



Evaluation of a Pilot Project to Advance Pro-Immigrant Advocacy for

Center for New Community, National Immigration Law Center, Progressive States Action

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If the project had not existed, progress would likely have been slower, but it might have been more sustainable.

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Introduction and Context

1. Project Context and Goals

The movement for immigrant rights in the United States has seen significant ups and downs since the mid-2000s, which led to this project being designed with a specific set of objectives in mind.

A signal moment for the current cycle of mobilization was the immigrant-led marches of Spring 2006. Thousands of immigrants and their allies mobilized in rallies across the country in a massive show of force and solidarity. Key national nonprofit actors capitalized on the momentum and public attention to begin a sustained push for comprehensive immigration reform. The environment was promising, as President Bush was a vocal proponent of reform and some Republicans in Congress supported the effort. Despite more than a year of sustained advocacy at the grassroots, grasstops, and in Congress, reform was not achieved. Opponents of reform flooded Congressional switchboards, and anti-reform constituent messages outnumbered pro-reform ones by many multiples.

National nonprofit leaders took the time to reflect intensively on the experience, and extracted a few key lessons learned. Their analysis was that reform advocates did not win because they did not have sufficient political and communications capacity. The movement needed the ability to articulate a stronger message, connect grassroots and national efforts, and put more targeted and sustained pressure on opponents and “moveable” moderates.

As a result of this discussion, national leaders, including a number of funders, articulated the “four pillars” strategy that has guided the immigrant rights movement since then. The four pillars are civic participation, policy advocacy and research, grassroots organizing and advocacy, and strategic communications. Each represents an area that the movement needed to strengthen to achieve comprehensive immigration reform. Each had a few key national organizations who were responsible for advancing it. Among these were the National Immigration Law Center, which was responsible with others for advancing policy advocacy and research.

Since the four pillars were articulated in 2007, the immigrant rights movement has expanded in a number of significant ways. It has built stronger partnerships, both with other progressive groups, and with moderate and conservative allies. It has taken on a more state-level focus, as the continued failure to achieve comprehensive immigration reform at the federal level has led to a proliferation of state-level laws and initiatives. And new voices and leaders have emerged within the movement, most notably the “DREAMers,” young undocumented immigrants brought to the U.S. as children who would benefit from the DREAM Act, which would provide a path to citizenship and other benefits for those in their specific situation.

The net result of these changes has been a movement that is more adaptable, more localized, and more diverse – but not necessarily more effective, when judged by the national-level metric of achieving comprehensive immigration reform. And it is debatable to what extent advances at the state level have been the result of state-level, ground-up organizing vs. coordinated action from national organizations.

The pilot project that is the subject of this evaluation gets at these very issues. It addresses the possibility of pro-immigrant advocacy at the state level, and tests a model of national-local collaboration to advance this goal.

The pilot project emerged at a very specific point in the movement's evolution. In the face of an onslaught of restrictive measures within state legislatures across the country in 2010, immigrant communities and advocacy organizations found themselves in a largely defensive posture, reacting to threats as they arose. Recognizing that a reactive stance is not enough to prevent the enactment of ever more restrictive policies, three nationally prominent organizations, the Center for New Community (CNC), the National Immigration Law Center (NILC), and Progressive States Action (PSA), joined forces on a pilot project. Hand-in-hand with local and statewide advocacy organizations, they worked to develop models for an affirmative policy strategy.

This collaborative pilot project (the project), which took place in Colorado and North Carolina, aimed to:

- Shift and reframe political discourse regarding state immigration related legislation;
- Strengthen capacity among policy makers, advocates, and allies to advance positive measures and defeat restrictive proposals;
- Increase favorable media coverage of state immigration-related policy;
- Advance pro-immigrant policies;
- Block or defeat restrictive measures; and
- Create and refine models that can be replicated in other areas of the country.

To advance these goals, the project pursued five key strategies:

- Build policy and advocacy capacity of local organizations;
- Build alliances with organized labor, businesses, civil rights, civil liberties, and faith-based groups to support each other's policy priorities;
- Educate policymakers and grassroots champions;
- Conduct opposition research and track state immigration-related legislations, legislators, and key actors; and
- Conduct opinion research and develop and implement state-specific communication materials to support policymakers and advocates.

TCC Group, a national management consulting firm, was hired to conduct an evaluation of the pilot models to increase understanding of effective strategies for securing pro-immigrant policy at the state and local levels.

2. Evaluation Methodology

TCC Group used a mixed-methods approach to evaluate the impact of the Program on immigrant rights organizations and policies in Colorado and North Carolina. The evaluation was longitudinal, following the project from 2011 to 2013.

Environmental scan

An initial environmental scan was conducted to assess the starting atmosphere on the ground in the two states. The scan conducted three main parts:

- Key informant interviews: these interviews were conducted with foundations who fund immigrant rights work in Colorado to get a sense for where the state was in terms of being able to move forward on immigrant rights issues, and to figure out what funders considered when looking at state-level pro-immigrant players. (See Appendix A for a list of all individuals interviewed at different stages of the evaluation.)
- Document review: a document review examined materials from the three national partners, as well as the major funders of the pilot project. The document review focused on the goals of the project and the intended strategies to be used at the state level. General documents (e.g. reports published on Colorado by think tanks, major media pieces, and state data) were also used to get a sense for where the opportunities were to make inroads for immigrant rights.
- Media analysis: a media scan was conducted that looked at discourse in state and local newspapers. A database search focused on the context of articles talking about immigration.

Project model

Information in the environmental scan was collected to create a project logic model. This model mapped the project’s strategies to intended outcomes. The project’s model can be seen in Appendix B.

Mid-point evaluation

As the evaluation was intended to be formative – that is, helping inform decisions throughout the process – a mid-year evaluation was conducted in spring 2012. That report focused on clarity of project goals, quality of technical assistance, and opportunities for the coming year.

Interviews were conducted with three groups of people:¹

- Principal grantee interviews (N=8) with the funded state-level partners in both states, and focused on the quality of national partner support (including both grantmaking support and technical assistance), and their thoughts on to what extent progress was reached in the state of interest.
- Implementing partner interviews (N=3) were conducted with staff from the three national partners: Center for New Communities, National Immigration Law Center, and Progressive States Action. These interviews focused on to what extent the strategies worked to achieve the intended outcomes and overall levels of progress achieved in each state.
- Outside observer interviews (N=8) with people working on immigration policy, or immigrant focused work, but who were not directly funded by the national partners. Some outside observers were aware of the pilot project and participated in technical assistance, and some were not and did not. Outside observer interviews focused on changes seen in the state over the first year of the project; future opportunities; and, to the extent that people were able to talk about it, the assistance of the national partners.

Data collection for the final report

Data collection for the current evaluation focused on four main approaches. These approaches were selected to ensure that data was collected from a variety of sources to provide high-quality information.

¹ We intended a fourth group to be policymakers, but did not receive responses despite repeated outreach.

Interviews were conducted with the same types of people as in the mid-point evaluation, along with state policymakers, who provided their perspective on changes in the political environment and the effectiveness of local partner advocacy. Some were interviewed at both points, others only once.

- Principal grantee interviews (N=11)
- Implementing partner interviews (N=4)
- Policymaker interviews (N=3)
- Outside observer interviews (N=6)

Two **surveys** were used to inform this evaluation. The first (N=16; 7 from Colorado and 9 from North Carolina) was a survey for outside observers focused on progress made in the field and future opportunities at the state level. Another survey (N=3) was given to grantees that covered the same areas, plus the quality of support given by national funders. The grantee survey was not used for data analysis given the low N. Instead, grantee perspectives were collected via interviews.

Finally, we conducted **media content analysis** on state and local papers in both states. Media content pulled state newspaper communications focused on immigration from June 2012 to June 2013 in Colorado and July 2012 to September 2013 in North Carolina. Each article was coded by either a NILC or TCC staff member as positive, negative, or neutral regarding the tone towards immigration. TCC then analyzed the findings to assess how the dialogue around immigration had changed. The 2013 media scan was originally intended to be compared to a media scan conducted for the environmental scan in 2011. However, due to changes in the media environment (including the Associated Press changing its guidelines for when to use the word “illegal” in connection to immigrants), the two media scans were not seen as comparable. A summary of the 2011 scan is given below, while the 2013 scan will be discussed at length in this report. The 2013 scan picked up in-state articles from Colorado and North Carolina media; however, if state-level media were reporting on national immigration issues, these would have been picked up in the media scan as well. Thus the scan represents the full tone of how state media was representing immigration on both the national and local scale.

We shared a draft of the report with the national partners and met with them via conference call to identify any factual clarifications that needed to be made, and to hear their input on matters of interpretation. In this final version, we address the clarifications and take input on interpretation under advisement, while reserving final judgment on the content of the report.

3. Summary of Environmental Scan

The environmental scan focused on developing an opportunity assessment for the Project. Its aim was to understand the context of each state well enough to assess how “ripe” the opportunity was for pro-immigrant advocacy in each state. This would provide a baseline for judging progress in each state after the two years.

The environmental scan addressed variables shaping the opportunity to advance pro-immigrant policy:

- **Demographic and Economic Characteristics:** the context for pro-migrant advocacy and the external factors that might empower or limit the implementation of planned strategies, such as the size of the immigrant population, their impact on the state economy, and industries that relied on their labor.

- **Political Landscape:** the outlook for garnering support for specific types of bills, based on the political make-up of state electorates and legislatures and key policymakers' support of immigrant-related issues.
- **Legislation:** the outlook for passing specific types of bills, based on the history of immigrant-related legislations that had passed, failed, or were pending.
- **Anti-immigrant Forces:** the strength of the opposition, based on key players and their political affiliations.
- **Capacity of Immigrant Rights Movement:** the strength of the support network for pro-immigrant advocacy, based on factors such as the qualities of key implementing partners including their readiness to participate in the Project and existing relationships other local organizations, as well as the state of the progressive infrastructure.
- **Media Landscape:** Major media outlets, their coverage areas, and attitudes toward immigration

Based on initial research and conversations with key local and national actors, TCC developed a summary opportunity assessment, presented in Appendix C. The overall assessment was that the opportunity was notably more ripe in Colorado than in North Carolina, though without some important nuances.

In Colorado, the capacity of the immigrant rights movement was judged to be high, based on the existence of the Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition (CIRC), a statewide entity specifically focused on advancing immigrant rights (as opposed to a broader agenda that happened to include immigrant rights). The demographic and economic characteristics were seen to be favorable, with a sizable and growing immigrant population. The political and legislative landscapes showed a medium level of opportunity. The areas of lesser opportunity were the media landscape, which was seen as generally unfavorable, and the strength of the opposition, which appeared relatively well organized.

North Carolina had a very different mix of opportunities. Its anti-immigrant forces were relatively disorganized, which was promising for pro-immigrant advocacy. And the immigrant rights movement was seen as having a medium level of capacity. While there were a number of statewide organizations that worked on immigration in a sustained way, there was no single statewide coalition focused on advocacy, as in Colorado. The media landscape was seen as about the same as Colorado's, fairly challenging. The demographic characteristics were not as promising. While economic sectors such as agriculture relied on immigrant labor, the absolute size of the immigrant population, and hence their strength as a potential voting bloc once citizenship had been achieved, were relatively small, despite their significant growth in recent years. The political and legislative landscape were seen as particularly challenging given the political makeup of the legislature and the history of immigrant-related legislation.

4. Mid-point Assessment Based on Project Model

As part of the environmental scan, TCC refined the project model, identifying resources, inputs, strategies, outcomes (both changes sought and measures of those changes), and ultimate impact of the project. The full project model is included in Appendix B. TCC used the project model to provide feedback to the national and local partners in the mid-point evaluation report. We focused on the strategies and the outcomes, and highlighted for each state those areas where progress had been made, as well as new strategies that had emerged in the first year of implementation. Those tables are included in Appendix D. An updated version based on the overall two-year arc of the project is presented below.

5. Summary of Progress Made Over the Course of the Pilot Project

Key areas	Progress (Low, Medium, High)	
	North Carolina	Colorado
STRATEGIES		
1. Selection of local partners	Medium-High We Are NC is the right coalition in the absence of a CIRC equivalent	High Chose a good mix, with major players; grantees had complementary strengths
2. Capacity building for implementing partners	Medium Dedicated CNC staff made a big difference on driver's license campaign, but some concern about not including state partners; good job of subordinating own interests to those of grantees	Medium Built some capacities directly through TA or calls, but did some work themselves instead of including state partners
3. Alliance building with local groups cross sectors	Medium-Low Some contact with business & agriculture	Medium Didn't engage any unusual suspects
4. Capacity building for state policy makers	Medium-Low Not as strong and connected a champion as Senator Ulibarri in CO, but decent inroads	Medium Having a state senator from the movement helped build fellow policy maker capacity
5. Policy tracking and opposition research	Medium-Low Opposition not painted as strong; such research wasn't a priority, though North Carolina received resources to conduct opposition research	Low Did not come up frequently
6. Strategic communications	Medium More media coverage, more framing, and more traction, but less information on content	Medium-High Helped CIRC hire staff, developed effective new (low-profile) strategy; communications are more balanced in media now
7. Ongoing evaluative learning	Medium-Low National partners made funding more transparent and funded new coalitions to emphasize the importance of partnerships	Medium Made some changes from midterm findings – networked grantees more, set clear goals
OUTCOMES		
8. Increased organizational capacity of implementing partners	Medium Not clear this wouldn't have happened without project's support; collaboration is still uncertain and diffuse	High All are better able to reach their goals and work together; increased communications capacity, ability to work with policy makers
9. Strengthened collaboration among immigrant rights advocates & potential allies	Medium-Low Worked primarily with traditional allies	Medium Worked primarily with traditional allies; Fiscal Institute a useful alliance
10. Increased knowledge and willingness of policymakers to take action	Medium More information to policymakers, who listened on softening HB 786, and were more aware of resources and information from lobbyists	High Good support from legislative champion in part due to driver's license push
11. Improved public discourse	Medium Relatively positive coverage by second year; stakeholders concurred	Medium-High Spike in negative coverage around SB 96 repeal, but overall positive coverage in second year; mixed stakeholders views
12. Improved state-level policies for immigrants	Medium-High Good defensive victories in tough environment; harmful policies not passed, rather than existing policies improved or better policies created	High Many wins, rolling back anti-immigrant policies and advancing two major pro-immigrant policies

Key Evaluation Findings

1. Policy Change

One goal of the project was to advance pro-immigrant policies and deter anti-immigrant policies at the state and local levels.

Pattern across states: The 2012 election completely scrambled the landscape

While the results of the election were different in each state, the post-election landscape had dramatic implications for collaborations, cohesiveness of the movement, strategies employed by partners, and legislative firepower.

For both states, the 2012 election had major implications for how state and local groups were able to actually change policy. Redistricting in North Carolina resulted in an influx of conservative Republican legislators into the state policy making arena, and the emergence of a “Tea Party state” according to one local partner. On the national level, some outside observers in the state believed that Obama’s re-election “fed into racist and reactionary fears” that fueled the opposition. Pivoting from an offensive strategy to a defensive one was not easy for North Carolina groups. Within the overall pro-immigrant movement, groups began fighting for the individual components of reform that were most sacred to them. One local partner said the 2012 election “wreaked havoc” on progressive policies across the board. Another noted that both Democrats and Republicans have been “disappointing” on immigration reform issues, and one group said that conservative election wins resulted in more caution by Democrats in supporting immigration reform. One policy maker in North Carolina put it bluntly: “I see legislation in the current environment being more restrictive – [we are] surrounded by anti-immigrant policy makers.” In Colorado, the election set a very different backdrop for advancing pro-immigrant policies. As one local partner mentioned, a “critical part of our success was the electoral piece.” One national partner used the term “perfect storm” to describe the positive political environment in Colorado, for getting pro-immigrant policies pushed through.

Pattern across states: Pro-immigrant policies are not likely to be exactly replicable elsewhere

There was general acknowledgement by groups in both North Carolina and Colorado that their situations were unique and that it would be difficult to exactly replicate what worked in their states.

National partners in particular were skeptical. As one put it, “[pro-immigrant policy] has passed everywhere it’s going to pass...we’ve seen as much as we’re going to see.” Another explained the Colorado policy success by saying, “it was luck that we were ready for something when politics was amenable to it.”

Local partners were more optimistic. In Colorado, groups urged funders not to shy away from challenging environments, to “be willing to take a risk.” Another mentioned that while the new political landscape greased the wheels for Colorado’s pro-immigrant policy wins, recent successes were built on a “decade of work”. In North Carolina, one local partner said not to ignore places like North Carolina where “it’s tough.” However, across the board, groups agreed there needs to be a critical mass of infrastructure in place if legislative action is the desired outcome, as well as some trust and coordination between potential coalition partners. One local partner in North Carolina suggested targeting states

with organizations which have “a history of working together as a movement.” Another local partner in the state said there needs to be a “base” of people willing to work together.

Opposition research was brought up consistently as an area with high value to local partners, but generally low capacity, as was a thorough assessment of the political makeup of the target state, and a deeper understanding of electoral cycles and political vulnerabilities. Communications was also brought up as a high value function should the funders attempt to replicate the program in other states.

Colorado: Three major policy wins, no new anti-immigrant policies

Colorado had three significant wins in pro-immigrant policy, achieving goals the state had been working towards since 2006.

The major policy wins included:

- Advancing Students for a Stronger Economy Tomorrow (ASSET bill) allowing in-state tuition bill for undocumented students.
- A driver’s license bill for undocumented people.
- The Community and Law Enforcement Trust Act repealing SB-90, a bill that required police to refer people to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) if the officer suspected the person to be undocumented.

One advocate described this as “achieving everything we’ve worked for over the last six years.” Those interviewed attributed the political wins to a host of characteristics including:

- A strong grassroots movement in Colorado. Grassroots efforts were widely considered to be behind the success of the driver’s license campaign, especially as the referendum effort was immigrant-led.
- The significant turn out of Latino voters during the 2012 election cycle. In 2012, the Colorado House turned Democratic and Democrats across the state were credited with helping Obama win the presidential election. This led certain elected state legislators to feel a loyalty to immigrant voters who came out to vote in strong numbers.
- An increase in champions of immigrant rights in the Colorado Senate and House. With comprehensive immigration reform coming back onto the national agenda, legislators felt more political ability to move forward on state-level immigration issues. This coupled with the feeling that immigrant voters had increased power improved the willingness of legislators to act on immigrant rights issues. One grantee called this a “sea change” in willingness efforts.

In a change from previous years, no significant anti-immigrant policies were introduced in Colorado.

The opposition movement (those opposed to pro-immigrant policies) was widely seen as reducing their capacity. Members attended rallies and protests less often, spoke at hearings less often, and were less often giving statements in the media to “balance” pieces that were more favorable to immigrants. Pro-immigrant advocates credited this mostly to a changed strategy on the pro-immigrant side: choosing to keep major strategies under the radar and not publicize them through media. One advocate explained that the repeal of SB-90 was not picked up in English media until it was nearly finalized, not leaving enough time for those opposed to organize an effort against the repeal.

North Carolina: Success on the defensive

North Carolina was in an increasingly defensive stance during the Project's two years, and was not able to advance any pro-immigrant policy. It did, however, push back multiple anti-immigrant efforts.

North Carolina in this project was a tale of two years, pivoting on the 2012 election. For the first time in more than a century, Republicans assumed control of both houses of the state legislature and the governor's office. As a result, while in the first year, anti-immigrant measures were merely discussed in the state legislature, in the second year, they were advanced.

In the first year of the project, the major policy debate was about whether the state legislature would take up an Arizona-style anti-immigrant measure. Thanks to lobbying from state-level and local partners, discussed in detail below, the legislature opted not to take up such an effort. This was in the context of having advanced a number of anti-progressive pieces of legislation during that same session.

As one stakeholder put it, after the 2012 election, "all groups had to learn to work with Republican legislators." The result was a complex struggle over a signature piece of legislation, HB 786. The bill included several provisions, some of which were explicitly anti-immigrant, such as a mandatory implementation of E-verify, and others that were potentially pro-immigrant, such as drivers' licenses for undocumented residents under certain specific circumstances.

Different groups within the movement responded in different ways to the prospect of this legislation. Some immigrant-led groups resolved that any measure that would provide relief to undocumented people suffering without the ability to move about safely was worth considering, if not embracing. Other groups, most of them non-immigrant-led, viewed the proposed legislation in another light, arguing that the conditions imposed were too restrictive, and that a limited, restrictive drivers' license was not worth the cost of enhanced E-verify and other of the bill's provisions.

As lobbying progressed over the summer, an understanding emerged that a compromise could be reached by watering down the legislation's anti-immigrant impact. The ultimate outcome was that, while the bill passed in both houses of the legislature, and even overcame a veto from the governor, its provisions were significantly weakened. Almost all of the components were relegated to a study, rather than receiving direct action. While the drivers' licenses were among the features relegated to a study, the impact of anti-immigrant portions of the legislation was muted. Those involved in securing this outcome viewed it as a "real victory," though outside observers reflected a less optimistic view.

2. Capacity Building

One of the project's goals was to increase state and local capacity on policy and advocacy, primarily in legislation and lobbying.

Pattern across states: An increase in state and local capacity, in the area of legislative advocacy

One primary achievement was an increase in partners' capacity to effectively advocate on the legislative level - either advancing pro-IR policy or mitigating (or deterring) anti-immigrant rights policy. This emerging strength was noted by groups in both North Carolina and Colorado.

In North Carolina, local groups said their advocacy efforts in 2012 "laid the groundwork" for strong opposition to legislative challenges in 2013, calling efforts "very effective". Within this defensive legislative context, one local partner said amendments to the Reclaim North Carolina bill counted as a significant achievement and that they prevented an "onslaught" of negative policies. A national partner said, "It's the one spot [issue area] where they didn't do anything crazy. And I think that's because of this project." Outside observers were more neutral on this question, but one group did acknowledge that bad policies were "kept at bay." One local implementing partner specifically mentioned strengthened ability to use petitions as a policy tool. In Colorado, local implementing partners noted increased capacity to deliver testimony at hearings and to support undocumented individuals in delivering testimony as well. One Colorado outside observer credited the Latino "Get out the Vote" community as key to legislative success, and a policy maker noted that in the last year, there was a "record number of elected Latino/a officials." One national partner credited its ability to sub-grant in a strategic way as integral to success in Colorado - "the apparatus behind the SB90 campaign," for example the staffed hotline for immigrants to report discriminatory treatment, supported by project funding, "was phenomenal." The hotline was seen as a tool both to collect powerful stories from undocumented Coloradans, and to bring undocumented people into the immigrant rights movement.

Pattern across states: An increase in state and local capacity in the area of lobbying

Groups in both states described a significantly increased comfort level with lobbying and new capacity, in the form of people and tools, to do this work. The immigrant community also strengthened its lobbying capacity.

In North Carolina, there was a general feeling that the capacity of state and local nonprofits to lobby had improved, despite a challenging political landscape. One local implementing partner noted they had "much more capacity to do lobbying" since the pilot project's midpoint evaluation, and other local partners seconded this view, with several mentioning that in particular the immigrant rights community was "using its voice more" and was more engaged with lobbying over the last year. Outside observers also noted an increased "comfort level" with lobbying over time. In Colorado, local implementing organizations noted an increased familiarity, confidence and ease with advocacy work; another mentioned "great gains" in this area and another described the capacity difference pre-and post- project as "night and day." One group noted that the pilot project funds enabled it to hire a lobbyist, and another mentioned the hotline as a great capacity-building tool in its own right, as it enabled them to identify strong candidates in the immigrant community to train to testify before the legislature.

Colorado: National TA useful, state actors more aligned

National-level technical assistance support was widely found to build the information base of organizations in Colorado; however, some felt the national partners could have delivered more tailored technical assistance.

Grantee partners earned benefits from working with all three national partners. These included:

- **National Immigration Law Center:**
 - Increased access to research for their Colorado grantees. This helped organizations increase their credibility with lobbyists and legislators and bring more pressure to the table in terms of having convincing research to support pro-immigrant policies.
 - Providing technical legal knowledge. Lawyers on NILC's staff were willing to closely read documents and policies with an eye for technical aspects. This increased the ability of organizations to digest and critique policy.
- **Center for New Communities:**
 - Donated a staff person (Lauren) who worked almost full-time on driver's licenses. Grantees said "having Lauren to work with us was huge" and that she provided "invaluable support."
 - Increased communications support. CNC provided expertise in communications including on "media framing" and how to integrate polling into media reports.
- **Progressive States Action:**
 - Supported community building efforts and eased relationships among state level players. PSA was credited as "creating a conduit" for state partners to work together.

However, grantees did have their own critiques of the national partners. These included:

- A lack of clarity on PSA and CNC's roles. Some grantees felt that it was "unclear" what the role of these two organizations were, and were unsure when to talk to one organization versus another.
- A sense that CNC and PSA were working on their own agenda. There was a perception that both groups worked with legislators privately and did not always let state-level partners take the lead in meetings with legislators. This led to a sense with a minority of grantees that the national partners were trying to lead, rather than support, state-level efforts.
- A lack of effort regarding lobbying. CNC was thought to have been able to do more in terms of helping with lobbying. One partner felt that CNC's only role with lobbying was to pay for a lawyer, but that they "didn't actually help" the cause. However, it is worth noting lobbying limitations in place because of the 501(c)(3) status of some organizations and funding sources. That, in combination with the fact that CNC lobbying staff find it most useful to lobby for multiple issues at once (e.g. talking to a legislator not just about immigration, but immigration and environmental policy and higher education, as the issues fit), may have led to a lack of clarity for grantees around CNC's role. CNC could have done a better job communicating their limitations and working patterns to make this more clear to grantees.

Some of those interviewed who operated in the immigrant rights space but weren't directly funded by the national partners were unaware of the role national partners had in the state. Others had attended trainings or calls staffed by national partners which were praised as helpful.

State level grantees were increasingly more aligned on working together on key issues.

Strategies were defined at the state-level and organizations assisted where they were best able. For example, the Colorado Fiscal Institute made a conscious decision to play a supporting role. A spokesperson for the organization said, “We wanted to let the immigrant rights groups develop the policy and messaging” while supporting the messaging through high-quality financial research. This allowed them to more directly contribute to the issues while making sure there was no overlap among partners. The national partners were seen as helping grantees figure out the complementary strengths and where they fit.

North Carolina: National TA particularly helped with policymaker work

National-level technical assistance support provided useful resources on similar efforts in other states, and helped grantees achieve a higher level of sophistication in working with state policymakers.

Stakeholders were positive about improvements in the movement’s ability to work with state policymakers over the course of the Project’s two-year span. One policymaker thought the groups did a “good job targeting legislators on both sides of the aisle,” including a significant amount of one-on-one education that will pay off in the longer term.

Grantees had good things to say about the national partners’ support of their legislative and policy efforts, particularly during the first year of the initiative. The information about legislative trends and practices in other states, the specific intelligence about North Carolina legislators, and the training about how to work more effectively with policymakers were all seen as useful.

Grantee partners reaped benefits from working with all three national partners. These included:

- **National Immigration Law Center:**
 - Increased access to research and other actors. NILC provided grantees with information about immigration movements in other states and national data, including making personal connections across states for grantees.
 - Assistance with meeting facilitation. NILC helped manage meetings as a more neutral presence to prevent relationships from getting in the way of making strategic decisions.
- **Center for New Communities:**
 - Communication trainings. CNC staff provided communications trainings for grantees to increase their knowledge and support their needs.
- **Progressive States Action:**
 - Relationship assistance. PSA provided training and support on the best ways organizations could work together and how to plan strategically in light of divisions across the immigrant rights field.

However, grantees did have their own critiques of the national partners. These included:

- Lack of clarity on different roles of the three national partners. Grantees expressed confusion around why there were three partners and what the unique value-add was for each partner.
- Lack of awareness of what CNC and PSA were doing. While grantees were able to talk about specific assistance by NILC, they had a more difficult time calling up their work with CNC and PSA, indicating a lack of awareness of the resources these two organizations could provide.

3. Alliance Building

Another of the project's goals was to strengthen collaboration among immigrant rights advocates and potential allies.

Pattern across states: The role of immigrant-led leadership was contentious

Groups in both North Carolina and Colorado described tension between immigrant-led leadership, paid staff, and volunteers within the movement. They also acknowledged the power and legitimacy of immigrant voices and their rightful place at the table from the very earliest stages.

In North Carolina, one local partner noted, "It's difficult when policy groups tell undocumented-led groups what to do." This was a theme across both states. In North Carolina some local partners also described tension on a lower (non-leadership) level, between undocumented youth and paid staff or volunteers. One national partner seconded this view, saying there was still a lot of "mistrust" over how decisions are made, and over "who is at the table - paid professionals or volunteers." This individual said the crux of the tension was around the question: "Who can legitimately represent the interests of the community?" The importance of "taking the lead" from local and immigrant groups emerged as a theme in conversations with both North Carolina and Colorado groups, as was bringing in local stakeholders in the planning phase of the project, not just later on. One national partner described the immigrant leadership as "powerful" particularly in its ability to mobilize people, but also "fiercely independent." Another group mentioned its attempt to help volunteers and the immigration-rights movement establish "a more equal relationship" with the groups already on the ground.

Pattern across states: Groups in both states noted tentative new collaborations and alliances

Some new collaboration in both states, particularly with business, agriculture and faith-based groups. However, this phenomenon was more pronounced in Colorado than in North Carolina, and while the latter saw some potential new alliances take shape, it also saw a few existing ones frayed.

In Colorado, new collaborations were clearly evident. One local partner there noted new "strong relationships with sheriffs"; other partners also mentioned new relationships and another specifically pointed to faith groups as a new partner. The collaboration with the Colorado Fiscal Institute was widely recognized as a crucial and powerful new alliance. The statewide immigrant rights coalition was credited by local partners with a valuable coordinating role. In North Carolina, one local partner mentioned that they had built alliances with some parts of the community they hadn't worked with before, including "unlikely allies" in business and agriculture. This was supported by feedback from other local partners, as well as one North Carolina policymaker who suggested "inroads" to business groups and moderates had improved over the duration of the pilot. Religious groups and youth groups were also mentioned in North Carolina, as new players and potential allies.

However, several North Carolina grantees noted that fighting the Reclaim North Carolina legislation unearthed new divisions, "tension," and "hurtful relationships" within the immigrant rights community. Other local partners described factionalization and lack of trust between groups; one noted the pilot program "didn't have great success making bridges" among actors in the field and bemoaned a "tradeoffs" mentality that sometimes pitted groups against each other. The "tradeoffs" mentality in particular referred to the conflict around to what extent to support HB 786. While some in the immigrant rights movement were completely against the policy, others felt aspects of the policy should

be supported as a compromise to gain some specific gains for immigrants, specifically, limited drivers' licenses. This led to a less cohesive immigrant rights field in North Carolina as actors were not unified on their stance towards the bill.

Colorado: National support helped ease mainstream-grassroots tension

National partners helped ease tensions between the traditional state-level immigration leaders and the grassroots movement.

Colorado has traditionally been a state led by a major coalition member, the Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition (CIRC). Though CIRC has been widely credited with being able to unify most immigrant rights voices and serve as a powerful advocate for the state legislature, it has also been criticized for having difficulty integrating grassroots immigrant leaders. The tension showed up again during the pilot project around the issue of drivers' licenses. The driver's license movement started as a grassroots effort to pass legislation as a referendum. Though they failed to get the number of people needed to pass a new policy, they did succeed in creating a voice for the movement. During their initial months of planning, traditional immigrant rights groups were critical of the driver's license movement. However, as the grassroots strength of the movement grew, they gradually became integrated and cooperative with more mainstream immigrant rights organizations. At the time of this writing, the original differences between the driver's license campaigners and the campaigners for the more planned for initiatives (e.g. SB-90 repeal and in-state tuition) had mostly eased. National partners helped ease this tension by funding the driver's license grassroots movement (through an intermediary), while also funding more mainstream organizations, thus pulling both types of structures together.

North Carolina: New alliances with business & agriculture, trouble integrating immigrants as leaders

North Carolina built alliances with new partners such as business and agriculture, but had difficulty integrating the voices of immigrant leaders; national partners provided some useful technical assistance but were not necessarily able to ease these tensions.

The reaction to the drivers' license provisions of HB 786 in 2013 temporarily divided the immigrant rights movement, as immigrant-led groups considered embracing them, and non-immigrant-led groups came to the decision to fight against them. Stakeholders perceived significant divisions among the groups during this period; one external observer called such rifts "madly frustrating."

The crux of the disagreement was whether it was worth accepting limited drivers' licenses in exchange for other provisions that were anti-immigrant. While a degree of success was ultimately achieved, the costs of this success in terms of internal cohesion within the movement were high. Stakeholders report lack of communication during the several-month period when the law was moving through the legislature and different actors were lobbying different representatives and devising different approaches. After the fact, stakeholders are worried about how well those who disagreed will be able to work together within the We Are NC and Adelante coalitions.

The fact that this period in which HB 786 was being considered coincided with major staff transitions at two of the national partners made it especially difficult for the partners to help broker these difficult conversations among state-level groups. While stakeholders do report positive results from those efforts the partners did make, others lament the missed opportunity for national partners to play a more proactive role in addressing divisions in the movement.

4. Policymaker Engagement

Another goal of the project was to increase the awareness and knowledge of policy makers on immigrant-related issues and their willingness to support pro-immigrant policies.

Pattern across states: Overall, more progress in increasing awareness and knowledge, and less progress in increased willingness to support pro-immigrant policies

Groups in both states felt they raised their own profile with legislators over the course of the project. In North Carolina, this included increased interaction with Republican policy makers, a cohort the groups were historically less prepared to cultivate from a legislative perspective. However, awareness did not necessarily translate into willingness to get behind specific policies.

In Colorado, one local partner said the “legislature [now] has more appreciation and understanding” of what it does, and that legislators have more confidence that the groups know what they are talking about. Another local partner in the state noted a stronger relationship with legislators over the course of the pilot, saying that policymakers appreciated the “real and rapid” information the group was able to provide, which gave them necessary confidence to “move forward” with legislation. Another local partner in Colorado described a huge change in policymakers’ perspectives on immigrant rights, and said that “we’ve come full circle when a conservative senator pushes the human piece.” North Carolina groups noted some improvement in legislator awareness and knowledge, which may result in favorable policies down the line. One North Carolina policymaker described the groups’ bipartisan outreach efforts by saying the “one-on-one education” of legislators will pay off in the future. The individual added that “two years ago this wouldn’t have happened.”

Predictably, in Colorado the political dynamics were more conducive to support for pro-immigrant policies, and one local partner noted that they did have “more champions” in terms of bill sponsors. However one national partner cautioned that capacity in both states for policy maker education was “severely lacking” and was concerned that while the groups engaged policy makers, they were “not sure how much we activated them to take issues on, on their own.” In North Carolina, state legislators tended to have a cautious approach and wanted to “wait and see what happens federally” before committing to local initiatives. One national partner noted general “confusion” among legislators on the immigrant policy agenda for the coming year, and another national partner supported this perspective, saying that in North Carolina, legislators’ attention was “divided” between state and federal efforts.

Colorado: Lobbying leads to victories on offense

Lobbying and direct work with legislators was a central strategy of the work in Colorado leading to several major policy wins.

The national partners supported all three major grantees working directly with policy makers. During meetings, the national partners would bring in state-level partners strategically: CIRC if they wanted a respected and recognized voice, those from the driver’s license movement if they wanted a grassroots representative, and the Colorado Fiscal Institute if they wanted facts and economic supports. Grantees credited this strategy with increasing the number of champions of immigrant rights issues, as well as the number of those willing to support immigrant rights issues. By providing support to policy makers in a variety of ways, and providing reasons for them to make the case to reluctant constituents (as applicable), policy makers were increasingly “covered” to work on pro-immigrant policy. One grantee

said, “The changes [among willing policy actors] are night and day.” This legislative advocacy was central to pro-immigrant wins in Colorado.

North Carolina: Greater community involvement in lobbying aids defensive wins

The fight over HB 786 in 2013 led to greater community involvement in lobbying legislators, and contributed to the bill’s dilution.

Stakeholders reported seeing more people in the immigrant rights community lobbying regularly in 2013, both individually and in concert with hired lobbyists. These efforts were viewed as preliminary but positive. With changes in lobbying staff, it remains to be seen how sustained these efforts will be.

Given that HB 786 was the central issue on immigrant-related issues in the past year in North Carolina, legislative advocacy was clearly central to promoting pro-immigrant advocacy. The stark challenge of a clear piece of legislation led groups to focus on this particular strategy over others.

5. Changing Political Discourse

A final goal of the project was to change political discourse in the two states, including improved attitudes toward immigrant-related issues among the public and increased coverage of pro-immigrant messages in the media.

Pattern across states: More press coverage and better media framing

An increase in the number of pro-immigrant messages in the media helped change the political discourse in both North Carolina and Colorado. Media framing – or “changing the conversation” – appeared to be effectively used by groups in both states.

In North Carolina, policymakers noted media coverage was not as negative as it had been prior to the pilot project. Outside observers in the state seconded this view, with one saying the “discourse is getting better” and another feeling as though citizens were increasingly sympathetic to the pro-immigrant cause, even if pro-immigrant policy wasn’t getting pushed through. In North Carolina, some groups said that strategic communications worked well. Others saw social media becoming a new advocacy tool. One local North Carolina group said the press over the “Reclaim North Carolina” fight was good for “getting the discourse turned our way.” In Colorado, increased media coverage of pro-immigrant messages was even more pronounced. One local partner noted a “drastic improvement between 2012 and 2013 with awareness,” which they attributed in part to post-election confidence and improved civic engagement.

In Colorado, media framing (assisted by CNC) and coverage in the form of articles and letters to the editor were credited with changing the discourse about immigrants as taxpayers on a “grand scale,” according to one local partner. Another local partner seconded this view, saying “the right messaging frame of trust and dignity” had broad, cross-sector appeal. Other partners noted an increase in positive media coverage, including specifically the use of the word “undocumented” vs. “illegal.” This was linked to the May 2013 decision by Associated Press to drop the word “illegal” in describing people, a decision also made by the *Denver Post*. One local partner mentioned that just seeing the positive election results “shifted the rhetoric” in a pro-immigrant direction. Pro-immigrant messages were created in both states, according to a national partner, who added that “we’ve done nothing if not improve opinions.”

Colorado: More grassroots support, better media coverage

The grassroots support for pro-immigrant initiatives – especially drivers’ licenses for undocumented residents – was seen as a major change in Colorado.

Much of this support can be credited to the neighborhood-by-neighborhood approach that the driver’s license campaign took. This campaign was organized by immigrant-led groups, which proved their bona fides to the mainstream groups by mobilizing significant numbers of immigrants and allies in 2012 to sign a petition to get drivers’ licenses as a ballot measure. While this drive not prove fruitful in the short term, the mobilization power demonstrated helped pave the way for immigrant-led groups to collaborate more closely with established actors.

Media coverage in Colorado has become increasingly favorable to the pro-immigrant movement, though there is still potential for more fairness.

Many interviewees noticed that state media was more fair when covering immigrant issues. Far right spokespeople for the movement were consulted as representative spokespeople less often, and consisted with the change in Associated Press standards, the word “illegal” was used to describe immigrants less often (being replaced with “undocumented”).

Opposition research/data and organizing was considered of minor benefit in Colorado.

Opposition tracking was mentioned as potentially interesting, but not a strategy that had been used widely in the state. With the reduced activity of the anti-immigrant movement, opposition tracking was not seen as the most important strategy to use in the future.

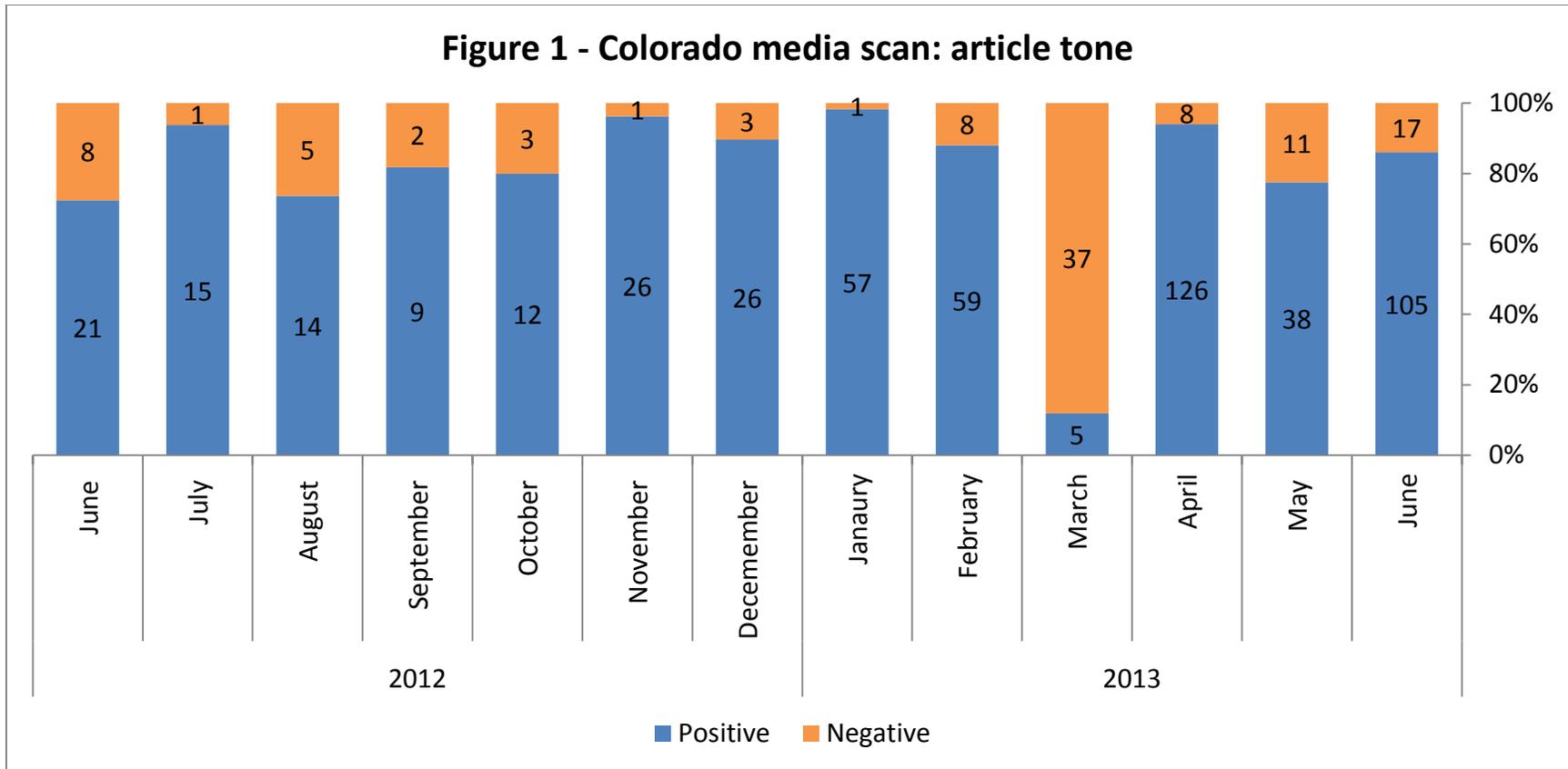
A communications scan showed most articles discussed immigration treated immigrants favorably.

TCC’s communications scan analyzed media portrayals of immigrants and immigration issues from June 2012-June 2013 in Colorado². Results can be seen in Figure 1.

Notably, negative articles picked up significantly in March 2013, reflecting negative media attention around both Comprehensive Immigration Reform bills being created at the national level and reports of the potential repeal on SB90 (which passed in April 2013). In April 2013 and May 2013, when significant pro-immigrant policy gains were made, the trends stayed consistent with the majority of articles being favorable towards immigrants and immigration. April 2013, in particular, shows a large increase in articles focused on immigration. The large number of articles focused on immigration in April, and the fact that the majority of these were positive coming off a month where the majority of articles were negative, show a more favorable climate for the new pro-immigrant policies being passed. It is also worth noting that advocates in Colorado made a concerted effort to keep their pro-immigration lobbying away from the media, with the hopes that this strategy would prevent engagement from the opposition.

² Articles were coded as positive, negative, or neutral with regard to tone by staff at the National Immigration Law Center. TCC Group analyzed this data.

Figure 1 - Colorado media scan: article tone



November 6, 2012:

- Colorado House of Representatives gains democratic majority, leaving the general assembly and Governor in Democratic hands.

- April 26, 2013: SB 90 repealed
- April 29, 2013: In-state tuition passed
- May 7, 2013: driver's licenses passed

North Carolina: Some improvement in a tough climate

While the public climate around immigration in North Carolina remains challenging, stakeholders saw some progress.

Stakeholders saw greater public support for immigration issues and an improvement in public discourse. For some, this was the area where the project had most “traction.” This is an especially notable change given that anti-immigrant groups in North Carolina had a fair amount of national support.

Stakeholders saw more balanced coverage of immigrant issues in the media.

Stakeholders saw more balanced coverage of immigrant related discussions. Having a specific bill over which to advance advocacy efforts was seen as a positive in that coverage was an opportunity for “getting the discourse turned our way,” as one stakeholder put it – but in the aggregate, media coverage of the fight was “atrocious,” so there continues to be a long way to go. Another stakeholder saw that news coverage changed from “demonization” to a greater reliance on the facts.

The opposition continues to be less strong than the movement, though opposition research does not appear to have been a major strategy used in the project.

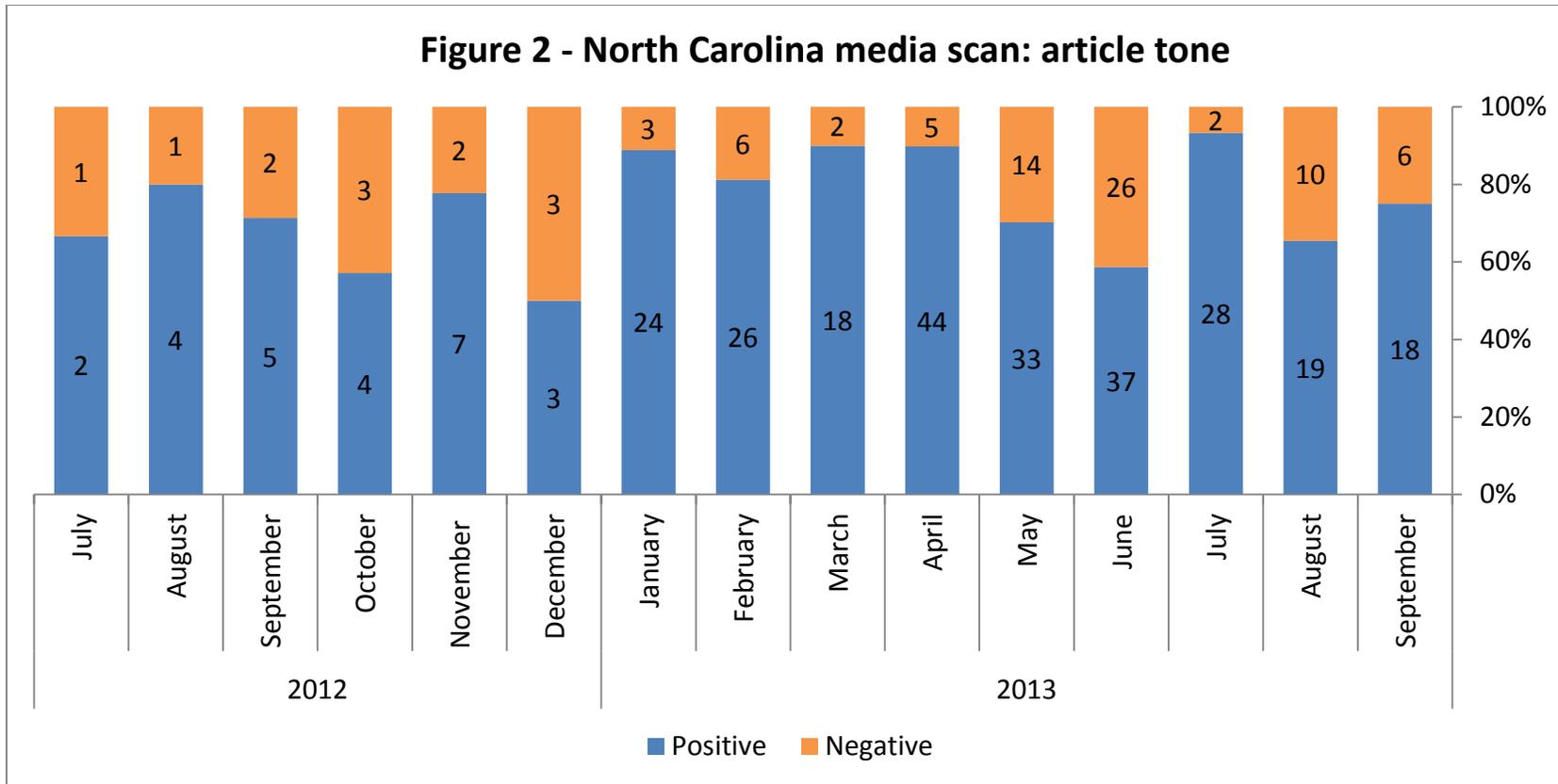
In analyzing the legislature’s 2012 decision not to advance an Arizona-style bill, stakeholders viewed the movement’s ability to mobilize protesters and advocates at multiple Special Committee hearings as a sign of strength, and noted that their side outnumbered representatives from the opposition. One observer thought, though others disagreed, that HB 786 was also divisive for opponents of reform, for similar reasons: it contained some good and some bad from an anti-reform perspective.

Stakeholders do not report a strong reliance on opposition research as a key strategy in advancing the work. Rather than trying to understand the opposition in detail, the movement seems to have focused on advancing its own work and focusing on its own efforts. This strategy appears to have yielded positive results, but if in the event the opposition should come to be better funded, the movement might miss not having greater capacity to analyze the opposition and tailor messaging accordingly.

A communications scan showed the majority of articles discussed immigration treated immigrants favorably, though the state did have a wide range of the numbers of articles focused on immigrants month to month.

Figure 2 below shows the number of positive and negative articles each month in the state, which were more or less consistent in tone. Notably, the tone of articles related to immigrants did not significantly change after the November 2012 elections. However, as immigration became more of an issue both at the state level and nationally, it earned more coverage in North Carolina’s media. The increase in articles in 2013 may be the result of a shift in what media outlets were targeted for the communication scan.

Figure 2 - North Carolina media scan: article tone



November 6, 2012:

- North Carolina elects a Republican Governor (Pat McCrory), leaving the Governor, and General Assembly in Republican hands

April 10, 2013:

- HB 786 introduced focusing on Arizona-style immigrant enforcement legislation

August 15, 2013:

- HB 786 vetoed by Governor

September 4, 2013:

- Veto overridden

6. Field Thoughts on Progress and Future Opportunities

TCC used the January 2014 survey to ask immigration groups in Colorado and North Carolina that were not affiliated with the pilot project their thoughts on overall field change and where future opportunities lie in each state. Results, shown below, indicate the different landscape in each state and highlight areas where partners may want to specifically focus in the future. It is worth noting that due to the small number of respondents to these surveys (7 in Colorado and 9 in North Carolina), these responses should not be taken as necessarily indicative of larger trends in the field; however, they can be seen as a baseline for a discussion around larger progress made and future opportunities in the immigrant rights field.

Progress and Opportunities in Colorado

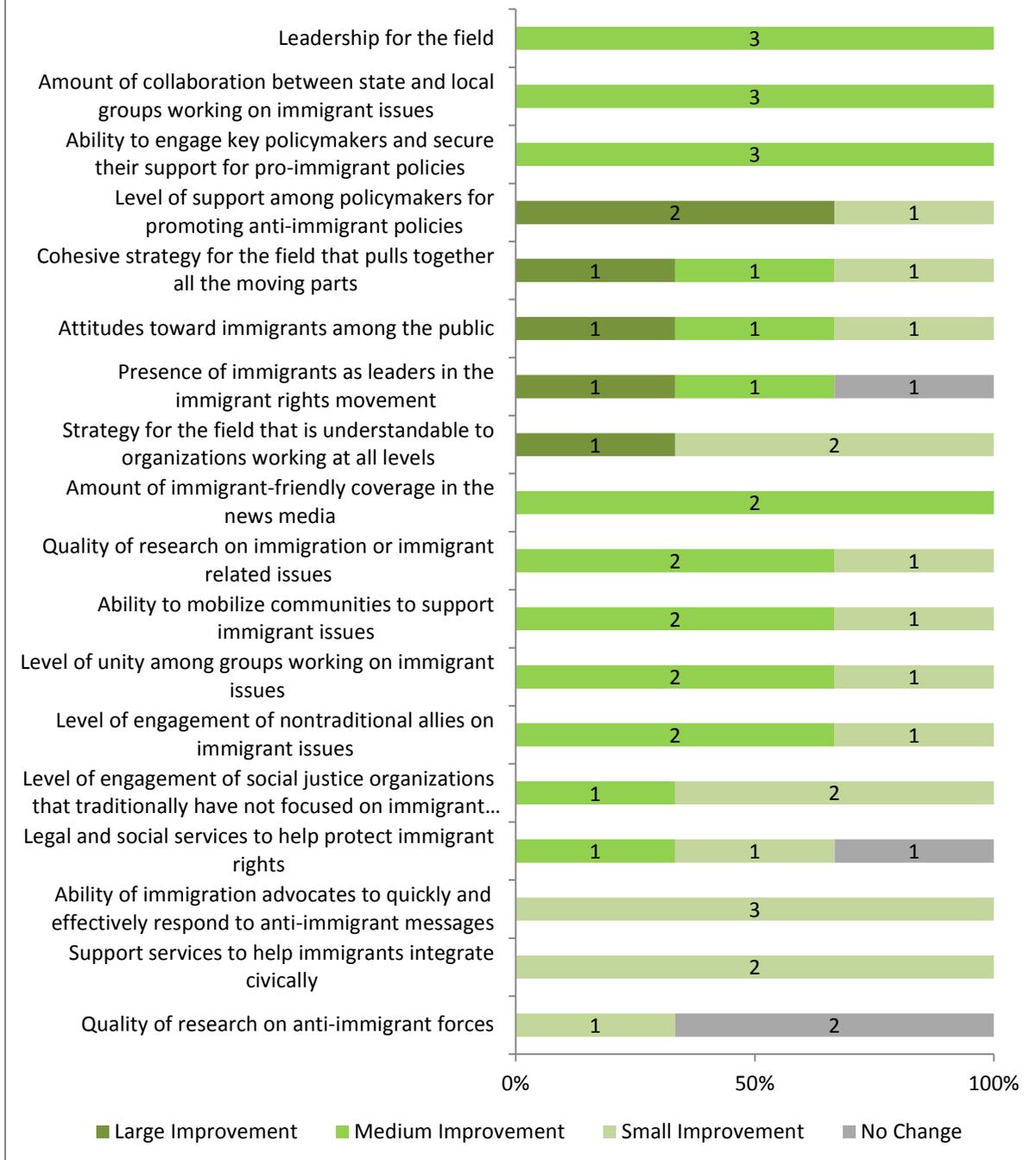
Progress was seen across the board in Colorado, with survey respondents rating most areas as improved.

As seen in Figure 3 below, areas with the most improvement included level of support among policy makers for pro-immigrant policies, the presence of immigrant leaders in the immigration rights movement, and having a cohesive strategy for the field as a whole.

Only two areas (services to help protect immigrant rights and the quality of research on anti-immigrant forces) were rated to have no improvement.

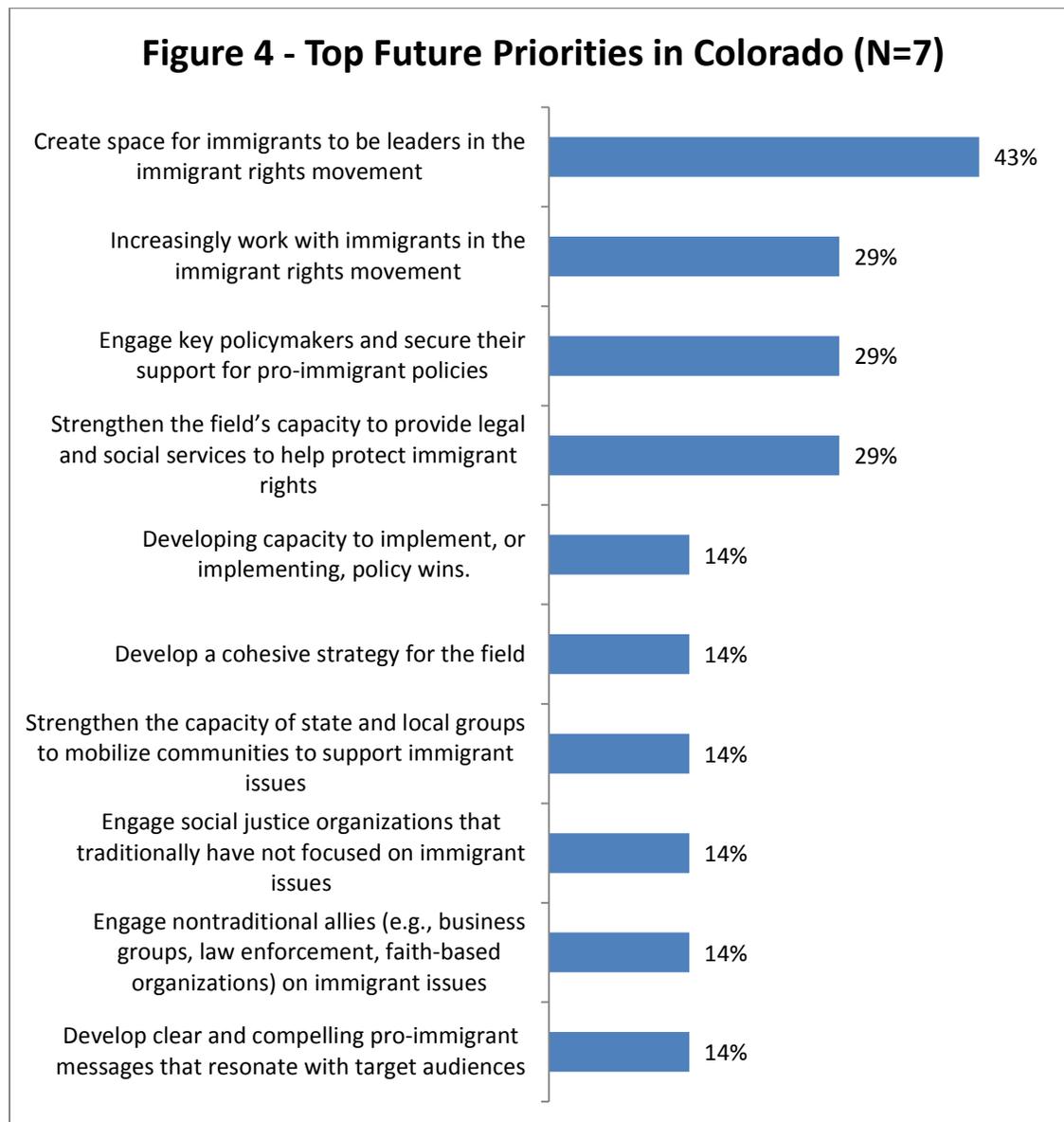
This indicates that field players who were not funded by the pilot project felt a large degree of change in the field, beyond just policy wins.

Figure 3 - Progress on Immigrant Issues in Colorado



With progress seen in these areas, Colorado’s organizations had a relatively unified sense of what the future opportunities were in the immigration field for the next three years. Sustaining and building upon a framework that focused more on immigrant leaders leading the movement was seen as the top priority for Colorado. Two of the other top three priorities named also focused on immigrants: both including immigrants in the movement more often (not just in leadership positions) and focusing on providing services to immigrant communities. Continuing engagement with policymakers and actors was

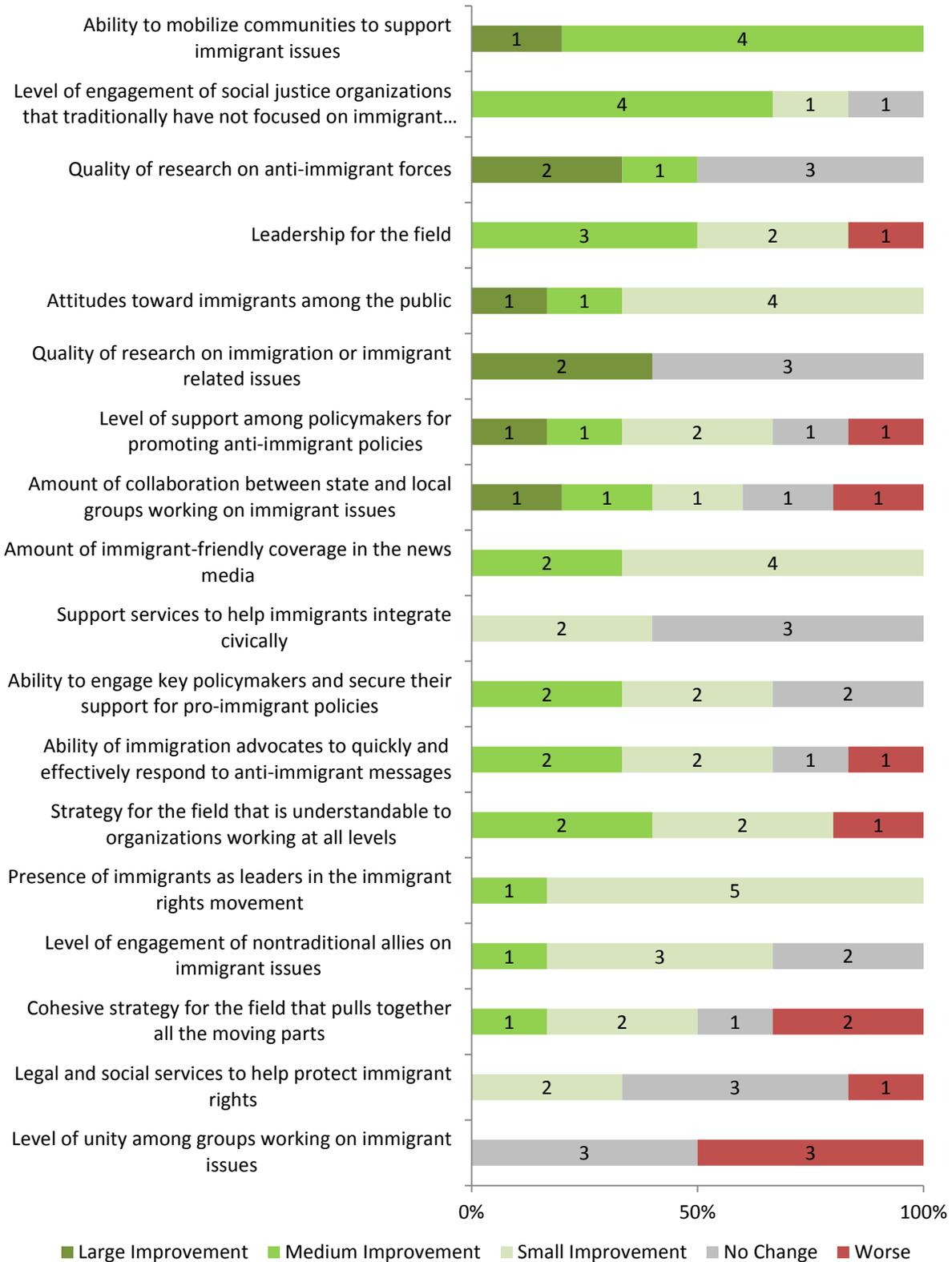
also listed as a top priority. These future priorities indicate that Colorado is interested in moving forward in areas in which they saw progress in 2013, perhaps as a realization of the impact that working with policy makers and immigrant leaders can have.



Progress and Opportunities in North Carolina

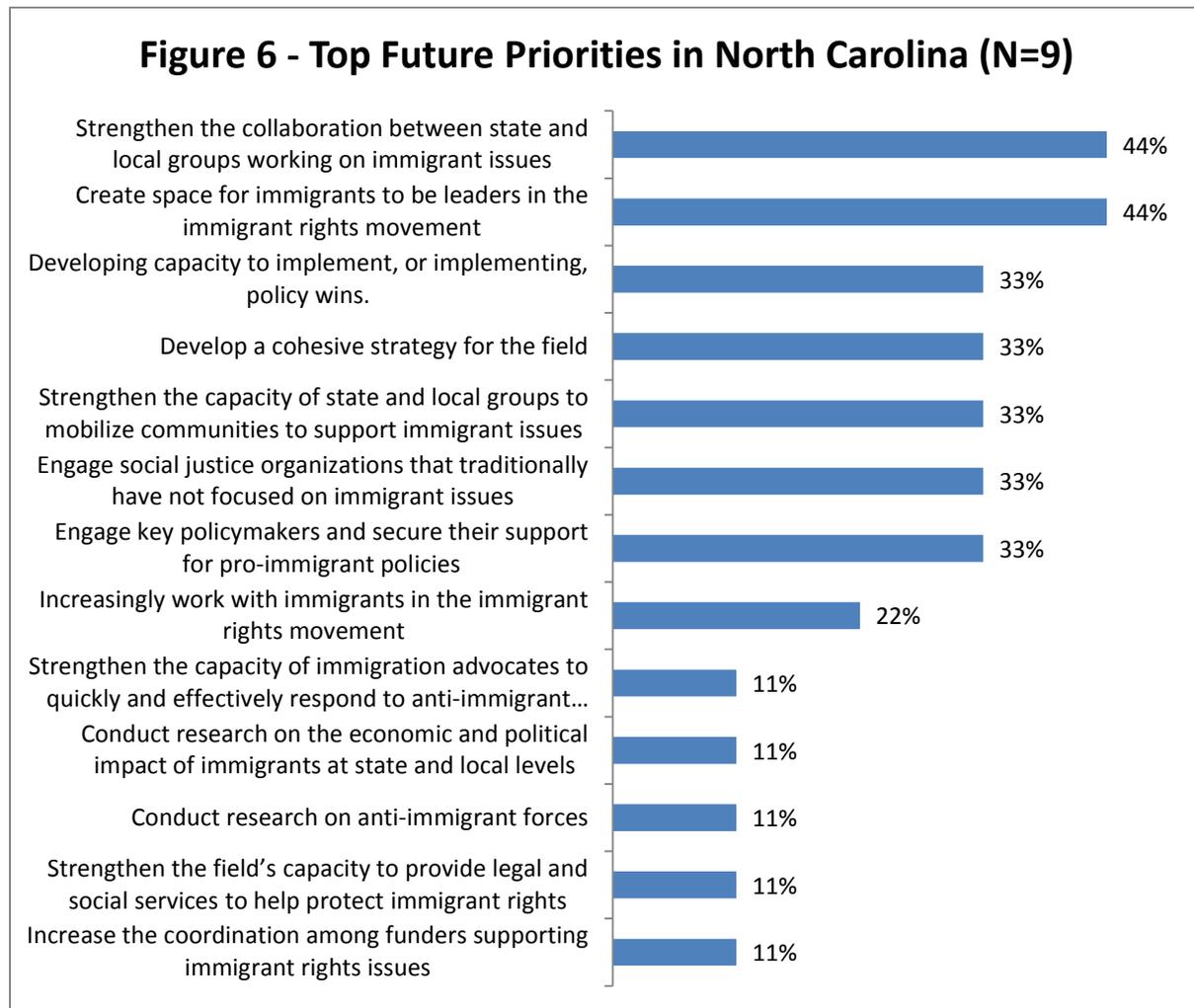
Survey results from North Carolina showed mixed results, with some areas having positive change and others becoming worse. Survey respondents felt most positive change occurred in ability to mobilize communities to support pro-immigrant issues, the amount of immigrant friendly coverage in the news media, and the level of engagement of social justice organizations that had not traditionally focused on immigration issues. Areas that were seen as having gotten worse over time included the level of unity among groups working in immigration and creating a cohesive strategy for the field, echoing many comments heard from field interviewees. Many areas were thought to have not changed at all since 2012.

Figure 5 - Progress on Immigrant Issues in North Carolina



After being asked their thoughts on where progress was, or was not, made, organizations were asked where they saw the greatest opportunities for change over the next three years. Strengthening collaboration between state and local groups and creating space for immigrants themselves to be leaders in the immigrant rights movement were both seen as top priorities for the state. Other priorities also focused more on process rather than outcomes, such as capacity development (e.g. to implement policy wins, to mobilize communities), ongoing engagement of groups (such as grassroots work or more policymaker emphasis) and developing a more cohesive strategy for a fairly fractured field.

These priorities indicate that respondents see a need to look inward and focus on building stronger connections within the field, before expanding outward to pursue specific policy gains.



7. Process Outcomes

In addition to the substantive goals discussed above, there were a number of process outcomes of the pilot project, having to do with how the national partners interacted with each other and with the groups on the ground.

Clarity of the project goals and communication with partners improved over time.

Compared to the mid-term evaluation, grantees were much more aware of the goals of the pilot project. National partners made a conscious effort to set state-level goals with state partners, which led to a deeper level of shared operations and movement towards common goals. When bills and campaigns including drivers' licenses threatened to shake up the agenda in both states, national partners were able to help build or reinforce connections at the state level. Communications with the national partners were almost universally praised, with grantees feeling they had open access to national partners whenever needed.

Technical assistance was considered high quality.

The quality of technical assistance was high with organizations viewing it as timely and relevant. Many grantees talked about getting on the phone and calling a national partner if they had a quick question. Some grantees also said that even though the project is ending, they would feel comfortable reaching out to national partners in the future if they needed assistance. National partners raised concerns about the consequences of investing resources in a state for a short time and then withdrawing resources fully. It is worth noting grantees did not voice this worry.

The quality of the subgranting (including the process of selecting local partners) was considered improved from the mid-term evaluation.

The mid-term evaluation identified a lack of clarity and communication about the process for selecting local partners through the subgranting arrangement. In the final evaluation, grantees had more clarity around why they were chosen as a state partner, what value they added to the project, and what value the other partners added. All three national partners worked together to complement each other, even more so than before. It is unclear to what extent the subgranting process this time around was open to more organizations, or more of an internal choice made by the national partners in terms of whom to support.

The ability of partners to act strategically and respond to changing circumstances was hampered by their own internal staff changes in the second year, and in the first year was challenged by lack of clarity among local actors.

A central design component of the project was coordination and communication among the national and local actors, in part to enable flexible response to changing circumstances. This was made difficult by a couple of factors. One was a relative lack of communication between the national and local groups about which groups were and were not receiving funding. This made it difficult for grantees and non-grantees to identify each other and discuss trends that might warrant potential changes, as well as the changes themselves. Another was staff transitions among the partners in the second year. While exit interviews were done and shared with incoming new staff, the fact that project staff in two of the three national partners turned over completely, and at a particularly sensitive time in the project's execution,

meant that there was continuity of knowledge lost. As there is typically a lot of turnover at national nonprofits, increasing the replicability of the project through creating infrastructure and documentation (such as process documents and on-boarding materials) may be useful. Furthermore, having this infrastructure in place will help new staff feel like they can get-up-to-speed and contribute to the project more quickly.

If the project had not existed, progress would likely have been slower, but it might have been more sustainable.

The pilot project made clear contributions in a few key areas. The national technical assistance was useful in strengthening the ability of groups to work with legislators and to respond to key opportunities, particularly in Colorado. In that state, the three major policy wins in 2013 might not have all happened in the same year without the project's support. In particular, the flexible funding that allowed CIRC to allocate funds nimbly to support different of the multiple campaigns going on simultaneously provided needed resources to achieve the wins. However, stakeholders in Colorado also expressed concern about the sustainability of such collaboration in the absence of the project's funding. Colorado is at an interesting crossroads, in that advocates have achieved much of what they have been pushing for at the state level for the past seven years? "Now what?" is a relevant question both in terms of what to do, and who will do it. Stakeholders are worried that the 2013 momentum will not last. It is worth considering that perhaps in the project's absence, the three wins of 2013 might not all have happened at once, but that a more deliberate pace might have led to alliances and capacity that were longer-lasting.

This thought is potentially comforting for advocates in North Carolina, who are grappling with their own issues on sustainability. The legislative fight of 2013 around the drivers' license provision of HB 786 left bruised egos and frayed trust. North Carolina has always had challenges with statewide mobilization, never having had a statewide analogue to CIRC. The We Are NC and Adelante coalitions continue to function, but there are questions about their ability to coordinate their work around a shared agenda. It will be important for future mobilization around in-state tuition to carefully incorporate the voices of immigrant leaders if it is to be successful and sustainable in the long run.

Recommendations

1. Regarding State-Level Work in Colorado

The unity created between the grassroots and more formal immigration movements in Colorado needs to be sustained.

Colorado's remarkable success in 2014 comes from a more unified immigration rights field. As the grassroots driver's license movement complemented more formal lobbying initiatives led by more formal organizations, the immigration movement was strengthened from all sides. With the immediate policy goals achieved, Colorado should take care to not let the alliance between grassroots and formal organizations fracture. These two arenas should continue to connect and discuss how they can benefit each other and advance a common agenda. A particular avenue that could be used to sustain this unity is the continued funding of the immigrant hotline. The hotline is a resource that can be used for grassroots organizing or advocacy. Furthermore, because the hotline was typically used by undocumented immigrants who were then brought into the grassroots movement as interested, the hotline is a useful resource for bringing more immigrants into the field. As Colorado transitions towards implementing policies, the hotline can be used to collect stories about how implementation is proceeding.

Next steps and future issue areas have to be decided upon by the immigrant rights players as a whole.

Much of Colorado's success in 2013 was due to the field having a consensus on which issues to target. When driver's licenses emerged as a grassroots movement, the field was able to pick it up and support the issue without stepping over the grassroots players. With all of the major policy wins accomplished, CIRC, or another player should take the time to convene the larger group of immigration players and decide priorities for the upcoming few years. These may center either on implementation of policies recently adopted or deciding on other policies to advocate for.

The capacity of the state, and field, to implement wins needs to be discussed.

Colorado passed two completely new policies that now need to be implemented, along with ensuring that the repeal of another, anti-immigrant, policy is followed through upon. The immigrant field should consider if implementation capacity is present in the state and, if it is not, how it can grow. The extent to which ongoing pressure will need to be put on public figures to ensure that policies are implemented should be discussed when setting new priorities.

A strong ally familiar with the movement in the state legislature was key; this relationship should be cultivated and used going forward.

Having a clear champion to advocate for pro-immigrant policies, State Senator Jesse Ulibarri, was a big motivator of success for policy creation and passage. The focus should turn to how the field can collaborate with Senator Ulibarri to further advance immigrant rights. This should be linked to the immigration field deciding its priorities, and whether it focuses more on implementing policy wins or advocating for additional pro-immigrant policies.

2. Regarding State-Level Work in North Carolina

Leverage the overlapping membership of the Adelante Coalition and We Are NC for greater coordinated action.

One of the distinguishing features of the work in North Carolina as compared to Colorado is the absence of a statewide coalition focused on immigrant rights. There are two statewide coalitions that work on related issues, either more narrowly or more broadly than an overall immigrant rights agenda. The Adelante Coalition is focused on advancing education for underserved communities in the state, specifically through the passage of in-state tuition for undocumented immigrants. The We Are NC Coalition has a broader progressive agenda, which includes immigrant rights alongside other issues.

These two coalitions have significantly overlapping memberships, and there is an opportunity to leverage this commonality for greater coordinated action. Even as they pursue distinct agendas, it is worth continuing to have meetings where representatives of the two coalitions discuss a common agenda and areas of overlap. One notable survey finding is that respondents believe relationships between state and local actors need further attention. This speaks to dynamics within and between the coalitions. TCC's research on coalition capacity reinforces the common-sense understanding that coalitions need to continually remind themselves of their own value propositions. Facilitating such discussions in the context of conversations between leaders of the two coalitions would be worthwhile.

Process the lessons learned from the watering down of HB 786 in a group context and share those lessons learned among multiple actors.

Survey respondents identified a number of areas with regard to immigrant rights that, in their estimation, had gotten worse in the past two years. Chief among these was unity among immigrant rights advocates. This supports interview findings that describe a bruising fight within the immigrant rights community about how to respond to HB 786. While respondents view the outcome, in which the anti-immigrant legislation was watered down significantly, as generally positive from a policy perspective, from the point of view of relationships among advocates, the outcome was mostly negative.

In line with the above recommendation about leveraging the overlap between the Adelante and We Are NC coalitions, it seems important for immigrant-led and non-immigrant-led groups to work together to process lessons learned from the HB 786 process. Addressing the tensions transparently and in a spirit of reflection, learning, and moving forward may begin to repair some of the damage done. These lessons learned should then be shared broadly to demonstrate the commitment of those involved to future collaboration.

Consider Colorado's trajectory and identify potential lessons learned.

While their political contexts are very different, actors in North Carolina can learn from the experience of Colorado over the past several years. They began their drive to victories in 2013 with a stinging defeat in 2006. The process of gradually building coalition, integrating immigrant-led leadership, and getting an advocate into the state legislature where they could serve as an ally "on the inside" suggests opportunities for North Carolina to consider.

CIRC's partnership with the Colorado Fiscal Institute, seen as an impartial source of information about the economic impact of immigration, was particularly helpful in establishing broader credibility. North Carolina has similar relationships in place, and may consider other ways to leverage them. This is particularly true in the context of HB 786, which while it has been watered down, has not gone away. Many of its major provisions will be the subject of study by the state legislature. Affecting the framing, execution, and reception of that study could be an important goal for advocates in the coming year.

3. Regarding the Pilot Project

The pilot project is a good candidate for replication.

Fundamentally, the pilot project is a good candidate for replication in other states. This is supported both by the policy wins (or deterring the passage of anti-immigrant rights policy, in the case of North Carolina) and capacity gains that were made over the course of the pilot project, as well as generally positive feedback from local groups, policy makers, national partners and outside observers. The important caveat is that goals will likely be somewhat different for each additional state (as the disparity in outcomes between Colorado and North Carolina clearly illustrates); this will imply different strategies and definitions of success.

The partners (nonprofits and funders alike) may want to decide whether their goals are policy wins in the short term, in which case states with characteristics similar to Colorado (e.g. a preexisting statewide pro-immigrant rights coalition and the capability to resonate with a broad set of stakeholders) would be natural targets for funding. Strategies employed would likely involve heavy-hitting campaign and lobbying work aimed directly at legislators. If goals are the building of an organized movement or network over time to eventually lay the groundwork for future legislative victories, funders may want to consider states with a less cohesive immigrant rights landscape, and strategies such as capacity-building investments over the long term. Funders of the pilot project should also set clear expectations around the role of each national partner, and allow national partners some time to plan and network with each other before the project begins with state-level partners.

Several conditions point to increased chances of future success.

When considering where and how to implement another iteration of this project there are several factors that may influence probability of success. It is important to note these are not preconditions, but rather ideas that emerged from the evaluation of outcomes and reflection of interviewees in North Carolina and Colorado. Depending on the project partners' particular goals, some combination of the items below might be useful:

- **The ability of local groups to lobby directly and to train others to lobby**, including training individuals in undocumented communities. Increased comfort and familiarity with lobbying and advocacy work was mentioned by groups in North Carolina and Colorado as a primary factor in their success. When looking to implement a similar project in other states, funders may want to identify areas where advocacy (e.g. 501c4) organizations exist and consider capacity-building strategies for these groups that will fully leverage their lobbying ability within the immigrant rights context.
- **A statewide coalition.** In general, the more in-state unity and coordination between groups, the better. In the absence of a statewide coalition, a critical mass of collaboration between local groups was mentioned by virtually all interviewees, in both states, as a prerequisite for future success. One local partner said both coalition infrastructure and leadership were necessary, noting that Texas was "ripe" in terms of infrastructure but had a deplorable leadership vacuum. Another partner noted that there should be a "history of working together as a movement", supporting a colleague's suggestion that the desire for change had to come from the community itself. However one individual urged funders not to "shy away from challenging environments - we had three big legislative wins [in Colorado] after a decade of work."

- **Stability and consistency of leadership and staffing, among national partners.** To effectively build capacity over a longer period (more than three years), there needs to be institutional memory and uninterrupted, consistent delivery of technical assistance, and other kinds of support, to local implementing groups. To some extent this will be difficult to predict and sometimes turnover is inevitable. Nonetheless, for future projects, funders may want to think about stability of leadership and how funding might be structured to support intentional leadership development and knowledge management systems, so that valuable information and contacts are not lost.
- **A grassroots undocumented movement.** Colorado’s experience illustrates how a grassroots movement with a strong leader can be effective, particularly in mobilizing immigrants to vote. As a local implementing partner in Colorado put it, the grassroots movement can be what puts organizing “over the edge.” Perhaps equally important is the interaction and dynamics between undocumented groups and professional or staffed organizations. For funders, this means locating states with existing local groups that have strong connections to and credibility with grassroots networks, and ensuring that the immigrant rights community is involved not just in the messaging and the campaign, but also the implementation of whatever comes next.
- **A local group that can make the economic case to lawmakers.** In the case of Colorado, the Colorado Fiscal Institute provided a cost-benefit analysis of immigration reform that resonated with unlikely allies and created an appeal that rested on facts, rather than moral or subjective arguments. This is one more tool in the toolkit of advocates, alongside appeals that *are* based on moral, subjective, or values-based arguments, which can be persuasive to different audiences. Having a broader set of tools in the toolkit can prove useful.
- **A local champion.** In some cases, funders may want to identify states that have an existing local group that can assume a leading or champion role (similar to CIRC in Colorado) without losing the participation of grassroots and other local partners.
- **A recent election versus a fast-approaching election.** As the North Carolina experience illustrates, mobilizing resources when the political landscape is unclear or volatile poses potentially significant problems and challenges for groups which may have to scramble to pivot their strategies. There is value in having “breathing room” for local groups to research and exploit political vulnerabilities, and to build relationships and credibility with candidates or incumbents. Advance time before elections also enables groups to gauge public opinion and work to change the discourse around immigration, before crucial votes, for a more coordinated offensive strategy. In interviews, national partners concurred that “political composition is extremely important” if the end goal is passing legislation.
- **Ability of national partners to make local grants.** Subgranting enables groups on the ground to effectively orchestrate a campaign using their deep knowledge of the local landscape, and can lead to more flexible, credible capacity building of local groups. It is worth revisiting what the right level of support is to local level groups, both in terms of amount, and in terms of specific technical assistance areas (e.g. communications versus other work). The extent to which national organizations have the capacity to subgrant effectively should also be considered. Granting solely to local-level capacity building would not be fruitful for pragmatic and strategic

reasons. On the pragmatic side, funders may not have a deep enough knowledge of the local political and nonprofit landscape to know which groups need what kind of capacity building. Credibility of the effort might be undermined as local groups (both pro- and anti-immigration reform) might be more likely to perceive an outside or national agenda at work. This approach also increases the likelihood of mistrust between local groups, as non-grantees may question why they do not receive funding.

- **Funders may also want to conduct more in-depth research into the demographic make-up of candidate states.** The composition of the immigrant community in some states may point to convergence or cleavage around key issues such as drivers' licenses, in-state tuition, deportation, the criminal justice system, language rights or other initiatives. These factors may include gender, country of origin, level of education, and whether immigrants are primarily first-generation or second-generation. So-called "black/brown" dynamics may also come into play. Mississippi is one example of a state which effectively killed off an Arizona-style immigration bill because of a black-brown alliance (the Legislative Black Caucus and the Mississippi Immigrant Rights Alliance).

The pilot project was an opportunity to learn about how to advance pro-immigrant advocacy at the state level. This report is intended to foster reflection on what worked and what didn't about that experience, for the benefit of future efforts to achieve these goals.

Appendix A: List of Interviewees

The following is a list of individuals interviewed for this report. As is indicated in the three rightmost columns, some were interviewed only for environmental scan, some only for the midpoint report, some only for the final report, some for two of the above, and some for all three.

Name	Organization	State	Role in the project	Envi Scan	Mid-point	Final
1. Jess George	Latin American Coalition	NC	Grantee	X	X	
2. Dani Martinez	NC Justice Center	NC	Grantee		X	
3. Ada Volkmer	COLA	NC	Grantee		X	
4. Lori Fernald-Khamala	American Friends Service Committee	NC	Grantee		X	
5. Moises Serrano	El Cambio	NC	Non-grantee		X	
6. Amy Fischer	NC Dream Team	NC	Non-grantee		X	
7. Angeline Echeverria	El Pueblo	NC	Non-grantee		X	
8. Chris Brook	ACLU-NC	NC	Non-grantee		X	
9. Chris Liu-Beers	NC Council of Churches	NC	Non-grantee		X	
10. Nayely Perez-Huerta	SEIRN	NC	Non-grantee		X	X
11. Julien Ross	Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition (CIRC)	CO	Grantee		X	
12. Kathy White	Colorado Fiscal Policy Institute	CO	Grantee	X	X	X
13. Denise Maes	ACLU-Colorado	CO	Grantee		X	
14. Monica Rosenbluth	Monica Rosenbluth, consultant	CO	Grantee		X	
15. Gabriela Flora	AFSC - Colorado	CO	Non-grantee		X	X
16. Daniel Ramos	One Colorado	CO	Non-grantee		X	
17. Alvaro Huerta	National Immigration Law Center		National partner	X	X	X
18. Jill Garvey and Domenic Powell	Center for New Community		National partner	X	X	
19. Alvin Melathe	Progressive States Action		National partner		X	
20. Darren Sandow	Hagedorn Foundation		Project funder	X		
21. Eric Ward	Atlantic Philanthropies		Project funder	X		
22. Mayra Peters-Quintero	Ford Foundation		Project funder	X		
23. Suman Raghunathan	Progressive States Action		Principle grantee	X		
24. James Gore	Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation	NC	Outside observer	X		
25. Althea Gonzalez	Hispanics in Philanthropy	NC	Outside observer	X		
26. Dave Montes	Gill Foundation	CO	Outside observer	X		
27. Wesley Morris	Beloved Community Center	NC	Outside observer	X		

Name	Organization	State	Role in the project	Envi Scan	Mid-point	Final
28. Jeff Thormodsgaard	Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition	CO	Grantee	X		
29. Dani Moore	NC Justice Center	NC	Grantee			X
30. Lacey Williams	Latin American Coalition	NC	Grantee			X
31. Melinda Wiggins	Student Action with Farmworkers	NC	Grantee			X
32. Melinda Lawrence	NC Justice Center	NC	Grantee			X
33. Alex Sirota	NC Justice Center- Budget and Tax Center	NC	Grantee			X
34. Kate Woomer-Deters	NC Justice Center	NC	Grantee			X
35. Rebecca Fontaine	Southern Coalition for Social Justice	NC	Outside Observer			X
36. John Faison	Centro Internacional de Raleigh	NC	Outside Observer			X
37. Rick Glazier	NC House of Representatives	NC	Policymaker			X
38. Earline Parmon	NC Senate	NC	Policymaker			X
39. Tania Valenzeula	El Comité – driver’s licenses / CPC	CO	Grantee			X
40. Jennifer Piper	El Comité – driver’s licenses / AFSC	CO	Grantee			X
41. Brendan Green	CIRC	CO	Grantee			X
42. Justin Valas	CIRC	CO	Grantee			X
43. Miriam Peña	Colorado Progressive Coalition	CO	Outside Observer			X
44. Lizeth Chacon	Rights for All People (RAP)	CO	Outside Observer			X
45. Jessie Ulibarri	CO House of Representatives	CO	Policymaker			X
46. Lauren Taylor	Center for New Community		National Partner			X
47. Anne Bailey	Progressive States Network		National Partner			X
48. Melissa Keaney	National Immigration Law Center		National Partner			X

Appendix B: Project Model as of June 2012

Resources/Inputs	Strategies	Outcomes (change)	Outcomes (measure)	Impacts
<p>▶ National organizations' expertise, capacities, & reputation:</p> <p>National Immigration Law Center (NILC)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy development • Litigation • Relationships with national and field org • Media relations • Staff time <p>Center for New Communities (CNC)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizing • Alliance building • Relationships with local org • Opposition research • Media relations • Grants management • Staff time <p>Progressive States Action (PSA)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and relationships with state legislators • Research and advocacy • Lobbying • Disseminate model policies • Media relations • Staff time <p>▶ National perspectives, best practices, lessons learned</p> <p>▶ Selection criteria</p> <p>▶ Local partners' expertise, capacities, & reputation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge of local political and policy environment 	<p>▶ Select states with opportunities for pro-immigrant advocacy</p> <p>▶ Select local partners</p> <p>▶ Capacity building for implementing partners*</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy • Policy • Legislative • Organizing • Communications <p>▶ Alliance building with local groups cross sectors*</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized labor, business, civil rights, and faith based groups <p>▶ Capacity building for state policy makers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training sessions on state-specific strategies <p>▶ Policy tracking and opposition research</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Track state immigration-related legislations and legislators • Profile key actors <p>▶ Strategic communications</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultivate relationships with reporters • Write op-eds 	<p>Increased organizational capacity of implementing partners to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize/mobilize • Collaborate with other orgs • Engage key legislators and secure their support • Conduct rapid response work • Influence pro-immigrant policy agenda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementing partners' self report • National organization's perceptions • Local immigrant rights advocates' perceptions 	<p>Long-term capacity and infrastructure that helps immigrant communities defeat anti-immigrant policies and advances practical problem-solving approaches toward immigration</p> <p>Increased support among elected officials for progressive immigration policies at national and state levels.</p> <p>The national and state policy debate on immigration becomes more progressive</p>
		<p>Strengthened collaboration among:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant rights advocates • Potential allies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • # of collaborators • Strength of collaboration perceived by advocates and allies 	
		<p>Policy makers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased awareness/knowledge about immigrant-related issues • Increased willingness to speak out against and/or take actions to modify anti-immigrant policies • Increased willingness to promote pro-immigrant policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • # of policy makers become legislative champions (SLPIP signers) • # of policy makers publicly speak against anti-immigrant policies • # of policy makers publicly promote pro-immigrant policies 	
		<p>Political discourse:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved attitudes toward immigrant-related issues among the public • Increased coverage of pro-immigrant messages in the media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public opinion data showed improvement in attitudes toward immigrants **lacking state-level polling data • Increased local media coverage of pro-immigrant narrative • Increased featured voices in op-eds • Decreased local media coverage of anti-immigrant narrative 	

Resources/Inputs	Strategies	Outcomes (change)	Outcomes (measure)	Impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration among immigrant rights groups • Connections with progressive and civil rights allies in the states • Connections with local communities <p>▶ Funders:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Input • Resources • Visibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support local communications efforts • Connect national and local media <p>▶ Ongoing evaluative learning</p>	<p>Policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advance pro-immigrant policies at the state and local levels • Deter anti-immigrant policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • # and potential impact of pro-immigrant bill(s) introduced, advanced, or passed • # and potential impact of anti-immigrant bills blocked or deterred 	<p>Replication of the model in other states</p>

*The strategy plays out differently in North Carolina and Colorado. In Colorado, the strategy focuses in tapping into an existing statewide anchor organization (CIRC). In North Carolina where there was no existing anchor, the strategy focuses on bringing different local groups together and helps them build capacity and work with each other.

Appendix C: Summary of Environmental Scan from June 2012

Key area and data points	Use of data regarding evaluation	Opportunity assessment (Low, Medium, High)	
		North Carolina	Colorado
1. Demographic and Economic Characteristics: Immigrant population; Voting base; Impact of immigrants in the state's economy; Industries that rely on immigrant labor; Major business lobbies	Provides the context for pro-migrant advocacy and the external factors that might empower or limit the implementation of planned strategies	Low-Medium	Medium-High
2. Political Landscape: Political make-up of state electorates and legislatures; Key policy makers' support of immigrant-related issues	Outlook for a passage of specific types of bills; Baseline data for comparison	Low	Medium
3. Legislation: Immigrant-related legislations that were passed, failed, or pending	Outlook for a passage of specific types of bills; Baseline data	Low	Medium
4. Anti-immigrant Forces: key players and their affiliations	Strength of opposition; Baseline data for comparison	Medium-High	Low-Medium
5. Capacity of Immigrant Rights Movement: Qualities of key implementing partners, including their readiness to participate in the Project, existing relationships other local organizations; Key players; State of the progressive infrastructure	Strength of support network; Baseline data for comparison	Medium	High
6. Media Landscape: Major media outlets, their coverage areas, and attitudes toward immigration	Framing of immigration issues; Baseline data for comparison	Low-Medium	Low-Medium

Appendix D: Assessments of Progress at Midpoint

Table 1 – North Carolina at the Midpoint (December 2012)

Strategies	Outcomes (change)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Select local partners <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Latin American Coalition • NC Justice Center • COLA • American Friends Service Committee ▶ Capacity building for implementing partners <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy • Policy • Legislative • Organizing • Communications ▶ Alliance building with local groups cross sectors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized labor, business, civil rights, and faith based groups, immigrant rights advocates ▶ Capacity building for state policy makers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training sessions on state-specific strategies • Building a network of legislators to support progressive agenda including pro-immigrant policies ▶ Policy tracking and opposition research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Track state immigration-related legislations and legislators (by CNC) • Profile key actors (by CNC) ▶ Strategic communications <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultivate relationships with reporters • Write op-eds • Support local communications efforts • Connect national and local media ▶ Ongoing evaluative learning 	<p>Increased organizational capacity of Implementing partners to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize/mobilize • Collaborate with other orgs • Engage key legislators and secure their support • Conduct rapid response work • Influence pro-immigrant policy agenda <p>Strengthened collaboration among:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant rights advocates • Potential allies <p>Policy makers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased awareness/knowledge about immigrant-related issues • Increased willingness to speak out against and/or take actions to modify anti-immigrant policies • Increased willingness to promote pro-immigrant policies <p>Political discourse:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved attitudes toward immigrant-related issues among the public • Increased coverage of pro-immigrant messages in the media <p>Policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advance pro-immigrant policies at the state and local levels • Deter anti-immigrant policies

Legend:

Yellow highlight = strategies implemented or progress that has been made to date

Red text = strategies or outcomes that were not in initial logic model

Table 2 – Colorado at the Midpoint (December 2012)

Strategies	Outcomes (change)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▶ Select local partners <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition (CIRC) • Colorado Fiscal Policy Institute • ACLU-Colorado • Monica Rosenbluth, consultant ▶ Capacity building for implementing partners <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocacy • Policy • Legislative • Organizing • Communications • Legal • Research (fiscal analyses) ▶ Alliance building with local groups cross sectors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized labor, business, civil rights, and faith based groups, law enforcement ▶ Capacity building for state policy makers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training sessions on state-specific strategies • Building a network of legislators to support progressive agenda including pro-immigrant policies ▶ Policy tracking and opposition research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Track state immigration-related legislations and legislators (by CIRC) • Profile key actors (by CIRC) ▶ Strategic communications <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultivate relationships with reporters • Write op-eds • Support local communications efforts • Connect national and local media • Craft compelling stories with fiscal impact research data ▶ Ongoing evaluative learning 	<p>Increased organizational capacity of Implementing partners to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize/mobilize • Collaborate with other orgs • Engage key legislators and secure their support • Conduct rapid response work • Influence pro-immigrant policy agenda <p>Strengthened collaboration among:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant rights advocates • Potential allies (law enforcement) <p>Policy makers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased awareness/knowledge about immigrant-related issues • Increased willingness to speak out against and/or take actions to modify anti-immigrant policies • Increased willingness to promote pro-immigrant policies <p>Political discourse:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved attitudes toward immigrant-related issues among the public • Increased coverage of pro-immigrant messages in the media <p>Policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advance pro-immigrant policies at the state and local levels • Deter anti-immigrant policies

Legend:

Yellow highlight = strategies implemented or progress that has been made to date

Red text = strategies or outcomes that were not in initial logic model