



doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00611.x

Immigrant Suburban Settlement and the “Threat” to Middle Class Status and Identity: The Case of Farmers Branch, Texas

Caroline B. Brettell* and Faith G. Nibbs*

ABSTRACT

In the United States, the failure to achieve immigration reform at the national level has resulted in numerous responses in local communities that have been most impacted by the settlement of new immigrants. Some of these responses have emerged in suburban communities that have experienced a rapid rise in the foreign-born population during the last twenty years. This essay offers an in-depth analysis of one such community, Farmers Branch, Texas, covered nationally for a series of anti-immigrant ordinances passed by its City Council. Following a description of the history of this community, the growth of its foreign-born population, and the legal manoeuvres to control unauthorized immigration, the essay argues that anti-immigrant legislation in local places like Farmers Branch is at its core a reflection of a debate about and anxiety over American identity – how it is defined and how it is changing. In particular, these responses are about a perceived threat to middle class status and identity. This is discussed first in relationship to issues of home ownership and income and then, in relation to cultural dimensions of class, including matters of taste and the spatializations of middle class identity. Finally, the paper unpacks the concept of “rule of law”. By invoking the claim that Americans are law abiding while unauthorized immigrants have broken the law, lawfulness becomes an exclusionary tool and gives those who support anti-immigrant ordinances a platform for legislating a certain quality of life, and de-Americanizing those who do not fit their conceptualization of what it means to be American. Rule of law becomes a weapon in the fight for middle class status and the status quo.

* Southern Methodist University, Dallas.

In the United States in recent years, the failure to achieve immigration reform at the national level has resulted in numerous responses in local communities that have been most impacted by the settlement of new immigrants.¹ Some of these responses have emerged in rural towns and suburbs of major metropolitan areas that, during the 1990s and continuing into the first decade of the twenty-first century, have experienced a rapid rise in the proportion of foreign born in their midst (Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell, 2008b; Singer, Wilson, and DeRenzi, 2009). Indeed, one of the most important changes in post-1990 immigration to the United States has been a pattern of direct settlement in the suburbs, resulting in what some scholars refer to as “ethnoburbs” (Li, 1998) and others as “melting pot suburbs” (Frey, 2001). Geographer Susan W. Hardwick (2008) has described a process of immigrant infill that is the result of the construction of multiple-family housing that is both affordable and available in suburbs that were traditionally characterized by single-family homes built on large lots. Once settled in these suburban communities, new immigrant populations claim space by building new religious institutions, ethnic strip shopping malls, and a host of other enterprises that have altered the suburban landscape.

A similar process is going on in smaller rural towns across America (Gozdziak and Martin, 2005; Gozdziaik and Bump, 2008) where new challenges are being placed before local governments confronted, for example, with having to establish bilingual education programmes in their schools or more culturally and linguistically sensitive programmes in their hospitals and law enforcement agencies. Micah Bump (2005) writes about one such place, Winchester, Virginia in the Shenandoah Valley, where the Latino population, drawn by opportunities in poultry processing, has increased dramatically since 1990. Bump (2005:151) observes that although these newcomers “obtained permanent employment in sectors including plastic manufacturing, retail, construction, landscaping, health care, social services, and local government, the perception that Hispanics comprise a transient workforce still prevails among business leaders and the community at large. This slanted assessment has, in some cases, been transformed into a ‘denial of responsibility’ for Hispanic health care, education, security, job continuity, English-language instruction, housing, and retirement needs.”

While many of these rural and suburban communities have responded to increasing diversity with innovative and inclusionary integration programmes (Gozdziak and Bump, 2008), in others the outcome has been a

host of restrictive and exclusionary local ordinances affecting everything from access to housing, jobs, local services, or a driver's licence.² It should be noted, of course, that this is not new in American history. In the latter nineteenth century, San Francisco passed discriminatory legislation that targeted Chinese immigrants – for example an 1870 Sidewalk Ordinance outlawing the pole method of carrying laundry and vegetables that was common among the Chinese; an 1871 Cubic Air Ordinance that called for each adult to have a minimum of 500 square feet of living space, thereby targeting extended Chinese families who lived together in cramped quarters; and an 1873 “Pigtail Ordinance” that required every Chinese prisoner to have his braid cut (Wong, 1998:11-12; see also Sandmeyer, 1991; McClain, 1994).³

But in the early twenty-first century, the passing of local and state ordinances to regulate immigration has become quite intense. As Singer, Hardwick and Brettell (2008a: 308-309) write, “coupled with fairly widespread economic and political insecurity, and spurred on by the larger and acrimonious national debate swelling around illegal immigration, the public is wary about changes happening around them. City, county, and municipal officials are pressured to ‘do something’ about immigration.” By doing something, local governments are formulating their own immigration policy – generally considered the exclusive responsibility of the federal government – to control what is perceived to be out-of-control immigration, and particularly unauthorized or illegal immigration. Many of these local ordinances have been subjected to immediate legal challenge, but in the meantime a climate of fear and an atmosphere of hostility and divisiveness permeate many of these local places. One such local place is Farmers Branch, Texas.

In this essay, we use the case of Farmers Branch not only to trace closely the development of localized anti-immigrant politics, but also to argue for greater attention to class and culture in the study of contemporary immigration in the United States. While there is some research on this issue, it often focuses on working class responses to immigrants who are viewed as competitors for economic security and scarce resources (Cole, 1996) or on a more elite, cosmopolitan response that is generally more favorable towards immigrants (Haubert and Fussell, 2006). Here, our emphasis is on how immigrants are perceived as a threat to middle class status and American identity. Although we are attentive to the economic and social dimensions of class, in developing this analysis we have also found it useful to “think with” Sherry Ortner’s (2003:11) contention that class in America is culturally and

discursively constructed. Ortner argues that class, like race and gender, is a component of personal identity although perhaps less visible. Describing her approach to class as akin to Pierre Bourdieu's (1978) concept of *habitus*, Ortner argues that class includes both an "external world of cultural assumptions and social institutions that ordinary people inhabit without thinking very much about them, and an internalized version of that world that becomes part of people's identities, generating dispositions to feel/think/judge/act in certain ways" (Ortner, 2003: 12). She also suggests that class should be thought about "as a project, as something that is always being made or kept or defended" (Ortner, 2003: 14). These components of the "class project" are central to our analysis.

Elsewhere, Ortner (1998: 2-3) has observed that a Marxist perspective on class focuses on just two classes – the owners of the means of production and workers – leaving out discussion of the middle class as well as emphasizing a structural approach over "how people themselves see and understand their social positions". Ortner emphasizes that class cannot ultimately be separated from race and ethnicity in an analysis of American culture and society, and that it matters very much in the study of social movements.⁴ Here we suggest that it matters very much in the study of anti-immigrant social movements. Further, since middle class identity in America is rooted in symbols, we draw on Thomas Espenshade's (1995: 203) argument that "challenges to important symbols of American nationality may evoke anti-immigrant attitudes." "Rule of law" is one such symbol and the anti-immigrant attitudes that have emerged from the sense of violation of rule of law can, we argue, become the foundation for efforts to legislate against immigrants, particularly illegal immigrants, at the local level.

We begin with a brief overview of the history of Farmers Branch and the formulation of the local ordinances against immigrants. We then turn to our analysis of how these ordinances and the local activities surrounding them reflect the way in which immigration is perceived as a threat to middle class status and American identity. Our discussion is largely based on a discourse analysis of newspaper articles and blogs. We also conducted a lengthy interview with the key player in the community who, as a member of the Farmers Branch City Council, first introduced the local ordinances.⁵ In addition we conducted background historical research as well as an analysis of US census data to track critical demographic and economic changes.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF FARMERS BRANCH AND ITS ANTI-IMMIGRANT MEASURES

Farmer's Branch is an inner ring suburb to the immediate northwest of the city of Dallas. The history of white settlement into what was likely Wichita Indian territory, dates back to 1841 when it was part of a large land grant (the Peters Colony) awarded by the Texas Land and Emigration Company to the Republic of Texas.⁶ The Peters Colony involved a contract with businessmen from Louisville Kentucky and London, England to begin to settle the area with "free and white inhabitants" within a three year period – 200 per year with each head of family being given 640 acres and each single man 320 acres. Although the terms of this contract changed several times during the first few years (see Ogle, 1977), colonists from states like Illinois, Tennessee, Indiana, Missouri and Kentucky, as well as some coming directly from England, began to move in, arriving in the village Farmers Branch where the land office was located to negotiate their business. By 1844 there were 197 families and 184 single men in the colony. Dallas County was organized in 1846 with Farmers Branch included in it. The first cotton in Dallas County was grown in Farmers Branch and it was also there that the first mill and cotton gin were built. In 1846 the first Baptist Church in Dallas County was organized in Farmers Branch and the first school was opened there. The community had its post office by 1848. In 1878, the Dallas and Wichita Railroad came through the community but when the company ran short of funds, the line was not extended for a few years until Jay Gould purchased it and continued it to Denton. Railroad passenger service continued until 1938 and in 1958 the railroad was closed.

By 1885 the population of Farmers Branch had reached 100 individuals. The community passed its first century as a small farming town. In 1946, with a population of 800, it became incorporated as a city. By 1960 the population had grown to 13, 441 and within a decade it had more than doubled to 27, 492. In 1970, 320 individuals with "Spanish surnames" were counted for the first time. Table 1 presents the growth of the population, the Hispanic population, and the foreign-born population between 1970 and 2007.⁷ In 1980 the Spanish origin population represented 8 per cent of the total population; in 2000 they were more than a third. By late 2008, the *Dallas Morning News* ran a story drawing attention to the fact that Hispanics were the

TABLE 1
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FARMERS BRANCH, 1970-2007

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2005-2007
Total Population	27, 492	24, 863	24, 250	27, 508	27,750
Hispanic Population*	320 (1.2%)	1, 930 (7.8%)	4, 895 (20.2%)	10, 241 (37.2%)	12,959 (46.7%)
% Foreign-Born Population	1.6%	5.2%	13.6%	25.1%	28.4%

Note: In 1970 the term "Spanish surname" was used; in 1980, "Spanish origin". Beginning in 1990 the term Hispanic was used.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

largest demographic group in Farmers Branch, 46.7 per cent compared to whites at 46.1 per cent (Sandoval, 2008). Whereas in 1980, the foreign-born population in Farmers Branch represented just over 5 per cent of the total population, in 2000 they were a quarter of the population and by the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century this proportion had risen to just over 28 per cent. In 2000, Farmers Branch was number 3 on a list of the top ten north central Texas cities with the highest percentage of Hispanic residents (37.2%) ahead of the city of Dallas with 35.6 per cent, the city of Fort Worth, with 29.8 per cent, and the city of Irving, an adjacent inner-ring DFW suburb that has been in the news for its implementation of the Criminal Alien Program [(287 (g)), with 31.2 per cent.⁸

It is also worth noting that while 65 per cent of the white population in 2000 was over age 35, the comparable proportion of the Hispanic population was 27 per cent. Conversely while 18 per cent of the white population was under age 17, 37 per cent of the Hispanic population was between 0 and 17 years of age. Seventeen per cent of the white population was between 18 and 34 compared with 36 per cent of the Hispanic population. In short two-thirds of the white population was over age 35 while just over two-thirds of the Hispanic population was under age 35. Populations with such divergent age structures may have quite different priorities and points of view about their community.

To summarize, Farmers Branch shares many of the characteristics of a "first suburb", as formulated by Robert Puentes and David Warren (2006). These are places close to the metropolitan core that developed in the post War period and hence have older housing stock compared to newer suburbs that are at a greater distance from the urban core.

Today, however, while these first suburbs “retain some typically suburban traits, they are also beginning to take on characteristics normally associated with central cities and other urban places” (Puentes and Warren, 2006: 5). The minority, elderly and low income populations in first suburbs are growing at a faster rate than the national average. While overall household incomes across the U.S. rose in the 1990s, they did not in first suburbs. Many neighbourhoods in first suburbs are aging, and it has become increasingly difficult to attract high-quality development.

In Farmers Branch, signs of tension resulting from this “first suburb” status and the rapidly increasing diversity associated with it first emerged in January of 2006. The Police Chief of Farmers Branch, when confronted with the fact that there were no Asians on the police force, responded by saying that as long as he was in office there would be no “gooks in this department”. He was asked to resign, and a new police chief took office with the commitment to work with “a diverse community and changing demographics.” However, in August of 2006 the Farmers Branch City Council, at the instigation of council member Tim O’Hare who suggested that many of the problems the city was facing could be laid at the feet of illegal immigrants, began discussing a series of ordinances that would limit the rights of unauthorized immigrants in their community. These ordinances would require renters to provide proof of citizenship or residency, establish English as the official language, and permit local police to participate in the federal 287 (g) programme (under the Immigration Reform Act of 1996) whereby immigration status can be checked and immigration law enforced.

Throughout the fall of 2006, the members of the Farmers Branch City Council followed the debates over immigration reform taking place in the House and Senate in Washington. They expressed their local frustrations in a resolution that was distributed to other cities, community colleges, and school districts in the state, as well as to President George W. Bush and the Texas delegation in the US Congress. This resolution claimed that “the citizens of this state and this nation and the citizens of the City of Farmers Branch...are concerned, worried, upset, frustrated and downright mad that President Bush and the Executive Branch of the United States government has and is totally failing in the enforcement of the Immigration Act as it relates to the influx of illegal aliens” (Sandoval, 2006b:1B) The resolution went on to say that if nothing was done nationally, they would “take whatever steps we legally can to

respond to the legitimate concerns of our citizens.” Government officials in Farmers Branch had their eye on what was happening in Hazelton, Pennsylvania, another community pushing forward with local actions to gain some control over illegal immigrants in their midst (Dorell, 2006; see also Turque, 2006).

In November of 2006, the City Council of Farmers Branch unanimously adopted an ordinance requiring apartment managers to document that tenants are in the United States legally. This action was immediately challenged by national Hispanic organizations such as LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) and the National Council of La Raza. By December of 2006, a grassroots group, Uniting Farmers Branch, turned in petitions with enough signatures to force an election on the ordinance. Further, three local apartment complexes had filed suits, asking for the ordinance to be declared unconstitutional. Tim O’Hare, the Farmers Branch city council member leading the charge, started a legal defense fund to fight the lawsuits. Some of the funds were raised through the sale of T-shirts with the phrase “Please speak English.”

A temporary restraining order issued by a District Court judge on 11 January 2007 delayed the enforcement of the ordinance (slated for 12 January 2007) and an election was called for 12 May 2007. The ordinance was redrafted in an effort to avoid further legal challenges. Throughout the spring there was an aggressive voter registration drive and on 12 May 2007, 43 per cent of voters turned out to support the anti-immigrant measures by 2 to 1. A temporary restraining order issued within 10 days prevented Farmers Branch from implementing these measures. On 19 June 2007 Federal District Judge Sam Lindsay granted a preliminary injunction that stopped Farmers Branch from implementing Ordinance 2903 until the federal lawsuit brought forward by apartment managers and residents could be resolved at trial. By the end of the summer of 2007, the city had spent close to US\$ 450,000 on legal costs associated with their anti-immigrant measures.

By January 2008 the city of Farmers Branch had unveiled a substitute ordinance that would require tenants to secure a residential occupancy license (stating that they were a US Citizen or in the country legally) before renting an apartment or applying for food stamps or school financial aid. The city proposed to check this license application against a federal database to verify immigration status. Individuals who could not be verified would have sixty days to demonstrate that they are in

the United States legally or have their application denied. The City Council considered this ordinance less subject to legal challenge. Indeed, while those challenging such local ordinances nationwide were having legal successes, in the spring of 2008 courts around the country began to rule in favour of some state and local legislation aimed at combating illegal immigration.

However, in February of 2008, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) filed new lawsuits challenging this substitute ordinance, claiming that the City Council of Farmers Branch had violated Texas open meetings laws when drafting the measure. In May of 2008, council member Tim O'Hare, the driving force behind the rental ban efforts was elected Mayor of Farmers Branch. Later that month, Judge Lindsay issued a permanent injunction barring the city from implementing the original rental ban which began a 15 day countdown to implementation of the new ordinance.

In September 2008, opponents of the measure filed another round of lawsuits to immediately block the new measure from going into effect stating that the database the city was planning to use to certify US citizenship was not designed to determine who is eligible for rental housing and that municipalities are not authorized to use it for such purposes because it "is not, according to the Department of Homeland Security, a complete collection of immigration information on all aliens" (Trejo, 2008:6B). In the fall of 2008 the city reached an agreement with the Judge to put off implementing the new ordinance in exchange for the case being "fast tracked" through the judicial process. Further, the city decided to stop fighting the original ordinance (2903) in order to focus on the second ordinance (2952) (Trejo and Sandoval, 2008: 1B), largely because legal costs were skyrocketing. By January of 2009, the city was drawing on its reserves to sustain the court fight, something that opponents of the ordinances had predicted.⁹ In the spring of 2009, in advance of a 9 May election, one of the original opponents of the Farmer's Branch ordinances, Elizabeth Villafranca, sold her house in Dallas and moved to Farmers Branch in order to run for City Council. Although her candidacy was opposed by those supporting the ordinances against illegal immigrants who tried to argue that she did not fulfil the residency requirements, she ran on a platform of fiscal responsibility and revitalization (Sandoval, 2009a). She was defeated, but given the state of both the local and the national economy, so too was a rather expensive bond package.

DEFINING AMERICAN IDENTITY: CLASS, CULTURE AND THE RULE OF LAW¹⁰

While lawyers and judges will continue to wrestle with the constitutionality of ordinances like those proposed in Farmers Branch, we find it more interesting to look beneath the surface to understand fully precisely what is being contested. Anti-immigrant legislation in local places like Farmers Branch is at its core a reflection of a debate about and anxiety over American identity – how it is defined and how it is changing. It is, to borrow a framework developed by Michael Alexander (2003), a manifestation of Host-Stranger Relations that are characterized sometimes by empathy, but often by fear and anxiety. This fear and anxiety, directed primarily at Latino and particularly Mexican immigrants is, as anthropologist Leo Chavez (2008: 2) has recently argued, expressed in a “Latino Threat Narrative”.¹¹ The Latino Threat Narrative is based on the assumption that Latinos “are unwilling or incapable of integrating, of becoming part of the national community. Rather, they are part of an invading force from south of the border that is bent on re-conquering land that was formerly theirs (the US Southwest) and destroying the “American way of life.”

What is the American way of life or the American identity that is being threatened? First and foremost, it is a middle class way of life that emerged with economic expansion in the post-World War II period. William Clark (2003) defines middle class status in relation to income level and home ownership. These two measures, he argues, “capture the notion that both the ability to buy the middle-class lifestyle and the commitment to and integration into the local community represented by ownership are essential parts of middle class status” (Clark, 2003: 63). Over the last ten to 20 years, the middle class has been squeezed and the result has been a form of status compression. In the United States, we have witnessed this before. The Ku Klux Klan rose to power in the 1920s, drawing its membership from a white American middle class responding to a similar sudden decline in economic power (McVeigh, 2001).

While such groups and tactics have moved away from the middle class to the fringes, today’s resurgence of middle class anxiety about a loss of place in the American stratification system certainly has some relationship to the anti-immigrant backlash that has erupted in suburban places like Farmers Branch where white residents feel like their community has

been changing around them and their quality of life has declined. A 2006 study from the Brookings Institution indicated that middle class neighbourhoods were disappearing across metropolitan areas in the United States (Galster et al., 2006) – from 58 per cent to 41 per cent between 1970 and 2000 – as the gap between the rich and the poor has increased.¹² According to this study, only 31 per cent of neighbourhoods in the Dallas Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area were middle income (39% were low income and 30% were high income).¹³ Further, the Dallas PMSA was in the bottom ten of 100 metropolitan areas studied, together with Tucson, El Paso, Newark, Houston, Memphis, New York and Los Angeles-Long Beach in proportion of middle-income neighbourhoods. Table 2 offers other measures from this study for the Dallas PMSA that are quite revealing and suggest that in this metropolitan area, as in others around the country, many middle-income families are living in low-income neighbourhoods. This is undoubtedly the case in Farmers Branch.

One more immediate measure of change that fuels the perception of an erosion of middle class status for long-term residents of Farmers Branch can be found in the housing statistics. Table 3 traces the changes in the balance of owner-occupied, renter-occupied and vacant housing units in Farmers Branch between 1960 and 2000. As these data indicate the proportion of renter-occupied units has increased dramatically over a 40-year period from under 10 per cent of the housing units to just under one-third. While some of this is the result of an increase in multiple family housing units, not uncommon in inner ring suburbs where immigrants have settled, it is also the result of more and more 1950s and 1960s era owner-occupied single family homes being turned into rental housing.

TABLE 2

SHARE OF FAMILIES AND NEIGHBOURHOODS THAT ARE LOW, MIDDLE, AND HIGH INCOME, DALLAS PMSA, 2000

	Low	Middle	High
Share of Families by Income (Rank of Dallas PMSA=84 of 100)*	39%	20.2%	40.7%
Share of Neighbourhoods by Income (Rank of Dallas PMSA=95 of 100)	39.2%	31.3%	29.5%

* Rank of 1 is a metro with the highest proportion of middle income neighbourhoods.
Source: Galster et al. 2006.

TABLE 3
HOUSING STATISTICS: OWNER OCCUPIED, RENTER OCCUPIED, AND VACANT
UNITS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL, FARMERS BRANCH, 1960-2000

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Owner Occupied	87%	75%	70%	66%	66%
Renter Occupied	7%	21%	27%	29%	31%
Vacant	5%	4%	3%	5%	3%

Source: US Census.

Median home values and median household income (Table 4) are also revealing with regard to the trends upon which the sense of status compression are built. Adjusted for 2008 dollars, home values rose between 1970 and 1980 but since then have declined such that in 2000 they are almost at the level where they were in 1960. Commenting on these data in an interview we conducted, Mayor Tim O'Hare noted that Farmers Branch was "dead last" in home appreciation in Dallas County in 2006. "Around us there has been huge appreciation in home values and we cannot even grow at the rate of inflation. That is unacceptable!" Fuelling this position is also the fact that while raw median income has more than tripled between 1970 and 2000, when adjusted for inflation it declined such that in 2000 it is below what it was in 1970 dollars adjusted against 2008 dollars (Table 4). "If you are a family with options," O'Hare said, "would you move in to this neighbourhood if presented with these figures?"

The discourse regarding a declining middle class and an invading immigrant lower class reached its peak in late August of 2006. Accused of racism, O'Hare argued that he had never claimed that the problems of

TABLE 4
MEDIAN HOME VALUES (REAL AND ADJUSTED FOR 2008 VALUE) AND MEDIAN
INCOME, FARMERS BRANCH, 1970-2000

	1970	1980	1990	2000
Median Home Value	\$21,300	\$56,300	\$86,800	\$99,200
Adjusted for Inflation 2008 dollars	\$127,663	\$170,578	\$153,974	\$130,974
Median Income	\$12,756	\$27,367	\$38,037	\$54,734
Adjusted for Inflation 2008 dollars	\$76,453	\$82,916	\$67,473	\$72,265

Source: U.S. Census Bureau and author calculations.

Farmers Branch, particularly the deteriorating neighbourhoods, were “100 percent the result of illegal immigrants.....I’m trying to clean up Farmers Branch and clean up the neighborhoods and make this place what it once was, or better than it once was, and the illegal immigration thing is one of many things that need to be done” (Sandoval, 2006a). Hector Flores, a past president of LULAC suggested that in fact illegal immigrants in Farmers Branch were being blamed for trends that characterized many inner ring suburbs across the United States. He suggested that all the code words being used by the anti-immigrant side were really about not wanting working class people in their neighbourhoods (Sandoval, 2006a).

American middle class culture and identity is spatialized; that is, it is associated with suburbia. Robert Fishman (2002: 22) refers to suburbia as a bourgeois utopia, “the triumphant assertion of middle class values.” Tracing the historical development of the suburbs in America he observes that socially, suburbs “housed a powerful and self-conscious bourgeoisie that combined the old business and professional elite with the ‘new middle class’ anxious to establish its separation from the immigrant cities” (Fishman: 28).¹⁴ Some time ago Irving Tallman and Ramona Morgner (1969) argued that, compared with their urban counterparts, suburban working class families were more likely to adopt lifestyles that resembled the middle class in order to conform to and hence claim middle class status. Possession of a single-family dwelling was essential to this claim and symbolizes more than the American Dream – it represents “a buffer which separates the working class from the lower class” (Heisler and Hoffman, 1987: 229). Embedded within these symbolic meanings of ownership are assumptions about social status, income levels and class that separate people in each category along multiple dimensions (See Perin, 1977; Caplow et al., 1982).

However, within suburbia, middle class identity is not just about home ownership and income, but also about values, aesthetics, tastes and distinctions – that is a set of cultural assumptions and parameters for living. French anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) has directed us toward an understanding of particular esthetic world views that characterize different social classes and that are manifested in aspects of life style, including what we wear, what we eat, and how we decorate our homes. As Reed-Danahay (2005: 110) has noted, Bourdieu linked taste with emotion, writing that “tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance...of the taste of others” (Bourdieu, 1984: 56). Paul Fussell (1983), in a more

tongue-in-cheek analysis of social class in the United States, is even more pointed about these aspects of taste by pointing to yard art, the materials used on driveways, and other less obvious attributes of class distinction. Making the connection between these matters of taste and suburbia, Ray et al., (1997: 78) observe that “as an idea, the suburb embodies certain images about forms of housing and the types of families living in that housing...; a sense of who belongs and who does not.”

In Farmers Branch, in August of 2007, a group of residents asked the City Council to require permits and colour approval before residents could repaint their houses. One individual was quoted as saying, “when you paint your house some fluorescent or garish colour scheme, you negatively affect my home value” (Sandoval, 2007: 1B). The other perceived threat to middle class suburban distinction is reflected in the following comment by a Farmers Branch resident: “A single-family home is for a single family, not a hotel for six or seven individuals” (Anonymous, 2006: 18A). O’Hare himself expressed the concerns in this way: “Illegal immigration promotes less desirable people to move into the neighborhoods, people who don’t value education, people who don’t value taking care of their properties” (Solis, 2006: 1A). In an interview, O’Hare talked about the complaints that the City Council received from residents who had neighbours with five or six cars parked in their driveways, on their lawns, and in the street in front of their houses and neighbours houses. This was connected, he said, to zoning violations and a direct indication of overcrowding in single-family homes that was pushing more and more people to leave because their quiet streets were becoming noisy, full of trash, and there was no place to park in front of their homes. In his view the City should have acted fifteen years ago on some of these matters but they ignored it, “because they did not want to upset anyone.” He pointed to actions that the Dallas City Council had taken years ago to clean up one street (Ross Avenue) close to downtown by introducing new zoning requirements that would upgrade the neighbourhood.

While some have suggested that these complaints are really racist remarks directed at Latinos rather than expressions of concern about declining home values, we think that they are undoubtedly a bit of both. As one Farmers Branch business owner said in a newspaper Blog, “We know what this is all about. We know who has the bright colors: Latin Americans” (9 October 2007). Further, they reflect anxieties about change and the loss of middle class status and American identity. The sense of loss and threat is equally reflected in comments such as: “I grew

up there and it saddens me to see what it has become. I am tired of hearing Spanish in the streets and trying to figure out if someone understands what I'm saying" (Anonymous, 2006: 18A). A particular point of contention in the neighbourhood has arisen around a large banner hanging above the door of the US post office that advertises, in Spanish, that this is a place where money can be sent back to Mexico. To some residents of Farmers Branch, this action, like the waving of Mexican flags, are blatantly unpatriotic (i.e., un-American) and evidence of people who do not want to be a part of US society. And they are particularly offended that this is a federal office. In an interview, Mayor O'Hare, reminisced about the time when he was in high school in Farmers Branch. "There were Hispanics but they were like us, they shared our values." When we asked him what those were, he talked about taking care of homes and being patriotic. "Back then there was one family in a Hispanic household not three. They were like everyone else then."

Another controversy erupted in Farmers Branch when it was announced that a Carnival Grocery store that caters to the Hispanic market was going to come to town. Residents were encouraged by City Council member Tim Scott to call the grocery chain's parent company asking for a more upscale store with broader appeal. "I don't think we need any sort of ultra-discount store in there at all. We're a town of ultra discounts as it is....There's no anti-Hispanic grocery store movement," Mr. Scott said. "It's all about what's best for Farmers Branch" (Sandoval, 2007: 1B). In an interview, Mayor Tim O'Hare also pointed to the decline of what were once vibrant shopping centres – noting one in particular where half the spaces are now empty and those remaining are "check-cashing enterprises," "rent-a-centers," "haircut places," and an office of Alcoholics Anonymous, many of them with hand-painted signs that looked as if "they were made by an eighth grader." He also noted that a church had moved in to this strip shopping mall – something inappropriate in his view – and concluded by saying that one real-estate broker had commented that he was "not renting next door to one of those places." Unfamiliar and downscale stores and unfamiliar language challenge people's sense of belonging and fuel the kind of anti-immigrant backlash that becomes the foundation for support of local legislation that will presumably restore the familiar, the secure, and the middle class suburban way of life.

The challenge to a middle class suburban identity that is focused on taste and homes is not unique to Farmers Branch. For example, both David Ley (2008) and Brian Ray et al., (1997) have written about the conflicts between long time Vancouver area residents and recent Chinese

immigrants who move in to elite or suburban neighbourhoods. The wealthiest immigrant households, writes Ley (2008:185),

Sought out the blue chip, elite neighborhoods....These areas had for decades been the untroubled home of an Anglo-Canadian middle class and upper middle class. Their mature landscapes were leafy and manicured, and the houses were in various European revival styles, especially the neo-Tudor that was prominent in bourgeois circles during the 1910-1930 period. Landscape and identity mutually reinforced each other in a sympathetic anglophilia. But this landscape ethic had no meaning for hypermodern business immigrants embedded in a domestic economy that first placed a premium on the size of residential space, and second saw property in terms of improvement and exchange value rather than of heritage and symbolic value. So old elite properties were bulldozed and yards were clear-cut of trees and shrubs, with all replaced by large, modern structures, on minimally landscaped lots. So was born the 'monster house' conflict in Vancouver's old elite districts that reverberated throughout Canada.

The old elite protested and public hearings were held; in response the new immigrant population was mobilized. In the end, the zoning regulations proposed by the old elite were not passed, but the compromise regulations called from some limitations on size and an approved "palette of styles drawn from the existing European revival idiom in the neighborhood" (Ley, 2008: 187).

Ley concludes with an observation and a question: while few immigrants "would reject economic assimilation to the middle class, is cultural assimilation a fully viable option" (Ley, 2008: 190). In this regard he is raising issues that Rosaldo and Flores (1997), in their formulation of Latino cultural citizenship, have raised previously. According to these authors, the diversity backlash directed toward Latinos in the United States is part of a realization that part of the dominant social order of what was once WASP culture is now undergoing significant change. Although writing about larger moral conflicts that emerge from the presence of immigrants, anthropologist Richard Shweder (2003: 261) has perhaps best captured what we have identified as the class and cultural tensions in the Farmers Branch: "At least some of the two per cent on the move are making some of the settled 98 per cent, who want to feel at home in their culture, nervous about the future of their way of life and vice versa. Vice versa because when some of those 2 per cent arrive in a foreign land they may well be told either to conform to local cultural norms or go away."

Another facet of American identity that has emerged quite powerfully in confrontations like those that erupted in Farmers Branch is the principle of the Rule of Law. Although writing about kinship, many years ago anthropologist David Schneider (1972) identified the order of law together with the order of nature as the important categories of American culture. The rule of law is certainly a foundational principle of the United States as a nation. Originally set forward to protect against arbitrary governance, Rule of Law has been elevated in new citizenship test discourse, alongside a shared language and history, as one of the three fundamental pillars of what makes America American.¹⁵ At the local level immigration debates, Rule of Law has become the personification of Americanism, and hence inviolable. Migrants who enter the country without proper papers have broken the law and therefore committed a crime.¹⁶ In other arenas, undocumented immigrants are for the most part law-abiding, but in this arena they are not. This makes it easy to scapegoat the immigrant as a more general lawbreaker and as a threat to law and order. As one blogger put it, “We are a law-abiding society and immigration is all about obeying the law” (James, 2007).

Certainly no one would suggest that the majority members of Farmers Branch do not break laws. Indeed, as one Texan suggests, “Texas is notorious for bad laws. We break them all the time. It’s illegal to spit on the sidewalk for Pete’s sake!” (James 2007). Being “law abiding,” as evoked in this sense, is purely normative and based on one’s own internalized norms of justice and obligation. Tyler and Darley (2000: 708), writing about the normative rule of law, suggest it appears when “a society is motivated to abide by laws that reinforce their idea of socially appropriate or ethical behavior,” suggesting the people of Farmers Branch are just as likely to justify breaking other laws, such as speeding on the highway or sidewalk spitting, which they do not see as immoral. Therefore, what are being invoked in the claim that Americans are law abiding are the values of the middle class majority members of Farmers Branch – their ideas of what is socially appropriate or ethical. In this way lawfulness becomes an exclusionary tool to further separate the target population as “other,” immoral, and out of control. Evoking rule of law in Farmers Branch, in essence, gives those in support of the anti-immigrant measures a platform for legislating a certain quality of life, and de-Americanizing those who do not fit their conceptualization of what it means to be American. One member of the community put it this way: “So many law-abiding patriotic Americans are having to ‘bend-over’ just so the . . . illegals can keep screwing middle America!” (City-Data.com 2008).

Another element that put the “we are a nation of law-abiding citizens” aspect of American identity centre stage in Farmers Branch was more general post-1996, and particularly post-9/11 anti-immigration rhetoric. In response to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, Congress enacted substantial changes to the nation’s immigration laws that linked immigrants and immigration to foreign-generated terrorism (see Medina 1997, Neuman 1997). This legislation made Texas, with its 850 miles of border with Mexico, a front-line in the “war on terror” and facilitated the escalation of local immigration ordinances to regulations that aided this “war” effort. Many in Farmers Branch, then council member Tim O’Hare included, argued that what they were doing was about protecting U.S. borders. In a later interview, O’Hare noted that what was happening in Hazelton, PA, indicated to him and by extension to the City Council of Farmers Branch that there was something they could do. He pushed aside the argument that immigration law is solely in the domain of the Federal Government by asking why the 287 (g) provisions existed if it was not to open a door for local places to participate in the enforcement of immigration law. “The Federal Government is us,” he emphasized, “We are the people.”¹⁷

On various blogs, the residents of Farmers Branch also weighed in on the rule of law aspects of local immigration control. One put it this way: “Illegal aliens are commonly and **WRONGLY** referred to as immigrants. They are not, they are invaders.” (Marks Soap Box, 2006) Another individual, using the same language of invasion, used even more forceful and hostile language.

“No one, **NO ONE** has the right to invade our country and live freely. They are criminals, and it’s time to treat them like it. They should be hunted down, and returned expeditiously out of our country. Do not pass go; do not pass go; get the hell out and stay out.” (Marks Soap Box, 2006)

A third blogger, less overt in his language, nevertheless expressed concern for the law:

“If a person entered this Country illegally, that makes them a law breaker. . . Especially today, we need the security and protection that our government can provide. Illegal=criminal no matter how you sugar coat it.” (Marks Soap Box, 2006)

There are many actions that are against the law but are not, technically, deemed criminal activity – they are simply against the law. Illegal entry

in the country is a civil misdemeanour (U 8 U.S.C. § 1325). In order to make unauthorized immigrants into more of a threat, they are often associated with more vile crimes that would be considered felonies. Thus, one blogger wrote the following (the “screaming” capital letters in the original):

“ILLEGALS ARE KILLING, RAPEING AND HARMING AMERICANS EVERYDAY, ALSO THEY STEAL SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBERS FROM AMERICANS” (Marks Soap Box, 2006)

A year later, as the controversy continued, blogs continued to assert felonious assumptions:

“FARMERS BRANCH SAYS NO TO ILLEGAL’S (aka criminals, invaders, terrorists, etc...) (Marks Soap Box, 2007) ¹⁸

Marxist scholars have long argued that law strengthens the hegemony of ruling groups (Genovese, 1982; Sumner, 1979). Legal anthropologist Sally Merry (1998) suggests that we criminalize everyday life when previously accepted or at least tolerated behaviour (in this case speaking Spanish or painting a house in vibrant hues) becomes redefined as a crime. Merry argues that such criminalization “takes shape on a rhetorical terrain of threatened disorder on which expanded legal regulation promises dominant groups security and control” (1998: 267). As the formulation of laws and their enforcement are disproportionately unavailable to ethnic minorities, and completely inaccessible to undocumented immigrants, the principle of Rule of Law has become a convenient weapon for the Farmers Branch middle class in their fight for status and the status quo. Add to this a bit of the legacy of Texas frontier mentality and patriotism and you have a line drawn in the sand by those who stand for the Rule of Law as something absolutely fundamental to American identity and hence perceive illegal immigrants as a threat to that identity.

CONCLUSION: THE LESSONS OF FARMERS BRANCH FOR IMMIGRATION REFORM

The small community of Farmers Branch has earned its own entry in Wikipedia. It will be forever identified as the first community in the nation that passed a law prohibiting landlords from renting to illegal immigrants. The legal contest is by no means over, but by the summer of 2007, Farmers Branch, in an effort to alter this reputation of being

anti immigrant, had proposed becoming an “All-American” city with giant flags, a patriotic park, and some kind of patriotic festival that would celebrate American veterans. The powers-that-be have a restorative vision for Farmers Branch – to make it a vibrant and dynamic community of which its residents could be proud and to which those with middle class income and sensibilities would want to move. “We want new construction, new business, attractive shopping opportunities,” commented Mayor O’Hare, who dreams of flowers, back-lit street signs, covered bridges, and cobblestone walkways.

The case of Farmers Branch aptly illustrates Thomas Espenshade’s (1995: 203), symbolic politics hypothesis related to the perception of immigrants. This hypothesis suggests “that challenges to important symbols of American nationality may evoke anti-immigrant attitudes.” We have argued in this article that among these symbols of American nationality are holding middle class values and tastes, being law-abiding, and being patriotic. Immigrant “others” are viewed as the lawbreaking underclass who are disloyal to this country. These symbolic markers are personified in the Farmers Branch discourse as both sides of the debate make claim to their American authenticity. Immigrants donning draped flags and invoking the symbol of the Statue of Liberty stand on one side of the street making claims that they are American while the mostly white middle class individuals on the other side yell back “no you’re not!” The potential harm of this sort of conflict over who belongs, as well as legislation like that proposed in Farmers Branch, particularly to Hispanics who are legally (and often for many generations) in this country, should give us pause. One of us is a naturalized US citizen, born in Canada. But we have no doubt that if she walked down the streets of Farmers Branch no one would stop her to ask for proof of her right to be there. And yet, her right is not as deeply rooted as that of a fifth generation Hispanic in the State of Texas.

Drawing on the theories of class that emphasize that it is culturally constructed, and the view that racial and ethnic categories are also class categories (Ortner 1998: 10), we have also argued here that the anti-immigrant legislation in Farmers Branch is a defensive strategy against people who have been discursively constructed as a threat to middle class suburban identity. Where they live, their home, their neighbourhood is part of the internalized world that suburban Americans inhabit as members of the American middle class. When ideas about what these places should look like and be are challenged, local residents react in an effort to hold on to particular modes of living and to a particular social status.

What are the policy implications of an analysis of what has happened in Farmers Branch, Texas, and what do they suggest about the local/national nexus for immigration reform in the United States? We need to do a better job of transmitting an historical perspective – pointing to our history of absorbing difference and of broadening our culture. We need to understand that anti-immigrant sentiment is often a conflict over what people consider to be the central characteristics of an American identity and therefore what Americans have in common as well as how they differ. We need to also understand that these conflicts are not just about race but also about class. It is important to note that to the north of the city of Dallas there is a suburb called Plano, one of the fastest growing suburbs in the entire United States during the 1990s and a suburb that witnessed its foreign-born population increase from 7.5 per cent of the total population in 1990 to 17 per cent in 2000 to 21.2 per cent by the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century. In 2000, Mexicans made up 22 per cent of this foreign-born population, while Indians and Chinese made up 27 per cent, and the population was 78 per cent white and only 10 per cent Hispanic/Latino. In 2007, the median household income of Plano residents was US\$ 79,687 (well above the US national average of US\$ 60,374 and that of Farmers Branch which was US\$ 50, 745). The population composition and household income in Plano are clearly quite different from comparable figures in Farmers Branch and the class composition of the foreign born also differs (a substantial number of Asian immigrants who tend to have high human capital – that is, middle and upper middle class immigrants – have settled in Plano). Plano has responded to the dramatic growth in its foreign-born population, but in an inclusionary rather than exclusionary way – with multicultural programmes in its schools and numerous outreach programmes for the foreign born including programmes in libraries (see Brettell, 2008). It can afford to respond in this way. Further, the upper middle class and upper class white residents of Plano are secure enough not to feel threatened by immigrants, particularly those who can quickly adopt a middle class lifestyle that they can easily afford. Therefore, what is needed is an integration policy that is part of immigration reform and an immigration reform that makes the federal government financial partners in facilitating integration at the local level, particularly in communities that are financially stressed. Such a policy would return revenues to local communities to focus on the frontline institutions like schools and libraries; and for cities to support multicultural education that helps dispel fears that multicultural equals a lower class lifestyle. But, we should be mindful of Demetrios Papademetriou's warning (2003: 5) that the road to integration is not easy. "Each party

to the process...is operating with incomplete, and often erroneous, information about the other, and each continues to have a static understanding of itself in what are extremely dynamic environments...[T]he absolute requirement [is] that as we try to understand better the 'pluribus' we do not lose sight of the importance of the 'unum'."

NOTES

1. As long ago as 1992, Rothman and Espenshade (1992) found that the fiscal costs of immigration to the US fall heaviest on state and local governments. See Ellis (2006) for a brief discussion of current local fiscal costs.
2. Many of these ordinances are also being passed at the state level, again to try to respond to the vacuum created by an absence of immigration reform at the national level. In the year 2007, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures, over 1500 bills were proposed and 240 were adopted. For further discussion see Singer, Hardwick and Brettell (2008a) and Plascencia (2009). See also, "State Responses to Immigration: A Database of all State Legislation" from the Migration Policy Institute Data Hub (October, 2008). For an excellent example of state, county, and municipal legislation in Georgia, see Odem (2008). Alexander (2003) formulates an analytical model to help categorize these inclusionary and exclusionary practices. For a discussion of these issues in a more global and comparative context, see Tsuda (2006).
3. Although it is not central to our argument and discussion here, it is imperative to note that while the 1891 Immigration Act placed the regulation of immigration in the hands of the federal government, state and local governments did retain some authority in the regulation of the foreign born who resided within their jurisdictions. In the 1970s, for example, the state of California was involved in the implementation of employer sanctions (see Calavita, 1982). Attention must also be drawn to Proposition 187, implemented in 1994 in California, as well as various English-only laws that have been passed across the United States.
4. Thus Ortner (1998:10) writes: "There is no class in America that is not always already racialized and ethnicized, or to turn the point around, racial and ethnic categories are always already class categories."
5. Although it would be the subject of another paper, we think that often in the places where anti-immigrant legislation is promoted, a single local leader can be instrumental in galvanizing a population. See Singer, Wilson and De Renzis (2009) for additional comments on the role of community leaders, in their case in Prince William County outside Washington, DC.
6. The following sources have been helpful to our development of the history of Farmers Branch. *Farmers Branch, Texas: A Pictorial History* (Farmers Branch Heritage Education Committee, 1996); *Once Upon a Time in Farmers Branch* (Farmers Branch Heritage Education Committee, 1990); and

Georgia Myers Ogle, *Elm Fork Settlements: Farmers Branch and Carrollton* (Nortex Press, 1977). The Peters Colony covered an area from the mouth of Big Mineral Creek on the Red River, ran south for about 60 miles, west 22 miles, and then north to the Red River and east down it to the mouth of the Big Mineral Creek again.

7. Census figures do not necessarily capture all illegal immigrants and hence numbers and proportions may be less than what in fact exists.
8. The Criminal Alien Program allows local police to detain illegal immigrants accused of committing a crime. It establishes collaboration between local law enforcement and ICE.
9. By early 2009 the city had spent more than US\$ 1.5 million on legal fees. There was an additional lawsuit award of close to one million that was being contested (Sandoval, 2009b).
10. An early formulation of some of these ideas appeared in Brettell and Nibbs (2008).
11. Glassner (1999) has argued that a culture of fear is in fact much more widespread in America.
12. In this study a neighborhood is a census tract and “middle class” is defined as a median family income within the tract that is between 80 and 120 per cent of the median family income for the metro area as a whole.
13. In the city of Dallas the proportion of middle income neighborhoods was only 16 per cent.
14. For an analysis of the evolution of the suburb from a spatial perspective see Mieszkowski and Mills (1993) and Hardwick (2008). Also useful is the discussion in Barlow (2003), particularly Chapter 2, of the development of a middle class suburban social order in the period between 1945 and 1975. Sociologists and geographers have addressed for some time the spatial segregation of those of different social and economic status (Burgess, 1967; Gans, 1967; Baldrassare, 1986). More recently, of course, attention has been paid to racial segregation, but in this context there is extremely interesting work on the suburban settlement of the black middle class (Marshall, 1982; Massey and Denton, 1988; Alba, Logan, and Stults, 2000; Adelman, 2004).
15. As communicated by Alfonzo Aguilar, Chief, Office of Citizenship, USCIS personal interview, 14 October 2008.
16. Legal scholar Peter Schuck considers immigration a “victimless crime”. While this is clearly debatable, Schuck (2008: 250) points to the ambivalent and conflicting attitudes of Americans toward immigration but the absence of ambivalence in the law. He writes “The same illegal immigration that the law categorically condemns may reasonably be regarded by citizens as a socially efficient offense (i.e., one whose aggregate social benefits exceed its social costs) or even a Pareto-superior offense (i.e., one that makes at least some people better off and no one worse off). For the sake of simplicity (though somewhat inaccurately), I shall call both socially efficient and Pareto-superior offenses “victimless ones”. Schuck goes on to note that “conduct that creates no obvious, well-documented victims but that the law

on the books makes illegal is morally ambiguous (2008: 251). In 2006 there was active debate on whether to make illegal immigration a felony. Under the law, people who cross the border without permission are guilty of a civil misdemeanor. People who enter the country legally and then overstay their visas are guilty of a civil violation.

17. It is interesting to note that in the conference room at his law offices, O'Hare has reproductions of the Declaration of Independence and the US constitution prominently displayed.
18. Most recently, Farmers Branch blogs have moved toward discussions of the high legal costs of continuing the fight against unauthorized immigrants.

REFERENCES

- Adelman, R.M.
 2004 "Neighborhood opportunities, race and class: the black middle class and residential segregation", *City and Community*, 3(1): 43–63.
- Alba, R.D., J.R. Logan, and B.J. Stults
 2000 "How segregated are middle-class African Americans?" *Social Problems*, 47(4): 543–558.
- Alexander, M.
 2003 "Local policies toward migrants as an expression of host-stranger relations: a proposed typology", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(3): 411–430.
- Anonymous
 2006 "Letters to the editor", *Dallas Morning News*, 24 August:18A.
- Baldassare, M.
 1986 *The Suburban Transformation of America*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Barlow, A.L.
 2003 *Between Fear and Hope: Globalization and Race in the United States*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham.
- Becker, G.A.
 2008 *Becker-Posner Blog*, <http://www.becker-posner-blog.com>.
- Bickel, J.W.
 1999 "Ditch all stereotypes: Texas courts are fair and fast", *National Law Journal*, 22(3): C9.
- Bourdieu, P.
 1978 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Brettell, C.B.
 2008 "Big D: incorporating new immigrants in a sunbelt suburban metropolis", in A. Singer, S.W. Hardwick and C.B. Brettell (Eds), *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in*

- Suburban America*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC: 53–86.
- Brettell, C.B., and F.G. Nibbs
2008 “Making sense of Farmers Branch”, *Anthropology News*, 49 (May): 9-10.
- Bump, M.
2005 “From temporary picking to permanent plucking: Hispanic newcomers, integration, and change in the Shenandoah valley”, in E. Gozdziaik and S.F. Martin (eds), *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America*, Lexington Books, Lanham: 137–175.
- Burgess, E.W.
1967 *The Growth of the City*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Calavita, K.
1982 “California’s “employer sanctions”: the case of the disappearing law”, Research Report Number 39, University of California-San Diego, Center for US-Mexican Studies, San Diego.
- Caplow, T., et al.
1982 *Middletown Families: Fifty Years of Change and Continuity*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Chavez, L.R.
2008 *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- City-Data.com.
2008 City-Data.com, 27 January, <http://www.city-data.com/forum/immigration/240131-farmers-branch-texas-new-immigration-rule-6.html>.
- Clark, W.A.
2003 *Immigrants and the American Dream: Remaking the Middle Class*, The Guilford Press, New York.
- Cole, J.
1996 “Working class reaction to the new immigration in Palermo (Italy)”, *Critique of Anthropology*, 16: 199–220.
- Dorell, O.
2006 “Towns take aim at illegal immigration”, USA Today, 14 August, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-08-14-towns-immigration_x.htm,
- Ellis, M.
2006 “Unsettling immigrant geographies: US immigration and the politics of scale”, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Soziale Geografie*, 97(1): 49–58.
- Espenshade, T.J.
1995 “Unauthorized immigration to the United States”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 21: 195–216.
- Favell, A.
2001 “Integration policy and integration research; a review and critique”, in A. Aleinikoff and D. Klusmeyer (Eds), *Citizenship:*

- Global Perspectives and Practices*, The Brookings Institute and the Carnegie Endowment, Washington, DC: 249–299.
- Fishman, R.
2002 “Bourgeois utopias: visions of suburbia”, in S. Fainstein and S. Campbell (Eds), *Readings in Urban Theory*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford: 21–31.
- Frey, W.H.
2001 *Melting Pot Suburbs; A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity*, The Brookings Institution, Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy, Washington, DC.
- Fussell, P.
1983 *Class: A Guide Through the American Status System*, Summit Books, New York.
- Galster, G., J. Cutsinger, and J.C. Booza
2006 *Where Did They Go? The Decline of Middle Income Neighborhoods in Metropolitan Areas*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.
- Gans, H.J.
1967 *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*, Pantheon Books, New York.
- Genovese, E.
1982 “The hegemonic function of law”, in P. A. Bieme (Ed), *Marxism and Law*, Wiley, New York: 279–294.
- Gibbons, L.
1996 “No regulation, government regulation, or self-regulation: social enforcement or social contracting for governance in cyberspace”, *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 6: 475–481.
- Glassner, B.
1999 *The Culture of Fear: Why Americans Are Afraid of the Wrong Things*, Basic Books, New York.
- Gozdziak, E.M., and S.F. Martin (Eds.)
2005 *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America*, Lexington Books, Lanham.
- Gozdziak, E.M., and M. Bump (Eds.)
2008 *New Immigrants, Changing Communities*, Lexington Books, Lanham.
- Hardwick, S.W.
2008 “Toward a suburban immigrant nation”, in A. Singer, S. W. Hardwick and C. B. Brettell (Eds), *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC: 31–50.
- Haubert, J., and E. Fussell
2006 “Explaining pro-immigrant sentiment in the U.S.: social class, cosmopolitanism, and perceptions of immigrants”, *International Migration Review*, 40: 489–507.

- Heisler, B., and L. Hoffman
 1987 "Keeping a home: changing mortgage markets and regional economic distress", *Sociological Focus*, 20(3): 227–241.
- James, L.
 2007 "A message to Farmers Branch: there are higher values than being 'law-abiding'", *Urban Daily*, 16 May.
- Ley, D.
 2008 "Postmulticulturalism?" in L.M. Hanley, B.A. Ruble and A.M. Garland (Eds), *Immigration and Integration in Urban Communities: Renegotiating the City*, Woodrow Wilson Press and The Johns Hopkins University Press, Washington, DC and Baltimore: 177–196.
- Li, W.
 1998 "Anatomy of a new ethnic settlement: Chinese ethnoburbs in Los Angeles", *Urban Studies*, 35: 479–501.
- Marks Soap Box
 2006 "Texas town says no to renting to illegals", 27 August, <http://markljackson.net/2006/08/27/texas-town-says-no-renting-to-illegals/>.
- Marshall, H.
 1982 "Black and white upper-middle-class suburban selection: a causal analysis", *Pacific Sociological Review*, 25(1): 27–57.
- Massey, D.S., and N.A. Denton
 1988 "Suburbanization and segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas", *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(3): 592–626.
- McClain, C. J.
 1994 *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle Against Discrimination in Nineteenth Century America*, University of California Press, Berkeley.
- McVeigh, R.
 2001 "Structural incentives for conservative mobilization: power devaluation and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan 1915-1925", *Social Forces*, 77(4): 1461–1496.
- Medina, M.I.
 1997 "The criminalization of immigration law: employer sanctions and marriage fraud", *George Mason Law Review*, 5: 669–731.
 2006 "Immigrants and the government's war on terrorism", *The New Centennial Review*, 6(1): 225–237.
- Merry, S.E.
 1986 "Everday understanding of the law in working-class America", *American Ethnologist*, 13: 253–270.
- Merry, S.
 1998 "The criminalization of everyday life", in A.E. Sarat, *Everyday Practices and Trouble Cases*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston: 14–40.

- Mieszkowski, P., and E.S. Mills
 1993 "The causes of metropolitan suburbanization", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7(3): 135–147.
- Neuman, G.
 1991 "Whose constitution?" *Yale Law Journal*, 100: 909–991.
- Odem, M.
 2008 "Unsettled in the suburbs: Latino immigration and ethnic diversity in metro Atlanta", in A. Singer, S.W. Hardwick and C.B. Brettell (Eds), *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC: 105–136.
- Ogle, G.M.
 1977 *Elmfork Settlements: Farmers Branch and Carrollton*, Nortex Press, Mount Pleasant.
- Ortner, S.
 1998 "Identities: the hidden injuries of class", *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 54: 1–17.
 2003 *New Jersey Dreaming: Capital, Culture, and the Class of '58*, Duke University Press, Durham.
- Papademetriou, D.
 2003 "Policy considerations for immigrant immigration", *Migration Information Source*, <http://www.migrationinformation.org>.
- Perin, C.
 1977 *Everything in its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Plascencia, L.F.
 2009 "Local regulation of migration: addressing gaps in research", *Anthropology News*, 50(3): 40–41.
- Puentes, R., and D. Warren
 2006 *One-Fifth of America: A Comprehensive Guide to America's First Suburbs*, Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.
- Ray, B.K., G. Halseth, and B. Johnson
 1997 "The changing 'face' of the suburbs: issues of ethnicity and residential change in suburban Vancouver", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 21(1): 75–99.
- Reed-Danahay, D.
 2005 *Locating Bourdieu*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Rosaldo, R., and W.V. Flores
 1997 "Identity, conflict, and evolving Latino communities: cultural citizenship in San Jose, California", in W.V. Flores and R. Benmayor (Eds), *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space and Politics*, Beacon Press, Boston: 57–96.
- Rothman, E., and T.J. Espenshade
 1992 "Fiscal impacts of immigration to the United States", *Population Index*, 58(3): 381–415.

- Sandmeyer, E.C.
 1991 *The Anti Chinese Movement in California*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Sandoval, S.
 2006a “Act on immigrant issue, FB tells U.S.”, *Dallas Morning News*, 5 September: 1B.
 2006b “Illegal migration proposal stirs passions in FB”, *Dallas Morning News*, 27 August: 1B.
 2007 “Grocer rumor raises racial tensions in FB”, *Dallas Morning News*, 16 March: 1B.
 2008 “Hispanics city’s largest demographic group”, *Dallas Morning News*, 15 December: 1B.
 2009a “Candidate facing criticism in Farmers Branch”, *Dallas Morning News*, 26 March: 8B.
 2009b “Farmers Branch dips into savings”, *Dallas Morning News*, 23 January: 1B, 3B.
- Schneider, D.
 1972 “What is kinship all about?” in P. Reining (Ed), *Kinship Studies in the Morgan Centennial Year*, Anthropological Society of Washington, Washington, DC: 32–63.
- Schuck, P.
 2008 “Law and the study of migration”, in C.B. Brettell and J.F. Hollifield (Eds), *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, Routledge, New York: 239–257.
- Shweder, R.
 2003 “The moral challenge in cultural migration”, in N. Foner (Ed), *American Arrivals: Anthropology Engages the New Immigration*, School of American Research Press, Santa Fe: 259–294.
- Singer, A., S.W. Hardwick, and C.B. Brettell
 2008a “Afterword: coming to terms with federal and local immigration reform”, in A. Singer, S.W. Hardwick and C.B. Brettell (Eds), *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC: 308–317.
 2008b *Twentieth-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, DC.
- Singer, A., J.H. Wilson, and B. DeRenzis
 2009 *Immigrants, Politics, and Local Response in Suburban Washington*, The Brookings Institution, Survey Series for the Metropolitan Policy Program, Washington, DC.
- Solis, D.
 2006 “Cities, states tackle illegal immigration on their own”, *Dallas Morning News*, 26 August: 1A.
- Sumner, C.
 1979 *Reading Ideologies: An Investigation into the Marxist Theory of Ideology and Law*, Academic Press, London.

- Tallman, I., and R. Morgner
 1969 "Life style differences among urban and suburban blue collar families", *Social Forces*, 48(3): 334–348.
- Trejo, F.
 2008 "Latest housing ban ordinance challenged", *Dallas Morning News*, 4 September: 6B.
- Trejo, F., and S. Sandoval
 2008 "FB to stop defending one rental ordinance", *Dallas Morning News*, 30 September: 1B.
- Tsuda, T. (Ed.)
 2006 *Local Citizenship in Recent Countries of Immigration; Japan in Comparative Perspective*, Lexington Books, Lanham.
- Turque, B.
 2006 "Herndon zeroing in on illegal immigrants", <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/09/27/AR2006092700328.html>.
- Tyler, T.R., and J. Darley
 2000 "Building a law-abiding society: taking public views about morality and the legitimacy of legal authorities into account when formulating substantive law", *Hofstra Law Review*, 28: 707–739.
- Tyler, T.
 2006 *Why People Obey Laws*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Vold, G.B.
 1958 *Theoretical Criminology*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Wiencke, L.
 1992 "Invoking the state constitution to invalidate legislation: who's guarding the guardians?" *William Mitchell Law Review*, 18: 1072.
- Wong, B.
 1998 *Ethnicity and Entrepreneurs: The New Chinese Immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.