IMMIGRANT CHURCHES AND IMMIGRANT SOCAL SERVICES: NON-PROFIT AND CONGREGATION CONNECTIONS IN WASHINGTON DC

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Churches and other religious institutions have traditionally played a key role in helping new immigrants adjust to the United States. Many non-profit organizations providing social welfare services to immigrants and others began under religious auspices, although many have become more secularized over time (Cnaan, Wineberg and Boddie 1999, Smith and Sosin 2001).[1] Faith community/non-profit linkages continue to play an important role for both sides of the relationship.[2] Despite recent interest in the contributions of worship communities to the incorporation of immigrants into American society, we know relatively little about the role they play. This paper explores that question.

Based on historical experience, we expected to find immigrant worship communities focused inward, developing partnerships with organizations in order to better serve their own members. While such collaborations did exist, we found congregations more likely to partner with non-profits in order to serve the wider society. Immigrant worship community partnerships strongly resembled those of other congregations in the U.S., but decisions to partner with specific organizations reflect concerns and social capital connections within each immigrant community.

Methods

This paper uses a combination of a survey of 200 local worship communities serving immigrants, interviews with directors of social service agencies, and ethnographic data on 20 worship communities to look at social supports for immigrants from the perspective of both churches and social service agencies. Data comes from a three year study of faith communities in the Washington, D.C. area serving Middle Eastern, South Asian, West African, Salvadoran, Korean and Chinese immigrants. The survey was administered in the winter and spring of 2001-2002 to religious leaders from churches, mosques, temples, gurdwaras serving 20 percent immigrants or more in the Washington, DC area.[3] A semi-structured interview with heads of social service agencies partnering with worship communities provides data on relations between agencies and congregations from the agency point of view. Ethnographic studies of individual worship communities flesh out the analysis of social service delivery on the congregation side.

Immigrant Worship Communities and Social Service Delivery

The immigrant worship communities ran the gamut from large Catholic churches, Hindu temples, and mosques serving thousands of immigrants and native-born citizens to tiny evangelical and Pentecostal churches reaching primarily immigrants from a single ethnic group. The religious institutions serving immigrants reflected the demographics of the population they served. Churches serving

Salvadorans tended to have more members in families earning less than $25,000 a year, more people without a high school education, and more recent immigrants (see Tables 1 and 2). Hindu temples and Chinese churches had sizable numbers in household earning over $100,000 a year and 65 percent and more of their members with college degrees. All worship communities in our study, nonetheless, sponsored or participated in social service programs, and many did so in conjunction with nonprofit organizations.

Recent research has reported high levels of social service delivery among churches (Grettenberger 2001; Ammerman 2002; Cnaan 2002; Chaves 1999). The immigrant worship communities we surveyed displayed considerably more services than the national average reported in the National Congregation Study (NCS)[4] (see Table 3). These worship communities were as likely as the average American congregation to participate in or support social service, community development or neighborhood organizing projects, but supported more such projects, on average, and were more likely to spend in excess of $10,000 in support of them.[5]

The greatest percentage of worship communities participated in emergency services activities: collecting food or clothing, working in a soup kitchen, collecting donations for the poor, or blood drives (see Table 4). General social services (counseling, job training, and other such longer term endeavors) counted as just 9 percent of these projects, while projects oriented towards new immigrants represented only 6 percent. Programs for children, overseas causes, the elderly, and special collections accounted for 23 percent of the total. Underlying these figures is a suggestive bifurcation among immigrant worship communities between those more similar to non-immigrant worship communities, which focus service towards needy non-members, and those that direct a significant portion of their energies towards their own membership and to immigrants in particular. In general, we found that worship communities serving Salvadorans (and other Hispanics) and Africans tended to provide more programs oriented towards the needs of their own ethnic communities, while those serving more affluent communities devoted more of their resources towards supporting social services in the larger community (see Table 5). Both the greater neediness and the predominance of Catholic and mainline Protestant churches among those serving these populations seem to account for these differences.

Relationships with Non-profit Organizations

The congregational survey suggests that immigrant churches engage in social service activities that benefit both their members and society at large. Members of immigrant worship communities both gave and received services from non-profit organizations in the metropolitan Washington DC area. Consistent with patterns in other studies of worship community involvement with social welfare provision (Ammerman 2002, Cnaan 2002, Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000, Schneider 2001), this study suggests that

much social welfare provision involves informal support and referral. Agencies reported that most of the immigrants they served heard about them through word of mouth. In some cases, organizations identified congregations as the communities that provided information to new immigrants in need.[6]

In most cases, the worship communities that partnered with non-profits to provide services were different from those that referred their members for assistance.[7] Partnerships with organizations served as a way for worship communities to support U.S. civil society. This pattern is consistent with other research (Cnaan 2002; Cnaan, Wineberg and Boddie 1999). The remainder of this paper examines the nature of non-profit/worship community partnerships.

What kinds of services do worship communities provide in collaboration with non-profits?

Research on congregational social service provision suggests that the bulk of social welfare provision by worship communities involves short term emergency services (Chaves and Tsitsos 2001; Cnaan 2002; Grettenberger 2001; Chaves 1999; Vidal 2001). Worship communities partner with other organizations to provide services more often than offering programs on their own (Chaves 2001; Ammerman 2002; Chaves and Tsitsos 2001). The immigrant worship communities in this study followed the same pattern. Worship communities contributed by providing money, organizing volunteers, collecting in-kind goods, and advertising agency needs. Often, announcing organization needs through worship community newsletters, email lists, and other mechanisms yielded more assistance than formalized collaborations.

Worship communities developed partnerships with organizations in order to have a stable, professional center for service activities. Agency activities fit ministries of concern to faith community members. Consistent with other research (Cnaan 2002: 247-250), non-profit/worship community partnerships were most often initiated by worship community members. For example one agency reported that a church offered to collaborate to offer a computer training program by providing space and volunteer teachers.

Most of the partnership organizations began as faith based non-profits founded by religious people in order to fulfill a community need. Over time, the established organizations became known in the area, and new immigrant worship communities chose to help these established entities.[8] The organizations founded by new immigrant communities served as centers for services important to those communities. For instance, one administrator commented, "I would like to say that we are like an extension of the mosques in terms that we provide social services. If they can't help a person, they will call us and say: 'okay, can you do something?'"

What kinds of Organizations Partner with Worship Communities?

The non-profits that partnered with immigrant worship communities belonged to a specific subset

of human service organizations. These organizations provide emergency services, are multi-service social welfare agencies with an emergency service component to their programs, or offer specific services to low income individuals.[9] They rely much more heavily on private contributions than most human services non-profits.[10] None of the established immigrant or ethnic social welfare organizations had formal collaborations with these churches, although several had started as worship community initiatives.[11] These organizations fell into three types: U.S. Native Dominated Social Welfare Organizations, Immigrant Faith Based Organizations, and Immigrant Community Social Welfare Organizations.

***U.S. Native Dominant Social Welfare Organizations*:** Most of the immigrant worship communities work with social welfare organizations serving needy citizens at large. Except for the Red Cross, all of these organizations were between 25 and 35 years old, started as part of the anti-poverty and social gospel initiatives of the late 1960s through the 1970s. They had budgets between 2 and 11 million dollars, offering an array of social welfare services. All had some government funding, ranging from 5 percent to 63 percent of their annual budgets, with an average of 33 percent. The average for private donations was 35 percent, with a range from 2 to 70 percent.[12] Each included an emergency services component. More comprehensive programs provided by these agencies included day care, housing, medical care, job training, and legal assistance. While started by faith communities, all but one currently had secular missions.[13]

Faith in Action Alexandria is an example of these non-profits.[14] The agency started in 1968 when a group of community women decided that children in one neighborhood did not have clothing to go to school. They gathered donated clothing and started handing it out in a vacant lot. The organization was formalized in 1969 by a group of local churches: "I guess churches got together and said that they needed to organize and do something about this. And some of the churches that still help us were probably amongst those founding organizations."[15] Initial services included food, clothing, and crisis intervention. The agency has blossomed into a multi-site United Way agency offering an array of holistic services to low income people.

The agency currently assists immigrants from the Middle East, Central America, Indonesia and India.[16] Immigrants are not their target population. While many immigrants find the organization through word of mouth, they also get referrals from several large churches and mosques serving new immigrants as well as small, "storefront" immigrant churches. In order to better assist immigrants they serve, they refer them to ethnic social service agencies, embassies, and to several Anglo-dominant churches that have social welfare or housing programs. They receive in-kind and volunteer assistance from a number of established Christian churches, most of these main-line Protestant or Catholic. The African immigrant group that partners with Faith in Action Alexandria is part of a white church,

participating in its activities.

***Immigrant Faith Based Organizations*:** Predominantly immigrant faith communities also formed their own organizations in order to help the needy in the wider community. These missions were explicitly faith based non-profits. Aid in Prayer is a church that offers emergency services, while New Hope provides youth programs to children in poor neighborhoods. Agency staff and volunteers come from the immigrant community, while most program participants are U.S. native born. These organizations became formal non-profits in the last five years, although mission activities were started informally several years earlier. They have smaller budgets and rely primarily on faith community donations.[17]

Aid in Prayer exemplifies these initiatives. It started as a mission project of a Korean minister in order to support the African American low income people who were the primary customers of stores owned by Korean immigrant merchants. He started a church, combined with a soup kitchen and other emergency assistance. Most congregants are African Americans.

Following Korean community patterns, he spoke about his mission in local churches, receiving widespread support. The agency currently receives volunteer, in-kind, and financial assistance from many of the Korean churches in the Metro-DC area. The organization also regularly receives media attention from Korean diaspora newspapers and television, leading to financial support from throughout the United States and Korea.

The organization incorporated in 1998 and now has four paid staff, all first or second generation Koreans. In addition to Korean volunteers, they also partner with one nearby African American church. Besides providing emergency assistance, they now offer counseling, and Korean immigrant volunteers provide arts classes. They also run workshops for Korean merchants to promote inter-cultural understanding. They consider their target clientele both low income U.S. residents and immigrant merchants. Immigrants rarely seek emergency services from the agency, and they refer most of these requests to Korean social welfare organizations. In addition to significant support from the immigrant community, they also collaborate with a DC food bank to get some of the food they serve to the needy.

***Immigrant Community Social Welfare Organizations*:** While the majority of established ethnic social welfare organizations do not collaborate directly with worship communities, several worship community programs have incorporated as separate non-profits. These organizations were mostly volunteer efforts closely tied to the religious communities. They have small budgets and part-time staff, primarily serving as referral centers or a locus for emergency services.

Muslim Support is one example. The organization started in 1989 when a group of Muslim social welfare and health professionals gathered to form a specifically Muslim social welfare organization after several Muslim immigrant children were placed in foster care. The organization offers emergency services and refers needy Muslims either to community members who can provide free services, to

government, or to other social service agencies. They have one part-time paid staff person and several active volunteers that manage the operation.[18]

Their financial, in-kind, and volunteer support comes from all of the area mosques primarily through word-of-mouth and email announcements of needs through the mosques and other Muslim networks. They do not have any formal collaborations with the mosques. They also host the holiday basket program for one county, collaborating with area churches and synagogues. Their target population is Muslims in the Metro DC area, and the percentage of immigrants in their participant base depends on the immigrant population in a particular county. Since Muslims come from many countries, they maintain a volunteer base of people who speak numerous languages in order to accommodate the immigrants they serve.

Why do Worship Communities Partner with these Types of Non-profits?

Three factors explain these diverse partnerships: opportunities to carry out social gospel or service commitments, social capital, and enlightened self interest. Interviews with various agencies reported that worship communities sought out opportunities for service. For example, Aid in Prayer staff reported that churches responded to guest sermons given by the executive director. More established organizations like Faith in Action told us that they did not need to advertise for assistance given established relationships with the worship communities. Congregations used these agencies' requests as their social gospel activities. Since Muslims are required to give a portion of their income as charity, helping agencies fulfills this obligation.

Worship communities chose to assist particular non-profits based on social capital connections. Social capital refers to networks based in enforceable trust that people and organizations use to gain access to education, jobs, funding and other social resources (Portes, 1998).[19] Social capital networks often rely on established relationships among groups that share cultural attributes or values. Each of the organizations in this study relied on social capital networks for worship community support. Aid in Prayer drew funding, staff and volunteers from the Korean Community. Muslim Support is a formalization of pre-existing Muslim community networks, while Faith in Action Alexandria and similar agencies draw worship community support either from long-established relationships or their reputation in the wider community.[20]

Choices to work with particular agencies also reflect enlightened self interest. For example, ethnography of the Muslim community performed as part of the larger project found that many Mosques hosted Red Cross blood drives after September 11th as a way to show solidarity with others in the U.S. (Alkhateeb 2002). Aid in Prayer developed partly in response to conflicts that Korean merchants had their customers.[21] For example, a staff person reported:

> Because D.C. area has many Asian merchants. They own groceries and many times they have conflict with the customers. So we many times see community members don't like Korean merchants because they don't know much about the community. They...get the money from here and they don't contribute. So we let the Black people know about Korean people. And Korean people need to know about African people.

While worship communities helped non-profits based on a sense of religious commitment, specific choices reflected the concerns of each community.

Immigrant Worship Community Partnerships in the Wider Social Service Context

Schneider's (forthcoming) earlier work shows the social welfare system as consisting of four inter-locked systems of organizations: government contracted welfare providers, ancillary services organizations, community based organizations and worship communities (see Chart A). Organizations in each system are connected to each other through coalition activities and informal networks. This research echoes these patterns. All of the organizations described here are part of the ancillary services system, which provides emergency services, health care, child-care, and a variety of other supportive services that families need. Aid in Prayer, Muslim Support, and New Hope are also community based organizations, situated in the space where ancillary services and community based organizations overlap. As with the organizations profiled here, organizations refer program participants to other agencies in their networks in order to provide better service. All of these organizations are significantly tied to the church support system. As with the rest of the U.S. social welfare system, understanding the connections between immigrant churches and organizations depends on appreciating the complementary roles of each partner and the social capital connections that engender these relationships. Unlike the immigrant communities of the past, these worship communities largely choose to maintain a dual focus – on their own community and in partnership with the pre-existing social welfare system. This is particularly true for immigrant communities consisting of members more likely to work in white collar professions or as business owners who interact regularly with the wider U.S. community (Portes and Rumbaut 1990). This study suggests that we should view immigrant worship communities not as needy newcomers but as full participants in the U.S.. Faith communities maintain their cultural priorities in choosing partnerships, but these patterns suggest integration rather than separation.

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Notes

1. Given the secularization of government funded social services required prior to Charitable Choice (Smith and Sosin 2001, Cnaan, Wineberg and Boddie 1999), and the continued barriers for explicit faith based organizations to obtain government contracts (White House Office of Faith Based Initiatives 2001), links between social service agencies and religious bodies have often become attenuated or exist beneath the surface of established organization programs. Nevertheless, such linkages continue to play an important role for both sides of the relationship.

2.The ways in which social services are distributed are by no means uniform across the varied worship communities and agencies serving immigrants. Worship communities may offer support mainly to their own members, mainly to others, or to both. Relations between agencies and worship communities can range from hostile or indifferent to mutually supportive. There is evidence, as well, that certain sorts of worship communities are more likely to maintain relationships with social service agencies than others. Ammerman (2002) found that, among Christian worship communities, mainline Protestant churches were considerably more likely to support outside organizations than conservative Protestant, African American, or Catholic churches through provision of volunteers, hosting activities, and in-kind and financial donations. While the overall budget size and member income also had an impact on involvement in community partnerships, denomination was the most important predictor. Chaves, Giesel, and Tsitsos (2002) lay out comparable findings based on the National Congregations Study data.

3. At the initiation of the project we consulted published directories of worship communities serving the immigrant groups of interest, the Yellow Pages, denominational offices, and a number of individuals familiar with local worship communities in the area. We conducted screening calls to these and the more numerous churches serving Hispanics and Africans in the area to determine whether the worship community served 20 percent or more immigrants.

Questions modeled on the National Congregation Study (NCS) survey instrument tap the participation of local worship communities in formal social service delivery, hosting of outside agencies, and co-sponsorship of events and programs. See Chaves, Konieczny, Beyerlein, and Barman 1999. We drew as many of our questions as possible from the NCS protocol, modifying and adding items as appropriate to our purposes.

4. Most other studies of American churches have also reported higher levels of service than the 57 percent found in the NCS survey, which asked about a relatively limited range of social service activities (though the sampling technique ensured a degree of reliability not assured in other studies). The difference in results may be explained in part because, on average, the worship communities serving immigrants were larger than the national average (see table 2): nearly 40 percent of our congregations had 100-300 adult regular attenders, with another 20 percent serving over 300 adults at typical services. Immigrant worship communities were also more likely to sponsor discussions of parenting issues and classes on personal finances than the national average, and they held a variety of other programs, from job training to after-school programs to citizenship classes.

5. In analyses not reported here we found that size and member income had only limited predictive power in regard to social service activities. Despite similarities in size, for example, Catholic worship communities were generally more likely to host or sponsor social services of various kinds than their Muslim or Hindu counterparts.

6. For example, one agency administrator reported that immigrants found the agency because:

> Other clients tell them. As new families come into the community, they hook up with friends or their neighbors and by word of mouth people say that we're here and available.... a lot of the people who migrate towards the churches because that's where they know they'll get help in their own communities and so they are then referred to us [through church networks].

7.Worship communities helping non-profits provide service tended to have members longer established in the United States with more stable incomes. Less than 25 percent of the members in most of these worship communities were new immigrants. Most also had less than 25 percent of their members who earned under $25,000 per year.

8. One non-profit administrator discovered that churches resisted providing services on their own because they did not want responsibility for all aspects of service provision. She commented, "they say that's a lot of work. Because you've got to go to the food bank to get the food, then you have to distribute it, and then you have to keep [records] -- your buildings are going to have to be inspected..."

9. These included health services, day care, and education/recreation programs for youth.

10. Wiener, Kirsch and McCormack (2002: 52) report that 15 percent of human services non-profit income comes from individual donations 43 percent comes from program fees. In contrast to these national aggregate figures, individual contributions to these organizations ranged from 2 to 90 percent, with an average of 46 percent. Four of the organization had income from participant rents and fees, totaling less than 10 percent of their financial support. These organizations rely less on program fees because they primarily offer free or reduced rate services, attracting worship community support because of their missions to help the needy.

11. These organizations were mutual assistance organizations founded by recent immigrant communities. Some of them were started as refugee assistance organizations relying on Federal government grants offered for this purpose. Others were initially started by churches, but became more secular over time. For example, one executive director reported that he did not want church involvement because church leaders wanted too much control of organization activities.

12. The organization with 2 percent private donations was a CDC with significant foundation support. Other organizations received between 22 and 70 percent of their funds from private individuals. Church contributions, when they were separately recorded, accounted for less than 10 percent of the budget.

13. As Smith and Sosin (2000) recognize, many established organizations have ties to religious communities but are religious in name only. Many became more secular over time due to federal mandates that denied funding to openly religious organizations. In the current political climate, which is more friendly to faith based organizations, these agencies acknowledge faith connections depending on their audience. For example, one large organization developed faith based pamphlets for some funding and volunteer sources, but their staff state clearly that they are not a faith based organization. Faith in Action Alexandria, profiled here, has a secular mission, but recently developed literature that states demonstrates connections between their mission statement and Judeo-Christian values.

14. All organization names are changed to protect confidentiality.

15. Interview with agency administrator.

16. The racial breakdown for their client base is 40 percent Black, 17 percent white, 34 percent Latino, 4

percent Asian, and 5 percent other.

17. One organization had recently received a faith based initiative grant that nearly doubled its budget. This was the only organization with government funding. Budgets ranged from $100,000 to $270,000.

18. The budget ranges between $40,000 and $50,000. They maintain branches in Maryland, Washington DC, and Northern Virginia. Activities occur primarily out of staff and key volunteer's homes and much storage space is donated.

19. Two competing definitions of social capital are currently used in research on non-profits (Foley and Edwards 1999). Structural understandings developed by Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (1998) see social capital as a process variable that enables access to resources while Putnam (2000) uses social capital to signify civic engagement. The definition used here draws on Bourdieu and Portes. For more detailed discussion see Schneider (2001, forthcoming) and Foley and Edwards (1997, 1999).

20. Comparing the support networks for Aid in Prayer and New Hope show the importance of specific, culturally appropriate ties in decisions to support particular organizations. Aid in Prayer draws support primarily from worship communities founded by Korean immigrants, relying on the networks of its founder. New Hope, on the other hand, was founded by members of the 1.5 generation, young adults born in Korea but largely raised in the United States (Min Zhou 1997). The organization's founders are part of a network of 1.5 generation Asian missionaries throughout the country, and rely on this network for their most loyal supporters. Others come primarily from Chinese and Korean evangelical churches that share similar values. New Hope draws from both Chinese and Koreans because its network members developed Pan-Asian identities in school.

21. Korean merchants located in low income communities have experienced conflicts with customers throughout the United States and have sought various ways to ease tensions. (See Goode and Schneider 1994, 1995)

Table 1. Profile of Immigrant Worship Communities by Country/Region of Origin (Averages)

	African	Chinese	Korean	Indian	Salvadoran
Foundation Date	1973	1985	1986	1979	1990
No. Regular Participants	361	228	339	633	397
% Without High School Diploma	10	7	30	4	48
% With College Degree	51	68	40	72	8
% Over 60 Years of Age	18	20	20	13	8
% Under 35 Years of Age	36	42	30	24	50
% Household Income Under $25,000 a Year	28	12	18	3	44
% Household Income Over $100,000 a Year	8	15	7	28	2

Table 2. Profile of Immigrant Worship Communities by Religious Tradition
(Averages)

	Catholic	Protestant	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh
Foundation Date	1979	1985	1987	1982	1974
No. Regular Participants	1,140	239	903	737	411
% Without High School Diploma	45	27	22	3	6
% With College Degree	23	36	60	80	56
% Over 60 Years of Age	20	15	17	14	11
% Under 35 Years of Age	42	39	39	23	27
% Household Income Under $25,000 a Year	36	27	23	3	3
% Household Income Over $100,000 a Year	7	6	14	31	20

Table 3. Social Welfare Programs by Immigrant Worship Communities and Average U.S. Worship Community (Catholic and Protestant Only)

	Catholic		Protestant	
	Immigrant[a] N=22	National Average[b] N=77	Immigrant N=149	National Average N=1,130
Hosted groups outside the congregation	78%	63%	72%	41%
Number of groups				
1 - 5	39%	75%	61%	68%
6 or more	61%	25%	39%	33%
Sponsored activities -				
to discuss parenting issues	82%	36%	80%	39%
citizenship class	46%	n/a	15%	n/a
after-school program	59%	n/a	30%	n/a
orientation to community services	46%	n/a	41%	n/a
personal finances class	50%	9%	39%	23%
Supported social service, community development or neighborhood organizing projects	64%	64%	52%	56%
Number of projects (ave.)	3.5	2.4	2.3	1.6
Congregation expenditureon projects $1,000 or less	10%	67%	24%	76%
$1,001 - $10,000	50%	22%	43%	16%
$10,001 or more	40%	10%	33%	8%

[I]Source: Survey of Pastors, Washington, D.C. Area Immigrant Worship Communities. The survey included only worship communities serving 20 percent or more immigrants from one or more of the following countries/regions of origin: China (and the Chinese diaspora), El Salvador, Korea, India, and West Africa. In addition, we surveyed area mosques, whose immigrant populations were drawn principally from South Asia and the Middle East, though our sample included one predominantly Nigerian mosque.

[II]Source: National Congregation Study. The NCS data included just 34 non-Christian worship communities out of a total sample of 1,200. We have excluded these from our profile here. In addition, because of the sampling technique, the NCS data over-represents Catholic parishes. We have adopted the weighting proposed by Chaves (1998) to correct for this effect.

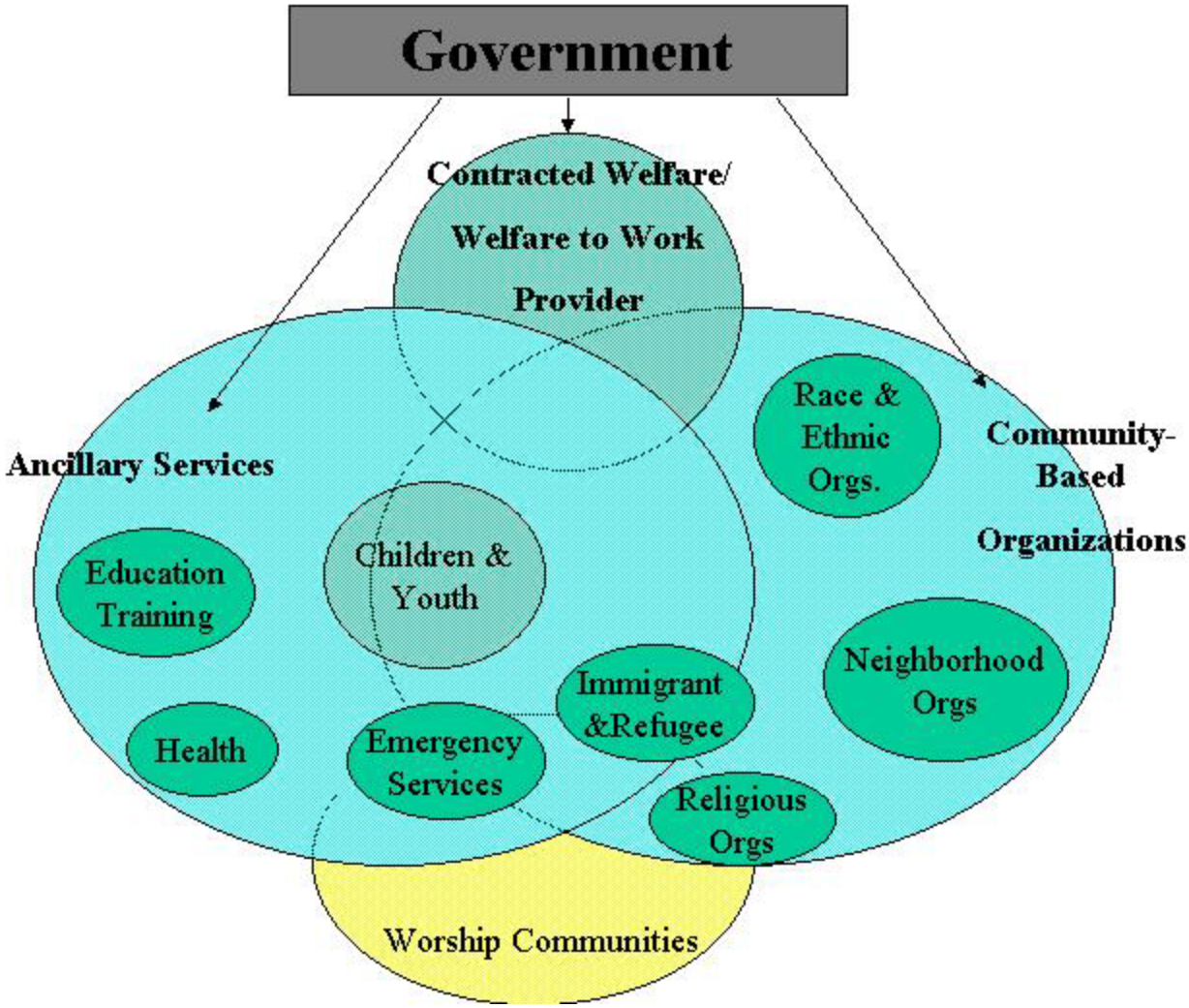
Table 4. Social Service, Community Development and Neighborhood Organizing Programs in Which Worship Communities Participated By Type of Program

Type of Activity	Number of Programs	Percentage of All Programs
Emergency Services (food, clothing, rent assistance, furniture, transportation)	109	38%
General Social Services (counseling and other intensive programs)	27	9%
Short Term Shelter	1	0.3%
Housing construction	6	2%
Advocacy	10	3.5%
Specialized services (health, legal, immigration issues, ESL)	6	2%
Programs for children	21	7%
Mentoring and tutoring for adults	6	2%
Activities to help new immigrants	17	6%
Community improvement	14	5%
Working with the courts/prisoners	6	2%
Holiday food and gifts for needy	4	1%
Hosting activity	8	3%
Special collections (for example scholarships)	14	5%
Working with elderly	15	5%
Overseas mission and aid	17	6%
TOTAL	281	100%

Table 5. Programs by Immigrant Group Percentage (number of worship communities)

	African	Chinese	Indian	Korean	Salvadoran
Host outside activities	90% (27)	43% (3)	55% (6)	65% (26)	75% (21)
- including: self-help group	52% (14)	0	17% (1)	22% (6)	65% (15)
community service	50% (14)	68% (2)	50% (3)	68% (18)	87% (20)
Activities sponsored: English class	23% (9)	60% (9)	0	42% (27)	54% (29)
job training	46% (18)	20% (3)	23% (3)	29% (19)	22% (12)
after-school program	49% (19)	27% (4)	8% (1)	19% (12)	43% (23)
orientation to community services	56% (22)	47% (7)	23% (3)	26% (17)	48% (26)
discuss race relations	49% (19)	33% (5)	31% (4)	20% (13)	30% (16)

	African	Chinese	Indian	Korean	Salvadoran
Support social services	76% (29)	40% (6)	85% (11)	43% (28)	54% (29)
Spent >$10,000	58% (15)	0	29% (2)	23% (6)	24% (5)


Government
Contracted Welfare/
Welfare to Work
Provider
Ancillary Services
Race &
Ethnic
Orgs.
Community-
Based
Organizations
Education
Training
Children &
Youth
Neighborhood
Orgs
Immigrant
&Refugee
Health
Emergency
Services
Religious
Orgs
Worship Communities