many nonprofit professionals and local officials identified as barriers to immigrant integration. The responsibilities associated with working on 2 or 3 interrelated research projects at the same time forced me to familiarize myself with the geographic, racial, and class organization of Waukegan. I discussed this with respondents in my distinct rounds of interviews and found that it facilitated trust building during the interview. I was also open with how I was part of a research team surveying community residents on immigrant attitudes. This also facilitated respondents sharing information on immigrant specific concerns.

I returned to the field in the summer of 2011 as part of a small team that surveyed community associations. That summer, I returned to attending Hispanic Alliance meetings. In attending these meetings, I reconnected with respondents from 2010 and saw how the membership had changed in eight months. The Chicago Area Study on immigrant attitudes had been extended to examine the relationship between private actors and government agencies. At the end of 2011, the larger project had collected over four hundred interviews to which graduate student researchers had access. When I designed my doctoral project, I reviewed the interviews conducted over the two-year span and conversed with other graduate student researchers who had participated in data collection. The extent to which many of us were embedded in both data collection phases allowed us to construct a comprehensive portrait on the challenges in the communities we worked.

DATA COLLECTION

Revisits

I re-entered the research sites every summer after 2011. The time lapse between ethnographic work might imply that I missed changes in real time. I compensated by re-engaging

initial respondents through informal interviews or having new respondents discuss the changes that happened while I was gone. The distance allowed me to review the data I collected and the interviews conducted by others. The initial rounds of analysis during my graduate course work allowed me to use my classes to connect findings to existing sociological literature. Concentrated amounts of time I was in the field facilitated relationship building with many respondents and prevented me from taking changes for granted. I found the short rounds of immersion were useful. For example, it was during the gaps that I learned of other issue-based professional meetings that I attended in the summer and fall of 2013. Including these other groups allowed me to see how geography and geographic networks shaped the human service field logic space. I focus on the Hispanic Alliance because the two other series of meetings I attended did not consider immigration as a major issue. The theme of responsibility was most prevalent at the Hispanic Alliance meetings and were less prevalent at BEST or STAR meetings.

Because I collected data before formulating the original research question, I first reviewed the 2010 and 2011 interviews to formulate the dissertation question and to guide the second round of interviews. The first round of interviews covered respondents discussing challenges in the community, and questions about immigrant reception and immigrant integration. From the responses I gathered in preliminary interviews coupled with observations made in 2010 and 2011, I realized that career patterns mattered. My original goal when I began collecting data was to develop an understanding of the political climate within the two sites and the challenges to community organizing within the Latino communities. However, while addressing the climate of political insecurity in which Latino immigrants lived, I found that their responses revealed the human service field was an important unit of analysis. The respondents, in describing the political environment, also mentioned how nonprofits and their staff were

important actors in helping alleviate that climate. Their responses, coupled with a thorough review of U.S. Latino civic engagement studies, revealed that studies on Latino civic engagement had not addressed the question of where human service professionals can be placed within the conversation. They argued that they were key players within the civic engagement field, but this subset of the civic engagement field did not have them or the organizations they worked for as the primary unit of analysis. I reviewed 60 interviews from the 2010 CAS. I selected interviews with immigrant activists, nonprofit professionals and community leaders who were referenced in the meetings I attended or in interviews I read. These coupled with the 20 interviews I conducted helped design the new interview schedule (APPENDIX A). I include a respondent table at the end of this document (APPENDIX C) to show which organizations were represented and how distinct respondents fit into the categories I discussed in the dissertation.

My final data set includes field notes from and interviews conducted in 2010, 2011, 2013, and 2014. Respondents represent approximately twenty agencies including government bureaucracies. As a result, I have 80 respondents' interviews with human services professionals, community activists, and community leaders. The original goal was to have equal numbers of respondents from the distinct racial and gender groups. As Choo and Feree (2010) suggest, to understand how the intersection of race and gender operate, a researcher should not focus solely on the marginalized, but also include members of privileged groups. However, based on my interest in immigrant specific services, the diversity of the human service professional population in the area, and the small size of the human service organization sites, I did not have many Black or male respondents. Because of this, my ability to make strong arguments that would fit within the intersectionality literature will be limited to how whites compare to Latinos. I was able to

make claims about how white women differ from Latinas and how Latinos differ from their female counterparts.

2010 Chicago Area Study, findings

The final count of surveys collected in the summer of 2010 was almost 1,100 and I share key results below. The findings, weighted to demonstrate population distribution, show the differing attitudes towards local immigration policy and national policy. In both the Round Lake Area and Waukegan, respondents did not feel that Latino immigrants were endangering their community. However, a majority of respondents in both communities supported work site raids, deportation and border control efforts. The findings suggest that residents were ambivalent towards Latino immigrants. They also suggest that the nonprofit staff are working in an unstable climate because the support of work site raids and deportations, for example, were actions that local enforcement could engage in. After 1996, the immigration federalism process changed and made local communities responsible for developing immigration policy (See Fix 1999, for example).

Table 1 – Attitudes Towards National Policy, Lake County, Illinois 2010

Question	Round Lake	Waukegan
Work site raids	25.8% increase 31% stay the same 39.1% increase	27.5% increase 22.8% stay the same 42% decrease
Border Control	44.2% increase 41.6% stay the same 10.9% decrease	50.7% increase 25% stay the same 18.5% decrease
Deportation	35% increase 25.9% stay the same 36.5% decrease	33.7% increase 26.4% stay the same 33.3% decrease

Table 2 – Attitudes Towards Latino Contributions, Lake County, Illinois 2010

Question	Round Lake	Waukegan
Immigrant and economy	49.5% , helps	46% helps

	30.2% hurts	30% hurts
Crime Rates in Community	36.9% Not having much effect 42.7% Increase	39%Not having much effect 32.9% Increase 8.7% decrease
Immigrants and Schools	11.7% better 25.9% worse 36.5% not much effect	22% better 24.5% worse 31% not much effect

Local ambivalence, restrictive policies, and the growth of the Latino immigrant population made watching nonprofit staff interactions a key place to observe how the people responsible for meeting immigrants' social needs managed and working in the tense environment. Human service organizations represented were those that offered immigrant specific services, non-English programming, and/or who's client base included a large percentage of immigrant clients. Attending the Hispanic Alliance meetings introduced me to staff at the county health department, the Waukegan library, the Immigrant Service Center, Amigo del Inmigrante, the Catholic Church immigrant center, a youth advocacy organization (NICASA), staff at the county sexual assault center, the Catholic regional agency. From the connections I made at the Hispanic Alliance I learned of two other meetings to attend, Bringing Everyone's Strengths Together (BEST) and "STAR." Both of these were also held monthly. At these, I connected with Round Lake Area community leaders and nonprofit professionals at other smaller agencies. I engaged in snowball sampling until I reached saturation around the themes of race, gender, and immigrant advocacy.

Choosing Respondents

As stated earlier, Callie and Elizabeth facilitated respondent recruitment. Callie had me focus on key leaders who were not elected officials. For the most part, this revealed the key role

human service professionals played in the community. Her agency was interested in learning how elected officials understood immigrant social needs and after our interviews, we compared notes on what we learned from our conversations. It was during these conversations that I first learned of BEST whose meetings I attended in 2013. I also learned of STAR from one of my first interviews in 2013, and also attended their meetings in 2013. I followed the three professional associations (STAR, Hispanic Alliance, and BEST) because distinct CAS respondents claimed they were key sites of information exchange. Even though I engaged with STAR and BEST on a less frequent basis, immigrant service professionals did not find the spaces important sites to discuss immigrant social needs. Social service providers attended the meetings to connect with colleagues.

All three spaces were sites where information was exchanged. The function of these spaces were many. First, spaces such as these, in a region that had low organizational density, were useful for the professionals to learn/ teach about the range of services their sister agencies provided in various communities. Second, it was in attending these meetings that I realized the distinct agencies had headquarters throughout northern Lake County. The geographic dispersal made connecting with other providers difficult outside of these monthly meetings. Third, I learned that residents did not limit themselves to organizations within their municipalities. Fourth, the meetings were useful to learn about changes in services and funding streams and other services outside the mission of the agencies. For example, agencies learned about the drivers' certificates for non-legal residents and the classes offered at Waukegan's public library to help immigrants pass the driving test. These were spaces where I recruited respondents. In completing the interviews, I asked their help in recruiting other respondents. The snowball sampling identified who were the key individual actors within the field. The low number of

immigrants in these networks revealed a disconnection between many nonprofit professionals and the immigrant community organizers. Because tensions between nonprofit staff and clients had been addressed in other studies, I was interested in exploring how the staff legitimated their work. I was interested in understanding how staff conceptualized services taking into account there was a gap between the informal networks immigrants constructed and the networks immigrant service professionals constructed. The gap and the continued reference to Clarissa, Marilinda, and Callie confirmed that the community-based agencies were key immigrant service knowledge holders.

My consistent engagement with the Hispanic Alliance provided me the avenue to get involved in their strategic planning work during the summer of 2013. Because they claimed to represent countywide Latino needs, many non-Latinos saw them as key Latino/ immigrant advocates. However, their membership reflected organizations from northern Lake County and many non-Waukegan members argued that their claims at county representation was limited. Their perceived versus actual status supports the claim above regarding the institutionalized relationship between race and advocacy and shows that this operates not only at the staff client interaction level, but begins to provide a place to analyze how race operates on the field level.

Not only did I interview members of the Hispanic Alliance, but also members of BEST and STAR. Interviewing people in the three professional networking spaces allowed me to understand their importance and where immigrant-specific social needs fit within each association's general mission. Meetings kept me informed of key events to be held within north Lake County communities, and allowed me to participate in conversations about challenges nonprofit organizations faced. For many of my respondents, this was the primary location where they interacted with colleagues at distinct organizations. These professional networks were sites

in which stakeholders within the nonprofit sector interacted and presented codes that shape the human service field when it came to immigrant specific needs. I also attended fundraisers and other nonprofit sponsored events and saw the blurring of professional/ social networks. Attending meetings allowed me to contextualize professional relationships and observe the extent to which these coalitions facilitated resource sharing and other forms of collaboration. Hispanic Alliance was the space in which the most immigrant-serving professionals congregated. BEST served more as a monthly meeting on Round Lake area community programming. Immigrant-serving professionals who attended did so to show that they wanted to demonstrate they were full members of the Round Lake Area communities. STAR was a network of human service professionals across sectors. Those meetings were geared towards becoming informed on the general social services being provided in Northern Lake County. I found that professional networking organizations are important sites in which to observe how field level meanings are connected to organizational and staff level normative codes. Because Hispanic Alliance had the largest concentration of immigrant-serving professionals, I spent the most time engaging with the organization and its members.

I found that there were few men employed in the social service industry. They were either on boards or part of executive management with a small number in direct services. In the third chapter, I show how white men helped Latina women create programming. Rev. Greg and Ronald of Waukegan and Brian in the Round Lake area were men in key roles who worked with Latinas in immigrant services. I argue that it is how gender differences in career descriptions creates the space to analyze how women governed the advocacy climate around Latino immigrant services. I show how women's management styles factored into the fractured climate of Latino immigrant advocacy.

INTERVIEW DESIGN

Life Histories

One of the original objectives of the study was to investigate whether personal experiences shaped career trajectories. The individuals did not describe their childhood at length – only in the cases where forms of migration shaped how they interacted with the communities in which they worked. Professional histories and trajectories became the bulk of the conversation. They were asked a series of questions that captured their personal and professional histories, the importance of professional associations, and how their jobs were affected by the growth of the immigrant population. For example, I asked whether they grew up in Lake County, why they chose their profession, whether they changed career sectors (and why), what they liked about it (compared to other professions they may have had), and what they find most challenging. They described the tasks they perform and how they interact with coworkers and clients. This provided information about how they felt about their workplace and related to their clients, and uncovered the challenges they felt their clients faced and the challenges providers faced in meeting their clients' needs. The latter was emphasized. My respondents were concerned with discussing their own challenges than discussing their clients. Whether by design or by default, the workplace context became the important site of meaning making. These themes revealed how professionals negotiate personal experiences with professional socialization logics. Lastly, in terms of profession related questions, I asked them about their relationship(s) with the Hispanic Alliance and/ or BEST, how they viewed the function of the organization for them as professionals and in the community in general, and who they felt are important immigrant serving organizations in their communities (whether based in Lake County or outside). I included respondents who were not members of any of these organizations to see whether membership shaped knowledge access and advocacy engagement. I recruited them through snowball sampling.

I also asked my respondents about their educational trajectories. I assumed that their educational trajectories are important because levels of educational achievement are associated with how children of immigrants assimilate (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993). Members of the second generation, through positive academic achievement learn the cultural norms associated with becoming members of the middle class, which I argue, informs their status within the system of domination that shapes the experiences of people of color (Collins 2000). Also, second generation children through linguistic and cultural translation, brokered educational spaces for the parents (Reynolds and Orrellana 2009). However, respondents were more interested in explaining their workplace dynamics and general community dynamics then discussing their educational trajectories. I learned about what they studied in school and whether it linked to their professions. The objective with these sets of questions was to gather information on middle class performance and middle class normative codes. The link between the immigrant literature and Collins (2000) suggests what influences the ways human service professionals interact with clients is how they learn to become members of the U.S. middle class. Middle class status was evidence of full membership in U.S. society. What was most important in responses was how they described their current life stage, and the factors they believed described their social location. To adequately capture the link between experience in schools would have extended the interviews and distracted from the primary objective of the study: to focus on field level meaning making systems. Idealistically, it would have best been captured by a longitudinal study that measured school experiences in real time.

Field Observations

I observed how professionals interacted with each other at the monthly professional organizations meetings. This provided information about the meanings negotiated among

colleagues and provided the opportunity to connect responses to actual events. In short, this process allowed me to identify the extent to which the meanings respondents share is coupled with their behavior. The interactions with colleagues provided information on how the respondents discuss programming, provided data on what information is shared among providers, and most surprisingly, how professional colleagues negotiated distinct forms of racism, funding limitations, and constraints shaped by assumed niche/ service provision relationships. The data collected from the observations contextualized the life histories and revealed interorganizational network politics. These observations also showed what institutions (normative rules associated with racial/ ethnic membership or professional standard) were drawn upon in the distinct interactions, and revealed differences based on setting and how colleagues translated personal relationships in professional settings.

The observations also revealed how influential personal relationships were in mediating and shaping professional relationships. These relationships shaped what immigrant advocacy looked like at the field level and what other codes were privileged at the field level. The spaces where professionals interacted with peers, with government officials, and with funders divulged and co-ethnic and multi-ethnic professional/ personal networks affected how field level normative codes were racialized. It seems that the size of the research site, the cycling of staff, made for a collection of semi-closed networks in which a handful of Latina professionals occupied nodes in the distinct groups. It was how they brokered within and among these networks, and the extent to which their white female counterparts recognized their ability to broker, that became a key mechanism that shaped the human service field logic space of immigrant specific services.

ANALYSIS

The method of analysis is grounded in inductive reasoning. The data collection and theoretical frameworks that inform this case study design required in an inductive analytic process. I focused on analyzing my field notes and interviews first. When I felt I had a strong relationship with those two sets of data, I organized the flyers, pamphlets, annual reports and meeting minutes I had collected over the years. These data captured what sets of logics operated at the organizational and field levels independent of the experience of the organizational staff. These illustrated what ideas/ beliefs in relationship to poverty, social needs, and public understanding of immigrants were taken for granted to be true. It is my discussion of how these beliefs were linked to normative codes that contributes to staff behavior that helped me construct a comprehensive portrait of the field logic space. These documents communicate what values, behaviors, and beliefs about interaction and citizenship inhabit this space. The multiple sources of data, as noted above, allowed me to construct a comprehensive picture of the organizational field of immigrant specific social services.

Each day in the field, whether conducting an interview, attending a meeting or fundraiser, I kept track of what I observed and typed up field notes as soon as I was out of the field. My electronic field notes began to keep track of themes that recurred during my interviews. My field notes not only summarize what I observed, but in them, I also began to identify key patterns that emerged. In my notes, I began to discuss the distinct experiences of white women and Latinas. I also found that the initial cohort effects I observed in 2010 persisted. There were two generations of professionals – the people who brought services to Lake County, and the young professionals who had grown up in Lake County and returned to serve. Lastly, I also began to speculate about how maleness operated within this field. With this in mind, I reviewed my proposal to identify key themes and hypotheses before I began open coding these documents and organization

materials. The patterns identified in my field notes, the themes I was originally interested in at the proposal stage serve as my first coding list. These included, age, gender hierarchy, Latinidad, programming challenges, and professional networks. I sought information on how respondents described these topics to compare to the findings I detailed in my field notes. My interviews were fully transcribed and I translated Spanish quotes that were used in my substantive chapters. After coding was completed, I wrote memos that summarized patterns from interviews, field notes and organizational documents. The interviews underwent various manual coding schemes using Atlas.TI. The software will help me organize the interviews by theme and facilitate my analytic writing process. I identified common themes in the interviews, memoed separately, compared them, and wrote new memos to summarize connections between themes (Emerson et al 2011). I became familiar with my respondents' experiences, the differences between them, and how the differences were organized across gender, ethnic, and professional status. I analyzed the data for a year before I started turning memos into dissertation chapters.

There were three Chicago-based agencies that had expanded into Lake County during my field period. MARIA had the strongest regional authority in shaping an immigrant integration agenda. I used the case of MARIA, its relationship with the state capital, and its relationship with its suburban membership to show that regional narratives have geographic limits because the municipality with the densest organizational infrastructure drives the narrative. The series of networks at various geographic levels reveals the contradictory strategies used across different regional contexts. Other studies focus on the relationship between agencies and the local or regional governing structure. I show how social interactions between individuals who represent the social service agencies and government agencies informed and are informed by the political and economic climate at distinct geographic levels. I argue that it is not enough to show how

government agencies make decisions about funds. Another key factor is how organizations who compete and collaborate as a result of funds they share manage competing expectations.

I familiarized myself with the stories of my respondents through various rounds of coding. I memoed per responded and per theme. From the series of open codes I conducted on Atlas.TI, I organized the coding schema and memoed on each code I created. In the various rounds of coding, I found Latina entrepreneurs at the center. Whether through creating the Hispanic Alliance, being key service providers, or founding other community agencies, I found that I had to describe the relationships the women had with each other, with men, and address this within racial and ethnic categories and outside of them. The themes that arose from open coding included co-ethnicity, immigrant knowledge, age, cultural and human capital, immigrant social need, networks, and career history. With co-ethnicity, I found that whether a respondent was of Latin American descent and bilingual was not as important as whether the staff person, regardless of ethnic or racial background, could perform according to the norms within the networks Latinas loosely managed. I also found that white men operated tangentially to these networks at first. Once I moved away from the staff and focused on organizations, I found that the networks between Latinas and whites was also important to understand programming and organization legitimacy. The function of this variety of networks required that I organize my chapters around networks, meaning making, and outcomes for immigrant services.

Originally I was going to organize the chapters around sources of data. However, through analyzing the various sources of data, I realized it was a matter of accomplishing three analytic tasks. First, I needed to outline who were key actors at both the individual and organizational level in the field. by doing this in the second chapter, I created the space to discuss how local agencies were founded. Accomplishing this demonstrated why the relationship between gender,

race/ ethnicity and career path mattered. The manuscript's organization allows me to unfold how the field was constructed and where race and gender mattered in its construct. Networks are a theme in each chapter because it's the character of the relationships between individuals across organizations and municipalities that also reveal the field's boundaries. The relationships also show that racialized gendered practices in hiring and in delegating responsibility are evidence of a racialized gendered social order.

The tangential role Chicago-based agencies played in Lake County coupled with how men, women, whites and Latinos worked within the field required that I organize the chapters around how services came to and formalized in Waukegan and the Round Lake Area. I begin with MARIA and its attempts because of the recognition its work has gotten locally and nationally. The following chapter addresses how local agencies were founded because, through fieldwork, I learned how important they were in the community. First, they were the places both immigrants and mainstream agencies went to gain information. Immigrants were referred to the agencies that provided the resources they were interested. Other agencies relied on community agencies to learn how to connect with Latino immigrants. The function of knowledge and how it was used also made staff important. As much as the agency was important, the woman behind the agency was just as important. In sampling, fieldwork, and interviews, I learned that the ways women secured and protected resources was a crucial factor in how the agencies came to exit. Women did not operate in a vacuum, but they worked with other men and women to help their organizations meet goals. The last two chapters address ethnicity, race and gender because the networks within and across organizations had women at the center of them.

Forming propositions that explain or predict how race/ ethnicity and gender operated at the field level required gathering observations of the relationship. These relationships influence

who advocates for what types of resources for immigrants. I developed the concept racialized career path to illustrate how the respondents' forms of engagement in social change and policy were constrained by what jobs they had and were hired for. I also felt the term captured the idea that co-ethnicity was a form of capital with different values within an organization's hierarchy. Racialized gendered responsibility captures how co-ethnicity operates with the frame of knowledge acquisition, sharing, and maintenance in reference to immigrant social needs. In this case of Latino immigrant service field, I argue that the practice of making Latinos responsible for Latino immigrant services is one way organizations are involved in the racialization of the group. Nonprofits are also complicit in institutionalizing their marginalized status through the hiring practices associated with this logic. The assumptions behind Latino immigrant knowledge, hiring practices, professional normative codes, and how knowledge was cashed in by distinct social groups along racial and ethnic lines, also exposes distinct forms of workplace inequality that contribute to marginalization of Latino immigrants in these suburbs. This intellectual work creates a model by which future scholars of human service organizations can deconstruct how privileged individuals within the social welfare professions are limited in the scope of understanding the social needs of the disenfranchised.

The institutionalized relationship between race, gender and advocacy is linked to how brokering between stakeholders operate. The importance of the Hispanic Alliance as a source of information was evidence of that. Immigrant community organizers and Chicago-based activists did not understand it's political use. However, its ability to connect with Latino professionals and presence as the only formal space in which a high concentration of immigrant-serving professionals congregated, was evidence that nonprofit staff formed part of the elite group of local middlemen between community elite and Latino immigrants. The function of the Hispanic

Alliance and its relationship to the professional networks of immigrant-serving nonprofit professionals supports the claims made in the previous paragraph.

I found that empathy and a desire for solidarity building was key to how social needs were advocated for. Co-ethnicity of staff as a measure of knowledge was a tool used at the field level to appear as if advocacy and cultural competency was being performed. However, as discussed in the chapters, this was not the case. The taken for granted assumption that co-ethnicity intersects with class to suggest that Latinos, regardless of migrant national origin, class status, or language ability have a special connection with Latin American immigrants was disrupted. How respondents described growing up helped explain racialized professionalism more than it helped legitimate co-ethnic sensitivity. I do not argue that they were no co-ethnics who were not sensitive to the assumed responsibility or that they were unaware of immigrant specific social needs. What I found was that it was how the professionals, independent of race, interacted with immigrants, and the extent to which they felt a member of the immigrant community, that shaped how they constructed the client, the social need to be meet, and what aspect of the organizational field level needed to change to meet those needs.

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APPENDIX A

Melissa Abad, Interview Guide

Chicago Area Study
Spring 2010

Background:

How long have you worked at this organization?

What made you decide to work here?

What have you learned?

What are some of the projects you have introduced?

Organizations

- What services does your institution provide?

- What populations/groups utilize the services that the institution provides?
    - How has the population that utilizes these services changed over the last twenty years?
- What are some of the most important programs that your institution has undertaken in the last 5-10 years?
- Does the institution provide any services specifically for immigrants?
    - When did the institution begin providing these services? Why?
- Do you have bilingual staff? Since when?
- Do you translate institutional materials to other languages? How many? Which ones?
- Does your institution receive funds specifically for services provided to immigrants? If so, what are the sources of funding?
- Do you collaborate with other organizations on programs? If so, which ones?
- Do you exchange information or advice with other organizations? If so, which ones?
- Do you share resources such as meeting rooms, equipment, etc. with other organizations? If so, which ones?
- Do you exchange referrals with other organizations? If so, which ones?

Issues:

- Has the growing immigrant population enriched your institution's activities in any way?
- Has the institution faced any challenges in responding to the immigrant population?
    - Examples?
    - How have these challenges been addressed?
- Does the institution have to manage any tensions/conflicts related to the immigrant population?
    - Related to the institution and the services that it provides?
    - Between the immigrant population and other groups?
- Do immigrants confront any specific challenges in accessing the services provided by the institution?

- Have specific issues emerged in relation to:
    - Language?
    - ID cards?
    - Documentation ('legal' vs. 'illegal')?
- How have these challenges been addressed?

Policies/Governance:

- What is the process by which the institution sets policies or determines priorities?
- Who are the key decision makers?
    - How are they chosen?

Immigrant Integration:

- Does the organization work specifically with immigrants? If so, when did this start?

- What is your institution doing to help integrate Latino immigrants into your local community?
- What are the challenges that your organization faces to help Latino immigrants integrate more fully into the local community?
- What programs or initiatives are you aware of that might be examples of best practices around immigrant integration?
- What kinds of support do elected officials, including local municipal officials, need to provide in order to effectively take leadership position on immigrant integration?
- How do you foresee the future for the Latino community in the next 10 years?

2) Immigrant Rights Organizations:

Ex: Mano a Mano, Nuestro Center, Holy Family Parish, HealthReach Clinic

Background:

How long have you worked at this organization?

What made you decide to work here?

What have you learned?

What are some of the projects you have introduced?

Community:

- Tell me about your community.
- What are three main challenges that your community faces?
- What has been the impact of a growing Latino population in your area?
- Do you think Latinos contribute to your town? What do they contribute?
- Do you see Latinos participating in civic life in your community?
    - If yes: How? Since when? What do they do? Are they decision makers?
    - If no: What prevents Latinos from participating more actively in local affairs?

Organization:

- What is the organization's primary mission or focus? **fill in with organization of interest ... what do I already know?**
- What services does the organization provide? OR What issues does the organization address?
    - Why are these services provided?
    - Why are these issues taken up?
- What groups or populations utilize the organization's services? OR What groups or populations constitute the membership of the organization?
    - How has this population changed over time?
- Who are the key individuals involved in making decisions and running the organization?

Organization History:

- When was the organization established? Who established it? Who funded it?
- Why was the organization established?
    - Were there specific issues or events that led to its establishment at that time?
- What was the organization's initial mission or focus?
- Has the organization changed over time?
    - Has the mission or focus of the organization changed?
    - What changes have taken place in the services that the organization provides or the issues that it addresses?

    - What explains these changes?
- Does the organization collaborate with other organizations at the local, state, or national level?
- Do you exchange information or advice with other organizations? If so, which ones?
- Do you share resources such as meeting rooms, equipment, etc. with other organizations? If so, which ones?
- Do you exchange referrals with other organizations? If so, which ones?
- Is the organization a member of any coalitions or alliances? Which ones?
- Have you collaborated with any Black/African-American community based organization in the area?
- Have you collaborated with other ethnic immigrant organizations such as hometown associations, prayer groups or sports clubs formed by people of the same country of origin?
- What are the most important moments in the organization's history?
    - Events, programs, projects?
    - Conflicts, struggles?
- Specific examples of projects or struggles undertaken by the organization
    - What was the issue? How did it emerge?
    - What groups or individuals were involved? Allies? Opposition?
    - What were the principle tensions or conflicts?
    - How was the issue eventually resolved? Why was that the outcome?
    - What groups or individuals had the most influence on the final decision?
- What are the most important issues that the organization is addressing today?

<u>Specific Issues in Community and Involvement:</u>

What is the issue?
    When did it emerge?
    Why did it become an issue at that time?
How did you get involved?
What groups or individuals were involved in the conflict?
    What groups or individuals did you work with?
    What alliances or coalitions emerged?
What were the principle tensions or conflicts?
Narrate the history of the struggle
    Focus on events, coalitions, strategies, resources, frames
How was the issue eventually resolved? Why was that the outcome?
What groups or individuals had the most influence on the final decision?
What issues remain unresolved?

<u>Immigrant Integration:</u>

- Does your organizaiton work with immigrants in the community? If so, in what capacity?
- What is your institution doing to help integrate Latino immigrants into your local community?

- What are the challenges that your organization faces to help Latino immigrants integrate more fully into the local community?
- What programs or initiatives are you aware of that might be examples of best practices around immigrant integration?
- What kinds of support do elected officials, including local municipal officials, need to provide in order to effectively take leadership position on immigrant integration?
- How do you foresee the future for the Latino community in the next 10 years?

APPENDIX B

Dissertation Interview Protocol Outline

Personal History:

Where are you from?

How did you or your family end up in the area?

What community do you live in? Why? How is the commute from home to work?

Where did you go to school? elementary/ high/ college?

How did you choose this career? What influenced you to choose this line of work?

How did family/ friends feel about this career choice?

Professional History:
What kind of jobs have you held?

How did you go from X to the current job you hold?

What are short term and long term professional plans?

Why did you choose these jobs?

Do you have a a dream job?

Specific Position:
Tell me what you know about the organization. (When was it founded? Why did it chose this location? What are major funders?)

What drew you to the organization?

What was attractive about this position? Are you interested in moving up within the organization?

Do you know where the funds for your position come from? Do they come from a grant or general organization funds?

What are the challenges you face in the line of work that you do?

What makes this job rewarding/ challenging?

What factors inform how you perform your job? (probes: political/ policy climate; organization mission; funding streams; clients' needs; other organizations and what they [don't] do; family; friends)

Describe the workplace. How do you interact with coworkers?

What are the things that make doing your job easy? What helps you do your job better?

Are there challenges with interacting with clients? What are they? How do you address them?

What makes interactions with clients easier?

How does this job relate to outside activities? Are you involved in any local professional organizations? (If so, which ones and describe what they do. What have you gotten from the professional networks)

Organization Question:
what kind of services does the organization provide? (includes funding programs and collaborating with other communities entities)

how long has the organization existed here? does it have locations else where? (if so, please name)

who/ what do you think affects how effective your organization is?

what would help your organization do better?

what would damage the work this organization is doing?

What role do you think the organization plays in the community?

Field Level Questions:

how does this organization compare to other organizations in the community or county?

how do elected officials feel about this organization?

where does your funding come from? any challenges? any steady streams? (what purpose)

Does the organization reach out to Chicago? Springfield for resources? What types of resources?

Questions About Immigrants?
How is interacting with clients? How often is that done?
How are initiatives adopted by the organization? How do you get these ideas?

Who or what organizations are important partners? How do they partner?

VITA

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EDUCATION

2016 University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL PhD, Sociology
Advisor: William Bielby, PhD
Dissertation Title: *Juggling Logics: How Staff Construct an Immigrant Service Organizational Field in a New Immigrant Destination*

2009 **University of Chicago**, Chicago, IL, Master of Arts, Social Sciences
Advisor: Mario Luis Small, PhD

2005 **Northwestern University**, Evanston, IL, Bachelor of Arts, Sociology
Senior Thesis with distinction

2003 - 2004 **University of Salamanca**, Salamanca, Spain (study abroad)

FELLOWSHIPS/ SCHOLARSHIPS

2015 - 2016 University of Illinois at Chicago, Abraham Lincoln Fellowship

2012 - 2015 State of Illinois, Diversifying Faculty of Illinois Fellowship

2011 University of Illinois at Chicago, Abraham Lincoln Fellowship
University of Illinois at Chicago, Martin Luther King Scholarship

2008 University of Chicago, University Fellowship (recruitment fellowship)

RESEARCH GRANTS

2013 University of Illinois at Chicago Provost Award $1,500

AWARDS

2016 University of Notre Dame, Institute of Latino Studies, Young Scholar
2015 ARNOVA Emerging Leaders Program
2015 NCID Emerging Diversity Scholar
2013 ARNOVA Doctoral Fellow

PUBLICATIONS

IN PROGRESS

2016 Narratives and Networks: Immigrant Narratives at the Local and Regional Level for *Urban Affairs Review*

BOOK REVIEW

2013 The Philadelphia Barrio: The Arts, Branding, and Neighborhood Transformation. *Latino Studies* Vol XI-3. Book Review

WHITE PAPER

2011 Melissa Abad, Julio C. Capeles, Carolina Duque. "Immigrant Integration and Immigrant Civic Engagement of Suburban Latinos." http://www.manoamanofamilyresourcecenter.org/RLA-Immigrant-Integration-Project-Final-Report.pdf

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2014 - 2015 **Northeastern Illinois University,** Chicago, IL
Introduction to Sociology; Research Methods; Social Theory

2012 - 2014 **College of Lake County,** Waukegan, IL
Introduction to Sociology; Gender, Sex, and Power

2013 **The University of Illinois at Chicago,** Chicago, IL
Latinos in the United States

2012 **The University of Illinois at Chicago,** Chicago, IL
Introduction to Statistics, teaching assistant

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Cornell University, Ithaca, New York/ Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

2014 *Graduate Student Researcher,* Immigrant-Native Relations in 21st Century America: Intergroup Contact, Trust, and Civic Engagement
Recruited and interviewed 31 Spanish speaking immigrants in metropolitan Philadelphia in Spanish and English. Edit transcriptions of interviews.
PI's: Helen Marrow, PhD (Tufts University); Michael Jones-Correa (Cornell University), Dina Oakmoto (Indiana University – Bloomington); Linda Tropp (University of Massachusetts – Amherst)
Website: http://philadelphia-atlanta.weebly.com/

The University of Illinois at Chicago, *Chicago Area Study,* Chicago, IL

2013 *Project Coordinator*
"Local political participation and gun control"
PI: Alexandra Filipa, PhD and Noah Kaplan, PhD
Director: Maria Krysan, PhD
Department: Sociology and Political Science

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE (cont'd)

2011 *Research Assistant,* Chicago Area Study
"Organizational Networks in a New Immigrant Gateway"
PI: Pamela Popielarz, PhD
Director: Maria Krysan, PhD
Department: Sociology

2009 - 10 *Research Assistant*, Chicago Area Study
"New Tensions in an Old Immigrant Gateway"
PI: Maria Krysan, PhD
Director: Maria Krysan, PhD
Department: Sociology

PRESENTATIONS

Melissa Abad. 2016. "Narratives and Networks: Immigrant Integration Logics." The Shifting Politics of Suburbs Conference. **George Mason University, School of Policy, Government, and International Affairs.** 23 June.

Melissa Abad. 2016. "Latinizing Carework: Racial Formation in Suburban Nonprofits." The Future of Diversity Research Conference, **National Center of Institutional Diversity, University of Michigan**. May 19.

Melissa Abad. 2016."Narratives and Networks: Immigrant Narratives at the Local and Regional Level" Young Scholars Symposium, **Institute for Latino Studies, University of Notre Dame**. 17 March.

Melissa Abad. 2015. "Racialized Gendered Responsibility and the Latino Immigrant Service Sector." Augustana College. 17 December.

Melissa Abad. 2014. "Race, Gender, and Institutional Theory: An Institutional Approach to Workplace Inequality." American Sociological Association Meeting, Race, Class, and Gender section session. 22 August.

Melissa Abad. 2013. "Juggling Logics: How Staff Construct an Immigrant Service Organizational Field in a New Immigrant Destination" Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Associations. 20 November.

Melissa Abad. 2013. Racialized and Gendered Bodies at Work: Challenges with Professional Logics, Engendering Change, **Gender Conference, University of Illinois at Chicago**, 15 March

Melissa Abad. 2011. "Professionalized Advocacy in a Mixed Form Markets: A Study of the Immigrant Service Market in New Destinations." **Midwestern Sociological Society** Panel, St. Louis, MO 26 March

INVITED LECTURES

Melissa Abad. "Recognizing and Realizing the Power in The Coalition" **Coalición de Latinos Unidos en Lake County.** Waukegan Public Library. 14 April 2016

Melissa Abad, Julio C. Capeles, Carolina Duque. "Immigrant Integration and Immigrant Civic Engagement of Suburban Latinos." Powerpoint presentation of research findings at Round Lake Community Forum on Immigrant Integration**. Round Lake Civic Center**, 26 February 2011.

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

American Sociological Association, Race, Gender Class section,

Graduate student representative – elected, 2012 – 2014

Best Article Award Committee, Head, - volunteered, 2015-2016

SERVICE TO THE DEPARTMENT/ UNIVERSITY

Chicago Ethnography Conference - Co Chair April 14, 2012

Worked with logistics committee on advertisements, securing the venue, catering the event, event program

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Sociological Association, member

Section memberships: Race, Class, Gender; Racial and Ethnic Minorities; Organizations, Occupations and Work; Latin@s; International Migration; Teaching Sociology

Society for the Study of Social Problems, member

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Associations, member

Journal for Nonprofit Education and Leadership, Junior Editorial Board, member