

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: WE WON'T TURN BACK: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY PARADOXES OF IMMIGRANT AND ETHNIC MINORITY SETTLEMENT IN SUBURBAN AMERICA

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This study investigates the intersection of suburban political economy and recent immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization in the United States. It uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to address: what factors lead various minority groups to move to multi-ethnic areas called suburban melting pot metros (SMPMs); how these spatial location decisions vary by class or race-based preferences; and how suburban institutions respond to the issues raised by immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Using the 1990 and 2000 Census Public Use Micro-data Series (PUMS), I test some key theories of residential migration, including spatial assimilation, place stratification, and 'economic sorting'. In a multivariate logit regression analysis, between non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Asians, and Latinos, residing in 29 US suburban areas, I find that SMPMs attract groups with lower levels of educational attainment. Moreover, rising income increases the likelihood that

blacks and Latinos seek multi-ethnic suburban residence. While racial change had little impact on SMPM settlement, post-1980s immigration and linguistic isolation were significant predictors of SMPM settlement. Rises in housing values are likely to increase SMPM settlement for whites and Asians, but property tax increases are not a significant predictor of SMPM settlement for any of the groups.

These Census results are supplemented by a case study of suburban Washington, DC. Data from five focus group discussions between black, Chinese, Iranian, Korean and Latino groups reveal that quality schools, safe neighborhoods, employment and housing opportunities, and pre-established family ties commonly attracted these individuals to certain suburban DC jurisdictions. Spatial location decisions, particularly for blacks, are limited by income. Perceptions of a county's ability to deliver local goods and services or the race/ethnicity of current county residents also influenced location decisions.

Finally, using qualitative data from a collection of 114 in-depth interviews with elite officials in suburban Washington, DC, I develop a concept called 'Suburban Institutional Interdependency' (SII) to examine *how* local institutions respond to the issues raised by immigrant groups. The central tenets of this approach suggest that through repeated interactions, generalized reciprocity, and an exchange of selective incentives, suburban institutions may collaborate, to meet the needs and demands of suburban newcomers.

WE WON'T TURN BACK:
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MINORITY SETTLEMENT IN SUBURBAN AMERICA

By

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Dedication

To my parents, John and Shirley Frasure

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Introduction

This study investigates the intersection of suburban political economy and immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization in the United States. Suburban areas in the United States are generally characterized by the absence of significant racial and class heterogeneity.¹ Historically, suburban residential patterns were preserved and shaped by government-sponsored discriminatory housing loan programs and exclusionary fiscal zoning policies. Such programs were coupled with private market practices that promoted widespread biases in the rental, sale, and financing of suburban properties to non-whites (Danielson 1976; Drier, Mollenkoft and Swanstrom 2001; Jackson 1984; Massey and Denton 1993). In *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, historian Kenneth Jackson (1985) writes, “Suburbia symbolizes the fullest, most unadulterated embodiment of contemporary culture; it is a manifestation of such fundamental characteristics of American society such as conspicuous consumption, a reliance upon the private automobile, upward mobility, the separation of the family into nuclear units, the widening division between work and leisure, and a tendency toward racial and economic exclusiveness” (4). Yet, the unprecedented post-1980 influx of immigrant and ethnic minority groups to some suburban jurisdictions may have altered this typecast of suburban life.

Today the majority of the US population resides in suburbia. According to the 2000 Census, 58 percent of Asians lived in suburbs, up from 53 percent in 1990. Latino suburbanization grew 3 percent from 46 percent in 1990 to 49 percent in 2000. While African American suburbanization increased by 5 percent, from 34 percent in 1990 to 39 percent in 2000, it remains significantly lower than both Asian and Latino

suburbanization, and trails white suburbanization at 71 percent by 32 percentage points (Logan 2003).

As Frey (2003) notes, “among the nation’s 102 largest metropolitan areas, with populations exceeding half a million, minorities constituted more than a quarter (27.3) of the suburban populations in 2000, up from 19.3 percent in 1990” (155). Asians, for example, are the most suburbanized minority group in the US. By 2000, nearly one-half of every Asian national origin group resided in metropolitan areas outside of the central-city (Logan, Stowell and Vesselinov 2001: 3).

Many recent immigrant and ethnic minority settlements occur in suburban ‘melting pot metro’ areas. Demographer William Frey (2003) defines ‘melting pot metros’ as metropolitan statistical areas where the non-Hispanic white percentage of population is less than their percentage of the total US population (69.1 percent in 2000), and where at least two of the minority groups comprise a percentage larger than their total US percentage of the population (18 percent in 2000).² Nationwide, 35 of the 102 metropolitan areas with populations exceeding 500,000 fit this geographic classification. Frey (2003) observes, “melting pot metro areas and the Hispanics locating within them are the major drivers of national minority suburbanization trends. The new suburban diversity patterns, particularly the fact that minorities are dominating suburban growth in more than half of the nations largest metropolitan areas, raises questions about “race and space” in America’s metropolitan areas” (174). Melting pot metros are found primarily in high immigration zones of the U.S. such as New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, and Chicago.

Concurrently, such areas also experienced the greatest share of non-Hispanic white out-migration (Frey 2003:160).

So, who are these suburban interlopers, who have traveled far and wide or just a few miles, from Mexico City or New York City, both in search of a distant but seemingly attainable American dream? To date there is little empirical research concerning why some suburban areas-- specifically ‘melting pot’ metros—have become more diverse while other suburban metro areas remain homogenously white or dichotomously black/white in their demographic composition.³ Paradoxically, some suburbanization researchers have observed, “minority segregation and isolation has increased in suburbs during the 1990s as suburbs have become more diverse” (Logan 2003a, 238; also see Massey and Denton 1987, 1988, 1989, 1993; Massey and Eggers 1990 for evidence of continued suburban racial segregation).⁴

This research project examines some of these complexities in light of unprecedented suburban growth in the last decades. The next section further examines the significance of this research project, followed by a brief overview and organization of the study including a synopsis of the research goals, research questions, and methods employed.

Significance of the Study

For some scholars, immigrant and ethno-racial politics is to American politics what local government is to American democracy---the nucleus, foundation, and very “heart of the matter”. In the most recent *Political Science: State of the Political Science Discipline* (2002), Dawson and Cohen observe that, “Changing immigration

patterns have profoundly restructured the contours of American politics and the politics of race. Party politics, the politics of urban areas, public opinion and so on, are all being reshaped by this phenomenon. How do these changes shape the way we conduct the study of the politics of race and our previous paradigms, models and findings?" (507-508). They contend that, "Generally, Americans have the most interaction with the *local level* of the federal system, and that is where the fiercest conflict occurs" (Dawson and Cohen: 2002:509) *emphasis added*.

Unfortunately, the intersections of the *suburban* political economy and contemporary immigrant and ethnic minority settlement in the United States are largely unexplored phenomena in the political science discipline.⁵ An exhaustive body of research has examined the social, economic and political consequences of immigrant and African American migrant' settlements in urban areas since the early 19th century, particularly related to civic and political participation and/or the effect of some government sponsored social programs/policies.⁶ While, many studies have examined the effects of these settlements from an urban politics perspective, less research has examined the social, economic and political implications of the rapidly changing demographics in suburbia (but see some notable exceptions, Alba and Logan 1991; Alba et al. 1999; Frey 1996, 2001, 2003; Frey and Speare 1988; Logan 2003; Massey and Denton 1988; Waldinger 1990).

Notably, a certain degree of racial/ethnic mixing has always occurred in some suburban jurisdictions. Yet, its demographic transformations over the last two decades are unparalleled. The study of minority suburbanization is significant because it is *traditionally* thought to yield spatial status attainment, increase minority

contact with whites and middle to upper-income groups, and over time, improve one's life chances (Massey and Denton 1985, 1988). The suburbanization of immigrant and minority groups is generally assumed to translate into social and economic incorporation in society. Such gains are also thought to translate into greater civic/political representation and incorporation. Thus, the suburbanization of immigrant and ethnic minority groups are of increasing significance to an interdisciplinary group of scholars because it has reached levels that could upset the social, economic, and political status quo in many suburban municipalities.

Unlike the closed doors of suburban life following World War II, in many American suburbs majority-minority school districts have replaced largely white locales; so-called "international corridors" housing a variety of ethnic restaurants and other ethnic-owned retail shops have replaced nostalgic "suburban bedroom communities"; and an increasing number of minority elected officials have penetrated suburban local government. The contemporary ethno-racial and socio-economic composition of "the new suburbia" has changed residential opportunities and constraints facing both newcomers and long-time suburban residents. Yet, beneath the conspicuous changes in suburbia lie the effects of persistent immigration, migration and other forms of mobility on the social, political and economic maintenance of some suburban jurisdictions.

From a public policy perspective, Lucy and Phillips (2000) contend, residential mobility is the most important behavior to interpret when conducting planning and policymaking for metropolitan areas (13). As suburban the racial and economic demographics shift rapidly, state and local leaders must grapple with the

new issues raised by immigrant and ethnic minority groups in suburban jurisdictions (e.g. English as a Second Language in public schools, translation services at public facilities, affordable housing, etc). Given local budgetary constraints, how state and local institutions incorporate the needs of newcomers, are particularly important in multi-ethnic suburban areas, such as melting pot metros.

Immigrant and ethnic minority settlement in suburbia shows no signs of slowing down. Are the post-WWII pull factors that provoked whites to flee urban areas for suburbia the same factors that influence recent minority suburbanization? What happens when increasing immigrant and ethnic minority migration shatter the ideal world of suburban income and ethno-racial homogenization? The rapidly changing demographics in suburbia have inevitably transformed the American suburban terrain. Such demographic transformations have also gradually disrupted the 'stability' of some classic theoretical frameworks of residential mobility, including sociological approaches (e.g. spatial assimilation and place stratification theories) and political economy approaches (e.g. theories of economic sorting in fragmented metropolitan areas).

Spatial assimilation theory posits that rises in socioeconomic status will increase the propensity of some groups to exit urban ethnic enclaves for (ideally) more heterogeneous suburban neighborhoods. However, the recent phenomenon of immigrant groups forgoing the *traditional* ethnic succession course, facilitated by passage through the urban core, may undermine the individual-level processes inherent in spatial assimilation theory (Alba and Logan 1991; Alba et al. 1999; Frey and Speare 1988; Massey 1985; Massey and Denton 1988, 1993).

Place stratification theory suggests that differential patterns of spatial location occur, at least in part, based on racial preferences and/or other structural and institutional discriminatory practices, which restrain mobility opportunities for certain groups. The longstanding debate in the social science literature concerning the impact of class versus racial factors on spatial location patterns is further exacerbated by often-inconsistent findings regarding the predictive power of these models for recent black, Latino and Asian suburbanization (Logan and Alba 1993; Logan and Molotch 1987; Massey and Denton 1993).

Economic sorting models, as posited largely by public choice theorists in the political economy literature, predict that individuals will move to the communities that hold tax and expenditure policies that match their preferences (Peterson 1981; Schneider 1989; Tiebout 1956). While economic sorting models help scholars better understand preferences for local public goods and services, such models work better at explaining the spatial location choices of some groups better than others. Given sharp distinctions in terms of tax bases and the quality of public services, some groups have the means to relocate to better suburban areas, while suburban migration may leave other groups worse off. A fundamental problem with economic sorting models is the disregard for issues of race and class, often treating these factors as exogenous to the model. In the American political economy, class dynamics are inextricably linked to racial dynamics. The two cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive, particularly in suburbia. Thus, the *modus operandi* shaping recent immigrant and ethnic minority preferences toward suburban living is largely missing from the political economy literature.

Since 1980, demographic transformations and the bifurcated spatial location patterns of racial and ethnic groups into ‘melting pot’ and non-melting pot areas provide fertile ground for the empirical extension of these sociological and political economy theories of spatial location in the US. Such models may present an outdated picture of life in the metropolis, and an even less complete picture of its suburban exterior. These shortcomings in the literature on race, class and suburbanization also lend support to the need to examine disaggregated racial and ethnic group models of suburban settlement, and to do so, in the context of variations within suburban jurisdictions.

Contemporary models of minority suburbanization must incorporate both racial and class factors as delineated in both the spatial-assimilation and place stratification models. However, the failure of some sociological models to account for features of the political economy, potentially omits valuable information concerning the relationship between ethno-racial and class composition, as well as metropolitan economic factors, such as property taxes and housing values-- considered important components of spatial location decision-making (Harris 1999b, Lucy and Phillips 2000). On the other hand, proponents of economic sorting models cannot afford to ignore the effects of racial and class-based preferences on spatial location choice. Therefore, a more inclusive model of minority suburbanization must account for racial and class preferences, which may also be influenced by economic contextual factors, in the metropolitan areas.

Concomitantly, the competing theoretical explanations of residential mobility are linked to the metropolitan political economy literature at a much deeper level.

While it is necessary to examine the determinants of recent immigrant and ethnic minority spatial location decisions, the political economy literature provides another avenue for exploring the other side of the coin: *how* local institutions respond to the issues raised by immigrant and ethnic minority groups given changing demographics, local budgetary constraints and a suburban political environment likely to be averse to a change in the *status quo*. Drawing on the work of public choice theorists (Bish 1971; Buchanan 1971; Peterson 1981; Schneider 1989; Tiebout 1956) and urban regime theorists (Sanders and Stone 1987; Stone 1989; Swanstrom 1988), scholars must also address the ‘suburban political economy paradox’ facing suburban institutions. This paradox concerns how these actors balance allocative versus distributive concerns in the face of rapidly changing demographics in suburbia. When private market mechanisms fail to provide goods and services to immigrant and ethnic minority groups in suburban municipalities, scholars in both camps (urban regime and public choice theorists) have failed to explain how some suburban municipalities advance policies and programs to provide goods and services that foster the social, political and economic incorporation of such groups, while other counties fail to do so. For example, extant theories are limited in their examination of the mechanisms driving some suburban governments to work with community-based organizations to provide goods and services, which are seemingly, counter to their own economic development interest or the interest of the upper income populations in the suburban county.

Charting a Methodological Course

The complex nature of current immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization

patterns and the institutional responses to these patterns, call for a novel approach to understanding these recent phenomena. Unfortunately, existing research concerning minority residential patterns is limited in several ways. The unit of analysis is often *exclusively* from an urban perspective or a central-city *versus* suburb typology. Many existing studies fail to account for differences contained *within* suburbia (but see Harris 1999a). Most existing studies are limited to a demographically narrow black/White or Latino/White dichotomy, thus failing to account for groups migrating to multi-ethnic areas (but see Alba et al. 1999; Alba and Logan 1991; Iceland and Wilkes (*forthcoming*); Iceland 2004; Logan, Zhang and Alba 2002). Existing literature is quantitatively limited by the lack of large N datasets employing significant samples of immigrant and racial/ethnic group respondents, making it difficult, if not impossible, to examine inter and/or intra-group differences or similarities. Additionally, existing literature on spatial location decisions often uses *aggregate level* data (such as Census SF3 files) to make *individual level* inferences about spatial location patterns. As Alba and Logan (1991) contend, “such research is susceptible to the difficulties and pitfalls inherent in inferring individual-level effects from aggregated level data (i.e. the well-known ecological fallacy) (435).

Qualitatively, existing research is limited by the exclusive use of case study research consisting of a single case or limited selection of geographic areas. Standing alone, each method raises significant problems associated with the external validity and generalizability of causal inferences. The mutually exclusive use of statistical indicators *or* case studies could “mask variations across metropolitan areas and variations in residential patterns across different racial and ethnic groups” (Frey

2003:155).

Drawing on an interdisciplinary collection of scholarship in sociology, demography, political economy and urban politics, this research seeks to address these gaps in the literature. Using a more sophisticated mixed-methodological approach to capture the idiosyncratic nature of immigrant and ethnic minority settlement in suburbia, this study moves beyond the outdated, insular characterization of U.S ethno-racial politics as an urban, black/white dichotomy, expanding the lens of social science research both demographically and geographically.

Central Research Questions and Organization of the Study

- 1) What explanatory factors lead immigrant and ethnic minority groups to sort themselves into certain types of suburban municipalities, particularly suburban melting pot metros (SMPMs);
- 2) How do racial and/or class preferences influence the suburban residential location patterns of immigrant and ethnic minority groups; and
- 3) How do suburban elected, bureaucratic and community-based institutions respond to the concerns raised by immigrant and ethnic minority groups?

This study is presented in two parts. The focus of Part I examines the intersection of spatial assimilation, racial and ethnic preferences and other metropolitan contextual features, such as housing values and property taxes on differential patterns of racial/ethnic suburbanization, in large metropolitan areas with populations exceeding 400,000. To further probe these findings, Part II presents a two-part case study of one melting pot metro area--suburban Washington DC.⁷ The case study includes the results from a combination of focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and participant observations. Moving beyond the quantitative data analysis, allows us to better understand why some immigrant and ethnic minority groups move to some jurisdictions within a melting pot metro area. In addition, the suburban DC study will examine how local elected, bureaucratic and community-based institutions respond to the needs of a diverse group of suburban newcomers.

This study is organized in the following matter. Part I-Chapter One, entitled “Race/Ethnicity, Class and Spatial Location Attainment,” places American suburbanization within an historical and social context by presenting a brief overview of federally backed exclusionary programs that facilitated economic and racial inequalities in suburban jurisdictions. Then, I provide an overview of some traditional sociological and political economy approaches to the determinants of spatial location attainment in the United States. I also examine some shortcomings of each of these approaches, related to the influx of recent immigrant and ethnic minority groups in suburban ‘melting pot metros’, and develop a theoretical roadmap for advancing the study of immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization.

In Chapter Two entitled, “A Mixed Methodological Approach to Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Suburbanization,” I describe each component of the mixed method approach used in this study. I carefully explain the selection of the dependent variable, independent variables, hypotheses, and statistical estimation procedures. I also discuss alternative research designs undertaken and address the limitations of the quantitative and qualitative research design and methods used.

Next, in Chapter Three entitled “Why Move to A Melting Pot Metro?” I present the results from the quantitative model described in Chapter Two. In a multivariate logit regression analysis enhanced by CLARIFY—a stochastic simulation technique used to help researchers interpret and present statistical results (Tomz, Wittenberg, and King 2003), I used the 1990 and 2000 Census Public Use Micro Data Series (PUMS) to estimate a model predicting the probability that an adult householder, who migrated to their current suburban residence, 5 years ago or

less (prior to the 2000 Census), resides in a multi-ethnic suburban area--a “suburban melting pot metro” (SMPM)-- relative to another suburban area with populations over 400,000. I tested this model between separate groups of non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian, and Hispanic movers. I also tested this model among some disaggregated Asian national origin groups (including Chinese, Korean, Filipino and Vietnamese movers) and among some disaggregated Hispanic national origin groups (including Mexican, Central/South American, Cuban and Puerto Rican movers) residing in 29 US suburban areas. I simulated how the probability of SMPM settlement changes at varying levels of income, educational attainment, as well as changes in metropolitan racial composition, and other factors relevant in explaining SMPM settlement. This analysis allows us to consider to what extent racial/ethnic suburban location choice stems from constraints, such as income or class status, or preference/tastes such as race.

The quantitative analysis in Chapter Three holds limitations given the complex and idiosyncratic nature of social science research examining immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Therefore, in addition to a quantitative model, Part II-Chapter Four entitled, “Life in the Melting Pot: Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities In Suburban Washington, DC” presents results from the first section of a two-part case study of the Washington, DC metro area. This chapter examines the results from five focus group discussions of immigrant and ethnic minorities in suburban Washington, DC, including one of each of the following groups: Latino/a, African American, Chinese, Korean, and Iranian, conducted between June and August, 2005.⁸ These focus group discussions were designed to find out more about life in contemporary

suburbia and how the experiences of living in suburbia may differ between various immigrant and ethnic minority groups. These data permit the probing of ethno-racial similarities and variations in three areas important to immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization: 1) suburban residential selection; 2) neighborhood interactions; and 3) county/municipal government interactions, among and between residents residing largely in Fairfax County, Virginia, Montgomery County, Maryland and Prince Georges County, Maryland.

Some findings suggest that quality schools, neighborhood safety, and affordable housing are generally important to immigrant and ethnic minority groups in Washington, DC. However, *access* to equitable goods and services were inhibited by financial constraints, particularly for African American respondents who reported living in suburban areas with lower quality goods and services, such as public education. Black discussants were generally less satisfied with their residential choice. They were universally aware of the disparities in local public education and other resources in their county, as compared to adjacent counties. Beyond income constraints, the perceptions and/or stereotypes about a county's delivery of goods and services (e.g. public safety, school quality) and/or the race/ethnicity of individuals residing in prospective counties also influenced some individual's spatial location decisions.

These findings also suggest that lack of time and/or desire impeded discussants' neighborhood interactions and engagement in activities outside of their immediate families, or with members outside of their race/ethnicity. For some immigrant groups, language and cultural barriers also reportedly impeded neighborhood interactions. Some groups also reported that language and cultural barriers make it difficult to communicate with local agency officials over the phone, or in person when tending to personal affairs at local

government offices, particularly when translators or translated materials are not available. Some Chinese, Korean and Iranian discussants from each group voiced their concern that local government agencies are more responsive in addressing the needs of Latinos (to a much greater extent) than other ethnic groups. They perceived these differences to be associated with the organization of Latinos, who are notably more mobilized and willing to put pressure on the local suburban government to respond to their needs.

Next, Chapter Five entitled, “The Logic of Suburban Institutional Interdependency” presents part two of the suburban Washington, DC case study. I examine *how* local institutions respond to the issues raised by immigrant and ethnic minority groups in the face of changing demographics. First, I examine how scholars have traditionally addressed the relationship between local government actors and residents, as well as their strategies and subsequent outcomes, particularly related to the study of *urban* governance. Then, I address the ‘suburban political economy paradox’ facing contemporary suburban actors toward balancing the concerns of newcomers and existing groups. This paradox leads to the delineation of the working theoretical construct called Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII). SII is a concept used to explore the intersection of suburban institutions (particularly electoral, bureaucratic and non-profit) and contemporary immigrant incorporation in the United States. In short, the logic of SII is simple and practical. Through repeated interactions, local public and non-profit institutions build partnerships based on reciprocity and the exchange of selective incentives. The institutional interdependency in suburbia includes a division of labor and resources which facilitate the process of “getting things done” in the face of rapidly changing

demographics and tightening local budgets. This chapter draws on data from some of the 114 face-to-face, semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observations among state and local elected/appointed officials, bureaucratic service and regulatory agency administrators, and community-based organization leaders, conducted in suburban Washington, DC between June 2003 and August 2004. Using the case study approach, I will apply this construct to one segment of the burgeoning immigrant low-wage labor market in suburbia—the day laborer population; focusing specifically on the development of institutionalized day laborer sites in the Washington, D.C. suburban areas of Montgomery County, Maryland and Fairfax County, Virginia. I find that interdependent relationships may occur for at least three reasons:

- 1) Interdependency Increases Access to Resources: This association gives community-based organizations (CBOs) access to programmatic funding and resources available in the public sector to address immigrant concerns;
- 2) Interdependency Increases Legitimacy and Lowers Transaction Costs: For public agencies, this alliance lowers the transaction costs associated with overcoming language and cultural barriers between newcomers and existing residents;
- 3) Interdependency Leverages Public Resources: This partnership allows local elected officials and bureaucrats to minimize outlays of their scarce resources to deal with the problems associated with the demographic shifts taking place in suburbia, by essentially outsourcing

much of the effort to non-profit agencies, while still taking credit for the programs these CBOs initiate, maintain and staff.

Finally, the concluding chapter entitled “An Inevitable Convergence: Political Fragmentation and Suburban Heterogeneity at the Crossroads” explores the civic/political implications of these findings. The opportunities for choice *and* participation (exit and voice) provided by local municipalities are important components of a well-functioning democratic society. Yet, some scholars contend that metropolitan fragmented government structures like those exacerbated by post-World War II suburbanization, ‘undermine the civic health of American democracy’ (Oliver 1999, 2001; also see Drier, Mollenkoft and Swanstrom 2001; Putman 2000). This concluding chapter addresses these factors within the context of multi-ethnic suburban areas such as melting pot metros, by examining the prospects for the advancement of suburban newcomers into the American civic and political process.

Chapter One: Race/Ethnicity, Class and Spatial Location Attainment

Many racial and ethnic groups, disproportionately among those with lower incomes, have made spatial location decisions from a severely constrained set of choices. Government sponsored programs coupled with private lenders that refused to provide mortgages to certain racial and ethnic groups helped to shape consumer “tastes” and “preferences” for choice of residential location. As Drier, Mollenkoft, and Swanstrom (2001) point out, “widespread discriminatory practices in the rental, sales, and financing of housing reinforce this exclusion by price and income” (99). Non-financial barriers continue to restrict access, such as realtor steering, zoning restrictions, neighborhood/homeowner associations and social pressure to keep out “undesirables” (Drier, Mollenkoft, Swanstrom 2001; Padon 1999; Massey and Denton 1993; Ross and Levine 2001; Yinger 1991).

To further examine these factors related to spatial location attainment in US metropolitan areas, the first section of this chapter places race, class and suburbanization within an historical and social context. In order to further ground the analysis of minority spatial location in the US, the second section examines how some sociological and political economy approaches have theoretically and empirically examined spatial location attainment. Finally, a schema toward advancing the study of immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization follows a review of some of these theoretical and empirical findings.

Federally Funded Racial/Ethnic and Class Exclusion

Historically, government action and private sector power have been important influences in accelerating American suburbanization (Danielson 1976, Jackson 1985, Kleinberg 1995, Fishman 1987). Ironically, the federal policies that have had the greatest impact on metropolitan America were often not explicitly *urban* or *suburban* in their orientation. Following the Great Depression such policies sought to ‘renew’ urban America--to help Americans buy their own homes, construct an interstate highway system, and subsidize the construction of facilities including hospitals and sewage plants (Ross and Levine 2001; Williams 2003). Yet, the ‘helping hand’ of government interventionist policies also played a crucial role in producing metropolitan inequalities, facilitated by preferences for investment in suburbs and disinvestments from central cities (Drier, Mollenkoft, Swanstrom 2001; Ross and Levine 2001).

The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) established by Congress in 1933, provided low-interest loans to homeowners nearing foreclosure on their properties. These loans were based on a neighborhood rating system. Since areas more likely to be populated by poor, predominantly black and black/Jewish neighborhoods received the lowest HOLC ratings; such groups were largely excluded from participation in the program. The passage of the Housing Act of 1937 was the first federally funded program to give direct aid to cities through a low-rent housing program. Unfortunately, this program facilitated the selection of tenants by race/ethnicity, subsequently locating new housing projects in racially segregated neighborhoods,

thereby advancing the cycle of minority concentration in urban ghettos and barrios (Halpern 1995; Williams 2003: 79).

Several federally backed home-ownership programs nestled the federal government firmly into the mortgage lending market. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA), established by Congress in 1934, provided federal assistance to promote middle and working class families a means to buy homes by providing loan insurance for up to 80 percent of the value of an approved property. Subsequently, the risk of making a home loan was reduced, and banks became more willing to finance homes for millions of Americans---lowering down payment requirements and interest rates (Ross and Levine 2001; Ross and Levine 2001). The federal government also provided similar assistance to millions of veterans returning home following WWII. Under the GI bill of 1944, the Veterans Administration (VA) was authorized to insure home mortgages to veterans. These programs did little to promote the purchase of apartments or renovations of older housing in central-cities.

Arguably, the FHA and the VA subsidized the growth of suburban areas and largely ignored the deteriorating housing market in central-cities. Moreover, the FHA and VA helped secure young, white, middle and working class families an opportunity to obtain suburban homes, in flight from America's central-cities. Thomas (1998) points out, "at least 40 percent of all homes sold each year from 1947 to 1957 were financed through FHA and VA mortgages" (37). On the contrary, minority groups had little access to the suburban housing markets. Drier, Mollenkott, and Swanstrom (2001) observe, "between 1946 and 1959, blacks purchased less than 2 percent of all housing financed with VA and FHA help" (110, also see Williams

2003: 79). Half of that total was from housing built in all-minority subdivisions.

Using panic selling tactics, agents would conspicuously introduce a black family into the neighborhood; whites were then pushed to quickly sell their homes before a purported drop in property values occurred. Redlining (establishing black and immigrant urban areas unsuitable for real estate lending) and restrictive covenants (legally binding agreements that prohibited a buyer from reselling a home to someone of a different race), helped to fulfill the promise of economic and subsequently racial sorting, as well as the detrimental effects of racial, economic and place inequalities (Baldassare 1989; Massy and Denton 1993; Thomas 1998; Williams 2003). In *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened*, Baxandall and Ewen (2000) highlight the explicit language of the 1947 FHA guidebook for suburban development that read, “Protective covenants are essential to the sound development of proposed residential areas, since they regulate the use of land and provide a basis for the development of harmonious, attractive neighborhoods” (175). As Thomas 1998 points out, “The contract signed by every Levittown homeowner included a standard clause that read, “no dwelling shall be used or occupied by members of other than Caucasian race” (40).

By 1948, with the backing of the US Supreme Court, the FHA dropped its overt language of racial group references. However, the FHA had underwritten the decline of central cities and racial homogeneity of thousands of suburbs. As Williams (2003) reminds us, “the FHA played a crucial role not only in cementing racial segregation but simultaneously in guaranteeing that middle-class whites would be dramatically privileged in homeownership, always [the single] the most successful

generator of wealth for average Americans” (79). “Unofficially” as Baxandall and Ewen (2000) contend, “the FHA accepted unwritten agreements and traditions of segregation as late as 1968” (175).

Federal ‘urban renewal’ programs further exacerbated the racial and economic imbalance between central-cities and suburbs. Such programs cleared large parcels of land, raising homes, and apartment buildings in working class, as well as poor areas, making way for new upper-income apartments, modern university hospitals, campuses, as well as expanded central business districts (Ross and Levine 2001).. With the exodus of business and the middle class, communities were deemed blighted and unfit for habitation and investment. Such factors also retarded the growth of African American and largely non-European immigrant suburbanization, while advancing the housing opportunities, and subsequently the wealth of white suburbanites.

Following the 1960s race riots, and passage of landmark Civil Rights Act (1964) and Voting Rights Act (1965) legislation, the federal government faced new pressures to revise their pro-suburban bias, particularly in FHA and VA loan guarantees. The passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and other programs such as the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 have helped to relieve, but not eliminate, the constraints placed on minorities (Ross and Turner 2005, Williams 2003). The Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 required that banks insure loans in less well-off neighborhoods. These measures coupled with the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, helped to crack the closed-system of suburban life for existing immigrant and ethnic minority groups.

Post 1980 immigrant suburbanization must be understood within the historical and social context of racial exclusion and subsequent economic and place inequalities. The tactics of redlining, racial steering, block busting and panic selling are no longer legal, but arguably still exist in some de facto forms. Nonetheless, like those immigrants and ethnic minorities who journeyed to urban enclaves for greater social and economic opportunity, in the early 19th century, newer immigrant groups also follow cues of the American suburbanization process—individualism, upward mobility, opportunity and privilege. Unlike their predecessors, however, immigrant newcomers are *not* faced with the same institutional and structural barriers to suburban entry, at the hand of government and private lenders. Suburbanization is an attainable dream for some newcomers to America because there is a greater opportunity in the housing market for post-1980 immigrants, than their predecessors. Such opportunities are more widely available for minority groups with higher incomes and levels of educational attainment, such as Asians, the most suburbanized minority group in the US. Immigrant and ethnic minority groups are led to suburbia, in search of greater opportunities and privileges, disproportionately enjoyed by white suburbanites.

While fewer scholars have examined suburbanization patterns of recent immigrant and ethnic minority groups (but see, Alba et al. 1999, Alba and Logan 1991, Frey 2001, 2003; Logan 2003; Massey and Denton 1988, an interdisciplinary group of researchers have long examined the determinants of spatial location decision-making, particularly among blacks and whites. Below, I examine some of these

sociological and political economy approaches, both theoretical and empirical, which ground this analysis.

Some Existing Theories of Spatial Location Attainment

Spatial Assimilation

Urban ecologists, writing largely in the ‘Chicago School’ of urban sociology examined how immigration and rises in individual’ socio-economic status (particularly income levels) influenced early suburbanization patterns (Burgess 1925; Park 1926). Baldassare (1992) summarizes the logic of this approach:

“Suburban growth was driven by an ‘invasion and succession’ process in older, inner city neighborhoods. City areas became the destination points for recent, poor, immigrant workers. New residents moved to these areas because of their inexpensive housing and proximity to work. As a result of the “invasion”, many of the long-term residents of these inner-city areas moved to suburban areas further away from the central business district...all of this occurs because long-term residents can afford the higher costs of housing and city-to-suburb commutes. Thus, suburbs developed in an urban context of population growth and rising incomes” (479-480).

Drawing on these tenets, sociological explanations of immigrant and minority suburbanization tend to underscore models of spatial assimilation. As spatial assimilation theory suggests, rises in income and educational attainment for immigrant and ethnic minority groups increased their propensity to exit urban ethnic enclaves for (ideally) more heterogeneous suburban neighborhoods. For example, after having achieved some socioeconomic success, immigrant and ethnic minorities seek to become upwardly mobile (Burgess 1925; Park 1926), and more readily exit the urban core toward suburbia (Alba et al. 1999; Alba and Logan 1991; Frey and Speare 1988; Jackson 1985; Massey 1985; Massey and Denton 1988;). According to

the traditional model, immigrant groups typically spent a generation or more in central-city enclaves, with the expectation that second or third generation descendants would subsequently spread outwards to suburban jurisdictions.

The emergence of suburban ‘melting pot metro’ areas may alter the applicability of these sociological expectations regarding recent immigrants. As Alba and his colleagues (1999) contend, “recent immigrants seem much more inclined to settle outside of urban enclaves than were immigrants in previous eras, whose experience is recorded in the spatial assimilation model” (458). They further note, “the pattern of rapid or immediate suburban entry, combined with the large concentration of recent immigrants in a few metropolitan areas, raises the question of whether suburbanization holds the same meaning for recent immigrants that it held for previous groups” (446). Unlike the distinct cues of the ‘American dream’-- individualism, upward mobility, and prosperity-- inherent in post-WWII suburban mobility patterns, migration to ‘suburbia’ may reveal little about ‘upward mobility’, or ‘greater opportunity’ for recent immigrant and ethnic minority migrants. In fact, the recent phenomenon of immigrant groups forgoing the traditional ethnic succession course, facilitated by passage through the urban core may undermine the individual-level processes inherent in spatial assimilation theory. These processes include achieving socioeconomic mobility and capital for ‘purchase of entry’ into suburbia (Alba et al. 1999). Thus, further examination of spatial assimilation theory is warranted, particularly regarding recently suburbanized immigrant and ethnic minority newcomers.

Place Stratification

Some racial/ethnic groups have long proven to be an anomaly to the spatial assimilation model. For African Americans, the place-stratification model is often a more likely predictor of their spatial location patterns (Massey 1985, Massey and Denton 1993). Advocates of the place stratification model find that structural and institutional discriminatory practices restrain mobility opportunities for groups with distinct African ancestry phenotype such as blacks, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans (Logan and Alba 1993; Logan and Molotch 1987), and these restrictions impact their residential choices, in spite of increases in income and educational attainment. Strong evidence for the place stratification model suggests that differential patterns of spatial location occur, at least in part, based on racial preferences or prejudices (Alba and Logan 1991; Charles 2000, 2001; Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996). Yet, recent work by Harris (1999, 2001) finds limited support for the “pure racial hypothesis”. Instead Harris (2001) finds support for the ‘racial proxy hypothesis’ whereas “respondents’ higher satisfaction with neighborhoods composed of fewer Black residents was found to be largely a reflection of preferences for relatively affluent, safe, well-maintained neighborhoods with good schools” (113).

Nevertheless, African Americans disproportionately continue to live in highly segregated communities, even in suburbia. In *American Apartheid* (1993), Massey and Denton contend that middle class blacks are still more likely to live near poor blacks than middle class whites are to live near poor whites. Recent findings from Iceland and Wilkes (forthcoming) suggest that at all levels of socio-economic status blacks continue to be more segregated from whites than Asians or Latinos. Other

communities of color, such as Asian Americans and to some extent Latinos, are somewhat more likely to live in ethnically and racially diverse neighborhoods.

Thus, the longstanding debate in the social science literature, concerning the impact of class versus racial factors on spatial location patterns, is further exacerbated by often-inconsistent findings regarding the predictive power of these models regarding recent Latino and Asian suburbanization. While only a limited number of studies have examined these factors beyond a black-white dichotomy, class factors seem to play a larger role in explaining spatial location patterns for Latinos and Asians than for blacks (Denton and Massey 1988; Logan et al. 2004).

Other theoretical models accounting for racial preferences as factors contributing to residential sorting have also been limited to contrasts between blacks and whites. In the article entitled “Dynamic Models of Segregation,” Nobel Laureate Thomas Schelling (1971) was among the first scholars to model the dynamics of residential sorting with attention to racial preferences. Schelling’s theory explained how individual level racial preferences, even if small or non-uniformly shared by all group members in a neighborhood, might give rise to aggregate level patterns of racial sorting out, racial neighborhood turnover, and subsequently continued residential segregation. Twenty years later, the central tenets of this model were reexamined and largely corroborated by William Clark (1991) who found “the patterns of separation are likely to be reinforced by preferences for living and socializing with neighbors of similar class and interests, and by mobility that emphasizes short-distance relocations” (17). Historically, immigrants and black migrants have operated in a severely constrained housing market with fewer

residential choices than other groups, especially non-Hispanic whites (Logan Zhang, Alba 2002:301). It remains unclear once these groups gather the economic means to seek the “promised land” of suburbia, which type of suburban community they will choose, and why.

Economic Spatial Sorting

While sociologists often look to spatial assimilation and place-stratification theories to explain micro-level spatial location decisions, political economists, particularly some public choice theorists, examine macroeconomic determinants such as local tax and service packages to deduce microeconomic motivations regarding spatial location choice. Residential mobility is especially important to political economists interested in the efficiency of local municipal government, particularly the provision of local public goods and services.

Variants of the Tiebout (1956) hypothesis remain particularly interesting to an interdisciplinary group of scholars concerned with how spatial sorting models explain mobility patterns. As the original Tiebout hypothesis contends:

“The consumer-voter may be viewed as picking that community which best satisfies his preference pattern for public goods. At the central level the preferences of the consumer-voter are given and, the government tries to adjust to the pattern of those preferences, whereas at the local level various governments have their revenue and expenditure more or less fixed. Given these revenue and expenditure patterns, the consumer-voter moves to that community whose local government best satisfies his set of preferences (418)”.

Accordingly, individuals’ location decisions convey some information about their preferences and this helps to overcome the ‘free-rider’ problem, ideally resulting in a

more efficient provision of goods and services at the local level (Conley and Wooders 1997: 421).

Such theoretical models predict that individuals will move to the communities that hold tax and expenditure policies that match their preferences (Hirschman 1970; Peterson 1981; Tiebout 1956) with little, if any, attention to racial tastes or constraints. Thus, economic models of spatial location are often examined to a lesser extent regarding explanations of *immigrant and ethnic minority* spatial location choice. Consequently, economic sorting models are commonly celebrated on efficiency grounds in lieu of racial and class inequality concerns.

Breaking apart the nuances of the original Tiebout hypothesis, prove that these limited notions are problematic for the study of minority suburbanization. Gary Miller (1981) observes that, while the Tiebout model allows for individual revelation of demand (preferences), it fails to introduce an analogous pricing mechanism that will, in practice, *ration* public goods efficiently. Bruce Hamilton (1975) finds that the Tiebout model does not guarantee efficiency by itself, but the extra element of *income stratification* drives such efficiency. Unlike the expectations of the Tiebout hypothesis, efficiency gains accrue through a pricing mechanism based on property taxation, government backed exclusionary zoning practices, and separation of income classes.

The Tiebout-Hamilton model is a departure from the Adam Smith ‘invisible hand’ of the marketplace. Efficiency is achieved through exclusionary zoning and its enforcement, thereby restricting individual choice. Where exclusionary mechanisms such as fiscal zoning exist, homeowners in a given area pay the same property tax and

there is little to no income redistribution, within any given jurisdiction. Thus, for the Tiebout model to work ideally, fiscal zoning is necessary to prevent redistribution within the jurisdiction that keeps tax prices from acting as efficient rationers of public services (the central tenets of these factors will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5).

To be clear, such sorting models can result in creating and maintaining economically homogenous suburban neighborhoods resulting in the negative by-products of sorting--- residential, income, and subsequently racial segregation. In his pivotal contribution to the debate, Miller (1981) contends, “Because, the distribution of consumers is linked with the distribution of resources, low-income cities have also been low resources cities; the sorting out of metropolitan population by income class has been detrimental to low-income individuals” (182). In short, the poorest can only live in an area with the weakest property tax requirement. Consequently, as Miller (1981) further explains, “while fragmentation may promote multiple, responsive, small-scale demand-revealing mechanisms for homogenous neighborhoods, it may also result in increases in income and economic segregation. And if income and racial segregation are empirically associated with either the concentration of resource-draining problems like crime, then fragmentation may actually work against the welfare of individuals in the low-income and minority jurisdictions, contrary to the original Tiebout expectation” (182).

Are the underlying tenets of economic sorting models outdated? Economic sorting models have proven to overcome “preference revelation” concerns, though with great partiality and bias toward upper income groups. Unfortunately, these

factors create a quandary related to the implications of recent immigrant and ethnic minority settlement in suburbia. In the American political economy, class dynamics are inextricably linked to racial dynamics. The two cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive, particularly in suburbia.⁹ Given recent demographic changes, it is important to consider how racial and class dynamics may continue to be reinforced or have shifted in recent decades. Historically the ‘burbs’ were fashioned to accept only a select group individuals into the ‘club’. The emergence of suburban ‘melting pot metro’ areas raise important questions concerning how political economy sorting models will fair in light of recent immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization trends.

Advancing Theories of Spatial Location Attainment

In this chapter, I have placed race/ethnicity, class and suburbanization within an historical and social context of federally funded policies and housing programs that facilitated the growth of white middle and working class suburbanization while retarding suburbanization of non-whites. I have addressed some theoretical and empirical findings related to theories of residential mobility and spatial location choice. Arguably, scholars in each camp have failed to explain *why* some groups are suburbanizing particularly in multi-ethnic areas, even bypassing urban areas altogether, for suburban life.

For example, while it remains unclear from public choice theories of economic sorting the mechanisms shaping individual preferences for suburban living, we do know that some economic sorting models such as the Tiebout-Hamilton model,

favors the suburbanization of some groups over others. Interestingly, while public choice theory is repeatedly attacked as lacking external validity once empirically tested (Green and Shapiro, 1993), such critics of public choice theory fail to point out the root of these shortcomings, which run deeper than factors related to external validity and generalizability.

First, economic sorting models as used by public choice theorists suffer from severe selective historicism, which gloss over profound historical, structural and institutional changes that have shaped and reshaped the metropolitan political economy, and pay little attention to race and class concerns. Given their lack of historical and social context, it is impossible to address where preferences emanate among immigrant and ethnic minority groups, using economic sorting models in their present condition.

Second, public choice theory largely disregards the centrality of race, ethnicity, and class dynamics in American politics. Many public choice theorists have attempted to create models of local public goods embedded in or operating within a model of 'perfectly' or 'near perfectly' competitive market-like structure. Again, such models leave out the social context and historical phenomena from which they are derived. Arguably, one of the reasons public choice theorists pay little attention to issues of race stems from its origin in free-market philosophy. For example, capitalists must maximize profits and to do so they must hire the most productive workers. Since race is an ascriptive characteristic, it is assumed to have nothing to do with 'rational' capitalism. An "ascriptive theory" is simply defined as a descriptive theory that remains valid by becoming common knowledge among its subjects.

"Rationality" can simply be defined in the sense that actors (individuals, organizations, states) are purposive, and goal-seeking, based on their own preferences. They rank their alternatives from best to worst, and are thought to choose what is best for them based on their own preferences and tastes. However, according to rational theorizing, firms for example, might like to indulge in their racial prejudices, but the pressure of economic competition will not afford them the luxury. Thus, racism is seemingly exogenous to the economic system of public choice modeling--- instead stemming from irrational psychological prejudices. When such logic moves from the private to public sector realm, historical context such as legacies of de jure and de facto racial segregation and anti-immigration policies become unnecessary in explaining public choice theories of spatial location, despite how these factors shape opportunities and constraints as well as trust, reciprocity, and affection toward others.

Until this point, little research in this paradigm has addressed these concerns. Fortunately, some scholars have begun to examine patterns of suburbanization in light of local public finance *and* race and ethnicity. Schneider and Phelan (1993) contend, "a strong tax base gives communities a wide range of policy options: it enables communities to choose either good services at a modest tax rate or low levels of services at a commensurately lower tax rate. In contrast, communities with a poor tax base are often confined to the worst of all worlds: they must tax themselves heavily to generate even the modest revenues" (275). Concomitantly, these scholars find that the latter types of communities (i.e. with poor tax bases) are also areas in which blacks are more likely to suburbanize. Moreover, as Charles (2003) points out, "minority

suburbs, although better off than poor minority neighborhoods tend to be less affluent, have poorer quality public services and schools, and experience more crime and social disorganization compared to the suburbs which comparable whites reside in (also see Farley 1970, Guest 1970, Logan and Sterns 1981, Logan and Schneider 1984, Massey and Denton 1998, Alba et al. 1994, Logan et al. 2002).

It is evident that economic sorting models can no longer afford to ignore the effects and racial and class-based preferences on spatial location choice. Models of minority suburbanization must incorporate both racial and class factors as delineated in both the spatial-assimilation and place stratification models. Yet, the failure of some sociological models to account for features of the political economy potentially omit valuable information concerning the relationship between race, ethnicity and class composition as well as metropolitan economic factors such as property taxes and housing values, considered important components of spatial location decision-making (also see Harris 1999a). Therefore, a more inclusive model of minority suburbanization must account for racial and class preferences, which may also be influenced by economic contextual factors in the metropolitan areas.

The competing theoretical explanations of residential migration are linked to the political economy literature at a much deeper level. The intersection of suburban institutional responsiveness (particularly electoral, bureaucratic and non-profit) and post-1980 immigrant incorporation in the United States are becoming increasingly important. In both academic and public policy arenas, the debate continues concerning the proper role of government in the provision of local public goods and services. Such debates become more contentious in suburban jurisdictions when

discussing government responsiveness to the needs and demands of immigrants, particularly if these immigrants are (whether in reality or simply in perception) undocumented.

Beyond the determinants of spatial location attainment, scholars must also consider the other side of the coin: *how* local institutions respond to the issues raised by immigrant and ethnic minority groups in the face of changing demographics, local budgetary constraints and a suburban political environment likely to be averse to a change in the *status quo*. Drawing the work of public choice theorists (Bish 1971; Buchanan 1971; Peterson 1981; Schneider 1989; Tiebout 1956) and urban regime theorists (Sanders and Stone 1987, Stone 1989; Swanstrom 1988), scholars must also address the ‘suburban political economy paradox’ facing suburban institutions. This paradox concerns how these actors balance allocative versus distributive concerns in the face of rapidly changing demographics in suburbia.

In contemporary suburbia, while the power relationship remains unbalanced, institutional actors are faced with a suburban organizing dilemma that necessitates the need to work interdependently. Neither bureaucratic nor elected officials are expected to act alone toward addressing the needs of immigrant newcomers. Instead, in the ‘new’ suburbia these actors often turn to non-profit CBOs as allies in order to lower the transaction costs associated with overcoming language and cultural barriers between newcomers and existing residents (Frasure 2004, Frasure and Jones-Correa 2005). These public-private-non-profit partnerships build on reciprocity and the exchange of selective incentives to cooperate. Moreover, these suburban partnerships occur inside a political environment, but often *outside* the electoral arena, operating

on logic somewhat separate from mainstream electoral politics. This factor has important implications for the incorporation of more recent immigrant groups. The *traditional* modes of political incorporation for preceding immigrant ‘consumer-voters’ to *urban* centers were inextricably tied to their electoral incorporation. In contemporary suburbia, however, the institutional responsiveness to newcomers’ demands often *precedes* the political incorporation of newcomers, at least regarding the prospects of electoral mobilization (Frasure and Jones-Correa 2005, Jones-Correa 2004).

To address these shortcomings-- placing race, ethnicity, and class at the center of the analysis-- this study will undertake a mixed-methodological approach to the study of the intersection of suburban political economy and immigrant and ethnic migrant settlement in the US. The contention of this analysis follows that of Hwang and Murdock (1998), whereas residential mobility is not only motivated by a desire to live close to fellow ethnic members or not, but is also a function of upward mobility/social status considerations and constraints (543). In the next chapter, I develop an empirical model of suburban melting pot metro (SMPM) settlement. Then, I describe the research design, data and methods used to test this model.

Chapter Two: A Mixed Methodological Approach to the Study of Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Suburbanization

Existing research concerning immigrant and ethnic minority residential patterns is limited in several ways. The unit of analysis is often *exclusively* from an urban perspective or a central-city *versus* suburb typology. Many existing studies fail to account for differences contained *within* suburbia (but see Harris 1999a). Moreover, most existing studies are limited to a demographically narrow black/White or Latino/White dichotomy, thus failing to account for groups migrating to multi-ethnic areas (but see Alba et al. 1999; Alba and Logan 1991; Iceland and Wilkes *(forthcoming)*, Iceland 2004; Logan, Zhang and Alba 2002). Given recent demographic transformations, particularly since the 1980s, such models may present an unrealistic view of life in suburbia. These shortcomings in the literature on race, class and suburbanization lend support to the need to examine disaggregated racial and ethnic group models of suburban settlement, and to do so, in the context of variations within suburbs.

Existing literature has been quantitatively limited by the lack of large N datasets employing significant samples of immigrant and racial/ethnic group respondents; and qualitatively limited by a lack of current field study research on suburbanization (for past studies see suburban community studies Berger 1960; Dobriner 1958; Gans 1967; Whyte 1956, Wood 1957, 1960). Baldassare (1992) makes a strong case for the significance of qualitative studies of suburbia, observing:

“field studies of suburban communities have been largely absent in recent times. The early observational reports on suburbs were influential in developing theories about the effects of suburban living. They were critical in

the rejection of several myths, including the lack of suburban diversity. They helped place into perspective the effects of suburban community structure on individuals, compared with other factors such as social class and life cycle...empirical knowledge about the suburban industrial region are limited by the lack of in-depth, qualitative community studies” (490).

Nevertheless, case study research generally consists of a single or limited selection of geographic areas (the small-N problem). Standing alone, each method whether qualitative or quantitative, raises significant concerns associated with the external validity and generalizability of the findings. This is especially significant considering how little we know about contemporary immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization. The mutually exclusive use of statistical indicators or case studies could “mask variations across metropolitan areas and variations in residential patterns across different racial and ethnic groups” (Frey 2003:155). These concerns can be addressed by employing a mixed-methodology approach to the study of recent immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization, including both qualitative and quantitative research approaches.

The motivation to use a mixed-method approach developed, in part, through research conducted for a book length project entitled, “Reshaping the American Dream: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Politics of the New Suburbs” (hereafter the RAD Project). Michael Jones-Correa, Associate Professor of Government at Cornell University is the Principal Investigator for this project funded by the Russell Sage Foundation.¹⁰ Field research for the RAD project provided the opportunity to move out of the halls of academia and into the lives of immigrant and ethnic minority communities in the greater Washington, DC metropolitan area. The first phase of the RAD project involved face-to-face, semi-structured, in-depth interviews and

participant observations among local public school, state and local elected/appointed officials; bureaucratic service and regulatory agency administrators; and community-based organization leaders. We conducted 114 interviews over a 14-month time period, between June 2003 and August 2004. The second phase involved the development and implementation of five focus group discussions of immigrant and ethnic minorities in suburban Washington, DC, including one of each of the following groups: Latino/a, and African American discussants in Montgomery County, MD and Chinese, Korean and Iranian discussants in Fairfax County, VA. Each focus group took place between June and August 2005.

Months of fieldwork presented several anomalies that would subsequently shape the current study. The field research experience altered the way I conceptualized 'race/ethnicity, class and space' in suburbia. Our research provided some insight into the changes underway in suburban areas as the result of ethnic and racial change, and its broader social, economic and political consequences. It became evident that both qualitative and quantitative methods must work interdependently, to present a more detailed picture of the post-1980 immigrant and ethnic minority experience in suburbia.

A major premise of this study contends, both quantitative and qualitative research can be systematic and scientific, whereas both derive from the underlying logic of inference (Brady and Collier 2004, King, Keohane, and Verba (1994, hereafter referred to as KKV). This study defines quantitative research as the use of statistical methods, often based on numerical measures of specific aspects of phenomena. It abstracts from particular instances to seek general description or to test

causal hypothesis and uses measures that are easily replicable by other researchers (KKV, 1994: 3-4, also see Thomas 2003). Qualitative research methods as defined in this study are:

“multi-method in focus, involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them...involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experiences, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in people’s lives” (Thomas 2003: 1-2).

Examining the strengths and weaknesses of a sampling methodology is important because each method suffers from the *fundamental problem of causal inference*, as posited by Holland (1986). Despite a strong research design, there is an inherent problem of causality. KKV (1994), take this phenomenon a step further to suggest that, “the causal effect is the difference between the systematic component of observations made when the explanatory variables take *one value* and the systemic component of *comparable* observations when the explanatory variables take on another value” (82) (*emphasis added*). Many quasi-experimental research methods suffer from this limitation. Since we can only look at observable characteristics, we can never simultaneously test the factual *and* counterfactual cases at once. To overcome some of these shorting comings researchers develop research designs or detailed plans of action that discusses how the theoretical conjectures posited will be modeled and how the evidence will be used to make causal inferences (KKV 1994:118). Accordingly, descriptions of the quantitative and qualitative research design, data and methods employed are each detailed below. I begin with a

methodological description of the quantitative methods whose results are described in Chapter 3, followed by the methodological description of the qualitative methods used, the results are described in Chapters 4 and 5.

Quantitative Research Design, Data and Methods

The Census Public Use Micro-data Series (PUMS)

The empirical analysis of immigrant and ethnic minority migration raises important challenges for researchers. Several questions must be ascertained when attempting to develop empirical models related to immigrant and ethnic minority groups based on the secondary analysis of survey data. For immigrant groups, migration related variables such as year/period of immigration, place of birth, citizenship status and language proficiency are some important measures. It is also necessary to employ a dataset with significant numbers of immigrant sub-populations to allow for disaggregated immigrant and racial and ethnic group comparisons.

This study relies on data from the 1990 and 2000 Census Public Use Micro-data Series (PUMS). I obtained each raw micro-data file from the Integrated Public Use Micro-data Series (IPUMS) housed by the University of Minnesota, Minnesota Population Center. The Census PUMS is a stratified sample of the population, created by sub-sampling the full census sample that received census long form questionnaires.

The census micro-data files allow for individual-level statistical estimation at the metropolitan area level. It is ideal for conducting a cross-sectional analysis of spatial location patterns among recent immigrants and racial/ethnic migrants, to

SMPM areas, as recent as 5 years ago. There are two independently drawn samples for the Census PUMS, designated "5 percent" and "1 percent", each featuring a different geographic schema. The 2000 PUMS 1 percent file gives the maximum amount of social, economic, and housing data available since there is no national minimum threshold for the identification of subject matter categories, with the exceptions of a national minimum population of 8,000 for race and Hispanic origin (IPUMS Documentation). Each record in the micro-data file contains the population or housing data attributes about an individual respondent. It is important to specify why I used the 1 percent versus the 5 percent sample. Although the PUMS 5 percent sample provides a much larger sample size than the 1 percent PUMS, I decided to use the 1 percent PUMS for several reasons.

First, in order to examine the effect of racial change between 1990 and 2000, by extracting race variables (detailed in Independent Variable section below), the geographic unit (metro area) in both decades must be comparable. To be clear, Williams Frey's geographic typology of 'melting pot metros' includes large metro area with populations over 500,000. Unlike the 1990 5 percent sample, the 2000 5 percent sample does not hold the 'size of place' variable (sizepl). For the 2000 sample, this prohibited the ability to drop all cases with populations under 500,000 in order to match the metro areas with populations over 500,000, in both decennial Censuses. Fortunately, for the 2000 Census PUMS, in order, to provide the level of characteristic detail as found in the 1 percent files in previous years (but to maintain within confidentiality restrictions), the Census Bureau raised the minimum geographic population above the threshold of 100,000. In doing so, the Census

created a new geographic entity for the 1 percent sample — the super-PUMA (public-use micro-data area). Super-PUMAs have a pre-designated minimum population threshold of 400,000 and are composed of a PUMA or PUMAs delineated on the 5-percent PUMS files. Thus for consistency, I used the 1 percent files examining suburban areas with population over 400,000 in both decennial years.

Second, the 1 percent sample was also selected over the 5 percent sample because the 1990 5 percent sample is a state level sample and the 1990 1 percent is a Metro level sample. This means for the 1990 5 percent sample some public-use micro-data areas (PUMAs) do not cross state boundaries. For example, the Washington DC metropolitan area (a melting pot metro), is included in both the 1 percent and 5 percent sample. However, once truncated to examine the *suburban* Washington DC area, a closer view of the data reveals that only suburban Virginia is included in the 5 percent sample, while the 1 percent sample includes both suburban Maryland and Virginia (if part of the Washington, DC public use micro-data area). Again, this occurs because the PUMA's in the 1990 state sample do not cross state boundaries. For these reasons, I selected the 1990 1 percent metro sample to compare with the 2000 1 percent sample.

Specification of the Dependent and Independent Variables

Given the immense specificity necessary to develop a series of multivariate, multi-ethnic models of suburban settlement in 'melting pot metro' areas, based on William Frey's geographic typology, the 2000 PUMS dataset was truncated in several ways. Since I am particularly interested in bifurcated *suburban* spatial location between groups residing in melting pot areas versus non-melting pot areas, all

central-city, rural and 'non-identifiable' metropolitan area observations were dropped from the analysis. The individual level unit of analysis in this study is adult householder (assuming these individuals facilitate household migration decisions) of prime mobility and full-time employment age (25-64). Individuals under 25 and over 64 years were dropped from the sample.

On average about one-half of metropolitan residents move every five years. Over a five-year time period, mobility within metropolitan areas ranges from thirty-five to sixty-five percent (Lucy and Phillips 2000:53). This study examines movers, defined by the Census as respondents who were living in a different house or apartment five years or less prior to the 2000 Census. The Census migration status question, which asks for residence five years ago, poses a potential limitation for migration studies-- especially those concerned with recent immigrant migration patterns, and secondary migration, or the domestic migration of foreign-born persons following their initial arrival to the US. As Perry and Schachter point out, previous residence is measured five years before the census and does not track any other potential moves made within that five-year period. Similarly, the question 'residence five-years ago', does not measure those who moved away from their place of residence, and then later returned to the same residence, during that five-year period (1). For recent immigrants, given the Census migration status question, the captured move to a suburban melting pot metro or other suburban area may not necessarily be their first move, after arriving in the United States (i.e. the initial point-of-entry to the United States may differ from where they currently reside). Since I am also interested in the determinants of the recent moves from *abroad* to SMPM areas,

within the last five years, I used the PUMS variable called ‘moved in’ to better approximate some of these moves. This variable captures the number of years prior to the census year that the householder moved into their *present* residence. All movers, including those traveling from abroad, who did not move into their present suburban residence (five years ago or less), were also dropped from the sample (please see Quantitative Limitations Section below for a discussion concerning the motivation to exclude non-movers in this study).

A final truncation of the sample accounts for the number of families residing in one household. There was a small number of household dwellings with two or more families present. For this particular analysis, in order to avoid skewing the results, I dropped the cases in which there were two or more families present. Therefore, this analysis focuses on adult householders, ages 25-64 who migrated to their current residence in suburbia five years ago or less, and who reside in single family household dwellings (the tenure may be a renter or homeowner dwelling).

To differentiate among various racial and ethnic groups, I created filters or qualifiers for each model using dummy variables for non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians and Latinos. I also created dummy variables for Mexican, Central/South American, Cuban and Puerto Rican national origin groups as well as dummy variables for some disaggregated national origin groups of Asian householders, including Chinese, Korean, Filipino and Vietnamese. After truncating the dataset, the cases were too sparse to include disaggregated groups of black immigrants (such as those from various African or Caribbean descent), or Native Americans. However, the dataset does allow for the distinction between native-born

blacks and non native-born blacks. Additionally, following the previous work of Frey (2001, 2003), this analysis does not include multiracial-categories and all whites, blacks and Asians are of non-Hispanic descent. I also do not include people in institutions or other group quarters.

The Dependent Variable

There are two essential aspects of research design: description and causation. KKV (1994) define causality as “a theoretical concept independent of the data used to learn about” (77). In the language of causality, the dependent variable is often called the “outcome”, whereas the independent variables are often called “explanatory” (KKV 1994, Spector 1981). In this study, the dependent variable is binary: whether an individual moved to a suburban melting pot metro or not (SMPM=1, otherwise=0). The 2000 Census PUMS (1 percent sample) has several limitations in its geographic specificity. Related to confidentiality restrictions, the Census PUMS consists of numerous metro areas that cannot be fully identified. To avoid undue bias in the sample, I deleted all cases in which the metropolitan statistical area sample could be completely identified and those areas that could not be fully matched between 1990 and 2000. These factors limited the number of identifiable suburban metro areas for examination. Given these geographic limitations of the Census PUMS, and after truncation the sample as specified above, this study examines 29 suburban metropolitan areas, 12 of which fit the criterion of a suburban melting pot metro (“SMPM=1”). There are 17 “other=0” suburban areas included in the sample¹¹ (see the Quantitative Limitations section below for a discussion of the geographic limitations of the Census PUMS and how this may be addressed in future research).

The percentages and metropolitan statistical area FIPS codes for each suburban ‘melting pot metro’ included in this study are listed in Table 1.1.

Table 2.1 List of 12 Suburban ‘Melting Pot Metros’*, (in Percentages, by MSA/PSMA FIPS Code)

	Percentages	MSA/PMSA FIPS Code
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	17.18	4480
Chicago-Gary-Lake, IL	6.57	1600
Washington, DC, MD, VA	18.78	8840
Newark, NJ	6.90	5640
Miami-Hialeah, FL	4.71	5000
Riverside-San Bernardino	7.52	6780
Orlando, FL	4.24	5960
Bergen-Passaic, NJ	6.96	0875
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	5.94	5015
Oakland, CA	9.01	5775
Sacramento, CA	8.02	6920
San Francisco-Vallejo, CA	4.15	7360
Total	100.00	
<hr/>		
Total Observations Suburb MPM	17,679	
Total Observations Suburb Non-MPM	19,813	
Total Observations Full Suburb Sample (MPM and Non-MPM)	37,492	

Source: 2000 Census PUM

Notes: Melting pot metro denotes a metropolitan statistical areas where non-Hispanic whites comprised no more than 69 percent of the US population in 2000 (the percentage of non-Hispanic whites nation wide) and where the combined populations of 2 or more racial/ethnic groups exceed 18 percent of the US population in 2000 (the sum of 2 of these groups nationwide is 18 percent of the population) (Frey 2001, 2003).

The Independent Variables and Traditional Hypotheses

The features of spatial assimilation remain important in examining spatial location patterns for immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Three types of variables are used to measure the impact of spatial assimilation on the propensity of groups to move to a SMPM. They include: socioeconomic status, family and household characteristics, and some immigration related measures. Immigrant groups enter the US with differential levels of socio-economic status. Alba and Logan (1991) find that socioeconomic variables like income and education are greater determinants of suburbanization for some minority groups than for non-Hispanic whites (434). Recent findings using 2000 Census data report that both native and immigrant Asians have substantially higher incomes and lower poverty levels than Blacks and Latinos. Latino immigrants have lower levels of educational attainment than natives while the differences in income and poverty rates are less substantial (See Logan 2003, Mumford Center Report *America's Newcomers*).

To test the variability of these measures in this multivariate model, the socioeconomic characteristics included are education (in years) of the householder and household income (in units of \$10,000). In this study, I did not include a measure of employment status because of its high collinearity with the other spatial assimilation measures used in the model. Furthermore, *employment status* is generally not included as a measure of spatial location attainment. Income and education are the two primary spatial assimilation measures used in existing literature (but see Iceland, *forthcoming*, for a novel study of occupational categories). Therefore, this schema is also maintained for consistency and comparability with existing research.

Some scholars have noted, “The suburbs are also becoming increasingly diverse in income, education and occupational status, because many blue collar and service workers are moving to suburban employment centers” (Baldassare 1992). However, a recent study by Frasure (2005), used a pooled dataset from the Current Population Survey (2000-2004), to examine the impact of the several direct migration related measures (employment, housing and family-related motivations), along with some other features of spatial assimilation such as family/household composition factors, as well as period of immigration on the propensity of racial/ethnic groups to move to suburban melting pot metro (SMPM). Frasure found that housing and/or family related concerns were significant predictors of SMPM settlement for whites, Asians and Latinos in the model, but posed no significant effect for blacks, controlling for all other factors. On the other hand, employment related reasons posed no significant relationship to SMPM settlement for any group in the sample, holding all other factors constant.

Education is often viewed as a spatial assimilation measure of “cultural adaptation.” It is believed that rises in education deter the likelihood of ethnic or multi-ethnic neighborhood settlement (Logan, Zhang and Alba, 307: 2002). Therefore, it is predicted that with increasing educational attainment, minority groups may be less inclined to settle in SMPMs.

Regarding income, as Lucy and Phillips suggest, “[the] income of residents is the variable that reveals the most useful information to policy strategists about movers and stayers...it indirectly reveals preferences and opportunities as well as judgments about quality of life in neighborhoods and local governments... [the]

Income of residents in neighborhoods demonstrates ability to pay taxes. Lower income leads to greater reliance on public services” (140). Since lower levels of income and educational attainment fall disproportionately among some minority populations, (particularly blacks and Latinos) it is generally predicted that as income and educational levels increase, the likelihood of suburban settlement also increases. Yet, how will rises in these factors affect how various groups choose among suburban types—multi-ethnic or non-multi-ethnic?

Income and homeownership are more direct measures of socioeconomic achievement, (Logan, Zhang and Alba, 307: 2002), and often movement away from the ethnic enclave. Thus, it is assumed that these measures are likely to be negatively associated with living in an ethnic or multi-ethnic neighborhood, such as a SMPM. However, it is also believed that the direction and significance level of these measures will differ by racial/ethnic group. Recall that the spatial assimilation models often fails to explain black suburbanization. Black spatial location attainment is better explained by place stratification theories. Thus, given historical legacies of racism and discriminatory practices excluding blacks from some neighborhoods, we would expect that for blacks (and some Hispanic national origin groups such as Puerto Ricans), despite rises in income, these groups will be more likely to sort themselves into SMPM areas, since by definition these areas are ethnically stratified places.

In order to examine the relationship between selected family and household characteristics on suburban settlement among immigrant and ethnic minority groups, I include the age of the householder (in years 25-64), whether a household is headed by a married couple (a dummy variable), whether there are children under the age of

18 present (a dummy variable) and whether the householder is a homeowner (a dummy variable). The spatial assimilation model does not hold a clear prediction regarding the impact of the life cycle variables age, marital status and the presence of school age children. As such, the interpretation of these variables is usually given less emphasis, but the effects are nevertheless important to control for.

I also estimate the impact of period of immigration on the propensity to settle in suburban melting pot metro areas. Numerous studies have noted that immigrants grow increasingly similar to the native-born population with length of residence in the United States (Capps et al. 2003). Given the influx of immigrants since the 1980s and their reported boom in SMPMs, this analysis concentrates on post-1980 immigrants, including a dummy variable for immigrants who entered the US between the years 1980-1995 and for those who entered the country after 1995. Native-born serves as the reference category for the immigration period measures (Alba et al. 1999). Since melting pots are found in high immigration zones, it is expected that post 1980 immigrants are particularly more likely than their native-born counterparts to reside in SMPMs.

In order to capture the impact of English speaking ability on multi-ethnic settlement, I account for linguistic isolation. A householder resides in a linguistically isolated household no person, age 14 and older, “speaks only English”, or “speaks English very well.” All members of such a household are considered linguistically isolated, even through children under the age of 14 who speak only English are present (IPUMS documentation, LINGISOL (H 182)). In the spatial assimilation literature, English language ability is thought to be associated with cultural

assimilation and subsequently spatial assimilation. Thus, linguistically isolated householders are assumed to be more likely to sort themselves into ethnic or multi-ethnic areas than householders with greater English language proficiency.

In order to examine the impact of changes in racial and ethnic composition between 1990 and 2000, on the likelihood of suburban melting pot metro settlement, four measures of racial/ethnic change are included in the model. Each measure is based on the percentage change in the percentile scores for the following categories: percent black, percent Asian, percent Latino and percent foreign-born in the metropolitan statistical area from 1990-2000. The racial preference model suggests some racial/ethnic groups would favor suburban areas where the percentage change in their own group increases and disfavor suburban settlement where the racial change of other groups increases. Much of the literature suggests that this effect may be more pronounced for whites (see Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996, Clark 1991; Farley et al. 1994 Zubrinsky and Bobo 1996). On the other hand blacks, Latinos, and Asians are often more likely than whites to prefer integrated neighborhoods.

Next, to account for the impact of some measures of metropolitan context, I include mean housing value and mean property tax as proxies for 'economic sorting' in suburbia, between groups.¹² Lucy and Phillips (2000) note, "Deterioration of housing, and reinvestment in it, should be reflected in housing values. Housing values reflect demand within the available supply" (199). The independent factors affecting local property values raise long-standing questions concerning 'race versus class status'. One traditional assumption holds that predominately white neighborhoods tend to 'tip' if a certain number of black families move in, not necessarily because of

discrimination or racial taste for living with other co-ethnics, but for fear that property values will fall. As Harris (1999b) observes, often imbedded in these notions lie the assumption that blacks do not necessarily 'keep up their houses' (461). His work examines whether racial discrimination or class factors, evidenced by socio-economic status, affects neighborhood desirability. Harris (1999b) finds evidence of lower housing values in areas with high proportions of black residents, but cautions that, "there is strong evidence that lower housing costs in more integrated neighborhoods are primarily a response to the neighborhood's socio-economic status rather than the race of its residents" (472). He continues, "Clearly, housing is more valuable in less integrated neighborhoods largely because people prefer well-educated, affluent neighbors, and each of these traits is more prevalent among whites than among blacks" (472). Beyond black and white, however, there is little evidence concerning whether multi-ethnic areas, such as melting pot metros, have lower property values than other metro areas.¹³ Moreover, we still know little about the impact of housing values on multi-ethnic settlement, particularly in SMPMs. Therefore, this study seeks to test whether rises in housing values have an impact on various racial/ethnic group propensities to settle in melting pot metro areas, controlling for all other factors.

Property taxes are defined by the Census as the total real estate costs (state, local and other in the previous year), and are limited to single-unit-owner-occupied or vacant-for-sale houses, condominiums, and mobile homes. Conventional wisdom suggests that suburbanites generally favor low property taxes and disfavor property tax hikes. Increasingly, economically diverse suburban jurisdictions raise concerns about the impact of property taxes on multi-ethnic suburban settlement. Counties,

cities, towns, and school districts raise money through property taxation. Such monies are used to provide public goods and services such as schools, police and fire protection, and other local municipal services. Unlike the income tax or sales tax, a property tax is not based on how much money you spend or earn, it is based on the value of the property you own. While some individuals may generally favor lower property taxes, when choosing among suburban residential types, choosing an area with lower property taxes may subsequently result in a lower level (quality) of public goods and services. Thus, while there is no theoretical model offering an expectation regarding the impact of property tax on multi-ethnic suburban settlement, this study seeks to examine variations in the impact of this measure on SMPM settlement, between racial and ethnic groups, controlling for all other factors.

Finally, to account for varying distributions of the groups across metro areas, I included regional controls including a set of dummy variables for the four main regions (with 'south' as the reference category, see Alba et al. 1999 for a similar method). I also included a control for 'type of move', which examines the effect of migration from the central-city or non central-city on the probability of SMPM settlement.

Limitations of the Quantitative Research Design

The criteria for judging causal inferences are unbiasedness, efficiency and consistency. In quantitative research, for example, causal inferences are to be unbiased (correct on average), efficient (cases are closer to mean rather than further away from the mean), and consistent, whereas when you obtain larger samples, you get closer to the population in which you wish to generalize. For quantitative researchers, randomization, or an equal probability of being chosen in the population, is often assumed to be the most reliable method toward strengthen a model against biasness. While randomization techniques, using large-N datasets such as the Census Public Use Micro-Data Series (PUMS), will help us to better understand the determinants of immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization, such methods are not without limitations. I briefly discuss some of these limitations, as well as an alternative research design used at earlier stages of the research project, which eventually lead to the research design and statistical estimation procedures used in Part One of this study: multivariate logit regression analysis enhanced by CLARIFY—a stochastic simulation technique used to help researchers interpret and present statistical results (Tomz, Wittenberg, and King 2003).

In an alternative research approach, whose results were presented in a series of papers and presentations (see list in endnotes), I constructed a pooled dataset from the Current Population Survey Annual March Supplement (CPS) micro-data file (2000-2004).¹⁴ This study was novel because until recently, researchers were left to make indirect inferences regarding individual groups' spatial location decisions. However, in 1998, the CPS added a 'main reason for moving' question to the

survey's section on migration, thus reducing the need to make indirect inferences about micro-level migration decisions. In a multivariate analysis, I used logit regression analysis to examine the impact of this migration-related measure along with some features of the spatial assimilation, family/household composition factors, as well as period of immigration, on the propensity of racial/ethnic groups to move to suburban melting pot metros (SMPMs). I tested this model among recent non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic Asian, and Hispanic (including Mexican, Central/South American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban) migrants residing in 33 US SMPM areas. As stated previously, I find that housing and/or family related concerns were significant predictors of SMPM settlement for whites, Asians and Latinos, but posed no significant effect for blacks. Employment reasons posed no significant relationship to SMPM settlement for any of the groups in the sample. However, this relationship was modified by low-income status for some groups in the sample. Moreover, disaggregating some Hispanic national origin groups (including Mexicans, Central/South Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans) presented notable variations in the impact of these migration-related measures on their likelihood of SMPM settlement.

Though these results were very informative, once the dataset was truncated to fit the specificity of the model developed, I was concerned with the small sample size limiting the generalizability of the findings related to the Hispanic national origin group populations. Furthermore, truncation of the sample to fit the model specificity nearly eliminated the possibility of comparing disaggregated groups of Asian householders. After much deliberation, I decided to switch to the Census PUMS.

Though the decision to recode and prepare another dataset for analysis proved lengthy and arduous, it was an undertaking worth the additional time. The larger sample size and wider variable selection of the Census PUMS permits for the extension and testing of several theoretical frameworks first explored using the CPS pooled dataset, and to examine aspects of three spatial location theories including 1) spatial assimilation theory, 2) place stratification theory and 3) economic sorting theory.¹⁵

Another limitation of the research design involves the geographic unit of analysis. While the Census PUMS is far better than any other dataset to carry out this research design (see Alba and Logan 1991 for a similar research design using the 1980 Census PUMS), I briefly discuss two limitations related to using Census Public Use Micro-data files instead of aggregate level data such as the Census SF3 files. First, as previously discussed, because of public use Census data confidentiality restrictions the smallest geographical unit of analysis in the 1990 1 percent PUMS is 100,000, and in the 2000 1 percent PUMS is 400,000 (see above for why I used the 1 percent sample). Again this is not of consequence for this analysis since we are interested in comparing large metro areas (in this case with populations over 400,000).

However, the concern is that many of these metro areas are not completely identifiable in the 1 percent samples. While a SMPM can be central-city or suburban, I am interested in only *suburban* areas. Each of the 35 melting pot metro areas are included in the 1 percent dataset, though the 'metropolitan areas status' of 23 of them were unidentifiable (i.e. central-city versus suburban status is not distinguishable for the metro area). To be clear, to examine suburban metros I used the variable 'metro'

which includes four categories: not in metro area (rural), in central-city of metro area, in metro area but not in central-city (suburb); and metro status unidentifiable.

Dropping all rural, central-city and areas in which the metro status was not identifiable resulted in the elimination of 23 of the 35 melting pot metro areas, leaving 12 metro areas for analysis (See Table 2.1 for percentages and FIPS codes for each SMPM included in the sample). Though not ideal, the examination of 29 suburban areas, 12 of which are SMPMs remains an improvement over some research alternatives that do not consider differences within a suburbia context, or provide *individual level* analysis with the use of *individual level* indicators, as the Census PUMS permits.

Second, I acknowledge that the use of Census SF3 files would be more ideal for extracting aggregate level measures of the population such as percentages variables (i.e. percent black, percent white, percent foreign) because SF3 files give the percentage of these measures for the entire metropolitan statistical area, in addition to a sample of the population. However, the tradeoff is that aggregate level data files do not contain household or person level data as found in the Census PUMS. This research design requires appending place level variables (whether metropolitan statistical area (MSA), census tract or block level) from the SF3 aggregate data files to the household and person level data as found in the Census PUMS. However, because of confidentiality requirements, there is no publicly available dataset that allows researchers to carry out this task. Restricted access to individual and place level data prohibited a more detailed analysis for the dissertation project. The restricted data proposal approval process is very extensive and generally

takes six months or more. If approved, all analysis of restricted census data must be undertaken, on site, at one of the five Restricted Data Access Centers in the country, that provide researchers with access to confidential micro data collected by the Census Bureau.¹⁶

Furthermore, it should be noted that standing alone (i.e. without the appended individual level measures) the SF3 files would fall short. Most migration studies are conducted at the macro-level, using aggregate level data such as the Census Bureau SF3 data files. Such scholars use these aggregate level measures to make individual level casual inferences. As Alba and Logan (1991) contend, “such research is susceptible to the difficulties and pitfalls inherent in inferring individual-level effects from aggregated data (i.e. the well-known ecological fallacy) (435).

Finally, it is aptly noted by some scholars that a consequence of concentrating on “movers” and excluding the behaviors of “non-movers” eliminates important comparative details between these two groups, particularly related to causality. Indeed, a classic dilemma in social science research is the fundamental problem of casual inference also referred to as “the evaluation problem”, associated with establishing a counterfactual to determine what would have happened in the absence of the event or intervention (Holland 1986). The “causal inference” problem arises when we cannot observe both the treatment *and* control group outcome for the same unit of analysis (i.e. either the individual moved or did not move during a time period). Randomized controlled experiments are considered the most acceptable and reliable solution to the causal inference problem. Such experimental approaches are both time-consuming and costly, and thus not feasible for this study. On the other

hand, many non-experimental solutions to the causal inference problem can be used such as cross-sectional estimators, using the method of matching. The method of matching may be undertaken using Census PUMS data by matching movers and non-movers with ‘comparable’ characteristics (income, education, etc). In short, cross-sectional estimators compare those who moved versus those who did not move, during the same time period. While this approach was explored, it was not feasible at this time because of time-constraints, as well as the direction of the project. For this particular study, I am particularly interested in why some racial/ethnic groups move to multi-ethnic suburban areas, specifically melting pot metros and how these factors differ between racial and ethnic groups, rather than the differences between “movers” and “non-movers”.

All of these factors lead to my current research design, used to estimate a model predicting the probability that an adult householder, who migrated to their current suburban residence, 5 years ago or less (prior to the 2000 Census), resides in a multi-ethnic suburban area--a “suburban melting pot metro” (SMPM) -- relative to another suburban area with populations over 400,000. I selected multivariate logit regression analysis to carry out this research design because the dependent variable, “suburban melting pot metro” settlement is dichotomous (SPMPM=1/ Otherwise=0). However, in logit regression analysis, the clear-cut interpretation of the coefficients, as found in ordinary least squares regression estimates, are more difficult to navigate.

The statistical program CLARIFY, as used in the statistical software package STATA, employs stochastic simulation techniques to help researchers overcome limitations in interpreting and presenting logic results. To be clear, after estimating

each logit regression, I use the CLARIFY program to calculate the conditional effects, or the impact on SMPM settlement for each independent measure having statistically significant results. In doing so, I simulate the changes in the probability of SMPM settlement for various ‘scenarios’ of interest concerning SMPM settlement between non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Asians and Latinos householders. For example, I evaluate how the probability of SMPM settlement would change at varying age, income and educational attainment levels, some racial change thresholds, and other factors relevant in explaining SMPM settlement.

Prior to moving to the results of the multivariate analysis in Chapter 3, next, I describe the qualitative methods undertaken in Part II of this study. These results will be detailed in Chapters Four and Five.

Qualitative Research Design, Data and Methods

To further probe concerns raised in the quantitative analysis, and to examine how local institutions respond to the needs and demands of immigrants and ethnic minorities in suburbia, Part II of this study presents a two-part case study of one SMPM area--suburban Washington DC.¹⁷ The analysis includes the results from a combination of in-depth interviewing, participant observations and focus group discussions. As Brady and Collier in *Rethinking Social Inquiry* (2004) contend, qualitative research is vitally important in achieving greater knowledge of cases, context and analytic leverage toward valid inference (12). They further note:

“...analytic leverage can be derived from a close knowledge of cases and context, which can directly contribute to more valid descriptive and causal inference. This knowledge sensitized researchers to the impact of cultural, economic, and historical settings, and to the fact that subunits of a given case may be very different from the overall case...knowledge of context provides insight into potentially significant factors that are not among the variables being formally considered. In this sense, it helps us to know what is hidden behind the assumption “other things being equal,” which is in turn crucial for the casual homogeneity assumption that is a requisite for valid casual inference” (12).

The methods used toward gaining such leverage, as well as the limitations of these methods are detailed below.

Qualitative Data Collection Procedures

As discussed above, the qualitative data used in this project was collected through research conducted for a book length project entitled, “Reshaping the American Dream: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Politics of the New Suburbs” (RAD Project). Michael Jones-Correa, Associate Professor of Government at Cornell

University is the Principal Investigator for this project funded by the Russell Sage Foundation. The first component of the data collection process consisted of 114 in-depth interviews with public school, state and local elected and appointed officials; bureaucratic service and regulatory agency officials; and community-based organization leaders (both immigrant and non-immigrant lead) in the Washington, DC metropolitan area. These interviews were conducted between June 2003 and August 2004. In addition to in-depth interviewing, the second component of the fieldwork process took place in Summer 2005. We conducted five focus group discussions. There were two separate sessions in Montgomery County with African American and Latino settlers, and there were three separate sessions in Fairfax County with Chinese, Korean and Iranian settlers.

Initial respondents were located via media and technological outlets including local ethnic newspapers and the Internet. In the summer of 2003, I began the fieldwork process by collecting back issues of ethnic and non-ethnic newspapers in the Washington DC metro area. I met informally with the editors and other affiliates of many Washington, DC area newspaper agencies. In addition to gathering back issues (6 months to 1 year) of English, Spanish and some Asian-language newspapers, the informal meetings with local newspaper officials were helpful in discussing the ethnic makeup and populations in the area, to better understand the most pressing issues in the area (and to understand these issues within an historical and social context), to further develop the project themes and interviewee protocols, as well as to gain access to initial elite respondents, through our leads at the local newspapers.

In-depth Interviews

For the in-depth interviews, snowball sampling provided a means of identifying the internal social networks of these often elite and hard to access populations (elected, appointed officials, etc). Participants were enlisted via an email and telephone campaign, using a protocol that requested their permission to meet face to face, for a minimum of one hour. At the end of each interview, respondents were asked to recommend and provide the contact information for other individuals whom we might interview for the project. In short, this method consists of identifying initial respondents who are then used to refer researchers to other respondents (Vogt, 1999). Unlike densely populated urban areas, the sparse geographic makeup of suburbia, and the need to easily and efficiently access the social networks of respondents (particularly racial/ethnic actors), snowballed sampling provided a sensible sampling choice (Thomson, 1997). In fact, the circle of public, private, and non-profit actors directly or indirectly related to immigrant and ethnic minority settlement, became more finite and tightly linked as the snowball sampling process progressed over a 14-month time period. For comparison purposes between Montgomery and Fairfax Counties, we mirror interviewed respondents (e.g. Superintendent of Public Schools, Director of Health and Human Services, for each county). As a result, many respondents were purposively selected from each county for their roles as elected or appointed officials, public school and county government officials; and for community-based organization leaders with occupations and activities relevant to the project themes, which included public education, affordable housing, etc. On the one hand, this technique may raise selection bias concerns, mirror interviewing yields

respondents with similar occupational titles and some similar occupational tasks. On the other hand, as addressed in further detail in the Qualitative Limitations below, the two counties' responsiveness to the needs and concerns of minority suburbanites often varied depending on the policy or program.

To ensure accurate recording what was said, consent to tape the interview using a digital voice recorder was obtained preceding the start of each interview. Respondents were told that they may choose to not answer any question or fully end their participation in the interview at any time, without any penalty. The digital voice recordings were transcribed using transcription services at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (WWICS) as well as transcription services at Cornell University. During the early stages of the project, I transcribed each interview, in great detail, by hand (including the first 50 or so interviews), so that we could discuss the interview findings during our weekly meetings and to become better prepared, and well informed for the upcoming interviews (See Sample Protocols in Appendix A and B). Once we received all 114 transcripts from WWICS and Cornell, these data were stored and analyzed using a commonly employed and easy to use qualitative software program ATLAS-TI (see <http://www.atlasti.de/intro.shtml>)¹⁸. In addition to the ongoing field interviews, the research process included a number of field observations that fostered acquaintance with the ethnic communities under study, and to 'meet and greet' potential interviewees.

Focus Group Discussions

The second component of the field research involved the development of five focus group discussions with different ethnic/racial groups, including African American, Latino, Chinese, Korean, and Iranian populations, in Fairfax County, Virginia; Montgomery County, Maryland; and Prince Georges County, Maryland. We contracted with a Washington, DC based consulting firm-- Rivera Qualitative Research. This consulting firm assisted in the respondent selection and facilitation of the focus groups. The focus groups were conducted between June and August 2005. Each group consisted of 8-12 adults, ages 25-64 years old, including immigrant as well as domestic migrants to suburbia from the five ethno-racial groups, previously specified. The focus groups were conducted in the native languages of the respondents—English for African Americans, Mandarin for Chinese, Korean for Koreans, Spanish for Latinos, and Farsi for Iranian respondents. Both the principal investigator Michael Jones-Correa and I were present for each focus group except for the Iranian discussion. After deliberation, it was decided that we should not be present at the Iranian focus group discussion. It was believed that the presence of observers might inhibit free speech, particularly after the events of September 11, 2001 and the London bombings in the summer of 2005, which occurred near the date of the scheduled focus group. Prior to each focus group, moderators were trained using the protocol developed by Jones-Correa and I.

Each session included simultaneous English interpretation for the Principal Investigator and myself, where needed. The African American and Latino focus groups were conducted at The Media Network, Inc, a Latino-led broadcasting and

social marketing company in Silver Spring, MD. During the discussion sessions, Michael Jones-Correa and I sat behind a two-way mirror as the discussion group was conducted. Simultaneously, an interpreter translated the Spanish language focus group. The Chinese and Korean focus groups were conducted in a room at a local library and in the community center of a Korean church in Fairfax County, respectively. For these groups, the simultaneous interpretation mode consisted of the observers (Professor Jones-Correa and I), and the simultaneous interpreter placed in a corner of the meeting room. The interpreter sat between the observers and whispered the focus group discussion in English. The interpreter's voice was recorded into a tape recorder. Rivera Qualitative Consultants performed the tape recordings of the focus group sessions, and of the simultaneous interpretations, into English for focus groups in non-English languages. They also performed transcriptions of English language focus group discussion and of simultaneous interpretations of focus groups in non-English languages. As a follow-up, the native language versions of these tapes were transcribed by translation services at Cornell University.

Limitations of the Qualitative Research Design

Unlike survey research, randomization is usually not appropriate in small-N research designs, similar to the qualitative studies using a few crucial cases (such as Montgomery County, MD and Fairfax County, VA), in a comparative case study analysis. The suburban Washington, DC focus group discussions were used to supplement the survey data results in Part I of the study, by more closely examining life in a SMPM area, and also investigates how the experiences of these settlements may differ between various immigrant and ethnic minority groups. These data permit

the further probe of similarities and variations concerning immigrant and ethnic minority residential selection processes, and the subsequent implications of these spatial location decisions. The in-depth interviews were used to examine *how* local institutions respond to the issues raised by immigrant groups, in the face of changing suburban demographics.

However, there are several limitations associated with qualitative field research designs such as this. First, some scholars contend that a selection of a few qualitative cases may open the door to selection bias problems. To help qualitative researchers confront selection bias concerns, KKV stress the importance of sampling on the independent variable and not the dependent variable. This is because researchers seek to explain variations in the dependent variable and thus, obviously the dependent variable must be dependent and vary. We should choose a dependent variable that represents the variation we seek to explain. This point leads us to the importance of descriptive inferences, in the way we “organize facts as observable implications of some theory or hypothesis” (KKV 46). As KKV note, a deep descriptive “plausibility probe” can help to ground a theory, and is an important precursor to testing hypotheses.

In this study, the small selection of cases (Montgomery County, MD and Fairfax County, VA), may lead to selection bias problems since a comparable case or cases without such record growth were not examined. Fairfax and Montgomery counties are among the most populous and wealthy counties in the Washington, DC areas (as well the United States). By 2004, the population in Montgomery County had reached 921,690 (a 5.5 percent change from 873,341 in 2000). The population in

Fairfax County exceeded one million by 2004, with a population of 1,003,157 residents (a 3.4 percent change from 969,749 in 2000). Ranked among the top ten counties of 250,000 or more people, with the highest estimates of median household income, Fairfax County is the second wealthiest county in the country (it was the richest county in the country, but was recently surpassed by Douglas County, Colorado). Montgomery County is currently the 4th wealthiest county in the country. Both represent two cases in which growth in the immigrant and ethnic minority population rapidly occurred. The immigrant population in each county more than tripled between 1970 and 2000.

However, while it *appears* that both counties are exemplars, particularly related to their socio-economic and demographic patterns, as detailed in Chapter Four, the pull factors drawing newcomers to their jurisdictions, do not necessarily lead to a better understanding of the *responsiveness* of local institutions, to such demographic shifts in the population. We have little information concerning how groups fare once settled. Arguably, while both counties are demographically comparable, their subsequent responsiveness to immigrant and ethnic minority concerns varies, depending on the policy or program.

First, as discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five, using the in-depth interviews collected, I examine an institutionalized setting for day laborers to receive familial support, job resources and shelter. Until the 1990s, an institutionalized setting for day laborers was not established in Montgomery County. At the time of this study, such a setting was non-existent in Fairfax County. Recently, the possibility of an institutionalized setting in Fairfax County is given greater consideration, though

only after residents and business owners raised public safety, health related, and other quality of life concerns to the growing numbers of day laborers congregating in the front of various informal 7-Eleven day laborer pick-up sites.¹⁹ I will argue that local institutions acting alone, often fail to overcome the likely problems associated with addressing the issues of NIMBYism (not in my backyard), externalities, and local public goods dilemmas. Instead, the interdependency of local institutions is needed, or the synergy between public, private and non-profit actors, which influence the distributive outcomes of immigrant and ethnic minorities in suburbia. However, these phenomena are neither observable in extant literature, or in large N-datasets. During the progression of the field research experience, the idiosyncratic nature of institutional responsiveness in the ‘new’ suburbia unveiled itself, which helped to develop the conceptual construct called, ‘Suburban Institutional Interdependency’ (to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five).

Second, as I developed a conceptual construct called ‘Suburban Institutional Interdependency’, I was confronted with issues related to verification--confirming a theory, and falsifiability--disconfirming a theory (Popper 1968). I am interested in developing concepts that are conducive to falsification. KKV states, “The process of trying to falsify theories in social science is really one of searching for their bounds of applicability. If some observable implication indicates that the theory does not apply, we learn something; similarly, if the theory works, we learn something too” (100). The question then becomes how can my theory be falsified? Case study research allows the opportunity to carefully craft a model, pose some conjectures to be later tested empirically. For example, many formal models have produced important

results and conjectures, which were later tested empirically. Such models carefully delineated the actors, strategies, the rules of the game, payoffs and plausible outcomes. For example, Elinor Ostrom (1990) in *Governing the Commons* provides an outstanding example of the use of qualitative data to build a model, present some conjectures, make some predictions, and later develop a testable theory. Moreover, classic community power theorists including Hunter (1953), Mills (1956) and Dahl (1961) have used single case study research to develop a theory, to be later tested. These contributions to the discipline have since sparked a cottage industry of interdisciplinary work in political science, economics, sociology, urban affairs, and public policy. Therefore, despite a small number of cases for the qualitative section of this research, I believe that such an analysis will allow me to present some conjectures, develop a theoretical construct, and make some predictions, which can be later empirically tested. These exploratory steps are necessary and may add depth to our conceptual frameworks and perspectives concerning the responsiveness of local public, private and non-profit institutions, to recent immigrant and ethnic minority settlement in suburbia.

Third, it should also be noted that gaining access to local elite officials or immigrant populations required overcoming some unique challenges. While completing field observations at a Latino day laborer meeting, or an Asian American political fund-raiser, and while interviewing state and local elected officials, the ability to confidently and genuinely interact with the communities studied, to be flexible and open to the ‘unexpected,’ to comfortably meet respondents in their homes, places of work, local diners or even standing on the street, helped to facilitate

the process of garnering and facilitating interviews, as well as conducting extended periods of field research.

Whether at the elite or mass level, keen field researchers realize they have less than five minutes to win a respondent's trust, and perhaps even less time among marginalized groups, who can see straight through insincerity. Such groups will not only quickly dismiss the relevance and validity of the project, but given the tight linkages between some ethnic community leaders, a 'bad interview' can have a detrimental effect on the progress of the remaining interviews.

Midway through the project, the names of Jones-Correa and I were known throughout some parts the immigrant community, particularly in Montgomery County and among some Latino leadership circles. As I contacted some of the new respondents, and proceeded to discuss the project, they informed me that they had already heard of the project. Because of positive experiences with previous respondents, they were more eager to discuss their agencies' goals, programs and policies, and to also share 'their story' as a county employee, elected official or community based leader. Many elite level respondents had lived in their respective counties for over 20 years, and had witnessed, first hand, the impact of its changing demographics.

I am convinced that that each time you are allowed into the lives and communities of respondents, it is important to build relationships of mutual respect, trust and reciprocity. While I chose to not become involved in volunteering at a local agency or program (a strategy often used to gain access to populations of interest), I developed relationships with respondents by providing resources and helping to

connect people, across county jurisdictions. Most elite officials discussed the needs of their county and had a keen interest in the programs and policies that may help to incorporate suburban newcomers. However, they often had no idea that an adjacent county had already developed such a program or policy. Again, since we ‘mirror interviewed’ respondents between Montgomery and Fairfax Counties (e.g. Director of Zoning and Enforcement, in both counties) I had access to and knowledge of projects occurring in both places. Without compromising the integrity or confidentiality of the project, after our meetings, in my follow-up thank-you emails, I often mentioned a program underway in another county and informally provided the website and a little information about the project. Unbeknownst to the respondent, I had often previously interviewed the leader of that project. Linking the two together could help lower the transaction cost associated with undertaking a related project in their own county. Respondents were often very thankful for this information and more readily responded with a list of names and contact information for future interviewees for the project—a win-win situation.

In the next chapter, I present the results of the quantitative part of this study, which examines the most recent decennial census data used to carry out a multivariate logit regression analysis, to estimate the impact of some spatial assimilation, racial change and metropolitan contextual variables have had on recent SMPM settlement.

Chapter Three: Why Move to a ‘Melting Pot’ Metro?

Characteristics of Suburban ‘Melting Pot’ Dwellers

In this chapter, I present the results from a multivariate logit regression analysis, used to estimate a model predicting the probability that an adult householder, who migrated to their current suburban residence, 5 years ago or less (prior to the 2000 Census), resides in a multi-ethnic suburban area--a “suburban melting pot metro” (SMPM) -- relative to another suburban area with populations over 400,000. I test this model between separate groups of non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian, and Hispanic movers residing in 29 US suburban areas. I also examine four Hispanic national origin groups (including Mexican, Central/South American, Cuban and Puerto Rican movers), as well as four Asian national origin groups (including Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Vietnamese movers). I simulate how the probability of SMPM settlement changes at varying levels of income, educational attainment as well as changes in metropolitan racial composition and other factors relevant in explaining SMPM settlement. This analysis allows us to consider the extent to which racial/ethnic suburban location choice stems from constraints, such as income or class status, or preference/tastes, such as race.

Prior to exploring the logit regression results, Table 3.1 reports selected summary statistics for each racial and ethnic group, and Table 3.2 reports selected summary statistics related to SMPM settlers, by native versus foreign-born non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians and Latinos using data from the 2000 Census PUMS.

Table 3.1 Suburban Melting Pot Metro (SMPM) Summary Statistics, by Race/Ethnicity of Householder^a

Variable	White	Black	Latino	Asian
High School Graduate	.16 (.37)	.21 (.41)	.21 (.41)	.10 (.30)
Some College	.30 (.45)	.39 (.48)	.25 (.43)	.17 (.37)
BA or more	.44 (.49)	.27 (.44)	.15 (.35)	.65 (.47)
Unemployed	.14 (.34)	.19 (.39)	.27 (.44)	.16 (.36)
Below Poverty Level	.09 (.29)	.15 (.36)	.24 (.43)	.11 (.32)
Affluent (income >\$75,000)	.39 (.48)	.20 (.40)	.18 (.39)	.39 (.48)
Age	40.36 (9.74)	39.24 (9.39)	38.29 (9.12)	39.42 (9.08)
Married	.64 (.47)	.44 (.49)	.72 (.44)	.79 (.40)
Child	.48 (.49)	.53 (.49)	.69 (.46)	.54 (.49)
Owner	.56 (.49)	.38 (.48)	.42 (.49)	.49 (.50)
Observations in SMPM	11,294	2,321	3,133	1,752

Source: 2000 Census PUMS

Notes: Tables represent the means with standard deviations in parentheses.

a. Sample population reflects adult householder in SMPM. All data is weighed using household sampling weights.

These summary statistics underscore continuing socioeconomic inequalities between racial and ethnic groups and closely follow those statistics reported elsewhere concerning these groups nationwide (See Mumford Center, 2003). On average, Asians and whites are more likely than blacks and Latinos to have attained a bachelor's degree or more, while blacks and Latinos are more likely to have only graduated from high school. Latinos, on average, are more likely to report unemployment than the other groups. They are also most likely to hold household incomes below the poverty level and the least likely to be affluent (income > \$75,000). On the other hand, Asian and white settlers are equally as likely to hold household incomes above \$75,000 relative to blacks and Latinos.

Regarding family/household characteristics, black suburbanites in melting pot areas are the least likely to be married and the least likely to be homeowners, while white householders, on average, are most likely to own their own home. Latino households on average, are more likely to have children present under the age of 18, while whites are the least likely to have children present in the home. The average age of SMPM householders is about 40 years old. While there is little variation in householder age, Latinos in the sample are slightly younger than the other racial and ethnic groups.

While these summary statistics provide information concerning how these groups as a whole compare to one another, based on some SES, and family/household characteristics, Table 3.2 separates each group by native versus foreign-born. Failing to account for such differences concerning how immigrants compare to their native-born counterparts, of the same racial or ethnic group, could mask intra-group variations related to how these groups are faring in SMPM areas.

Table 3.2 Suburban Melting Pot Metro Summary Statistics, by Race/Ethnicity of Householder and Native versus Foreign-Born^a

Variable	White		Black		Latino		Asian	
	Native	For-Born	Native	For-Born	Native	For-Born	Native	For-Born
High School Graduate	.16 (.37)	.17 (.37)	.22 (.41)	.18 (.38)	.24 (.43)	.19 (.39)	.06 (.24)	.11 (.31)
Some College	.32 (.46)	.20 (.40)	.41 (.49)	.28 (.45)	.38 (.48)	.19 (.39)	.24 (.43)	.16 (.37)
BA or more	.46 (.49)	.35 (.47)	.24 (.43)	.38 (.48)	.19 (.39)	.12 (.33)	.66 (.47)	.65 (.47)
Unemployed	.11 (.32)	.24 (.42)	.20 (.40)	.13 (.34)	.20 (.40)	.30 (.45)	.08 (.27)	.17 (.37)
Below Poverty Level	.06 (.25)	.20 (.40)	.15 (.36)	.15 (.36)	.15 (.36)	.28 (.45)	.06 (.24)	.12 (.32)
Affluent (>\$75,000)	.42 (.49)	.27 (.44)	.20 (.40)	.21 (.40)	.25 (.43)	.15 (.36)	.42 (.49)	.38 (.48)
Age	40.23 (9.81)	40.92 (9.43)	39.20 (9.58)	39.42 (8.27)	37.28 (9.22)	38.76 (9.04)	36.48 (8.18)	39.75 (9.12)
Married	.62 (.48)	.74 (.43)	.41 (.49)	.61 (.48)	.61 (.48)	.77 (.41)	.62 (.48)	.81 (.39)
Child	.45 (.49)	.59 (.49)	.52 (.49)	.62 (.48)	.61 (.48)	.72 (.44)	.37 (.48)	.56 (.49)
Owner	.58 (.49)	.48 (.49)	.38 (.48)	.40 (.49)	.43 (.49)	.42 (.49)	.58 (.49)	.48 (.49)
Linguistic Isolation		.30 (.46)		.08 (.28)		.38 (.48)		.29 (.45)
Arrived 1980-1995		.52 (.49)		.65 (.47)		.58 (.49)		.59 (.49)
New Imm. (5 yrs less)		.19 (.40)		.17 (.38)		.12 (.32)		.24 (.43)

Central-city to SMPM	.53 (.49)	.45 (.49)	.55 (.49)	.38 (.48)	.65 (.47)	.58 (.49)	.73 (.44)	.50 (.50)
Northern SMPM	.22 (.41)	.19 (.39)	.11 (.31)	.20 (.40)	.16 (.36)	.10 (.30)	.05 (.23)	.24 (.43)
Midwestern SMPM	.07 (.25)	.05 (.23)	.15 (.36)	.01 (.12)	.05 (.21)	.04 (.21)	.01 (.12)	.01 (.12)
Western SMPM	.44 (.49)	.40 (.49)	.28 (.45)	.14 (.35)	.61 (.48)	.56 (.49)	.80 (.39)	.53 (.49)
Southern SMPM	.26 (.44)	.34 (.47)	.44 (.4971)	.63 (.48)	.16 (.37)	.28 (.45)	.12 (.33)	.20 (.40)
Observations in SMPM	9139	2155	1961	360	1013	2120	178	1574

Source: 2000 Census PUMS

Notes: Tables represent the means with standard deviations in parentheses.

a. Sample population reflects adult householder in SMPM. All data is weighed using household sampling weights.

Intra-group comparisons reveal few major disparities between foreign-born and native-born populations, residing in SMPM areas, with the exception of blacks. On average, black immigrants hold higher levels of educational attainment than native-born blacks, are less likely to be unemployed than native-born blacks, and are equally as likely to hold incomes below the poverty level, as native-born blacks. In contrast, both foreign and native-born Asians are equally as likely to have attained a college degree or more, and native-born Asians are less likely than their foreign-born counterparts, to be unemployed, or maintain households below the poverty level.

Regarding family and household characteristics--with the exception of native-born blacks--each ethnic group's native-born are more likely to be suburban homeowners, than their foreign-born counterparts. In contrast, on average, each foreign-born group is more likely to be married and to have children under the age of 18, than their native-born counterparts. Hispanic immigrants, on average, are more likely to report residing in linguistically isolated households, while black immigrants are the least likely. Black immigrants, who arrived between 1980 and 1995, are more likely to reside in SMPMs, than the other foreign-born groups. On average, foreign-born Asians arriving after 1995 are more likely than the other foreign-born groups to reside in SMPM areas.

Finally regarding type of move and region of residence, native-born racial/ethnic groups are more likely, on average, to move to a SMPM area from the central-city than their foreign-born counterparts. Interestingly, unlike their native-born counterparts, the foreign-born among every racial/ethnic group is much more likely to reside in SMPMs in the south.

These descriptive tables are informative; however, they do not tell us why certain groups sort themselves into SMPM areas and the impact of race, class and other metropolitan contextual factors on these settlements. To gather more information concerning this phenomenon, we turn to a multivariate model of suburban melting pot metro settlement, separated by racial and ethnic group.

Logit Regression Results for Latinos and Non-Hispanic Whites, Blacks and Asians

In Table 3.3, I evaluate the determinants of SMPM settlement between recent non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian and Latino migrants. To better evaluate the differences between selected Hispanic national origin groups, Tables 3.4 and 3.5 examine these measures across Mexican, Central/South American, Puerto Rican and Cuban movers. To better evaluate the differences between selected Asian national origin groups, Tables 3.6 and 3.7 examine these measures across Chinese, Korean, Filipino and Vietnamese movers.

In Table 3.3, column I represents estimates for the logit regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Column II represents the conditional effects of each statistically significant variable. The conditional effects for each dichotomous explanatory variable, is the difference in the predicted probabilities for the two values of that variable, when other variables are held constant at their mean. The conditional effects for each continuous variable represent the differences between the upper twentieth and lower twentieth percentiles (unless otherwise specified), when other variables are held constant at their mean²⁰.

Table 3.3 Logit Regression of SMPM Settlement on Independent Variables, by Selected Racial and Ethnic Groups with Cond. Effects, 2000^a

INDEPENDENT MEASURES	White		Black		Latino		Asian	
	I ^b Coeff./ SE	II ^c Con. Eff.	I Coeff./ SE	II Con. Eff.	I Coeff./ SE	II Con. Eff.	I Coeff./ SE	II Con. Eff.
SPATIAL ASSIM.								
<i>SES</i>								
Household Income	0.003 (0.002)		0.044** (0.018)	3.0	0.028*** (0.006)	0.1	0.006 (0.005)	
Education	-0.156** (0.069)	5.2	-0.242* (0.143)	-8.6	-0.298*** (0.088)	-0.9	0.252** (0.116)	2.8
<i>Family/Household</i>								
Age of Householder	0.013*** (0.005)	9.1	0.001 (0.004)		0.017*** (0.005)	0.8	0.009 (0.006)	
Married	0.208*** (0.026)	3.0	-0.233 (0.148)		-0.011 (0.070)		0.162 (0.113)	
Child present	0.067 (0.064)		-0.086 (0.157)		0.076 (0.123)		-0.279*** (0.063)	-1.4
Homeowner	-0.011 (0.062)		0.150 (0.101)		0.543*** (0.109)	0.7	0.154 (0.178)	
<i>Immigrant Related</i>								
Linguistic isolation	0.328** (0.143)	4.5	0.164 (0.206)		0.490*** (0.094)	0.6	-0.453*** (0.138)	-2.2
Arrived 1980-1995	0.506*** (0.082)	8.6	0.734*** (0.193)	10.8	0.112* (0.060)	0.1	0.409*** (0.132)	1.8
New Imm. (5 yrs less)	0.145 (0.345)		0.054 (0.237)		0.409** (0.174)	0.4	1.023*** (0.253)	3.8
RACIAL/ETHNIC CHANGE (90-00)								
percent change black	-0.005 (0.014)		0.018 (0.039)		0.032 (0.072)		-0.002 (0.018)	
percent change Latino	-0.034 (0.040)		-0.137 (0.136)		-0.197 (0.256)		0.013 (0.057)	

percent change Asian	-0.079** (0.038)	-14.3	-0.093** (0.042)	-5.6	-0.153 (0.147)		-0.076** (0.035)	-0.0
percent change foreign	0.007 (0.016)		0.022 (0.037)		0.043 (0.078)		0.017 (0.030)	
METRO CONTEXT								
<i>Housing</i>								
Mean housing value	0.077*** (0.028)	.16	0.143 (0.091)		0.224 (0.208)		0.077*** (0.023)	85.7
Mean property tax	-0.086 (0.082)		-0.146 (0.109)		-0.353 (0.221)		-0.090 (0.123)	
<i>Geographic Location</i>								
Central-city	0.936*** (0.331)	15.1	0.496** (0.203)	7.2	1.103*** (0.256)	2.1	0.561*** (0.168)	3.0
North	1.754 (1.851)		6.128 (5.236)		11.004 (10.619)		2.898 (2.548)	
Midwest	2.488 (2.762)		8.585** (3.993)	43.3	11.482 (8.473)		2.549 (2.762)	
West	-3.050* (1.582)	-33.3	-3.266 (2.801)		-7.896 (7.061)		-2.713 (1.946)	
Constant	-27.120*** (9.053)		-50.440 (32.971)		-76.027 (73.181)		-30.346*** (10.453)	
Observations	27715		4222		3842		2479	
Log Likelihood	-5319.079		-454.868		-295.841		-471.371	
PseudoR2	0.712		0.844		0.845		0.697	

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census PUMS

Notes: a. Racial change variables use race variables from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.
b. Column I represents estimates for logit regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses, with clustering by metro statistical area.
c. Column II represents the conditional effects, or the differences between the top 20th percentile and lower 20th percentile, for each continuous explanatory variable (*unless* otherwise specified); and the differences between the minimum and maximum values, for each dichotomous explanatory variable, when other variables are held constant at their mean.

* sig. at 10 percent; ** sig. at 5 percent; *** sig. at 1 percent

Table 3.3 details the multivariate regression model for non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic Asian and Latino groups. Of course, when each group is examined independently we see that some variables become more salient than others in predicting the likelihood of the dependent variable, SMPM settlement. However, what is of interest in this multivariate analysis are which measures are statistically significant, *and* to what degree they vary by racial/ethnic group on suburban melting pot settlement. Income is positively associated with SMPM settlement for each group, but only reaches statistical significance for blacks and Latinos.

Traditionally, spatial assimilation theory finds little support for income regarding the likelihood of black suburbanization (Massey and Denton 1993, Massey 1995). Instead, such studies generally find support for the place-stratification theory in explaining black suburbanization. Recall that the spatial assimilation model generally emphasizes group differences in socioeconomic status and other household characteristics, while the place stratification model accounts for the impact of racial group preferences and/or the effects of discriminatory practices, as determinants of spatial location for some groups, such as blacks.

By definition, multi-ethnic areas like SMPMs *are* stratified multi-ethnic neighborhoods. In such areas, blacks are still likely to be racially separated from whites, even in suburbia (Massey and Denton 1988, 1993). Thus, we would expect that as income prosperity increases for blacks they are more likely, given historical legacies of racism and discriminatory practices excluding them from some suburban areas to sort themselves into SMPM areas, controlling for all other factors. It appears

that income effects for both blacks and Latinos may indicate tastes for living in suburban areas with co-ethnics (also see Alba, Logan and Zhang 2002). These findings corroborate the tenets of both spatial assimilation and place-stratification theories--predicting that rising levels of income yields a greater likelihood of multi-ethnic suburban settlement for blacks and Latinos, than their counterparts with lower levels of income.

As suspected, education has a negative and statistically significant effect on SMPM settlement for each group studied, except Asians. These findings corroborate those of Logan, Zhang and Alba 2002, suggesting that as educational attainment increases, blacks, whites and Latinos are more likely to opt for residence outside of a multi-ethnic suburban area. The conditional effects show that a black, college educated householder is 9 percent less likely than a black high school graduate to move to a multi ethnic suburban area, while the conditional effect is only 5 percent for whites, and is less than 1 percent for Latinos. Interestingly, while rises in householder' educational attainment is not a deterrent for Asian SMPM settlement, the presence of children in the household discourages settlement in multi-ethnic areas for this group. Alba et al. (1999) also find that for Asian groups in particular, suburbanization is generally influenced by the presence of children in the home (458). However, when choosing among suburban residence types, it is plausible that the desire to educate their children, outside of multi-ethnic areas, may outweigh desires to live around other co-ethnics.

Next, Table 3.3 reveals variations in the impact of family/household status measures between each racial/ethnic group. The conditional effects for age reveal that

white and Latino householders over 55 are more likely to move to a melting pot metro than their 25-year-old ethnic counterparts. The model also predicts that white married couples are 3 percent less likely to move to a suburban melting pot metro area than a white non-married couple, while marital status had no statistically significant effect on SMPM settlement for the other groups.

Recall that in the spatial assimilation literature, English language ability is thought to be associated with cultural assimilation, and subsequently spatial assimilation. Thus, when sorting among suburban types, linguistically isolated householders are more likely to sort themselves into ethnic or multi-ethnic areas (where co-ethnics are more likely to be present) than householders with greater English language proficiency. The model supports this contention for linguistically isolated European and Hispanic householders, but posed no significant effect for black immigrants. On the other hand, linguistic isolated Asians are less likely than their native-born counterpart to reside in SMPMs, controlling for all other factors.

These findings corroborate recent data that shows a weakening relationship between suburbanization and linguistic assimilation for some groups (Alba et al. 1999). Traditionally a strong predictor of suburbanization for second-generation immigrant groups who spoke English well, English-language proficiency may be less of a barrier to suburban residence for recent immigrants, particularly those groups who immigrate with higher levels of income and educational attainment (Alba et al. 1999). The descriptive measures suggest that on average, foreign-born Asians were as likely as native-born Asians to hold a college degree or more, and were nearly as likely as native-born Asians to hold incomes above \$75,000. For some groups, the

traditional modes of suburbanization as evidenced by linguistic and cultural acculturation may be downplayed in instances where socioeconomic status attainment proves enough for “purchase of entry” into suburbia. On the other hand, the *overall* importance of English language proficiency in spatial location attainment, should not be taken lightly. For Latinos this measure is a positive and significant predictor of suburbanization..

According to the nativity measures, of the foreign-born populations arriving between 1980 and 1995, each are more likely to settle in SMPM areas, relative to the native-born, during this period. The impact of this measure is the strongest for black immigrants. On the other hand, Hispanic and Asian immigrants arriving 5 years or less, prior to the 2000 census, were more likely to move to SMPMs, than their native-born counterparts. The conditional effect of this measure is much more pronounced for Asians than Latinos. As Logan (2001) points out, the ‘costs’ of integration, particularly for more recent immigrants is much higher, and thus opting for multi-ethnic areas can lower the transaction cost associated with migrating, and are also likely to reduce bi-cultural pressures associated with linguistic and cultural adjustment for recent immigrants.

Turning to the racial/ethnic change factors, while increases in the percentage of blacks, Latinos and Asians are negatively associated with non-Hispanic white SMPM settlement, each indicator failed to reach statistical significance, with the exception of Asians, controlling for all other factors. In fact, it appears that whites, blacks, as well as fellow Asians, may avoid areas where there are increases in the concentrations of Asians, but this measure posed no statistically significant effect for

Latinos. This finding largely corroborates Hwang and Murdock's 1980-1990 study, which concludes, "suburban places with high percentages of Asians also tend to suppress the growth of other groups particularly Anglos and Asians" (1998:557). However, they find a positive but statistically insignificant association between percentage of population that is Asian and Asian population growth.

A closer examination of the conditional effects of this measure, stimulating the probability of a 10-25 percentage change in Asian concentration between 1990 and 2000, yields a 14 percent decline in the probability that a white householder would move to that particular SMPM, and a 5 percent decline in the chances of black melting pot suburbanization. Importantly, the conditional effects for Asians must be viewed with caution. The stimulation of a 10-25 percent threshold poses no *measurable* decrease (the conditional effect is zero). Stimulating a 25-50 percent change in Asian composition only faintly increases the likelihood of Asian aversion to suburban melting pots (the condition effect result is .03 percent).

Regarding the metropolitan contextual variables, while rises in mean property taxes posed a negative effect on SMPM settlement for each group, it failed to reach statistical significance, at conventional standards, for any of the groups examined. On the other hand, rises in mean housing values proved a positive predictor of SMPM settlement for each group but only reached statistical significance for whites and Asians. The model predicts that as mean housing value rises Asians are 86 percent more likely to move to a SMPM, controlling for all other factors. This is especially interesting since Asian householders with children are less likely to move to melting pots. In most suburban areas, housing values directly impact the quality of public

school education, and thus as housing values rise, other neighborhood goods and services, such as public education, may become more appealing to this group.

Finally, we examine the effects of ‘type of move’ and region. The descriptive measures showed that Latinos, on average, are more likely than any other group to move from the central-city to a suburban melting pot metro. However, the conditional effect of this measure on SMPM is the smallest for this group, controlling for all other factors. On the other hand, white migrants who moved from central cities are more likely to move to multi-ethnic areas, than whites that moved from non central-city areas. Although Frey (2001, 2003) finds that melting pot areas experienced the greatest share of white out-migration, such transitions are likely to occur over time, as whites also must establish enough capital for ‘purchase of entry’ into suburban destinations, outside of the melting pot. Finally, regional differentiations appear to be strong predictors of some groups to suburbanize in multi-ethnic areas and follow closely with Massey and Denton’s (1988) contention that, “by virtue of their different regional concentrations, groups may experience very different housing markets, urban economies, demographic conditions and ecological structures” (613). For example, blacks in the Midwest are 85 percent more likely to move to SMPMs, than blacks in the south, while whites in the west are 33 percent less likely to move to SMPMs, than whites in the south, holding all other factors constant.

Logit Regression Results for Selected Hispanic National Origin Groups

By the year 2000, Mexicans comprised nearly two-thirds (65 percent) of Latinos in the United States, while Puerto Ricans, the second largest Latino group in the United States, made up 10 percent of the Latino population. Yet, as Logan (2001)

notes, there was a substantial increase in the presence of Central and South Americans to the US in during the 1990s (from 3.0 in 1990 to 6.1 million in 2000), referring to the most recent arrivals as the “New Latinos” (Logan 2001: 1). While numerous studies have examined Latino assimilation and incorporation (particularly related to their civic/political incorporation, or lack thereof, in the American political process) for groups residing in urban areas (de la Garza et al. 1992; de la Garza and DeSipio 1999; DeSipio, 1996; Jones-Correa 1998, 2001; Mollenkoff and Gertsle 2001; Sonenshein 1989; Waldinger 1999, 2001), fewer studies have examined factors related to Latino suburbanization (but for some exceptions see Alba et al. 1999; Logan 2001, 2003; Iceland 2004; Frey 2001, 2003; and for local studies Jones-Correa 2003, 2004; Frasure and Jones-Correa 2004).

Table 3.4 provides some relevant summary statistics regarding selected Latino national origin groups. Regarding the impact of educational attainment, Cuban SMPMs settlers are the most likely to hold a bachelor’s degree or more, Mexicans are the least likely. Puerto Rican and Cuban SMPM householders are more likely than either Mexican or Central/South Americans to maintain households with incomes greater than \$75,000. Mexicans generally report lower average levels of socioeconomic status (SES) than the other Latino groups, and they are the least likely to be homeowners. On the contrary, Cubans are much more likely to own their own homes, than any other Latino national origin group.

Table 3.4 Suburban Melting Pot Metro (SMPM) Summary Statistics, by Selected Hispanic National Origin Groups^a

Variables	Mexican	Central/ South	Puerto Rican	Cuban
High School Graduate	.21 (.41)	.20 (.40)	.27 (.44)	.17 (.37)
Some College	.22 (.41)	.28 (.45)	.33 (.47)	.27 (.44)
BA or more	.09 (.28)	.20 (.40)	.17 (.38)	.30 (.46)
Unemployed	.28 (.45)	.24 (.42)	.24 (.43)	.27 (.44)
Below Poverty Level	.29 (.45)	.20 (.40)	.16 (.36)	.17 (.37)
Affluent (income <\$75,000)	.16 (.36)	.18 (.38)	.26 (.44)	.26 (.44)
Age	37.01 (8.67)	39.22 (8.96)	39.06 (9.10)	41.57 (10.32)
Married	.74 (.43)	.74 (.43)	.58 (.49)	.72 (.44)
Child	.75 (.43)	.64 (.47)	.59 (.49)	.54 (.49)
Owner	.39 (.48)	.41 (.49)	.42 (.49)	.60 (.48)
Linguistic Isolation	.26 (.44)	.35 (.47)	.12 (.32)	.29 (.45)
Arrived 1980-1995	.38 (.48)	.61 (.48)	.15 (.35)	.35 (.48)
New Immigrant (5 yrs before census)	.04 (.20)	.13 (.34)	.04 (.21)	.20 (.40)
Central-city to SMPM	.81 (.38)	.40 (.49)	.39 (.49)	.17 (.38)
Northern SMPM	.01 (.11)	.22 (.41)	.50 (.50)	.07 (.26)
Midwestern SMPM	.07 (.26)	.01 (.13)	.03 (.18)	.00 (.09)
Western SMPM	.88 (.32)	.31 (.46)	.13 (.34)	.06 (.24)
Southern SMPM	.02 (.16)	.44 (.49)	.32 (.46)	.84 (.36)
Observations in SMPM Sampled	1786	615	279	378

Source: 2000 Census PUMS

Notes: Tables represent the means with standard deviations in parentheses.

a. Sample population reflects adult householder in SMPM. All data is weighed using household sampling weights.

Next, regarding immigration related measures, on average, Central/South Americans are the most likely to reside in linguistically isolated households, and are the most likely group to reside in SMPM areas for those who immigrated between 1980 and 1995. However, recent Cuban immigrants arriving after 1995 are slightly more likely to reside in SMPMs than Central/South Americans and much more likely than recent Mexican immigrants.

Finally, there are also regional differences regarding Latino national origin group SMPM settlement, reflecting some long-standing Latino immigration patterns. On average, Mexicans are more likely to reside in SMPMs in the west; Central/South Americans are more likely to reside in SMPMs in the south; Puerto Ricans are more likely to reside in northern melting pots; and Cubans are more likely to reside in southern SMPM areas. Table 3.5 presents the results from a multivariate model of Latino melting pot suburbanization for Mexican, Central/South American, Cuban and Puerto Rican subgroups.

Table 3.5 Logit Regression of SMPM Settlement on Independent Variables, by Selected Hispanic National Origin Groups with Cond. Effects, 2000^a

INDEPENDENT MEASURES ^d	Mexican		Cent/South		Cuban		Puerto Rican	
	I ^b Coeff./ SE	II ^c Con. Eff.	I Coeff./ SE	II Con. Eff.	I Coeff./ SE	II Con. Eff.	I Coeff./ SE	II Con.
SPATIAL ASSIM.								
<i>SES</i>								
Household Income	0.088*** (0.009)	0.3	0.062*** (0.002)	2.0	0.063 (0.096)		0.022 (0.002)	
Education	-0.559*** (0.108)	-1.1	-0.233* (0.138)	-2.8	-1.840* (0.949)	-0.4	-0.791*** (0.217)	-1.1
<i>Family/Household</i>								
Age of Householder	-0.004 (0.008)		0.028** (0.012)	6.0	-0.009 (0.057)		0.031*** (0.011)	10.2
Married	0.935*** (0.263)	1.1	-0.341* (0.187)	-2.4	3.833*** (1.253)	2.4	-0.789*** (0.220)	-6.3
Child present	0.114 (0.262)		-0.273* (0.161)	1.5	-1.210 (1.085)		-0.078 (0.095)	
Homeowner	0.233*** (0.042)	0.1	0.042 (0.178)		1.684 (1.691)		1.392*** (0.215)	11.3
<i>Immigrant Related</i>								
Linguistic isolation	0.350*** (0.027)	0.3	0.804*** (0.209)	4.3	-1.464 (1.875)		1.123*** (0.246)	7.4
Arrived 1980-1995	0.006 (0.186)		0.256 (0.260)		0.727 (2.390)		--	
New Imm. (5 yrs less)	0.230 (0.512)		0.228 (0.390)		4.160 (3.115)		--	
RACIAL/ETHNIC CHANGE (90-00)								
percent change black	0.003 (0.085)		-0.006 (0.013)		-0.010 (0.020)		0.022 (0.023)	

percent change Latino	-0.237 (0.254)	0.204** (0.084)	16.3	0.331*** (0.107)	31.4	-0.065 (0.073)	
percent change Asian	-0.161 (0.153)	-0.007 (0.020)		-0.049 (0.041)		-0.093 (0.059)	
percent change foreign	0.026 (0.082)	-0.140** (0.057)	-1.5	-0.247*** (0.073)	-0.0	0.032 (0.029)	
METRO CONTEXT							
<i>Housing</i>							
Mean housing value	0.268 (0.207)	\	\	\	\	0.113*** (0.043)	74.2
Mean property tax	-0.302 (0.292)	-0.076 (0.093)		-0.127 (0.093)		-0.274 (0.193)	
<i>Geographic Location</i>							
Central-city	1.030*** (0.167)	0.8	0.095 (0.287)	3.513*** (0.805)	1.8	1.497*** (0.455)	1.1
North	11.427 (12.209)		-4.644* (2.804)	-5.555* (2.880)	-9.5	4.617 (3.592)	
Midwest	16.864 (11.075)		-6.078** (2.747)	-0.882 (0.000)		2.564 (5.706)	
West	-7.277 (7.547)		1.805 (1.752)	3.117 (2.220)		-6.906** (2.896)	-84.3
Constant	-92.361 (72.123)		4.765* (2.602)	10.655*** (3.727)		-35.749*** (13.805)	
Observations	2104		779	410		453	
Log Likelihood	-58.873		-152.563	-15.265		-93.111	
PseudoR2	0.939		0.628	0.865		0.693	

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census PUMS

Notes: a. Racial change variables use race variables from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.

b. Column I represents estimates for logit regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses, with clustering by metro statistical area.

c. Column II represents the conditional effects, or the differences between the top 20th percentile and lower 20th percentile, for each continuous explanatory variable (*unless* otherwise specified); and the differences between the minimum and maximum values, for each dichotomous explanatory variable, when other variables are held constant at their mean.

A slash (\) indicates that the variable was not included in model for the national origin group due to collinearity.

* sig. at 10 percent; ** sig. at 5 percent; *** sig. at 1 percent

Like the full Latino model, income remains a positive predictor of multi-ethnic suburbanization, but only reaches statistical significance for Mexicans and Central/South Americans. The model further predicts that rises in educational attainment are a negative predictor of multi-ethnic group settlement for each national origin group, but the conditional effect is slightly more pronounced for Central/South Americans.

In the full Latino sample, the family/household status measures offered little insight into Latino SMPM settlement. Yet, once the full model is disaggregated there is greater variation in the effects of these measures. Older Central/South American and Puerto Rican householders are more likely to suburbanize in SMPMs, than their younger counterparts, while age posed no effect on Mexican or Cuban groups. Married Central/South American and Puerto Rican householders are less likely than their unmarried counterparts to reside in SMPMs, though the conditional effect of family situation is strongest for Puerto Ricans. While Latino homeowners as a whole are more likely to put down roots in SMPM area, once the model is disaggregated, homeownership maintains a positive relationship to SMPM settlement, but fails to account for location attainment for Central/South American and Cuban national origin groups, controlling for all other factors.

Language proficiency reveals some additional variability among the groups. Mexicans, Central/South Americans and Puerto Ricans lacking English language proficiency are more likely to populate in SMPMs. The impact of language proficiency is negative for Cubans, though it fails to reach statistical significance. Surprisingly, unlike in the full Latino model, controlling for all other factors the

disaggregated Latino national origin group model reveals no support for immigration period and SMPM settlement, relative to their native-born counterparts, holding all other factors constant.

Regarding the racial/ethnic composition factors, increases in the percentage foreign-born is a deterrent to multi ethnic suburban settlement for Central/South Americans and Cubans, but posed no statistically significant results for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. However, the conditional effect obtained by simulating foreign-born change from 10-25 percent posed no *measurable* decrease (the conditional effect is zero) for Cubans, and a *very* modest decrease on SMPM settlement for Central South Americans (-1.5). On the other hand, for these two groups a greater presence of Latinos increases their propensity to move to melting pot areas by 16 percent for Central/South Americans and 31 percent for Cubans. In *Between Two Nations*, Jones-Correa (1998) examines the assimilation of some Latino immigrant groups noting, “for many immigrants the value of the company of their ethnic compatriots more than outweighs the prejudice they may suffer for choosing to live in mixed-race neighborhood” (122). These factors may help to account for the propensity of these groups to locate in suburban multi-ethnic areas, as the ethnic composition of their group increases.

A rise in mean housing values is a positive and robust predictor of melting pot suburbanization by Puerto Ricans, but posed no effect for other groups. Consistent with the full Latino model, rises in mean property taxes have a negative association with melting pot suburbanization, but fail to reach statistical significance for any of the national origin groups. Finally, all groups, with the exception of Central/South

Americans, are more likely to move from a central-city to a suburban melting pot than their counterparts moving from non central-city areas.

Logit Regression Results for Selected Asian National Origin Groups

The Asian population in the US increased from 7.2 million in the US in 1990 to 12.3 million in 2000 (Logan et al. 2001). According to the 2004 Current Population Survey, Asian and Pacific Islander households had the highest median income (\$57,518), compared to non-Hispanic white households at \$48,977, and Hispanic households at \$34,241. Black households had the lowest median income in 2004 (\$30,134). Eighty-six percent of Asian householders held at least a high school diploma and 44 percent of these householders held a bachelor's degree or higher (Current Population Survey, 2004). Asian and Pacific Islanders had a record-low poverty rate of 10.7 percent. Moreover, over half of Asian households owned their own homes (U.S. Census Bureau, Nation's Asian and Pacific Islander Population, 2001). Most of these settlements occurred in suburban areas.

However, like Latino national origin groups, we know very little about what factors influence the spatial location patterns of Asians and even less about how these factors vary by Asian national origin group. Prior to exploring the multivariate regression result, Table 3.6 provides some relevant summary statistics regarding select Asian national origin groups who have moved to their current suburban residence, 5 years ago or less, prior to the 2000 US Census. Each disaggregated Asian national group examined here is coded as non-Hispanic Asian.

Chinese householders are more likely on average to hold a bachelor's degree or more, while Vietnamese householders are the least likely. Vietnamese

householders are the most likely to have only attained a high school diploma. On average, Korean and Vietnamese householders are more likely to be unemployed than Chinese and Filipino 'melting pot metro' dwellers. Vietnamese householders are also much more likely, on average to hold household incomes below the poverty level, than other Asian householders.

Chinese and Filipino householders are much more likely to hold incomes above \$75,000, than both Korean and Vietnamese householders. There is not much variation in Asian family/household characteristics. The average age of Asian melting pot metro migrants is 40 years old. On average, 75 percent of Asian householders are married and over 50 percent have children under the age of 18 at home. However, Chinese householders are more likely to own their own home, followed by Filipinos and Vietnamese, while Koreans in melting pot suburban areas, are the least likely to own a suburban home.

Vietnamese householders are the most linguistically isolated group while Filipinos are the least. Moreover, Vietnamese immigrants arriving between the years 1980-1995 are the most likely to reside in suburban melting pot metros, while Filipinos are the least likely. Interestingly, on average, the most recent Vietnamese arrivals (since 1995) are least likely to move to suburban melting pot metros, while Koreans are the most likely. On the other hand, Koreans arriving from central-city areas, 5 year ago or less, are the least likely among the groups to suburbanize in melting pot metro areas, while Vietnamese migrating from central cities are the most likely (relative to their counterparts arriving from non-central-city areas).

Table 3.6 Suburban Melting Pot Metro (SMPM) Summary Statistics, by Selected Asian National Origin Groups^a

Variables	Chinese	Korean	Filipino	Vietnamese
High School Graduate	.11 (.31)	.18 (.38)	.09 (.28)	.19 (.39)
Some College	.14 (.35)	.22 (.41)	.29 (.45)	.20 (.40)
BA or more	.65 (.47)	.54 (.49)	.60 (.49)	.33 (.47)
Unemployed	.14 (.35)	.24 (.42)	.16 (.36)	.24 (.42)
Below Poverty Level	.11 (.31)	.19 (.39)	.05 (.22)	.26 (.44)
Affluent (income <\$75,000)	.46 (.49)	.23 (.42)	.41 (.49)	.28 (.45)
Age	39.60 (8.50)	41.41 (9.34)	40.65 (9.09)	39.69 (10.11)
Married	.78 (.41)	.78 (.41)	.78 (.41)	.80 (.40)
Child	.53 (.49)	.60 (.48)	.57 (.49)	.57 (.49)
Owner	.65 (.47)	.38 (.48)	.57 (.49)	.53 (.50)
Linguistic Isolation	.35 (.47)	.41 (.49)	.11 (.3189)	.55 (.49)
Arrived 1980-1995	.58 (.49)	.53 (.49)	.51 (.50)	.71 (.45)
New Immigrant (5 yrs before census)	.17 (.38)	.19 (.39)	.12 (.33)	.08 (.28)
Central-city to SMPM	.57 (.49)	.54 (.49)	.60 (.49)	.66 (.47)
Northern SMPM	.16 (.36)	.28 (.45)	.17 (.38)	.08 (.27)
Midwestern SMPM	.00 (.09)	.01 (.11)	.02 (.16)	.01 (.12)
Western SMPM	.67 (.46)	.43 (.49)	.71 (.45)	.63 (.48)
Southern SMPM	.1503 (.35)	.268 (.44)	.07 (.26)	.26 (.44)
Observations in SMPM Sampled	445	272	286	113

Source: 2000 Census PUMS

Notes: Tables represent the means with standard deviations in parentheses.

a. Sample population reflects adult householder in SMPM. All data is weighed using household sampling weights.

Table 3.7 presents the results from a multivariate analysis of melting pot suburbanization for Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Vietnamese householders. Once the model is disaggregated, unlike the full Asian sample, income is positively

correlated to SMPM settlement for Chinese householders, controlling for all other factors. As household income increases, Chinese householders are 4.2 percent more likely to suburbanize in melting pot metros. The predictor is also statistically significant (and weak) for Filipinos, but the direction of the sign is negative, suggesting that Filipino householders with incomes above \$75,000 are less like to move to a melting pot metro, than their ethnic counterparts with incomes below \$20,000. Notably, the conditional effect is very weak (1.1). On the other hand, once the groups are disaggregated, education is not a statistically significant factor related to SMPM settlement.

Regarding some family/household characteristics, marital status is only a significant predictor of SMPM settlement for Filipinos, relative to unwed Filipinos, while homeownership is only a statistically significant predictor of SMPM settlement for Koreans, relative to Korean renters.

Unlike the full sample, linguistic isolation is a positive predictor of SMPM settlement for Chinese settlers who are 7.3 percent more likely to take up residence in SMPMs, than Chinese migrants who speak English well or very well. Linguistic isolation is not a factor for other Asian householders.

Period of immigration is a positive and significant predictor of SMPM settlement for Korean immigrants arriving between 1980 and 1995, as well as those arriving between 1995 and 2000. The period of immigrant measures failed to reach statistical significance for any other group with the exception of post-1995 Filipinos, who are more likely to have moved to a SMPM, than their native-born counterparts during this time-period, controlling for all other factors.

With the exception of (the variable) percent change in the foreign-born population, the racial/ethnic change variables posed no statistically significant effect on SMPM settlement for any Asian sub-group. The model predicts that a rise in the metropolitan foreign-born population decreases the likelihood of Koreans and Filipinos to move to a SMPM. However, simulating the conditional effects of a change in the foreign-born population from 10-25 percent actually holds a nil to a less than 1 percent effect for these groups.

Similar to the full Asian sample, rises in mean housing values have a strong and statistically significant effect on melting pot suburbanization for Koreans and Filipinos at 90 percent and 25 percent respectively. These factors were not included in the model for Chinese and Vietnamese householders, because this measure was highly correlated with other measures in the model.

Finally, the model predicts that Korean and Filipino householders who moved from the central-city to suburbs are more likely than their counterparts who moved from areas outside of the central-city to suburbanize in melting pot metro areas, at 4.1 and 1.9 percent respectively. Notably, some of the regional variables act as the strongest predictors of SMPM for each group. Northern and Midwestern Chinese are over 70 percent less likely to suburbanize in SMPM areas than Chinese householders in the South, holding all factors constant. Koreans in the West are 24 percent less likely to suburbanize in melting pot areas, than Koreans in the South. Filipinos in the North are about 2 percent more likely to have moved to multi-ethnic areas, than Filipinos in the South. Vietnamese in the north are 72 percent less likely to move to a multi-ethnic area, than Vietnamese in the South.

Table 3.7 Logit Regression of SMPM Settlement on Independent Variables, by Selected Asian National Origin Groups with Cond. Effects, 2000^a

	Chinese		Korean		Filipino		Vietnamese	
	I ^b	II ^c	I	II	I	II	I	II
INDEPENDENT MEASURES ^d	Coeff./SE	Con. Eff.	Coeff./SE	Con. Eff.	Coeff./SE	Con. Eff.	Coeff./SE	Con.
SPATIAL ASSIM.								
<i>SES</i>								
Household Income	0.004*** (0.001)	4.2	-0.003 (0.003)		-0.001** (0.005)	1.1	-0.006 (0.004)	
Education	-0.105 (0.215)		0.229 (0.158)		0.112 (0.292)		0.091 (0.293)	
<i>Family/Household</i>								
Age of Householder	-0.002 (0.020)		0.003 (0.008)		0.008 (0.016)		-0.007 (0.024)	
Married	-0.174 (0.184)		-0.169 (0.329)		0.992** (0.497)	0.8	-1.042 (0.828)	
Child present	-0.084 (0.194)		-0.144 (0.191)		0.490 (0.529)		-0.715 (0.588)	
Homeowner	-0.321 (0.289)		0.584** (0.231)	0.2	0.863 (0.546)		0.548 (0.476)	
<i>Immigrant Related</i>								
Linguistic isolation	0.615** (0.267)	7.3	-0.024 (0.424)		-0.805 (0.694)		0.817 (0.574)	
Arrived 1980-1995	-0.101 (0.207)		0.605** (0.245)	1.2	0.431 (0.412)		-0.097 (0.361)	
New Imm. (<5 yrs)	0.486 (0.324)		1.129*** (0.191)	3.2	1.917*** (0.460)	1.3	-1.897** (0.904)	-40.3
RACIAL/ETHNIC CHANGE (90-00)								
percent change black	-0.073 (0.050)		0.027 (0.021)		0.028 (0.020)		-0.021 (0.022)	

percent change Latino	-0.005 (0.015)	-0.020 (0.021)		-0.010 (0.014)		-0.030 (0.023)	
percent change Asian	0.140 (0.091)	-0.043 (0.087)		-0.018 (0.047)		-0.044 (0.046)	
percent change foreign	0.012 (0.021)	-0.115** (0.058)	-0.0	-0.083*** (0.023)	-0.5	-0.017 (0.034)	
METRO CONTEXT							
<i>Housing</i>							
Mean housing value		0.095*** (0.037)	90.0	0.079*** (0.024)	24.8		
Mean property tax	0.081 (0.097)	-0.028 (0.146)		-0.231** (0.111)	1.1	0.244 (0.117)	
<i>Geographic Location</i>							
Central-city	0.398 (0.360)	0.798* (0.459)	4.1	1.372*** (0.242)	1.9	0.280 (0.627)	
North	-5.217* (2.685)	-73.6 2.040 (2.168)		5.961** (2.626)	1.9	-5.750** (2.538)	-72.2
Midwest	-5.555* (3.071)	-74.0 4.288 (2.846)		4.610 (2.974)		-2.200 (3.222)	
West	3.548 (2.234)	-3.830** (1.739)	23.5	-2.321 (1.518)		-0.484 (1.723)	
Constant	-1.815 (2.509)	-35.830*** (11.078)		-28.218*** (9.094)		1.248 (5.089)	
Observations	586	377		357		178	
Log Likelihood	-152.855	-45.106		-54.010		-52.695	
PseudoR2	0.551	0.805		0.715		0.557	

Source: 1990 and 2000 Census PUMS

- Notes:
- Racial change variables use race variables from the 1990 and 2000 Censuses.
 - Column I represents estimates for logit regression coefficients. Robust standard errors in parentheses, with clustering by metro statistical area.
 - Column II represents the conditional effects, or the differences between the top 20th percentile and lower 20th percentile for each continuous explanatory variable (*unless* otherwise specified); and the differences between the minimum and maximum values, for each dichotomous explanatory variable, when other variables are held constant at their mean.

A slash (\) indicates that the variable was not included in model for the national origin group.

* sig. at 10 percent; ** sig. at 5 percent; *** sig. at 1 percent

Discussion and Summary

Part I of this study set out to examine why some racial and ethnic groups move to multi-ethnic suburban areas, particularly ‘melting pot metros’, how these moves are influenced by class and or race/ethnicity-based preferences and to compare the conditional effects of these measures across racial and ethnic group. Descriptive results confirmed continued inequalities in socio-economic status and differences in family/household composition between racial/ethnic suburbanites. Multivariate regression findings suggest SMPMs seem to attract groups with lower levels of educational attainment. Moreover, despite rises in income, both blacks and Latinos are more likely to seek multi-ethnic suburban areas, while income level posed no effect for whites and Asians, on suburban settlement.

Whether resulting from self-segregation or continued institutional biases, we must continue to examine the implications of sorting out by class and subsequently by race/ethnicity in suburban areas. This is, in part, because scholars consistently find that some ethnic groups, such as blacks, tend to suburbanize in older areas, adjacent to the central-city with lower socioeconomic statuses and higher population densities than other ethnic groups (Massey and Denton 1988, also see Guest 1978, Logan and Schneider 1984. As Harris (1999) contends, “the implication of living in poorer suburbs is that blacks pay higher taxes and experience smaller increase in the value of their homes, than do white suburban dwellers. The situation for Asians is much better. Unlike blacks, there is little evidence that the suburbs where Asians live differ in socioeconomic status from the suburbs whites call home” (4).

The hypothesis that rises in educational attainment deters ethnic group suburbanization in melting pot areas was confirmed, with the exception of Asians. In fact, Asian suburbanization in multi ethnic suburbs seemingly yields the most inconsistent results. For example, unlike other ethnic groups, limited English proficient Asians, are more inclined to settle outside of the melting pot, but this finding is mediated by a positive association between the period of immigration, whereas foreign-born Asians, like all other foreign-born groups, are more likely to move to melting pot suburbs than native-born groups, conforming well with theories of spatial assimilation.

Interestingly, for the full model, the racial change variables showed few statistically significant results with the exception of increases in Asian composition between 1990 and 2000. The chances of white, black and Asian (to a much lesser extent) melting pot suburbanization decreases with an increase in the composition of Asians between 1990 and 2000.

Moreover, the model predicted that rises in housing values will increase melting pot suburbanization for whites and Asians, but posed no significant effect for blacks and Latinos. Rises in property taxes proved a negative association with melting pot suburbanization, yet the measure was not a significant predictor for any of the groups. Finally, the model strongly predicts that suburbanites from each group migrating from central cities are more likely to suburbanize in melting pots than their counterparts migrating from non central-city areas. This finding is especially interesting considering reports that melting pot areas experienced the greatest share of white out-migration (Frey 2001, 2003). It remains to be seen whether recently

suburbanized non-Hispanic whites will prove to be melting pot *sojourners* or long time residents. Nonetheless, controlling for all other factors whites from central-cities are more likely to move to melting pots than whites from non central-city areas, suggesting a plausible component of the succession process for this group.

Disaggregating some Latino and Asian national origin groups presented notable variations in the impact of these migration-related measures the likelihood of SMPM settlement. Given the distinct histories and settlement patterns across these groups, we should not be surprised to find some mixed results. As Hwang and Murdock (1998) point out, “ethnic communities may be of different significance to minority members at difference stages of assimilation in the host society. While ethnic communities were certainly critical during the early stages of immigrant accommodation in the host society, their significance is likely to decline when immigrants become more fully integrated into the host society” (545). These factors may help to explain the often-inconsistent finding for some groups.

In this chapter, I used the Census PUMS to examine the impact of some migration related measures on the propensity of some immigrant and ethnic minority groups to sort themselves into ‘melting pot metro’ areas. This multivariate model of suburban melting pot metro (SMPM) settlement helps us to better capture the idiosyncratic nature of recent settlement patterns in suburbia. This study is a step in a fuller examination of the motivating forces, and subsequent implications of the bifurcation of recent immigrant and minority group suburbanization.

In order to take an even closer look at immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization in one SMPM area, Chapter Four presents the first of a two-part case

study of suburban Washington, DC, one of the nation's largest melting pot metros, to further probe similarities and variations concerning racial/ethnic residential selection processes, and the subsequent implications of these spatial location decisions.

Chapter Four: Life in a ‘Melting Pot’: Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Suburban Washington, DC

In the previous chapter, using survey data from the Census Bureau’s Public Use Micro-data files, we examined some explanatory factors leading recent movers to opt for residence in SMPMs. Metropolitan Washington, DC provides an excellent ‘melting pot’ region to further explore why immigrant and ethnic minorities move to some jurisdictions *within* a suburban ‘melting pot’ opposed to other areas, what factors shape these spatial location decisions, and how residents perceive the responsiveness of local institutions to their needs and concerns. From a suburban resident perspective, this chapter presents the first section of a two-part case study of suburban Washington, DC. In Chapter 5, from a local institutions perspective, the second part of this case study examines how local suburban institutions respond to the needs and demands of recent immigrant and ethnic minority groups.

This chapter draws on a novel collection of qualitative data from five focus group discussions between immigrant and ethnic minorities, currently residing in suburban DC. These focus group discussions sought more information about residential life in suburbia and how the experiences of living in suburbia may differ between various immigrant and ethnic groups. Three topics examined include: 1) suburban residential selection; 2) neighborhood interactions; and 3) perceptions of local government responsiveness, particularly related to local goods and services. The five focus groups were conducted between June and August 2005, and consisted of one of each of the following groups: Latino/a, African American, Chinese, Korean

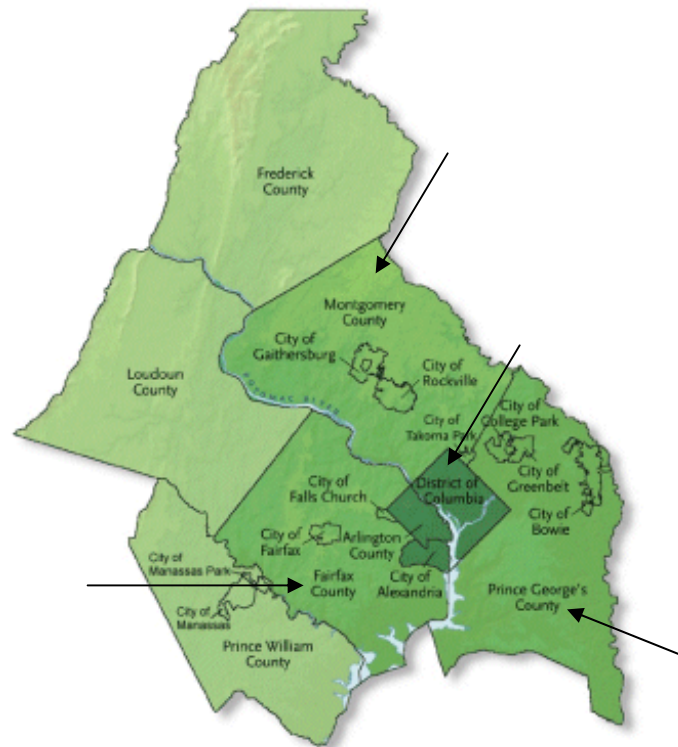
and Iranian (see Chapter Two for full description of the Qualitative Research Design, Data and Methods, also see Appendix B for Focus Group Protocol).

Demographic Change in Metropolitan Washington, DC

Unlike other large metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Los Angeles and New York, Washington, DC is *not* historically viewed as an industrial/manufacturing or a commerce-based metropolis. Instead, Washington, DC is ‘historically exceptional’ since it is traditionally characterized as the ‘federal city’, whose major employer is the federal government and government-related agencies (Manning 1998, Gale 1987). However, similar to other large metro areas prior to World War II, its suburban jurisdictions largely served as exclusionary bedroom communities.

Since World War II, the metropolitan area has witnessed a great decentralization of people and industries to suburban areas. Figure 4.1 shows a map of the metropolitan Washington, DC including Montgomery County, Maryland, north of DC, Fairfax County, Virginia, to the south and southwest of DC, and Prince Georges County, Maryland, bordering Washington, DC to its north and east.

Figure 4.1: Metropolitan Washington, DC



Source: Montgomery County Department of Park and Planning, 2000

Following Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, metropolitan Washington, DC ranks 4th among the nation's 'melting pot' metros with an overwhelming 83 percent of its metro regions located in the suburbs. Minorities make up about 60 percent of the city's population and 40 percent of the suburban population (Frey 2003: 175 Table 9A-1).

Between 1980 and 2000 the metro area's foreign-born population more than tripled from 256,535 to 832,016, respectively (Singer 2003:3). Metropolitan Washington's foreign-born population grew by 70 percent in the 1990s, with an additional 350,000 immigrants arriving between 1990 and 2000 alone (Singer 2003:3). Forty-eight percent of the metro areas total immigrant population entered the

United States between 1990 and 2000 alone, though often arriving in other US destinations prior to settling in the Washington, DC metro area (Singer 2003).

Hispanic and Asian populations are growing especially fast in the inner core of the Washington, DC metro area (including the areas examined here-- Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties in Maryland, and Fairfax County in Virginia), totaling nearly one-fourth of the population. While the far or outer suburbs remain mostly non-Hispanic white, the minority population also grew rapidly in the outer suburbs from 37,000 in 1990, to over 54,000 in 2000 (Cigna, 2002).

For comparative purposes, this study focuses largely on two suburban counties in suburban Washington DC receiving the largest share of the foreign-born population in recent decades--Montgomery County, Maryland and Fairfax County, Virginia. Yet as explained in the next section, some African American and Latino discussants also lived in Prince Georges County, Maryland (See Valerie Johnson's (2002) *Black Power in the Suburbs* for a fuller discussion of minority settlement and governmental interactions in Prince Georges County, particularly related to African Americans).

Fairfax and Montgomery counties are two of the most populous and wealthy counties in the region (as well as in the United States). By 2004, the population in Montgomery County had reached 921,690 (a 5.5 percent change from 873,341 in 2000). The population in Fairfax County exceeded one million by 2004, with 1,003,157 residents (a 3.4 percent change from 969,749 in 2000). Ranked among the top ten counties of 250,000 persons or more with the highest estimates of median household income, Fairfax County is the second wealthiest County in the country. It

was the richest county in the country but was recently surpassed by Douglas County, Colorado. Montgomery County is currently the fourth wealthiest County in the Country.

The immigrant population in Montgomery County rose from 37,000 in 1970 to 233,000 by 2000. The foreign-born population made up 26.7 percent of the total population in Montgomery County (Singer 2003:4). Table 4.1 presents the racial and ethnic origin composition in Montgomery County since 1980. It reveals that while the non-Hispanic white population decreased from 86 percent in 1980 to 64 percent in 2002, both the Asian and Hispanic populations grew tremendously, from 4 percent in 1980 to 11 percent and 12 percent in 2002, respectively. The African American population in Montgomery County increased to a lesser degree from 9 percent in 1980 to 15 percent in 2002.

Table 4.1 Montgomery County, Maryland Racial/Ethnic Origin Composition, by percent

Race/Ethnic Origin	1980	1990	2002
Non-Hispanic White	85.6	76.7	64.8
Non-Hispanic Black	8.8	12.2	15.1
Non-Hispanic Asian	3.9	8.2	11.1
Hispanic	3.9	7.4	11.5
Other	0.5	2.7	5.0

Source: US Census Bureau, 1980 and 1990 Censuses and 2002 American Community Survey

According to the 2000 Census, nearly a third (32 percent) of individuals in Montgomery County spoke a language at home other than English. Thirty-five percent of households had school-age children present, 55 percent of households contained married couples, while single-female headed households comprised 11

percent. The average family size was 3.19 and the average household size was 2.66. The median household income in Montgomery County was \$71,551 while the median family income was \$84,035. The poverty rate was quite low with only 5.4 percent of persons and 3.7 percent of families below the federal poverty line (5.9 percent for all persons under 18 years old).

The median value of owner-occupied housing units in Montgomery County was \$221,800 (nationwide the median home value was \$119,600). Two out of every three households in the county were owner occupied (68.7 percent), which exceeded the homeownership rate for the State of Maryland and the nation at 62.5 percent and 66.2 percent, respectively (Montgomery County Department of Park and Planning, 2000).

When ranked among the top 25 jurisdictions by median rent in 2000, Montgomery County ranked number 18 out of 25. The median renter in Montgomery County paid \$914, as compared with number 7 ranked Fairfax County, where the median renter paid \$998. Most renters in Montgomery County reside in Silver Spring, Takoma Park and Fairland, Maryland. Like most renters, residents of these southeastern areas of Montgomery County have lower median incomes, than residents in other sections of the county. These areas also house a large percentage of the county's immigrant populations. Notably, when compared with other Maryland jurisdictions, the median rent in 2000 was \$740. The median rent in Prince Georges County was \$737, only a few dollars less (nationwide, the median monthly rent in 2000 was \$602).

Some similar demographic patterns occurred in Fairfax County, VA, the

largest county in Virginia, and amongst the largest in the nation (surpassing the population of Washington DC by 500,000 persons). The immigrant population grew from 16,000 in 1970 to 250,000 in 2000--comprising 24.5 percent of the total Fairfax County population (Singer 2003). In Table 4.2, the non-Hispanic white population decreased from 86 percent in 1980 to 62 percent in 2002. The Asian and Hispanic populations soared in Fairfax County from 4 percent and 3 percent in 1980, to 15 percent and 12 percent in 2002, respectively. However, notably the African American population in Fairfax County only increased from 6 percent to 8 percent from 1980 to 2002.

Table 4.2 Fairfax County, Virginia Racial/Ethnic Origin Composition, by percent

Race/Ethnic Origin	1980	1990	2002
Non-Hispanic White	86.2	77.5	62.2
Non-Hispanic Black	5.8	7.6	7.8
Non-Hispanic Asian	3.8	8.3	15.0
Hispanic	3.3	6.3	12.3
Other	1.0	0.3	2.6

Source: US Census Bureau, 1980 and 1990 Censuses and 2002 American Community Survey

By 2000, 30 percent of persons in Fairfax County spoke a language other than English at home. Thirty-six percent of households had school age children present, 59 percent of households consisted of married couples, while 8 percent consisted of female-headed householders, without a spouse present. Similar to Montgomery County, the average family size was 3.20 and the average household size was 2.74. The median household income in the county was \$81,050 and the median family income was \$92,146. The poverty rate also mirrored Montgomery County with only

4.5 percent of the population and 3 percent of families below the federal poverty line (5.2 percent for all persons under age 18). The homeownership rate in Fairfax, County was slightly higher than in Montgomery County at 71 percent. The median value of owner-occupied housing units also slightly exceeded that of Montgomery County at \$233,300.

The continuing disparities between racial and ethnic groups in the metro region can easily be masked by the socio-economic exceptionalism of Fairfax and Montgomery counties. For example, racial disparities in suburban Washington, DC between the most recent movers are largely unknown. To provide a ‘snap-shot’ of racial/ethnic disparities between the most recent movers, I use summary data from the 2000 Census Public Use Micro-data file. Table 4.3 reveals summary statistics for a sample of suburban Washington DC adult householders, ages 25-64, who migrated to their current suburban residence in the metro Washington DC area (including Maryland and Virginia, *excluding West Virginia*) 5 years ago or less, prior to the 2000 Census.

Table 4.3 Suburban Washington DC Melting Pot Metro (SMPM) Summary Statistics, by Race/Ethnicity of Householder^a

Variables	White	Black	Latino	Asian
High School Graduate	.09 (.29)	.19 (.39)	.16 (.36)	.13 (.34)
Some College	.23 (.42)	.38 (.48)	.24 (.43)	.11 (.31)
BA or more	.63 (.48)	.33 (.47)	.25 (.43)	.67 (.46)
Unemployed	.09 (.29)	.13 (.34)	.21 (.41)	.16 (.37)
Below Poverty Level	.05 (.22)	.09 (.29)	.15 (.36)	.10 (.30)
Affluent (income <\$75,000)	.51 (.50)	.24 (.42)	.22 (.41)	.34 (.47)
Age	40.10 (9.38)	38.87 (8.98)	38.29 (8.37)	39.34 (9.25)
Married	.6766 (.46)	.4467 (.49)	.76 (.42)	.83 (.37)
Child	.48 (.49)	.52 (.49)	.69 (.45)	.54 (.49)
Owner	.61 (.48)	.42 (.49)	.47 (.50)	.52 (.50)
Linguistic Isolation	.02 (.16)	.02 (.14)	.28 (.45)	.29 (.45)
Arrived 1980-1995	.06 (.25)	.11 (.32)	.53 (.50)	.54 (.49)
New Immigrant (5 yrs before census)	.03 (.18)	.04 (.20)	.13 (.34)	.23 (.42)
Central-city to Suburban Washington, DC	.45 (.49)	.31 (.46)	.43 (.49)	.34 (.47)
Observations in SMPM Sampled	1882	932	206	291

Source: 2000 Census PUMS

Notes: Tables represent the means with standard deviations in parentheses.

a. Sample population reflects adult householder in SMPM. All data is weighed using household sampling weights.

Table 4.3 reveals that white and Asian suburban Washington, DC dwellers are more likely, on average, to have higher levels of educational attainment, are more likely to hold incomes above \$75,000, and are more likely to own their own home, as compared to recent Black and Latino movers.

For example, according to a recent Montgomery County Department of Park and Planning report, in Montgomery County 75 percent of whites owned their homes compared to only 44 percent of blacks. Asians in the county (with incomes closest to or often exceeding that of whites) held the second highest homeownership rates. This report also suggested that “Homeownership rates are age and income dependent, reflecting primarily the life stage of the householder. Tenure is further distinguished along racial lines” (11). Highlighting the continuing gap between homeownership rates between blacks and whites in the county, this report also noted that such gaps continue to persist in the State of Maryland and the nation.

Table 4.3 further reveals that whites and Asians in the suburban metro region are less likely, on average to be unemployed or hold incomes below the poverty level than Blacks or Latinos who moved their current residence 5 years ago or less, prior to the 2000 US census. Latinos and Asians are more likely, on average, to dwell in married-couple households than blacks and whites. Latinos are the most likely to have school age children present in the home, followed by Asians and blacks, while whites are the least likely.

Not surprisingly, Latino and Asian suburbanites in the Washington, DC area, report significantly greater levels of linguistic isolation than blacks and whites. According to this sample, post-1980 Latino and Asian immigrants on average, moved to suburban Washington, DC at greater rates than European and black immigrants. Asian immigrants arriving 5 years prior to the 2000 census were much more likely to move to suburban areas in the DC area, than any other group. Interestingly, whites arriving from central-city areas were the most likely, on average, to settle in suburban

Washington, DC than in the central-city, followed by Latinos and Asians. On the other hand, black migrants arriving from central-city areas were the most likely to move to the central-city, during this time period. Overall, this sample of suburban Washington's most recent movers reflects the broader economic inequalities along racial/ethnic lines in the region.

These results underscore the need to examine similarities and differences among these groups in metropolitan Washington, DC. The next section examines some of the results from focus group discussions held in the metro area in summer 2005. These discussions explored how residents selected their current neighborhood and why; their interactions with neighbors and other co-ethnics; their personal experiences with the local government; as well as their experience with the goods and services local jurisdictions provide (e.g. schools, police, etc). In addition to the examination of African Americans, Latinos and two of the most populous Asian national origin groups in the area (Chinese and Koreans), this study is among the first to examine the burgeoning Iranian population in suburban Washington, DC.

Since the cases were too sparse, the spatial location patterns of Iranians could not be included in the quantitative analysis of immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization (Part I of this study). At present, the US Census Bureau does not hold a specific designation for individuals of Iranian ancestry. This factor opens the door for greater discrepancies in US Census estimates, for this population. For example, while the Census estimated the number of Iranians residing in the United States in 2000 at 330,000, other studies such as those conducted by the Iranian Interest Section located in Washington, DC approximated this number at 900,000 (Fata and Rafii

2003:4). As a report by the National Iranian Action Council (NAIC), these problems are further exacerbated by the inclusion of multi-racial categories in the 2000 Census. Since there is no specific Census designation for Iranian, ethnic designation becomes a *grey* area—some chose to write in Iranian, others chose to mark ‘white’, for example.

According to a recent report entitled “Strength In Numbers” published in 2003 by the NAIC, the fourth largest concentration of Iranians reside in the Washington, DC metro area, specifically in Maryland (12,935 or 0.244 percent of the state’s population) and Virginia (14,970 or 0.211% percent of the state’s population).²¹ Following the September 11th terrorist attacks, the heightened social and political consciousness of Iranians further signifies the need to examine the mechanisms driving their suburbanization, interactions with neighbors, and the subsequent responsiveness of local institutions to their needs and demands.

In addition to the linguistic and cultural barriers often suffered by other suburban immigrant groups, as Iranians make a life for themselves in suburbia, this group is also uniquely troubled by the possibility of institutional racism and other discriminatory practices such as racial profiling, which can pose barriers to suburban entry (despite generally high incomes and educational attainment levels). This group is often viewed as homogenously linked to the Arab world, and subsequently-- in this political climate--terrorism. Yet, Iranians in general, do not consider themselves Arab, particularly given historical, ethnic, cultural and linguistic distinctions in their heritage. For example, Farsi (but also dialects such as Tajiki/Dari) not Arabic, is the language spoken in Iran. Arguably, both newcomers and longtime Iranian residents

are increasingly aware of their 'altered view' in the eyes of neighbors and at large. How Iranians, as well as other middle easterners, navigate their place within suburban space will be increasingly important in the years to come.

Compelling arguments can be made for studying many other immigrant groups in the metro area, particularly Africans who made up 11 percent of the metropolitan population by 2000, and are spatially and socio-economically distinct from African Americans in the region. However at present, money, time, and resources prohibited the inclusion of other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, given quantitative data limitations, the spatial migration patterns of some ethnic groups (as well as the implications of these patterns) are clearly more difficult to navigate using a single method. Lack of data lends greater significance to the necessity of mixed-methodological approaches in the study of immigrant suburbanization, specifically the greater inclusion of case study research, similar to those methods reported in this study.

Focus Group Discussion Results

Residential Choice

In each focus group, we asked discussants to share how they came to live in their present county, and in what ways, if any, they believed their life has improved as a result of the move. Topping the list of 'pull factors' were quality schools, safer neighborhoods, employment opportunities, pre-established family ties and variations in housing opportunities. It was not surprising that these reasons were universal across all five focus groups. What is more compelling, were the variations in the underlying features associated with each group's respective location decisions and their satisfaction with such decisions.

Two primary findings emerged concerning the residential choices of minorities and immigrants in suburban Washington, DC. First, income constraints limited the suburban spatial location opportunities for some, particularly blacks. Blacks were the least satisfied with their spatial location decisions. Most, but not all, desired to relocate-- if they could afford to do so. Second, as detailed below, the perceptions and/or stereotypes about a County's delivery of goods and services (e.g. public safety, school quality) and/or the race/ethnicity of individuals residing in prospective counties influenced some individual's spatial location decision.

This analysis begins with results from the African American and Latino group discussions, both conducted among residents in suburban Maryland. African American discussants lived in Prince Georges County, Maryland, and some in Montgomery County, Maryland. Many Prince Georges' discussants would prefer to live elsewhere in the metropolitan area such as Montgomery County or Fairfax County, but cannot do so because of a lack of affordable housing opportunities. Blacks reportedly moving to Prince Georges County for a lower cost of living, affordable housing, employment opportunities and closeness to local institutions such as the church. In Prince Georges, Blacks are the majority racial/ethnic group making up 62.7 percent of the population, while whites comprise 24.3 percent, Latinos 7.1 percent and Asians 3.9 percent of the county's population. The median household income in Prince Georges is \$55,256, much lower than in Montgomery (\$71,551) or Fairfax (\$81,050), while the poverty rate is much higher at 7.7 percent. In 2000, the homeownership rate in Prince Georges County was 61.8 percent and the median value of owner-occupied housing units was \$145,600 (Recall that the median housing value in Montgomery County was \$221,800 and \$233,300 in Fairfax, County).

Many black discussants lived in predominately black neighborhoods. They verbalized trade offs between locating affordable housing in Prince Georges County, and expressed their dissatisfaction with the inadequacies of the Prince Georges County public school system. Black discussants generally viewed their current places of residence as having lower quality goods and services (including retail shopping options), poor quality customer service, as well as increasingly unsafe neighborhoods. An African American Prince Georgian man, originally from DC commented:

In my neighborhood...when I first moved here, there were many older folks. Now they're younger, more kids, walking around, smoking joints, just don't care. They're noisy, disturbing. It's a little bit of everything. Whites, blacks, Hispanics, Africans, you name it...There's graffiti, water on the floor, it's dangerous. I don't like it. Do I have to move to Frederick or something? When I was living in SE [Southeast DC], it was the ghetto, but it was better.

An African American woman from Kentucky further stated:

Where I live, I don't associate with a lot of people, I live in Kent Village. The bus pulls up to my building. Every night, I swear I hear gunshots. One night, we actually saw the people doing that. That doesn't happen in Kentucky. I'm thinking I'm going to see my building in the news. I'm female, it's scary. It's mostly black, African, like that.

The foreign-born population (13.8 percent of the total 801,515 residents in 2000) is generally much less inclined to settle in Prince Georges County, than in Montgomery County (26.7 percent) or Fairfax County (24.5 percent). Most Latino discussants lived in Montgomery County and a few in Prince Georges. Latino migrants from Washington, DC migrated to Montgomery County because they found housing was more affordable than the District. Latinos also moved to Montgomery County for better quality school systems, more open green space, employment opportunities, and because of safety concerns. A Latino from Montgomery County shared the following:

I started a little late in life having kids, and one of the reasons we decided to come to Montgomery County in Maryland was for the schools. Primarily because of the schools, but also the cost of housing, because in 1993 we were living in Washington DC, and the prices were higher. Montgomery is classified as one of the best counties in the US for their schools, which is definitely one of the attractions for us. We want the best education for our children, we want them to have a school system that is going to develop them academically, give them opportunities.

Another Latino distinguished the economic differences between the cost of living in Fairfax County, VA and his current residence in Montgomery County. He also noted that in Montgomery County, rising cost in the housing market make it difficult for ‘normal people’ to purchase a home in the County:

First of all, we didn’t have our little girl, but we were thinking of having them, and we were in Fairfax, which is another county that has a good reputation in terms of education, so we bought a condominium there. We wanted to buy a house there, but we couldn’t afford to buy there. So we decided to look for a place in Maryland, and Maryland at that time was still a place where you could buy a house, unlike now. Now it’s another story. It would be good to find out what happened to affordable homes for normal people.

Unlike African American discussants, most Latino respondents reside in more diverse neighborhoods. While diversity is generally welcomed, a few Latino discussants voiced their reasons for moving to Montgomery County, as opposed to settling in or remaining in Prince Georges County or the District. Montgomery County generally presented a safe haven from perceived mistreatment, threats or victimization by other racial/ethnic groups, particularly African Americans. A Silver Spring, Maryland Latina voiced these concerns, stating:

... when we were figuring out where we wanted to live, because of the schools and the kind of people who live in Montgomery County are very different from those in PG, so that was one of the reasons we chose Silver Spring, and the fact that there are stores and restaurants. It seems to me that there is a lot more – from Hyattsville and over – there’s a lot more black people, and you don’t see that many in Montgomery County. My little girl was in a PG county school, and we had a lot of problems with them [blacks]. We didn’t have the same communication with them, it’s much better

here. It was racism more than anything from them [blacks]. We tried to avoid those places we preferred to go to Rockville. There was less violence there.

I lived for five years in DC, and I saw everything there. Everyone is very crowded. There's a lot of black people that don't like you. Here in Maryland I can walk at night and not run into any black people. I can leave the door open. I can be in the yard, but not in DC. It's much safer here, less expensive, less smog, better for all of humanity.

The Chinese, Korean and Iranian focus groups were conducted in Fairfax, County among residents residing largely in the County. Family ties and often the desire to live in close proximity to people from their own ethnic group more explicitly influenced the spatial location decision of these three groups. One Iranian man explained that he was forced to follow family members who moved to the United States, noting "in Iran the path to success was paved with either thievery or payoffs, otherwise there was no way to succeed. So for that reason they [his family] sold all their possessions and made their way over here [to the US]". An Iranian woman, who reportedly followed her husband to America, articulated another common immigrant experience. They sought to give their children more educational opportunities in the US and moved to Fairfax because they had extended family members and friends who were already living in the area. The extended family, in turn, helped them to get established in a new country. Another Iranian man, pleased with his location decision, shared his reasoning for choosing Fairfax County:

Fairfax County is one of the best counties to live in because of the services it provides ranging from education, from police, from fire and rescue to health. Most people who reside here are from a higher income bracket than people from other areas, at the same time they have a higher education level and their lifestyle is more affluent. They are better able to understand and accept others who are of different backgrounds than themselves, especially of foreigners or people who look like foreigners. I think that moving to Fairfax county is one of the best things we have ever done- although we did not purposely move to here. It was just one of the best coincidences.

The communities in which most Chinese respondents reside were majority white and Asian. For others, such as Koreans and Iranians, there was a more balanced mix of Latinos and Iranians, but fewer African American families. In addition to following or moving in with family members, many Korean respondents explained that employment location also influenced their main reasons for moving to Fairfax. Most Korean discussants were happy and pleased with their current living situation. Yet, each group perceived great differences between Fairfax County and Montgomery County, particularly regarding public schools and public safety. An Iranian man stated:

...the safety in Virginia is much greater than Maryland without a doubt. There are some areas in Maryland that you can say without a doubt, are slowly becoming as dangerous as the worst areas in Washington D.C. But Virginia, especially Fairfax, is really under police control. Their presence is felt everywhere you go, even in the neighborhoods where the minorities reside and there is a higher incidence of crime. Even those neighborhoods are still under police control.

Another Iranian woman expressed her residential satisfaction within the larger picture of improved life chances for women in the United States, stating:

I'm happy here because of all the opportunities to improve one's life if they choose to do so; especially when you compare all the obstacles to succeed in other places like Iran, for women. By coming to America I have been able to complete my education and pursue any of my interests. My options have not been limited. Also in Iran, if you wanted to go to universities or good job opportunities then you had to go to a major city, whether it was Tabriz, Tehran, Esfahan or Shiraz. But another benefit of living here in Fairfax County is that there are major universities here (or local campuses of universities) and numerous job opportunities. You are not limited because you are not in the inner/ major city limits.

On the other hand, some discussants had less appreciation for *how* the racial/ethnic demographics have changed in their neighborhoods. Some indicated that if possible, they would move. An Iranian woman conveys her dissatisfaction with her neighborhood, stating:

Can I be honest? My neighborhood use to be more diverse but it changed in the last five years. The area is now called little Korea. I don't have a problem with that except that so many of them live 3 to 4 families in a single townhouse. I know they are used to that type of living but I think it's unclean. I don't understand how the county allows them to get away with that. Many of our previous neighbors have sold their homes and moved away because of this.

She also conveyed her dissatisfaction with the parking situation in her neighborhood because of many cars and trucks parked on the street and on lawns. Then, another Iranian female and long time Fairfax County resident echoed her concerns stating,

Oh God, these people and their work trucks. I live on a block of newly built homes surrounded by older homes. When we first moved there (this was 15 years ago) our entire neighborhood we were Americans. Now [I] have an Italian neighbor, an Indian neighbor and people from other countries as well. I have never had any problems with any of them. But in these past few years Hispanic people have purchased the older houses around the neighborhood. Most of them are good people. But there are some who, like your Korean neighbors, live 5 families to a small house with 10 work trucks. They seem to rent a room to each family. One of them has created 2 driveways, one on each side of the house and still parks 3 to 4 more cars or trucks on the grass in front of the house. The azalea bushes in the front yard and planted corn in their place. I live in the heart of Fairfax County not on a farm in Central America. I know that they work hard, but so do we. They have no respect for other people or the property value of the local homes. Some weekends they play loud music until the morning and the lawns are strewn with empty beer boxes and cans.

Overall, these findings suggest that while financial constraints inhibit suburban location opportunities for some groups, spatial location choices and the satisfaction with these choices are often influenced by racial/ethnic preferences. Huckfeldt et al. (1993) suggest that individuals make location choices “for good reasons on rational grounds, but in the process they also define—even if indirectly and unintentionally—the dimensions of their social experience (380). Moreover, the

impact of our social environments and interactions within the neighborhood social context is likely to impact the participatory behaviors of residents (Huckfeldt and Sprague, 1995). In the next section, we explore to what extent discussants interact with their neighbors and participate, or fail to participate, in local affairs. We were particularly interested in how discussants further described the demographics of their current neighborhood, how well they knew their neighbors, and whether they engage in activities together-- formally or informally.

Neighborhood Interactions

Our findings suggest that lack of time, desire, and efficacy impeded respondent's neighborhood interactions and engagement in activities outside of their immediate families. For many Chinese, Korean and Iranian discussants, language and cultural barriers also have often impeded the desire to participate in community activities. Because of cultural and language barriers, many discussants reported that they do not know how to begin the process of getting involved in community activities. Some of these factors are detailed below.

About half of the Latino respondents stated that they have a relationship with their neighbors and about half reported they gather frequently--both informally and formally. However, most admit these interactions usually take place with other Latino neighbors. Again, lack of time and desire to interact with neighbors unlike themselves, motivates disengagement from the broader neighborhood. Latino involvement seems to be in their children's school activities such as the PTA or with their church. Unlike the other immigrant groups, language barriers were *not* a significant reason for lack of involvement in community activities.

On the other hand, while some Koreans stated they carry out activities with their neighbors, most indicated that they do not feel comfortable because of language and cultural barriers. Many report that they would like to get involved in events that affect the entire community; but language barriers are perceived to disallow their participation. A Korean man expresses his frustration stating, “even though I would like to be friends with my neighbors, my English is not good enough. I just don’t know where to start. I think I have the financial ability to help our community. If there is something that I could do, I would like to do it, but I can’t because of the English. But I don’t even know how to start.”

Several Korean discussants expressed the cultural barriers to enhancing their neighborhood interactions. One Korean male shared his language and cultural reservations, which he perceived to have prohibited him from extending an invitation to neighbors to come into his home:

I live in a mostly white community, and I don’t speak English, so I don’t feel comfortable. But they invite us over sometimes, and then I feel like it’s my turn to invite them next. When they come over to my home, they come in with their shoes on. In my house. I don’t like it. It’s part of our culture. You take your shoes off in the house. In this culture you don’t. So I don’t feel comfortable, and I don’t voluntarily invite my neighbors.

However, while another Korean discussant shares his sentiments, he conveys the need to explain cultural differences to his neighbors:

I don’t like people coming into my house with their shoes on. People have to understand the different cultures. But if they don’t want to take off their shoes, then they don’t have to come in. You just have to explain to them why they have to take off their shoes, and then they understand. It’s different than what we think. They understand that it’s a cultural thing.

Many Iranian discussants also expressed their apprehensions about interacting with their neighbors because of time constraints, and a general preference for sharing their free time with people who shared their own heritage and culture. Some Iranian women pointed out that their activities are limited to their husband's decisions. On the other hand, some discussants agreed that children are often less inhibited by language constraints or perceived cultural biases. The presence of children in the home often forces them to interact with other parents in the neighborhood. An Iranian male articulates the following:

My wife and I are so busy with work, kids and extended family that we have very little time to socialize with our neighbors. We spend our weekends taking care of errands and tending to the lawn and garden. Having said that; since the kids in the neighborhood all play together they force us parents to interact with each other. We also have several block parties every year. The entire neighborhood celebrated the 4th of July together this year with our own fire works display.

Most of our socialization revolves around activities with our extended families and friends...It's very important to continue our traditions and make sure our children understand and continue those traditions even though they are growing up in America. I want my children to understand that being Iranian does not just mean being born in a different country or speaking a different language, but that they come from a rich heritage with deep rooted values and traditions.

Notably for Iranians, their neighborhood interactions as well as broader relationships with those outside of their ethnic group are perceived to have become more constrained and adversarial since 9/11. Many discussants stated that it has become harder for them to access basic goods and services, much less gain American citizenship. Some discussants shared experiences of discrimination and intimidation, which they had not shared prior to this discussion. One Iranian man stated:

I was in Home Depot one day and another customer in line kept staring at me angrily. He came over to me and said: "You damn foreigner- go back home."

I told him “I am an American, I’m an American citizen.” He said, “Shut up- this is not your home!”...I was so scared. He was huge, a redneck. I put my items down and just walked out. I was shaking from fear by the time I got to my car. I have never told anyone about this before, I was so embarrassed.

Similarly, Iranian respondents felt increasingly discriminated against by government officials, particularly law enforcement. Law enforcement was viewed as both a vice and a virtue, by many Iranian respondents. After 9/11 some Iranians felt protected by local police, while others felt themselves or someone that they knew were frequently targets of undue harassment by local police, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) or Homeland Security. An Iranian discussant communicated her gratitude for local police presence, and protection, immediately following the events of 9/11:

My husband and I have owned several businesses (oriented to Iranian and other Middle Easterners) in the same shopping center for over 25 years. I was nervous after 9/11 because the large neon signs for our business has the words Iranian and Middle Eastern written in both Farsi and English. A few days after the attacks four (large) police officers came into the store. I was nervous at first. The officers asked us if anyone had bothered or threatened us as retaliation for the attacks. We said no- that we were fine. The officers gave us their phone numbers and instructed us to contact them immediately if we have any problems. One of the officers used to come to our restaurant 20 years ago and said that he thought of us immediately and wanted to make sure we were all right. How can I explain what we felt at that moment? We really recognized that we are part of the community here, we are valued.

In the final part of our focus group discussions, we further solicited discussants positive and negative experiences with county and/or municipal government. These results are detailed in the next section

Resident' Perceptions of Local Government Services and Responsiveness

This section further explores suburban resident' perceptions of local government services, and local governments perceived responsiveness to immigrant and ethnic minority needs and concerns. While some discussants praised law enforcement for helping to secure the neighborhood, or letting them out of an occasional speeding ticket, we generally found that the most negative experiences with local government, faced by discussants, occurred during interactions with local law enforcement. Across each racial/ethnic group, confrontations with police or negative experiences with other local agencies were perceived to have taken place because of racial or cultural biases. These factors are reportedly coupled with language barriers making it difficult to communicate with local government agencies officials, for example, when tending to personal affairs with local government agencies, in person or over the phone.

Chinese respondents generally believed that as a result of their accent, they are less likely to be treated fairly by individuals outside their ethnic community. One Chinese respondent, from Fairfax County, stated that his fear of police officers is heightened because of his limited English proficiency. He verbalized a fear of being stopped by police officers, particularly if there are no translators present, because he cannot communicate adequately in English.

Even for immigrant discussants who speak English well, they reportedly often rely on their children to accompany them to county agencies or when handling government-related business. An Iranian woman from Fairfax County states that

while her English is fine, she still prefers to have one of her children accompany her when communicating with a government entity. She explains:

“There have been times when they have used terminology that I’m not familiar with. It’s comforting for me to know that there is someone with me who will make sure that there are no misunderstandings or mistakes if I have difficulty communicating with the representative.”

Most Hispanic respondents felt local officials were responsive to their concerns. Latino respondents generally did not find that language barriers inhibited their access to government resources and information. This is because most information is available in Spanish and most, not all, government entities have Spanish language translators available to assist. Yet, some Latinos also felt the local government could be more responsive to the needs of Latino residents by increasing the number of Latinos in local elected office. One Latino respondent from Montgomery County noted that “[State delegate] Ana Sol Gutierrez and [county representative] Mr. Campos are Salvadorians that are representatives of the State of Maryland... We need more Hispanics in the government. We need a voice, we’re the largest minority.”

Notably, some immigrant discussants choose to remain indifferent toward any discussions of local government responsiveness. One Korean discussant adamantly stated, “I just work hard and follow the rules. I don’t want to have problems with anybody. I don’t have anything to do with any government workers, so I don’t have any benefits and I don’t get hurt feelings. I just pay my taxes and live my life.” Nonetheless, some Chinese, Korean and Iranian discussants from each group voiced their concern that the local government in Fairfax addresses the needs of Latinos to a much greater extent than other ethnic groups in the county. They perceived these differences to be associated with the mobilization of

Latinos in the county, who are notably more organized, and who are willing to put pressure on the local government to respond.

Several Korean discussants felt the local government should reach out more to the Korean community, particularly regarding the translation and dissemination of public information. Such materials, they contend, should be more widely available in languages other than English and Spanish. One Korean respondent suggested, “ I don’t think it matters how long you’ve live here, but actually how much you participate...Sometimes people don’t even know where to go or who to contact, or who to ask, so if there were some kind of Korean translation brochures, they would be very helpful.” An Iranian focus group member articulated a similar point:

Well, our concerns are the same as those of other communities. We are concerned with employment opportunities, the economy, health and our children’s education. I think it’s difficult to have the authorities to respond to our community’s needs because we are not as populated or organized as the Hispanic community. We must follow their example to become a united group with enough power to apply political pressure.

Discussion and Summary

This chapter summarized some preliminary findings from five focus group discussions conducted in suburban Washington, DC in 2005. These findings suggest that local goods and services such as quality schools, neighborhood safety, and affordable housing are generally important to immigrant and ethnic minority groups in Washington, DC. However, access to equitable goods and services were inhibited by financial constraints, particularly for African American respondents. Black discussants were generally less satisfied with their residential choice. Many, but not all, would relocate if they could afford to do so. Black respondents were universally aware of the disparities in local public

education and other resources in their county as compared to Montgomery and Fairfax Counties.

Suburban housing costs act as a significant barrier to entry for some groups. These factors persist despite Montgomery County's fair housing ordinances, established in 1973. Montgomery County is often referred to as having the nation's first '*inclusionary zoning ordinance*.' David Rusk's (1999) perspicacious account of Montgomery County's battle to 'mix up the neighborhood', through Moderately Priced Dwelling Units (MPDU's) maintains that in Montgomery County, "The level of economic integration is not the result of any progressive business ethic among local developers and builders (although several builders active in Montgomery County have become national champions of mixed income communities). Montgomery County's neighbors have mixed-income housing because Montgomery County law requires it" (184). He continues, "by law, all new subdivisions in Montgomery County must contain a mix of housing of different income groups: 85 percent market rate (at whatever income levels the developer targets) and 15 percent priced for moderate-income households" (184).

The purpose of the MPDU ordinance was to create socio-economically mixed neighborhoods and schools districts. Housing developers were rewarded for their compliance with permission to develop at higher densities--building more housing units. Comparatively, Fairfax County did not adopt an affordable housing policy until 1990, nearly 20 years after Montgomery County. Whether participants were aware of MPDU's or any other affordable housing programs prior to renting or purchasing their homes is unknown. Also unknown is whether affordable housing information is widely distributed, and to what extent such

information is made available to immigrant groups in languages other than English and Spanish.

In addition, the extent to which racial/ethnic discriminatory practices played a role, if any, in steering some discussants toward renting or buying in some suburban counties or toward specific areas within a county is unknown. A recent survey developed by Squires, Friedman and Saidat (2001) among blacks and whites in metropolitan Washington, DC, solicited responses from individuals about their experiences in searching for homes in metro DC, the satisfaction with their current neighborhood, experiences of perceived discrimination in the housing search, and their general racial attitudes.²² This study found that “Black home seekers simply do not enjoy the same opportunities as whites in the metropolitan Washington, DC area. Their priorities for neighborhood amenities differ from those of whites in part because they are more dependent on the provision of public services due to the fewer private resources they command” (171). This study also found that African Americans homebuyers, as compared to whites in the metro area, are far less likely to obtain their first housing choice. Moreover, if black respondents perceived that they failed to receive their first housing choice, because of discrimination, they are less likely than whites to report these claims to authorities because they believe such efforts would be pointless (171).

We also asked discussants how they generally received information about local events as well as local goods and services. Respondents obtained information from local newspapers including mainstream ones such as the Gazette, Pennysaver, and City Paper as well as ethnic newspapers (such as La Nacion, Washington Hispanic, Tiempo Latino, El Pregonero, for Spanish speakers). The Internet, email list-serves, apartment newsletters, flyers on doors, county and local television stations, as well as word of mouth, were

important sources of information. Several respondents in Maryland were aware of the community-based organization, Casa de Maryland, and noted receiving information from this organization about local events.

Interestingly, across focus groups, the discussants seemed to agree that the local suburban library system was one of the most favored and valued local good. On the political front, libraries are generally not viewed as a means of redistributing wealth in society. Libraries are best known as an *allocative* collective good, and thus often pose a non-controversial role in suburbia. Libraries offered discussants a welcoming, safe, quiet place to gather information and resources, as well as to relax and bring their families. Local library officials were praised for helping discussants find information concerning employment, transportation and educational opportunities; for helping discussants to read maps and providing programming for their children (such as puppet shows, books readings and other activities). For groups with limited incomes, it is also an accessible place to use the computer and Internet. Local libraries also reportedly serve as a community 'meet and greet' location.

Consequently, they may also serve as a great place to hold community informational meetings, are open to all, but targeted toward the needs of immigrant and ethnic minority newcomers. Workshops on topics such as homeownership, public safety, and how to access other local government resources--held in a variety of languages--may help to lower some of the language and cultural barriers faced by suburban residents.

Increasing levels of information and knowledge can also help to confront some of the ensuing racial/ethnic concerns voiced by some discussants. As these findings reveal, in Maryland a high presence of African Americans influenced the spatial location decisions of some Latinos discussants. In Fairfax County, some Iranians expressed their dissatisfaction

with increasing numbers of groups, such as Koreans and Latinos, present in the neighborhood. In particular, these two ethnic groups are accused of disrupting the quality of life in Fairfax by, according to some discussants, overcrowding housing units and/or parking several cars and work trucks onto lawns, for example. Markedly, race/ethnicity is clearly tied to the stories of one's perceived quality of suburban life, discussants primary concerns centered on the *behaviors* of the individuals alleged to be upsetting the status quo. Unfortunately, such unwanted behaviors were often embedded in racial/ethnic overtones and *generalized* to an entire racial/ethnic group.

Finally, faced with the typical free-rider dilemma, it will prove especially challenging to get people to come out and participate in activities that may increase their awareness, enhance neighborhood interactions, and perhaps improve their quality of life. This is why it is important to meet racial/ethnic groups 'where they are'. Given residents' time constraints and general lack of desire to participate, holding informational meetings or seminars in easily accessible 'neutral' spaces will prove important. Selecting a place in which groups already feel comfortable and may regularly frequent--such as the local public library—is a good place to start.

American suburban neighborhoods are made up of many factions (racial, ethnic, economic, political, cultural, religious, etc.). Such factions are likely to yield disparities across groups, particularly regarding access to local goods and services, as well as individual attitudes and perceived quality of life. The lessons learned from the suburban Washington, DC experience can serve as lessons for other suburbs with growing minority populations. Nevertheless, several questions remain unanswered concerning the responsiveness of local institutions to the influx of immigrant and

ethnic minority groups to jurisdictions in suburban Washington, DC. It is very likely that each county has sought to re-allocate local and state funding from one pot to another toward addressing the needs of recent immigrant and ethnic minority groups. This raises further concerns about the ‘elite’ side of the story. Specifically, how do local institutions respond to the influx of suburban immigrant and ethnic minority newcomers in the face of local budgetary constraints and a suburban political environment likely to be averse to a change in the *status quo*? These concerns are addressed in Chapter Five, part two of this case study of suburban Washington, DC.

Chapter Five: The Logic of Suburban Institutional Interdependency

This chapter examines how scholars have traditionally addressed the relationship between local government actors and residents, their strategies and subsequent outcomes. It also addresses the ‘suburban political economy paradox’ facing contemporary suburban actors as they balance the concerns of newcomers and existing groups. The cyclical nature of racial and class sorting continues with a suburban twist: American suburbs are again marked by the out-migration of non-Hispanic whites and the subsequent replacement of lower-income immigrant and ethnic minority groups; yet, unlike previous eras of urban out-migration and replacement, presently there are fewer federally funded programs to aid local governments in confronting the socio-economic and political concerns that recent suburban immigrants and ethnic minority migrants face.

This chapter argues that institutional actors in the ‘new suburbia’ are faced with a suburban organizing dilemma that necessitates the need to work interdependently. Using the case study approach, I introduce the concept of Suburban Institutional Interdependency SII, is a concept used to explore suburban institutions (particularly electoral, bureaucratic and non-profit) and their responsiveness to the needs and demands of constituents in an increasingly economically and ethnically heterogeneous context.

In short, the logic of Suburban Institutional Interdependency is simple and practical. Through, public-private-non-profit partnerships that build on

reciprocity and the exchange of selective incentives, occurring through a series of repeated interactions, Suburban Institutional Interdependency provides a division of labor and resources to facilitate the process of “getting things done” in the face of rapidly changing demographics and tightening suburban budgets. The premise of the forthcoming analysis is that the political economy of suburbia may be understood as a series of repeated interdependent interactions among public, private, non-profit institutional actors, and residents who share scarce resources, while they are fiscally constrained by the dynamics of the US federalist system. I apply the theoretical construct called SII to issues concerning the low wage labor market in suburbia, in particular, day laborers and the development of institutionalized day laborer sites in the suburban Washington, DC area including Montgomery County, Maryland and Fairfax County, Virginia.²³

Traditional Studies in the Political Economy of Suburbia

Schneider (1989b) describes municipalities as “political systems in which problems of aggregation and representation must be factored into the process by which local bundles of goods and services are set” (15). He further notes, *suburban municipalities*’ “desire to maximize the local tax base is a key ingredient of this political economy” (Schneider 1989b: 24). The local market for public goods in suburbia is, to some degree, driven by a political economy linking the structure of local government to decisions about service and tax packages.²⁴ Yet, unlike in the private market for goods and services, economists point to a fundamental problem associated with the provision of public goods ---the “revelation problem”. Unlike in a

private goods market, in a public goods market it is difficult to gauge one's reservation price or one's maximum willingness to pay for the good in question. For example, payments for public goods may be through taxes, but people have an incentive to misrepresent their preferences (Stiglitz 1982).

Musgrave (1939) and Samuelson (1954) suggested that individuals would not voluntarily reveal their preferences for goods if they were nonexcludable.²⁵ Advancing the logic of these scholars, Olson (1965) observes that public goods would not be provided efficiently due to the free rider problem. An individual must be forced by an institutional organization to abandon *individual* net benefit maximizing behavior in order to realize the *collective* benefits of a public good. Without such external forces, individuals will free ride to obtain the benefits provided to all for free. The needs for coercive organization to share marginal costs as well as the inefficiencies of the free market 'invisible hand' are important hallmarks of public goods provision.²⁶

On the other hand, so-called impure public goods are those goods characterized by either partial rivalry or some excludability of benefits to some parties.²⁷ Charles Tiebout (1956) set forth an early insight into impure public goods in his seminal article, "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures." Tiebout (1956) proposed a solution to the revelation problem in the provision of local public goods. He observed that many types of public goods are 'local' rather than 'pure' and suggested that competition among local jurisdictions for members will lead us back to a market-like outcome. According to such logic, a large number of local government jurisdictions and the ability of people to 'vote with their feet' create competition

among local municipalities (Tiebout 1956). So-called consumer-voters will find it optimal to reveal their preferences through their choice of residential location within competing jurisdictions. Each jurisdiction represents a distinct bundle of amenities and services at the distinct price of taxation. In the Tiebout model, consumer-voters are assumed to be rational, utility-maximizing actors that are fully mobile, will exercise their mobility until their preferences are fulfilled and have perfect information. Employment for consumer-voters is unrestricted and public services have no external economies or diseconomies to scale between communities.

Related to impure public goods provision, the scholarly debate concerning 'polycentric competition' is especially important to briefly examine if we are to aptly understand suburban governance in a federalist system---where powers are shared between the national government, the states and their sub-national localities. Polycentrism simply connotes many centers of decision-making, which are formally independent of each other (Dahl and Lindblom 1953, 1976). Ultimately, 'polycentric competition' is based on the assumption that the interaction between multiple local governments in a metropolitan region simulates a market for public goods; limiting wasteful spending, increases efficiency and responsiveness in the provision of goods and services. Ideally, according to such models, jurisdictional competition forces the hand of government to behave more efficiently (see Parks and Ostrom 1981; also Schneider 1989a, 1989b).

In the 1950s, amid the US post-World War II suburbanization trend, this reasoning influenced a great debate among academics and practitioners. 'Metropolitan reformers' argued for consolidation of local governments to achieve

economies of scale and coordination of services, while polycentrists stressed the efficiency gains possible through the metropolitan quasi-markets created by fragmented systems of local government. Thus, the Tiebout model delineating the latter logic (complete with an ‘economic proof’) was attractive to scholars because ideally individuals’ location decisions convey some information about their preferences, the free-rider problem ‘disappears’ and the outcome is the efficient provision of goods and services (Conley and Wooders 1997: 421).

To be sure, in the theory of *local* public goods the benefits accrue only to those who belong to a particular group or community and not to those who belong to other groups or communities within the society. There is an element of privateness in local public goods, while *within* the community the good is a pure public good, however, *between* communities it acts like a private good (Stiglitz 1982). In short, spatial mobility is the local public goods complement to the “private market’s shopping trip.” In theory, people will move to the communities that hold tax and expenditure policies that match their preferences (Hirschman 1970; Peterson 1981; Tiebout 1956).

In the early 1950s, polycentrists such as those operating in the newly developing public choice field believed that if government intervention occurred, it should be relegated to allocative efficiency, and it should take place at the local level. Such scholars focused on the problem of allocative efficiency rather than income redistribution, principally because redistribution in their view is most appropriate to central governments who can bear the cost of such action (i.e. flight of the white middle and upper income).

So, instead of redistribution developing as a primary concern of such scholars, they instead queried, “what are the necessary conditions for the allocative efficiency in the provision of collective goods?” (Olson 1969). Olson discussed the division of responsibilities among different levels of government and asked what principles ought to guide the development of a rational pattern of jurisdictional responsibility--- large-scale centralized government or a systematic reliance on small local governments with rational boundaries? Ostrom, Tiebout and Warren (1961) envisioned the “business” of governments in metro areas as providing public goods and services (also see Parks and Ostrom 1981). Many public choice scholars would contend that metropolitan areas are driven by an economic logic, biased toward allocative concerns and in favor of the upper class. Such theorists contend that upper income groups are linked to the resource potential of jurisdictions and suggest that cities should bias their public goods packages in favor of upper income groups or else fail in the competition for those groups (but see Gary Miller 1981 for a critique).

In fact, to not do so is equivalent to economic irrationality by following the only possible objectives of urban governments, which is the ‘maximization of per capita fiscal dividend’ (Buchanan 1971; Miller 1981). Bish (1971) argues that local governments are disqualified from participating in redistribution programs intended to favor low-income groups, since so many low-income individuals would move to their jurisdictions. These public choice theorists contend that in the absence of selective incentives to contribute, high-income groups will only engage in redistribution, if they derive some benefit from doing so, or if they are altruistic.

In the 1980s, some urban politics theorists dubbed these nuances of metropolitan governance the ‘imperatives of growth versus the logic of governance’ debate. Paul Peterson’s (1981) book *City Limits* is credited for merging some tenets of disparate approaches to the study of urban political economy. Peterson argued that it is in the interest of urban regimes to adhere to the imperatives of economic development and leave redistributive concerns to the federal government. Peterson (1981) observes, “The pursuit of a city’s economic interests, which requires an efficient provision of local services, makes no allowance for the care of the needy and unfortunate members of the society. Indeed, the competition among local communities all but precludes a concern for redistribution” (37-38).

Though this argument was established by public choice theorists, *decades* before, his exposition of this logic argued that the *unitary interest of the city*, which like previous public choice theorizing suggested, should be development and redistribution should be left to the federal government who can bear the costs. Although one can never know the definitive reason why a particular business or individual will enter or exit an area, according to public choice reasoning, when redistributing resources urban governments risk the flight of the upper income and business community. Under this logic suburban governments should stick to promoting allocative policies such as libraries, police and fire protection. To be sure, Peterson concluded that the federal government is the *only* institution that can engage in redistribution policy at the local level without fearing the flight of business and the upper class²⁸.

On the other hand, urban regime theorists countered the notion of the unitary interest of the city. Political economists in the urban regime camp suggest that local governments are also constrained by political logic whereas public officials must build electoral coalitions sufficient to win office, and to stay in office they must build and maintain political coalitions sufficient to govern (Sanders and Stone 1987a, 1987b; Stone 1988, 1989, 1993, 1998, more recently 2004; Swanstrom 1988). Urban regime theorists suggest that arguments akin to Peterson's, border on 'economic determinism' (Ross and Levine 2001). They argue that based on the dynamic nature of urban regime structures, such economic posturing is unrealistic and apolitical. They reason that political logic matters and such logic must be weighted against economic imperatives---equity (redistribution) versus efficiency (economic growth) -- in a delicate balance between the two. However, the 'political logic versus economic logic of cities' debate creates a quandary related to the implications of recent immigrant and ethnic minority settlement in suburbia. This paradox is described in greater detail below.

The Suburban Political Economy Paradox

The political economy paradox concerns the intersection of institutional responsiveness and the changing economic demographics (inevitably linked to ethno-racial demographics) in contemporary suburban jurisdictions. There remains an extensive debate around the proper role of government in the provision of local public goods and services. Such debates become more contentious when discussing their provisions in response to the needs and demands of immigrants, particularly if these immigrants are, whether in reality or simply in perception, undocumented.

Proponents of local government intervention in the provision of goods and services often justify their claims based on the failures of private markets in a democratic society to effectively provide goods and services to those who cannot provide for themselves.

In the past, community-based organizations—whether charitable, religious or other forms of non-profits—often stepped in to address the needs of urban arrivals (Harris 1999; Gittell 1999; J. Frazier et al. 2003; Frasure and Williams 2002). Such voluntary interventions followed the pattern observed by those who like de Tocqueville in his *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840), saw in the American penchant for voluntary associations, a way to surmount the inadequacies of private markets and the lack of government responsiveness to the short supply of public goods and services.

Many contemporary scholars have advanced the virtues of public sector voluntary associations in correcting the ills of democratic society and promoting more ‘responsive government.’ According to Scholzman et al. (1999), participation in voluntary activities matters for three reasons, “the development of capacities of the individual, the creation of community and the cultivation of democratic values, and the equal protection of interests in public life” (426). Putnam (1993) also posits that the norms and networks of civic engagement can influence the public’s quality of life, and may “powerfully affect the performance of representative government” (66). *Bowling Alone* (2000) further spurred a cottage industry of research in this area, among multiple academic disciplines, as well as the public, private and non-profit sectors.

In the private sector, voluntary cooperation through private organizations often providing mechanisms to provide so-called 'club' goods are also promoted to counter governmental shortcomings (Buchanan 1965). In the private sector, voluntary cooperation is promoted as a mechanism assumed to promote greater efficiency in the provisions of public goods and services (i.e. private education) by allowing groups to derive mutual benefit from sharing the production cost, membership characteristics, or some other excludable benefits of public goods (Sandler and Tschirhart, 1482).

However, despite the merits of using voluntary cooperation to overcome the shortcomings of democratic governance, in *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965), Olson observed that in many instances there remains a divergence between what individuals want and what they are able to achieve as a group. Olson's dialogue is in opposition to those scholars who suggest that group behavior, or individual engagement in collective action to achieve a public good, do so naturally, acting on common interest. Olson maintains that "unless the number of individuals in a group is quite small, or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest, rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interest."²⁹ (Olson 1965:2).

At the heart of Olson's argument is the free-rider problem, whereas one person cannot be excluded from the benefits that others provide. Thus, "each person is motivated not to contribute to the joint efforts, but to free-ride on the efforts of others. If participants choose to free-ride, the collective benefit will not be produced" (Ostrom 1990: 6; also see Frohlich and Oppenheimer 1978, chapter 2). In short, free riding leads to a sub-optimal outcome or "less than the optimal level of the provision

of the collective benefit” (Ostrom 1990:6, also see Frohlich and Oppenheimer 1978, chapter 3). Olson contends, “It has often been taken for granted that if everyone in a group of individuals or firms had some interest in common, then there would be a tendency for the group to seek to further this interest. Thus, many students of politics in the United States for a long time supposed that citizens with a common political interest would organize and lobby to serve that interest.” To the contrary, Olson argues that groups that are successful in obtaining a public good do so not because of, but in spite of, their common interest.

According to Olson’s reasoning, when collective action takes place, it is accompanied by selective incentives that reward those that contribute, and punish those that fail to adhere. Yet, the availability of selective incentives is limited by the social heterogeneity of some groups that could benefit from the good. Socially heterogeneous groups are less likely to agree on the exact nature of the collective good, or how much it is worth (Olson 1965:24). Selective incentives are more likely to be available to the homogenous groups, since they are more likely to achieve consensus. If collective action is achieved; the product of such action incurs the additional cost of compromise and accommodation on the specific issue (Olson 1965:31). Selective incentives to cooperate or ‘work collaboratively’ are often manifest through government interventionist strategies (i.e. government regulations, civil rights legislation, etc.), and such interventions are often justified based on the failures of private markets to effectively provide goods and services to those who cannot provide for themselves.

Some political economists, particularly public choice theorists, have suggested there may be limitations to governmental intervention, particularly at the local level. As explained above, local governments are sensitive to competitive economic pressures from their peers, and conventional wisdom suggest such parties are unlikely to engage in redistributive policies that would place them at a competitive disadvantage (Peterson 1981). Suburban locals attempting redistributive programs may find that businesses and individuals will move to a jurisdiction with lower taxation, so that residents in local jurisdictions will sort out by local taxation regimens, according to class (Bish 1971; Buchanan 1971; Peterson 1981, Schneider 1989; Tiebout 1956).

Moreover, suburban residents are often accused of fleeing central cities in order to recuse themselves from redistribution to the less well off. Residents who remain may resort to strategies to protect their perceived self-interests (i.e. perceived property values). Schneider (1989b) best describes this phenomenon from the resident point of view:

“Residential interests are also affected by the distribution of income in a community. In order to extract a fiscal dividend, present residents of a community will try to limit entry to individuals with incomes higher than theirs. However, the payment of fiscal dividends is not limited to *new* upper income residents. Because municipal services can transfer income from higher income to lower income individuals, fiscal dividends can emerge in the relationship between above-and below- average residents already in a community” (29).

Additionally, Schneider points out two important effects of income transfers by way of municipal services. Such transfers take on the non-exclusionary property of a public good, and individuals with more expensive homes pay higher taxes, than those

with less expensive homes. Schneider refers to this phenomena as the production of a 'net fiscal dividend' for lower income individuals, whereas, "higher income residents pay higher taxes, but do not consume more services; lower income residents pay lower taxes and get the same services. Therefore, it is *rational* for higher income groups to favor barriers to entry, "homogenous high income communities face less potential redistribution than do heterogeneous communities. Consequently, exclusionary zoning is a rational strategy, which is widely pursued" (Schneider 1989b: 30).

Redistribution appears to be the kryptonite that destroys the economic efficiency of economic sorting models of metropolitan fragmentation, uncovering an implication for recent immigrant and ethnic minority settlement in suburbia. Pioneering models of economic sorting were developed after WWII, when federal distributive dollars more readily flowed to develop and maintain the economic, and subsequently racial neighborhood homogeneity and minority concentration. During this era, the practice of economic sorting, among political fragmented suburban areas, were aided by exclusionary zoning, racial covenants and other de jure and de facto policies, which have helped to keep suburban fragmented jurisdictions largely exempt from facing the redistributive concerns, as found in urban areas.

Yet, tangential to the post-1980s wave of immigrants and ethnic minorities to suburbia, an era of 'new federalism' ensued, along with the severe cuts in federal aid to address local redistributive pressures, leaving suburban governments lacking the resources from the federal government to make *federal* redistributive policy a reality.³⁰ Many scholars and practitioners are not optimistic about a great resurgence

of federally-funded redistributive programs to address affordable housing, greater employment and educational opportunities for lower income immigrants and ethnic minorities in suburban jurisdictions.

When private market mechanisms fail to provide goods and services to immigrant and ethnic minority groups in suburban municipalities, scholars in both camps (urban regime and public choice) fail to explain how some suburban municipalities advance policies and programs to provide goods and services that foster the social, political and economic incorporation of such groups, while other counties fail to do so. Extant theories fail to examine the mechanisms which drive some *suburban* governments to work with community-based organizations to provide goods and services, seemingly counter to their own economic development interest, or the interest of upper income populations in the suburban county.

The analysis of contemporary suburbia must incorporate aspects of both the public choice and the regime theory approaches. As some tenets of public choice theory suggest, if collective action is to take place, some form of selective incentives will motivate actors. However, akin to regime theory, suburban actors are conscious of both political and economic constraints. As a result, government officials and community-based organization leaders will form coalitions between the public and private sectors, coming together to cooperate based, in part, on mutual self-interest (Stone 1989). As Schneider (1989b) points out, unlike in the original Tiebout model, “in a democratic society, the market forces of citizen/consumer sovereignty is reinforced by the norms of government responsiveness to the interests and demands of its

citizens and by the various electoral processes that enforce these norms” (Schneider, 1989b: 23). While I find this extension of Tiebout’s original formulation to be true and necessary, Schneider’s analysis also fails to explain what happens when a large number of suburban newcomers are low-income, non-citizens, ineligible to vote, yet nevertheless in need of local public goods and services.

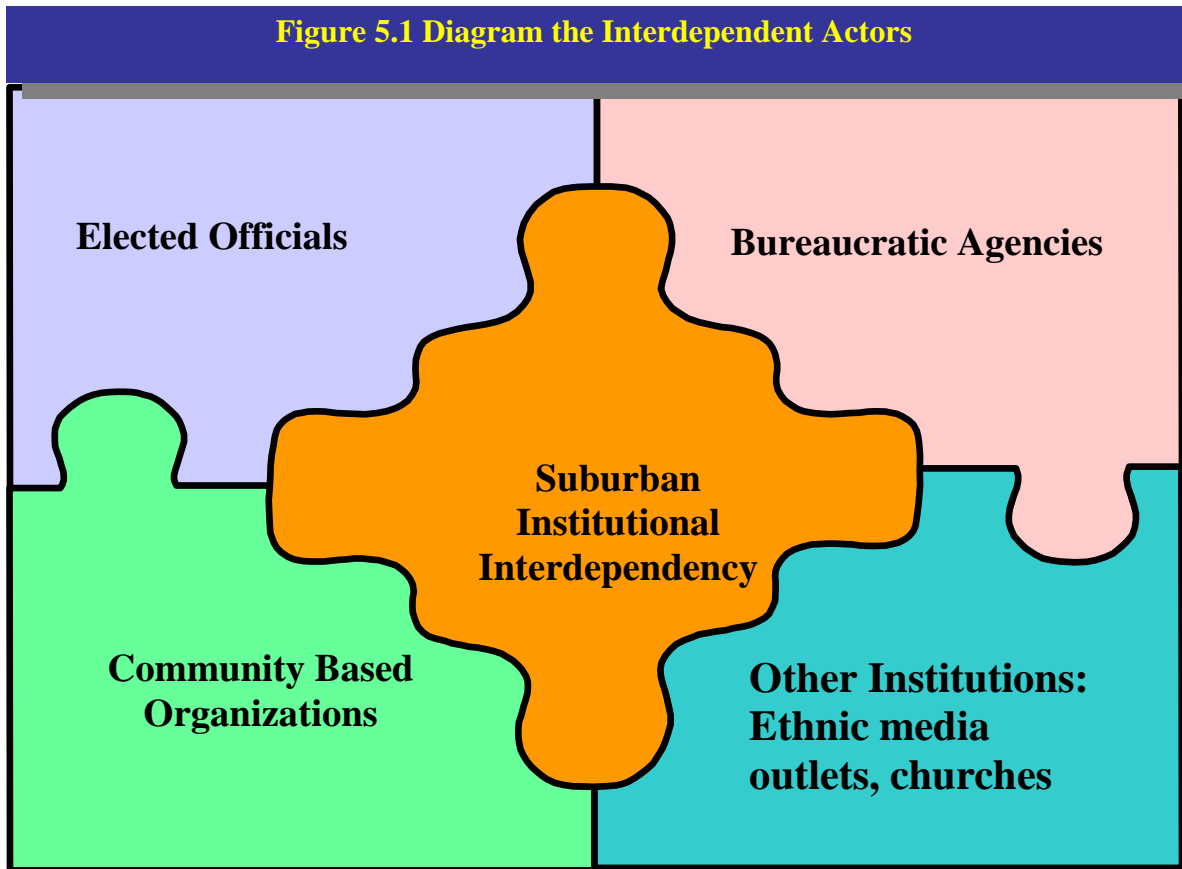
Paradoxically, the suburban partnerships examined in the case study to follow often occurred within a political environment, but often *outside* mainstream electoral politics (i.e. the most direct beneficiaries are non-voters, and often non-citizens). As this analysis explains, this factor has important implications for the incorporation of immigrant newcomers. Historically, the political incorporation of immigrant ‘consumer-voters’ to urban centers was inextricably tied to their electoral incorporation. Yet, in the ‘new’ suburbia, the institutional responsiveness to newcomers’ demands, often *precedes* the political incorporation of newcomers, at least regarding the prospects of electoral mobilization (see Jones-Correa 2004). These factors call for a new approach to the study of post-1980 suburbia. This approach, deemed Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII) is detailed below.

Suburban Institutional Interdependency

Suburban Actors, Interests, and Strategies

The economic and ethno-racial demographic changes in suburbia have introduced a host of new actors and new issues into suburban politics. Figure 5.1 diagrams the interdependent actors involved including elected officials, bureaucratic

and regulatory agencies, community-based organizations, and other institutions such as ethnic media outlets and religious institutions. Clearly, a multiplicity of possible actors are involved in the suburban political economy. Yet for simplicity, this analysis focuses primarily on these institutional actors and suburban residents.



Each actor—elected, bureaucratic and non-profit—holds certain tangible and intangible resources at their disposal. For example, when it comes to allocating local public goods and services, elected officials on the county council hold the purse strings in suburban jurisdictions. Through a budgetary line item, they have the power to shift funding from magnet or talented and gifted programs to English as Second

Language (ESOL) programs, to provide more funding for translation services, or to provide financial support to some community-based organizations over others.

However, while suburban demographics have changed rapidly, the voting-eligible population has not caught up as quickly. This factor can hinder the *political will* of some political leaders to act. Rather than policy making, in his study of Congress, David Mayhew (1974) contends that elected officials are single-minded seekers of reelection, achieved in large part, via 'position-taking' on select issues (also see Fiorina 1977); taking advantage of credit-claiming opportunities, often via pork barreling and other distributive programs (also see Fenno 1973); and advertising.

In addition to the widely accepted behavioral norm of the 're-election seeking politician', political leaders are also believed to develop different *styles* to accommodate the nature of their constituent groups. Through interviews and use of the participant observation approach, Fenno (1978) finds a strong link between constituents and their representatives. In his view, House members for example, see their constituents' groups as distinct sets of networks. For Fenno, the key to gaining support within these networks are increasing and enhancing constituent trust.

Bureaucratic-entrepreneurs, on the other hand, are often considered to be agency budget-maximizers (Niskanen 1971, also see Downs 1967 and Tullock 1967 for preceding rationalist perspectives regarding the behavior of bureaucrats). Unfortunately, when their sponsors-- in this case state and local governments facilitated through local elected officials-- lack political will to act on concerns facing immigrant newcomers, bureaucratic agencies are often left without the budgets to address the needs of increasingly diverse populations. This is unfortunate since from

housing to education, zoning to law enforcement bureaucratic service and regulatory agencies are *the premiere* institutional arm of suburban municipal government for suburban newcomers. Such agencies are responsible for providing local public goods and implementing programs/services that directly affect the day-to-day lives of suburban newcomers.

Given their constraints, political as well as bureaucratic entrepreneurs often turn to ethnic and other non-profit community-based organizations (CBOs) for support.³¹ CBOs often have an intimate relationship with the immigrant and ethnic minority community. Such entities often act to lower the transaction costs associated with overcoming language and cultural barriers between newcomers and existing residents. Elected officials and bureaucratic agencies depend on CBOs to formally and informally disseminate information concerning public policies and programs, and to gain access to and trust between local government and immigrant and ethnic minority populations. Communication is often achieved via ethnic media outlets (such as radio, TV, print media, Internet) or ethnic church groups (such as Korean churches, African American churches, or Catholic churches).

Figure 5.2 Diagram of Interdependent Modes of Response

Pieces of the Puzzle



While the power relationship remains unbalanced (Dahl 1960), the changing demographics in suburbia necessitate the participation of otherwise unlikely actors at the decision making table. Neither bureaucrats nor elected officials are expected to act alone, instead turning to non-profit CBOs as allies. For example, community-based organizations depend on bureaucratic agencies, which hold institutional resources (such as a formal meeting space) and can reduce overhead costs for community-based groups (such as printing materials for dissemination).

Generalized reciprocity helps to stabilize, at least in the short run, these interdependent relationships. As Putman (2000) states, “an effective norm of generalized reciprocity is bolstered by dense social networks of social exchange. If two would-be collaborators are members of a tightly knit community, they are likely

to encounter one another in the future—or to hear about one another through the grapevine. Thus, they have reputations at stake that are almost surely worth more than gains from momentary treachery. In that sense, honesty is encouraged by dense social networks” (136).

Furthermore, like Olson’s contention, selective incentives are another key organizing factor. Yet, arguably the *repeated* nature of these interactions play an important role related to the nature of selective incentives. Numerous scholars have suggested that Olson's group theory analysis is weakened by its static nature (Chong 1990; Hardin 1982; Ostrom 1990; Stevens 1993). Hardin (1982) suggests that Olson’s conclusion may be applicable in a “one-shot effort but not in an ongoing effort...even in one-shot efforts Olson's conclusion may not apply if the group itself is ongoing, since it may assimilate the present one-shot effort to a series of group related efforts” (173).

While Ostrom (1990) agrees Olson’s model of collective action “can successfully predict strategies and outcomes in fixed situations” (183), she asserts that “individuals are perceived as being trapped in a static situation, unable to change the rules affecting their incentives” (Ostrom 1990:182). Ostrom’s (1990) study of the problem of collectively managed resources used the term “common pool resources” (CPR) to describe natural resources that are used by many individuals in common such as fisheries. In this study, Ostrom evaluated three dominant models, Hardin’s tragedy of the commons, the prisoner’s dilemma, and Olson’s logic of collective action, noting the following concerning each:

“They are useful for predicting behavior in large-scale CPR’s in which no one communicates, everyone acts independently, no attention is paid to the effects

of one's actions, and the cost of trying to change the structure of the situation are high. They are far less useful for characterizing the behavior of appropriators in the smaller-scale CPR's...[i]n such situations, individuals *repeatedly communicate and interact* with one another in a localized physical setting. Thus, it is possible that they can learn whom to trust, what effects their actions will have on the other and on the CPR, and how to organize themselves to gain benefits and avoid harm. When individuals have lived in such situations for a substantial time and have developed shared norms and patterns of reciprocity, they possess social capital with which they can build institutional arrangements for resolving CPR dilemma" (Ostrom 1990:184, *emphasis added*).

Similarly, (1993) suggest that there is a lack of predictable value in Olson's model. Stevens (1993) asserts that "the efficacy of large groups in voluntary providing public goods is a complex issue, not the simple matter that Olson described in 1965...Olson's analysis was static and timeless, but many collective action problems are dynamic" (103). Ostrom (1990) does go beyond Olson's assertions of selective benefits and adds a dimension of trust and reciprocity that could occur in repeated interactions. Many organizing dilemmas, like those faced by suburban jurisdictions, often involve repeated interactions and it is not necessarily the dominant strategy to 'always defect.' He states that "...many people do what Olson's model predicts they won't do: they vote they sacrifice, they join, and they contribute when they could free ride" (192). In this context, it is then useful to draw on extensions of Olson's model that include political entrepreneurs and finally purposive benefits--or what I refer to as "quasi-selective incentives or benefits" that might provide individuals incentives to join or cooperate. While Olson largely limits his analysis to the tangible material benefit of participation, Salisbury (1969) (as described by Stevens 1993) also emphasizes possible intangible "purposive benefits, an intangible reward associated with an ideological or value-oriented goal (Stevens 1993:193). Salisbury also

suggests a possible “solitary benefit” relating to the “social rewards for being part of the process of working toward goals and outcomes” (Stevens 1993: 193).

These types of non-tangible benefits may also have an element of “altruism or gaining of utility when another person gains utility from an improved outcome” (Hardin 1982: 103). Hardin (1982) refers to these as ‘extra-rational’ incentives that move beyond the rational model toward levels of morality and a “desire to participate for the sake of participation” (123). In fact, Hardin suggests that, “if correct calculation of self-interest was all that motivated action, there would be no environmental groups, nor any consumer, women’s liberation, pro-life, or other such public groups” (118).

Building on reciprocity, selective incentives and repeated interactions elected officials, bureaucrats and non-profits gain additional leverage to overcome a host of problems associated with addressing newcomer concerns in a changing suburban landscape. This interdependent relationship forms for at least three reasons stated, in brief below, and detailed in the following case study:

- 1) Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII) increases Access to Resources: This association gives CBOs access to programmatic funding and resources available in the public sector;
- 2) SII increases Legitimacy and Lowers Transaction Costs: For public agencies, this alliance lowers the transaction costs associated with overcoming language and cultural barriers between newcomers and existing residents;
- 3) SII leverages Public Resources: This partnership allows local bureaucrats to minimize outlays of their scarce resources to deal with the problems associated with the demographic shifts taking place in suburbia by essentially outsourcing much of the effort to non-profit

agencies, while still taking credit for the programs these CBOs initiate, maintain and staff.

Putting this theoretical construct into action, the institutional logic behind coalition formation in two increasingly diverse suburban jurisdictions, Montgomery County MD and Fairfax, County, VA is examined. In particular, I examine how alliances carried out in the face of budgetary constraints, and a suburban political environment likely to be averse to a change in the status quo.

Case Study: Institutionalizing Day Labor in Suburbia

Using the theoretical construct entitled Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII), this case study examines the implications associated with the incorporation of one segment of the burgeoning immigrant low-wage labor market in suburbia—the day laborer population.³² Borrowing from Valenzuela and Méendez, a day laborer is defined here “as someone who gathers at a street corner, empty lot or parking lot of a home improvement store (e.g. Home Depot), or an official hiring site, to sell their labor for the day, hour or for a particular job” (Valenzuela and Meléndez 2003: 1). Valenzuela and Méendez (2003) refer to three types of day laborer pick up/drop off sites: ‘*connected*’—sites connected to some industry such as painting, landscaping or gardening, moving or home improvement; ‘*unconnected*’—sites lacking a connection to a specific industry; and ‘*regulated*’-- “formal hiring sites either controlled by the city or county or managed by a community-based organization” (4). This analysis focuses

primarily on attempts by local suburban jurisdictions to manage day labor, by created regulated sites or what is referred to in this study as ‘institutionalized settings’ for day labor.

Two factors make day labor a particular issue of concern and contention in suburban jurisdictions. The first is that day laborers are particularly vulnerable workers in the labor force. Recent studies find that in this often ‘underground economy’, “day laborers have an informal relationship with the labor market, often working for different employers each day, being paid in cash, and lacking key benefits, such as health or unemployment insurance” (GAO 2002 (1); also see del Carmen Fani 2005; HPRP and Casa de Maryland Report 2004; Kelleberg et al. 2000; Valenzuela 2001; 1999; Valenzuela and Méendez 2003). The GAO’s report on day labor’ working conditions found that such laborers are routinely subject to hazardous work environments and workplace abuses by employers. Workplace abuse often includes insufficient or non-payment for services rendered. In addition, day labor workers are often unable to voice any complaints due to language barriers, lack of legal documentation and fears of deportation.

The existence of day labor in suburban locations poses a new set of policy issues, and the possibility of new demands for services, from suburban jurisdictions. While a growing number of sociologists, urban planners, policy-makers and activists have examined the impact and policy implications of this largely immigrant segment of the low-wage workforce (del Carmen

Fani 2005; Chishti 2000; Espenshade, J. 2000; GAO 2002; Gordon 2005; HPRP and Casa de Maryland Report 2004; Maher 2003; Sassen 1995; 2000; Valenzuela and Mélendez 2003; Valenzuela 2001; 1999; Waldinger and Lichter 2003; Waldinger 1999), fewer studies have examined how local receiving institutions respond to the need and demands of this population.

The second is that the proliferation of suburban day labor may have an impact on suburban ‘quality of life’-- that set of conditions that makes suburbia an attractive location for many to choose to live--which includes, but is not limited to, a perception that suburban locations offer better public schools, better amenities and services, more safety, and more green space. Informal day labor sites—at which workers wait for employers to drive by seeking temporary labor—violate perceived suburban norms regarding the use of public space. For example, a group of suburban residents may be seen as illegitimately monopolizing public space, and in the process raising public safety, sanitation and other concerns. Often informal day laborer sites raise the ire of local business owners and residents, spurring them to petition their local representatives to ban or move day laborer sites away from their vicinity. Thus, the presence of day labor sites in suburbia is often viewed as a problem of social control, to be managed by law enforcement (J. Espenshade 2000).

Suburban jurisdictions have varied in their handling of informal day laborer pick up/drop off sites. In some places law enforcement officials are called in to ‘dismantle’ day laborer sites (even if, as some have argued, such tactics are often unfruitful and short-lived), while other jurisdictions have

gone as far as outlawing informal day laborers pick up sites via public ordinances (J. Espenshade 2000; Calderon et al. 2002). In most cases, however, while suburban residents and business owners often raise an outcry about the ‘loitering’ of day laborers in public spaces, and want to see individuals removed from their immediate vicinity, there is little movement to ban day laborers altogether. There is movement, indeed, in some jurisdictions, to consider the creation of formal day labor sites, which designate the utilization of space for the use of day laborers as a job pick-up site, where these workers would receive shelter, job assistance, be able to report unscrupulous practices by employers, obtain advocacy support, and if necessary, restitution through legal channels.

Both instances, however—the relocation of existing informal day labor sites, or the creation of formal day labor sites—run into what is often called the ‘NIMBY’ (Not in My Back Yard) problem. Residents and business owners may recognize the needs of day laborers, but do not wish to see them—literally or figuratively—in their own back yards. There may be support for establishing a more formal labor pick-up site run by the locality, but there is resistance from residents to placing these institutionalized sites in their particular neighborhoods. These issues of contestation over public space, complaints that day laborers are illegitimately utilizing public space, and resistance to the location or re-location of either formal or informal day-labor sites, have all surfaced in both Montgomery County, Maryland and Fairfax County, Virginia.

By most accounts, day laborers have resided in both Montgomery and Fairfax counties for nearly twenty years, yet were largely (or at least officially) ‘unnoticed’ until the recent increase in their numbers and the emergence of new informal day laborer sites. In 1991, in response to the increase of day laborers, and with the urging of a local community-based organization, CASA de Maryland, Montgomery County set up a formal day labor site in Langley Park, Maryland. As of 2005, a second day laborer site is currently under construction in Wheaton, Maryland. The County will lease the space and CASA de Maryland will operate the center. In addition to providing shelter for *jornaleros* (day laborers), CASA will provide basic services including English classes, information concerning citizenship, health care, and job training, as well as mediation services between workers and employers.

CASA de Maryland is the largest Latino community-based organization in Maryland. According to the program’s literature, “CASA’s Legal Program provides employment rights services through education and representation of day laborers, domestic workers, and other low-wage workers who have experienced employment abuses such as non-payment of wages, unlawful wage deductions, health and safety violations, and discrimination”. CASA's Legal Program reportedly closed 686 cases and recovered over \$265,000 for low-wage workers during the 2003-2004 fiscal year.

At the time of this study, this kind of institutionalized day labor site is non-existent in Fairfax County and obtaining a location for an institutionalized

setting in Fairfax County continues to be met with much controversy.

Nonetheless, the growing numbers of day laborers congregating in various informal 7-Eleven day laborer sites throughout Fairfax County have raised public safety, health and quality of life concerns by long time residents and business owners. The presence of these workers, and the complaints their presence has provoked, have raised the profile of the issue, and made it clear there is a need for a more permanent solution to the 'day laborer problem' in Fairfax County. Verdica Haywood Fairfax County Deputy County Executive for Human Services notes how a recent increase in the number of day laborers has raised the issue's profile in Fairfax County:

“We got the day laborer issue, and by the way, it is growing significantly in our community... Now if you can't get a driver's license where you drive to work, the chances are you are going to have to depend more on things like the day laborer's market, but we have seen in just a period of two months, a three-fold... a three-fold increase in one of the day laborer site in the number of people going to that site, trying to get access to the economy and earn a living so that they can support their families themselves. A three-fold increase. And guess what? That has implications for the businesses in that community. It has implications for the citizens in that community. It has public implications. The whole issue now, for example in our day labor site where the sensitivity to the police involvement have even compounded some of the problems that we already have... If there's a three-fold increase in that site, that means the implications on businesses, the community, public safety issues increases three-fold also. And yet... it's almost like after September 11th... [the] level of consciousness about immigration increased dramatically, and when that happens, it almost implies that politicians are going to try to do something about it.”

Fairfax County has taken longer to recognize and respond to day-laborer issues than Montgomery County, but now the issue has

become too prominent to ignore.

In response to these growing concerns, in 2003 Fairfax County conducted a survey of the experiences of day laborers in the county (a smaller-scale survey was also conducted in 2000). Staff from the Department of Systems Management for Human Services, Department of Community and Recreation Services, the Fairfax County Fire and Rescue Department, and a member of a Reston Interfaith (a community based organization) working as a liaison at the informal day laborer site in Herndon joined together to conduct the survey interviews in Spanish (5).³³ David Ellis, director of the recently established Fairfax County Day Labor Taskforce remarks:

“...looking at just the demographics of Fairfax and recognizing that we have had some rapid demographic changes, and suddenly some of the issues out in neighborhoods and communities don’t necessarily fit in one agency’s area... Day Labor is a perfect example...For years the police department was the agency that really [was at] the forefront [on this issue], because they were the one’s receiving the complaints...[but recently] we recognized that it was just more than a police issue, more than a human services issue, it is really a community issue. You need to have discussion, you need to have representation for the business community, the resident, as well as the day laborers. I mean you needed to find a way to kind of bring folks together and develop some type of consensus on what would be the best approach... I mean the demographic changes in the county...it’s not going to go away...It’s probably going to have more day labor sites ...we currently have four sites, but we probably picked up three of those sites [recently], or they have become more noticeable in the last five years”.

Once the day laborer issue was put on the agenda by county agencies, it became evident that the process was going to involve different actors—public, private and non-profit—from around the county.

The analysis presented here does not set out to explain *why* bureaucratic institutions respond to immigrant demands (Jones-Correa 2004; 2005 addresses this topic). Instead, this analysis examines *how* local institutions interdependently craft a positive response to the issues raised by day labor in the face of changing demographics, local budgetary constraints and a suburban political environment likely to be averse to a change in the *status quo*. The evidence for this analysis is drawn from a variety of sources including local media outlets as well as governmental and non-governmental publications. However, the primary data include interviews conducted in the Washington, DC metropolitan area (refer to Chapter 2 for full description of qualitative methods used).³⁴

In confronting the NIMBY problems raised by the proposed location of day labor sites, bureaucratic actors are unlikely to act alone, instead turning to non-profit community-based organizations as intermediaries to overcome real, or perceived, NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) problems in suburban jurisdictions. In addressing quality of life issues in these suburban counties, non-profit CBOs, as well as bureaucratic units such as the police, permit and zoning officials and countywide social services agencies all play an important role.

This analysis underscores the *institutional logic* behind alliance formation in an increasingly diverse suburbia, with local bureaucrats and community-based organizations offering each other incentives to cooperate in response to the needs and demands of new immigrant residents in suburbia.

As noted previously, three factors facilitate these public/private partnerships. They are briefly reiterated here and are examined, in turn, in the pages to follow:

1. Interdependency Increases Access to Resources;
2. Interdependency Increases Legitimacy and Lowers Transaction Costs;
and
3. Interdependency Leverages Public Resources.

Three Facets of Suburban Institutional Interdependency

On January 31, 2005, a group of Montgomery County public and non-profit actors held a press conference to discuss the development of the second day laborer site in the county. Standing in unity at the construction site of the Wheaton, MD facility, County Executive Doug Duncan announced, “I am confident that this center will build on the success of the County’s first day-laborer site in Langley Park...New immigrants have an entrepreneurial spirit and the thirst to work and be productive members of our community, and I am proud to help them help themselves to earn a living and support their families” (Montgomery County, MD News Release, January 31, 2005). Gustavo Torres, Executive Director of CASA of Maryland noted, “Doug Duncan has made Montgomery County into a national model in responding sensitively and intelligently to the needs of day laborers” (Montgomery County, MD News Release, January 31, 2005). County Council President and former CASA

Board of Directors member, Tom Perez further noted, “This center renews our commitment to include everyone in Montgomery County’s economic development... The successful partnership between business, government and CASA of Maryland has shown that matching employers and employees in a safe and organized environment benefit families, small businesses, and the community. The rising tide of Wheaton redevelopment must lift all boats to succeed” (Montgomery County, MD News Release, January 31, 2005). State of Maryland Delegate Ana Sol Gutierrez further added, “This new Wheaton day laborer employment center demonstrates clearly that Montgomery County values all its workforce and recognizes the contributions that all hard working individuals make to the growth and strength of our State’s economy...I applaud the exemplary efforts of our County Executive and Council members for finding a solution that serves the growing workforce in the Wheaton area. We are helping to make Wheaton and my District 18 a great place to live” (Montgomery County, MD News Release, January 31, 2005). Clearly the range of political involvement, from the county executive, to member of the county council, to Maryland state delegates, indicates a significant degree of political backing, at least in Montgomery County, for initiatives and coalitions with the non-profit sector addressing day labor issues.

How do these interdependent relationships between these institutions and the actors evolve, and what lends them stability, allowing them to persist over time? Building symbiotic relationships between public and private institutions, political leaders, bureaucrats and non-profits, require additional

leverage to address issues, like the NIMBY problems associated with day labor concerns.

Interdependency Increases Access to Resources

One of the main benefits for suburban non-profits to form symbiotic relationships with local governments is their access to resources. Community-based organizations are often reliant not only on direct funding from local governments, but also depend on bureaucratic agencies that hold institutional resources (such as meeting spaces, photocopiers, distribution materials, etc.) that can reduce overhead cost for these CBOs.

Given the resources at stake, it is in the interests of local non-profits to cultivate good relationships with local governmental actors, since these relationships translate into access, and access can translate into resources. For instance, Elmer Romero, the Director of Education for CASA de Maryland, details CASA's relationship to the local government, particularly Montgomery County Executive Doug Duncan and Prince George's County executive Jack Johnson.

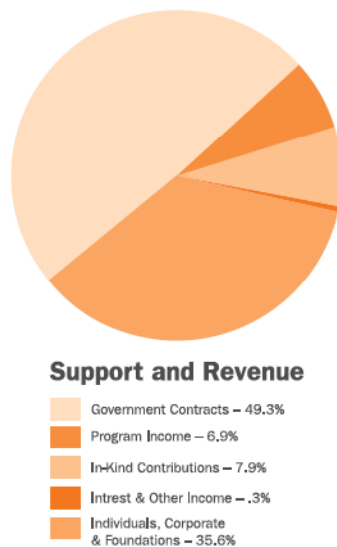
“...Duncan is always in touch with this organization, and when we need him for any specific issue, he will be open-minded to hear and try to get some solution. In addition, [the county will] provide money to resolve a specific issue. For example, they support this employment center, because they support the day laborer's central issues, and in addition, for education, I've received some money through the county to develop, for example, literacy classes in Spanish, literacy from the ESOL program, and for citizens. So the county, really, is a real support for us. But, obviously, it depends, [on] who is the executive, because now, [with] Jack Johnson in Prince George's ... we have good relationship, but in the past, the last

executive, the relationship [was not nearly as good] ...because, they were not comfortable with immigrants, or they not, I would say, probably they were not really sensitive about this issue. But now, the relationship with all two of them, Duncan and Jack Johnson is really good. And they are in touch with us, and for example, they support us in new legislation, when we have this anti-immigration bill, they went with us, to support us, to Annapolis, and talk to the media, and support immigrants.”

When the relationship with local government executives is a good one, it can mean support across a number of different arenas, at both the local and state levels.

Take for example, the case of CASA de Maryland, one of the largest ethnically based non-profits in Montgomery County, and one of the primary movers behind the establishment of institutionalized day labor sites in the county. Some of CASA’s primary backers include the Montgomery County Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), Montgomery County Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCA), Montgomery County Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), Prince George’s County CDBG, Prince George’s Special Appropriations Funds, Takoma Park CDBG and the City of Takoma Park. This publicly-funded support has been increasing over time: for the fiscal year 2003-2004, CASA’s support and revenue via government contracts totaled \$1,124,710, a 33 percent increase from the \$848,622 CASA received in 2002-2003 (CASA Annual Report)—this in a period of relatively financial austerity for the county. As Figure 5.3 indicates, in 2003-2004, nearly 50 percent of CASA’s funding came from government contracts.

Figure 5.3 CASA de Maryland Support and Revenue 2003-2004



Source: CASA de Maryland 2003-2004 Annual Report

CASA is one of the most successful CBOs in Montgomery County. The amount of funding it receives from the county and state governments may be unusual, but the *share* of public funding it receives as a percentage of its total budget is less unusual. Non-profits, particularly ethnically-based non-profit organizations, either receive public funding, or are simply very small.

Similarly, in Fairfax County, Verdiana Haywood the area's Deputy County Executive for Human Services described how county funds are used to support local non-profits, in particular from the counties' community development block grants received from the federal government. He noted that these block grants are prized for their flexibility, given that each locality can set their own priorities for spending and support. In addition, he

indicated that in Fairfax County:

“We actually created on our own, in Fairfax County, what we call a community funding pool, which really, truly, is a community investment pool... [W]e allocate roughly \$10 million annually to community based organizations, and allow those community-based organizations to leverage other funding streams, including federal funding streams and grants and foundations to contribute to the community. And a significant portion of the community funding pool is now going to ethnic minority groups... They are the newly emerging organizations, they have excellent vision in terms of energy, drive, and commitment; a lot of them leverage the help out of communities around them, if you will”.

In Fairfax and Montgomery Counties, local ethnically based CBOs are receiving a greater share of funds from local agencies. This indicates that governmental actors in these counties are recognizing new issues arising from the demographic changes taking place, are receiving new demands from residents and non-profit organizations, and are responding by allocating resources. These public resources make up a significant fraction of the budgets of community-based organizations in the area, and provide a significant incentive for these organizations to both seek and maintain good relationships with local governmental actors.

Interdependency Increases Legitimacy and Lowers Transaction Costs

While community-based organizations seek a relationship between the public and non-profit sector, local governments also actively seek out partnerships with non-profits. Comments from Verdiana Haywood, illustrate the changing relationship of local government to community-based organizations in Fairfax county:

“One of the dramatic changes that have taken place is what I said started to happen in the ‘60s and ‘70s, and that was a shifting of responsibility. A shift in the responsibility at all levels to the local level. We didn’t have a major human services function that was institutionalized in government until that time, because our social services department was more aligned with the state...but the change took place, locally, in the early part of the ‘80s, where it was shifted from the state government to the local government. And not only was the shift policy-wise, the shift was resource-wise, and the shift was also service design-wise. In other words, we started trying to figure out what was the best mix and combination of services that we needed in our community... And as a result, we greatly enhanced a lot of the levels of service, and the one thing that we did very strategically, was beginning to look more at community-based organizations as a part of the solution. Community-based organizations as a part of the solution to the issues. It first started with more being a part of the solution through community action... and we leveraged some federal funds there. We leveraged some state funds; we put in some local dollars, there. We’ve obviously lost almost all of the federal dollars in the anti-poverty area [but] they’ve been... enhanced three times over by the locality.”

What Haywood describes is a process of devolution of responsibilities from the states (Virginia in his case) to localities (Fairfax County), with the counties taking over, through the 1980s, many of the social service provision that had previously been funded and administered through the state. In doing so, localities gain greater control over service provision, arguably targeting it more precisely, and targeting their aid more precisely. But they chose to do this by working hand in hand with community-based organizations in the non-profit sector rather than simply setting up programs of their own. How?

By building alliances with community-based organizations, public agencies lower the transaction costs associated with overcoming language and cultural barriers between newcomers and existing residents. Local

governmental agencies seek out partnerships with CBOs because these non-profit groups have expertise that governmental agencies simply do not have. Janet Hubbell, Fairfax County's Regional Manager for Community Affairs, explains how bureaucratic agencies grapple with the issues new immigrant residents raise in the county:

“...you have to ... go back to our three core areas, access to services, service migration, and community capacity building, and we do that by influence...it's not like I can advocate on the behalf of immigrant refugee populations, but I can maybe be influenced in some way by having access to those populations and bringing them in. I think, just in the five years that I have been here, everybody's struggling with it. There isn't one county agency that isn't trying to figure out how to be a better public servant when we are dealing with a population that doesn't speak our language”

What is clear from Hubbell's comments is that local governments are behind the curve in responding to the demographic changes that have taken place, and are struggling with how to service the new immigrant and ethnic populations in suburbia.

However, instead of having to build up the necessary expertise on their own (i.e. hiring more bilingual workers), and developing the trust with local immigrant and ethnic communities needed to make relationships with these communities work, local governmental agencies can turn to non-profit actors to serve as a bridge to these ethnic communities. Haywood further discusses how CBOs help the county to reach out to the county's newcomers:

“... we have obviously had to re-orient our services publicly. And that is a great challenge. And we've had to obviously change that in order to be able to increase the access of the various programs and the suspicion of government and the role

that plays. I mean, trying to gain confidence...and trust. You know, ... that population ..., particularly the Hispanic population, you know, where you got all of the issues of ... immigration and the issues associated with that, and can I trust [government].... In a lot of areas they came from, you know, they came here because of they couldn't trust their government. Now you all of sudden [you're] going to access the service that you need from government—who knows they may report you and you may get deported. All of those issues... are dramatically taking place as we have to re-think and re-look at how we deliver, and we found, quite frankly, that a significant vehicle now is to partner with community-based organizations that are part of those cultures... I think we are just now beginning to touch the surface of the need, quite frankly, to do that, and that's what I mean by when I say the basic structure of services have had to change as a result of that.”

Haywood's comments underline that if ethnic non-profits seek out relationships with governmental actors for the resources the public sector has to offer, local governmental actors are actively seeking out these relationships as well, and as a way to gain access to expertise and access to networks the public sector simply does not have.

For starters, community-based groups often have an intimate relationship with newcomers. Tim Freilich, an attorney at the Virginia Justice Center discusses how his organization fills a critical gap in the services provided by Fairfax County:

“As long as you're filling a need that the county is looking for, I mean, that's one of the other things that we've been able to offer from the beginning. Even though we don't limit our services to Latinos, all of our staff is bilingual English/Spanish, and so, you know, right from the beginning, we've been able to say, 'Hey, we have bilingual staff.' You know, there's a tremendous need in Northern Virginia for Spanish-speaking attorneys. And Human Services workers, for that matter. And so that's been a good selling point ... you know, we were able to use our experience representing migrant farm workers to

say, ‘Hey! This is an area of expertise that we can very readily just shift over to day laborers,” you know: a lot of the same issues, as far as language access... lack of familiarity with workers’ rights. And so that’s been really helpful. Plus, we have... some statewide contacts of folks who work with Latino population throughout the state, that we were able to sort of tie into the efforts and ongoing organizing efforts in Northern Virginia.”

For the most part, county agencies have been slow to find bilingual staff to serve as intermediaries between these bureaucracies and the influx of new immigrant residents to the county. What CBOs like the Virginia Justice Center offer local governments is access to a readily available pool of translators, with strong ties to the immigrant community, and a broader range of contacts with similar actors throughout the state.

Non-profit community-based organizations can offer the expertise that may lower the transaction costs governmental agencies face in dealing with new issues raised by the presence of immigrants. By entering into partnerships with CBOs, public agencies gain access to ‘trust networks’ that facilitate their interactions with these newcomers to the metropolitan area.

Interdependency Leverages Public Resources

From the perspective of local government, funds allocated to local non-profit agencies, is money well spent. There is a practical side to their funding of local community-based groups: the funds they allocate make it easier for local governments to address the needs and demands of a new

population through the services they offer. There is also a political payoff as well: state and federal funds, channeled through localities to particular community-based interests, whether ethnic or otherwise, are a form of selective incentives that local political actors can provide in return for an assumption of political support. On the other hand, public funds channeled to local non-profits are not far removed from the machine politics of the past, which also served to incorporate ethnic newcomers. However, unlike political machines at their height (or perhaps more like them than is commonly realized) Erie argues that even mature political machines did not have the resources to reward all their adherents and supporters (Erie 1988) contemporary suburban governments are usually operating under strict fiscal constraints. Whether offering services or rewarding potential supporters, the selective incentives local governments offer are in fact, quite selective.

While local governments are aware of the issues raised by the changing demographics, it is not clear that they have the funds, or the political will to raise additional funds, to address these issues fully. Local governmental actors may seek to leverage their funds, in order to multiply their effect, through their partnerships with non-governmental actors. Take the case, again, of CASA of Maryland. Robert Hubbard, Director of Permitting Services for Montgomery County describes his agency's role in facilitating the establishment of CASA's first day labor site:

“Well initially... the problem was identified as a community problem, a loitering disruption to the community and ... people out here soliciting for jobs or whatever. And like I said, CASA stepped up, so there wasn't real police enforcement or zoning

enforcement needed. So I said ‘Well we’ll organize, but we need space to do this.’ And the [Latino] community was helpful in terms of initially finding the site ...CASA found a trailer that they could operate out of, so we had to permit the trailer, we had to inspect the trailer. CASA, like I said, does not have a lot of money. They’re a nonprofit organization so, there are regulatory requirements and the permitting process, like the requirement for architectural seal and signature on plans that we had to look at and decide whether it was necessary and all. We had the expertise in-house that we could waive some of those requirements so we were involved in that.

And then once this became a popular site, it again became a nuisance to surrounding businesses and CASA was asked to move and so we were constantly looking for areas that complied with the zoning requirement or didn’t. And it ended up that they’re on government property right now, they’re property that’s owned by the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission. So they’re basically exempt from the zoning requirement as a public use. But they are in a residential area that’s transitional. It’s next to a business use as well, but I mean it’s just fortunate that CASA was able to find this site, was able to get Parks and Planning to agree to use it. And now, you know, they’ve satisfied they’re zoning requirements but we’re working still with them on some of the building code issues and making the space work for them on a daily basis.”

What Hubbard is describing is a process by which both bureaucrats and community-based groups identify a problem in common—in this case, the problem of informal day-labor sites—and then act on it collaboratively. The initiative is left to the CBOs. In this case CASA is left to find a solution: a site in which to situate an institutionalized day labor site. Once a site is found, a bureaucratic process must be surmounted. A less helpful local governmental agency could attempt to restrain, or at least slow down the CBO’s initiative. Instead, in Montgomery County, the public agency

facilitated CASA's passage through the permitting process to meet the county's regulatory requirements. Then, once an initial site proved successful—too successful, in fact, for it to remain where it was—public agencies, in this case the Parks and Planning Department, once again cooperated to smooth the process, helping to acquire public land for the day labor site that was exempt from the zoning process. But at every step it was the CBO that took the initiative and the public agency that responded.

Two aspects of the relationship between public agencies and CBOs are highlighted by the CASA de Maryland case. First, even when local governments and non-profit agencies agree on the issues at stake and the possible solutions, it may be up to the non-profit to actually work out a solution. Second, rather than money, the kinds of resources that government agencies allocate in support of CBO work are often non-material: either aid-in-kind or expertise. Why? It may be that leaving much of the resolution of problem to CBOs allows local governmental actors to gain credibility with a particular constituency while simultaneously distancing themselves from any possible political fallout. On the other hand, if things go well, local governmental actors' ties to CBOs allow them to 'credit claim' any success (see Mayhew 1974).

Local governments can do all of this while minimizing cost. Such agencies are responsible for providing local public goods and implementing programs/services that directly affect the day-to-day lives of suburban newcomers, particularly among the most vulnerable populations, such as day

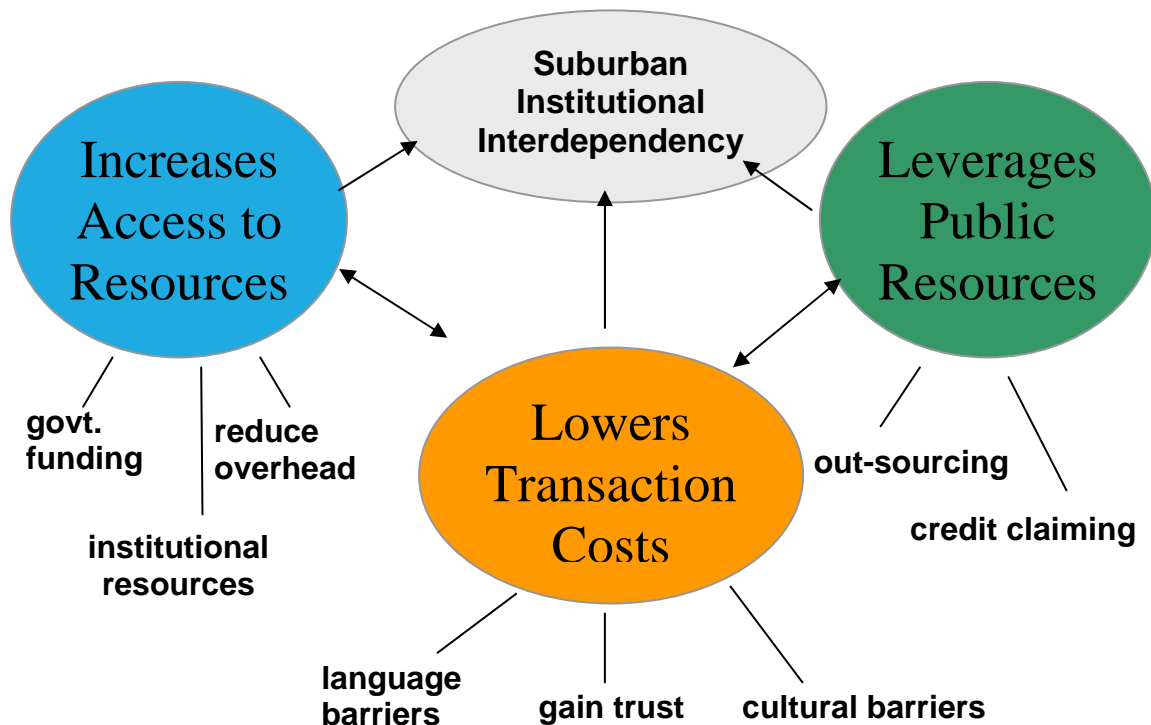
laborers. However, despite their role on the front lines of service provision, local agencies are constrained by their financial resources. Bureaucratic agencies may *wish* to intervene in addressing social needs, but are likely to have little or no additional funds available to address the needs of suburban newcomers.

Alliances between public and non-profit groups allow local bureaucrats to minimize outlays of their scarce resources to deal with the issues associated with the demographic shifts taking place in suburbia. The primary cost outlays for any agency initiating programs are often those associated with personnel. So if, in responding to an issue, which demanded an allocation of resources, local governments were to seek to keep costs down, they would do so by minimizing staffing. Local governmental agencies can do so successfully by building partnerships with local non-profit groups. What occurs in these partnerships is that governmental agencies essentially outsource their response to issues like day labor to non-profit groups, thereby keeping down their personnel costs. In return for programmatic funding, access to public facilities and agency support, non-profits essentially absorb the costs of hiring specialized personnel: staff with particular specialties (immigration law), particular skills (the ability to offer bi-lingual support), and/or access to particular networks (undocumented immigrants) that are built on long-term relationships built on trust.

What we see in the DC metropolitan area is that while local governments are responding (albeit slowly) to the needs and demands of

immigrant and ethnic arrivals to the suburbs, that they outsource much of the effort to non-profit agencies, and still taking credit for the programs these CBOs initiate, maintain and staff.

Figure 5.4 Three Facets of Interdependent Relationships



Discussion and Summary

Building on some central tenets of public choice and urban regime theories, this chapter advanced the concept of Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII). There is a powerful logic at work behind these relationships that lends them stability--reciprocity-- each side benefits from the relationships formed. The most obvious aspect of the relationship is the funding and support non-profits receive from local governments. Yet, this

relationship is not one-sided. Local governments and politicians profit as well from this symbiosis. What governmental actors gain is legitimacy, at the same time they lower transaction costs when grappling with new issues and problems, like those brought about by the changing demographics of suburbia. In addition, by leveraging their resources through the partnerships they build with non-profits, governmental agencies can outsource much of the work, keep their costs low, and insulate themselves from risk, while sharing in any success.

However, the concept of Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII) raises several important empirical and normative questions concerning suburban democratic governance and accountability. SII could function as an oversight and monitoring mechanism for feedback and accountability by bringing once excluded actors to the decision-making table. On the other hand, factions favoring the “non-decision or non-issue” can hinder such efforts, particularly where weak or ambivalent leadership is present—as witnessed in Fairfax County, slow efforts to address day laborer concerns. Controversial issues can often become a non-decision or non-issue (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962), as bureaucrats and other local officials decide to take such concerns off the collective decision-making table. The non-issue in suburbia is as important as those issues that make their way to the fore. Elected officials can select which constituency issues or CBO’s to support while shutting others out.

While this concept set out to help analyze *how* some local actors work interdependently in demographically and economically dynamic suburban environments, it does not adequately address *why* some suburban municipalities advance policies and programs to provide goods and services that foster the social, political and economic incorporation of some groups, while other counties fail to do so. For example, why did Montgomery County and Prince Georges County officials more readily work with community-based organizations like Case de Maryland, while Fairfax County officials proved much slower to form alliances and to publicly act on the burgeoning day laborer issue? Which mechanisms drove some suburban governments to work collectively to develop programs/policies which are seemingly counter to their own economic development interest, or the interest of upper income populations in the suburban county?

Unlike the earlier era of great immigration to urban centers, where political machines were built on the votes of immigrant groups, in exchange for patronage jobs and other benefits, that helped some immigrants move up the ladder of social mobility, the direct beneficiaries of the programs and policies directed at day laborers were often non-voters and non-citizens. These symbiotic relationships seemingly occurred outside of the traditional modes of electoral politics, However, such interdependent interactions took place *within* the broader suburban political environment. Using the collection of suburban Washington DC in-depth interviews and other archival data, future research will examine some possible reasons why these symbiotic relationships formed

more readily in Maryland, but developed at a slower pace in Virginia. Some include: 1) the dynamics of suburban political ethos 2) multi-racial based coalitions and *deracialized* issue-based organizing. Each of these future research areas are briefly discussed below.

The Dynamics of Suburban Political Ethos

Suburban political ethos simply refers to the culture of the political environment in each county. Montgomery County, Maryland is *traditionally* viewed as liberal and progressive while Fairfax County, Virginia is *traditionally* viewed as more conservative. Since 1970, Montgomery County has had a Council/Executive form of government, composed of the Executive and Legislative branches. The current County Executive, Doug Duncan is a Democrat. The Legislative Branch consists of members of the County Council. Serving four-year terms, five members of the Council are elected by the voters of their respective Councilmanic Districts. Four members are elected at-large by all the voters of the County. Elected in 2004, the current President of the County Council, Thomas E. Perez, is the first Latino elected to that position. The council presently consists of 8 Democrats and 1 Republican. The lone Republican represents District 1 including Bethesda, Chevy Chase, Potomac, North Bethesda, Garrett Park, Friendship Heights, Maryland (six of the wealthiest areas in the County).

Fairfax County is governed under the Urban County Executive form of government. This includes the division of the county into nine supervisor districts. One supervisor is elected every four years (without term limits) from each district to

the Fairfax County's governing board---The Board of Supervisors. The Chairman of the board is elected by the county at-large. The County Executive--the administrative head of the County government-- is appointed by the Board of Supervisors.

Fairfax County has strong roots in the Republican Party. However, recent political developments in Fairfax County have upset the status quo. In recent years Democrats took over control of the Board of Supervisors, the School Board (officially a nonpartisan entity, but candidates can be endorsed by the Fairfax County Democratic or Republican Committee), the Sheriff, the Commonwealth Attorney Offices as well as the majority of the seats in the House of Delegates. Fairfax County residents voted Democrat in the recent Gubernatorial and Senate races. On the national front, in 2004 John Kerry was the first Democrat to win Fairfax County since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964, defeating Bush 53% to 46%.³⁵

A closer examination of the dynamics of suburban political ethos or culture in each county is warranted. While democratic partisanship has maintained a stronghold on Montgomery County, the face of leadership has changed significantly over the last decade. Record numbers of Latinos have emerged to power in elected state and local offices including the House of Delegates, County Council and School Board. As mentioned previously, many of these leaders have ties to Case de Maryland, a Salvadorian led CBO, with a broad following and nearly 50 percent of its funding from the government contracts. On the other hand, Fairfax County has witnessed a major, almost revolutionary, change in partisan leadership in the county. However, while partisan leadership has clearly changed hands in recent years, the racial/ethnic face of power remains largely non-Hispanic white.

So, what happens at the local level when liberal coalitions form to challenge the conservative status quo? More importantly, how are programs and policies, which affect immigrant and minority groups influenced when there is a change in partisan leadership? For example, a review of county budgets in at least two election cycles prior to the leadership change and after the leadership change can help to shed light on how county dollars are allocated toward programs and policies affecting immigrant groups, such as public school funding for English as a Second Language services, Adult Limited English Proficiency Classes, translation services, and county funding allocated to community-based groups serving immigrant populations. Future research will also examine how these factors are mediated by increasing levels of so-called ‘minority empowerment’, as marked by rising numbers of minority elected official, in local and state office.

Multi-racial Coalitions and Deracialized Issue-Based Organizing

Browning, Marshall and Tabb (1984) assert that “the concept of political incorporation concerns the extent to which group interests are effectively represented in policy making” (25). According to these authors, the level of political incorporation is measured by the presence of minority members in the governing coalition. For example, responsiveness to minority interests is often facilitated by minority membership in governing coalitions.

These scholars contend that such coalitions often include a bi-racial organizing component. For some groups, such as African Americans during the Civil Rights Movement, forming coalitions with liberal whites proved an

important organizing strategy. On the other hand, Latinos have often relied on alliances with both liberal whites and African Americans. Browning, Marshall and Tabb (1984) contend that if minority groups are mobilized at the time the challenging coalition is formed, the minority group garners a significant amount of power in the governing coalition. This power can be translated into higher levels of responsiveness to minority concerns. Yet, if minority representatives gained office after the coalition was formed; these groups will hold less power and should expect less responsiveness.

Arguably, in some suburban jurisdictions such factors must be viewed within the context of multi-racial coalitions operating in multi-racial areas. A recent study of non-white immigrants and African Americans by Reuel Rogers (2004) contends that “racial commonalities are not enough to generate an alliance of minority groups; indeed, appeals to racial unity actually may privilege some interests over others and thus heighten divisions among non-White groups. What is more, the institutional design of a city’s electoral system may exacerbate these differences. To avoid these perverse effects, political leaders looking to foster race-based alliances must turn to neighborhood and community institutions” (31). Rogers further suggests that community institutions generate an “institutional framework to identify shared issue concerns, acknowledge distinct interests, and generate dialogue” (31).

While many respondents in suburban DC-- whether electoral, bureaucratic or non-profit-- acknowledged the potential mobilizing effects of multi-racial group organizing, to prove fruitful, they concomitantly suggest

that such coalitions should operate within a deracialized, issued-based framework. It is clear from our interviews that actors in each camp attempted to draw attention away from so-called *divisive* race-based or immigrant-based issues toward broad issues thought to affect the larger (and often voting-eligible) constituency. To date we have little evidence concerning the strengths and limitations of multi-racial based coalitions particularly those operating within a deracialized issue-based framework, in suburban jurisdictions.

Ideally, the local partnerships between elected, bureaucratic and non-profits may have broader effects: the social capital built through interdependent relationships in suburbia can be stored to later produce minority elected officials, push for diverse representation on community boards, get out the vote drive, or help mobilize immigrant and historically disenfranchised or disenfranchised groups in other ways. On the other hand, if through piece-meal strategies, immigrant newcomers are given the human services and to some extent, the resources they need to “get started” in suburbia, why bother rallying in the State capital, attending the PTA or neighborhood association meeting, applying for citizenship, registering to vote or casting a ballot on election day? In the concluding chapter, I further discuss the civic/political implications of the changing demographics in suburbia.

Conclusion: An Inevitable Convergence--Suburban Heterogeneity and Metropolitan Fragmentation at the Cross-roads

The suburbs of metropolitan areas are where most Americans call home. By the year 2000, 62 percent of the metropolitan population lived in suburbs (US Census Bureau, 2000). As numerous scholars and commentators have pointed out, suburbs are also geographically where the tide of recent patterns of unprecedented immigration has settled. By 2000, the foreign-born population comprised 11 percent of the total US population, growing 57 percent in the 1990s alone, bringing census estimates of the foreign-born population to 31 million. Of those immigrants residing in American metros, 48 percent lived in central cities and 52 percent lived in suburbs (Singer 2001).

As Manning (1998) observes, “the metropolitan suburbs are not necessarily a panacea for the socio-economic mobility of US minorities. These suburban groups may find their lifestyle aspirations thwarted though segregated communities, job discrimination and less desirable school districts” (349). Unfortunately, the social, economic and political implications of minority suburbanization remain understudied in the social sciences. The ‘burbs’—those loosely defined geographic areas outside of the central-city, yet still within a metropolitan area—have become more difficult to distinctly define, particularly given variations in the type of areas labeled *suburban* (Jackson 1985). Beyond their multiplicity in demographic composition, suburbs are also increasingly diverse in the constitution of their land-usage. Such areas range from aging, planned neighborhoods to recently developed gated communities; or large commercial districts resembling bustling downtown centers, lined with high-rise

offices buildings, strip malls and upscale restaurants (Garreau 1991; Frey 2003; Lewis 1996; Oliver 2001, 2003). The boundaries within suburbs—whether actual or ascribed-- are seldom dichotomous in nature, and may encompass varying modes of distinctiveness related to their ethno-racial, class, structural or land-use composition.

Generally, we have limited information concerning what it means to reside in a contemporary *American suburb*. There remains a lack of empirical research concerning the factors drawing large numbers of immigrant and ethnic minorities to some suburban jurisdictions, and the responsiveness of local suburban institutions (bureaucratic, electoral and non-profit), to the needs of minority suburbanites. In recent decades, the bifurcation of suburban metropolitan areas into multi-ethnic (e.g. melting pot metros) and non-multi-ethnic areas, add greater complexities the study of minority suburbanization.

Some observers of American suburbanization have applauded the recent trends in ‘suburban diversity,’ as heterogeneous groups of ethnic minorities more readily make their way out of central cities, while some immigrants choose to by-pass residence in the urban core altogether. Rest assured, however, all parties do not view suburban diversity as an asset. Mark Baldassare (1992) points to the so-called ‘suburban crisis’, facilitated by among other things, ‘political fragmentation in regional governance’ and ‘a declining quality of community life’ (475). To be sure, diversity complicates matters. If history is our guide, racial/ethnic, economic, cultural, religious, civic or political heterogeneity have not historically been treated as a positive in American democracy. This is particularly true following the proliferation of post World War II, prearranged, politically fragmented, suburban areas. Yet, the

increasing reality of mixed-race, mixed-income and mixed-land use suburban places marks a reason to dream for some, and a dream deferred for others.

As more astute scholars remind us, despite increasing diversity, some suburban areas are paradoxically faced with increasing minority segregation and isolation (Logan 2003a, 238). Recent immigrant and ethnic minority settlements have often occurred in multi-ethnic areas, such as suburban melting pot metros. Such areas are marked by the in-migration of large numbers of immigrant and ethnic minority groups, and the subsequent out-migration of the non-Hispanic white population (Frey 2001, 2003). This research project set out to examine some of these concerns in light of unprecedented suburban growth, in the last few decades.

Part I of this study developed a more inclusive model of minority suburbanization that simultaneously accounted for racial and class preferences/tastes, as well as some economic contextual factors in metropolitan areas (such as property taxes and housing values). I examined why some racial and ethnic groups move to multi-ethnic suburban areas, particularly ‘melting pot metros’, and how these moves are influenced by class and/or racial preferences. The use of Census PUMS data allowed for an empirical analysis of some of the factors influencing the spatial location decisions of recent movers. I compared the effects of some longstanding measures of suburbanization, including some features of spatial assimilation, place stratification, and economic sorting models. The effects of these factors were compared across racial and ethnic groups, residing in 29 US suburban areas.

In part II of the project, the Census PUMS results were supplemented by a two-part case study using a unique set of qualitative data collected in one of the

nation's largest 'melting pot metros', suburban Washington DC. Like many of the nation's largest metropolitan areas, with populations exceeding 500,000, metropolitan Washington, DC experienced rapid demographic change over the last few decades. De-industrialization and population decline in the urban core of 'the District', were coupled with the rapid expansion of socio-economically and politically fragmented suburban jurisdictions. Two exemplars in the suburban Washington DC area are Fairfax County, Virginia and Montgomery, County Maryland. However, suburban growth and extraordinary wealth within these two 'melting pots' can easily mask some of the underlying factoring concerning the similarities and differences in suburban residential selection processes, as well as neighborhood interactions and the perceptions of local government responsiveness (particularly related to local goods and services), between racial/ethnic groups, in these two counties. In order to provide some insight into these concerns, I used data from five focus group discussions held in these two counties.

These focus group discussions unveiled a fascinating story about life in the 'new suburbia. On the one hand, these accounts of suburban life, from the perspectives of minority residents, provided an overarching message concerning suburban spatial location decisions. Such decisions are generally influenced by good schools, safe neighborhoods, quality and affordable housing conditions, employment opportunities and pre-established family ties. On the other hand, as discussants aspired to grasp a piece of the American dream, their neighborhood selection processes were also influenced by income constraints, that limited their suburban spatial location opportunities. This was particularly true for black respondents. Other

factors important to an individuals' spatial location calculus included, the perceived or actual, quality of a county's *delivery* of goods and services (e.g. public safety, school quality), as well as the stereotypes related to, or actual encounters with 'undesirable' behavioral characteristics by county residents from different race/ethnicity backgrounds.

These results were followed by an examination of how scholars have traditionally examined the relationship between local government actors and residents, their strategies and subsequent outcomes. I addressed the 'suburban political economy paradox' facing contemporary suburban institutions. This paradox concerns how institutional actors respond to the needs and demands of immigrant and ethnic minority newcomers, as large number of suburban newcomers are low-income, non-citizens, ineligible to vote, yet nevertheless in need of local public goods and services. Some suburban municipalities have advanced policies and programs to provide goods and services that foster the social, political and economic incorporation of newcomers, while others have failed to do so.

Examination of this paradox led to the development of a conceptual framework called Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII). Using data drawn from in-depth interviews collected in suburban, DC, I find that in contemporary suburbia, while the power relationship remains unbalanced, institutional actors are faced with a suburban organizing dilemma that necessitates the need to work interdependently to address the needs of minority suburban newcomers. The central tenets of this approach suggest that, through repeated interactions, generalized reciprocity, an exchange of selective incentives, and a division of labor and resources,

local elected, bureaucratic and non-profits, offer each other incentives to cooperate in response to the needs and demands of new immigrant residents. Building symbiotic relationships, elected, bureaucratic and non-profit leaders acquire additional leverage to address issues related to immigrant and ethnic minority incorporation. Such relationships also lower cultural and language related transaction costs and may help to build trust.

This project is one step in a host of necessary research concerning the socio-economic and political implications of the changing demographics in suburban areas. Several unanswered questions remain regarding racial/ethnic suburbanization in metropolitan fragmented areas, particularly for multi-ethnic suburban areas, such as melting pot metros. Often left out of the analysis concerning minority suburbanization, are the effects of minority spatial location decisions, on the prospects for collective action, mass political organizing and coalition-building, particularly among marginalized groups. These factors are important given the history of racial and economic suburban exclusion, as well as other negative by-products of fifty-plus years of metropolitan fragmentation.

Future research is needed to address the prospects for the civic and political advancement of suburban newcomers into the American political process. Will immigrant and ethnic minority suburbanization place the foundation for other modes of civic or political incorporation in suburban areas, providing the resources and networks necessary for groups to gain social and economic ground in a democratic society, and in turn take a more active role in ensuring its maintenance? It seems

appropriate to wrap up this study, with a discussion of the prospects for immigrant and ethnic minority civic and political engagement in suburbia.

The Civic/Political Implications of Minority Suburbanization

Massey and Denton (1988) describe suburbanization as “a political creation brought about by the division of urban space into mutually exclusive units of local government” (596). In this space, the opportunities for choice *and* participation (exit and voice) provided by local municipalities are important components of a well-functioning suburban civil society. Rather than exiting from one’s geographic location, political participation “provides the mechanism by which citizens can communicate information about their interests, preferences, and needs and generate pressure to respond” (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995:1). Following Frasure and Williams (2002), civic engagement is defined here as “informal political and non-political activities engaged in through voluntary organizations such as civic associations and charitable groups. Civic engagement enables individuals, families, and groups to influence issues and factors that affect them and to experience the value of collective action. Political participation is defined as, formal political activities, such as voting, volunteering and contributing to political campaigns, and membership in explicitly political organizations” (4).

Some scholars contend that metropolitan fragmented government structures like those exacerbated by post-World War II suburbanization, may be “undermining the health of American democracy” (Oliver 1999:206, also see Oliver 2001, 2003, as well as Drier, Mollenkott and Swanstrom 2001, Putman 2000). In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) contends that metropolitan fragmentation and suburban sprawl are

major causes of the decline in community and civic participation. As Oliver (1999) observes, “By creating politically separated pockets of affluence, suburbanization reduces the social needs faced by citizens with the most resources to address them, by creating communities of homogeneous political interests, suburbanization reduces the local conflicts that engage and draw the citizenry into the public realm” (205). He also argues that, “municipal competition may empower some people to shop as consumers, but it immobilizing and isolating them as citizens in the democratic process (Oliver 1999: 206).

In *Democracy in Suburbia*, Oliver (2001) explores the civic effects of economic segregation along municipal boundaries (also see Oliver 1999). Unlike the previous work of social context pioneering scholars like Huckfeldt (1979), Oliver (1999, 2001) does not find support for the longstanding contention that the affluent participate in politics at greater levels. Instead, using data from the 1990 Citizen Participation Study and the 1990 Census, Oliver finds a curvilinear relationship in suburbia: participation is the lowest in the most affluent cities, slightly higher in the poorest cities and highest in the middle-income cities. Oliver suggests that affluent cities have fewer social needs promoting citizen action. Moreover, heterogeneous cities have more competition for public goods, which stimulates citizen interest and participation (also see Putnam 2000, chapter 12). Oliver (1999) summarized these findings below:

“Within the contemporary American metropolis, a city’s economic composition is a major determinant of just how engaging local politics can be. At the upper end of the economic spectrum, wealth and social homogeneity keep affluent suburbs from facing the problems of conflicts that makes local politics lively. With a relatively homogenous and affluent population, cities with high median incomes have fewer social needs. Presumably, citizens of

affluent cities also share in a consensus about exclusionary government politics that keep their property values high and taxes low. Between the absence of social problems and the greater political consensus, fewer local issues are engaging the citizenry. At the lower end of the economic scale, poverty and social homogeneity reduce conflict, limit local capacity, and discourage citizen involvement” (203-204).

Moreover, the hypocrisy of some democratic rhetoric must not be ignored when discussing the participatory behaviors of immigrant and ethnic minority groups in metropolitan areas. Historically, those groups marginalized by the formal means of representation, such as mainstream party politics, have had to resort to informal means, such as protests, picketing and rioting in order to express interests in a public way (Piven and Cloward 1971, 1979). Such groups have rationally perceived the biases against them operating in the local politics and as a result, are less likely to become involved in routine politics and more likely when mobilized to use ‘extra-institutional’ means. As Frasure and Williams 2002 contend,

“for people of color, civil society has been dual. There has been the external civil society, which has more often than not marginalized them and their interests, and there has been the internal civil society that people of color have built themselves to contest their marginalization. It is in these internal civil societies that people of color have built networks of reciprocity and trust, which have facilitated the development of forms of collective action that clearly contested existing policies or practices directly affecting their communities. [Therefore] concern with civic disparities is concern with marginalization and contestation” (36).

Civic engagement and political participation in a participatory democracy are voluntary processes that involve choice. Such choices are constrained by time, money, and skills but also by factors which shape political engagement, such as political interest, information, knowledge, and efficacy (Verba, Schlozman and Brady

1995: chapter 1). The focus group discussions revealed that factors impeding neighborhood interactions often included a lack of time, and/or desire, as well as language and cultural barriers. These factors are also likely to impeded active involvement in civic or political affairs in suburbia (see Chapter Four of this study). Moreover, while the theoretical construct called Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII), as discussed in Chapter Five, provided some insight into how some *elite-level* collaborations are form, a greater understanding of how suburban racial/ethnic groups form and maintain viable coalitions is warranted. Densely populated and increasingly racially bifurcated suburban jurisdictions can make it difficult to form coalitions, with individuals or groups with expendable social and political capital.

Finally, in the study of suburban jurisdictions, greater attention must be paid to the social, economic and cultural context of participatory behaviors (civic and political). Despite a suburban street address, the clustering of immigrant and ethnic minority groups into some areas such as suburban ‘melting pot metro’ may have a negative effect on the prospects for civic and political participation. Given the historical legacy of structural and institutional constraints on racial and ethnic groups in the US, such groups have made immigration and migration decisions from a severely constrained set of choices. In many cases, immigrant and ethnic minority suburban newcomers land in ailing suburbs on the fringes of central cities. Thus, one cannot assume that newcomers enjoy the same level of opportunity for civic and political engagement-- across suburban communities.

Huckfeldt (1979) was among the first scholars to lament the need to study neighborhood social context stating, “political activity seldom occurs in individual isolation; as a result the social context is an important determinant of the extent to which individuals participate in politics” (579). The literature on race, class and social context, largely from an *urban* contextual framework, reveal the detrimental effects of economic and racial concentration, particularly among lower-income populations. Assensoh and Assensoh (2001) find that the “inner-city context in which African Americans reside matters for overall political behavior” (886). For example, among Blacks in inner city areas, church attendance, political engagement, and organizational membership increases the odds of voting in National Elections (897). However, the negative influences of neighborhood poverty, perceived social isolation, and never-married parent households, indirectly undermine voting participation in inner-city areas, since respondents in these areas are less likely to be engaged in political affairs and organizational activities (Assensoh and Assensoh 2001: 896). In *suburban* jurisdictions, the social context of race, class and place have become increasingly important, particularly in increasingly demographically bifurcated areas.

As political fragmentation meets suburban heterogeneity head on, we are faced with how diversity (racial/ethnic, class, cultural, religious, civic and political) inhibits voice-- access, representation, and influence-- in the American political process. This is particularly important regarding minority newcomers, who may lack the resources or efficacy to voice their grievances, or the wherewithal to readily exit when their needs are not met. These factors underscore the need for academics, policy analysts and others in the public, private and non-profit sector, concerned with

the well-being of immigrant and ethnic minority groups to continue the examination of minority suburbanization, including its socio-economic and political implications.

Appendices

Appendix A: In-depth Interview Protocol

Questions for Elected Officials

General Questions

- (warm-up) Tell us how you became interested in political leadership?
- (warm-up) Please tell us a little about your role as (blank)?
- Were there any individuals or group/organizational efforts undertaken to increase the representation of (blank group) or minority representation generally in your campaign? What were some of the strategies or resources provided to you?
- Were these efforts focused on (blank group) candidates (example: Latino women candidates or minorities generally)?
- What factors or candidate characteristics, other than race, have been responsible for efforts focused on some (blank) candidates over others?
- Have there been any obstacles to increasing (blank group) ---or minority--- representation in elected office in (blank county), if so what are they?

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about policy issues or concerns facing immigrant and ethnic minority groups in (blank county)?

- What specific issues or group constituencies did your electoral campaign focus on?
- What policy issues were/are you most concerned? How has this changed or developed during your time as (blank elected office)?
- Have you initiated any policies or programs related to a specific issue?
- Have you received any support or opposition from white members or other oppositional forces for your policy initiatives relating to (blank issue)?
- What about specific support to opposition from other minority elected or appointed officials or seemingly proponents of your cause(s)?

Questions related to programs and policies targeted toward immigrants and ethnic minorities in each county:

- What groups or organizations helped facilitate these programs/policies and their implementation?
- How effective have these programs been in closing the gap between white and immigrant/ethnic minority groups in (blank county)?
- What remains some of the obstacles in closing the gap between these groups?
- What remains some of the obstacles for you as an elected official?

- What if I were to ask about ‘political action’ that didn’t take place through electoral politics—say, attending meetings, lobbying, etc. Is there this kind of involvement on the part of new immigrants and racial minorities in the county?
- What can be done to increase such involvement?
- Do you think that involvement by racial/ethnic minorities in some counties in (blank county) differs much from other counties in the area, either by intensity of involvement, organization, or issues areas?

Questions for Non-elected Officials/Leaders

- (warm-up) So how long have you been at (organization/unit/department)?
- (warm-up) Tell me a little about your role in this (organizations/unit/department)?
- Talk a little about the program/services/support your organization offers?
- Which populations would you say you primarily serve? On average, how many people participate in programs/support/services offered here?
- From what areas/counties do they generally come from? Would you say you draw people from all over the Washington DC metropolitan area, or just this county? [If from all over the area, or all over the county, ask:] How does your clientele find out about the services you offer, and how do they access them?
- If there are several regional associations in DC, Fairfax, etc. how do you divide organizational responsibilities by region?
- How do new immigrants know if there is an association?
- So, do you feel that community organizations/units/departments like (blank) can help immigrants and ethnic minorities get involved in the community? If so, how?
- When/how, if at all, would residents become politically involved? In what ways would they begin to act? Can you provide some instances/examples of political action?
- What if I were to ask about ‘political action’ that didn’t take place through electoral politics—say, attending meetings, lobbying, etc. Is there this kind of involvement on the part of new immigrants and racial minorities in the county?
- Do you think that involvement by racial/ethnic minorities in (blank) county differs much from other counties in the area, either by intensity of involvement, organization, or issues areas?

Education Questions: For English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), Talented and Gifted/Magnet, and No Child Left Behind program officials

- Please talk a little about the programs/services/support offered to immigrant and ethnic minority students and families by (organization/department)?

- Which populations would you say you primarily serve? On average, how many people participate in programs/support/services offered here? Which programs/services are most utilized?
- In the face of competing claims on the county budget, how did these programs get established in the first place? What was their rationale? Who made the initial decision and why?
- As these counties' minority/immigrant populations grew, and again, with competing claims on the budget, how did these programs continue to grow? Was there a sense that these programs were competing against other claims for resources, or was the logic for their expansion so compelling that these claims seemed irrelevant?
- Has the case for these programs come under pressure with the budget pressures of the last couple of years?

Appendix B: Focus Group Protocol

- **Introduction of moderator**
- **Objectives of Study and Purpose of Focus Group Session**
 - The purpose of this study is to find out more about life in suburbia and how the experiences of living in suburbia may differ between various immigrant and ethnic groups. During this discussion we would like you to share your honest feelings about your experiences, positive or negative, following your move to (blank county). Everything that you say here will be kept confidential, and your names or any other identifying information will not be used in any report coming from this research.
- **Organization of session**
 - WE DETAIL THE CONSENT FORM BEFORE BEGINNING AND OBTAIN SIGNATURES.
- **Now I want to tell you how the session will be organized. Today we will discuss the following topics (briefly highlight here):**
 - How you chose your current neighborhood and why you chose to live there;
 - Your interactions with neighbors and other [co-ethnics]
 - Your personal experiences with the local government and the services the local government provides such as schools, police, health services, etc.

Before we get started here are a few things to remember, our sort of ground rules:

- We have a limited amount of time, so I might have to interrupt from time-to-time to keep things moving.
- There are no wrong answers to any questions and we would like to hear from everyone. We are interested in your personal views; so don't feel like you have to agree with anyone else.
- Please talk one at a time and please do not have side conversations.

Are there any questions? Do you fully understand everything said to you today? Well, we are ready to begin.

Warm-up Question

- Although you have a card with your first name in front of you, please go around the room and introduce yourselves using first names only, and tell long you have lived in (blank county)?

Section I: Discussion Related to Residential Selection

- How did you come to live in [x county]? Share with us some specific reasons that led you to live in [x county].
- If you *moved* to [x county] from somewhere else, could you name one important difference between your previous place of residence and where you live now? Tell us why that difference is important to you.
- Do you think that living in [x county] has improved your life? If so, in what ways? If not, why not?

Section II: Discussion Related to Neighborhood Interactions

- Would you describe your current neighborhood as racially/ethnically diverse or are people pretty much all alike? Is this something you chose? Or did this happen by chance?
- How well would you say you know the people in your neighborhood? Do you do things together with your neighbors? What are some examples of the kinds of things you do? Have you ever gotten together formally or informally to address common issues or problems in your neighborhood?
- How about people who share your race/ethnicity [alternatively: ‘from [R’s country/race]]: do you do things together with other [people from R’s country/race]? Where do you get together? For what kinds of events? How often?
- Do you volunteer or take part in the activities of [x country] civic groups, religious groups, schools etc? What about groups like the PTA or neighborhood associations: In what ways have you gotten involved with them?
- How do you keep up with events related to [people for R’s country/race] in the DC area? Through word of mouth, by listening to the radio, by reading a newspaper, by email?

Section III: Discussion Related to County/Municipal Government Interactions

- The government of [x county] and municipalities like [y] take care of providing and administering services like schools, policing, libraries, etc. What has been your most positive experience of local government?
- What has been your most negative experience of local government? Do you think this was race related?
- Do you think that local government officials are responsive or care about your concerns (why or why not, how much, how little)? Have you ever tried to contact a

local government agency to express your concerns or ask for changes in service? If so, how? And if not, why not?

- [for non-African American only: Have you ever encountered language difficulties in communicating with local officials? If yes, when did this happen?

Section IV: Iranians

- Have your encounters with government changed at all after 9/11?
- Have your experiences/encounters with other people changed at all since 9/11?
- Did 9/11 have an impact on the sense of community among Iranians? If so, how?

Debriefing

- We would like to thank you for your participation. We also want to restate that what you have shared with me is confidential. No part of our discussion that includes names or other identifying information will be used in any report coming from this research. We want to provide you with a chance to ask any questions that you might have about this research. So, do you have any questions?

Endnotes

¹ The US Census defines a suburb as a metropolitan area outside of a metropolitan area's central cities. Though problematic, this definition of a suburb is widely used by scholars because it is "easy to compute and readily understood" (Massey and Denton 1988).

² In other words, melting pot metros are found in metropolitan places where non-Hispanic whites comprised *less than* 69 percent of the population, and where two or more racial/ethnic groups made up *more than* 18 percent of the population. For example, blacks > 12.6 percent, or Hispanics > 12.5 percent, and at least 5 percent for Asians) (Frey 14: 2001, 2003).

³ Multi-ethnic and melting pot metro areas are used interchangeably because both are classified as metro areas in which "two or more of the three minority groups (Latinos, Asians, and blacks) make up a greater share of the metro area's population than the national population" (Frey and Farley 1996: footnote page 41, compare to Frey 2001, 2003). In contrast, "mostly white-black, mostly white-Latino and mostly white-Asian areas house only one group whose share exceeds the national share. In the remaining "mostly white" areas none of the three minorities exceeds the national share" (Frey and Farley 1996: footnote page 41).

⁴ Logan's 2003 study was based on dissimilarity indices used to examine residential segregation in the suburbs between 1990-2000. Empirically, to examine spatial location patterns among racial and ethnic groups, scholars have employed some statistical measures of racial or ethnic segregation. Two commonly use measures are the 'dissimilarity index'—the percentage of individuals holding a given characteristic who would have to migrate for the group to be equally represented in each neighborhood; and the 'exposure index'—the probability that members of one group live in the same area as members of other groups.

⁵ Logan and Molotch 1987; Miller 1981, Schneider 1989, Lewis 1996, Oliver 2001 address class and/or racial concerns, however, without noting the impact of immigration and its implications

⁶ See for example, Mollenkoft and Gertsle 2001; Sonenshein 1989; Waldinger 1999, 2001; Judd and Swanstrom 2002; de la Garza et al., 1992, de la Garza and DeSipio, 1999; DeSipio, 1996; Jones-Correa 1998, 2001; Leighley and Vedlitz, 1999; Lien 2000, 2001; Cho 1999; Kantor 1998; Katznelson 1991; Massey and Denton 1993; Pinderhughes 1987, Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Massey 1993; Williams 2003; Wilson 1997.

⁷ Following Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines concerning Humans Subject Research, a departmental Human Subjects Review Committee (HSRC) application was submitted and approved (IRB HSR Identification Number 04-0140).

⁸ I thank Professor Michael Jones-Correa for allowing the use of data from the 'Reshaping the American Dream' project for this study.

⁹ Following the publication of Wilson's seminal work *The Declining Significance of Race* a great debate ensued in the sociology and political science arena concerning the impact of race versus class on political, and social behavior, and public policy outcomes (see Dawson 1994 for example).

¹⁰ Junsik Yoon a graduate student at The George Washington University was also a part of this research team, conducting fieldwork largely among the Korean population.

¹¹ Recall also that given confidentiality restrictions, the minimum geographic population threshold is 400,000. This is not of consequence for this study because we are interested in analyzing areas with populations exceeding 500,000.

¹² I recognize that a direct measure of education or public works expenditures would be a stronger measure of the impact of local public goods and services on spatial location decisions, however, such data is not available in the PUMS.

¹³ Some local studies, conducted in Montgomery County, MD (one of the first suburban counties to adopt fair housing ordinances in 1973) and Fairfax, County Virginia, examined the impact of mixing low and moderate-income households into higher income neighborhoods, on the property value of higher income housing. These studies found “no significance difference in the price trends between non-subsided homes in subdivisions with sub-sized units and in the market as a whole” (as quoted in Rusk 1999: 192).

¹⁴ Results from this research were presented in a paper entitled “An Empirical Analysis of Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Suburban ‘Melting Pot’ Metros (2000-2004)”, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, New Orleans, Louisiana, March 10-13, 2005; a similar paper using the CPS data was presented at the National Conference of Black Political Scientist, Arlington, Virginia March 23-26, 2005 entitled, “We Won’t Turn Back: Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Suburban America”; as well as during a presentation at the Cornell Mosaic Conference, Ithaca, NY. April 29-May 1, 2005 entitled “Inequality and Immigrant Spatial Location in Suburbia”.

¹⁵ Unlike the CPS, the Census PUMS do not have the question “what was your main reason for moving”.

¹⁶ The future development of this project will be uniquely aided by the use of restricted Census data, accessed through Census Restricted Data Center (RDC), located at Cornell University, during a two-year postdoctoral fellowship at Cornell.

¹⁷ As previously indicated, following Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines concerning Human Subject Research, a departmental Human Subjects Review Committee (HSRC) application was submitted and approved (IRB HSR Identification Number 04-0140).

¹⁸ Atlas-ti is a qualitative software program that allows researchers to analyze large amounts of textual, graphical, audio, and video data. Atlas-ti helps researchers to “manage, extract, compare, explore, and reassemble meaningful segments of large amounts of data” (<http://www.atlasti.com/intro.php>).

¹⁹ Though not directly discussed in this analysis, similarities and difference between these two counties in the provision of other goods and services can be found in the case of access to affordable housing (Montgomery County adopted a fair housing ordinance in 1973, Fairfax County did not do so until 1990, nearly 20 years later), and English as Second Language (ESOL); as well as other immigrant services in each county’s public school districts.

²⁰ To reiterate from Chapter 2, to obtain the ‘conditional effects’ of the logit regression results, I used the statistical program CLARIFY, in the statistical software package STATA. This stochastic simulation technique helps researchers overcome limitations in interpreting and presenting logic results. To be clear, after estimating each logit regression, I use the CLARIFY program to calculate the conditional effects, or the impact on SMPM settlement for each independent measure having statistically significant results. In doing so, I simulate the changes in the probability of SMPM settlement for various ‘scenarios’ of interest concerning SMPM settlement between non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic Asians and Latinos householders. I evaluate how the probability of SMPM settlement would change at varying age, income, educational attainment levels, as well as some racial change thresholds, and other factors thought relevant in explaining SMPM settlement.

²¹ The majority of Iranian-Americans reside in California (159,016 or 0.47 percent of the states population--in particular Los Angeles and Beverly Hills), followed by New York (22,856 or 0.125 percent), and Texas (22,590 or 0.10).

²² This study was conducted among of 921 adults (480 from DC and 441 from suburban Maryland and Virginia).

²³ I first developed the theoretical construct called Suburban Institutional Interdependency (SII) in my dissertation proposal (Frasure, December 2004, 32-39). This construct was presented in a paper with Michael Jones-Correa entitled, "NIMBY's Newest Neighbors: Bureaucratic Constraints, Community-Based Organizing and the Day Laborer Movement in Suburbia" at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 7-10, 2005. I thank Michael Jones-Correa for his contribution to the development of this chapter, and the use of some of the data collected in suburban, DC, as used in this case study.

²⁴ A public good is "a good which should be produced, but for which there is not a feasible method of charging the consumers" (Tiebout 1956: 416). Pure public goods are said to have three main characteristics: nonprovision: If left to their own free will, individuals may not provide a good even though total benefits of the good exceed total cost of providing the good; nonrivalry: One persons use does not reduce another's consumption and it is inefficient to exclude those that do not contribute; and nonexcludability: (nonpurchasers) One cannot exclude noncontributory individuals from receiving a good (shared indivisibility) (See Hal Varian 1994 or any standard microeconomics text for a further delineation of public goods)

²⁵ In theory, the efficient provision of a public good requires that the sum of all individuals' marginal benefits equals the marginal cost of producing the public good.

²⁶ Cost sharing ratios are important to public goods provision. Marginal cost is the cost of a one-unit change in the level of purchase of a good. Marginal benefit is the benefit associated with a one-unit change in the level of purchase of a good. The maximum benefit point occurs where the marginal benefit equals the marginal cost. According to this logic, rational individuals will reach equilibrium by purchasing to that level. Choosing that level is choosing the 'best alternative' or the optimal choice. However, without any ex-ante arrangements to share the costs of additional purchases, the net result of the individual rational behavior in this situation will be suboptimal for the group, whereas each party could conceivably have been made better off (see Varian 1994).

²⁷ For impure public goods additional new members lowers the average cost of the good to all members (i.e. there are economies to scale). But if average cost falls indefinitely then the good is made available to all, returning the goods' characteristic of 'publicness'. An example of an impure public good is a 'club good' (Buchanan, 1962). A club good is a voluntary group deriving mutual benefit from sharing one or more of the following: production cost, the members' characteristics, or a good characterized by excludable benefits (Sandler and Tschirhart, Year: 1482).

²⁸ Also see *The Price of Federalism* 1995 where Peterson documents his fears concerning the devolution of social welfare programs to the states.

²⁹ "...small groups [are] measured not in terms of absolute size, but in terms of k-...the size of the smallest efficacious subgroup (Hardin 1982: 173).

³⁰ For example in 1996, the Clinton administration changed welfare as we know it, with bi-partisan support for Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) that replaced the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program with block grants to states entitled Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). The welfare reform act resulted in major cuts in the food stamp program and reduced or eliminated federal eligibility for legal immigrants for their first five years of residence in the US (Passal 2001, Singer 2004). The states often adopted

welfare policy reforms without a clear sense of their efficacy at the local level. Arguably, the states and their political leadership did not want to be seen as soft on welfare, perhaps at the expense of those constituents in need of such benefits (see Weaver 1998, Williams, 1998; 2003).

³¹ Frohlich and Oppenheimer (1978), define political entrepreneurs as "...an individual who invests his own time or other resources to coordinate and combine other factors of production to supply collective goods (68). Such individuals take a political interest in performing a collective goal for self-interested reasons or to advance themselves and their private interest.

³² As previously stated, the case of institutional responsiveness and suburban day laborers was first presented in Frasure (December 2004) and flushed out in greater detail in a paper presented with Michael Jones-Correa entitled, "NIMBY's Newest Neighbors: Bureaucratic Constraints, Community-Based Organizing and the Day Laborer Movement in Suburbia" at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 7-10, 2005.

³³ The survey found that day laborers in the county tended to be Hispanic men, between 18-35 years of age. Moreover, the survey found that "over 80 percent of respondents are from Central or South America and the remaining 4.2 percent of respondents were from Mexico (DSMHS Report 2004:3). They also found that "the majority of respondents (over 90 percent of respondents who provided zip code information) reside in Fairfax County...The majority of respondents live within walking distance of the site where they were interviewed..[and] Most respondents live within a few miles of the day laborer site where they were interviewed. Of all of the respondents, two-thirds walk to the site. The average distance to the site for those that walk is less than one mile. For those respondents that drive or use public transportation to go to the site, the average distance is 4.9 miles. On average, respondents reside 2.4 miles from the day laborer site where they work" (DSMHS Report 2004:3).

³⁴ These interviews were conducted for the Reshaping the American Dream Project, funded by the Russell Sage Foundation, together with the Principal Investigator Michael Jones-Correa, and another research assistant Junsik Yoon of George Washington University.

³⁵ See Fairfax County Democratic Committee web page for full list of Democrat Official Representing Fairfax County <http://www.fairfaxdemocrats.org/incumbents.htm> and Wikipedia for more information http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fairfax_County,_Virginia.

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American Politics and Metropolitan Political Economy

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Ford Foundation Diversity Dissertation Fellowship Award, Ford Foundation and National Research Council (NRC) of the National Academies. For work on dissertation entitled, "We Won't Turn Back: The Political Economy Paradoxes of Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement In Suburban America". (2005)

Jacob K. Goldhaber Travel Award, The Graduate School, University of Maryland-College Park (2005)

Graduate Student Travel Award, Department of Government and Politics-University of Maryland-College Park (2003, 2004, 2005)

Visiting Graduate Student Fellowship, Cornell University, Department of Government, with Russell Sage Foundation. One-year support while in residence at Cornell. (2004)

Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) State Doctoral Scholars Program Fellowship Award. Five-years of tuition and stipend (fall 2002-spring 2005).

Ford Foundation Pre-doctoral Fellowship for Minorities- Alternate and Honorable Mention. (2001)

Deans Graduate Fellowship- The Graduate School, University of Maryland- College Park. One-year tuition and stipend. (2001)

Public Service Fellowship Award- Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies University of Chicago. (2000)

Levin Scholarship for Graduate Studies Award, University of Chicago- Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies. One-year tuition and stipend. (1999)

High Distinction- Departmental Honors, Department of Political Science, UIUC (1999)

Public Policy and International Affairs (PPIA) Fellowship Award. Academy for Educational Development (AED). Two-year tuition and stipend for Graduate Study in Public Policy (1998)

PUBLICATIONS AND WORK IN PROGRESS

Frasure, Lorrie and Linda Faye Williams, (forthcoming). "Civic and Political Disparities in the United States: The Effect of Race/Ethnicity, Class, Gender, Age, and Geographic Context." Monograph prepared for the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

Frasure, Lorrie. (forthcoming) "Still at the Margins: The Persistence of Neglect of African-American Issues in Political Science, 1986-2003." With Ernest J. Wilson III, in *The State of the Political Science Discipline: An African-American Perspective*. Wilbur Rich, ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Frasure, Lorrie. "The Determinants of Recent Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Suburbanization in 'Melting Pot' Metros." September 2005, under review with *Urban Affairs Review*.

Frasure, Lorrie. "Suburban Diversity or Disparity: Examining Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in a Changing Suburbia." in *Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics Symposium*, Todd Shaw, ed., October 2005, under review with *National Political Science Review*.

Frasure, Lorrie and Linda Faye Williams, 2002. "Civic Disparities and Civic Differences: Ethno-Racial Civic Engagement in the United States." *The Democracy Collaborative*. Monograph prepared for the Knight Foundation.

Frasure, Lorrie. 2001. "Evaluating Comprehensive Community Initiatives in Urban Areas: A Case Study of Woodlawn East Community and Neighbors (WECAN)." Archived, Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies, June 2001. Master Thesis Advisors: Colm O'Muircheartaigh and Richard Taub.

CONFERENCE/PANEL PRESENTATIONS

Frasure, Lorrie., (forthcoming) "Who Governs Immigrants in Suburbia?: Institutional Responsiveness to the Demands of Recent Immigrant Settlers." Accepted for presentation at the Urban Affairs Association Conference. Montreal, Canada, April 19-22, 2006.

Frasure, Lorrie., (forthcoming) "Sorting Out in Suburbia: Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Suburban 'Melting Pot Metros.'" Accepted for presentation at the European Urban Research Association, Cities in City Regions Conference. Warsaw, Poland. May 11-14, 2006

Frasure, Lorrie., "The Determinants of Recent Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Suburbanization in 'Melting Pot' Metros." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, September 1-4, 2005.

Frasure, Lorrie., "Suburban Diversity or Disparity?: Immigrants, Minorities and the Paradoxes of Recent Suburban Spatial Location." Poster presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, September 1-4, 2005.

Frasure, Lorrie. "Inequality and Immigrant Spatial Location in Suburbia." Presentation at the Cornell Mosaic Conference, Ithaca, NY. April 29-May 1, 2005.

Frasure, Lorrie., co-authored with Michael Jones-Correa. "NIMBY's Newest Neighbors: Bureaucratic Constraints, Community-Based Organizing and the Day Laborer Movement in Suburbia." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois. April 7-10, 2005.

Frasure, Lorrie. "We Won't Turn Back: Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Suburban America." Paper presented at the National Conference of Black Political Scientist, Arlington, Virginia March 23-26, 2005.

Frasure, Lorrie. "An Empirical Analysis of Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Settlement in Suburban 'Melting Pot' Metros (2000-2004)." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, New Orleans, Louisiana, March, 10-13, 2005. Panel chair: 'Morality and Justice'.

Frasure, Lorrie., co-authored with Ernest J. Wilson III. 2004. "Still at the Margins: The Persistence of Neglect of African-American Issues in Political Science, 1986-2003." Presented at the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Chicago, Illinois, March, 25-28, 2004.

Frasure, Lorrie. "The Urban Community Context: A Contemporary View of Racial and Ethnic Political Participation." Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, August 28-31, 2003.

Frasure, Lorrie. "Ethnic/Racial Political Participation in Urban Neighborhoods: A Contemporary View." Presented at the Midwest Political Science Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, April 3-6, 2003.

Frasure, Lorrie. "Evaluating Comprehensive Community Initiatives in Urban Areas." Presented at the Minority Graduate Student Association Annual Conference University of Chicago, May 2001

Frasure, Lorrie. "Alternative Research Methodologies: Focus Groups and Expert Opinion Panels." Presented to the United States General Accounting Office- Housing,

Community Development, and Financial Market Issue Areas, Dallas, TX Area Office and Washington, DC Headquarters, summer 2000

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

International Foundation for Research in Experimental Economics (IFREE) Visiting Graduate Student Workshop, Interdisciplinary Center for Economic Sciences, George Mason University, July 31-August 6, 2003.

Summer Program in Quantitative Methods, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Courses Taken: Mathematical Models: Game Theory; Applied Regression, University of Michigan- Ann Arbor, 2002

Public Choice Outreach Conference, 22nd Annual Summer Program- Center for the Study of Public Choice, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, June 2002

Institute of Mexican/American Culture (IMAC), Total Immersion Language Institute, Certificate of Completion, Guadalajara, Jalisco-Mexico, September 2000

Public Policy and International Affairs Summer Institute, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, 1998

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Invited speaker, Panel Discussion on Preparing for Graduate and Postdoctoral Education, Latino Living Center, Cornell University, December 2, 2005

Invited speaker, Panel Discussion on Life in the Academy, Cornell Leadership Alliance Summer Program, Cornell University, July 13, 2005.

Graduate student mentor/advisor, The College of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Deans Office Summer Research Initiative (SRI), University of Maryland, College-Park 2003, 2004.

Referee, Journal of Politics, 2003.

Admissions Committee Graduate Student Representative, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College-Park, 2003.

Invited speaker, Graduate Student Panel on “Succeeding and Prospering in Graduate School” University of Maryland-College Park, Office of Graduate Student Recruitment, Retention and Diversity, 2001-2003.

Co-founder/Treasurer- Minorities in Public Policy Studies (MIPPS), Registered Academic Student Organization, University of Chicago, Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies, 1999-2001.

Founder and President- Minorities in Political Science (MIPS), Registered Academic Student Organization, UIUC, 1996-1999

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association
Midwest Political Science Association
National Conference of Black Political Scientists