



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Beyond immigrant ethnic politics?

*Organizational innovation, collaboration and competition in the Los Angeles immigrant rights movement (1980-2015)*

Gnes, D.

#### Publication date

2018

#### Document Version

Other version

#### License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

#### Citation for published version (APA):

Gnes, D. (2018). *Beyond immigrant ethnic politics? Organizational innovation, collaboration and competition in the Los Angeles immigrant rights movement (1980-2015)*.

#### General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

#### Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

## REFERENCES

- Acuña, Rodolfo. 1995. *Anything but Mexican. Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles*. New York, NY: Verso Books.
- Adler, Lee H., Maite Tapia, and Lowell Turner, eds. 2014. *Mobilizing Against Inequality. Unions, Immigrant Workers, and the Crisis of Capitalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Aldrich, Howard E. and Martin Ruef. 2006. *Organizations Evolving*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Alexander, Victoria D. 1998. "Environmental Constraints and Organizational Strategies: Complexity, Conflict, and Coping in the Nonprofit Sector." Pp. 272-290 in *Private Action and the Public Good*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Elisabeth S. Clemens. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Alinsky, Saul. 1941. "Community Analysis and Organization." *American Journal of Sociology* 46(6): 797-808.
- Alinsky, Saul. 1971. *Rules for Radicals: A Pragmatic Primer for Realistic Radicals*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Almguer, Tomas. 2009. *Racial Fault Lines. The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Almeida, Paul D., and Ruben Urbizagastegui. 1999. "Cutumay Camones: Popular Music in El Salvador's National Liberation Movement". *Latin American Perspectives* 26(2): 13-42.
- Añorve, Raul. 1989. "Community-Based Literacy Educators: Experts and Catalysts for Change." Pp. 35-41 in *Participatory Literary Education. New Directions for Continuing Education*, edited by Arlene Fingeret and Paul Jurmo. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Añorve, Raul. 2009. "Queremos Vivir Sin Miedo [We want to live without Fear]." Pp. 206-219 in *Globalization, Knowledge and Labour: Education for Solidarity within Spaces of Resistance*, edited by Mario Novelli and Anibel Ferus-Comelo. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Archer, Nicole A., Ana L. Gonzalez, Kimi Lee, Simmi Gandhi, and Delia Herrera. 2010. "The Garment Worker Center and the Forever 21 Campaign." Pp. 154-66 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Ashforth, Blake E., and Barrie W. Gibbs. 1990. "The Double-Edge of Organizational Legitimation." *Organization Science* 1(2): 177-194.

Bacon, David. 1998. "Paulo Freire Hits LA's Mean Streets." 5 October, 1998, *LA Weekly*. Retrieved on 16 January, 2017, <http://dbacon.igc.org/Imigrants/o3daylab.html>.

Bacon, David. 2008. *Illegal People. How Globalization Creates Migration and Criminalizes Immigrants*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Baldassare, Mark, ed. 1994. *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Barnett, William P., and Michael Woywode. 2004. "From Red Vienna to the Anschluss: Ideological Competition among Viennese Newspapers During the Rise of National Socialism." *American Journal of Sociology* 109 (6): 1452-99.

Barron, Pierre, Anne Bory, Sébastien Chauvin, Nicolas Jounin, and Lucie Tourette. 2011. *On Bosse Ici, On Reste Ici ! La Greve des Sans-Papier : une Aventure Inédite*. Paris, FR: La Découverte.

Bauböck, Rainer, Albert Kraler, Marco Martiniello and Bernhard Perchinig. 2006. "Migrants' Citizenship: Legal Status, Rights and Political Participation." Pp. 65-98 in *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe*, edited by Rinus Penninx, Maria Berger, and Karen Kraal. Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press.

Baum, Joel A. C., and Christine Oliver. 1991. "Institutional Linkages and Organizational Mortality." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 36 (2): 187-218.

Beetham, David. 2013. *The Legitimation of Power*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York, NY: Palgrave.

Benhabib, Seyla. 2004. *The Rights of Others. Aliens, Residents and Citizens*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann. 1967. *The social construction of reality*. New York, NY: Doubleday Anchor.

Bernal, Dolores D. 2002. "Critical Race Theory, Latino Critical Theory, and Critical Raced-Gendered Epistemologies: Recognizing Students of Color as Holders and Creators of Knowledge." *Qualitative Inquiry* 8(1): 105-126.

Bernstein, Mary. 2009. "The Strategic Use of Identity by the Lesbian and Gay Movement." Pp. 264-278 in *The Social Movements Reader. Cases and Concepts*, edited by Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Blee, Kathleen M., and Verta Taylor. 2002. "Semi-Structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research." Pp. 92-117 in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Bloemraad, Irene and Floris Vermeulen. 2014. "Immigrants' Political Incorporation." Pp. 227-250 in *An Introduction to Immigrant Incorporation Studies*, edited by Jan Rath and Marco Martiniello. Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press.

Booth, John A., Christine J. Wade, and Thomas W. Walker. 2010. *Understanding Central America. Global Forces, Rebellion, and Change*. Fifth ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Briggs, Xavier de Souza. 2013. "Rethinking Immigrant Political Incorporation: What Have We Learned, and What Next?" Pp. 321-342 in *Outsiders No More? Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation*, edited by Jennifer Hochschild, Jacqueline Chattopadhyay, Claudine Gay, and Michael Jones-Correa. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Brodkin, Karen. 2007. *Making Democracy Matter. Identity and Activism in Los Angeles*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. "Ethnicity Without Groups." Pp. 7-27 in *Ethnicity Without Groups*, edited by Rogers Brubaker. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 2004. "Beyond 'Identity'." Pp. 28-63 in *Ethnicity Without Groups*, edited by Rogers Brubaker. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Buechler, Steven M. 2000. *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism. The Political Economy and Cultural Construction of Social Activism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Calhoun, Craig. 1982. *The Question of Class Struggle. Social Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Calhoun, Craig. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Casas-Cortés M. I., M. Osterweil, D. E. Powell. 2011. "Blurring Boundaries: Recognizing Knowledge Practices in the study of Social Movements." *Anthropological Quarterly* 81(1): 41-82.

Castles, Stephen and Alistair Davidson. 2000. *Migration and Citizenship*. London, UK: MacMillan Press.

Castles, Stephen and Mark J. Miller. 2009. *The Age of Migration*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Chabot, Sean, and Jan Willem Duyvendak. 2002. "Globalization and transnational diffusion between social movements: Reconceptualizing the dissemination of the Gandhian repertoire and the 'coming out' routine." *Theory and Society* 31: 697-740.

Chang, Edward T., and Jeannette Diaz-Veizades. 1999. *Ethnic Peace in the American City: Building Community in Los Angeles and Beyond*. New York: New York University Press.

Chaskin, Robert J. 2001. "Building Community Capacity. A Definitional Framework and Case Studies from a Comprehensive Community Initiative." *Urban Affairs Review* 36(3): 291-323.

Chaudhary, Ali R., and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo. 2016. "Pakistani immigrant organisational spaces in Toronto and New York City." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(6): 1013-1035.

Chauvin, Sebastien. 2007. "Le 'worker center' et ses spectres: Les conditions d'une mobilisation collective des travailleurs précaires à Chicago." *Sociologies Pratiques* 15: 41-54.

Chavez, Ernesto. 2002. "¡Mi Raza Primero!" (*My People First!*) *Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane and Simon Reich, eds. 2010. *Managing Ethnic Diversity after 9/11. Integration, Security, and Civil Liberties in Transatlantic Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Cheng, Lucie and Philip Q. Yang. 1996. "Asians: The 'Model Minority' Deconstructed." Pp. 305-344 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Chinchilla, Norma S., Nora Hamilton, and James Loucky. 2009. "The Sanctuary Movement and Central American Activism in Los Angeles". *Latin American Perspectives* 36(6): 101-126.

Choudry, Aziz, and Dip Kapoor, eds. 2010. *Learning from the Ground Up Global Perspectives on Social Movements and Knowledge Production*. New York, NY: Palgrave Millian.

Chung, Angie Y. 2005. "Politics without the Politics': The Evolving Political Cultures of Ethnic Non-Profits in Koreatown, Los Angeles." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(5): 911-929.

Chung, Angie Y. 2007. *Legacies of Struggle. Conflict and Cooperation in Korean American Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Chung, Angie Y., Irene Bloemraad, and Karen I. Tejada-Peña. 2013. "Reinventing an Authentic 'Ethnic' Politics: Ideology and Organizational Change in Koreatown and Field's Corner." *Ethnicities* 13(6): 838-862.

Clemens, Elisabeth S. 1993. "Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women's Groups and the Transformation of American Politics, 1890-1920." *American Journal of Sociology* 98(4): 755-98.

Clemens, Elisabeth S. 2005. "Two Kinds of Stuff. The Current Encounter of Social Movements and Organizations." Pp. 351-365 in *Social Movements and Organization Theory*, edited by Gerald F. Davis, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, and Mayer N. Zald. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Clemens, Elisabeth S. and James M. Cook. 1999. "Politics and institutionalism: Explaining durability and change." *Annual Review of Sociology* 25: 441-466.

Clemens, Elisabeth S., and Martin D. Hughes. 2002. "Recovering Past Protest: Historical Research on Social Movements." Pp. 201-230 in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Collingwood, Vivien 2005. "State of the Art: Addressing the NGO Legitimacy Deficit." *Political Studies Review* 3: 175-192.

Dahl, Robert. 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Danley, Stephen. Forthcoming. "Community Elites and Power Structure". In *The Handbook of Community Movements and Local Organizations*, edited by Ram Cnaan and Carl Milofsky. New York, NY: Springer US.

Davis, Mike. 2006. *City of Quartz. Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*.

de Genova, Nicholas. 2004. "The Legal Production of Mexican/Migrant 'Illegality.'" *Latino Studies* 2(2): 160-185.

de Graauw, Els. 2008. "Nonprofit Organizations: Agents of Immigrant Political Incorporation in Urban America." Pp. 323-350 in *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement*, edited by S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

de Graauw, Els. 2016. *Making Immigrant Rights Real. Nonprofits and the Politics of Integration in San Francisco*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.

Deephouse, David L., and Mark C. Suchman. 2008. "Legitimacy in Organizational Institutionalism." Pp. 49-77 in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, edited by Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Roy Suddaby, and Kerstin Sahlin. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Del Valle, Hernan. 2016. "Search and Rescue in the Mediterranean Sea: Negotiating Political Differences." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 35: 22-40.

Diani, Mario and Doug McAdam, eds. 2003. *Social Movements and Networks. Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

DiMaggio, Paul J. 1988. "Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory." Pp. 3-22 in *Institutional Patterns and Culture*, edited by Lynn G. Zucker. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company.

DiMaggio, Paul J. 2006. "Nonprofit Organizations and Intersectoral Division of Labor in the Arts." Pp. 432-461 in *The Non-Profit Sector: A Research Handbook*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48(2): 147-160.

Dowling, John B., and Jeffrey Pfeffer. 1975. "Organizational Legitimacy: Social Values and Organizational Behavior." *The Pacific Sociological Review* 18(1): 122-136.

Durand, Jorge Douglas S. Massey and Emilio A. Parrado. 1999. "The New Era of Mexican Migration to the United States." *The Journal of American History* 86(2): 518-536.

Dziembowska Maria. 2010. NDLOM and the History of Day Labor Organizing in Los Angeles. Pp. 141-53 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Elsbach, Kimberly D. 1994. "Managing Organizational Legitimacy in the California Cattle Industry: The Construction and Effectiveness of Verbal Accounts." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 39(1): 57-88.

Elsbach, Kimberly D., and Robert I. Sutton. 1992. "Acquiring Organizational Legitimacy through Illegitimate Actions: A Marriage of Institutional and Impression Management Theories." *Academy of Management Journal* 35(4): 699-738.

Espiritu, Yen Le. 1993. *Asian American Panethnicity*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Espiritu, Yen Le. 1995. *Filipino American Lives*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Fennema, Meindert and Jean Tillie. 1999. "Political participation and political trust in Amsterdam: Civic communities and ethnic networks." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25(4): 703-726.

Fine, Janice. 2006. *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream*. Ithaca: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.

Fisk Catherine L., Daniel J. B. Mitchell, and Christopher L. Erickson. 2000. "Union Representation of Immigrant Janitors in Southern California: Economic and Legal Challenges." Pp. 199-224 in *Organizing Immigrants. The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, edited Ruth Milkman. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.



Fliegstein, Neil, and Doug McAdam. 2011. "Toward a General Theory of Strategic Action Fields." *Sociological Theory* 29(1): 1-26.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2006. "Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 12(2): 219-245.

Foner, Nancy and Roger Waldinger. 2013. "New York and Los Angeles as Immigrant Destinations" Pp. 343-357 in *New York and Los Angeles. The Uncertain Future*, edited by David Halle and Andrew A. Beveridge. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Franck, Larry, and Kent Wong. 2004. "Dynamic Political Mobilization: The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor." *Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society* 8(2): 155-81.

Freeman, John, Glenn R. Carroll R., and Micahel T. Hannan. 1983. "The Liability of Newness: Age Dependence in Organizational Death Rates." *American Sociological Review* 48(5): 692-710.

Freire, Paulo. 1996[1970]. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London, UK: Penguin Books.

Friedland Roger, and Robert R. Alford. 1991. Bringing society back in symbols, practices and institutional contradictions. Pp. 232-266 in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Galaskiewicz, Joseph. 1985. "Interorganizational Relations." *Annual Review of Sociology* 11: 281-304.

Gamson, William A. 1992. *Talking Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press,

Gamson, William A. 1975. *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press.

Garces-Mascareñas, Blanca and Rinus Penninx, eds. 2016. *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*. IMISCOE Research Series. New York, NY: Springer.

Ganz, Marshall, Kim Voss, Teresa Sharpe, Carl Somers, and George Strauss. 2004. "Against the Tide: Projects and Pathways of the New Generation of Union Leaders, 1984-2001." Pp. 150-194 In *Rebuilding Labor. Organizing and Organizers in the New Union Movement*, edited by Ruth Milkman and Kim Voss. Ithaca, NY: Corner University Press.

Garcia, Mario T. 1994. *Memories of Chicano History. The Life and Narrative of Bert Corona*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gerstle, Gary and John Mollenkopf, 2001. "The Political Incorporation of Immigrants, Then and Now." Pp. 1-30 in *E Pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, edited by Gary Gerstle and John Mollenkopf. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Ghandnoosh, Nazgol. 2010. "Organizing Workers along Ethnic Lines: The Pilipino Workers' Center." Pp. 49-70 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of a theory of structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gleeson, Shannon. 2009. "From Rights to Claims: The Role of Civil Society in Making Rights Real for Vulnerable Workers." *Law & Society Review* 43(3): 669-700.

Gorman, Anna. 2006. "Advocate Has Walked in Day Laborers' Shoes." *Los Angeles Times*, 23 January, 2006. Retrieved on 2 February, 2017, <http://articles.latimes.com/2006/jan/23/local/me-profile23>.

Grant, David M., Melvin L. Oliver, and Angela D. James. 1996. "African Americans: Social and Economic Bifurcation." Pp. 379-412 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hamilton, Nora, and Norma S. Chinchilla. 2001. *Seeking Community in a Global City. Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles*. Philadelphia, PN: Temple University Press.

Ha, Daisy. 2001. "Analysis and Critique of KIWA's Reform Efforts in the Los Angeles Korean American Restaurant Industry." *Asian American Law Journal* 8(1): 101-152.

Hannan, Michael T. 1986. "A Model of Competitive and Institutional Processes in Organizational Ecology.: *Technical Report* 86-13. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Department of Sociology.

Hannan, Michael T., and John Freeman. 1989. *Organizational Ecology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Harding, Sandra, ed. 1987. *Feminism and methodology*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Haveman, Heather A., and Hayagreeva Rao. 1997. "Structuring a Theory of Moral Sentiments: Institutional and Organizational Coevolution in the Early Thrift Industry." *American Journal of Sociology* 102(6): 1606-1651.

Henderson, Timothy J. 2011. *Beyond Borders. A History of Mexican Migration to the United States*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 2008. *God's Heart Has No Borders: How Religious Activists Are Working for Immigrant Rights*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hunter, Al. Forthcoming. "What is Community?" In *The Handbook of Community Movements and Local Organizations*, edited by Ram Cnaan and Carl Milofsky. New York, NY: Springer US.

Ignatieff, Noel. 2009[1995]. *How the Irish Became White*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Ingram, Paul, and Tal Simons. 2000. "State Formation, Ideological Competition, and the Ecology of Israeli Workers' Cooperatives, 1920-1992." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 45:25-53.

Isin, Engin F. and Greg M. Nielsen, eds. 2008. *Acts of Citizenship*. London, UK: Zed Books.

Jasper, James M. 2015. "Introduction. Playing the game." Pp. 9-32 in *Players and Arenas. The Interactive Dynamics of Protest*, edited by James M. Jasper and Jan Willem Duyvendak. Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press.

Jenkins, J. Craig. 1983. "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9(1): 527-53.

Jenkins, Richard. 2008. *Social Identity*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York, NY: Routledge.

Jenkins, Steve. 2002. "Organizing, Advocacy and Member Power." *Working USA* 6(2): 56-89.

Jepperson, Ronald L. 1991. "Institutions, Institutional Effects and Institutionalism." Pp. 143-163 in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Jessop, Bob. 1994. "Post-Fordism and the State." Pp. 251-279 in *Post-Fordism. A Reader*, edited by Ash Amin. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Johnson, Cathryn, Timothy J. Dowd, and Cecilia L. Ridgeway. 2006. "Legitimacy as a Social Process." *Annual Review of Sociology* 32: 53-78.

Kang, Millian, Juliana J. Kim, Edward J. W. Park, and Hae Won Park. 1993. *A Bridge Towards Unity*. Los Angeles, CA: Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates of Southern California Book (self-published).

Kasinitz, Philip. 2014. "Immigrants, the Arts and the 'Second Generation Advantage.'" Pp. 263-286 in *New York and Amsterdam. Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*, edited by Nancy Foner, Jan Rath, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Rogier van Reekum. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Katznelson, Ira. 1981. *City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Katznelson, Ira. 1994. *Marxism and the City*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kelley, Michele. Forthcoming. "Community Action for Environmental Justice." In *The Handbook of Community Movements and Local Organizations*, edited by Ram Cnaan and Carl Milofsky. New York, NY: Springer US.

Knoke, David. 1986. "Associations and Interest Groups." *Annual Review of Sociology* 12: 1-21.

Knoke, Davide, and David Prensky. 1984. "What Relevance Do Organization Theories Have for Voluntary Associations?" *Social Science Quarterly* 65(1): 3-20.

Knox, Hannah, Mike Savage, and Penny Harvey. 2006. "Social Networks and the Study of Relations: Networks as Method, Metaphor and Form." *Economy and Society* 35(1): 113-140.

Kohl-Arenas, Erica. 2016. *The Self-Help Myth: How Philanthropy Fails to Alleviate Poverty*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Koopmans, Ruud, and Paul Statham. 1999. "Ethnic and Civic Conceptions of Nationhood and the Differential Success of the Extreme Right in Germany and Italy." Pp. 225–51 in *How Social Movements Matter*, edited by Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Koopmans, Ruud. 2004. "Migrant Mobilisation and Political Opportunities: Variation among German Cities and a Comparison with the United Kingdom and the Netherlands." *Journal of Migration and Ethnic Studies* 30(3): 449-470.

Koopmans, Ruud and Paul Statham. 2003. "How National Citizenship Shapes Transnationalism: A Comparative Analysis of Migrant and Minority Claims-Making in Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands. Pp. 195-238 in *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, edited by Christian Joppke and Ewa Morawska. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham Marco Giugni, and Florence Passy. 2005. *Contested Citizenship. Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Kramer, Paul A. 2006. *The Blood of Government. Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Kwon, Jong Bum. 2010. "The Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliances: Spatializing Justice in an Ethnic 'Enclave'." Pp. 23-48 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Lamont, Michèle, and Virág Molnár. 2002. "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 167-195.

Larsson, Stig, and Lars Rönmark. 1996. "The Concept of Charismatic Leadership: Its Application to an Analysis of Social Movements and a Voluntary Organization in Sweden." *International Journal of Public Sector Management* 9(7): 32 – 44.

Laslett, John H. M. 1996. "Historical Perspectives: Immigration and the Rise of a Distinctive Urban Region, 1900-1970." Pp. 39-78 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Leavitt, Jacqueline, and Gary Blasi. 2010. "The Los Angeles Taxi Workers Alliance." Pp. 109-24 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.

Levine, Jeremy R. 2016a. "The Privatization of Political Representation: Community-Based Organizations as Nonelected Neighborhood Representatives." *American Sociological Review* 81(6): 1251-1275.

Levine, Jeremy R. 2016b. "A Seat at the Table: Negotiated Legitimacy and Power in Urban Redevelopment Governance." Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (ASA)*, Seattle, WA, August 19-23.

Levitt Peggy. 2001. *The transnational villagers*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Louie, Miriam Ching Yoon. 2001. *Sweatshop Warriors. Immigrant Women Take on the Global Factory*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Lopez, David E. Eric Popkin, and Edward Telles. 1996. "Central Americans: At the Bottom, Struggling to Get Ahead." Pp. 279-304 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Louie, Miriam Ching Yoon. 2001. *Sweatshop Warriors. Immigrant Women Take on the Global Factory*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Louie, Miriam C. Y. 2004. "Doing *Durepae* Duty: Korean American Radical Movement After Kwangju." *Amerasia Journal* 30(1): 88-106.

Marquis, Christopher, Glynn, Mary Ann, and Gerald F. Davis. 2007. "Community Isomorphism and Corporate Social Action." *Academy of Management Review* 32: 925-945.

Martiniello, Marco. 1993. "Ethnic leadership, Ethnic Communities' Political Powerlessness and the State in Belgium." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16(2): 236-255.

Martiniello, Marco. 2006. "Political Participation, Mobilisation and Representation of Immigrants and their Offspring in Europe." Pp. 83-105 in *Migration and Citizenship. Legal Status, Rights and Political Participation*, edited by Rainer Bauböck. Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press.

Marwell, Nicole P. 2004. "Privatizing the Welfare state: Nonprofit Community-Based Organizations as Political Actors." *American Sociological Review* 69(2): 265-291.

Massey, Douglas. 1990. "Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration." *Population Index* 56(1): 3-26.

Massey, Douglas S., Jorge Durand and Nolan J. Malone. 2002. *Beyond Smokes and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Massey, Douglas S. and Karen A. Pren. 2012. "Unintended Consequences of US Immigration Policy: Explaining the Post-1965 Surge from Latin America." *Population and Development Review* 38(1): 1-29.

Maurer, John G. 1971. *Readings in organizational theory: Open system approaches*. New York, NY: Random House.

Mayer, Margit. 2007. "Contesting the Neoliberalization of Urban Governance." Pp. 90-115 in *Contesting Neoliberalism*, edited by Helga Leitner, Jamie Peck, and Eric S. Sheppard. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

McAdam, Doug. 1983. "Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency." *American Sociological Review*, 48(6): 735-54.

McAdam, Doug. 1988. "Micromobilization Contexts and Recruitment to Activism." Pp. 125-154 in *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*, edited by Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi and Sidney Tarrow. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

McAdam, Doug, and Dieter Rucht. 1993. "The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528: 56-74.

McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds. 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2004. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- McCammon, Holly J. 2003. "Out of the Parlors and into the Streets: The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements." *Social Forces* 81(3): 787-818.
- McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212-41.
- McNevin, Anne. 2013. "Ambivalence and Citizenship: Theorising the Political Claims of Irregular Migrants." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 41(2): 182-200.
- McPherson, J. Miller, Pamela A. Popielarz, and Sonja Drobnic. 1992. "Social Networks and Organizational Dynamics." *American Sociological Review* 57: 153-70.
- McPherson, J. Miller, and Thomas Rotolo. 1995. "Measuring the Composition of Voluntary Groups: A Multitrait-Multimethod Analysis." *Social Forces* 73:1097-1115.
- McQuarrie, Michael. 2013. "No Contest: Participatory Technologies and the Transformation of Urban Authority." *Politics and Society* 41(1): 73-101.
- McQuarrie, Michael, and Nicole P. Marwell. 2009. "The missing organizational dimension in urban sociology." *City and Community* 8(3): 247-268.
- Melucci, Alberto. 1995. "The Process of Collective Identity." Pp. 41-63 in *Social Movements and Culture*, edited by Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. London, UK. UCL Press.
- Menjívar, Cecilia. 2006. "Liminal Legality: Salvadoran and Guatemalan Immigrants' Lives in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(4): 999-1037.
- Menjívar, Cecilia and Daniel Kanstroom. 2014. *Constructing Immigrant 'Illegality.' Critiques, Experiences, and Responses*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, John W. and Brian Rowan. 1977. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." *American Journal of Sociology* 83(2): 340-363.
- Meyer, John W., and W. Richard Scott. 1983. "Centralization and the legitimacy problems of local government." Pp. 199-215 in *Organizational environments: Ritual and rationality*, edited by John W. Meyer and W. Richard Scott. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.
- Miles, Matthew B., Michael A. Huberman and Johnny Saldaña. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis. A Methods Sourcebook*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.



Milkman, Ruth, ed. 2000a. *Organizing Immigrants. The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Milkman, Ruth. 2000b. "Introduction". Pp. 1-24 in *Organizing Immigrants. The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, edited Ruth Milkman. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.

Milkman, Ruth. 2006. *L.A. Story: Immigrant Workers and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Milkman, Ruth, and Kent Wong. 2000. "Organizing the Wicked City: The 1992 Southern California Drywall Strike". Pp. 169-198 in *Organizing Immigrants. The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, edited Ruth Milkman. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.

Milkman, Ruth, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro, eds. 2010. *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.

Milofski, Carl. Forthcoming. "Approaching a Theory of the Structure of Associations." In *The Handbook of Community Movements and Local Organizations*, edited by Ram Cnaan and Carl Milofsky. New York, NY: Springer US.

Min, Pyong Gap. 1996. *Caught in the Middle. Korean Communities in New York and Los Angeles*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1993. "The Organization of Survival: Women's and Racial-Ethnic Voluntarist and Activist Organizations, 1955-1985." *Social Forces* 71(4): 887-908.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1995. *Organizing for Equality: The Evolution of Women's and Racial-ethnic Organizations in America, 1955-1985*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Sequencing of Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 62: 779-99.

Minkoff, Debra C. 2002. "The Emergence of Hybrid Organizational Forms: Combining Identity-Based Service Provision and Political Action." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 31(3): 377-401.

Minkoff, Debra C., and Walter W. Powell. 2006. "Nonprofit Mission: Constancy, Responsiveness, or Deflection?" Pp. 591-611 in *The Non-Profit Sector: A Research Handbook*,

edited by Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Mische, Ann, and Harrison White. 1998. "Between Conversation and Situation: Public Switching Dynamics across Network Domains." *Social Research* 65 (3): 695-724.

Mollenkopf, John. 2014. "The Rise of Immigrant Influence in New York City Politics." Pp. 203-229 in *New York and Amsterdam: Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*, edited by J. Rath, N. Foner, J. W. Duyvendak, and R. van Reekum. New York: New York University Press.

Mollenkopf, John H. and Raphael Sonenshein. 2009. "The New Urban Politics of Integration: A View from the Gateway Cities." Pp. 74-92 in *Bringing Outsiders In. Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*, edited by Jennifer L. Hochschild and John H. Mollenkopf. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Moore, Joan, and Raquel Pinderhughes 1993. "Introduction". Pp. xi-xxxix in *In the Barrios. Latinos and the Underclass Debate*, edited by Joan, Moore, and Raquel Pinderhughes. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Moore, Joan, and James Diego Vigil. 1993. "Barrios in Transition". Pp. 27-49 in *In the Barrios. Latinos and the Underclass Debate*, edited by Joan, Moore, and Raquel Pinderhughes. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Morari, Johanna, Katherine Athanasiades, and Veena Pankaj. 2015. *Advocacy, Politics and Philanthropy. A Reflection on a Decade of Immigration Reform Advocacy, 2004-2014*. Innovation Network. Retrieved on 11 January, 2017, <http://www.atlanticphilanthropies.org/app/uploads/2016/03/advocacy-politics-and-philanthropy-report.pdf>

Muñoz, Carlos. 2007. *Youth, Identity, Power. The Chicano Movement*. Rev. ed. London, UK: Verso.

Moya, José C. 2005. "Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(5): 833-864.

Narro, Victor. 2005-2006. "Impacting Next Wave Organizing: Creative Campaigns Strategies of the Los Angeles Worker Center." *New York Law School Law Review* 50 (2): 465-475.

Narro, Victor. 2010. "Afterword." Pp. 233-44 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Milkman Ruth, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Netelenbos, Benno. 2016. *Political Legitimacy beyond Weber: An Analytical Framework*. London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan.

Ngai, Mae M. 2014. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Rev. ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ngin, ChorSwang and Rodolfo D. Torres. 2001. "Racialized Metropolis: Theorizing Asian American and Latino Identities and Ethnicities in Southern California." Pp. 368-90 in *Asian and Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy. The Metamorphosis of Southern California*, edited by Marta López-Garza and David R. Diaz. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Nicholls, Walter J. 2003. "Forging a 'New' Organizational Infrastructure for Los Angeles' Progressive Community" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(4): 881-896.

Nicholls, Walter. J. 2008. "The Urban Question Revisited. The Importance of Cities for Social Movements." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 32(4): 841-859.

Nicholls, Walter J. 2013. *The DREAMers. How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Nicholls, Walter J. 2016. "Politicizing Undocumented Immigrants One Corner at a Time: How Day Laborers Became a Politically Contentious Group". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40: 299–320.

Nicholls, Walter and Justus Uitermark. 2013. "Post-Multicultural Cities: A Comparison of Minority Politics in Amsterdam and Los Angeles, 1970–2010." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39:10: 1555-1575.

Nicholls, Walter J. and Justus Uitermark. 2016. *Cities and Social Movements: Immigrant Rights Activism in the US, France, and the Netherlands, 1970-2015*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Nicholls, Walter J., Justus Uitermark and Sander van Haperen. 2016. "The Networked Grassroots. How Radicals Outflanked Reformists in the United States' Immigrant Rights Movement." *Journal of Migration and Ethnic Studies*, 42(6): 1036-1054.

Nicholls, Walter J. and Floris Vermeulen. 2012. "Rights Through the City: The Urban Basis of Immigrant Rights Struggles in Amsterdam and Paris." Pp. 79-96 in *Remaking Urban Citizenship. Organizations, Institutions and the Right to the City*, edited by Michael Peter Smith and Michael McQuarrie. New Brunswick, NJ and London, UK: Transaction Publishers.

Nyers, Peter. 2010. "No One Is Illegal between City and Nation." *Studies in Social Justice* 4(2): 127-143.

Ochoa, Enrique C. 2005. "'We Can't Assume Our Alliances; We Have to Work for Them': An Interview with Angelica Salas." *Radical History Review* 93: 260-71.

Oliver, Christine. 1991. "Strategic Responses to Institutional Processes." *The Academy of Management Review* 16(1): 145-179.

Olson, Mancur. 1971 [1965]. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*, revised ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 2015. *Racial Formation in the United States*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York, NY: Routledge.

Ong, Paul, and Evelyn Blumenberg. 1996. "Income and Racial Inequality in Los Angeles." Pp. 311-225 in *The City: Los Angeles and urban theory at the end of the twentieth century*, edited by Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Ong, Paul and Abel Valenzuela, Jr. 1996. "The Labor Market: Immigrant Effects and Racial Disparities." Pp. 165-192 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Ortiz, Vilma. 1996. "The Mexican-Origin Population: Permanent Working Class or Emerging Middle Class?" Pp. 247-278 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. 2003a. "The Politics of Migrants' Transnational Political Practices." *International Migration Review* 37(3): 760-786.

Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. 2003b. *Transnational Politics: The Case of Turks and Kurds in Germany*. London, UK: Routledge.

Osuji, Chinyere. 2010. "Building Power for 'Noncitizen Citizenship': A Case Study of the Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Workers Organizing Network". Pp. 89-108 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Park, Edward J. W. 1999. "Friends or Enemies? Generational Politics in the Korean American Community in Los Angeles." *Qualitative Sociology* 22(2): 161-175.

Park, John S. W. 2013. *Illegal Migrations and the Huckleberry Finn Problem*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Parsons, Talcott. 1956. "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations: I." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 1(1): 63-85.

Parsons, Talcott. 1960. *Structure and Process in Modern Societies*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Pastor, Manuel Jr. 1995. "Economic Inequality, Latino Poverty, and the Civil Unrest in Los Angeles." *Economic Development Quarterly* 9(3): 238-258.

Pastor, Manuel Jr. 2001a. "Economics and Ethnicity. Poverty, Race, and Immigration in Los Angeles County". Pp. 102-138 in *Asian and Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy. The Metamorphosis of Southern California*, edited by Marta López-Garza and David R. Diaz. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Pastor, Manuel Jr. 2001b. "Common Ground at Ground Zero? The New Economy and the New Organizing in Los Angeles." *Antipode* 33(2): 260-289.

Pastor, Manuel, and Michelle Prichard. 2012. *L.A. Rising. The 1992 Civil Unrest, the Arc of Social Justice Organizing, and the Lessons for Today's Movement Building*. Full Report, April 2012, Liberty Hill Foundation, available at <http://www.libertyhill.org/document.doc?id=315>

Patler, Caitlin C. 2010. "Alliance-Building and Organizing for Immigrant Rights: The Case of the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles." Pp. 71-88 in *Working for Justice: The L.A. Model of Organizing and Advocacy*, edited by Ruth Milkman, Joshua Bloom, and Victor Narro. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Peck, Jamie and Adam Tickell. 2007. "Conceptualizing Neoliberalism, Thinking Thatcherism." Pp. 26-50 in *Contesting Neoliberalism*, edited by Helga Leitner, Jamie Peck, and Eric S. Sheppard. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Però, Davide. 2007. "Migrants and the Politics of Governance. The case of Barcelona", *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* 15(3): 271–286

Però, Davide, and John Solomos. 2010. "Introduction: Migrant Politics and Mobilization: Exclusion, Engagements, Incorporation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(1): 1-18.

Pfeffer, Jeffrey, and Gerald R. Salancik. 1978. *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. 1977. *Poor People's Movement. Why They Succeed, How They Fail*. New York, NY: Random House.

Popielarz, Pamela A., and J. Miller McPherson. 1995. "On the Edge or in Between: Niche Position, Niche Overlap, and the Duration of Voluntary Association Memberships." *The American Journal of Sociology* 101(3): 698-720.

Portes, Alejandro, Cristina Escobar, and Renelinda Arana. 2008. "Bridging the Gap: Transnational and Ethnic Organizations in the Political Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(6): 1056-1090.

Portes, Alejandro, and Min Zhou. 1993. "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530: 74-96.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2006. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies. The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*.

Portes, Alejandro, and Julia Sensenbrenner. 1993. "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 98(6): 1320-1350.

Portes, Alejandro, Cristina Escobar, and Renelinda Arana. 2008. "Bridging the Gap: Transnational and Ethnic Organizations in the Political Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(6): 1056-1090.

Powell, Walter W., and Paul J., DiMaggio, eds. 1991. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Pulido, Laura. 2002. "Race, Class, and Political Activism: Black, Chicana/o, and Japanese-American Leftists in Southern California, 1968–1978." *Antipode* 34(4): 762–788

Pulido, Laura. 2006. *Black, Brown, Yellow & Left. Radical Activism in Los Angeles*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Ramakrishnan, Karthick S. and Irene Bloemraad, eds. 2008a. *Civic Hopes and Political Realities. Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick, and Irene Bloemraad. 2008b. "Introduction: Civic and Political Inequalities." Pp. 1-44 in *Civic Hopes and Political Realities. Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement*, edited by S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Rao, Hayagreeva, Calvin Morrill, and Mayer N. Zald. 2000. "Power Plays: How Social Movements and Collective Action Create New Organizational Forms." *Research in Organizational Behaviour*, 22: 237-281.

Regalado, James A. 1994. "Community Coalition-Building." Pp. 205-236 in *The Los Angeles Riots: Lessons for the Urban Future*, edited by Mark Baldassare. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Richardson, Alan J. 1985. "Symbolic and Substantive Legitimation in Professional Practice." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 10(2): 139–152.

Richardson, Alan J., and John B. Dowling. 1986. "An Integrative Theory of Organizational Legitimation." *Scandinavian Journal of Management Studies* 3(2): 91–109.

Rieff, David. 1991. *Los Angeles: Capital of the Third World*. New York, NY: Touchstone.

Robbins Kevin C. 2006. "The Nonprofit Sector in Historical Perspective: Traditions of Philanthropy." Pp. 13-31 in *The Non-Profit Sector: A Research Handbook*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Rochon, Thomas. 1998. *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism and Changing Values*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rogers, Everett M. 1982. *Diffusion of Innovations*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London, UK: Simon & Schuster Ltd.

Romero, Victor C. 2008. "Who Should Manage Immigration – Congress or the States? An Introduction to Constitutional Immigration Law." Pp. 286-300 in *Immigrant Rights in the Shadow of Citizenship*, edited by Rachael Ida Buff. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Sabagh, Georges and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. 1996. "Population Change: Immigration and Ethnic Transformation." Pp. 79-108 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sanchez, Jared, Mirabai Auer, Veronica Terriquez, and Mi Young Kim. 2012. *Koreatown: A Contested Community at A Crossroads*. Report prepared in collaboration with the Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), April 2012.

Sarabia, Heidy. 2011. "Organizing 'Below and to the Left': Differences in the Citizenship and Transnational Practices of Two Zapatista Groups". *Sociological Forum* 26(2): 356-380.

Sassen, Saskia. 1988. *The Mobility of Labor and Capital. A Study in International Investment and Labor Flow*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 1991. *The Global City*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, Saskia. 2005. "The Global City: Introducing a Concept." *Brown Journal of World Affairs* XI(2): 27-43.

Schrover, Marlou and Floris Vermeulen. 2005. "Immigrant Organisations." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(5): 823-832.

Scott, Allen J. 1996. "The Manufacturing Economy: Ethnic and Gender Divisions of Labor." Pp. 215-246 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Scott, Allen J., and Edward W. Soja, eds. 1996. *The City. Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the end of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Scott, Allen J. 2011. "Emerging cities of the third wave". *City* 15:3-4, 289-321.



Scott, Richard W. 2003. *Organizations. Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.

Scott Richard W. 2014. *Institutions and organizations: Ideas, interests, and identities* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Sennett, Richard. 2002. "Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities. Pp. 42-47 in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*, edited by Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Sewell, William H., Jr. 2005. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Shin, Gi-Wook and Kyung Moon Hwang, eds. 2003. *Contentious Kwangju. The May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Simons, Tal, and Paul Ingram. 1997. "Organization and Ideology: Kibbutzim and Hired Labor, 1951-1965." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42(4): 784-813.

Simons, Tal and Paul Ingram. 2004. "An Ecology of Ideology: Theory and Evidence from Four Populations." *Industrial and Corporate Change* 13(1): 33-60.

Singh, Jitendra V., David J. Tucker, and Agnes G. Meinhard. 1991. "Institutional Change and Ecological Dynamics." Pp. 90-422. in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Small, Mario L. 2006. "Neighborhood Institutions as Resource Brokers: Childcare Centers, Interorganizational Ties, and Resource Access among the Poor." *Social Problems* 53(2): 274-292.

Smith, Robert C. 2006. *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Smith, Steven R. and Michael Lipsky. 1993. *Nonprofits for hire. The welfare state in the age of contracting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Snow, David, A., and Robert D. Benford. 1999. "Alternative Types of Cross-national Diffusion in the Social Movement Arena". Pp. 23-39 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing*

*World*, edited by Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi and Dieter Rucht. London, UK: MacMillian.

Snow, David A., and Danny Trom. 2002. "The Case Study and the Study of Social Movements." Pp. 146-172 in *Methods of Social Movement Research*, edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Soja, Edward W., and Allen J. Scott. 1996. "Introduction to Los Angeles: city and region." Pp. 1-21 in *The City: Los Angeles and urban theory at the end of the twentieth century*, edited by Allen J. Scott and Edward W. Soja. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Sonenshein, Rapahel J. 1993. *Politics in Black and White. Race and Power in Los Angeles*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Soule, Sarah A., and Brayden G. King. 2008. "Competition and Resource Partitioning in Three Social Movement Industries." *American Journal of Sociology* 113(6): 1568-610.

Starr, Kevin. 2005. *California: A History*. New York, NY: Penguin Random House.

Steinberg, Richard, and Walter W. Powell. 2006. "Introduction." Pp. 1-13 *The Non-Profit Sector: A Research Handbook*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Stinchcombe, Arthur. 1968. *Constructing Social Theories*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Stokke, Kristian, and Elin Selboe. 2009. "Symbolic Representation as Political Practice." Pp. 59-78 in *Rethinking Popular Representation*, edited by Olle Törnquist, Neil Webster, and Kristian Stokke. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stone, Clarence N., and Robert P. Stoker, eds. 2015. *Urban neighborhoods in a new era: Revitalization politics in the postindustrial city*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Stryker, Robin. 1994. "Rules, Resources, and Legitimacy Processes: Some Implications for Social Conflict, Order and Change." *American Journal of Sociology* 99(4): 847-910.

Suchman, Mark, C. 1995. "Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches." *Academy of Management Review* 20(3): 571-610.

Suddaby, Roy, and Royston Greenwood. 2005. "Rhetorical Strategies of Legitimacy." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 50(1): 35-67.

Tait, Vanessa 2016. *Poor Workers' Unions. Rebuilding Labor from Below*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1995. "Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention." Pp. 89-116 in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, edited by Mark Traugott. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney. 2005. *The New Transnational Activism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tarrow Sidney. 2011. *Power in Movement*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Verta and Nancy Whittier. 1995. "Analytical Approaches to Social Movement Culture: The Culture of the Women's Movement." Pp. 163-187 in *Social Movements and Culture*, edited by Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans. London, UK: UCL Press.

Theodore, Nik. 2015. "Generative Work: Day Labourers' Freirean Praxis," *Urban Studies* 52(11): 2035-2050.

Thornton, Patricia H., and William Ocasio. 2008. "Institutional Logics." Pp. 99-129 in *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*, edited by Royston Greenwood, Christine Oliver, Roy Suddaby, and Kerstin Sahlin. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Tichenor, Daniel J. 2002. *Dividing Lines. The Politics of Immigration Control in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Tillie, Jean. 2004. "Social capital of organisations and their members: explaining the political integration of immigrants in Amsterdam." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(3): 529-541.

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. New York, NY: Random House.

Tilly, Charles. 1995. "Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain, 1758-1834." Pp. 15-42 in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, edited by Mark Traugott. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow. 2015. *Contentious Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Uitermark, Justus, Ugo Rossi, and Henk van Houtum. 2005. "Reinventing Multiculturalism: Urban Citizenship and the Negotiation of Ethnic Diversity in Amsterdam." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29(3): 622-640.

Valenzuela, Jr. Abel. 2002. "Working on the Margins in Metropolitan Los Angeles: Immigrants in Day-Labor Work." *Migraciones Internacionales* 1(2): 6-28.

Varsanyi, Monica W. 2005. "Paradox of Contemporary Immigrant Political Mobilization: Organized Labor, Undocumented Migrants, and Electoral Participation in Los Angeles." *Antipode* 37(4): 775-795.

Varsanyi, Monica W. 2006. "Interrogating 'Urban Citizenship' vis-a-vis Undocumented Migration." *Citizenship Studies* 10(2): 229-249.

Varsanyi, Monica W. 2008. "Rescaling the 'Alien,' Rescaling Personhood: Neoliberalism, Immigration, and the State." In *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98(4): 877-896.

Vermeulen, Floris, Laure Michon, and Jean Tillie. 2014. "Immigrant Political Engagement and Incorporation in Amsterdam." Pp. 230-256 in *New York and Amsterdam. Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*, edited by Nancy Foner, Jan Rath, Jan Willem Duyvendak and Rogier van Reekum. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Vermeulen, Floris. 2006. *The Immigrant Organising Process. Turkish Organisations in Amsterdam and Berlin and Surinamese Organisations in Amsterdam, 1960-2000*. Amsterdam, NL: Amsterdam University Press.

Vermeulen, Floris. 2013. "Mutualism, Resource Competition and Opposing Movements among Turkish Organizations in Amsterdam and Berlin, 1965-2000." *The British Journal of Sociology* 64 (3): 453-77.

Vermeulen, Floris and Maria Berger. 2008. "Civic Networks and Political Behavior. Turks in Amsterdam and Berlin." Pp. 160-192 in *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement*, edited by S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Vermeulen, Floris, and Martijn Brünger. 2014. "The Organisational Legitimacy of Immigrant Groups: Turks and Moroccans in Amsterdam." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40(7): 979-1001.

Vermeulen, Floris, Joran Laméris, and Debra C. Minkoff. 2016. "Welcome to the Neighbourhood: The Spatial Dimensions of Legitimacy for Voluntary Leisure Organisations." *Urban Studies* 53(11): 2253-2272.

Vermeulen, Floris, Debra C. Minkoff, and Tom van der Meer. 2016. "The Local Embedding of Community-Based Organizations." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 45(1): 23-44.

Vertovec, Steven. 2009. *Transnationalism*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Viterna, Jocelyn, Emily Clough and Killian Clarke. 2015. "Reclaiming the 'Third Sector' from 'Civil Society': A New Agenda for Development Studies." *Sociology of Development* 1(1): 173-207.

Voss, Kim, and Irene Bloemraad. 2011. *Rallying for Immigrant Rights*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Voss, Kim and Michelle Williams. 2012. "The Local in the Global: Rethinking Social Movements in the New Millennium." *Democratization* 19(2): 352-377.

Waldinger, Roger, and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, eds. 1996a. *Ethnic Los Angeles*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Waldinger, Roger, and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. 1996b. "The Making of a Multicultural Metropolis." Pp. 3-38 in *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Waldinger, Roger, Chris Erickson, Ruth Milkman, Daniel J. B. Mitchell, Abel Valenzuela, Kent Wong, and Maurice Zeitlin. 1998. "Helots No More: A Case Study of the justice for Janitors Campaign in Los Angeles". Pp. 102-19 in *Organizing to Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, edited by Bronfenbrenner, Kate, Sheldon Friedman, Richard W. Hurd, Rudolph A. Oswald, and Donald L. Seeber. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Walker, Edward T., and John D. McCarthy. 2010. "Legitimacy, Strategy, and Resources in the Survival of Community-Based Organizations." *Social Problems* 57(3): 315-340.

Wang, Dan J. and Sarah A. Soule. 2016. "Tactical Innovation in Social Movements. The Effects of Peripheral and Multi-Issue Protest." *American Sociological Review* 81(3): 517-548.

Watanabe, Teresa, and Hector Becerra. 2006. "500,000 Pack Streets to Protest Immigration Bills." *Los Angeles Times*, 26 March, 2006. Retrieved on 15 December, 2016, <http://articles.latimes.com/2006/mar/26/local/me-immig26>,

Weber, Clair M. 2001. "Latino Street Vendors in Los Angeles. Heterogeneous Alliances, Community-Based Activism, and the State". Pp. 217-240 in *Asian and Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy. The Metamorphosis of Southern California*, edited by López-Garza, Marta, and David R. Diaz. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Wei, William 1993. *The Asian American Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Weiss, Robert S. 1994. *Learning from Strangers. The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Whittier, Nancy. 2009. "Sustaining Commitment Among Radical Feminists." Pp. 105-116 in *The Social Movements Reader. Cases and Concepts*, edited by Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wilson, John. 1973. *Introduction to Social Movements*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory." *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(4): 970-1022.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2009. "Herder's Heritage and the Boundary-Making Approach: Studying Ethnicity in Immigrant Societies". *Sociological Theory*, 27(3): 244-270.

Wollebaek, Dag. 2009. "Survival in Local Voluntary Associations." *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* 19(3): 267-284.

Zabin, Carol. 2000. "Organizing Latino Workers in the Los Angeles Manufacturing Sector: The Case of American Racing Equipment". Pp. 150-168 in *Organizing Immigrants. The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, edited Ruth Milkman. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press/Cornell University Press.

Zald, Mayer N. 1970. *Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Zald, Mayer N., and Patricia Denton. 1963. "From Evangelism to General Service: The Transformation of the YMCA." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 8(2): 214-234.

Zald, Mayer N., and Roberta Ash. 1966. "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decay and Change." *Social Forces* 44(3): 327-41.

Zentgraf, Kristine M. 2001. "Through Economic Restructuring, Recession, and Rebound. The Continuing Importance of Latina Immigrant Labor in the Los Angeles Economy". Pp. 46-74 in *Asian and Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy. The Metamorphosis of Southern California*, edited by López-Garza, Marta, and David R. Diaz. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Zolberg, Aristide and Long Litt Woon. 1999. "Why Islam is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and in the United States." *Politics & Society* 27(1): 5-38.

Zucker, Lynne G. 1991. "The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence." Pp. 83-107 in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

## LIST OF IMAGES

IMAGE 1. *Community-Wide Petition Drive for Fair and Immediate Distribution of 4.29 Relief Fund*, KIWA campaign flier, ca. 1993. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 43/ folder 12. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 2. *KIWA NEWS*, KIWA newsletter, vol. 4 summer 1995. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 50/ folder 4. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 3. *Justice for Assi Market Workers!* KIWA Assi market campaign flier, 2002. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 83/ folder 1. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 4. *La voz de los trabajadores. Boletín de información del Sindicato de Trabajadores Inmigrantes de Barrio Coreano (IWU)* [The Workers' Voice. The news bulletin of the Immigrant Workers Union of Koreatown (IWU)], KIWA/IWU newsletter, spring 2005. Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates Records, (KIWA), 1993-2006. Collection no. MSS 094, box 6/ folder 12. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 5. *First Year Anniversary & International Workers Day Celebrations!!* PWC event invitation flier, ca. March-April 1998. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 64/ folder 4. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 6. *Super Domestica en 'El Caso de Las Trabajadoras Explotadas* [Superhero domestic worker in: the case of the exploited workers], comic strip to inform domestic workers of labor rights, part of CHIRLA domestic worker organizing campaign, ca. 1995-96. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 50/ folder 2. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 7. *Hate Unleashed: Los Angeles in the Aftermath of 187*. CHIRLA report (cover), November 1995. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 50/ folder 3. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 8A & 8B. *Know Your Rights*, leaflets, CHIRLA domestic worker organizing campaign (Spanish and English), ca 1996. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003.



Collection no. MSS 022, box 55/ folder 1. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 9. *Todos Unidos. Primer boletin de la Escuela de la Comunidad* [All United. First bulletin of the Community School], IDEPSCA/Escuela de la Comunidad, 1994. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 43/ folder 12. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 10. *Cartilla de alfabetizacion. Cuaderno de Trabajo* [Literacy toolkit. Study book], p. 3. IDEPSCA training literacy training material, ca. 1996-97. Liberty Hill Foundation Records, 1973-2003. Collection no. MSS 022, box 57/ folder 10. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 11. *Five Years of Workers Organizing in the Fight for Social and Economic Justice*. GWC 5<sup>th</sup> year anniversary booklet, 2 December 2006. Liberty Hill Foundation, Los Angeles, CA.

IMAGE 12. *a call for legalization! MI.2001*. MIWON May 1<sup>st</sup> rally leaflet, ca. 2001. Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates Records, (KIWA), 1993-2006. Collection no. MSS 094, box 14/folder 5. Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research, Los Angeles, CA.

## SUMMARY

In this dissertation I explored the factors and conditions that shaped the character, success and fragmentation of the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles, California, during the period 1980-2015.

As I showed in introductory *chapters 1 and 2*, the recent history of Los Angeles offers a paradigmatic case of the challenges and opportunities of immigrant political incorporation under conflicting conditions of economic globalization and political nativism. Between the 1970s and 1990s, in the midst of economic restructuring, no other city in the United States underwent such an encompassing social and demographic transformation as a result of international migration. At the same time, few other cities experienced similar levels of socio-economic inequality, whereas newly arrived immigrants, often undocumented or in legally precarious situations, found themselves trapped at lowest rungs of the labor market. During this period, legal, ethno-racial and economic barriers at both the local and national level converged to frustrate immigrants' prospects of long-term inclusion, access to citizenship rights and upward social mobility.

Yet, in an unlikely turn of events, Los Angeles also emerged as an experiment in immigrant political activism that had no parallels in the country at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Against the constraints that blocked their participation in institutional politics, immigrants resorted to expressing grievances and claims through contentious politics and grassroots mobilization. Immigrant organizations, in particular, played a key role in advancing the legal, social, economic and political standing of immigrant communities in Los Angeles and elsewhere.

This research and its guiding questions were thus inspired by those events. In particular, by three empirical puzzles which challenge important aspects of the literatures covering immigrant politics. First, in their early phases, the immigrant organizations under study appeared to defy conventional patterns of immigrant ethnic politics by promoting class-based solidarities, developing multi-ethnic alliances and articulating an intersectional understanding of immigrants' subaltern position in US society. Second, in spite of limited external support, those organizations proved capable of attaining considerable political victories and prominence. Third, when the movement matured and external support increased, such groups surprisingly drifted apart and abandoned their most innovative grassroots campaigns

In order to conduct this research, I divided this inquiry in three sub-questions that overlap with the three empirical puzzles described above. The first question asked what factors and conditions accounted for the emergence of those particular types of organizations in a setting traditionally dominated by ethnic and racialized forms of political mobilization and collective action. The second one interrogated the factors and conditions that, in spite of low financial resources, limited institutional backing and low support from local civil society actors, allowed immigrant organizations to mount

successful campaigns and gain visibility in local LA politics. The third question asked what factors and conditions led organizations to differentiate, and ultimately the movement to fragment under conditions of more open political and discursive opportunity structures and growing external support.

To answer those questions, I conducted a historical study of six prominent LA immigrant political organizations that were active during the period 1980s-2015. Those organizations are the following: the Instituto de Educación Popular del Sur de California (IDEPSCA), the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates (KIWA), the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), the Pilipino Workers Center (PWC), the Garment Worker Center (GWC), and the Korean Resource Center (KRC). I based my empirical claims on evidence sourced from various organizational archives as well as from qualitative interviews with key informants.

The empirical chapters of this dissertation identified common organizational innovation, organizational strategic action and inter-organizational resource competition as key factors affecting organizational characteristics as well as dynamics of collaboration and conflict under changing external conditions. I argued that we can better understand immigrant organizations if we view them as both agents and products of 1) the environment in which they operate and 2) the relations to which they are part. Organizations depend for their survival and success on a wide range of social actors, and this dependence affects internal dimensions such as organizational identity- and goal-definition, structures and claim-making activities. Yet, unlike other groups, immigrant organizations are not only embedded in the local context, but also in a transnational space that contributes to influencing all these internal aspects. This dual relational lens helps us understand how organizations may be able to offset the obstacles presented by local hostile political and discursive opportunity structures.

In *chapter 3*, I showed how the transnational migration process was an important driver of organizational innovation, influencing both the ideology and practice of three different immigrant worker organizations (IDEPSCA, KIWA and PWC). My analysis singled out the importance of transnational processes of diffusion, as well as of mechanisms of ‘bounded solidarity’ in fostering the circulation and adaptation of external ideas to the context of immigrant Los Angeles.

In *Chapter 4*, together with Floris Vermeulen I introduced and discussed the concept of organizational legitimacy in the context of organizational emergence and survival. We showed its relevance for immigrant political organizations, as legitimacy and legitimation can help us understand how organizations establish themselves, strengthen their position and survive over long periods of time in spite of very limited material resources of their own.

In *chapter 5*, I examined how ideological orientations interplayed with support networks to drive two different immigrant organizations – KRC and KIWA – toward alternative ways of legitimating their existence and action (ethnic- vs. class-based).

Moreover, I showed how organizational leaders strategically tweaked their legitimation strategies in light of the changing discursive environment in order to attract further external support. Relying on the support of fringe actors – including second-generation immigrant students, small-scale foundations, individual activists and like-minded immigrant groups – immigrant organizations were able to survive their early phases and launch innovative advocacy campaigns.

In *chapter 6*, together with Walter Nicholls and Floris Vermeulen I provided a tentative explanation for the emergence, consolidation, and fragmentation of the Los Angeles immigrant workers rights movement over the last three decades. Drawing on a case study of the Multi-ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON) and of its member organizations, we contended that organizational collaboration is shaped by 1) forces that spur competition between organizations, 2) complementarity and alignment of organizational goals, and 3) ideologically grounded moral incentives that sustain collective action. Moreover, we argued that ultimate movement fragmentation was a reflection of the different ways in which those organizations, under conditions of growing dependence on the same set of resources, and under the pressure of new actors entering their sphere of organizational activity, tackled the challenges of surviving and maintaining or expanding their influence in the local activist and non-profit scene.

In *chapter 7*, I concluded by offering a summary of the key research findings and of how they contribute to answering the questions formulated in the introduction. I discussed the implications of the findings for future research and for our understanding of contemporary immigrant politics in California (and in the US more broadly). In particular, I suggested that the return to ‘ethnic politics’, the institutionalization of key LA immigrant organizations and the fragmentation of the local immigrant political landscape might prove formidable obstacles to the maintenance of an effective, cohesive and immigrant-led grassroots movement for social and economic justice.



## SAMENVATTING

In dit proefschrift onderzoek ik de factoren en omstandigheden die het karakter, het succes en de versnippering van de migrantenrechtenbeweging in Los Angeles, Californië, hebben bepaald in de periode 1980-2015.

Zoals ik in de inleidende *hoofdstukken 1 en 2* laat zien, illustreert de recente geschiedenis van Los Angeles de uitdagingen en kansen voor de integratie van immigranten in een situatie van economische globalisering en politiek nativisme. Tussen de jaren zeventig en negentig, midden in de economische herstructurering, onderging geen enkele andere stad in de Verenigde Staten zo'n omvattende sociale en demografische transformatie als gevolg van internationale migratie. Tegelijkertijd ondervonden weinig andere steden vergelijkbare niveaus van sociaaleconomische ongelijkheid, terwijl nieuw aangekomen immigranten, vaak zonder papieren of in juridisch precare situaties, niet in staat waren hun zwakke positie op de arbeidsmarkt te verbeteren. Tijdens deze periode blokkeerden zowel juridische, etnische, raciale en economische barrières op lokaal en nationaal niveau de vooruitzichten van immigranten op integratie, toegang tot burgerschapsrechten en opwaartse sociale mobiliteit.

Verrassend genoeg is Los Angeles tegelijkertijd ook naar voren gekomen als een experiment van activisme, zowel door immigranten als op andere vlakken, die geen parallellen heeft in de Verenigde Staten aan het begin van de 21e eeuw. Tegenover de beperkingen die hun deelname aan de institutionele politiek blokkeerden, namen immigranten hun toevlucht tot het uiten van hun onvrede door de mobilisatie van de achterban. Immigrantenorganisaties speelden met name een sleutelrol bij het verbeteren van de juridische, sociale, economische en politieke status van immigrantengemeenschappen in Los Angeles en elders.

Dit onderzoek en de leidende vragen werden geïnspireerd door bovenstaande gebeurtenissen, en in het bijzonder door drie empirische puzzels die belangrijke aspecten van de literatuur over immigrantenpolitiek in twijfel trekken. Ten eerste lijken de onderzochte immigrantenorganisaties conventionele patronen van etnische immigratiepolitiek tegen te spreken door op klasse gebaseerde solidariteit te bevorderen, multi-etnische allianties te ontwikkelen en een intersectioneel begrip van de inferieure positie van immigranten in de Amerikaanse samenleving te verwoorden. Ten tweede blijken deze organisaties, ondanks beperkte externe steun, in staat om aanzienlijke politieke overwinningen en bekendheid te behalen. Ten derde raakten dergelijke groepen in toenemende mate van elkaar verwijderd en lieten zij hun meest innovatieve *grassroot*-campagnes en activiteiten achter zich op het moment dat de beweging volwassen werd en de externe steun toenam.

Om dit onderzoek uit te voeren heb ik het opgedeeld in drie deelvragen die overlappen met de drie empirische puzzels die hierboven zijn beschreven. De eerste vraag behandelt welke factoren en omstandigheden ons kunnen helpen verklaren waarom en

hoe dit soort organisaties zijn ontstaan in een omgeving die traditioneel wordt gedomineerd door etnische en raciale vormen van politieke mobilisatie en collectieve actie. De tweede vraag betreft de factoren en omstandigheden die, ondanks de beperkte financiële middelen, beperkte institutionele steun en lage steun van lokale actoren uit het maatschappelijk middenveld, immigrantenorganisaties in staat stelden om succesvolle campagnes op te zetten en zichtbaarheid te krijgen in de lokale politiek van Los Angeles. De derde vraag onderzoekt welke factoren en omstandigheden deze organisaties ertoe hebben gebracht zich van elkaar te differentiëren, en uiteindelijk de neiging tot fragmentatie tussen de organisaties, tijdens de toename van politieke kansen en externe steun.

Om deze vragen te beantwoorden heb ik een historische studie uitgevoerd naar de organisatorische ontwikkelingen in de periode 1980-2015 van zes prominente organisaties actief in de immigrantenpolitiek van Los Angeles. Deze organisaties zijn het Instituto de Educación Popular del Sur de California (IDEPSCA), de Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates (KIWA), het Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), the Pilipino Workers Center (PWC), het Garment Worker Center (GWC), en het Korean Resource Center (KRC). Ik baseer mijn empirische beweringen op archiefmateriaal - zowel afkomstig van de organisaties zelf als uit openbare bronnen - alsmede op kwalitatieve interviews met belangrijke informanten.

De empirische hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift identificeren gemeenschappelijke organisatorische innovatie, strategisch organisatorisch handelen en onderlinge concurrentie om middelen als sleutelfactoren die zowel de organisatorische kenmerken als de dynamiek van samenwerking en conflicten onder veranderende externe omstandigheden beïnvloeden. Ik beargumenteer dat we immigrantenorganisaties beter kunnen begrijpen als we ze zien als zowel de aanjagers als het product van 1) de omgeving waarin zij opereren en 2) de relaties waartoe zij behoren. Voor hun voortbestaan en succes zijn organisaties afhankelijk van een breed scala aan sociale actoren, en deze afhankelijkheid beïnvloedt interne dimensies zoals het definiëren van identiteit en doelen, de formulering en motivering van de claims die door de organisatie worden gemaakt, evenals interne besluitvormingsstructuren. Toch zijn immigrantenorganisaties, in tegenstelling tot veel andere groepen, niet alleen ingebed in de lokale context, maar ook in een transnationale ruimte die bijdraagt aan het vormgeven van hun sociale, politieke en culturele karakter. Dit dubbele relationele aspect helpt ons te begrijpen hoe organisaties de lokale vijandige politieke en discursieve omstandigheden kunnen neutraliseren.

In *hoofdstuk 3*, laat ik zien hoe het transnationale migratieproces organisatorische innovatie stimuleerde, en zowel de ideologie als de praktijk van drie verschillende organisaties voor immigrantenarbeid (IDEPSCA, KIWA en PWC) beïnvloedde. Mijn analyse is met name gericht op het belang van transnationale diffusieprocessen, evenals

mechanismen van 'gebonden solidariteit' bij het bevorderen van de circulatie en aanpassing van externe ideeën aan de context van immigratie in Los Angeles.

In *hoofdstuk 4*, behandel ik samen met Floris Vermeulen het belang van organisatorische legitimiteit in het ontstaan en voortbestaan van organisaties. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat legitimiteit zeer relevant is voor politieke immigrantenorganisaties, omdat dit ons kan helpen begrijpen hoe organisaties zich vestigen, hun positie versterken en kunnen blijven voortbestaan, ondanks zeer beperkte eigen materiële middelen.

In *hoofdstuk 5*, onderzoek ik hoe de interactie tussen ideologische oriëntaties en ondersteunende netwerken twee verschillende immigrantenorganisaties – KRC en KIWA – heeft bewogen tot verschillende manieren van legitimatie (etniciteit en klasse). Bovendien liet ik zien hoe organisatieleiders hun legitimatiestrategieën aanpasten in het licht van de veranderende discursieve omgeving om verdere externe steun aan te trekken. Met de steun van marginale actoren - waaronder tweede generatie studenten, kleinschalige stichtingen, individuele activisten en gelijkgestemde immigrantengroepen - konden immigrantenorganisaties in hun beginperiode overleven en innovatieve campagnes lanceren.

In *hoofdstuk 6*, geef ik samen met Walter Nicholls en Floris Vermeulen een voorzichtige verklaring voor de opkomst, consolidatie en fragmentatie van de migrantenarbeidersbeweging van Los Angeles in de afgelopen drie decennia. Op basis van een casestudy van het Multi-ethnic Immigrant Worker Organizing Network (MIWON) en de organisaties die lid zijn van dit netwerk, betogen we dat de organisatorische samenwerking gevormd wordt door 1) krachten die de concurrentie tussen organisaties stimuleren, 2) complementariteit en afstemming van organisatiedoelstellingen, en 3) ideologisch gefundeerde morele prikkels die collectieve actie ondersteunen. Bovendien betogen we dat de uiteindelijke fragmentatie van de beweging een weerspiegeling is van de verschillende manieren waarop de organisaties, in tijden van toenemende afhankelijkheid van dezelfde middelen en onder druk van nieuwe actoren op hun gebied van activiteit, trachtten te overleven en hun invloed in de lokale activistische en non-profit scene te consolideren of uit te breiden.

In *hoofdstuk 7*, concludeer ik met een samenvatting de belangrijkste onderzoeksresultaten en leg uit hoe deze bijdragen aan het beantwoorden van de vragen geformuleerd in de inleiding. Ik bespreek de implicaties van de bevindingen voor toekomstig onderzoek en voor ons begrip van de hedendaagse immigrantenpolitiek in Californië (en in de VS meer in het algemeen). Ik stel in het bijzonder voor dat de terugkeer naar 'etnische politiek', de institutionalisering van belangrijke LA-immigrantorganisaties en de versnippering van het politieke landschap van de lokale immigranten enorme obstakels zouden kunnen vormen voor het behoud van een effectieve, samenhangende en door immigranten geleide basisbeweging voor sociale en economische rechtvaardigheid.





## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to many people who shared with me parts of this long and bumpy journey.

I would like to start by thanking all those in Los Angeles who took an interest in my project and let me into their worlds. Without them, this research would have never seen the light of day. First and foremost, Margarita Ramirez (Liberty Hill Foundation) and Michele Welsing (Southern California Library), as well as the institutions they represent. I can never repay Margarita for her support during my fieldwork, for connecting me to the world of LA immigrant politics, and for her kindness and generosity. Her energy and commitment to the immigrant cause were greatly inspiring. Michele welcomed me to one of the veritable grassroots institutions of this city. Her help was invaluable to navigate the hundreds of archive boxes documenting the rich history of local immigrant activism, and so was her patience every time I contacted her last-minute to visit the library. I would also like to express my gratitude to all the respondents for their time, their insights and their openness to discuss their personal and professional life with a stranger. I am particularly indebted to Victor Narro, Pablo Alvarado, the *Jornaleros del Norte* crew, Elizabeth Sunwoo and Max Mariscal for dedicating so much of their time to me and my research. While much of the resulting material could not find a home in writing (yet), the memory of those encounters will stay with me over the years.

It is often said that doing a PhD is like an apprenticeship, the ultimate goal being to learn the academic craft and its 'tricks of the trade'. If that's indeed the case, I can only be grateful to have encountered such generous mentors who challenged me intellectually and invested so much time in my training. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my PhD supervisors Jean Tillie, Floris Vermeulen and Walter Nicholls. I am thankful to Jean for taking up my project in spite of so many other commitments, for encouraging me to look for the bigger picture, and for the light and humorous atmosphere of our collegial meetings. I am greatly indebted to Floris, who tirelessly and always patiently supported me at every stage of the project. As mentor, Floris not only balanced presence and absence in a way that allowed me to become a more confident researcher, but also offered the right words of encouragement every time self-doubt and worries got the better of me. Without Floris, it is fair to say this PhD would have taken a few more years to write. I am grateful to Walter for his intellectual energy and for often pushing me to go the extra mile. His sharp comments and feedback were always extremely valuable, if somehow feared. By introducing me to Southern California's fascinating local politics and history, Walter also 'infected' me with the LA virus. As it turns out, I am not the only one at the UvA – not many universities outside the US (or even California) can boast a similar number of researchers working on LA politics.

I am indebted to many who made my stay in Los Angeles not only a learning experience, but also a lot of fun. Caitlin Patler, for providing me with a foothold in the city and helping me in countless ways. On top of that, sharing a Snoop Lion concert and

enjoying together the best taco truck in town will be among my best LA memories. Jeff Sacha, for teaching me how to drive on a 10-lane freeway and pass the US driver's license examination, and for making me sweat in his Pico-Union boxing gym. Nelson Motto, Margarita Reyes, Citlalli Chavez, Alvaro Huerta, Lina Stepick, Deisy del Real and the PhD students from the UCLA Contentious Politics and Organizations Working Group for their help and interest in my project. Manuel Pastor, Rhonda Ortiz and the rest of the staff at the Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration (CSII) at the University of Southern California for making my stay there a fruitful and pleasant experience. My research assistants Maritza Olivera, Vanessa Lopez and Marieke de Wilde for their help at different stages of the data collection. Valery Alzaga and Tara Fiorito for connecting me to various people in Los Angeles.

I would like to acknowledge the European Union, which generously funded most of my PhD trajectory and INTEGRIM, the Marie Curie Initial Training Network of which I was part. Eduardo Ruiz Vieyetz and María López Belloso from the University of Deusto for the impeccable management of the project, as well as the senior staff from other participating institutions for making INTEGRIM such as an enriching, stimulating and globe-trotting experience. Paul Statham and Michael Collyer for hosting me at the Sussex Center for Migration Research, where I spent my project secondment. Lilla Jacobs, Andreea Leru, Vlad Naumescu and Klara Trencsenyi for setting up the film school in Budapest that inspired me to go in the field with a video camera. Last, but certainly not least, all my INTEGRIM PhD colleagues, some of whom over the years have become almost like family. In particular, Amandine Desille, Tina Magazzini, Stefano Piemontese, Reinhard Schweitzer, Franz Buhr, Kingsley Madueke and Mike Nicholson. I really hope our paths will cross again in the near future.

I would like to thank the program group Challenges to Democratic Representation of the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR) at the University of Amsterdam (UvA), which sponsored my research project and also funded it in its last phases. Many UvA colleagues have given me helpful feedback on various chapter drafts of my dissertation, providing me with thoughtful comments and challenging questions – Benno Netelenbos, Justus Uitermark, Enzo Rossi, Liza Mugge, Natalie Welfens, Janna Besamusca, Maria Kranendonk, Robby Davidson, Joep Schaper, the participants of the CPPC seminar and the PhD Political Sociology club, just to name a few. I am also indebted to several scholars outside of Amsterdam for their mentoring and support at different stages of my PhD: Peggy Levitt, Irene Bloemraad, Ruth Milkman, Richard Alba, Els de Graauw, Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Martiniello. Finally, I am thankful to Carl Milofsky and Ram Cnaan for inviting me to present a chapter of my research in Seattle and contribute to an edited volume.

At the UvA I found an inspiring community of colleagues I am happy to also call friends. Martijn Brünger, JuanFran Alvarado, Thijs van Dooremalen, Retna Hanani, Francisco Céron, Else Vogel, Tara Fiorito, Sander van Haperen, Filippo Bertoni, Natalyia

Komarova, Asya Pisarevskaya, Mutsumi Karasaki, Stine Grinna, Annastiina Kallius, Sebastian Ibarra, Ayşen Üstübici, and many others. I very much enjoyed podcasting and spending time with Darshan Vigneswaran, Beste Isleyen, Helena Uzelac, Vanessa Cantinho and Francois Bonnet on our Monday Morning Meetings on Migration show. I am grateful to Sébastien Chauvin for inspiring me intellectually and for his generosity as mentor. I am thankful to Solange Fontana and Farid Boussaid for sharing meals and laughs together over the years, and for giving me shelter in Amsterdam during the teaching months.

Without Delphine Gorce, my unofficial 'life coach' and one of the people who know me best, I would have never taken the fateful decision to return to Amsterdam and apply for a PhD. Without the inspiring classes of Valerio Contini, my high school history and philosophy teacher, I would have probably never studied political science and sociology. Without Michel, I would have not embraced 'being critical' as a way of life. Many friends have been there for me over the years and reminded me of 'real' life outside the PhD. In particular Mert Peksen, Konstantina Alexopoulou, Ali Zaidi, Gideon Hamburger, Massimiliano Sfregola, Giulia Cortesi, Matteo Corradini, Valentina Pavarotti, Nicholas Jacobs, Cesco, Peppo, Laura, Bergo, Mandingher and Sergio. I am also thankful to Kiek and Rien, Rosa and Arnoud, Jeroen and Isabella for welcoming into their families.

When the time came, it was the most natural thing to ask Edda Bild and Francesco Colona to be my paranymphs. Whether in a pisco bar in Lima, where I was delivered the worst (best) lines from Argentinian telenovelas, or on the top of the Dolomites at dawn, with very few other people I have enjoyed the same level of closeness, familiarity and idiosyncratic fun. Thank you both for being by my side.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My parents Francesco and Nancy, for always supporting me in what I do and for helping me get all the way here. My mom, in particular, for making it possible for me to imagine a life and career outside of Italy. My sister Annalisa and her family, and my brothers Stefano and Peter, for being there for me in their own different ways. My brother Nicola, for having been such a laid-back and helpful sparring partner in Los Angeles, accompanying me to May Day demonstrations or to *primera comunión* parties in repurposed Herbalife stores with equal curiosity and excitement. I like to think that the 'mood' of those shared experiences is reflected in the cover of this dissertation, which he masterfully designed.

Basje, the last lines are for you. For having shared with me so much of the last four years, and for always cheering me up by finding the hidden comic side of our lives. I would not have made it without your patience, care and love.

