

Impediments to Integration of Immigrants: A Case Study in the Twin Cities

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Abstract

Minnesota is a low immigration state, but its foreign-born population is rapidly increasing.¹ In 2000, only 5 percent of the state's residents were immigrants, and more than half of them had arrived between 1990 and 2000. The greatest increase occurred in Twin Cities suburbs, mimicking a national trend. In fact, in the suburban core immigration increased at a time when domestic migration was declining.² Although there were increases in the number of immigrants across the state between 2000 and 2004 the greatest increases were in the Twin Cities suburbs. Percentages of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) students range from a low of 3 percent in the suburban city of Jordan to near or above one-fourth in Richfield, Columbia Heights, and Brooklyn Center. Between 2000 and 2004, the largest increases in both enrollments and in numbers of LEP students occurred in suburban school districts in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.³

In this chapter we employ demographic and survey data to study the characteristics and experiences of immigrants in the suburbs of the Twin Cities, as well as impediments to their economic and social prosperity. Specifically, we examine the experiences of foreign-born Blacks, Latinos, and Asians and contrast them with those of the broader population of color in terms of segregation in impoverished neighborhoods and schools. We also discuss anti-immigrant attitudes as an impediment to integration.

Immigrants in the Twin Cities Suburbs

Minnesota is a place of contradictions. On the one hand, the state can boast of some of the most affluent, politically engaged and highly educated residents in the nation. Among the twenty-five largest metropolitan areas in the United States, the Twin Cities region of Minneapolis and St. Paul is the second Whitest and the fourth most affluent⁴. It ranks first in percentage of the citizens who vote⁵ and among the highest in rates of volunteerism⁶. At the same time Minnesota is home to severely impoverished African American, Native American and Latino residents who have been highly concentrated in the central cities. In 2000, the ratio of city-to-suburban poverty in the Twin Cities metro area was 4.5, almost twice the national rate of 2.7, and second only to Milwaukee⁷.

Like other growing economic regions in the United States, the Twin Cities is attracting international immigrants, although it is still a 'low immigration state'. In 2000, only 5 percent of the state's residents were immigrants, more than one-half of whom arrived between 1990 and 2000. During that period, the foreign-born population of Minnesota increased by 138 percent, as compared with a 57 percent increase in the nation as a whole.

The composition of the immigrant population in Minnesota differs from that of other states because of the large number of refugees. In the 20 year period between 1983 and 2004, the Twin Cities ranked 8th in the number of refugees resettled⁸, and the state has traditionally had a larger percentage of immigrants who are refugees than most other metropolitan areas in the US.⁹

Refugees and other foreign-born residents have settled historically in central cities, but they have begun moving to the suburbs, mimicking a national trend. In 2000, more than 113,000 foreign-born residents in the Twin Cities lived in the suburbs or

exurbs—more than the total living in the central cities of Minneapolis or St. Paul.¹⁰ In fact, in the suburban core immigration increased at a time when domestic migration was declining¹¹. Some foreign-born suburban residents relocate from the Twin Cities, but others settle there directly. Seventeen percent of the 6,652 refugees who arrived in Minnesota between January 2005 and May of 2006 settled in suburbs of Minneapolis/St. Paul¹². The largest groupings were Ethiopian and Hmong refugees in Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center, and Somalis in Eden Prairie. Immigrants in the suburbs are also highly diverse in terms of socioeconomic status. Some – particularly South Asians—are highly educated and highly skilled, while others have low levels of education and may not even be literate in their native languages. The changes in the composition of suburban populations are reflected in census data, school enrollment statistics, and the increases in Limited English Proficiency (LEP) children in classrooms.

A move to the suburbs does not necessarily represent upward mobility, especially for immigrants of color.¹³ Like the cities, many suburbs are becoming increasingly segregated. As Margaret Pugh O'Mara has pointed out, the settlement of non-Whites in the suburbs is hardly new, although their presence on the periphery of American cities for more than a hundred years has not eradicated the cliché of suburbs as wealthy, lily White residential enclaves.¹⁴

In this chapter we employ demographic and survey data to study the characteristics and experiences of immigrants in the suburbs, as well as impediments to their economic and social prosperity. Specifically, we examine the experience of foreign-born Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Minnesota suburbs and contrast it with the experience of the broader population of color in terms of segregation in low-paying jobs, impoverished neighborhoods and schools, and exposure to xenophobia.

Notes on Data and Methods: Who is an Immigrant?

Although the focus of this paper is on immigrants in the suburbs, we should begin by noting that there is no way to make accurate estimates of the number of foreign-born residents of particular origins in specific US suburbs. Since census data on self-reported national origin are not available at the city level, we are forced to use data from school districts on languages spoken in the home to estimate where the largest groups of particular immigrant groups reside. This is problematic for a number of reasons. First, if, by 'immigrant', we mean an *individual born outside of the United States*, then it is important to note that language spoken in the home is not a measure, or even a good estimator of birthplace. It often takes more than a generation for parents to give up their native languages, with the result that neither the parents nor the children are necessarily foreign-born, and using numbers of school children residing in homes where English is not the primary language will result in an overestimate of immigrants. On the other hand, the same variable can also lead to an undercount of immigrants in cases where foreign-born residents (or mixed marriages of immigrants and non-immigrants) speak English in the home. In Minnesota, for example, 60% of Chinese residents, 83% of Asian Indians, 84% of Arabs spoke only English or speak English very well in 2000¹⁵. The most obvious proof that English spoken in the home is a poor proxy for immigrant status is the case of English-speaking immigrants such as Canadians (who represented 5% of foreign-born Minnesotans in 2000¹⁶) or Liberians (who have been identified in health department

data and in the media as residents in two of the suburbs in our study). For these reasons in this paper we examine school district data on language spoken at home to estimate the *location* of particular national origin groups and their children, but not as an estimate of the *total number* of that group in each city. In several sections of our paper we discuss data on school and residential segregation that are available for racial/ethnic groups, without regard to national origin or immigrant status. In school data, for example, national origin, immigrant status and membership in a US ‘minority’ group become inextricably linked. This is because the children of African-born, Asian-born and Latin American-born adults are categorized as “Black”, “Asian” and “Latino” respectively in school statistics, with no information on place of birth or citizenship status. Similarly, city-level data on segregation and affordable housing are only available for racial/ethnic groups, without regard to immigration status. In order to infer the relevance of these data for immigrants, we present tables that demonstrate the percentage of US racial/ethnic groups that are comprised of the foreign-born, and maps that can be compared to examine the overlap between areas with concentrations of families who speak languages other than English and high concentrations of poverty and segregation.

A more important question in writing about ‘immigrants’ in the United States is whether the US-born children of Asian, African and Latino immigrants are considered ‘immigrants’, ‘foreigners’ or ‘newcomers’ *in perpetuum* because of the color of their skin. Comparisons of the media visibility of second generation African immigrants and the invisibility of first generation Canadian immigrants are an obvious case in point. Hmong Minnesotans provide another cogent example. The largest wave of Hmong refugees came to Minnesota in the 1970s, and few have been admitted in recent years (with the exception of a sizeable group of refugees who came to Minnesota in 2004 after the closing of the last Thai refugee camp). Because the largest influx of Hmong Minnesotans arrived over thirty years ago, the vast majority of Hmong school-age children and young adults are US citizens who were born in this country. In spite of this, contemporary media stories about ‘immigrants’ in Minnesota invariably mention the Hmong.

The examples cited above illustrate the racialization of immigrants in Minnesota (and elsewhere in the US). As a focus group respondent in an exurban Minnesota community commented in a study by Fennelly and Leitner in 2001¹⁷:

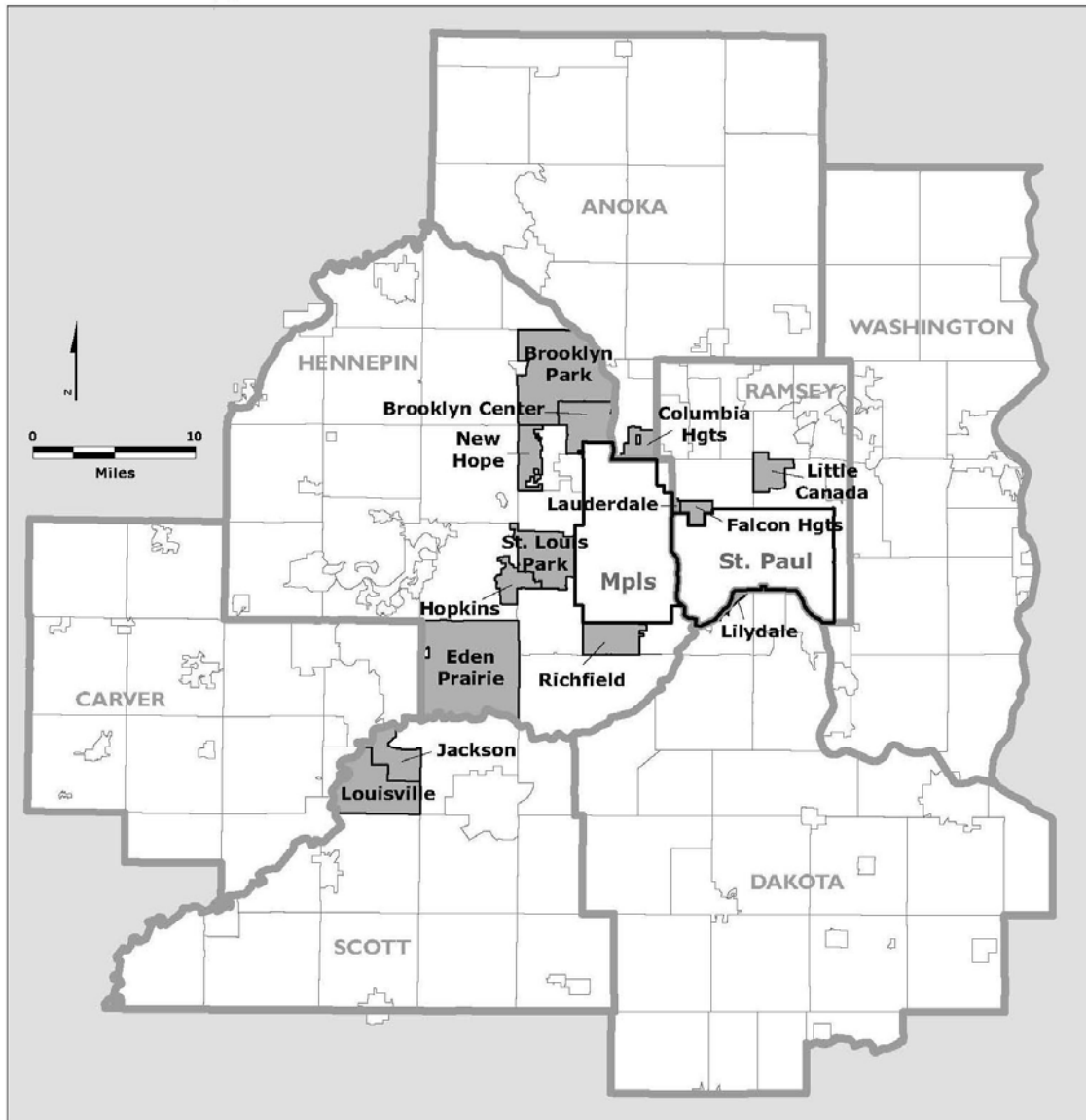
I think it's us, the people that, if you're colored, you're prejudiced. If you're White, you're prejudiced against the colored. Automatically... now there's two Irish people in town—immigrants that I got to know pretty well. No problem at all: they're White. But now, if they were Black, or yellow or something else, I think there'd be uh, reservation there.

Are Immigrants Settling in Poor or Affluent Suburbs?

Our focus is on fourteen suburban communities in the Twin Cities metro area that had at least 8 percent¹⁸¹ foreign-born residents in 2000 (see Map 1)¹⁹.

Table 1 shows various characteristics of the municipalities in our sample, including poverty, housing, affordability, tax capacity, and community types. The most striking feature of the communities above the 8 percent cutoff is that they are far from affluent; in fact, nearly all are places where local governments and school districts face significant fiscal stress.

Map 1: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL REGION
14 Cities in Study Area



Data Source: Boundary files from U.S. Census.

Table 1: Characteristics of Twin Cities Suburbs with more than 8 percent of Population Foreign Born in 2000

<u>City</u>	<u>Population 2000</u>	<u>Foreign Born 2000</u>	<u>Foreign Born (%) 2000</u>	<u>Percent Change Foreign Born 1990-2000</u>	<u>Poverty Rate (%) 1999</u>	<u>Percent Housing Affordable* 1999</u>	<u>Community Type**</u>	<u>Property Tax Capacity per H'Hold 2004</u>	<u>County</u>
Jackson	1,428	281	19.7	1,177	11.5	53.8	Stressed	1,837	Scott
Falcon Heights	5,505	1,062	19.3	-1	9.2	33.8	Stressed	1,581	Ramsey
Lauderdale	2,364	445	18.8	17	9.0	47.9	Stressed	1,463	Ramsey
Lilydale	627	103	16.4	296	2.8	2.2	Developing Job Ctr.	3,532	Dakota
Hopkins	17,061	2,395	14.0	249	9.0	35.3	Stressed	1,827	Hennepin
Brooklyn Park	37,388	8,951	23.9	344	4.9	24.0	Stressed	2,094	Hennepin
Richfield	34,441	3,917	11.4	179	6.1	25.1	Stressed	1,852	Hennepin
Brooklyn Center	39,061	3,284	8.4	366	7.1	34.7	Stressed Developed Job Ctr.	1,853	Hennepin
Eden Prairie	54,901	4,866	8.9	378	3.4	4.7	Developed Job Ctr.	3,709	Hennepin
St. Louis Park	44,120	3,842	8.7	35	5.0	23.3	Stressed	2,281	Hennepin
Little Canada	9,771	837	8.6	187	5.3	39.6	Stressed	1,912	Ramsey
Columbia Heights	18,512	1,547	8.4	111	6.2	42.1	Stressed	1,319	Anoka
Louisville	1,246	105	8.4	1,400	4.1	10.3	Bedroom Dev.	3,126	Scott
New Hope	20,852	1,653	7.9	114	6.3	24.8	Stressed	1,930	Hennepin
Twin Cities Metro	2,968,806	210,344	7.1	141	6.7	26.1	n.a.	2,429	

* Percentage of housing (rental and owner occupied) affordable to households at 50 percent of regional median household income in 1999.

Sources: 2000 Census of Population and Housing, U.S. Census Bureau. Minnesota State Auditor (tax capacity). Community types are from *Growth Pressures on Sensitive Natural Areas in DNR's Central Region*, Ameregis, Inc. 2006.

Eleven of the fourteen municipalities were recently classified as fiscally stressed²⁰ on the basis of tax capacity per household, jobs per household, poverty, growth, population density, and housing age “Stressed” places have a combination of characteristics that cause lower-than-average tax capacities and growth, as well as higher-than-average poverty and higher costs of providing public services, such as police and fire protection, parks, and schools. Most of the municipalities in the region with the largest shares of foreign-born populations are also places with the least ability to provide the special services that may be needed to help immigrants gain full access to the economic opportunities provided by the regional economy.

Three communities are exceptions to this pattern. Lilydale, Louisville, and Eden Prairie are characterized by greater-than-average local tax capacities, high growth, and lower-than-average poverty. Lilydale and Eden Prairie also have greater than average jobs per resident household and robust job growth. However, only 15 percent of the foreign-born population in the fourteen municipalities in our sample lives in these places, likely because of the high cost of housing.

Characteristics of Immigrants in the Suburbs

Table 2 shows the regions of origin of suburban immigrants in the cities highlighted in our analyses. The suburban communities vary greatly in the make-up of their populations. Some, such as Jackson and Louisville, have primarily Latino immigrants. Others, such as Hopkins and St. Louis Park, have a mix of Asian, African, Latino, and former Soviet immigrants (designated “other”). About one-third of the immigrants in two adjacent cities are of African origin: Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center.

Table 2: Regions of Origin of Minnesota Suburban Foreign-Born (FB)*

City	Total FB	% Asian	% African	% Latino	% Other
Jackson Township	281	4.6	0.7	92.5	2.1
Falcon Heights	1,062	71.4	11.7	9.3	7.5
Lauderdale	445	56.9	12.6	16.4	14.2
Lilydale	103	69.9	0.0	10.7	19.4
Hopkins	2,395	40.1	13.8	28.9	17.2
Brooklyn Park	8,951	47.0	32.3	12.3	8.4
Richfield	3,917	36.1	11.9	35.5	16.5
Brooklyn Center	3,284	39.2	35.5	11.4	13.9
Eden Prairie	4,866	49.8	8.6	9.1	32.4
St. Louis Park	3,842	31.2	14.3	18.6	35.9
Little Canada	837	55.8	20.3	4.2	19.7
Columbia Heights	1,547	31.2	20.9	19.6	28.3
Louisville Township	105	3.8	0.0	79.0	17.1
New Hope	1,653	29.5	20.8	24.3	25.4

*For cities with $\geq 8\%$ Foreign-born Residents

The reasons for these national origin group concentrations are poorly understood, but may be due to immigrant networks that grew out of refugee resettlement, job opportunities in industries that have employed other co-ethnics, or the availability of affordable housing coupled with “steering” of African or Latino immigrants to particular neighborhoods. These factors are discussed in detail in subsequent sections of the chapter.

Race-Ethnicity and Place of Birth

As mentioned earlier, a number of important social indicators are only available for US categories of racial/ethnic groups that include both foreign- and native-born residents. These include data on poverty and homeownership. However, we can draw some cautious conclusions about immigrants from these data because, in the suburban communities that we studied, roughly one-half of Hispanics, one-third of Blacks and more than two-thirds of Asians were foreign-born (see Table 2). In addition, large numbers of native-born Black, Hispanic, and Asian children live in households with foreign-born parents. In the following sections we describe the characteristics of Asians, Latinos and Africans statewide, and in Twin Cities suburbs.

Asians

Asians make up a larger percentage of the suburban foreign-born than other national origin groups, and among Asians in Minnesota, Hmong are the largest group, followed by Vietnamese, Asian Indians, Chinese and Koreans.²¹ Although the majority of Hmong refugees settled in St. Paul, many of their children and grandchildren have moved to other areas, such as Brooklyn Center, seeking jobs and opportunities for homeownership. At the other end of the spectrum are Asians who have been attracted or recruited to the metropolitan area to work in high-tech industries.

The backgrounds and socioeconomic status of the various groups are quite disparate. Indian and other South Asian professionals, for example, have high incomes and levels of education, while Hmong and some other, smaller groups of Southeast Asians have low levels of completed schooling and modest or low incomes. Likewise, poverty rates range widely between Asian groups. Very high percentages of Laotians (52%) and Hmong (33%) have incomes below the poverty line, compared with 4 percent of Filipinos. In spite of the low incomes of some Asians, as a group they are the least disadvantaged of the racial-ethnic communities in Minnesota. Statewide the median household income for Asians (\$50,954) is closer to that of non-Hispanic Whites (\$58,641) and considerably higher than Hispanics or Blacks.²² Slightly more than one-half of Asians (52 percent) own their own homes. Although their average household size is considerably larger than that of non-Hispanic Whites (3.62 individuals, compared with 2.47), high rates of ‘overcrowding’ (more than one occupant per room) “may reflect larger and extended families, or the necessity for multiple family members to work and contribute to housing costs, or the inability of individual family members to afford to

establish their own households.”²³ Because of their diversity, Asians are found at both the high and low ends of the educational spectrum. Just under a third of Asians in Minnesota (29%) have less than a high school diploma (compared with 11 percent of Whites), but Asians also surpass Whites in postsecondary degrees (42 percent vs. 36 percent).²⁴

With the exception of the two cities in Scott County, Asians compose one-third or more of the foreign-born populations of the cities in our sample. In some communities, they constitute a much larger percentage. In Falcon Heights, for example, 71 percent of immigrants are Asians. Falcon Heights is home to a significant number of international graduate students and young international faculty from the University of Minnesota and it ranks as the “70th best educated community in the United States.”²⁵

Latinos

The category Hispanic or Latino incorporates individuals of mixed visa status. Hispanics facing the greatest disadvantage are undocumented individuals, although many live in households with children who are U.S. citizens, or families in which one spouse is documented and the other is not. Mexicans represent more than two-thirds of the Latinos in Minnesota, with the majority residing in the Twin Cities. However, 37% of Latinos lived in Metro Area suburbs in 2000, up from 32 percent in 1990.²⁶ The suburban communities with the largest concentrations of Latinos are Richfield and Brooklyn Center.

Latinos in the United States (including both native- and foreign-born) have much lower incomes and education levels than non-Hispanic Whites, and their experiences with housing and school segregation appear to parallel those of many African Americans. Two-thirds of poor Latinos live in high-poverty census tracts²⁷ and, as a result, they are more than twice as likely as poor White students to attend schools of concentrated poverty, cut off from meaningful exposure to middle-class networks.²⁸

In Minnesota, the labor force participation of Latinos and non-Latinos is similar. However, their median household income (\$36,000 in 1999) was approximately \$17,000 less than the White median household income. Although Hispanics represent only 4 percent of the population of Minnesota, they composed 9 percent of emergency food shelf clients in the state in 2005.²⁹ Some of the income disparities described here are attributable to Hispanics’ lower educational levels; in 2000 nearly 42 percent over age 25 did not have a high school diploma. This is about four times the comparable percentage for non-Hispanic Whites.³⁰ That said, the percentage of Hispanic individuals living in poverty declined during the 1990s, from 26 percent in 1990 to 20 percent in 2000.³¹

Africans

Only two of the communities in our sample, Brooklyn Park and Brooklyn Center, had significant numbers of African residents—particularly Liberians. We do not present data on Black residents in the suburbs, as we do for Asians and Hispanics, because less than one-third are foreign-born. However, it is worth noting that the percentage of Blacks who are immigrants is much higher in the suburbs than in the central cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

Many Africans first came to Minnesota as refugees, and others (particularly Liberians) received ‘Temporary Protective Status’ (TPS). The Minneapolis-based Center for Victims of Torture estimates that 8,500 refugees who are torture survivors have settled in the Brooklyn Park/Brooklyn Center area.³² Estimates are that 15,000 to 20,000 predominantly Liberian immigrants have settled in this community of 100,000. In other parts of the state, Somalis are the largest African group, and recently, a number of them have settled in the suburban community of Eden Prairie.

Motives for Relocation to the Suburbs: Job Growth and Commuting Patterns

There are no systematic and reliable data on what motivates foreign-born residents to settle in the suburbs. However, it is clear that one driving force is the movement of jobs outside of the central cities. In Brooklyn Park, for example, a Liberian community outreach worker commented that suburban employers of West Africans include nursing homes and group homes, Medtronic and Boston Scientific, Wells Fargo, United States Bank, Target and Wal-mart.

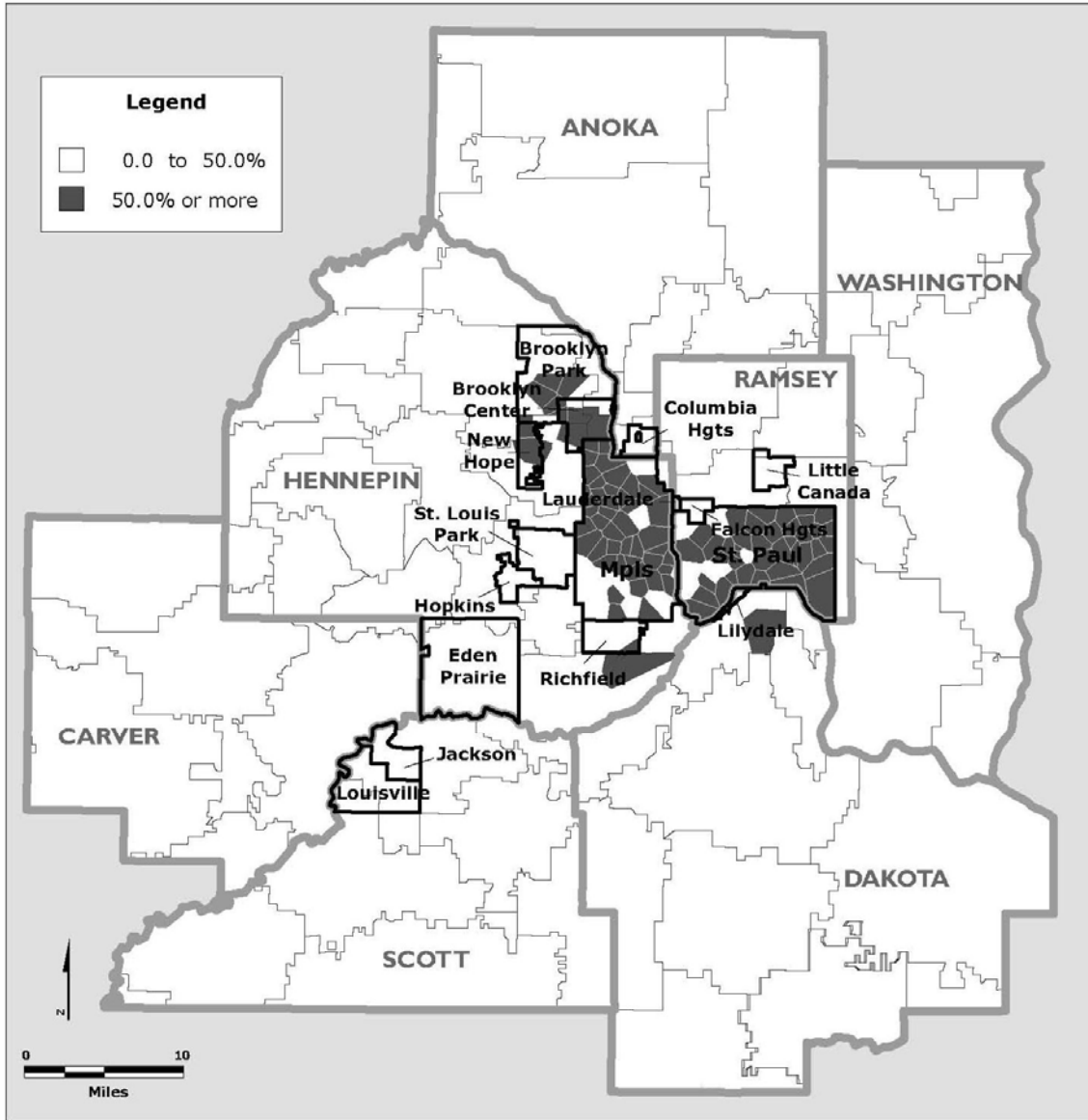
Jobs in the Twin Cities metropolitan area continued to decentralize and become less clustered during the 1990s. Job centers, which have greater than average numbers of jobs per square mile, are scattered across the region, but are overrepresented in the western and southwestern suburbs.³³ These centers ranged in size from 1,100 to 140,000 jobs in 2000. Most new jobs, particularly in the service sector are growing in the second and third ring suburbs, where affordable housing and racial diversity is less common³⁴.

In 2000 80% of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area jobs were located more than five miles from the Minneapolis/St. Paul business districts, although the high skilled jobs remained in the core.³⁵ Another motive for immigrants to move to the suburbs may be a decrease in the availability of affordable housing in the central cities. Between 1990 and 2000 the number of low-cost apartments dropped in the Twin Cities while remaining flat in the suburbs³⁶

We plotted the percentages of students of color (Map 2) and students in homes where English is not the primary language (Map 3) as a means of comparing the location of minority and immigrant families in the Twin Cities suburbs. In both cases the highest percentages of families live and work nearer slower-growing job centers in the core of the

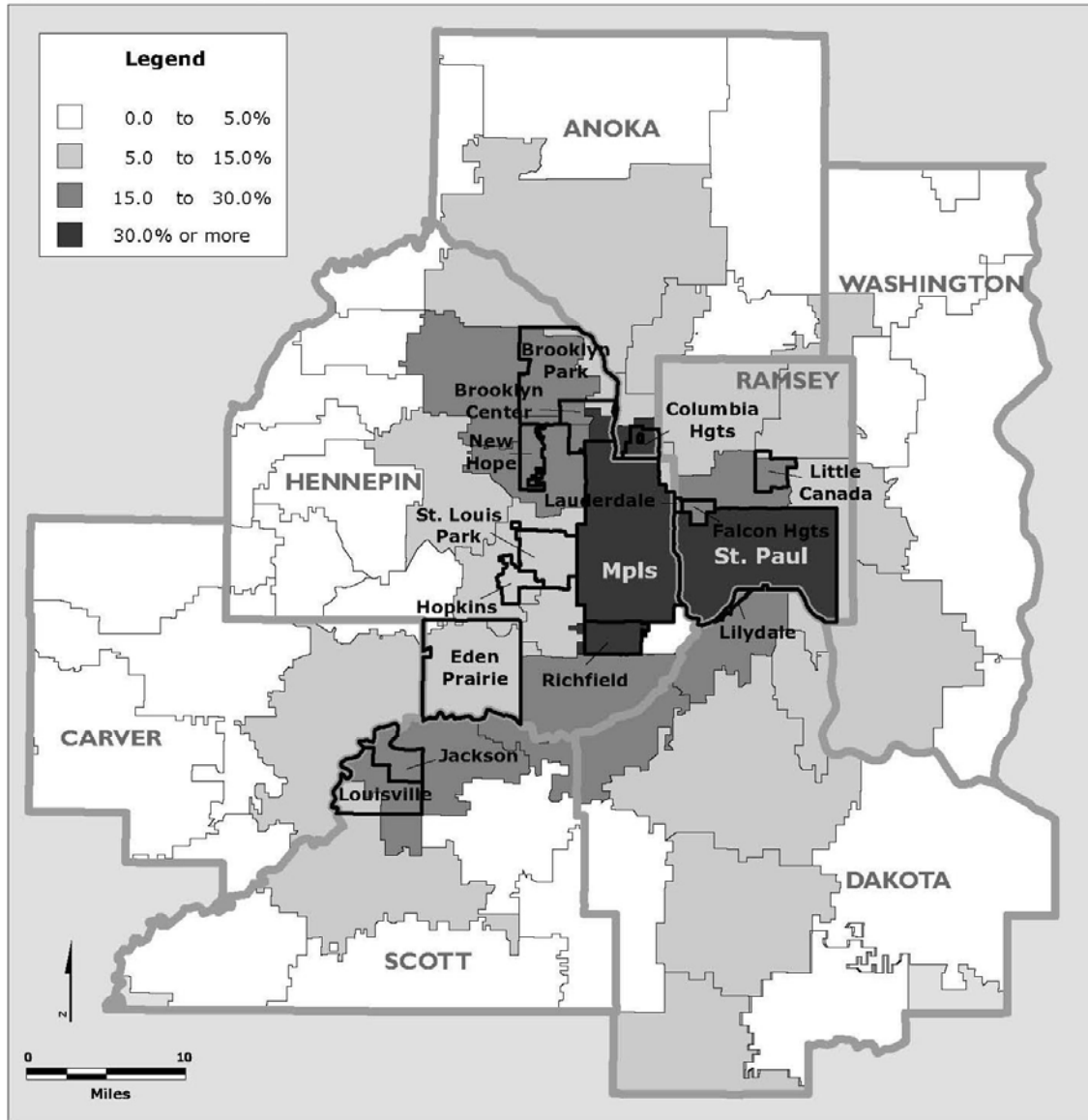
region, rather than in the faster growing job centers in middle and outer ring suburbs (see Map 2)

**Map 2: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL REGION
Percentage of Student Population of Color by
Elementary School Zones, 2002**



Data Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

Map 3: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL REGION
Percentage of Students in Homes Where English is not the Primary Language
by School District, 2006-07



Data Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

Immigrants form part of what are designated “student populations of color” by school districts. As can be seen in map 3, they overlap with students of color in the central cities and in Lauderdale and parts of Brooklyn Park, but students in non-English speaking homes are also concentrated beyond these centers in suburbs to the south of the Twin Cities (Lilydale, Richfield, Jackson and Louisville), and in Brooklyn Center and New Hope to the northwest.

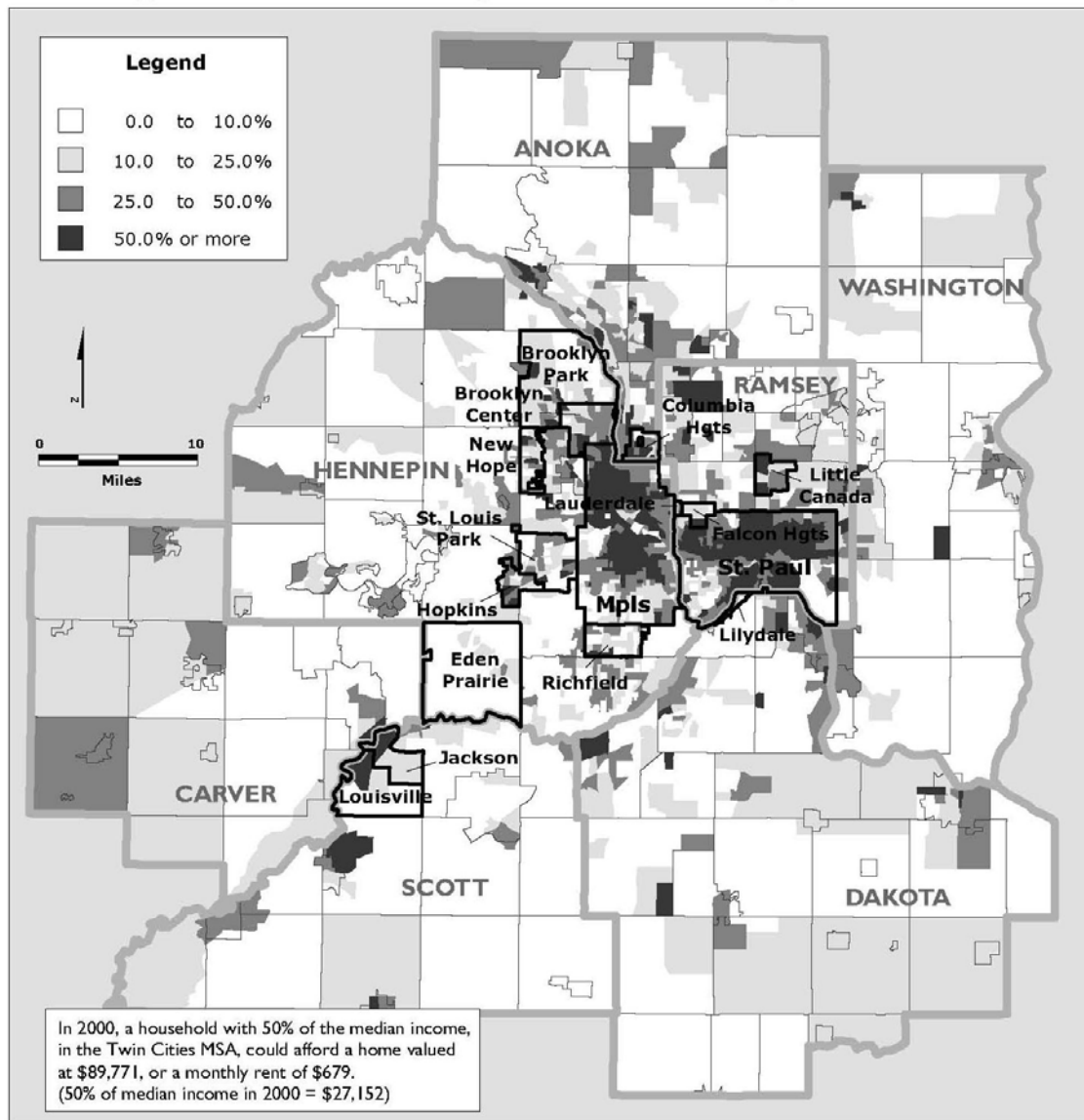
The farther the job center from the core of the region, the less accessible the center is to affordable housing. Affordable housing is more common nearest the Minneapolis central business district and other jobs centers in the core. In Map 4 we

show the percentage of housing units that are affordable to households earning 50% of the regional median income. The clustering of affordable housing within census block groups closely parallels the concentrations of students living in immigrant households, as shown in Map 3.

Other hypotheses regarding reasons for the location of immigrants in the suburbs come from anecdotal data and special reports. As mentioned earlier, the Twin Cities area has a higher percentage of immigrants who are refugees than many other states. Some of these refugees may have been resettled directly into suburban neighborhoods, where they receive some temporary assistance in securing jobs, housing, and ancillary services. This modest assistance has fueled the misperception that all immigrants receive government benefits. Also contributing to misperceptions is the visibility of African or Asian refugees in communities with little racial or ethnic diversity, which can lead to exaggerated estimates of the size of the population.

Service sector jobs and opportunities to open small businesses have attracted many Latinos to the suburbs. In an article in the May 14, 2006 edition of *La Prensa de Minnesota*,³⁷ Rafael Leon, Executive Director of the Latino Economic Development Center, was quoted as saying that Hispanic small business owners face less competition in the suburbs than in the city and there is a growing ethnic market. A Hispanic

Map 4: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL REGION
Percentage of Housing Units Affordable to Households at 50%
of the Regional Median Income by Census Block Group, 2000



Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

business owner with two stores in the busy Lake Street area of Minneapolis agreed with this assessment, and added that new apartment complexes in the suburbs have created opportunities for an expanded market for Latino goods.

The desire to escape crime, crowding, and noise in cities is another reason frequently cited as a reason for immigrants to move to the suburbs. An Ecuadorian resident whom we interviewed said, “Those who can afford to move do....At first, new immigrants are drawn to the city where other immigrants are. Now some are moving outward, seeking quiet, away from the city chaos.” A car and affordability were determining factors in moving, she said. An Asian realtor in north Minneapolis added

that many Hmong families are moving to “affordable” inner-ring suburbs, such as Brooklyn Park, seeking bigger houses for their large families. Non-Hmong Asians in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area include many individuals in high income brackets who work for major corporations in the area and can afford to live in wealthy suburbs.

Impediments to Integration: Suburban Residents’ Attitudes Toward Immigrants

Data for the analysis of native-born residents’ attitudes toward immigrants come from the Minnesota Community Study.³⁸ The study included a state-wide survey of 700 likely voters in Minnesota, a survey of 509 likely voters in six ‘exurban counties’—the fastest growing in the state— and six focus groups (3 male and 3 female) with suburban residents in three counties.³⁹ Respondents in each of the surveys had similar background characteristics, although those in the exurban communities were slightly more likely to be Republicans (37 percent versus 32 percent), and slightly more likely to define their views as Conservatives (40 percent versus 32 percent).

In each of the survey items measuring attitudes toward immigrants and immigration suburban residents fell between the more liberal views of urban respondents and the more restrictive views of rural respondents. We compared the percentages of likely voters from each of these regions who agree or strongly agree that “Immigrants are hurting our quality of life in Minnesota because they are putting big demands on our public schools and are draining resources from the whole community.” Just over a third of urban respondents agreed with this statement, compared with 44 percent of suburban and 51 percent of rural likely voters, and 52 percent in the exurban sample.

The survey interviewers also asked open-ended questions about “what makes you proud to be a Minnesotan?” and “What makes you most discouraged about living in Minnesota?” In response to the latter, 13 percent of the respondents in the statewide survey and 20 percent of those in the exurban survey spontaneously mentioned “the influx of immigrants.”

All respondents were asked the following question: “Now I'd like to talk to you about something a little different. Which TWO of the following statements best describes your feelings about immigrants here in Minnesota?”

- They take jobs nobody else wants
- They contribute to cultural diversity
- They are a drain on public schools
- They are hardworking and make a valuable contribution
- They do not assimilate
- They get too many government handouts”

Higher percentages of suburban residents agreed with each of the three negative items than urban or rural Minnesotans.

Survey data in the Minnesota Community Study were supplemented by six focus groups (3 male and 3 female) with exurban residents ages 45 to 60 in Hennepin, Anoka and Scott counties.⁴⁰ Group members were selected to be homogeneous in terms of marital status and political party affiliations. A majority of the focus group participants were college educated.

Some participants made spontaneous, unprompted comments related to immigration, but most were responding to particular questions. For instance, when participants were asked to describe how Minnesota has changed recently, immigration was frequently among the changes noted. Moderators also employed “word-association” exercises, asking individuals to describe what comes to mind when they think about immigrants.

Each discrete focus group statement regarding immigration was coded as ‘positive’, ‘negative’ or ‘mixed’ and entered into the QS-4 software database for analysis. Immigration was only one of many topics broached in the groups; in total there were 7,610 comments (separate responses) made in the six groups, and only 78 of these were related to immigration.

The majority of the immigration-related comments were negative (58 percent); 22 percent were coded positive, and 21 percent were mixed. The most common of the negative themes pertained to lack of English proficiency of immigrants, and the perception that immigrants receive too many benefits, are costly to American society and don’t assimilate quickly into American society. Detailed examples are given below.

The largest percentage of negative comments centered on the challenges associated with many immigrants’ limited proficiency in English.

I think that with so many people coming in here from other countries that don't speak English, I think it means a lot of trouble for a lot of people. I've had this happen at work. (Hennepin County, Women)

Some participants commented on the importance of immigrants learning to speak English in order to function successfully in society; many also perceive that immigrants do not want to learn to speak English.

I think everyone should have an opportunity to come here, but I agree with you, John, that everyone should have to learn to speak English so that there is some sense of the ability to talk back and forth and communicate. (Scott County, Men)

Others discussed the challenges faced by schools in accommodating the language needs of immigrant children, and the fear that this detracts from the education of native-born children.

Moderate. I like the word "moderate". We don't have it anymore. . . When you've got twenty different languages at one school, the word "chaos" comes to mind. And that's what's going on in school today. (Anoka County, Men)

They have to learn English, and they can't be mainstreamed into the schools with our kids and slow our kids down. Not that they're dumb. If they don't understand English, it's harder for them to get the whole grasp. (Anoka County, Men)

A number of individuals expressed concern over the cost of accommodating immigrant children's language needs.

Well because they're taking that money and they're teaching kids in fifteen different languages. (Anoka County, Men)

The thing that... concerns me is the education. I have three kids and two of them have already graduated, but throughout the years I see them taking more and more money away from our school systems. (Anoka County, Women)

The perception that immigrants do not want to speak English was another common theme, and one that is a reflection of the broader belief that they are not 'assimilating' into American culture.

If you live here, you should learn how to speak English and not have everything adjusted to fit you. You need to adjust to where you came from. (Scott County, Women)

There's no assimilation; like our forefather—they came here to be Americans. (Hennepin County, Men)

I feel they need to mold more into America. We don't need to make the Somalia neighborhood, the Hmong neighborhood, you come to America... (Hennepin County, Women)

Some participants expressed frustration over their perception that it is Americans who have to adapt to accommodate the needs of immigrants. A man in the Scott county group demonstrated how this frustration can translate into xenophobic, nationalistic anger:

I think they've got to tighten up the borders a little bit better. I mean after 9/11 this is a whole different world we're living in and I think that immigration has been free and most of our forefathers have all come over from some point or another to get here, but I think that there's a difference between if you're coming over here with the intent to live the American dream its one thing, but if you're coming over here to hang you countries flag in your front yard and if you're coming over here trying to make me change or I've got stand up or apologize for who I am because you don't speak my language or I don't understand your

religion, and we've got to have all these laws and rules and regulations for you so that you can live here. I think that's crap. I think this is America. If you want to live here you abide by the rules and regulations that we have. (Scott County, Men)

The perception that immigration takes an economic toll on the country, or that immigrants are getting 'a free ride' is another one that provokes anger and self-righteousness:

I need to ask myself why they all have health insurance and cars and going to school for all these budgets and stuff and no one can take care of my mom. So she can't get insurance and it pisses me off. (Scott County, Men)

That, and we are letting a lot more minorities from other countries into this country, the Asian groups are getting large. The (inaudible) groups are getting very large and it seems when they come over here they are getting all the tax breaks. They get all this help. They get this, they get that, they get this, they get that and those of us who have fought for this country, who have paid our taxes, who raise our children and who live in this country and in this state are the ones that are paying for all those people to get all those breaks and our children and our lifestyles are not increasing, they are staying stagnant. (Anoka County, Women)

Not all of the focus group comments about immigrants were negative; we coded a total of 17 comments that painted immigrants in a positive light. The most frequent theme was an expression of sympathy for immigrants. Others were related to strong work ethics of immigrants and the benefits of diversity.

Over a third of the positive comments were expressions of sympathy for immigrants. Participants noted the difficulties that immigrants faced in transitioning to a new life in a new country. They commented on the difficulties of integration.

I don't think Somalians, well virtually anybody that comes here, they have to be gutsy. Things had to be pretty awful to leave everything you have to have a lot of courage to go someplace new. (Anoka County, Women)

A number of participants commented that immigrants have good work ethics and are integral to the United States economy, taking jobs that native-born Americans do not want.

I work with a couple of immigrants, and... I gotta say they're the couple of hardest working guys in our entire plant. I mean they come in and they kick butt. (Anoka County, Men)

A few people described what they perceived to be positive aspects of diversity associated with immigration.

I think it makes our country more interesting. (Hennepin County, Women)

It gives you some options for restaurants and stuff too. I don't really care for any type of that food, but... (Anoka County, Men)

Another focus group participant noted the positive family values of Hmong immigrants.

I see the [sounds like Mums] as being very family oriented. The whole family pitches in. (Anoka County, Women)

While exurban Minnesotans clearly have strong, dominant negative attitudes toward immigrants, they also express some ambivalence toward this population. About 20 percent of all immigrant-related comments contained both positive and negative statements regarding the characteristics and/or impact of immigrants.

In the most common type of mixed comment, focus group members raised concerns about the lack of immigrant assimilation in the United States, and its potential impacts, but coupled their statements with expressions of sympathy regarding the challenges of adjusting to a new life. Six of the mixed comments contained this assimilation-sympathy coupling. Another popular coupling in the mixed comments was costs-work ethic. Individuals discussed immigration as a “mixed bag”. They expressed concern over increasing costs, but also noted that immigrants have strong work ethics that are valuable.

A lot of them where I work and quite frankly, we can't find people to do that work than these type of people. And they are hard workers. But, some of them are not paying their taxes, I know. So, it's a little bit of a mixed bag for me. (Hennepin County, Men)

Housing, Poverty, and School Segregation among Immigrants⁴¹

During the 1980s and 1990s the Twin Cities' share of non-White residents increased from 5 to 15 percent and the region lacked school and housing policies to inspire development in ways that fully integrated these families of color. As we have seen, the concentration of immigrants in suburban Minnesota communities is very similar to that of people of color in general. As a result, many immigrants in the Twin Cities metro attend schools that have a very high proportion of US-born minority and poor children.

Housing discrimination and steering account for some of the residential segregation. In April 2006, the National Fair Housing Alliance (NHFA) completed a three-year, twelve-city housing discrimination study.⁴² This and some local studies completed in the late 1990s suggest the strong presence of housing discrimination against minority renters and homeowners in the city of Minneapolis and its suburbs,^{43 44} including outright denial of service to Blacks and Latinos, significant financial incentives offered to Whites, but not to Blacks or Latinos, and steering of potential purchasers on

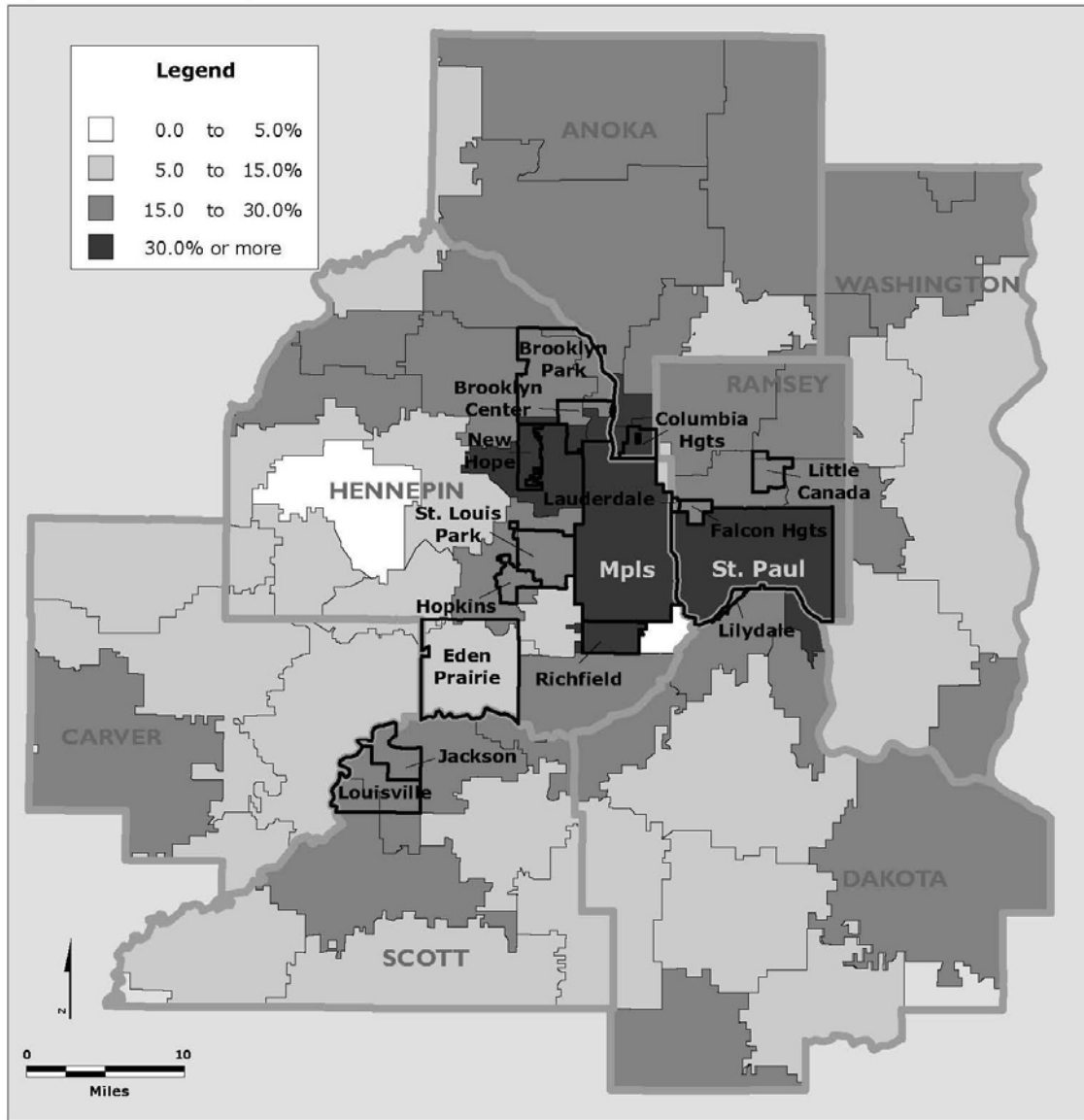
the basis of race or national origin.⁴⁵ Some public affordable housing programs also contribute to segregated housing—particularly the Low Income Housing Tax Credit, in which the state Housing Finance Agency disproportionately allocates tax credits to finance affordable housing development to projects in the central cities, instead of the suburbs. As a result, only 23 percent of housing near middle and inner suburbs in the Twin Cities metro area are affordable, compared with one-half of the units in the central business district.⁴⁶

Some of the concentration of immigrants and US racial/ethnic minorities in the suburbs may be the result of “White flight” from the city and inner ring suburbs, as has been evident in the past decade. Eventually nonWhite residents, usually middle-class families with reasonable resources, joined more affluent residents in slightly integrated suburbs.⁴⁷ When the numbers of middle-class minority residents reached a ‘tipping point’, middle-class White families moved farther out, purportedly in search of ‘better schools’ elsewhere. This trend has been exacerbated by real estate agents who steer away White residents away from integrated neighborhoods claiming that “the schools are bad”, while simultaneously recommending the same neighborhoods to residents of color, promoting the schools as “integrated”.⁴⁸ In the northwestern suburbs shown in Map 2, for example, 25 percent of the 373 elementary schools now have enrollments that are greater than 50 percent non-White.

One useful measure of segregation is an index that measures exposure to individuals of different racial-ethnic groups.⁴⁹ In 2005, Twin Cities schools had a Hispanic-White exposure index of 49, meaning the average Hispanic student in the seven-county metro area, attended a school that was 49 percent White (down from 64 in 1995). On average, Hispanic students are attending schools that are less White than they were ten years ago, and are increasingly clustered in segregated schools.⁵⁰

Without affordable housing in the affluent suburbs where jobs and opportunity are expanding, and with continued steering and White flight, the Twin Cities area risks a “resegregation” of concentrated poverty in the suburbs. Especially in the southern and northwest suburbs, economic segregation is already mirroring racial segregation, and in some schools more than two-thirds of students live in families with incomes below the poverty line (see Map 5). Two of the northwestern school districts in our sample currently have enrollments of more than 50 percent poor students (Columbia Heights, 56 percent, and Brooklyn Center, 66 percent). Between 2002 and 2005, the number of poor students increased by 23 percentage points in Columbia Heights and by 20 points in Richfield. During the same period White student enrollment decreased by 16 to 20 percent in the same three districts. Columbia Heights in 2000 had one of the most evenly distributed immigrant populations.

Map 5: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL REGION
Percentage of Students Receiving Free or Reduced Lunch
by School District, 2006-07



Data Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

The decisions regarding land use and taxation are responsible for much of the social and economic inequity in regions in the United States today.⁵¹ When cities zone out affordable housing, they are also zoning out low income immigrants. On the other hand, there are some promising signs. The City of Eden Prairie, home to many new immigrants, and jobs has been proactive in attempting to build affordable housing, and has also drawn its school boundaries to encourage, rather than retard racial and hence immigrant integration.

Conclusion

Immigrants are extremely heterogeneous, and there is as much diversity within any one national origin group as there is between United States- and foreign-born individuals overall. This is especially true in the Twin Cities because of the broad mix of immigrants and refugees. Foreign-born suburban residents in the Twin Cities metropolitan area include refugees and immigrants who differ greatly in reasons for coming to the United States, and the ages at which they entered, as well as on dimensions of language, education, job skills, religion and cultural upbringing. Immigrants also vary greatly in their reasons for moving to the suburbs. Some are attracted by the availability of jobs, and some by larger, or more affordable housing or quieter neighborhoods and better schools. The moves represent static, or even downward socioeconomic mobility for some, and upward mobility for others.

Despite their heterogeneity, once in the United States, very disparate groups of individuals may find themselves categorized as an undifferentiated group of 'immigrants', or as individuals assumed to be different from native-born Americans. This category may include second or even third generation Americans who are assumed to be foreigners because of their physical appearance. Some of the broad stereotypes ascribed to immigrants are apparent in the examples from surveys of White suburban residents cited in this paper. Furthermore, when immigrants are distinguishable by virtue of their skin color or accents, they are much more likely to be victims of school and residential segregation.

There may still be the time and the means to intercept these patterns in suburban districts. Although suburban school districts such as Columbia Heights, Richfield, and Brooklyn Center have very high concentrations of poverty, others are racially integrated and provide educational opportunities to many disadvantaged students. Elected officials should find ways to maintain stable integration in these places and to guard against the possibility of resegregation in communities such as St. Louis Park. Furthermore, most suburban districts could provide educational opportunity to many more disadvantaged students. Cities could learn from the example of Eden Prairie, which has been accepting students from poor backgrounds and working to ensure they attend racially and socially integrated schools.

There is a sad irony in the ways in which the very exclusion and segregation of the foreign-born into failing schools and neighborhoods results in further distancing from the experiences of White, middle class residents, and that, in turn, is used as justification for further prejudice. Examples include the lack of affordable housing that leads to overcrowded residences that may reduce the marketability or property values of neighborhoods or the high dropout rates from poor schools that perpetuate stereotypes that the children of Black and Hispanic immigrants cannot succeed academically. Evidence of the ways in which these and other forces converge to exclude, rather than to integrate immigrant children can be seen in the increase in adolescent risk behaviors with each successive generation in the United States.⁵²

Forecast for Minnesota

As jobs in the central cities continue to decentralize, the numbers of immigrants (and U.S.-born Blacks and Latinos) seeking jobs in the suburbs is likely to increase. We have highlighted a number of impediments to their integration into suburban communities, but there are also positive signs. Waldinger and Reichl find important gains between first and second-generation Mexicans in the United States.⁵³

Increasing diversity is itself a positive trend. Immigrant enclaves can rejuvenate sections of some suburban cities by stimulating new businesses and job creation. Furthermore, social contact between children of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds may reduce prejudice and xenophobia in the next generation. As the children of immigrants reach voting age, and move into the middle class their political clout will likely increase. Finally, in the 1990s, litigation against the state and the city of Minneapolis led to a promising interdistrict school choice model. 'Choice Is Yours' permits some students in segregated Minneapolis schools to attend nonsegregated schools in the western suburbs. The results of a pilot evaluation at the end of the first four years demonstrated that academic achievement was higher for students participating in 'Choice Is Yours' than for eligible students who chose to remain in Minneapolis schools. This model could be expanded to include more schools districts, as part of a comprehensive approach to provide quality, integrated schools for all of the children in the region. Since integrated schools are strongly linked to integrated housing markets⁵⁴ the adoption of innovative school choice programs could also help reduce housing segregation.

Minnesota has also adopted a seven-county affordable housing law that gives authority to the Metropolitan Council to negotiate affordable housing goals with development in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area. The result has been the development some new suburban family housing, although the scope of the program is too small to alter existing patterns of residential segregation.

The numbers of foreign-born residents in most Twin Cities suburbs are small, but rapidly increasing, and they and their children are subject to patterns of residential and school segregation that have served as barriers to United States-born Latinos and African Americans for years.⁵⁵ For the foreign-born these trends are exacerbated by deep levels of xenophobia that increase support for laws and policies that limit their opportunities for protection from job discrimination and access to English language programs, social services and credit.⁵⁶ The Twin Cities would do well to consider the consequences of ignoring the barriers that limit the full economic and social integration of such a vital and growing segment of the population.

Endnotes

¹ Unless otherwise indicated the term ‘immigrant’ is used interchangeably with ‘foreign-born’ to refer to individuals born outside of the United States; For the purposes of this analysis suburban municipalities are those in the 11-county metropolitan area within the state borders; our Minnesota data on ‘suburbs’ refers to Twin Cities Metropolitan Area suburbs.

² Kenneth Johnson, “The Impact of Immigration on Midwestern Cities” Presentation at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, April 18, 2007.

³ The impact of foreign-born adults and children on the suburban schools varies greatly as some groups of immigrants have low levels of formal education and levels of English proficiency, while others are highly educated individuals who are fluent in English. Although the wealthy city of Hopkins and the working class city of Brooklyn Center have similar percentages of immigrants [14 & 11 respectively], the percentage of children of LEP in the schools is quite different: 5 percent in Hopkins, and 28 percent in the Brooklyn Center School District.

Data on English proficiency are often discussed in the media as evidence of the ‘cost’ of immigrants on local schools. However, what is presented less frequently is the calculation of dollars gained by schools with increased enrollments. In Minnesota and most other states school funding formulas transfer dollars to select districts based upon pupil enrollment. In Minnesota the enrollment of immigrants (and the children of immigrants) has prevented many schools from losing enrollment, closing or consolidating. An example of this can be seen in a recent article in the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* raising concern in Minneapolis over the loss of Hmong students to urban and suburban charter schools (Steve Brandt, “For Hmong, A New Migration,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, April 26, 2006). They report a 45 percent decline in the number of children from Hmong-speaking schools in Minneapolis schools, 12 percent in St. Paul Schools, at a time when Hmong enrollment has quadrupled in the suburban Anoka-Hennepin district and quadrupled in Osseo. An Asian member of the Minneapolis School Board attributed the departures to concern over crime and safety.

⁴ Myron Orfield and Thomas Luce, “Governing American Metropolitan Areas: Spatial Policy and Regional Governance” in *Metropolitan Areas, Megaregions and Spatial Planning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, forthcoming 2008).

⁵ See www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/ for “U.S. Voter Turnout Up in 2004, Census Bureau Reports,” May 26, 2005.

⁶ Corporation for National and Community Service, Office of Research and Policy Development. *Volunteering in America: 2007 State Trends and Rankings in Civic Life*, Washington, DC 2007, pp. 8-9.

⁷ Rebecca Sohmer, *Mind the Gap: Disparities and Competitiveness in the Twin Cities*, The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, October 2005.

⁸ Audrey Singer and Jill H. Wilson, “From ‘There’ to ‘Here:’ Refugee Resettlement in Metropolitan America,” The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, September 2006.

⁹ A refugee is any person who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail him- or herself of the protection of that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. Katherine Fennelly, “Latinos, Asians and Africans in the Northstar State: New Immigrant Communities in Minnesota. In: *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America*. Migration and Refugee Studies series, Eds: Elzbieta M. Gozdzik and Susan F. Martin, Lexington Books, 2006.

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- ¹⁰ Phil Davies, “Faces of change,” in *Fedgazette*, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, September 2004.
- ¹¹ Kenneth Johnson, “The Impact of Immigration on Midwestern Cities” Presentation at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, April 18, 2007.
- ¹² Refugee Health Program, Minnesota Department of Health. Personal communication from Blain Mamo, June 2006.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* p. 3.
- ¹⁴ Margaret Pugh O’Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley*, (Princeton University Press, 2005).
- ¹⁵ Barbara J. Ronningen, “Estimates of Selected Immigrant Populations in Minnesota: 2004,” in *Population Note*, Minnesota State Demographic Center, June 2004.
- ¹⁶ U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 3, Matrices P18, P19, P21, P22, P24, P36, P37, P39, P42, PCT8, PCT16, PCT17, and PCT19, www.infoplease.com/us/census/data/minnesota/social.html.
- ¹⁷ Katherine Fennelly and Helga Leitner, “How the Food Processing Industry is Diversifying Rural Minnesota”. *JSRI working Paper #59*. Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University, East Lansing (2002). <http://xrl.us/g49j>.
- ¹⁸ We initially employed a threshold of 10 percent foreign-born, but this left out some interesting suburbs with new immigrant populations.
- ¹⁹ We originally selected communities with at least 10 percent foreign-born, but this left out some important suburban areas that didn’t make the threshold. It was subsequently lowered to 8 percent.
- ²⁰ The methodology used to derive the community types is described in Growth Pressures on Sensitive Natural Areas in DNR’s Central Region, Ameregis, Inc. 2006, pp. 32-38, available at www.ameregis.com. It is also a part of a new book and report by Myron Orfield and Thomas Luce, *Region: Law, Policy and Politics in Metropolitan America (working title)*.
- ²¹ Asian Pacific American Community Development Data Center, “Minnesota: A Profile of the Asian American and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Population,” May 2004.
- ²² *Ibid.* p. 2.
- ²³ *Ibid.* p. 3.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 3.
- ²⁵ Lilydale also has a very high percentage of immigrants of Asian origin, but it is an extremely small suburb (population 627) adjacent to the city of Mendota.
- ²⁶ Chicano Latino Affairs Council, “The Hispanic/Latino Population in Minnesota: 2000,” January 2003.
- ²⁷ Richard Kahlenberg, *All Together Now: Creating Middle-Class Schools through Public School Choice* 43 (2001).
- ²⁸ Russell W. Rumberger & Gregory J. Palardy, *Does Resegregation Matter? The Impact of Social Composition on Academic Achievement in Southern High Schools*, in *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back?* 127-128 (John Charles Boger & Gary Orfield, eds. 2005). In addition to the racially

disproportionate burden on non-White children of attending poor schools, the rate of individual poverty is 2.5 times higher among non-White children.

²⁹ Richard Chase and Laura Schauben, The state of hunger in Minnesota, *Survey of food shelf and on-site meal program recipients in 2005*, Hunger Solutions Minnesota in association with Wilder Research, February 2006.

³⁰ Chicano Latino Affairs Council, op. cit, p. 2.

³¹ Ibid, p. 2.

³² Center for Victims of Torture, *New Neighbors, Hidden Scars*, Winter 2005, Volume 15, Issue 4.

³³ Thomas Luce, Myron Orfield and Jill Mazullo, “Access to Growing Job Centers in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area,” in *CURA Reporter*, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, Spring 2006, Volume 36, Number 1. Job Centers are contiguous Traffic Analysis Zones (TAZ’s) with greater than average numbers of jobs per square mile. Large job agglomerations like those in the centers of Minneapolis and St. Paul were divided into components based on job densities. Job centers were grouped into 4 categories, based on 1990-2000 growth rates: Declining centers (job losses during the decade); Slow Growth centers (growth between 0 and 20 percent); Moderate Growth centers (growth between 20 and 40 percent); and High Growth centers (growth more than 40 percent). In 2000, Black workers were far more likely to work in declining or slow growth centers than other workers: 49 percent of Black workers compared to 31 percent of Whites and 39 percent of Hispanics. Similarly, just 41 percent of Blacks worked in the high-growth or non-clustered categories, compared to 56 percent of Whites and 50 percent of Hispanics.

³⁴ See Luce et al., Ibid, p. 10.

³⁵ Sohmer, op.cit.

³⁶ Curt Brown, “Ethnicity Fades by the Pool,” *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, June 2, 2007.

³⁷ *La Prensa*. “Latinos in the Suburbs,” May 14, 2006.

³⁸ Stan Greenberg, Anna Greenberg and Julie Hootkin, “The Changing Shape of Minnesota,” Minnesota Community Project, December 14, 2004.

³⁹ Anoka, Scott and Hennepin.

⁴⁰ Greenberg, et al, 2004.

⁴¹ Another indicator of poverty is use of emergency food shelters. A recent report prepared for ‘Hunger Solutions’ revealed that the most dramatic increases in use of emergency food shelves between 2000 and 2005 occurred in the suburbs and exurbs of Minneapolis. The greatest increase—541 percent—occurred in Eden Prairie. During this period, usage increased by 120 percent in Brooklyn Park, and by 31 percent in Eden Prairie.

⁴² See National Fair Housing Alliance, *Unequal Opportunity – Perpetuating Housing Discrimination in America: 2006 Fair Trends Housing Report*, 5 (2006). The NFHA tested 73 sales offices in twelve metropolitan areas: Atlanta, Austin, Birmingham, Chicago, Dayton, Detroit, Mobile, New York (including New York City, Long Island and Westchester County), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Antonio and metropolitan Washington, D.C. (including northern Virginia, suburban Maryland and Baltimore).

⁴³ National Fair Housing Alliance, *Unequal Opportunity – Perpetuating Housing Discrimination in America: 2006 Fair Trends Housing Report*, 6 (2006).

⁴⁴ Myron Orfield, "Choice, Equal Protection and Metropolitan Integration: The Hope of the Minneapolis Desegregation Settlement," *Law and Inequality: A Journal of Theory and Practice*, Volume 24, Number 2 (2006); John Yinger, *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost: The Continuing Costs of Housing Discrimination*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation (1995).

⁴⁵ National Fair Housing Alliance, *Unequal Opportunity – Perpetuating Housing Discrimination in America: 2006 Fair Trends Housing Report*, 12 (2006). The NHFA tests revealed steering at a rate of 87 percent among testers who were given an opportunity to see homes. Testers were generally steered to neighborhoods based on race or national origin, as well as religion and family status. The NHFA also reports that schools are used as a proxy for racial or ethnic composition of neighborhoods and communities. Rather than telling White testers to avoid certain neighborhoods because of racial or ethnic composition, many real estate agents would tell the tester to avoid certain schools; schools that were racially identifiable.

⁴⁶ Luce, et al, "Access," 2006, p 11.

⁴⁷ Many residents of color move to the suburbs for a variety of reasons. Some want to live in neighborhoods that would match their socio-economic status. Others do so to be able to send their children to better schools. Yet others simply want to escape the racially segregated urban neighborhoods of poverty.

⁴⁸ See National Fair Housing Alliance, *Unequal Opportunity—Perpetuating Housing Segregation in America*, 12 (Washington, D.C.: 2006).

⁴⁹ Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 12-14 (1993); Gary Orfield, Mark D. Bachmeier, David R. James, and Tamela McNulty Eitle, *Deepening segregation in American public schools: A special report from the Harvard Project on School Desegregation*. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 20 (2), pp 5-24 (1997); Gary Orfield, Sara Schley, Diane Glass, & Sean Reardon, *The Growth of Segregation in American Schools: Changing Patterns of Separation and Poverty since 1968*. Alexandria, Va.: National School Boards Association (1993).

⁵⁰ Charter schools have attracted Black and Latino students in both the central cities and suburban communities. In 2005, there were three charter schools in the 7-county metro area that had 80-99 percent Hispanic enrollment. *The Choice is Ours: Expanding Educational Opportunity for all Twin Cities Children*, Institute on Race & Poverty, May 2006.

⁵¹ Myron Orfield, *American Metropolitics: The New Suburban Reality*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press (2002). Counties also make land use decisions over unincorporated areas.

⁵² Katherine Fennelly, "The Healthy Migrant Phenomenon," in *Immigrant Medicine: A Comprehensive Reference for the Care of Refugees and Immigrants*, Patricia Walker, ed., New York: Elsevier Press, (forthcoming 2007).

⁵³ Roger Waldinger and Renee Reichl, "Second-Generation Mexicans: Getting Ahead or Falling Behind?" *Migration Information Source*, March 1, 2006.

⁵⁴ Myron Orfield, "Racial Integration and Community Revitalization: Applying the Fair Housing Act to the Low Income Housing Tax Credit," *Vanderbilt Law Review*, Volume 58, Number 6 (2005); Myron Orfield, "Choice, Equal Protection and Metropolitan Integration: The Hope of the Minneapolis Desegregation Settlement," *Law and Inequality: A Journal of Theory and Practice*, Volume 24, Number 2 (2006). Myron Orfield and Thomas Luce, *Minority Suburbanization and Racial Change: Stable Integration, Neighborhood Transition and the Need for Regional Approaches*, Institute on Race & Poverty, March 2006.

⁵⁵ Some groups of Asian-Americans—particularly the Hmong—have also been adversely affected by these trends, but to a lesser extent than other immigrants and United States racial/ethnic groups. It is documented

in the literature that Asians experience lower overall levels of segregation compared to Blacks and Hispanics. See, for instance, John R. Logan, Brian, J. Stults, and Reynolds Farley, “Segregation of Minorities in the Metropolis: Two Decades of Change,” *Demography* 41:1 (2004): 1-22, especially Table 1, p. 6.

⁵⁶ For a thorough discussion of these limitations state-wide, see Katherine Fennelly, “State and Local Policy Response to Immigration in Minnesota.” Case study for the Century Foundation Project on New Immigrant States (2006).