Structures and Strategies of Immigrant Integration: Evidence from Local Governments in the New Latino Destinations of the United States

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This article presents the ways local governments are designing immigrant integration strategies in new Latino destinations throughout the United States. Drawing on interviews with public administrators in thirty-seven U.S. cities, the author explores the structure and strategies of the immigrant integration approaches these local governments have embraced. The article concludes with a holistic model of immigrant integration that includes economic development; public safety; community building; employment diversity; non-profit, public school, and private sector partnerships; and the use of immigrant advisory councils. It also presents a typology of policy results that recognizes both reactive and proactive roles of local officials and Latinos in policy formation vis-à-vis the Latino community.

Immigrant integration presents a challenge to local governments in the United States. The federal government's laissez-faire approach to immigration and its singular focus since 9/11 on border security and the potential terrorist threats immigrants may present ignore the reality of local communities who encounter immigrants, both legal and undocumented, in daily life and such communities' normal civic, economic, and social activities. The U.S. government does not have an immigrant settlement policy (Schmidt 2007), with the exception of special classes of refugees and asylum seekers (Jachimowicz and O'Neil 2006). In the past decade, some U.S. state governments, especially in states undergoing rapid demographic change, established offices to facilitate immigrant integration. Efforts by local governments across the country to address this issue have been at best uneven, ranging from anti-illegal immigrant housing and employment ordinances to focused public administration, community, and faith-based endeavors to support the smooth transition of immigrants to local civic, economic, and social life.

Underlying effective civic governance is the basic assumption that public bureaucracies know, work with, and serve their communities. When the face of the community is rapidly changing, the onus is on local government to accommodate the change in a manner that develops and enhances the assets of the newcomers for the good of all. In addition, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community-based organization (CBOs) "operated by language minority communities [are better situated] to provide a mix of needed services and cultural support to their members in the languages of those communities" (Schmidt 2001, 227). Latino immigrants represent the largest portion of all foreign-born residents. Forty percent of all Latinos living in the United States in 2006 were foreign-born, and 86.6% of recent adult Latino immigrants speak English less than very well (Pew Hispanic Center 2008). Improved quality of life, business and workforce development, and cultural diversity grow from valuing the contributions of new Latino immigrants.

Changing community demographics present challenges to local governments and public administrators. In the United States, Mexicans comprise the largest portion of Latino community growth, followed by Cubans and Puerto Ricans. Latinos have immigrated in increasing numbers from Central and South America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean as well. While there are many established American Latino communities, it is in the new Latino destinations that the rapid influx of persons who are culturally and linguistically different from the dominant culture presents both the greatest challenge and the greatest opportunity for inclusive governance. Such differences may confound the transaction of public service delivery and constrain civic engagement. Sinclair (2002) found that "immigration forces community members to confront the probability that their mutual identity will change as new residents add their patterns of behavior into the mix of on-going social interactions" (319). How public administration responds to this change can either lay the groundwork for collaborative community-building or allow the seeds of future unrest to take root.

Local governments within the U.S. federal system operate much like Lipsky's (1971) "street-level bureaucrats." They are the frontline where police, social service providers, city planners, and educators deal pragmatically with the reality of an unintended consequence of current U.S. immigration policy: the presence of undocumented residents in their community. The undocumented live alongside legal immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers and are largely indistinguishable from other immigrants. Sinclair (2002) suggested that "when officials affirm that the new arrivals are welcome members of a community, they may reinforce integrative values among community members" (324).

In this article I explore local (city) governments' programmatic and policy responses to a growing Latino immigrant presence and the underlying assumptions that drive those responses. I address two questions: (1) How can local government assist in integrating immigrants into the social, economic, and civic life of the community? and (2) What assumptions underlie various integration policy choices?

According to the Pew Hispanic Center and the Brookings Institute, the new Latino destinations are those communities which had a small Latino population in 1980 and experienced rapid (over 150%) growth by 2000 (Suro and Singer 2002). Latinos in these communities may still comprise a relatively small percentage of the total metropolitan population, but the growth in their numbers over the past two decades is a

harbinger of future trends. Nationally, fifty-one primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs) were classified by Pew and Brooking researchers as new Latino destinations.

In the introduction to her assessment of political assimilation and participation in liberal democracy, Junn (2000) noted,

> The study of the political consequences of international migration to the United States usually does not begin with an assessment of the ways current democratic institutions and practices either accommodate or constrain new entrants to the polity. Instead emphasis has more often been placed on determining which factors enhance the political incorporation and assimilation of immigrants and ethnic minorities into American politics as it is presently constituted. (187)

In this article I assess practices within local democratic institutions in order to identify efforts that include new immigrants as an integral part of society. Immigration issues less frequently explored, which I examine, include the ways local governments integrate Latinos into the community. I begin by considering the definition and context of integration research, focusing on broad issues such as the emergence of transnational lifestyles, the importance of social and economic networks, and the impact of immigration on the lives of immigrant children. The discussion then shifts to the various community integration approaches local governments have embraced and identifies six integration models: (1) the economic development model, which views new Latino residents as economic revitalization assets for the local community; (2) the public safety model, derived from some cities' concerns about the victimization of Latinos and others' focus on the criminal activity associated with Latino gangs; (3) the community building model, which values Latinos as new citizens; (4) the employment diversity model, driven by a belief in the importance of representative government; (5) the NGO/public school/private sector partnership model, in which the Latino community collaborates with trusted institutions for service co-delivery; and (6) the advisory council model, which recognizes the importance of Latinos as cultural brokers between local communities and elected/appointed city officials.

Defining Integration Policy
Outside the U.S., some of the most robust discussion of immigrant integration has occurred in the European Union (EU) as member countries have struggled with expansion—what their societies would look like in the face of increasing immigration of third country nationals. The Commission of the European Communities (2003) suggested

> Integration should be understood as the two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations of legally resident third country nationals and the host society which provides for full participation of the immigrant. This implies on the one hand that it is the responsibility of the host society to ensure that the formal rights of immigrants are in place in such a way that the individual has the possibility of participating in economic, social, cultural and civil life and on the other, that immigrants respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process, without having to relinquish their own identity. (17)

Framing integration as a two-way process assumes responsibility shared between newcomers and the receiving community. Rudiger (2005) found that

"decoupling migration and integration issues shifts the location of integration policymaking from areas of immigration, border control and criminal justice to the socioeconomic field, where mainstream social inclusion strategies are already being designed" (20). Based on this perspective, cities can develop long-term goals for building social cohesion through the inclusion of immigrants in the life of the community. Integration policies allow immigrants to function independently and become economically self-supportive (Urth 2005). Also, as Vitorino (2005) proposed, integration policy should be undergirded by the principles of equality, human rights, diversity, and inclusion.

Much of the integration research and other research examining the issue of immigrant integration was conducted by federal governments (e.g., Canada), supra-national organizations (e.g., the EU and OEDC), and policy institutes (e.g., the Migration Policy Institute). In examining EU immigration policy harmonization, Givens and Luedtke (2004) found that immigrant integration issues generated expansive harmonization whereas restrictive, partial harmonization was more common around immigration control issues. Scholars have observed that differing immigrant integration goals, ranging from assimilation into the dominant culture to acceptance of pluralistic society, frame integration responses (Ireland 2006; Penninx 2006). Pennix (2006) noted that "if city authorities do not address such questions [housing, education, religious observations, and reactions of the host community], they may be forced to do so by emerging crises [such as inner city riots in France and the United Kingdom]" (43). Schibel (2003) noted that several studies by the Council of Europe, in addition to recognizing the role of civic society, "make a powerful point about the continuing responsibility of governments in providing the conditions for successful immigrant integration. Recent debates and initiatives further show that within 'government,' local authorities may be in the best position to develop innovative and positive policy responses to the challenge of integration" (106). Urth (2005) echoed Schibel (2003), finding that successful integration strategies focus on the local level. Questions of how to provide adequate housing and jobs, how to create space for immigrants to practice their own religious beliefs and cultural traditions, and how to offer opportunities for immigrants to learn the language and customs of their adopted community are at the heart of integration strategies that are necessarily context-bound. The other side of integration forces local communities to respond to their native populations' reactions to immigrants' presence (Sinclair 2002). This includes a willingness to address issues of hostility, discrimination, and social exclusion.

Integration strategies are built by local communities around multiple, though not mutually exclusive, goals. Social cohesion goals challenge communities to balance difference with equality of access while avoiding the pitfalls of fragmentation. They also respect new immigrants' cultural identity. Political inclusion goals offer a pathway for immigrants to participate in the decision-making processes that affect their lives (de Wenden 2005). Economic inclusion goals create a space for immigrant entrepreneurship, paying fair wages for newcomer labor, and finding a way to value the education and skills immigrants bring to their new communities. The following section introduces the context of integration strategies in the United States.

U.S. Integration Context

There is a strong research tradition regarding the integration of individual Latino immigrants as well as the social, political, and economic development of Latino enclaves within the U.S. (e.g., Borjas and Tienda 1993; Garcia 2000; Gerstle and Mollenkopf 2001; Landale and Oropesa 2001; McCall 2001; Rothman and Espenshade 1992; Shaw, de la Garza, and Lee 2000). The financial, cultural, and human assets that immigrants bring to the U.S. influence their integration (Nee and Sanders 2001). Likewise, the presence and maturity of social networks in the receiving community can aid new residents' social transition and workforce integration (Hagan 1998; Massey et al. 1993). Immigrants participate actively in the workforce and social life of their new U.S. communities, where they can often realize economic advancement not possible in their native lands (Portes 1996). Indeed, Itzigsohn and Saucedo (2002) found that integration in the new country does not weaken transnational participation and that the permeability of borders makes transitional lifestyles feasible. Established Latino community social networks can serve as a precursor to political mobilization once they identify specific issues impacting their community (Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001). In some cases, the mobilization is against an injustice or lack of service, such as water, electric, or sewer; in other cases, it may be in reaction to anti-immigrant sentiment.

Scholars have also paid a good deal of attention to the fortunes of the children of Latino immigrants, documenting, for instance, their experience in increasing educational attainment and workforce success, as compared with their parents (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, and Walters 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Rumbaut (1996) described the "1.5 generation" as children of immigrants who began their socialization and education in their native countries and, after emigrating, completed their education in U.S. public schools. The earlier their age of entry into U.S. public schools, the more likely they were to learn to speak English without a noticeable accent and to demonstrate educational attainment similar to native youth.

Much of the literature has also focused on the economic impact immigrants have on demands for social services from government (e.g., Borjas and Hilton 1996; Loveless et al. 1996; Muller and Espenshade 1985). How immigrants see themselves—either as sojourners leading transnational lives or as settlers—coupled with their length of time in the United States, influence how they access services from local governments (Norris-Tirrel 2002). Immigrant Latinos have often faced divergent futures, either going the route of traditional upward mobility and assimilation or of downward mobility and stagnation because of inadequate labor market skills and English language proficiency (Portes and Rumbault 1990; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Schmidt 2001). Gimenez (1998) also suggested that Latinos must embrace the reality of their working class position in American society so they can voice grievances and escape economic exploitation through political participation.

Immigrants' political participation has largely been a function of socioeconomic status and English language skills development (Tam Cho 1999). Over a decade ago, Verba et al. (1993) noted that Latinos were substantially disadvantaged compared to African Americans and Anglo whites in having access to political resources that might establish a springboard for successful political participation. Jones-Corea (1998) also observed that, for Latino immigrants, gender influences participation: "While men are more likely to remain involved in first generation immigrant organizations, women more

often take on the role on intermediaries between the immigrant community and the surrounding society" (346).

When analysis moved from the individual or groups of immigrants to an academic discipline's perspective, de la Garza (2004) lamented that "it is therefore disappointing that, unlike sociology and economics, political science has not engaged immigration to understand the multiple ways immigrants may affect the nation" (105). The convergence of bureaucratic actions and communities' changing racial/ethnic demographics has largely focused on policy outcomes (e.g., Borjas and Hilton 1996; Soss et al. 2001; Tolbert and Hero 2001). The significant knowledge gap surrounding these changing demographics is in public administration. Although Alba and Nee (2003), Joppke and Morawska (2003) and Ireland (2004) all note that "immigrants typically become fully integrated within host states after two or three generations—more quickly if supported by proactive immigrant integration policies at the national and *local levels*" [emphasis added] (Cornelius and Rosenblum 2005, 103), we know very little about how cities have responded to the rapid growth of their Latino immigrant populations, and we often have only anecdotal or case study data about the relationship between local public administrative policies and NGO and CBO immigrant-serving groups. Gozdziak and Miller's *Beyond the Gateway* (2005) is a notable exception; however, that work concentrated on only five U.S. cities. A few nascent studies of bureaucratic incorporation and institutional effects on immigrant integration have appeared, notably Jones-Correa's *Racial and Ethnic Diversity and the Politics of Education in Suburbia* (2004), which examines public education in the Virginia suburbs of Washington D.C., and Lewis and Ramakrishnan's "Police Practices in Immigrant-destination Cities," (2007), an evaluation of police practices in California cities. In both studies, the researchers found that public administrators, rather than politicians, are leading integration efforts. Bloemraad (2006) also suggested that immigrant political incorporation is "a social process of mobilization by friends, family, community organizations and local leaders embedded in an institutional context shaped by government policies of diversity and *newcomer settlement*" [emphasis added] (667). Additionally, Sinclair (2002) found that both institutional attachment to community and government influence newcomer integration: "Maintaining positive community identities as the residents of localities change is a critical problem for governments" (321). Hing (2006) echoed that U.S. state and local governments should lead the way and suggested a local government welcome wagon approach towards newcomers.

The next section presents an examination of local government reactions to rising Latino immigrant presence. Using survey and interview results from the largest incorporated cities among these new Latino-destination primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs), I explore the structures and strategies local governments have developed to integrate their growing, largely foreign-born Latino populations. Supplemental qualitative interviews further illuminate the transformative responses developing in these destinations.

Methodology
Before developing a survey instrument, I explored the barriers an immigrant unfamiliar with American governance structure and with limited English proficiency might experience in accessing local government services. A series of conversations with recent

immigrants, local government officials, and non-profit employees who work with Latino immigrants helped clarify these issues. I then constructed a questionnaire around local governments' primary areas of responsibility in their communities: community and neighborhood development, economic development, public safety, infrastructure and public works, and civic engagement. For each of these service areas, survey questions listed potential ways government might facilitate immigrant integration and allowed for open-ended responses from the interviewees.

My research instrument, *Nuevos Residentes: A Survey of Local Government Responsiveness in New Latino Destinations* formed the basis of the interviews with local government officials I conducted in thirty-seven U.S. cities from spring 2004 through fall 2005. These thirty-seven cities represent approximately three-quarters (72.5%) of the new Latino destinations and reflect their national geographic distribution. This portion of the research focused on the primary urban area in each city. I conducted twelve separate research trips, grouping the local government visits geographically. Initial contact in each city occurred through the city manager's office, or, in the case of strong mayoral governments, the chief operating officer's (COO) or business administrator's (BA) office. I emailed each chief city administrative officer an overview of the research project. Using the narrative story investigative method, which engages the research subject as a co-researcher in defining a study's parameters, I asked the chief city administrator to identify the city employee(s) who could explain the city's initiatives with its Latino community. This "privileging" of chief administrators' viewpoints on their cities' responsiveness to changing demographics provides insight into the importance local government leaders place on linguistic accessibility and other forms of Latino integration (Ospina and Dodge 2005, 151).[1] The chief administrative officer either met with me personally or designated city official(s) to be available for an interview during my visit. I interviewed a total of 97 persons for this study.

Each interview began with a review of the study purposes and distribution of the overview document that I previously emailed to the chief administrative officer. Next, I requested the city representatives present to provide me with an overview of their Latino community, including answers to the questions: What were the national origins of the Latino population? What employment opportunities were attracting Latinos to the city? What were the residential settlement patterns (enclave versus dispersed)? While some demographic information, such as immigrants' countries of origin, was available through the U.S. decennial census, I posed these questions to extract the level of the local government's familiarity with its Latino community, an important factor in designing outreach strategies. The final question—What initiatives had local government undertaken to work with the Latino population?—was geared toward generating information that would provide a contextual background and allow city employees to share about their efforts.

Following that discussion, I administered a thirty-five-question survey designed to elicit information about the local government's strategic responses to its rapidly growing Latino population. Survey items focused on six main areas of integration: community building, economic development, governance and leadership, community outreach and partnering with existing nonprofit organizations, city employment, and the

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[1] Privileging does introduce a bias towards a top-down viewpoint of local integration initiatives and may overlook some grassroots organizational efforts.

impact of linguistic integration on public safety provision. After administering the formal survey instrument, I asked participants if there were any other programs or initiatives not previously discussed that they found successful in outreach or integration of the growing Latino community in their city.

Demographics

The Latino population in the thirty-seven study cities ranged from 1.6% (Birmingham and Knoxville) to 29.8% (Fort Worth) of total populations in 2000, as shown in column E of Table 1. In eleven of the thirty-seven metropolitan areas, Latinos comprised 10% or more of the total population. In numeric terms, the communities in the study represent 1.1 of the 5.3 million Latinos living in new Latino destinations in the United States.

During the first decade of the study period, 1980 to 1990, the cities which first noted rapid increases of over a 100% in their Latino populations were Albany, Allentown, Orlando, Clearwater, Las Vegas, and Raleigh, as shown in column A of Table 1. During the subsequent decade, 1990 to 2000, changes ranged from a 68.0% increase in Albany to a 614.4% upsurge (from 5,571 to 39,800 Latino residents) in Charlotte, the single largest percentage change during a single decade (columns B and D, Table 1). Considering the twenty years from 1980 to 2000, seventeen of the cities experienced explosive hyper-growth in their Latino populations (column C, Table 1). Charlotte and Raleigh each grew by over 1000%, exhibiting the largest increase for the twenty-year period.

Of the study cities, Springfield, MA had the largest native-born Latino population at 95.7%, as shown in column B of Table 2. In twenty-two of the thirty-seven study cities, over one-half of the Latino population was native born; however, in the southern cities of Memphis, Atlanta, Greensboro, West Palm Beach, Sarasota, Raleigh, and Charlotte, 60% or more of Latino residents were foreign born (column D, Table 2). The largest concentrations of island-born Puerto Ricans were in Springfield and Orlando, where they comprised 44.7% and 42.9%, respectively, of the native-born Latino population (column C, Table 2).

Not surprisingly, those communities with the highest percentage of foreign-born Latinos were also the cities where language presented the largest integration challenge to Latinos, as shown in Table 3 (Brenner 2006). "Proficiency in English is one of the key measures of immigrant integration used by Urban Institute and other researchers, because limited English proficient immigrants tend to hold less desirable jobs, earn lower incomes, and generally fare worse on most indicators of well-being" (Lotspeich et al. 2003, 11). The U.S. Bureau of Census (2003) has defined a household as linguistically isolated if no person aged 14 or older in the household speaks English or if its members speak English less than very well.

In 82% of the study cities (n = 32), 50% or more of Latinos lived in linguistically-isolated households, based on the U.S. Census Bureau definition, as shown in Table 3. Raleigh, Minneapolis, Louisville, Sarasota, Charlotte, and Birmingham had the most linguistically-isolated Spanish-speaking Latino populations, with over 70% (70.1% to 75.3%) of Latinos speaking English less than very well. Albany and Jacksonville had the smallest proportion of Latinos needing language accommodation, with 67.2% and 66.2% of Spanish speakers, respectively, speaking English very well (first column, Table 3).

TABLE 1. New Latino destination cities' Latino population growth 1980-2000 and Latino percentage of total populations 2000.

City	A Percentage increase 1980-1990	B Percentage increase 1990-2000	C Overall percentage increase 1980-2000	D Latino population 2000	E Latino percentage of total population
Birmingham	-49.5	262.6	83.3	3,764	1.6
Knoxville	-16.6	150.3	108.9	2,751	1.6
Kansas City	16.2	79.8	109.0	30,604	6.9
Wilmington	53.4	40.9	116.1	7,148	9.8
Louisville	-14.3	170.8	132.1	4,755	1.9
Seattle	44.0	62.0	133.2	29,719	5.3
Milwaukee	48.8	81.8	170.5	71,646	12.0
Salt Lake City	24.0	120.9	173.8	34,254	18.8
West Palm Beach	79.9	56.2	179.4	14,955	18.2
Springfield	90.6	55.8	197.1	41,343	27.2
St. Paul	51.9	97.9	200.7	22,715	7.9
Jacksonville	66.6	85.9	209.7	30,594	4.2
Tacoma	60.4	98.8	218.9	13,262	6.9
Atlanta	30.9	148.8	225.6	18,720	4.5
Fort Worth	78.8	82.5	228.1	159,368	29.8
Columbus	27.2	159.2	229.6	17,471	2.5
Memphis	-22.3	333.6	237.1	19,317	3.0
Wichita	61.3	117.1	250.2	33,112	9.6
Little Rock	0.5	265.7	267.3	4,889	2.7
Albany	120.9	68.0	271.2	5,349	5.6
Omaha	39.9	185.7	299.7	29,397	7.5
Oklahoma City	87.2	133.1	336.5	51,368	10.1
Grand Rapids	62.5	174.8	346.5	25,818	13.1
Tulsa	52.0	193.9	346.8	28,111	7.2
Indianapolis	19.5	298.9	376.5	30,636	3.9
Portland	84.0	159.9	378.2	36,058	6.8
Allentown	131.8	112.3	392.2	26,058	24.4
Greenville	55.0	218.0	392.8	1,927	3.4
Sarasota	91.3	160.9	399.0	6,283	11.9
Orlando	171.1	125.7	511.9	32,510	17.5
Minneapolis	65.9	269.3	512.7	25,774	7.6
Clearwater	128.5	238.0	672.3	9,754	9.0
Nashville-Davidson	42.2	456.4	691.3	25,774	4.7
Greensboro	50.5	452.0	730.5	9,742	4.4
Las Vegas	154.2	249.0	787.1	112,962	23.6
Charlotte	80.2	614.4	1187.6	39,800	7.4
Raleigh	137.9	556.7	1462.1	19,308	7.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census: 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 59–Persons of Spanish Origin, Race and Sex; 1990 Summary Tape File (STF 1)-100 Percent, P009 Hispanic Origin; 2000 Summary File 1 (SF 1)–100 Percent Data, P004 Total Population, Hispanic and Non-Hispanic.

TABLE 2. Latino birthplaces by citizenship status in new Latino destination cities 2000.

City	A Total Latino Population	B Percentage of Native-born Latinos	C Percentage of Native Puerto Rico-born Latinos	D Percentage of Foreign-born Latinos
Springfield	41,359	95.7	44.7	4.3
Allentown	25,970	84.5	37.6	15.5
Albany	5,387	83.2	14.0	16.8
Wilmington	7,151	76.3	39.6	23.7
Jacksonville	30,414	73.3	20.2	26.7
Orlando	32,897	69.3	42.9	30.7
Tacoma	13,232	67.3	4.3	32.7
Milwaukee	71,032	67.1	18.1	32.9
Columbus	17,368	63.2	8.6	36.8
Kansas City	30,374	62.7	1.3	37.3
Knoxville	2,591	62.3	5.3	37.7
St. Paul	22,696	61.6	2.5	38.4
Wichita	33,002	60.1	1.5	39.9
Seattle	29,655	60.0	1.6	40.0
Fort Worth	159,212	57.4	0.9	42.6
Little Rock	4,908	56.2	2.1	43.8
Oklahoma City	50,549	54.9	1.2	45.1
Omaha	29,006	52.9	0.6	47.1
Portland	35,791		1.1	47.4
Grand Rapids	25,814	51.3	7.0	48.7
Tulsa	28,097	49.5	2.9	50.5
Clearwater	9,615	49.4	24.1	50.6
Indianapolis	29,641	47.8	4.9	52.2
Las Vegas	113,237	47.8	2.1	52.2
Salt Lake City	34,102	46.7	1.0	53.2
Greenville	1,840	44.8	5.6	55.2
Louisville	4,618	44.6	4.2	55.4
Birmingham	3,694	44.4	5.7	55.6
Nashville	25,291	41.3	7.2	58.7
Minneapolis	29,085	40.4	4.1	59.6
Memphis	18,751	40.0	5.2	60.0
Atlanta	18,582	37.9	5.5	62.1
Greensboro	10,143	34.9	4.4	65.1
West Palm Beach	15,007	33.9	20.6	66.1
Sarasota	6,390	31.8	13.2	68.2
Raleigh	19,522	30.1	6.6	69.9
Charlotte	40,008	29.9	8.5	70.1

Source: Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF3), PCT 63 Place of Birth by Citizenship Status (Hispanic).

TABLE 3. Latinos aged five or more years in linguistically isolated households in new Latino destination cities 2000.

City	Percentage Spanish speakers who speak English *Less than very well*	City	Percentage Spanish speakers who speak English *less than very well*
Albany	32.8	Las Vegas	59.9
Jacksonville	33.8	Grand Rapids	60.6
Allentown	42.5	Nashville-Davidson	61.4
Orlando	43.6	Little Rock	61.7
Springfield	45.0	Tulsa	63.0
Columbus	51.3	Portland	63.4
Seattle	53.0	Indianapolis	63.5
Wilmington	53.0	Omaha	63.7
Tacoma	53.8	Greensboro	64.1
Knoxville	53.8	Salt Lake City	64.4
Milwaukee	54.5	West Palm Beach	64.5
Kansas City	54.9	Memphis	65.6
Fort Worth	55.2	Atlanta	68.3
Wichita	55.4	Birmingham	70.1
Oklahoma City	55.8	Charlotte	70.8
St. Paul	57.2	Sarasota	71.3
Greenville	58.6	Louisville	71.3
Clearwater	59.9	Minneapolis	71.7
		Raleigh	75.3

Source: Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF3), PCT 11 Language Spoken at Home by Ability to Speak English for the Population Age 5 Years or Older (Hispanic).

As we will see in the next section, many of these local governments have embraced various immigrant integration strategies to transition Latino newcomers from the margins of community life to full civic participation.

Models of Integration in New Latino Destinations
Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1984) suggested three stages of integration as new racial/ethnic groups move into communities: mobilization, incorporation into city politics, and impact of incorporation on policy responsiveness. In general, few of this study's cities exhibited high levels of political integration with regard to the presence of Latino elected or appointed positions; however, they developed other models of integration unique to the needs of their communities. Except for Sarasota, Florida, all the cities had at least one local government initiative focused on incorporating the Latino community.

The various models of immigrant integration, observed during the survey interviews, were not mutually exclusive. Some communities embraced more than one see Figure 1). Seattle took the most expansive approach, employing five strategies; Charlotte followed with four; Minneapolis, Oklahoma City, and Orlando each used three strategies. The strategies focused on economic development, public safety, community building,

employment diversity, nonprofit and public school partnerships, and advisory councils. Table 4 overviews the integration models, their underlying assumptions, and examples.
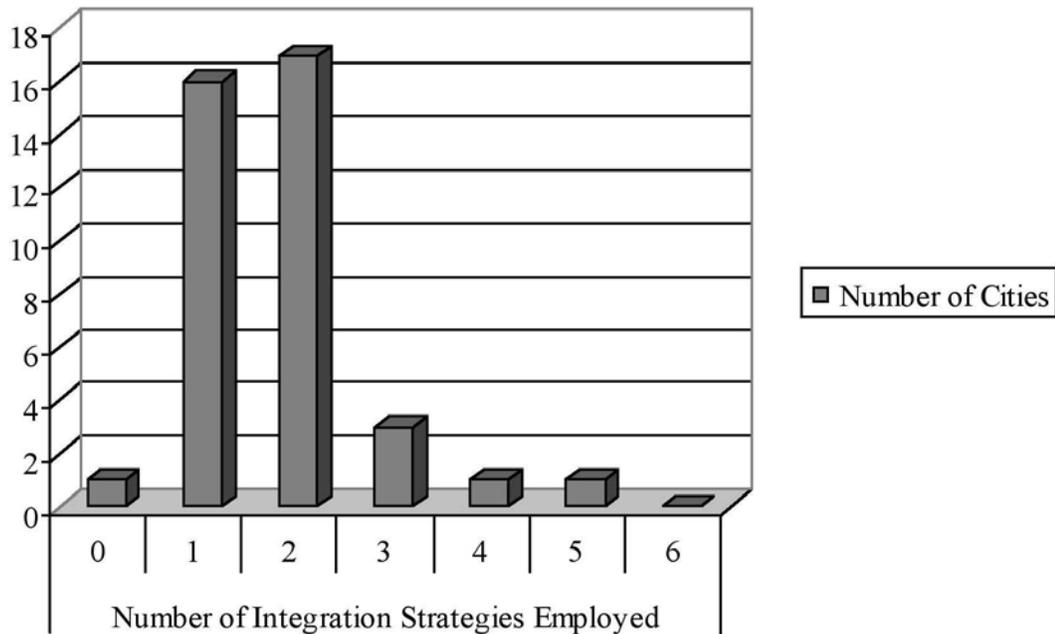
FIGURE 1. Number of cities and their immigrant integration strategies.

Economic Development Model of Integration
Under the economic development model of integration, local governments view new residents as potential development targets. Some study cities designed programs to encourage development, while others already undergoing development offered programs to accelerate the process. Communities that pursue this model build on the long tradition of revitalization strategies researchers such as Fitzgerald and Leigh (2002), Jacobs and Dutton (2000), and Keating and Krumholz (1999), among others, have advocated. As the following examples of Greensboro, Tulsa, and Oklahoma City show, this model provides a community view of immigrants' economic impacts, surpasses the largely negative view of immigrants as drains on local services, and positively reflects immigrants' contributions to local economic expansion.

Greensboro
There is an established Latino business community in Greensboro, North Carolina. Many of the businesses are "Mom and Pop" establishments or other small enterprises which may have lacked the financial capacity to expand to the next level. Using a successful, HUD award winning program transplanted from Fayetteville as a model, the new assistant city manager for economic development established a targeted loan program to assist businesses in a lower-income section of Greensboro (Brown 2004). The community saw this targeted loan fund as another economic development tool in a city portfolio that already included venture and working capital loan programs developed with the city's chamber of commerce. A previous access-to-capital study conducted in U.S.-Mexico communities cited lack of sound business plans and established accounting procedures as

significant barriers to business development in small Latino-owned firms (Johnson, Schauer, and Soden 2002). To address some of these concerns in Greensboro and as an initial step in the loan application process, applicants were paired with a local SCORE member for a business plan review. SCORE, which is "counselor to America's small business," has volunteers who are experienced entrepreneurs and corporate managers or executives with extensive business experience. Linking Latino small businesspersons and SCORE volunteers established mentoring opportunities and provided loan applicants with sound business and financial advice. Fully vetted business plans were then presented for approval to the loan program.

Tulsa
Many Latino residents of Tulsa, Oklahoma, were drawn to the affordable housing in inner city neighborhoods where the overall housing stock had deteriorated over time. These neighborhoods already had a culturally diverse mixture of older Anglos and Native Americans. As Latinos moved in, white flight, often associated with ethnically transitioning neighborhoods, did not occur. Instead, the community realized an overall improvement in housing quality as the new Latino residents, especially those who came with families, used their construction skills to begin making improvements. The city's response was to make funds available for housing rehabilitation through a sweat equity program. While the program did not specifically target Latino homeowners, they have been the primary beneficiaries (Coles and Treadway 2004). Tulsa's experience exemplifies Saiz and Watcher's findings that "immigration might actually be associated with revitalization in poor neighborhoods or in neighborhoods with high concentrations of minorities" (2006, 5). Additionally, Tulsa has collaborated with its ethnic communities to develop local neighborhoods, including residences, restaurants, and marketplaces. Tulsa has envisioned these neighborhoods as vibrant ethnic enclaves serving both the local community and the city with potential as future tourist attractions. The city is also collaborating with its Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, the first Hispanic chamber in Oklahoma, in planning a *mercado* (shopping center) area (Coles and Treadway 2004).

Oklahoma City
When Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, relocated the downtown portion of Interstate 40, displacing a largely Latino neighborhood, the director of the Latino Community Development Center, a dynamic Peruvian immigrant community leader, negotiated concessions for the neighborhood, including a new park, design features, and a mitigation plan for the one hundred homes and businesses affected. She also helped recruit a top artist from Mexico City to design elements of the new area. The result was 200 rehabilitated housing units, a *mercado*, and a community center. This was consistent with Oklahoma City's economic development policy of fostering cultural centers complementary to minority communities. By treating all minority groups similarly, the city has aimed to revitalize deteriorating inner city neighborhoods through infill, strategically developing empty lots of land or remodeling homes and buildings within the urban area rather than on undeveloped land outside the city, thereby bringing more vitality to the inner core (Dugan and Friend 2004). Oklahoma City also has a program in the old Capital Hill area called Capital Hill Main Street, the first bilingual main street program in the state. The city spent two million dollars to rebuild infrastructures and establish a streetscape program. It also implemented small business development efforts

to mentor and facilitate local minority-owned businesses. The Latino director of the Capital Hill Main Street program worked to increase the number of Latino representatives on the old Capital Hill Council, a local business association. While some tensions do exist between the old Anglo leadership and the new Latino board members, city planners noted that the business community has generally surpassed the political community as far as accepting and building Latino businesses (Dugan and Friend 2004).

TABLE 4. Immigrant incorporation models observed in new Latino destinations.

Incorporation Model	Assumptions Behind the Model	Examples from cities
Economic development	Latinos are economic revitalization assets	• Sweat equity home improvement programs • Assistance for small business development • Assistance for *mercado* (shopping center) development
Public safety	Latinos are victims	• Family safety and domestic violence prevention programs • Crisis response information in Spanish • Specialized police unit with bicultural, bilingual skills
	Latinos are criminals	• Gang prevention coordination with Central American police • Privately funded Spanish language immersion in Central American countries for police officers
Community building	Latinos are local citizens	• Community development specialists responsible for outreach • Bilingual information about municipal services
Employment diversity	Latinos are reflected in a representative government	• Targeted Latino recruitment plans • Hiring Latinos for high-level civil management positions • Tracking program for how Latinos employees heard about city employment opportunities • Minority outreach office
NGO, public school and private sector partnerships	Latino-trusted institutions are a basis for service co-delivery	• After school community center with social service delivery • Recreational programs for youth • Attracting Mexican consular offices
Advisory councils	Latinos act as cultural brokers with elected and appointed municipal leadership	Mayor's advisory council focusing on: 1. Municipal workforce recruitment 2. Latino business development 3. Communication and other areas

Public Safety Model of Integration

At the heart of the public safety model of integration lies the tradition of community-based policing (e.g., Curtis 2006; Sanders 2001). Decentralized authority, changes in service delivery methods, training programs for community members, and sensitivity to residents' linguistic and cultural backgrounds are all important elements of community-based policing in the cities discussed below. Lack of social networks, unfamiliarity with U.S. institutions like banks, and language barriers may make Latino immigrants more vulnerable in new communities. Consequently, immigrant youth discouraged by their parents' working long hours for low pay and disenfranchised by limited economic opportunity may choose a different path. They can become targets for transnational gang recruitment, drawn by the promise of ready cash and the power of fear-based respect.

In several communities, the local government's primary contact with the Latino community occurred through the police department. In most instances, police department representatives described their concern about the number of Latinos being victimized by crime. For example, Tulsa officials observed that much of the vandalism to public buildings and homes in Latino neighborhoods was caused by a local Anglo skinhead gang (Coles and Treadway 2004). In Oklahoma City, the police observed most Latino criminal victimization occurred as a result of internal Latino-on-Latino crime among the nearly forty Latino gangs in Oklahoma City, many of which had developed around ties of national origin (Dugan and Friend 2004).

In developing a public safety response to victimization concerns, police face many barriers in connecting effectively with Latino communities. The issue of trust development is highly problematic when a portion of the Latino immigrant community is in the United States without proper documentation (Culver 2004). In most of the communities where interviews occurred, government officials estimated that potentially one-third to one-half of the Latino community was undocumented. Partnerships with the faith-based groups and NGOs were crucial to building trust between police officers and Latino citizens. Most city police departments made decisions early on that they were not going to focus on immigration issues, which they saw as a federal responsibility; they were concerned with crimes within their communities.

Clearwater

Top-down leadership within study cities' police departments helped move most communities towards a more effective police/Latino interface. In Clearwater, Florida, the police chief's concern about Latino victimization led him to contact the local Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) for assistance in crafting an effective outreach program (Brumback 2004). The YWCA was able to help the chief identify community leaders who could be approached to serve as cultural brokers for police-citizen interaction. The police department had a well-developed public safety program, but all the materials were in English. Through the YWCA, it was able to find volunteers who could help translate. The high number of domestic violence cases in the Latino community presented an ideal focal point for launching a community education program. The police and YWCA crafted it as a family safety program and used churches, community leaders, and locally-based police officers to distribute flyers describing the program. From the handful of women who first attended the educational sessions, participation increased so much that the city donated space adjacent to the police

department for a YWCA-staffed Latino community services center, *Centro de Apoyo Hispano*. This full-service center is supported through city funds and various grants and offers programs on financial literacy, small business assistance, workforce development, and public safety (Serrano-Lux 2004). Clearwater became a finalist in the National Civic League's All-America City competition based on its establishment of this center.

Charlotte
Charlotte, North Carolina, has a burgeoning international community, which includes approximately 70,000 Latinos, 17,000 Asians, 9,000 Eastern European refugees, and numerous Sudanese and Somalian refugees. As the major refugee resettlement location in North Carolina, the city needed its public safety outreach efforts to target multiple ethnic communities, the largest of which was Latino. In 1997, the police chief established a task force to address Latino issues and needs, resulting in a Latino strategic plan which identified the department's significant need for interpreters, including the lack of quality or cost control over external translators and of incentives for bilingual officers (Mendoza 2004). The department also recognized the cultural distrust and fear-based attitudes towards the police that many Latinos held based on their home country experiences (da Silva 2001). This perspective, coupled with the lack of documentation among many Latinos, produced an overriding fear of deportation that colored most interactions with police. Even Latino crime victims were wary about reporting the incidents or cooperating in criminal investigations. Occasionally, officers lacking an understanding of the cultural diversity in Latino communities even exacerbated tensions.

During the 2000 Latino strategic plan's re-evaluation, the recommendation emerged to create a specific unit with responsibilities in the growing international community. This led to the establishment of a specific coordinating unit, the International Relations unit (IR), which includes a sergeant and six officers chosen based on demonstrable cultural awareness and problem solving abilities. One of their first tasks was to identify the various ethnicities and nationalities in Charlotte and pinpoint community leaders within the Latino community. The unit emphasized the importance of working with faith-based organizations as cultural brokers. IR also assumed a leadership role in training fellow officers around issues of cultural diversity.

There is an active police outreach program in Charlotte. IR members act as police liaisons when responding to local groups' invitations. Common venues for community-based public safety programs include English as Second Language (ESL) classes, apartment complexes, and Latino business associations. The department offers a series of eight emergency preparedness classes taught in Spanish. Training videos are also available in Spanish and four other core languages (Vietnamese, Laotian, Serb-Croatian, and Russian) to address the public safety needs of the city's international community. IR works with a local Spanish language radio station to produce a monthly public safety program and also partnered with the local Red Cross to produce a disaster preparedness television program. Youth outreach and crime prevention emphasis follow traditional police outreach programs such as the Police Athletic League (PAL), Boy and Girl Scouts, and coaching soccer leagues organized around countries of origin of various immigrant groups.

Charlotte has also effectively incorporated a core group of civilian volunteers who work with the police to serve the Latino community. These 20 bilingual, bicultural

Latino volunteers, trained through the police department's citizen academy, are required to give sixteen hours' service to the department per month. They help in such tasks as setting up appointments for investigators in the district attorney's office or reminding victims of court dates. They also ride with officers in non-emergency situations to disseminate crime prevention information and explain city services.

Charlotte police have worked closely with the court system. Spanish-speaking Latino citizens who assist with criminal prosecutions receive a letter of thanks written in Spanish from the judge. Police, IR unit, and volunteer efforts to educate Latino citizens about the American judicial process and recognition by the courts have led to increased reporting of suspicious activities, which in turn has led to increased criminal arrests and incarceration, regardless of race or ethnicity.

The police have addressed language barriers through a three-pronged public safety translation approach. First, the department contracts with a single external service, thereby ensuring that all translators are certified so that translations have the best chance of holding up to legal scrutiny.[2] Second, the department provides pictorial translations that include short words or sentences written at the third- or fourth-grade reading level. These "fast facts" are helpful for non-Spanish speaking field officers, who can show the flash cards to Spanish-speaking community members. Finally, the police have a number of public safety videos produced by the North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission and El Pueblo, a statewide Latino advocacy organization.

Clark (2004) stressed the importance of linking specially trained community police departments with other agencies concerned with the rapid growth of transnational crime. He found these linkages critical to developing isolated communities' capacity to resist crime. New immigrant communities in the study cities frequently functioned as isolated communities in the urban context. An alternative public safety model developed in some communities that have experienced increasing Latino gang activity. In Indianapolis, for example, drug trafficking and the violence that accompanies it has been linked with the presence of the ruthless M-13 Central American gang. Accordingly, the Mayor's Commission on Latino Affairs worked with the police department to address emergent criminal challenges. The commission brokered support from the Indianapolis businesses and philanthropies, which funded Spanish language training for police officers. In addition, private donations allowed officers who completed language training to travel to Honduras and Guatemala for two weeks for further language immersion and to coordinate criminal justice responses to the transnational gangs which threaten communities in the Americas (Gambetta 2005).

Community Building Model of Integration
The community building model's sociological approach to integration focuses both on identifying pre-existing assets in a target community and providing external assistance to develop those assets and stimulate community-based leadership (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Salamon 1998). Capacity building, which is the "process of developing

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[2] Charlotte's use of a single translation service addressed concerns with quality control and trust in accuracy of translation. There is one set cost rate per hour for translation through contract service. All translators are required to be certified and they must pass a police background check. The police also retain the right to refuse the services of any individual translator. The translation service contract covers all languages, not just Spanish.

and strengthening the skills, instincts, abilities, processes and resources that organizations and communities need to survive, adapt, and thrive in the fast-changing world" (Philbin 1998, 3), develops skills within an immigrant community. Efforts can focus on individuals, community leaders, mutual assistance and non-profit organizations, or faith-based organizations. This approach is essentially concerned with human capital and organizational development to equip individuals and/or organizations with the skills necessary to meet the needs of their immigrant community. As immigrant social networks are established they grow in importance over time and become foundational in community building, as the next two examples show.

Raleigh

Raleigh, North Carolina, adopted this asset-based community development model for their Latino initiative. It was the African American director of the city's Community Services Department who advocated establishing Latino outreach positions in the unit: "If they're here, they're working, contributing to the economy and community. They need to know about the services the city offers just like any other citizen" (Watkins 2004).

The city implements its decentralized approach to working with neighborhoods through city advisory councils (CACs). Eighteen geographic areas of Raleigh have these advisory councils, whose voluntary membership includes substantial numbers of Latino residents and local businesses. By 2002, Raleigh had staffed the effort with two Latino employees assigned to provide outreach assistance to the CACs. Their role in asset building and community development is to make available information about municipal services. Their goal is to strengthen and increase the effectiveness of people and organizations working to find solutions to neighborhood problems, some of which may be the result of poverty and injustice (Olivieri-Robert 2004). In the process, the Latino outreach staff translated all the city's informational brochures; they can provide bilingual explanations of the material and discuss the complexities of municipal programs. By supporting the people and social and business structure of local areas, outreach workers are empowering Latinos to exert control over their lives and, as Raleigh citizens, civically participate in meaningful and effective ways.

Columbus

Similarly in Columbus, Ohio, Mayor Michael B. Coleman established the New American Initiative was established in 2004 to give immigrants and refugees access to city services and programs so that they could improve their quality of life and civically and economically engage in the community. The program focuses on language acquisition and education, affordable housing, health care, and jobs for new immigrants and refugees (Williams 2005). In 2005 another program, the Capacity Building Initiative for Immigrant and Refugee Organizations, received $800,000 in cash and in-kind donations from the city and other public and private entities, including The Columbus Foundation, Franklin County Board of Commissioners, Columbus Medical Association Foundation, Ohio State Bar Foundation, Fifth Third Bank, Ohio's Children's Foundation, and United Way of Central Ohio. A Latino-led organization was among the nine nascent immigrant/refugee organizations chosen to participate in the two-year pilot program, which combined small grants, training and technical assistance, and consulting services

to address areas such as financial management, board and governance issues, fundraising, and resource development. The program recognizes the important role immigrant and refugee organizations play in connecting newcomers to the Columbus region (Columbus Foundation 2006).

Employment Diversity Model of Integration
As the concept of representative democracy extends itself into the public sector workplace, elected leaders confront the public's expectation that the local public workforce will begin to mirror the demographics of its community (Dreachslin, Weech-Maldonado, and Dansky 2004; Hindera and Young 1998; Meier 1975, 1993; Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard 1999; Perrott 1999; Riccucci and Saidel 1997; Rosenbloom and Featherstonhaugh 1977; Selden 1997; Selden, Brudney, and Kellough 1998; Subramaniam 1967; Weber 2000). However, employment diversity in most of this study's cities with regard to Latino public employees lagged behind Latino presence in the community. Accessing immigrant social networks and working with community leaders are two important avenues for cities to explore when seeking to increase local government workforce diversity through integrating immigrants, particularly Latinos. Study communities that expressed a desire to increase the racial/ethnic diversity of their local government employment base, as in the examples below, most frequently cited wanting to increase Latino presence in public safety positions, particularly on the police force. Since the police function as street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky 1971) who have high degrees of interaction with local citizens, it is not surprising this is an arena where Latinos are highly sought after for their ability to assist with cross-cultural issues and, if they are bilingual any language differences.[3]

West Palm Beach
West Palm Beach, Florida, is a community committed to diversity. In 2004 the mayor of West Palm Beach, Florida, came into office with a strong commitment to diversity (Cooney 2004). As the administration's various departments developed their goals and objectives, she communicated to the Human Relations Department (HR) that internal city hiring should reflect the community's population. Working with the mayor's Diversity Advisory Council, HR compiled mailing lists of non-profit organizations, businesses, and churches that serve largely Latino congregations (Contreras 2004). Both the West Palm Beach Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and the West Palm Beach Hispanic Alliance, an umbrella organization which coordinates many small NGOs serving the Latino community, also provided mailing addresses as well as direct contact with their members. HR sent out over 250 invitations to an informational session on city employment opportunities, and members of the mayor's diversity council made personal telephone calls to encourage attendance. Twenty percent of those contacted, approximately 50 community leaders, primarily from NGOs and faith-based organizations, attended the informational session. City officials decided any sincere hiring effort had to begin with transparency about the current lack of public employment diversity. HR presented the

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[3] Many second and third-plus generation Latinos do not speak Spanish. Therefore, Latino recruitment to the public workforce does not guarantee an increase in bilingualism there. Additionally, while many native Latinos and recent immigrants may have good verbal Spanish skills, their written Spanish functions at a much lower level.

city's Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) data, which showed city employment did not reflect the local community, particularly with regard to Latinos. It asked the community leaders for help in increasing employment diversity. The city was actively seeking partners who could help spread information about local government employment opportunities and encourage job seekers to seriously consider such posts. The primary thrust of the hiring effort was to recruit candidates for police and firefighting academies. Both the chief of police and fire chief spoke about their departmental needs and opportunities for Latino public safety officers (Cooney 2004).

Several positive initiatives resulted from the informational session. A key Latino leader met with the police chief to develop a recruiting team whose membership reflected the area's diversity. *El Latino*, a local Spanish-language newspaper, ran a front-page article about the city's drive to hire Latino police officers. The two area Spanish-language radio stations also ran recruitment spots for the city. One of the crucial issues that surfaced as a result of the meeting was the need for more citizenship classes. Community leaders cited lack of citizenship as a major barrier to employment for Latinos. Through a local volunteer's initiative, city cable television managers developed a 30-minute civics education program that aired in both Spanish and English. The video included basic civics lessons, citizenship class information, contact names for assistance in obtaining citizenship, including local immigration attorneys, and a brief city hiring promotional segment. HR's main goal was inclusiveness, and the message it consistently communicated to Latino community, business, and religious leaders was, "West Palm Beach wants to be the role model for diversity in Florida" (Cooney 2004).

Orlando
In Orlando, Florida, the Human Resources Division internally tracks how individuals hear about city employment opportunities. Findings indicate that Latino applicants most often learn about jobs through the internet. To better serve the Latino community, including increasing the job applicant pool, the city website is available in Spanish, *Orlando en Espanol*. Human Resources established a job-posting link on the site to the *Hispanic Today* television show webpage, in addition to existing links to Career Builder and Monster.com. Finally, the city maintains a strong presence at the annual Hispanic Business Expo, staffing the booth with bilingual employees who can answer questions about city job opportunities (Brown 2004).

Atlanta, Tampa, Albany, Las Vegas, and Salt Lake City
In other communities, Latino employment in key local government positions was also an important strategy. By valuing both the intellectual and cultural capital of Latino hires, cities in effect "jump start" organizational learning (Harvey and Denton 1999). This knowledge can result in proactive organizational change that may give a community a competitive advantage as a new Latino destination. In January 2004, Atlanta, Georgia, officials hired the former executive director of a Latino-serving non-profit as deputy chief operating officer, because close ties to the Latino community would assist the city in developing more Latino-friendly policies (Borrero 2004). Likewise, in Tampa, Florida, the neighborhood services director was the highest-ranking Latino official in city or county government (Corrada 2004). Even before he had moved to Tampa, local Latino business and community leaders called to congratulate him and initiate discussions about

issues of community concern. Albany, New York's first Latino managerial hire, made in 2004, was the human resources commissioner. Having the Latino commissioner in place, the mayor felt positioned to develop a Latino hiring initiative for the city (Rabito 2004).

Las Vegas, Nevada, and Salt Lake City, Utah, both chose to create new city positions responsible for minority outreach. Las Vegas established a Minority Community Outreach Office in April 2004 (Shelby 2004). Although hiring had not been accomplished at the time of my interview; the city manager indicated he wanted to see a Latino fill the position of Diversity Outreach Officer. With Latinos comprising 21% of Las Vegas' population in the 2000 census, and nearly 25 percent in 2004, the majority of the office's efforts, according to the city manager, would target the growing Latino community. Similarly, Salt Lake City created a diversity and human rights coordinator position for the city, employing a Latino whose activist roots in working with low income Latinos, primarily of Mexican-origin, can be traced back to his *pro bono* legal aid to undocumented employees arrested at the Salt Lake City airport days after the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Alvarez 2004).

NGO, Public School, and Private Sector Partnership Model of Integration
Strategies for forming successful partnerships among community institutions such as nonprofit organizations, professional associations, schools, and local governments have a rich tradition in the United States (Salinas and Chabrán 2005/2006). In some instances, local governments assist in increasing nonprofits' capacity through planning, fundraising, or leadership development (Gardiner and West 2003). In other cases, nonprofit organizations serve as bridges between local governments and specific community groups, providing "new local decision spaces for marginalized groups" (Clarke 2001, 134). NGOs can offer insight to local governments about Latino communities because they "provide greater flexibility, more context-sensitive responsiveness and fresh perspectives on pervasive problems" (Clarke (2001, 136). Nationally, many of these linkages focus on poverty reduction and neighborhood revitalization (Rich, Giles, and Stern 2001). In addition, nonprofits' more active role in public life potentially increases citizen participation, which is an important integrative step for marginalized communities, and broadens the public policy discussion in a city (The Urban Institute 2000).

Many of the study cities found that partnering with existing non-profit organizations currently serving Latinos was the most effective way to deliver services to the growing immigrant community. In some of the relationships, a nonprofit organization was the "significant driving force" (Berman and West 1995) in accomplishing tasks that significantly benefited the Latino community, such as the consular offices in the subsequent examples from St. Paul, Minnesota, and Little Rock, Arkansas.

St. Paul
St. Paul collaborated with the efforts of *Chicanos Latinos Unidos En Servicio* (CLUES), a Latino-based NGO serving the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. CLUES 2004 major capital campaign to expand its multi-service facility. The expanded space included 75,000 square feet that allowed CLUES to offer fully integrated, co-located services for youth and seniors in St. Paul's Latino community (Gámez 2005). In July 2004, the mayor invited CLUES to join the city in proposing to Mexico that it should establish consular offices in a portion of the expanded CLUES facility. The following month the Mexican

General Consul from Chicago traveled to the twin cities to hear the mayor's proposal. Through a brokered cost-sharing arrangement, CLUES provided the space and the city agreed to use Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds to prepare the CLUES space for the consulate and cover utility costs. On October 14, 2005, the Mexican government hosted a grand opening of the St. Paul Mexican Consular Office (Gámez 2005; Fletcher 2005).

Little Rock
In its own efforts to establish Mexican consular offices, Little Rock, Arkansas, partnered with the private sector (Henderson and Nunn 2005). The city identified a local building as a potential site for the consulate, agreed to donate $100,000 to renovate the space, and received additional funds from Tyson Poultry and one of the largest off-Wall Street bond houses, Stevens, Inc. The site, across the street from the University of Arkansas, offered easy bus line access and had the added benefit of good proximity to the city's mid-sized airport with its direct flights to Mexico.

Fort Worth, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa
An under-explored opportunity for local government collaboration in Latino outreach is in the public schools. Wagner and Deck (1998) found that family structures and places of worship are the dominant forms of providing mutual assistance in Latino communities, rather than more traditionally Anglo-organized American nonprofit associations. School-based service delivery can be successful because schools are a trusted community institution. Parents and grandparents are familiar with interacting with teachers and principals around concerns for their children and grandchildren. Additionally, educators often serve as cultural brokers for immigrant students (Cowart and Wilhelm 1998). Fort Worth, Texas, and Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Oklahoma, were at the forefront of effective collaboration with local public schools to deliver services to Latino citizens. In Tulsa, the schools served as a quasi-community center for adults, offering a range of parenting and language classes and information about city services (Coles and Treadway 2004). Fort Worth partnered with public schools to offer recreational activities for youth (Livingston 2004). Finally, Oklahoma City restored an old school building using Central Business Development Grant funds to establish a youth recreational facility in an area that serves the Latino community (Dugan and Friend 2004).

Advisory Council Model of Integration
The National League of Cities has long recognized the importance of public officials "becoming proactive leaders in initiating efforts to anticipate and deal with…changes…[by] reaching beyond traditional political boundaries and…reaching deep within the diverse economic and cultural fabric of their communities to identify common needs and to develop collaborative strategies to respond to those needs…bringing new voices and new views into the public dialogue and decision making process" (Borut 1996, 23). The challenge elected leaders face with regard to culturally and linguistically different communities is not only how to gain access but how to do so in a respectful and culturally appropriate manner.

Mayors in the study cities who reached out to specific communities often chose to establish a task force to tackle a specific issue or convene a group of local advisors.

These advisory groups, which usually include civic leadership, experts, and other knowledgeable persons, can fill important informational functions in city government and help city leadership avoid costly or embarrassing decisions. Gingrich (2004) found that persons who assume the role of cultural broker between the community and city government must be chosen for their ability and wisdom, not position; they should also be individuals whom the community has honored and who have acted to help to preserve the integrity of the community. As cultural brokers, advisory councils "manage the flow of meaning between two very different politicoreligious [*sic*] [and cultural] contexts" (Coleman 1993, 353). Participation in advisory councils also enhances Latino immigrant leadership development and may launch other forms of political involvement. Charlotte, Jacksonville, and West Palm Beach established advisory councils to work with the mayor and administrative leaders. In West Palm Beach, the diversity advisory council played a key role in facilitating the previously discussed employment diversity initiative, which received outstanding recognition from the National League of Cities in 2006.

Charlotte

In Charlotte the Mayor's International Cabinet (MIC) "serves as a forum for international issues and acts as an advocate to local government in support of the international communities, organizations and businesses of the city of Charlotte." The 30-member board serves as an advisory board to the mayor and city government and includes residents, representatives from nonprofit organizations, as well as immigrant- and foreign-owned firms.. The Cabinet identifies current resources available to the Latin American Chamber of Commerce and other small businesses as well as problems that minority businesses may encounter. A secondary area of emphasis is to assist in effective communication in crises situations. The mayor commissioned the Mayor's International Cabinet to study and make recommendations to improve communication and emergency preparedness with Charlotte-Mecklenburg County's non-English speaking population as a result of the disproportionately high incidence of carbon monoxide poisoning cases in the Latino immigrant community following a major ice storm in 2002, The recommendations were adopted by both the city and county governments, and at the time of this study, the city was developing a phone bank geo-notification system through the police department. Other studies undertaken by taskforces of Mayor's International Cabinet analyzed the economic impact of the international community and attendant communication challenges using data garnered from an ESL survey of 376 non-native speakers. They also serve as a liaison between the city and the local Mexican and Nicaraguan consulates (Lassiter 2004).

Jacksonville

Jacksonville's seven-member Hispanic American Advisory Board is comprised of all mayoral appointees. "The purpose of the board is to provide a means by which the city may obtain information, guidance, and on-going comprehensive studies relating to its citizens of Hispanic descent" (Valdes-Pellino 2004). The board raised funds through its annual scholarship luncheon, held an Hispanic health fair, and sponsored other public events such as a Latino leaders reception. They have also been active participants in the "get out the vote" campaign aimed at Latino citizens, working with the University of

North Florida and the government of Puerto Rico. Their comprehensive goals included: 1) developing partnerships with Hispanic business leaders to promote the educational advancement of Jacksonville's Hispanic youth; 2) developing a bilingual workforce to attract foreign industries to the city; 3) informing Hispanic residents about the city's programs and services; 4) serving as a channel of communication between the fast-growing Hispanic community and city government; and 5) increasing Hispanic participation in local government by promoting nominations to organizations and community work groups (Valdes-Pellino 2004).

Role of the Latino Immigrant Community
The host community's reception of immigrants is only one side of the story. Latino immigrant communities played an equally important role in each of the study cities' policy formation. The interplay between immigrant communities and local municipal authorities as policies are developed can either be reactive or proactive. Table 5 captures the types of policies that were observed in new Latino destination cities depending on whether the immigrant community or the local government adopted a reactive or proactive stance.

TABLE 5. Types of policy observed from Latino immigrant community interactions with local government.

		Latino Immigrant Community Responses	
		Reactive	*Proactive*
Local Government Responses	*Reactive*	• Gang prevention program • Day labor centers	• Sweat equity programs leading to home ownership • Small business development assistance
	Proactive	• Domestic violence and family safety program • Negotiated housing settlement in highway relocation project	• Attracting consular offices to city • Mayor's Latino advisory board • Diverse hiring initiatives involving Latino community leaders

Some municipal challenges and their concomitant policy solutions develop organically in communities. One such challenge involves immigrants and labor. The need for gainful employment and the problems attendant with a low skill base, limited English proficiency, and varying degrees of U.S. legality often lead immigrant men and women to establish informal gathering places to seek day labor opportunities. This response is reactive in the sense that traditional labor entrance mechanisms, such as employment offices, may not be viable for immigrants needing jobs, especially in light of indeterminate citizenship status. Furthermore, informal day labor gatherings are reactions

to the local labor market needs, primarily in landscaping, agriculture, and construction. Local governments often enter into the day labor debate in response to negative reactions from citizens who live in areas adjacent to the informal gathering locations. Governments' role is to broker a solution that is both acceptable to citizens of the community and meets the legitimate labor force needs of the prospective employees and employers (Sims-Saldana and Hopgood 2005; Turnbull 2007).

Another challenge related to immigrants and labor is the rise of gang activity. Latino gangs often gain a stronghold in communities when there are few options for employment. The lure of quick money and the sense of being in a new, and perhaps inhospitable, environment with few job prospects draw some Latino youth into the underground economy. Many of the study cities found that partnering with existing non-profit organizations currently serving Latinos was the most effective way to deliver services to the growing immigrant community. In some of the relationships, a nonprofit organization was the "significant driving force" (Berman and West 1995) in accomplishing tasks that significantly benefited the Latino community, such as the consular offices in the subsequent examples from St. Paul, Minnesota, and Little Rock, Arkansas.

St. Paul

St. Paul collaborated with the efforts of *Chicanos Latinos Unidos En Servicio* (CLUES), a Latino-based NGO serving the twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. CLUES 2004 major capital campaign to expand its multi-service facility. The expanded space included 75,000 square feet that allowed CLUES to offer fully integrated, co-located services for youth and seniors in St. Paul's Latino community (Gámez 2005). In July 2004, the mayor invited CLUES to join the city in proposing to Mexico that it should establish consular offices in a portion of the expanded CLUES facility. The following month the Mexican General Consul from Chicago traveled to the twin cities to hear the mayor's proposal. Through a brokered cost-sharing arrangement, CLUES provided the space and the city agreed to use Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds to prepare the CLUES space for the consulate and cover utility costs. On October 14, 2005, the Mexican government hosted a grand opening of the St. Paul Mexican Consular Office (Gámez 2005; Fletcher 2005).

Little Rock

In its own efforts to establish Mexican consular offices, Little Rock, Arkansas, partnered with the private sector (Henderson and Nunn 2005). The city identified a local building as a potential site for the consulate, agreed to donate $100,000 to renovate the space, and received additional funds from Tyson Poultry and one of the largest off-Wall Street bond houses, Stevens, Inc. The site, across the street from the University of Arkansas, offered easy bus line access and had the added benefit of good proximity to the city's mid-sized airport with its direct flights to Mexico.

Fort Worth, Oklahoma City, and Tulsa

An under-explored opportunity for local government collaboration in Latino outreach is in the public schools. Wagner and Deck (1998) found that family structures and places of worship are the dominant forms of providing mutual assistance in Latino communities, rather than more traditionally Anglo-organized American nonprofit associations. School-

based service delivery can be successful because schools are a trusted community institution. Parents and grandparents are familiar with interacting with teachers and principals around concerns for their children and grandchildren. Additionally, educators often serve as cultural brokers for immigrant students (Cowart and Wilhelm 1998). Fort Worth, Texas, and Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Oklahoma, were at the forefront of effective collaboration with local public schools to deliver services to Latino citizens. In Tulsa, the schools served as a quasi-community center for adults, offering a range of parenting and language classes and information about city services (Coles and Treadway 2004). Fort Worth partnered with public schools to offer recreational activities for youth (Livingston 2004). Finally, Oklahoma City restored an old school building using Central Business Development Grant funds to establish a youth recreational facility in an area that serves the Latino community (Dugan and Friend 2004).

Advisory Council Model of Integration
The National League of Cities has long recognized the importance of public officials "becoming proactive leaders in initiating efforts to anticipate and deal with…changes…[by] reaching beyond traditional political boundaries and…reaching deep within the diverse economic and cultural fabric of their communities to identify common needs and to develop collaborative strategies to respond to those needs…bringing new voices and new views into the public dialogue and decision making process" (Borut 1996, 23). The challenge elected leaders face with regard to culturally and linguistically different communities is not only how to gain access but how to do so in a respectful and culturally appropriate manner.

Mayors in the study cities who are reaching out to specific communities often have chosen to establish a task force to tackle a specific issue or convene a group of local advisors. These advisory groups, which usually include civic leadership, experts, and other knowledgeable persons, can fill important informational functions in city government and help city leadership avoid costly or embarrassing decisions. Gingrich (2004) found that persons who assume the role of cultural broker between the community and city government must be chosen for their ability and wisdom, not position; they should also be individuals whom the community has honored and who have acted to help to preserve the integrity of the community. As cultural brokers, advisory councils "manage the flow of meaning between two very different politicoreligious [*sic*] [and cultural] contexts" (Coleman 1993, 353). Participation in advisory councils also enhances Latino immigrant leadership development and may launch other forms of political involvement. Charlotte, Jacksonville, and West Palm Beach established advisory councils to work with the mayor and administrative leaders. In West Palm Beach, the diversity advisory council played a key role in facilitating the previously discussed employment diversity initiative, which received outstanding recognition from the National League of Cities in 2006.

Charlotte
In Charlotte the Mayor's International Cabinet (MIC) "serves as a forum for international issues and acts as an advocate to local government in support of the international communities, organizations and businesses of the city of Charlotte." The 30-member board serves as an advisory board to the mayor and city government and includes

residents, representatives from nonprofit organizations, as well as immigrant- and foreign-owned firms.. The Cabinet identifies current resources available to the Latin American Chamber of Commerce and other small businesses as well as problems that minority businesses may encounter. A secondary area of emphasis is to assist in effective communication in crises situations. The mayor commissioned the Mayor's International Cabinet to study and make recommendations to improve communication and emergency preparedness with Charlotte-Mecklenburg County's non-English speaking population as a result of the disproportionately high incidence of carbon monoxide poisoning cases in the Latino immigrant community following a major ice storm in 2002, The recommendations were adopted by both the city and county governments, and at the time of this study, the city was developing a phone bank geo-notification system through the police department. Other studies undertaken by taskforces of Mayor's International Cabinet analyzed the economic impact of the international community and attendant communication challenges using data garnered from an ESL survey of 376 non-native speakers. They also serve as a liaison between the city and the local Mexican and Nicaraguan consulates (Lassiter 2004).

Jacksonville

Jacksonville's seven-member Hispanic American Advisory Board is comprised of all mayoral appointees. "The purpose of the board is to provide a means by which the city may obtain information, guidance, and on-going comprehensive studies relating to its citizens of Hispanic descent" (Valdes-Pellino 2004). The board raised funds through its annual scholarship luncheon, held an Hispanic health fair, and sponsored other public events such as a Latino leaders reception. They have also been active participants in the "get out the vote" campaign aimed at Latino citizens, working with the University of North Florida and the government of Puerto Rico.

Another proactive government response is police expansion of domestic violence and family safety programs for the protection of women and families in immigrant communities (Brumback 2004; Tisch 2001). The immigration experience and the difficulties that newcomers, particularly men, may have in adjusting to life in a new country may result in increased substance abuse and domestic violence. Indeed, 48% of Latinas have reported that partner violence against them increased since they immigrated to the United States (Dutton, Orloff, and Hass 2000). Proactive community-based programs to educate women about their options, including those under the Violence Against Women Act and battered spouses waivers which may make them eligible for U-visas, serve as an intervention in the cycle of violence (New York State Judicial Committee on Women in the Courts 2004).

Finally, proactive actions by both the Latino community and the local government have had significant outcomes. One of the most stellar successes in this regard was the joint effort of immigrant communities and local officials to attract foreign consular offices to their cities (Gámez 2005; Henderson and Nunn 2005). The mutual respect between Latino community leaders and local public officials was critical to creating an environment receptive to attracting and ultimately establishing consular offices. Similarly, respect undergirds community efforts to establish Latino advisory councils or boards, which can assist local officials in making culturally sensitive policy decisions, or involve Latino leaders in recruiting municipal job candidates from their communities (Cooney 2004; Lassiter 2004).

This community response typology, delineating the proactive and reactive roles of both local officials and members of the Latino community, complements the integration strategy typology (Table 4) by providing appropriate recognition of immigrants' importance in shaping integration policy in their communities. It also emphasizes the interactive nature of integration strategy development by recognizing the importance of the process' two-way nature.

Conclusion

Several themes, or lessons learned, emerged from the experiences of local governments as they sought to more effectively engage their Latino communities. Much of new destination cities' internal organizational transformation occurred as they grappled with how to meet their "social responsibility commitments" to the growing Latino community (Pedlar, Burgoyne, and Boydell 1991). Developing cultural awareness was a key component of this process. For example, when West Palm Beach wanted to transport a number of city employees to a local Latino fair in a city bus, which was painted white, a member of the mayor's diversity council pointed out that using that particular vehicle would be counterproductive, since it was the same color as the Immigration and Customs Enforcement bus. The mere presence of an unmarked white bus might have scared away many undocumented event attendees, a potential target audience for public safety education or other city information and programs (Cooney 2004). In Birmingham, officials took a more systematic approach to cultural awareness by requiring cultural sensitivity training for librarians and all municipal department heads, with plans to have all city employees eventually attend such sessions (Mora 2004).

Trial and error characterized some of the cities' experiences. When Oklahoma City held a community-outreach public meeting to discuss the establishment of a federal empowerment zone, it made a number of dignitaries available to speak to citizens. City council members whose districts included the proposed area and federal representatives were on hand to present information and answer questions. After all this, only three people attended. As city planners noted, "We didn't get the gatekeepers, we learned from that" (Dugan and Friend 2004). Anthropologists have long recognized the need for cultural brokers to legitimize "outsiders" and help them gain entry into a community; however, in Oklahoma City, as in other study cities, the learning curve was very steep. Through a process similar to "learning through feedback" (Deming 1986) and double loop learning (Argyis and Schon 1996), cities are continually adapting to both positive and negative feedback surrounding their traditional approaches to community outreach. When Oklahoma City planners realized traditional public hearings were ineffective in enlisting Latino participation, they retrenched and sought help from the faith-based community. Working with nonprofit and religious leaders, they were able to identify Latino community leaders. Relationships with pastors and priests are important as they can "tell us what is going on in the community; tell us what the needs are" (Coles and Treadway 2004) The pastors of churches with substantial Latino congregants facilitated city contacts with Latino leaders and helped legitimize the bureaucrats as they sought ways to increase community participation at future planning sessions. Subsequent meetings occurred at times and places more convenient to the Latino community and had better attendance. By embracing the religious leadership, the municipal officials increase

trust with Latino residents., increased Latino access to city government, and smoothed the progress of the city's social service delivery.

In some study communities, city government is more aware of the demographic changes occurring in their community than are local citizens. As a result, the study city plays an important role in establishing a positive pattern of interaction with a growing Latino community. Some communities, like Tulsa and Birmingham, have historic patterns of racial conflict between the Anglo and African-American citizens that make integration of another major ethnic group more challenging (Coles and Treadway 2004; Mora 2004). Other cities, notably Charlotte and Minneapolis, have been resettlement areas for Hmong and Somali refugees, which add another layer to newcomer integration challenges.

Research about the Latino community helps city planning, but, in light of cultural and linguistic challenges, city planners may not be the best-qualified people to conduct studies in Latino communities. Tulsa city officials found that funding outside groups to conduct research was more cost effective and allowed for greater access to the Latino community. Consequently, a city-funded United Way needs assessment became the basis of city service delivery design (Coles and Treadway 2004).

Latino integration initiatives often begin with situation-specific needs, and are fragmented and not well-coordinated across city departments. Of the thirty-seven cities in the study, Charlotte had the widest range of services and initiatives involving the Latino community, yet the representatives from five city departments interviewed for this study were frequently not aware of initiatives undertaken in other areas of city government. The assistant city manager facilitating the interview commented on the need for greater coordination of services and activities (Burch 2004).

Although many first responses originate in a study city's police department, there is a major disconnect between public safety and general city government initiatives. The self-contained nature of the police, which may even have its own human resources department, isolates it within the city's organizational structure. Further research is needed to understand how public safety officials' role in leading many strategic local integration efforts can be shared across municipal departments for optimum service delivery.

There also is very little sharing between cities. Study interviewees repeatedly asked me to share what I had learned from other communities. The exception was in the North Carolina communities, many of which had connections through the state's Center for New North Carolinians program, but even then the contact was more city-to-state-to-city than direct city-to-city communication. State and/or municipal organizations may hold potential for linking new Latino destinations and enhancing collaboration. Whether such state and national organizations feel a need to play this role is yet to be seen.

The integration models study cities used demonstrate the range of approaches for working with rapidly growing Latino immigrant populations. Whether cities chose to embrace economic development, public safety, or advisory councils, the results indicate that the vast majority—thirty-six out of the thirty-seven—have taken definite actions to actively address the needs of the Latino community. The cities' organizational learning reflects sporadic movement towards integrative strategies (Pedlar, Burgoyne, and Boydell 1991). However, the extent of shared problem-solving with external actors, such as Latino-serving NGOs, Hispanic chambers of commerce and faith-based organizations, is encouraging, as governance spans the public, private, and voluntary sectors through

networked partnerships (Astleithner and Hamedinger 2003). By contrast internal city departmental collaborative arrangements, in most cases, are in more seminal phases, indicating a more siloed approach to municipal service delivery vis-à-vis Latino immigrant populations..

Denhardt and Denhardt (2001) suggest that "in a world of active citizenship, public officials increasingly play more than a service delivery role; they have a conciliating, mediating or even adjudicating role…new roles [which]…require new skills of brokering, negotiating and conflict resolution" (398). The trust relationships new Latino destination governments built in working towards more collaborative, integrative service delivery and greater citizen participation laid a foundation of sincerity and integrity to encourage more active political engagement by new Latino residents and helped integrate immigrants into the community at large.

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