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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Paul N. McDaniel entitled "An International Corridor in the Making?: Immigrant-Owned Entrepreneurial Establishments in Birmingham, Alabama." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Geography.

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An International Corridor in the Making?:
Immigrant-Owned Entrepreneurial Establishments in Birmingham, Alabama

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Paul N. McDaniel
December 2006

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to offer my sincere thanks to the many people who have helped me along on the journey to completion of this thesis. The following people helped make this possible. First of all, I would like to thank my committee, which consists of my advisor and major professor Dr. Anita I. Drever, Assistant Professor of Geography, Dr. Lydia M. Pulsipher, Professor of Geography, and Dr. Bruce Ralston, Professor of Geography, all with the University of Tennessee. Thanks is also due to Dr. Charles S. Aiken, Professor of Geography. They all offered much encouragement as well as suggestions and constructive criticism. In addition, I appreciate additional encouragement by the faculty and graduate students of the Department of Geography at the University of Tennessee. I would particularly like to thank Sara Beth Keough, Michelle Brym, Claire Jamieson, Joe Guttmann, Jonathan Witcoski, Xumei Liu, and many others. The W. K. McClure Fund for the Study of World Affairs provided financial support during the formative processes of my study. Additionally, I also owe thanks to the many people I interviewed directly for my research in Birmingham.

Eleanor Read, the Data Services Librarian at the University of Tennessee, provided advice and assistance in the data collection and analysis process. I also thank Dr. Susan M. Walcott, Associate Professor of Geography at Georgia State University, for allowing the use of her study of Atlanta's international corridor as a model for the initial stages of my thesis research in Birmingham; Dr. Vincent T. Gawronski, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Birmingham Southern College, and Dr. Raymond A. Mohl, Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Alabama at Birmingham,

offered encouragements during the formative process of my ideas to investigate immigration, particularly Hispanic/Latino immigration, in Birmingham; Dr. Owen Furuseth and Dr. Heather Anne Smith, both of the Department of Geography and Earth Sciences at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, offered helpful comments and encouragement for this research; and Dr. Michael Dear, Professor and Chair of Geography at the University of Southern California, provided some useful advice regarding my thesis research as well as future direction and work that may stem from the thesis.

I owe much gratitude to the faculty in the Department of Geography at Samford University where I spent my four years as an undergraduate. Dr. D. Gregory Jeane, Professor, Dr. Eric J. Fournier, Associate Professor and Department Head, and Dr. R. Maxwell Baber, Assistant Professor, all of the Department of Geography at Samford University, provided an excellent learning environment in my formative years on the path to becoming a geographer.

I would also like to thank three dear friends who offered much encouragement along the way: Joshua L. Bearden, Dusty O. Folds, and Rachel J. McWhorter.
Also, without the support and constant encouragement from numerous family members this whole endeavor would not have been possible. Specifically: Danny, Carol, Brian, and Austin Milster, my grandparents Carl and Gloria Schaefer and the late Noel and Gaye McDaniel, my two younger brothers James E. McDaniel and Phillip L. McDaniel, and most importantly my parents Randall E. McDaniel, a professional geologist, and Dr. Gretchen S. McDaniel, Professor of Nursing and Director of NurCE at Samford University. Their love, kindness, and support are very dear to me.

ABSTRACT

Immigration is changing the U.S. South in unprecedented ways. The South is no longer nearly the exclusive domain of whites and blacks as Hispanics and Asians comprise increasingly influential minorities in towns and cities throughout the region. Immigrants, many of whom are recent arrivals, are choosing to start entrepreneurial business ventures rather than go to work for someone else. This research examines immigrant-owned entrepreneurial establishments along two business corridors in metropolitan Birmingham, Alabama. It answers the following questions: (1) Why is an international corridor developing as opposed to a single group ethnic enclave? (2) What initially brought immigrant-entrepreneurs to Birmingham, a medium-sized metropolitan area that has experienced minimal in-migration in the last half century? (3) What factors explain the location of the international corridor? (4) How have Birmingham and the suburban cities of Hoover and Homewood, where the international corridor is located, reacted to the arrival of new immigrants and immigrant-entrepreneurs? I answer these questions using a multi-method approach that includes statistical analysis, archival research, personal observations and semi-structured open-ended interviews.

Keywords: Migration, Entrepreneurship, Ethnic Enclave, International Corridor, Birmingham, Alabama, the U.S. South

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CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

The description of what it means to be an American is constantly changing. Various definitions have been ascribed to Americans by people ever since the idea of America was first conceived. In 1793 for example, J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur wrote the following about the men and women who had become Americans:

> …whence came all these people? They are mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans have arisen…What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing? The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him: his country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection, and consequence: *Ubi panis ibi patria* ["where there is bread, there is my country"], is the motto of all emigrants. What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds (Crèvecoeur 1986, 68-69).

Today, however, the characterization of what it means to be an American can be extended to encompass all races, ethnicities, and nationalities. People from across the world come to America's shores for countless reasons. And they are no longer melting into "American" culture and society. Immigrants are more likely to retain the culture of their home country while also embracing aspects of the United States of America in their lives. In other words, people are increasingly living transnational lives aided by modern communication and transportation technology.

Entrepreneurship plays an important role in immigrant societies. Ethnic entrepreneurs are integral to the formation of cohesive immigrant communities. During earlier periods of immigration to the United States entrepreneurialism was important among immigrant communities, such as those from Europe. Self-employment and business ownership continues to be important aspect among the current immigrant communities in the United States – primarily from Asian and Latin American countries. In this thesis, I intend to explore how the old tradition of ethnic entrepreneurialism is manifesting in a new place. Immigrants, many of whom are recent arrivals, are choosing to start entrepreneurial business ventures as an alternative to traditional employment. An immigrant's decision to start a business rests on many factors particular to the immigrant and the host society, at both macro- and micro-level scales. Using Susan Walcott's (2002) study of the Buford Highway international corridor in Atlanta, Georgia as a model, my research examines immigrant-owned entrepreneurial establishments in two specific areas of Birmingham, Alabama – a middle tier metropolitan area in the U.S. South. My study will map the distribution of immigrant businesses in the area and seek to understand why immigrant-entrepreneurs chose Birmingham and the specific locales within the city. I will also look at the reactions of city officials to gauge their perception of whether or not the immigrant entrepreneurs are welcomed as part of future development.

Purpose and Overview of Research Procedures

The purpose of my thesis is to examine the following issues: (1) factors leading to the development of Birmingham's international corridor, (2) the reasons immigrant-

entrepreneurs came to Birmingham specifically and the results of their presence in the area, (3) determinants of the location of the international corridor, and (4) the perceptions of immigrant entrepreneurs by local government officials. I study the factors that define the corridor location using statistical analysis, archival research, personal observations and semi-structured open-ended interviews. The study area includes certain portions of Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue in the suburb of Homewood, and Lorna Road and U.S. Highway 31 in the suburb of Hoover.[1] All of these areas lie south of downtown Birmingham, in Jefferson County, Alabama. Birmingham sits in a valley running northeast to southwest and is surrounded by many suburban cities that are all connected economically (see ***Figures 1***, ***2***, and ***3***).

Cases for each quantitative technique and statistical test are the 179 census tracts in Jefferson and Shelby Counties. Location quotients for ethnic and immigrant groups are determined for all census tracts, and an index of dissimilarity value is found for each group. Census tracts in my study area are compared with all census tracts in Jefferson and Shelby Counties through the Mann-Whitney test to determine if there are any statistically significant relationships among the variables. Multiple regression is used to determine which demographic variables may act as a predictor of the presence of different ethnic or immigrant groups in Jefferson and Shelby Counties. These statistical tests are necessary to determine statistically significant relationships among variables. Some variables may be a cause for the presence of other variables. The outcome of these tests should indicate that the location of my study area, and the apparent concentration of immigrant businesses in that area of Jefferson County, is statistically significant and not

[1] U.S. Highway 31 is also known as Montgomery Highway.

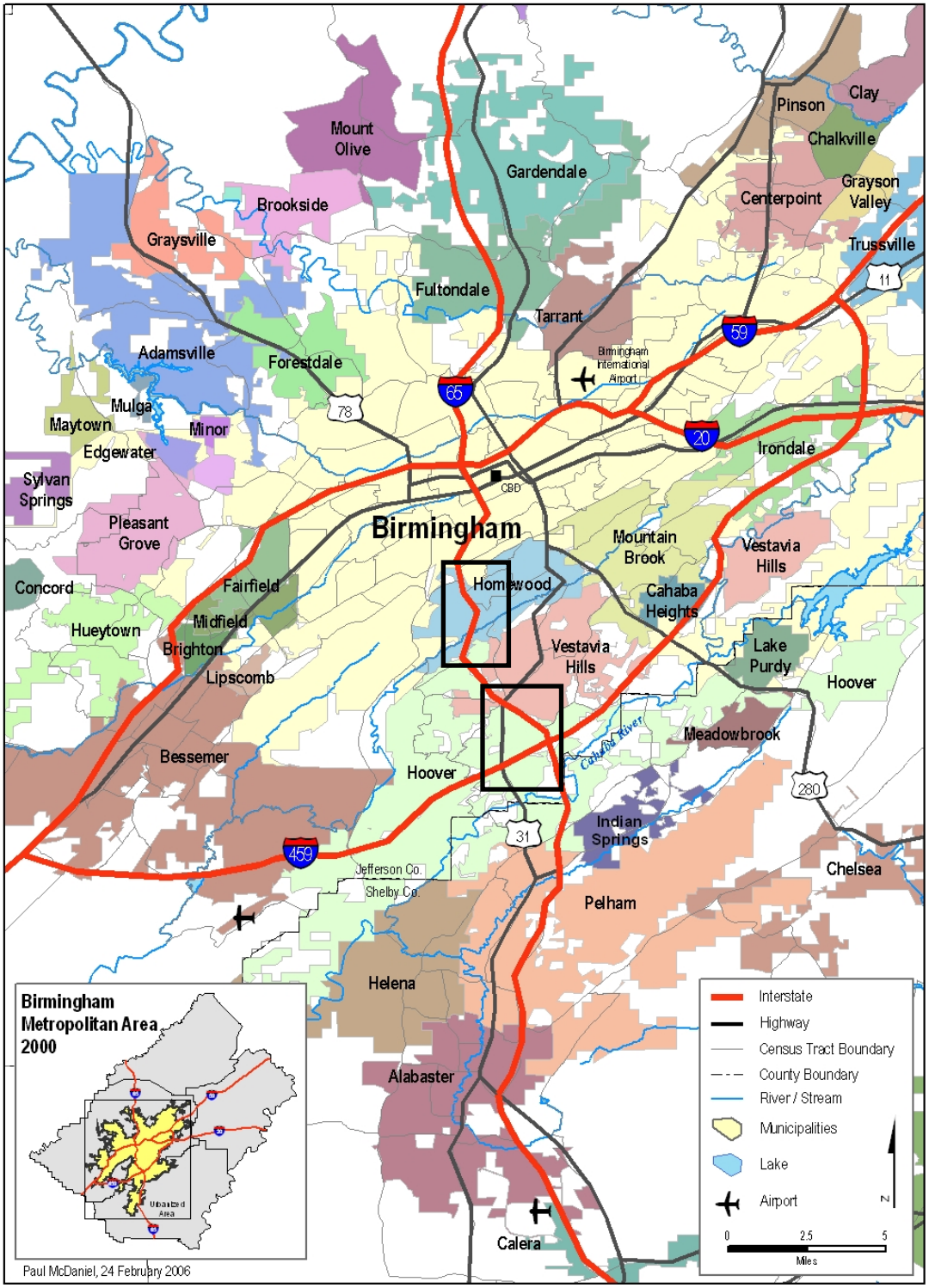

Figure 1. Birmingham and Surrounding Municipalities in 2000. The two rectangles in the center of the map delineate the two study areas, in Homewood (upper) and Hoover (lower). Spatial Data Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Figure 2. View of Birmingham's central business district (CBD) from Red Mountain looking north.

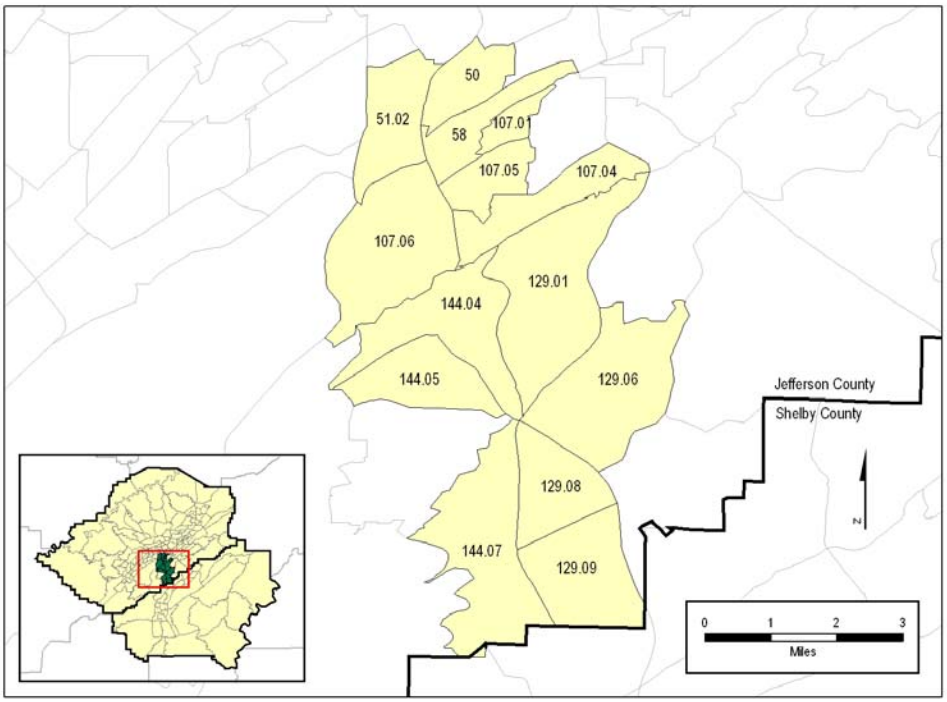

Figure 3. Study area census tracts.

an occurrence of mere chance. In other words, there are relative concentrations of immigrant business establishments in the specific census tracts within Jefferson County, along Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue, and Lorna Road and U.S. Highway 31, because that is where the largest population of immigrants of any ethnic group within the county and the entire metropolitan area reside. The statistical analyses offer evidence to support my research questions.

My own personal observations of businesses and semi-structured open-ended interviews of business owners within the study area are used to gain detailed insights and qualitative data on exactly why business owners decided to locate in this area and what brought them to Birmingham to begin with. I present details from a number of the interviews and businesses later in the thesis. Data from all interviews are compiled and coded in a database in order to efficiently draw insights and analyze the interview data in an overall context in relation to each other. However, the details of each interview and the individual stories of each participant are never lost. The interviews offer qualitative data in support of my initial research questions.

Context of the Study

Migration to the United States underwent a significant shift beginning in the latter years of the twentieth century. Traditionally, newcomers have flocked to the large cities of the east and west coasts – cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and Miami, or San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. But now many migrants choose to come to other places within the United States – places with a much shorter history of Asian or Latino migration. One such region is the U.S. South. This new

migration has attracted the attention of geographers and other social scientists (for example: Gawronski 2005; Smith and Furuseth 2004; Fink 2003; Johnson-Webb 2003; Mohl 2003; Torres, et. al., 2003; Mohl 2002; Guthey 2001; Cravey 1997). These studies focus on the largest urban centers in the South – Atlanta and Charlotte, for example – or on rural agricultural areas. Still others focus on immigrant concentration in a particular economic sector. Less research has focused on the middle-tier cities and metropolitan areas – such as Birmingham.[2] One might ask if these cities exhibit the same characteristics for migration and immigrants as the largest cities in the region.

In addition to there being limited research on immigration to middle-tier cities there is very little research on ethnic entrepreneurship in the U.S. South. Most studies focus on immigration in general, or one specific ethnic or immigrant group. Nevertheless, people do migrate here and many migrants – rather than working for someone else – choose to start a business. My study of Birmingham should help to fill a gap in the literature on migration to the U.S. South and contribute to the study of migration to middle-tier cities within the region.

The Model for this Thesis

In 2002, Walcott completed a study of the Buford Highway corridor – a suburban business ribbon – in Dekalb County, metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia (Walcott 2002). Comparisons may be drawn between this corridor and the two study area corridors in Birmingham, although the Atlanta corridor is larger and more complex. Traditionally, immigrants have formed ethnic enclaves (i.e. Chinatown, Little Havana, Little Tokyo,

[2] A middle-tier metropolitan area is one whose population is between 400,000 and two million.

etc.). In the case of Atlanta, however, a variety of immigrant groups and their businesses intermingle in what Walcott terms an international corridor. I argue that a similar type of area is developing in Birmingham along and near Green Springs Highway in Homewood, and to a lesser extent in Hoover. Although Birmingham is a second order Southern city – smaller than Atlanta – signs of an international corridor similar to that of Atlanta are evident, from the many Asian and Latino markets to the abundant ethnic restaurants and retail establishments, particularly along and near Green Springs Highway. This finding is reinforced by the interviews I conducted with the immigrant population of the area. Additionally, immigrants, apparently rejecting ethnic isolation, are interacting with the mainstream and attracting both customers and employees from outside their own ethnic group.

Walcott points out that past studies have focused primarily on one particular ethnic group or retail location (such as a specific mall location). Her research, however, examines a larger area within a city, the various ethnic groups present in that area, and how they interact with each other and with the host society. My research in Birmingham does the same. I also look at how city officials are reacting to immigrant entrepreneurs as well as use multiple regression to find out which variables predict business locations. While Walcott looked at a single business corridor in Atlanta, my research examines two potential international corridors along business arteries in the Birmingham area.

Walcott concluded that the spatial distribution of immigrant-owned entrepreneurial establishments is due to three factors: the nature of the immigration, the timing of the immigrant succession, and elements in the host society (Walcott 2002). In addition, she also suggests similar studies would be useful in other Sunbelt cities. My

study goes one step further and examines two specific areas of a southern city for similar themes of spatial intermingling among ethnic groups and their businesses. In this respect, Birmingham makes for a salient case to better understand the changing nature of migration to the U.S. South.

Immigration to the U.S. South

I summarize current immigration trends to the U.S. South in order to provide background for my study. ***Table 1*** through ***Table 4*** offer detailed information about the current nature of immigration to the U.S. South. ***Table 1*** shows Hispanic, Asian, and Foreign Born population data for each state in the U.S. South in 1990 and 2000, the percent growth of each population group in each state between 1990 and 2000, and the population group's percent of the total population in each state. North Carolina saw the highest growth rate in the Hispanic population, while the Asian population had the highest growth rate in Georgia. Those two states also saw the highest growth rate for the foreign born population. ***Table 2*** – ***Table 4*** show population growth between 1990 and 2000 in 25 selected southern metropolitan areas for Hispanic, Asian, and Foreign Born respectively. Fayetteville, Arkansas, had a much higher growth rate of the Hispanic population than any other city in the South, while the three North Carolina metro areas of Charlotte, Greensboro-Winston-Salem, and Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill experienced high growth rates as well. Concerning the Asian population, Fayetteville had the highest growth rate while Atlanta experienced the largest net gain. Similar high growth rates are seen in the same cities for the Foreign Born population. Hispanic, Asian, and Foreign

Table 1: Southern Ethnic Population Data

Hispanic

State	Hispanic Population in 1990	Hispanic Population in 2000	Percent Growth 1990-2000	Total State Population in 2000	Percent of Total Population in 2000
Alabama	24,629	75,830	207.9%	4,447,100	1.7%
Arkansas	19,876	86,866	337.0%	2,673,400	3.2%
Florida	1,574,143	2,682,715	70.4%	15,982,378	16.8%
Georgia	108,922	435,227	299.6%	8,186,453	5.3%
Kentucky	21,984	59,939	172.6%	4,041,769	1.5%
Louisiana	93,044	107,738	15.8%	4,468,976	2.4%
Mississippi	15,931	39,569	148.4%	2,844,658	1.4%
North Carolina	76,726	378,963	393.9%	8,049,313	4.7%
South Carolina	30,551	95,076	211.2%	4,012,012	2.4%
Tennessee	32,741	123,838	278.2%	5,689,283	2.2%
Texas	4,339,905	6,669,666	53.7%	20,851,820	32.0%
Virginia	160,288	329,540	105.6%	7,078,515	4.7%
West Virginia	8,489	12,279	44.6%	1,808,344	0.7%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Asian

State	Asian Population in 1990	Asian Population in 2000	Percent Growth 1990-2000	Total State Population in 2000	Percent of Total Population in 2000
Alabama	21,797	31,346	43.8%	4,447,100	0.7%
Arkansas	12,530	20,220	61.4%	2,673,400	0.8%
Florida	154,302	266,256	72.6%	15,982,378	1.7%
Georgia	75,781	173,170	128.5%	8,186,453	2.1%
Kentucky	17,812	29,744	67.0%	4,041,769	0.7%
Louisiana	41,099	54,758	33.2%	4,468,976	1.2%
Mississippi	13,016	18,626	43.1%	2,844,658	0.7%
North Carolina	52,166	113,689	117.9%	8,049,313	1.4%
South Carolina	22,382	36,014	60.9%	4,012,012	0.9%
Tennessee	31,839	56,662	78.0%	5,689,283	1.0%
Texas	319,459	562,319	76.0%	20,851,820	2.7%
Virginia	159,053	261,025	64.1%	7,078,515	3.7%
West Virginia	7,459	9,434	26.5%	1,808,344	0.5%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 1: Continued

	Foreign Born				
State	**Foreign Born Population in 1990**	**Foreign Born Population in 2000**	**Percent Growth 1990-2000**	**Total State Population in 2000**	**Percent of Total Population in 2000**
Alabama	43,533	87,772	101.6%	4,447,100	2.0%
Arkansas	24,867	73,690	196.3%	2,673,400	2.8%
Florida	1,662,601	2,670,828	60.6%	15,982,378	16.7%
Georgia	173,126	577,273	233.4%	8,186,453	7.1%
Kentucky	34,119	80,271	135.3%	4,041,769	2.0%
Louisiana	87,407	115,885	32.6%	4,468,976	2.6%
Mississippi	20,383	39,908	95.8%	2,844,658	1.4%
North Carolina	115,077	430,000	273.7%	8,049,313	5.3%
South Carolina	49,964	115,978	132.1%	4,012,012	2.9%
Tennessee	59,114	159,004	169.0%	5,689,283	2.8%
Texas	1,524,436	2,899,642	90.2%	20,851,820	13.9%
Virginia	311,809	570,279	82.9%	7,078,515	8.1%
West Virginia	15,712	19,390	23.4%	1,808,344	1.1%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 2: Hispanic Population Growth in 25 Selected Southern Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Statistical Area	1990	2000	% Growth
Athens, GA	2,011	7,776	286.7%
Atlanta GA	57,169	268,851	370.3%
Birmingham, AL	3,989	16,598	316.1%
Charleston, SC	7,512	13,091	74.3%
Charlotte, NC	10,671	77,092	622.4%
Chattanooga, TN	2,539	7,006	175.9%
Dothan, AL	1,679	2,764	64.6%
Fayetteville, AR	1,526	26,401	1630.1%
Greensboro-Winston-Salem, NC	7,096	62,210	776.7%
Greenville-Spartanburg, SC	5,120	26,167	411.1%
Huntsville, AL	2,984	6,966	133.4%
Jackson, MS	1,944	4,240	118.1%
Knoxville, TN	3,232	8,628	167.0%
Lexington, KY	3,117	11,880	281.1%
Little Rock, AR	4,164	12,337	196.3%
Louisville, KY	5,765	16,479	185.8%
Memphis, TN	7,986	27,520	244.6%
Mobile, AL	4,186	7,353	75.7%
Montgomery, AL	2,124	4,080	92.1%
Nashville, TN	7,665	40,139	423.7%
New Orleans, LA	53,226	58,545	10.0%
Norfolk-Newport News-Virginia Beach, VA	32,329	48,963	51.5%
Pensacola, FL	6,236	10,903	74.8%
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	9,019	72,580	704.7%
Tallahassee, FL	5,679	11,189	97.0%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 3: Asian Population Growth in 25 Selected Southern Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Statistical Area	1990	2000	% Growth
Athens, GA	2,352	3,621	54.0%
Atlanta GA	51,486	135,959	164.1%
Birmingham, AL	4,014	7,631	90.1%
Charleston, SC	6,113	7,220	18.1%
Charlotte, NC	11,304	28,373	151.0%
Chattanooga, TN	2,825	4,587	62.4%
Dothan, AL	1,201	1,080	-10.1%
Fayetteville, AR	1,043	4,094	292.5%
Greensboro-Winston-Salem, NC	6,381	16,929	165.3%
Greenville-Spartanburg, SC	4,617	11,158	141.7%
Huntsville, AL	4,232	5,371	26.9%
Jackson, MS	1,754	3,243	84.9%
Knoxville, TN	4,540	6,796	49.7%
Lexington, KY	4,037	7,469	85.0%
Little Rock, AR	3,347	5,828	74.1%
Louisville, KY	5,640	11,015	95.3%
Memphis, TN	8,178	15,854	93.9%
Mobile, AL	3,619	6,165	70.4%
Montgomery, AL	1,782	2,655	49.0%
Nashville, TN	10,012	19,955	99.3%
New Orleans, LA	21,380	28,550	33.5%
Norfolk-Newport News-Virginia Beach, VA	35,205	42,981	22.1%
Pensacola, FL	6,021	8,044	33.6%
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	13,834	34,244	147.5%
Tallahassee, FL	2,788	4,679	67.8%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 4: Foreign Born Population Growth in 25 Selected Southern Metropolitan Areas

Metropolitan Statistical Area	1990	2000	% Growth
Athens, GA	4,445	10,176	128.9%
Atlanta GA	115,642	423,105	265.9%
Birmingham, AL	9,377	20,875	122.6%
Charleston, SC	10,704	18,257	70.6%
Charlotte, NC	24,041	99,760	315.0%
Chattanooga, TN	5,144	11,150	116.8%
Dothan, AL	2,106	2,921	38.7%
Fayetteville, AR	1,826	21,562	1080.8%
Greensboro-Winston-Salem, NC	14,148	71,565	405.8%
Greenville-Spartanburg, SC	10,772	34,207	217.6%
Huntsville, AL	7,691	12,071	56.9%
Jackson, MS	3,435	5,731	66.8%
Knoxville, TN	8,408	14,509	72.6%
Lexington, KY	7,428	19,148	157.8%
Little Rock, AR	7,273	14,105	93.9%
Louisville, KY	12,016	27,933	132.5%
Memphis, TN	13,824	37,670	172.5%
Mobile, AL	6,967	12,090	73.5%
Montgomery, AL	3,876	5,665	46.2%
Nashville, TN	18,012	57,614	219.9%
New Orleans, LA	52,264	64,169	22.8%
Norfolk-Newport News-Virginia Beach, VA	49,402	70,370	42.4%
Pensacola, FL	8,794	14,370	63.4%
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	27,786	108,803	291.6%
Tallahassee, FL	7,540	13,193	75.0%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Born population trends for Birmingham, where my study area is located, may be seen alongside 24 other southern metropolitan areas in ***Table 2*** – ***Table 4***.

The Study Area

The following section serves as a general overview of Birmingham and the surrounding area. This should prove useful as a foundation for the more detailed analysis of immigrant business owners that forms the bulk of this thesis.

The City of Birmingham and the Surrounding Area

The effects of Birmingham's economic transition from a heavy industrial city to a post-industrial service oriented economy laid the groundwork for significant increases of migration to the area. The following statement by Curtis summarizes these events:

> Though dominated by heavy manufacturing since its inception, the Birmingham Metropolitan Area's economy began to restructure during the 1960s and 1970s. The stage was set for further restructuring and diversification in the 1980s and 1990s. In accordance with a national trend, Birmingham experienced diminished employment in manufacturing. The transition to a post-industrial economy was accompanied by an expanded service sector. However, heavy manufacturing remains part of the economy and contributes to the Metropolitan Area's stability. The trend from concentration in manufacturing toward low-level service and high-level professional occupations is evident in economic figures (Curtis 2003, 10).

What follows is a description of Birmingham, including the city's geography, geology, and history. Also discussed are the metropolitan area cities where the study area is located – Homewood and Hoover. The Birmingham metropolitan area's unique geologic and geographic setting contributed to its growth and history, making it the city that it is today. The population of the city proper was 242,820 in 2000 (2000 U.S.

Census), but declined to 236,620 according to the 2003 American Community Survey. However, the city serves as the primary nucleus for the sprawling metro area known as Greater Birmingham with over 1.1 million inhabitants.

Geographic, Geologic, and Climatic Setting

Birmingham, located at 33°31'29" North and 86°48'46" West, lies in Jones Valley, flanked by long parallel mountain ridges – the tailing ends of the Appalachian foothills – in the ridge and valley physiographic province – running from northeast to southwest. The valley is drained by small creeks – Village Creek, Valley Creek – that flow into the Black Warrior River. More importantly, the valley was bisected by the principal railroad corridor, along which most of the early manufacturing operations began. Although the Birmingham central business district (CBD) actually sits within Jones Valley, the metropolitan area spills up and over the adjacent ridges and into the surrounding valleys.

Red Mountain, one of the larger ridges in the area, lies immediately south of downtown. The area south of Red Mountain was largely protected from the industrial smog and dangerous streets of the industrial city. The "over the mountain" area refers to the region south of Red Mountain, in Jefferson and on into Shelby Counties, which includes Shades Valley, Shades Mountain, the Cahaba River Basin, Oak Mountain and points southward, and is comprised of the suburban cities of Homewood, Mountain Brook, Vestavia Hills, Hoover – Birmingham's four most affluent suburbs – Pelham, Alabaster, and Helena. Many immigrants live in the "over the mountain" area. Latinos concentrate near Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue in Homewood, and near Lorna Road in Hoover. Most Asians live in subdivisions in the southern suburbs.

Birmingham has a temperate climate with hot and humid summers, mild winters, and pleasant months during autumn and spring. The city receives abundant rainfall, although it gets slightly less than the Gulf Coast and is slightly cooler. January sees average daily high temperatures of 53.0 °F (11.7 °C) and lows of 31.8 °F (−0.1 °C). In July the average daily high is 90.6 °F (32.6 °C) and the low is 69.2 °F (20.7 °C). The average annual temperature in Birmingham is 62 °F (17 °C). Snowfall is infrequent in the area, with a yearly average of only 0.5 inches (1 cm). The average annual rainfall in Birmingham is about 52 inches (1330 mm), with March being the wettest month and October the driest.

Cold fronts frequently bring strong to severe thunderstorms and occasional tornadoes to this part of the South. The fall season features less rainfall and fewer storms, as well as lower humidity than the spring, but it is also a secondary severe weather season. Tornadoes frequent the area during the spring, but also during December. In late summer and fall months, Birmingham experiences occasional effects from hurricanes and tropical storms due to its proximity to the Central Gulf Coast. This was especially evident during the 2004 and 2005 hurricane seasons.

Historical Setting

In this section I will look at the factors that have shaped Birmingham's urban morphology and social landscape in order to set the stage for my study. Birmingham's history is especially important in a survey of ethnicity and migration in the area because of the profound impacts race relations in this city have had on the rest of the country. Birmingham was at the center of the American Civil Rights Movement throughout the

1960s. The city is now a mixture of Old South and New South, but without the progressive government found in some New South areas.

On June 1, 1871, real estate promoters who sold lots near the planned crossing of the Alabama & Chattanooga and South & North Railroads founded the city of Birmingham. The three principle raw materials for making steel – iron ore, coal, and limestone – are located in abundance in the surrounding area near the site of the railroad crossing. Birmingham is one of the few places worldwide where significant amounts of all three resources are found in close proximity. At its inception, the city was planned to be a great industrial center. The group of people who founded the city borrowed the name from England's principle industrial city in order to promote that point. Although the city subsequently had a slow start – due to a Wall Street crash in 1873 and a cholera outbreak – it began growing rapidly soon afterward.

After the close of the Civil War, Birmingham developed as an industrial city. Beginning in 1873, the city began to grow at an astonishing pace through the turn of the century, earning itself the nicknames of "The Magic City" and "The Pittsburgh of the South". Over the course of the twentieth century, while industry declined nationwide, Birmingham's economy diversified. Though manufacturing is still an important sector, the service industry now dominates the local economy. Additionally, the city is a regional banking and publishing power and a major medical research center.

The directors of the Elyton Land Company planned out the city over 1,160 acres (1.7 km^2) before construction ever began. The streets, numbered from west to east, are anchored on the north by Capital Park and stretch into the slopes of Red Mountain to the south. Twentieth forms the main artery through downtown. Running east to west, a

"railroad reservation" was granted through the center of the city. This reservation was zoned solely for industrial uses. Bridges and underpasses were constructed to connect either side of the railroad reservation. This, in effect, creates a similar mobility impact as a river – without the waterfront unfortunately. The city's streets and avenues were planned at 80 to 100 feet (24 to 30 m), supposedly to help remove unhealthy smoke from the corridors.

Many of the subsequent and newer industrial settlements in the surrounding area of the Birmingham District were laid out by professional planners in the early twentieth century. Residential neighborhoods, distinguished for their aesthetic quality, were developed to the south and west of Birmingham, where many new immigrants live today. The Olmsteds, renowned for their public space plans for the Boston Parks System, Central Park in New York City, the U.S. Capitol grounds in Washington, DC, and the Biltmore Estate in North Carolina, were hired to design parks and public spaces in Birmingham. Recently, city officials have debated a proposed redevelopment of the central railroad reservation into a linear park flanked by residential and commercial development. This is based on plans drawn by Urban Design Associates of Pittsburgh, which advocates strongly for more residential development in the downtown, university, and central business district areas.

National and international media spotlighted Birmingham in the 1950s and 1960s as it evolved into a center of the Civil Rights Movement. In 1963, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., penned his famous *Letter from a Birmingham Jail* while imprisoned for taking part in a non-violent protest. This proved a turning point in the movement as the letter was a defining discourse in the struggle against segregation. Despite that, however,

Birmingham is probably best known for the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church that same year, which killed four little girls. Even today, this single event is what many people not from the area first think of when they hear the name "Birmingham". Although violent racial conflicts have long since abated, this stigmatizes the city to this day. This raises the question: how is Birmingham, a city historically identified by racial issues, dealing with its transition to a multicultural metropolis? For this reason I felt it was important to interview city officials in order to gauge their reaction to the new arrivals. Local government officials must now take into account many different cultural issues and differences when they make plans for their respective communities.

Like many cities across the country, the inner city population of Birmingham has fallen over the past few decades due to suburbanization – one of the consequences of segregation. The city population decreased from 340,887 in 1960 to 242,820 in 2000, a loss of about 45 percent. However, the growth of suburbs to the south of Birmingham over that same time period has resulted in a continuous increase in the metropolitan population. This is the reason many immigrants, Latino in particular, move directly to suburbs south of the CBD. Jobs are readily available in this portion of the metro area because of the phenomenal southward growth.

The Birmingham Metropolitan Area

Birmingham and Hoover are the primary cities in the Birmingham-Hoover-Cullman Metropolitan Area (as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census), consisting of the Birmingham-Hoover Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) and the Cullman Micropolitan Area that include several counties in central Alabama: Bibb, Blount,

Chilton, Cullman, Jefferson, St. Clair, Shelby, and Walker. My two study area corridors are located along Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue in Homewood, north of Hoover, and along Lorna Road in Hoover, both in southern Jefferson County.

The City of Homewood

Homewood is a residential and commercial suburb located in Shades Valley, due south from downtown Birmingham across Red Mountain. The city was founded in 1926 with the combination of the communities of Edgewood, Rosedale, and Oak Grove. A few years later the residential community of Hollywood, famous for homes built in the Spanish colonial revival and English Tudor styles of architecture, was also incorporated into Homewood. Residents easily traveled between Homewood and Birmingham by streetcar and automobile. Today the city is a thriving residential area, popular for its 1920s era homes and its quaint shopping district just west of U.S. Highway 31.

The area of Homewood I intend to explore in this thesis, however, is further west from the historic area of the city. The area where many immigrant businesses are appearing lies along Green Springs Highway – which parallels Interstate 65 – and Valley Avenue – which runs perpendicular to Green Springs and straddles the division between the Homewood and Birmingham city limits.

The City of Hoover

Hoover lies south of the cities of Homewood and Vestavia Hills from the southern slope of Shades Mountain to areas beyond the Cahaba River. The city was founded by William H. Hoover, owner of Employers Mutual Insurance Company, and incorporated

in 1967 along a section of U.S. Highway 31. Since then Hoover has grown rapidly to become the sixth largest city in Alabama, although it is a suburban residential and commercial community satellite of Birmingham. Many communities have been annexed by Hoover over the years – a process that will most likely continue. These include Riverchase, Bluff Park, many subdivision communities throughout the "over the mountain" area, including some off of U.S. Highway 280 to the east, land along Interstate 459 between U.S. Highways 31 and 280, and portions of USX-owned land. Like other Birmingham suburban cities, Hoover has its own school system with ten elementary schools, three middle schools, and two high schools with a third being planned. One of the largest enclosed shopping malls in the southeast – the Riverchase Galleria – is also in Hoover. The city's economy is booming and the total population continues to show rapid growth. This is also true for the immigrant population in Hoover. Although Hoover sprawls across the "over the mountain" area south of Birmingham, my focus in this thesis will be along Lorna Road near U.S. Highway 31 in the original area of the city.

Economy

The increase in migration to Birmingham is one result of the city's growing economy. In the 1970s and 1980s, Birmingham's economy was transformed by investment in bio-technology and medical research at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB). This signaled the change from an industrial to a service based economy. UAB is currently not only the area's largest employer, but the largest in the state as well with a workforce of over 52,000 full-time equivalent employees.

Birmingham is also a banking center, serving as home to three major banking companies: AmSouth Bancorporation, Compass Bancshares, and Regions Bank. SouthTrust, which also had been headquartered in Birmingham, was acquired by Charlotte-based Wachovia in 2004. Telecommunications provider BellSouth has a major presence with several large offices in the metropolitan area. The city is also home to many construction and engineering companies. This started with Rust Engineering International and has grown to many other construction and engineering companies such as BE&K, Brasfield & Gorrie, BL Harbert International, and Dunn Construction, all of which are in the top 100 engineering and construction companies in the world. Birmingham is home to several Fortune 500 companies, including several previously mentioned companies: AmSouth Bancorporation, Compass Bancshares, HealthSouth, Protective Life, Regions Financial Corporation, Saks Incorporated, Torchmark, and Vulcan Materials Company. Other corporate headquarters in the city include: Alabama Power (Southern Company), Books-A-Million, Bruno's (grocery chain), Buffalo Rock, EBSCO Industries, Energen, Harbert Management Company, Liberty National Life, McWane Corporation, O'Neal Steel, SONAT, Southern Progress (publishing company), and Southern Research Institute. Some of the privately held companies headquartered in Birmingham, such as BE&K, Brasfield & Gorrie, Drummond Company, Inc., EBSCO, Harbert Management Company, McWane Corporation, and O'Neal Steel have annual revenues exceeding one billion.

It is likely that these large companies and corporations brought in or attracted diverse employees from other parts of the country or world. Those people then presented a need for ethnic businesses and products, creating a demand for further international

migrants. Recent immigrants to the Birmingham area, as well as to other areas within the South, are bringing changes to the traditional social and cultural fabric of the land. People are learning to deal with divisive issues that are no longer simply black and white. It will be interesting to see how this plays out in the years ahead.

CHAPTER 2:
PROCESSES OF IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANT-ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Before examining the local situation in Birmingham, I review the relevant migration literature. I have organized the literature discussions by themes that relate to immigrant entrepreneurialism. I begin by discussing cultural and structural influences on immigrant entrepreneurialism, stepladder and blocked mobility hypotheses, ethnic and class resources, and ethnic attachment and solidarity. This is followed by an overview of globalization and migration networks, which leads into a discussion of transnationalism. Migration networks and transnationalism both play a key role in the type of migration occurring to Birmingham. Next, I talk about three theoretical explanations of immigrant ethnic socio-spatial behavior: assimilation, cultural pluralism, and heterolocalism. The next section deals with ethnic and immigrant enclaves, and the final section of the chapter is about second generation immigrants. All of these theoretical principles are foundational to the phenomena studied in my thesis.

Theoretical Understanding of Immigrant Entrepreneurship

A host of scholars and researchers have proposed various theoretical frameworks to explain international migration as well as immigrant entrepreneurship. In a capitalist society, supply and demand are the chief factors in entrepreneurship. But of interest to my study is that the foreign born population of the United States persistently represents higher rates of self-employment and entrepreneurship than the native born population (Light and Rosenstein 1998, 181). Additionally, members of some ethnic groups are

more likely to be entrepreneurs than others. Both cultural and structural factors contribute to this variation.

Cultural factors often influence an immigrant's decision to become a business owner. These include the strength of their social networks, their access to ethnic resources, the level of solidarity, kinship organizations within their ethnic group, their entrepreneurial heritage, values, and attitudes (Wong and Ng 1998). Certain groups are inclined to entrepreneurship due to the strong ties within their community, their shared migration experience – many migrant entrepreneurs may have similar migratory experiences – and the nature of the society from which the immigrants came. Some ethnic groups have a disproportionately higher number of entrepreneurs than others. Orthodox cultural theory argues that some ethnic groups may contain embedded entrepreneurial values, which include skills, motivation, and entrepreneurial ambition (Yoo 1998, 23). A predisposition of entrepreneurial tendencies may be one reason why some groups tend more towards entrepreneurship than others. Cultural factors are but one part of the many factors that may influence the decision to become self-employed – the others fall under structural factors.

Structural factors also may play a role in part to influence a migrants's decision to start a business. Structural factors include market conditions favoring only certain types of businesses in certain areas (such as a nearby immigrant community, which would want certain types of markets nearby), access to business services and ownership often controlled by non-immigrants (banks, healthcare, and other services), and vacant space for a business (older buildings now empty, or new land for new building construction). Immigrants may choose to start their own business because they view it as a route to

upward economic mobility (Waldinger, Aldrich, and Ward 1990). This view might be representative of historical factors of the immigrant group or of structural and contextual factors in the host society, particularly if immigrants of certain origins have had a hard time in the past gaining employment in the mainstream economy. Structural factors also include disadvantages such as a labor market where discrimination against immigrants and minorities takes place. There is a long-standing tradition of migrants using entrepreneurship to gain upward mobility when faced with discrimination.

Two hypotheses attempt to explain the role of ethnic entrepreneurship in upward mobility, especially within the context of ethnically concentrated neighborhoods – the stepladder hypothesis and the blocked mobility hypothesis. Raijman and Tienda contend that the stepladder hypothesis "…maintains that immigrants' employment in enterprises owned and operated by other co-ethnics, even at low wages, enables acquisition of knowledge and experience required to establish a business" (Raijman and Tienda 2000). A low-wage job is a form of on-the-job training, and "social ties within the ethnic-economy widen workers' contacts and increase the chances that employees will move through a variety of jobs that allow for the acquisition of industry-specific business skills" (Raijman and Tienda 2000). The blocked mobility hypothesis presumes "high-skilled immigrants seek self-employment as a solution to anticipated discrimination in the U.S. labor market …and the lack of skills that can be readily transferred to the United States coupled with poor English fluency, drive immigrant workers into the small business sector" (Raijman and Tienda 2000). Both theories posit that the primary reason why most immigrants choose to become business owners is to improve their economic situation.

Additional dynamics also influence ethnic entrepreneurship both at the time of startup and while the business is in operation. These factors most likely play a role among the immigrant business community in Birmingham. Min and Bozorgmehr raise the issue of ethnic and class resources as influences on an immigrants' decision to become an entrepreneur (Min and Bozorgmehr 2000). Ethnic resources include private loans and rotating credit associations, dependence on relatives, co-ethnic employees and customers, and purchase of business from co-ethnic owners, while class resources include education, English fluency, dependence on personal savings for capitalization, and pre-migration business experience (Min and Bozorgmehr 2000). Much debate remains among scholars concerning which of the two resources are more responsible for immigrants becoming entrepreneurs. Anthropologists and sociologists tend to favor ethnic resources, whereas economists tend to favor class resources (Min and Bozorgmehr 2000).

Globalization and Migration Networks

In this section I will discuss the relationship between globalization and migration, which influences the formation of migration networks and transnational spaces. These forces are behind the rise in Birmingham's immigrant population. Migration networks and transnationalism are both important factors to consider in the study of migration. The former are explained by network theory. According to Massey,

> migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration (Massey, et. al. 1993, 448).

Migration is a natural consequence of the larger macro-level events of social, political, and economic integration across international borders – or to put it succinctly "globalization". International migration over time tends to construct its own sustaining infrastructure of support (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002). Fueling the movement is the existing economic dichotomy between developed and developing nations, contributing to the flow of migrants between those nations (Clark 2003, 55).

Light offers a concise but thorough explanation of the foundation that globalization plays in international migration, which has brought international migrants to growing communities in the U.S., including Birmingham:

> The evolution of immigrant-dominated informal sectors in developed countries is a perplexing problem. For a long time, globalization theory has offered a demand-driven explanation. Demand-driven means that globalization theory identifies demand as the motor of change that attracts immigrants to developed economies. Consumer demand is the effective agent of change. Naturally, to reach consumer demand, globalization theory starts with the impact of global restructuring upon income distribution in advanced countries. The growth of consumer services creates jobs for low-wage workers while the growth of producer services creates jobs for high-wage workers. These parallel trends polarize the income structures of advanced countries. Globalization theory then deduces from this increasingly unequal income distribution changes in consumer demand that encourage both informalization in and immigration to advanced economies (Light 2000, 163).

However, he goes on to say that globalization theory may now be critiqued from the point of view of migration networks. Migration networks

> reduce the hardship and costs of low-wage work, thus permitting many more immigrants to find employment in the destination economy and many more informal firms to exist…[and] networks permit immigrant entrepreneurs to exploit ethnic social capital in the recruitment, training and retention of workers, thus lowering the costs incurred by immigrant-owned firms (Light 2000, 176-177).

Regarding immigration, globalization theory may account for the demand-side pull, but network theory helps to account for the supply-side push. Consequently, spillover immigration serves to reconcile any theoretical conflict between globalization theory and migration network theory. Effects of globalization, which include changes in the nature of communication and transportation, increasing social interchange, greater regional integration, and increasing international investment and trade all contribute to "the integration of people into world markets and the increasing interconnectedness of the world economy" (Clark 2003, 55). This interconnectedness of the world economy is a major contributing factor to the international migration of labor. This ties into ethnic entrepreneurship because immigrant business owners come to where labor may be found.

A migration network is also defined, according to Zahniser, as "any socioeconomic linkage that facilitates migration between the origin and contemplated destination of a prospective migrant" (Zhaniser 1999, 3). Zahniser also offers four main impacts of immigrant networks: networks lower the costs of migration, reduce the risks associated with migration, provide the migrant with valuable job contacts (which may help if an immigrant decides to start a business), and may make life in the United States more appealing to migrants (Zhaniser 1999, 10-11).

Additional sources of social capital – integral to the success of a migration network – are described by Castles and Miller and include personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters. Organizations and persons on either end of the network, especially on the destination end, help immigrants find employment and housing, and to understand local laws, customs, behaviors, and practices (Castles and Miller 1998, 24-25). Faist points out

that migrant networks reduce economic and psychological risks and costs associated with long-distance international migration (Faist 2000). Additionally, Massey, et. al. state that migrant networks are the most important mechanism sustaining international migration (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002).

Transnationalism

Migration networks are also essential in constituting transnational spaces. Many people who migrate to Birmingham want to maintain some semblance of their home culture. This creates a demand for immigrant entrepreneurs to start businesses, such as restaurants and markets, at the destination location that offer products and services familiar to an immigrant. Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc define transnational migration as "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc 1995; Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc 1997, 7). They also describe immigrants involved in a transnational process as *transmigrants*, defined as "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state" (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Szanton Blanc 1995). These three scholars concluded that the global restructuring of capitalism is responsible for specific transnational processes (Szanton Blanc, Basch, and Glick Schiller 1995, 683-686). For their study of transnational processes, they constructed a framework of four interrelated premises grounded within the context of a host of factors (Basch, Glick Schiller, Szanton Blanc 1997, 22):

1. Transnational migration is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of global capitalism and must be analyzed within the context of global relations between capital and labor.
2. Transnationalism is a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries.
3. Bounded social science concepts that conflate physical location, culture, and identity can limit the ability of researchers first to perceive and then to analyze the phenomenon of transnationalism.
4. By living their lives across borders, transmigrants find themselves confronted with and engaged in the nation building processes of two or more nation-states. Their identities and practices are configured by hegemonic categories, such as race and ethnicity, that are deeply embedded in the nation building processes of these nation-states.

Persons who are involved in a transnational migration network are known as *transnationals*. Portes defines *transnationals* as "individuals who speak more than one language, move easily in a variety of social climates and coordinate economic activities between different countries. They are dissolving the barriers that have previously defined and separated nations from each other, creating a global melting pot" (Portes 1996b, 74-77). Olwig states:

> transnational theory has contributed to our understanding of migration by pointing to the inadequacy of investigating population movements in terms of one-way movements that result in the gradual integration of migrants into the receiving country. It thereby has drawn attention to the significance of attachments to people and places that transcend the confines of particular nations (Olwig 2003).

In 2004, Voigt-Graf stated that relatively few studies look at transnational issues from a geographical perspective, despite the fact that much of the literature is interspersed with spatial metaphors (Voigt-Graf 2004). Voigt-Graf attempts to develop a better theoretical understanding of the geography and spatial patterns of transnational processes. Transnationalism as an important part of migrants' lifeways in general and day to day activities specifically is evident in much of the literature. It is the process through which

migrants and immigrants go about maintaining their identity, despite living in a new locale.

The immigrant-owned businesses in Birmingham are part of the process of building transnational spaces in Birmingham. When persons migrate to a new place or country, they bring aspects of their home culture with them and deposit those in the new place, and they pick up cultural and social traits in the new place and convey those back to their homeland (Alba and Nee 2003). In other words, transnationals lead lives where they attempt to "fit in" with the new society while at the same time maintaining strong ties with their homelands. These ties are maintained by remittances, telecommunication technologies, and visits back home, and businesses in Birmingham are essential to this. Also, the traditional populations in the destination locations are more accepting of cultural and social differences today than in past decades (Alba and Nee 2003). Many places appear more diverse today. Also, immigrants now come from a wider variety of countries from all points around the globe – much more so than in the past. The advent of better technologies, particularly transportation and communication technologies, allows migrants to live transnational lives in this new era of globalization. But, Alba and Nee do state that assimilation still takes place, and to various degrees among different ethnic/immigrant groups (Alba and Nee 2003).

Transnationalism is evident in particular in Birmingham's Latino community. Many immigrants from Mexico, for example, establish lives here, but continue their involvement with their home communities in Mexico through remittances, and frequent telephone calls and visits back home. Ethnic businesses facilitate further ease of communication between an immigrant's new location and his or her homeland through

the services they offer like money transfers and calling cards. Several branch locations of an Alabama bank have appeared near areas of high Latino habitation as well. These bank locations also claim to help migrants send money back to their home country, in addition to providing the usual banking services.

Explaining Immigrant Ethnic Socio-Spatial Behavior

Three models exist to explain immigrant ethnic socio-spatial behavior: assimilation, pluralism, and heterolocalism. A discussion of these three models is important in relation to my thesis topic because I am looking at the development of an international corridor area from a spatial perspective. Throughout much of the twentieth century, assimilation and cultural pluralism remained the dominant dichotomy to explain what happened after immigrants arrived in a new location. In fact, scholars have begun to criticize these two models because they are no longer appropriate to the current state of international migration and do not factor in the continuous and rapid change of the global economy and society. Heterolocalism attempts to address what is currently happening when immigrants arrive in a country, region, or city. I will spend the remainder of this section discussing the three models mentioned above and their application to my study site.

Assimilation

The assimilation model grew out of the Anglo-conformity doctrine of the 19th century and remained popular throughout much of the twentieth century (Zelinsky and Lee 1998, 282). According to Alba and Logan, "the most fundamental tenets of the

assimilation model are (1) that residential mobility follows from the acculturation and the social mobility of individuals, and (2) that residential mobility is an intermediate step on the way to more complete (i.e. structural) assimilation" (Alba and Logan 1991, 432). This model, however, is less applicable currently as the nature of immigration to the U.S. has changed dramatically.

Immigrants to the U.S. constantly face difficult choices regarding assimilation. They are conflicted over which elements of American culture to adopt and how to maintain loyalty to their origin country culture. Developed in the eighteenth century, but popularized in the early twentieth century, the melting pot theory assumes all immigrants will eventually assimilate. This, however, did not come so easily for those immigrants not of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) background (McDonald and Balgopal 1998, 14-18). Through the early- to mid-twentieth century, for example, all immigrants were expected to assimilate in U.S. society quickly upon arrival, despite a variety of mistreatments, thereby making it easier for them to be accepted by the mainstream American culture. The melting pot theory, however, hardly worked as expected (i.e. Jim Crow era, World War II internment camps, xenophobia).

In their classic work on assimilation theory, Warner and Srole posit that the greater the difference between the ethnic or racial group and the host society, the greater the subordination of the group, the greater the strength of the social subsystem, the longer the period necessary for assimilation (Warner and Srole 1945). The language used in Warner and Srole's work is certainly not appropriate or acceptable today, though their work remains important for its role in laying out the groundwork for assimilation theory.

As the century progressed, other scholars commented on the phenomenological methodologies of assimilation as well as acculturation. The anthropologists Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits state that *acculturation* "comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Gordon 1964, 61). The sociologists Park and Burgess define *assimilation* as "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Gordon 1964, 62). Park also states that *amalgamation* is "a biological process, the fusion of races by interbreeding and intermarriage. Assimilation…is limited to the fusion of cultures" (Gordon 1964, 63).

In his work, *Assimilation in American Life*, Gordon lists seven variables or sub-processes in the assimilation process: 1. Change of cultural patterns to those of host society (cultural assimilation), 2. Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level (structural assimilation), 3. Large-scale intermarriage (marital assimilation), 4. Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society (identificational assimilation), 5. Absence of prejudice (attitude receptional assimilation), 6. Absence of discrimination (behavior receptional assimilation), and 7. Absence of value and power conflict (civic assimilation) (Gordon 1964). More recently, however, assimilation and other earlier theories have come under attack and are no longer valid as the nature of immigration to the United States has drastically altered and the normative overtones recognized as racist.

Glazer offers a critical analysis of the proponents of assimilation. His argument stems from the fact that assimilationists only focused their efforts and support of the assimilation theory on immigrants from Europe (Glazer 1993). Hypothetically, assimilation should apply to any group differing from the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority of the United States – that is, if WASPs are used as the host society for immigrants to assimilate into. But the people who supported assimilation appear to have flagrantly neglected persons who were not immigrants from European nations. Therefore, Africans, Asians, Hispanics, and anyone else not of European lineage were left out of the assimilation model altogether when in fact, according to the theory of assimilation itself, they should have played a large part. Glazer specifically mentions how the African-American population was repeatedly left out of the model (Glazer 1993). Proponents either did not think to include them, left them out on purpose, or did not feel that the model applied to persons of African heritage. He also accuses those who affiliate with the cultural pluralism model, now also called multiculturalism, of the same offense. At the time, people who cried out for a culturally pluralistic society repeatedly failed to mention the inclusion of Africans, Asians, Hispanics, or other non-Europeans. One does have to keep in mind, however, the era in which the debate between assimilation and cultural pluralism was taking place. There was a great deal more prejudice directed toward people who differed from the WASP status quo as opposed to European immigrants who somewhat already resembled the U.S. majority population. Glazer concludes by arguing for multiculturalism as a superior route and furthermore calls for a "resistance to the assimilatory trend of American culture and American society" (Glazer 1993). If most immigrants were assimilating directly into the

mainstream society, there would be less demand for ethnic goods and services. Therefore, there might be fewer opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs in areas experiencing high and rapid rates of assimilation. Today, most recent immigrants desire to maintain transnational ties.

Alba and Nee describe reasons why immigration today is different from the time when assimilationists formulated their model (Alba and Nee 2003). The authors also posit that transnationalism may be overruling assimilation. The concept of transnationalism better describes immigrant adaptation today. Many more migrants maintain their lives in two cultures – the culture in their homeland and the culture in their new destination. Transnationalism appears to contribute to increasing multiculturalism around the world.

Cultural Pluralism

Kallen, in 1924, introduced the concept of cultural pluralism, which he describes as "the view that democracy is an essential prerequisite to culture, that culture can be and sometimes is a fine flowering of democracy, and that the history of the relation of the two in the United States exhibits this fact" (Kallen 1924, 11). Epps describes cultural pluralism as involving "the mutual exchange of cultural content and respect for different views of reality and conceptions of man…ethnic groups have the right to preserve their cultural heritages and also to contribute to American civic life" (Epps 1974, 177). Schaefer argues that cultural pluralism implies "…mutual respect between the various groups in a society for one another's culture, a respect that allows minorities to express their own culture without suffering prejudice or hostility" (Schaefer 1990, 47). Most

immigrant and ethnic groups want to be accepted by the mainstream while, at the same time, maintain their unique identity and cultural heritage.

Heterolocalism

Zelinsky and Lee argue, however, that while valid in certain circumstances, the pluralist model does not adequately sort out the spatial issues involved when immigrants migrate to an area (Zelinsky and Lee 1998, 285). They propose a new approach to describe sociospatial behavior of more recent immigrant groups in the United States – *heterolocalism* – which addresses the problems not covered by the assimilationist or pluralist models. Zelinsky states that the heterolocalism theory "intends to convey the possibility that an ethnic community can exist without any significant clustering, that is, when the members of a particular group are scattered throughout a city, metropolitan area or some larger spatial domain" (Zelinsky 2001, 132-133). The heterolocalism model is characterized by six attributes (Zelinsky and Lee 1998, 285; Zelinsky 2001, 132-133; Hardwick and Meachum 2005, 544):

1. There is immediate or prompt spatial dispersion of heterolocal immigrants within the host country.
2. Residence and workplace are usually widely separated, and there is also a frequent lack of spatial overlap between residence on the one hand and shopping districts and sites of social activity on the other.
3. Despite the absence of spatial propinquity, strong ethnic community ties are maintained via telecommunications, visits, and other methods at the metropolitan, regional, national, and even international scale.
4. Heterolocalism is a time-dependent phenomenon. Although we can detect some partial manifestations in earlier periods, its full development is conceivable only under the socio economic and technological conditions of the late 20th century.
5. As is the case with the other models, heterolocalism can be observed in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan settings.
6. In contrast with the other models, heterolocalism has implications for the sociospatial behavior at the transnational, even global, scale.

Hardwick and Meachum describe heterolocalism as a product of communications and transportation advances in recent decades, which "…have made it possible for certain racial and ethnic communities to maintain their distinctive identities through time, no matter how dispersed their residential patterns may become after initial settlement in North American cities" (Hardwick and Meachum 2005, 544). They further state that "heterolocalism offers both a critique and an alternative to traditional assimilationist versus cultural pluralism models depended upon throughout much of the twentieth century to analyze and explain the relationships between immigrant settlement patterns and their ethnic identity" (Hardwick and Meachum 2005, 544).

This model may be applied to places throughout the South. Still, some ethnic groups might show characteristics of this model more so than others. In Birmingham, for example, the Asian population is residentially scattered south of the CBD. On the other hand, the Hispanic population appears to be residentially clustered in certain areas, with a few exceptions, south of the CBD. Business establishments of both groups may be found throughout the business corridors addressed in my study.

Ethnic and Immigrant Enclaves

Immigrants in the past have formed ethnic or immigrant enclaves, settling in areas of a city where persons from the same ethnic group are already present. Unlike an enclave that is made up of a specific ethnic or immigrant group, international corridors, which are the focus of this study, represent businesses of many different immigrant and ethnic groups. Zelinsky's heterolocalism model suggests the formation of immigrant and

ethnic enclaves takes place less frequently. Middle-income immigrants have access to good housing, efficient transportation networks and powerful communication technology, which minimizes advantages of their participation in an immigrant enclave. Secondary migration away from the core immigration areas of the country, cities with varied ethnic and immigrant enclaves, is continuing as a current trend. Therefore, as initial immigration to non-traditional areas of the country increases, the formation of such enclaves has decreased and is almost nonexistent in many cities throughout much of the United States, particularly in the South (Gober 1999, 233). However, a knowledge of what ethnic and immigrant enclaves are is still important.

Ethnic enclaves are ethnic economies based on business ownership by ethnic group members (Logan, et. al. 2000, 98), whereas immigrant enclaves describe residential ethnic enclaves and are

> identified by their physical characteristics (by the usual standards of mainstream society, they are less desirable as places to live) and by the characteristics of the people who live in them (they concentrate immigrants who are recently arrived and have few socioeconomic resources). By implication, the neighborhoods to which upwardly mobile group members diffuse are less ethnically distinct and have greater economic resources (Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002, 300).

Wilson and Portes state that two conditions are required for the development of immigrant enclaves: (1) the presence of immigrants with sufficient capital and initial entrepreneurial skills, and (2) the renewal of the enclave labor force through sustained immigration (Wilson and Portes 1980, 314).

Class resources and ethnic resources are important factors in ethnic entrepreneurship. Class resources are material or cultural and include private property, wealth, human capital, values related to the business, attitudes, knowledge, and inter-

generational skills (Light and Gold 2000). Class resources can also be a form of capital – financial, human, cultural, or social. Ethnic resources include identifiable skills, organizational techniques, reactive solidarity, sojourning orientation, and others (Light and Gold 2000).

Second Generation Immigrants

A further question addressed by researchers concerns the second generation of migrants in this country – the children of the immigrants themselves. The need for studies of second generation immigrants in the U.S. is important to determine assimilation levels, how much of their parents' homeland culture they have retained, or if they participate in transnationalism and migrant networks established by their parents' generation. Portes covers some of the basics of why migration is occurring, with particular emphasis on why so many people insist on coming to the U.S. (Portes 1996a). The labor needs of the economy since the post-Civil War era is one major factor drawing people to the United States. Subsequently, second generation Europeans in the U.S. have been able to move up in U.S. society because of several factors including an expanding economy and a scarcity of labor due to a new global conflict (Portes 1996a). Today, however, second generation immigrants of various minority groups face the same discrimination as those of generations ago. But immigrant families and groups tend to possess more resources, advantages, and social capital than previous immigrant groups (Portes 1996a). Also, the new "hourglass" economy has a strong effect on immigrants and their children. The narrowing middle tier of the economy makes it increasingly difficult for a person from the bottom of the hourglass, working in a menial job in the

service industry for example, to travel to the top of the hourglass and gain employment in the ever increasing sector of managerial and professional jobs that require advanced degrees (Portes 1996a). Immigrant entrepreneurs, however, cater to people at both ends of the hourglass. Business owners are in the unique position to participate in both sectors of the hourglass by serving customers from both ends, and achieve upward economic mobility if their business remains successful. This is an important area of research for migration and population geographers.

One example of work concerning the second generation is that of Kelly and Schauffler. They pose the question, "Will the new immigrants – mostly from Asia and Latin America – replicate earlier patterns of success or face conditions of arrested progress?" (Kelly and Schauffler 1996). They speculate that those with access to the social capital, knowledge, and resources of previous immigrants will be much better off and have an enhanced experience than those who lack that valuable resource (Kelly and Schauffler 1996). In their analysis, they look at the second generation of immigrants through five immigrant groups – Mexicans and Vietnamese in southern California; and Nicaraguans, Cubans, and Haitians in southern Florida – using a national survey of immigrant children and a series of ethnographic case studies as their data sources (Kelly and Schauffler 1996). The authors present qualitative narratives of a family and their childrens' experiences for each of the five groups. Most immigrant children appear to voice high educational aspirations and the hopes for future professional careers, and schools play a major role in the development of an immigrant's self-definition process (Kelly and Schauffler 1996). Immigrants also feel as though they must work as hard as they can in order to be accepted into American society. The authors conclude that "the

immigrant children of today are already forging tomorrow's ethnic identities" (Kelly and Schauffler 1996). Communities of memory, detailing immigrants' homelands, are formed within the realms of America's second generation immigrant population.

CHAPTER 3:
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Narrative of Research Process and Methodology

In this chapter, I will outline the processes and methodologies I utilized in the research. My research involves the analyzing of census population and demographic data. The field survey portion of the research included visits to immigrant businesses within the two study area corridors, as well as semi-structured qualitative interviews of immigrant business owners and city officials. The remainder of this chapter is a detailed overview of the research process.

Population and Demographic Data Collection and Statistical Analysis

Population and demographic data collected by census tract is a useful way to observe trends, concentrations, and associations among data. I collected a variety of demographic data for each census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties. Within the database I also differentiate between census tracts of my study area and all other census tracts in the two counties. I used descriptive statistics to better describe the current demographic situation in and around my study area. Some descriptive statistics and statistical tests I use include: the Location Quotient, the Coefficient of Localization, the Lorenz Curve, the Gini Coefficient or Index of Dissimilarity, Mann-Whitney test, and Multiple Regression Analysis. I used multiple regression to determine if any statistically significant relationships exist between a variety of economic and social indicator variables with demographic variables. Most of the statistical tests are conducted in relation to one of the population subgroups of the two counties – such as Asian, Hispanic,

or Foreign Born. Charts and graphs are an efficient way to visually interpret data. Therefore, I include a variety of these items in the next chapter concerning the demographics and immigration trends in Birmingham.

Primary Data Collection

The primary data collection was completed through a process of identifying immigrant-owned business establishments in the study area, composing a survey questionnaire, and then going out into the field, visiting each business, conducting a semi-structured interview with the owner/manager – with those who consented to an interview – and recording the answers and data received from the informants. The following is a much more detailed description of this process.

I began compiling a master list of all businesses in the study area that are apparently immigrant owned. This list includes the address and contact information of each establishment. Businesses were found using local business directories, such as *Yellow Pages* and *Yellow Book* for the Birmingham area, and also from lists kept by ethnic business and cultural organizations in the metro area. These organizations include the Chinese-American Business Association of Birmingham, the Hispanic Business Council of the Birmingham Regional Chamber of Commerce, and the Japan America Society of Alabama, in addition to ethnic-student organizations at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Sometimes it was easy to discern whether a business is in fact immigrant owned, but other times this observation was not so easy. My experience and familiarity with the study area aided in the process of determining what businesses to

include in this study. Ultimately, finding out whether or not a business is actually owned and operated by an immigrant involves asking the owner or manager that very question.

When I visited each business to gather information and data for my survey, I always made it a point to verify that the business in question is actually run by an immigrant. My assumption of whether a particular establishment was immigrant-owned or not when I compiled the original list was almost always correct. Often, the person I was speaking with at each particular business would mention other specific immigrant-owned businesses that they knew about. These businesses were sometimes already on my original list, but often they were not and could be added to the number of immigrant business establishments in the area. The list itself includes more than 100 immigrant-owned businesses.

Once I had compiled the original list of assumed immigrant-owned businesses, I drafted a cover letter and sent it to each business (See ***Appendix A***). The letter stated who I was and the research goals I was trying to accomplish. I sent the letter out about two weeks before I planned to do the actual field work – although in the letter I stated that I would be arriving at a person's place of business sometime in the next several weeks to ask questions in the form of a survey questionnaire. However, as I describe later, each interview ended up being conversational in nature rather than having the informant simply complete a survey.

In preparation for fieldwork, I made a copy of the questionnaire for each business, and I also prepared a postage-paid return address envelope in case I needed to leave the questionnaire at the business. Once arriving at the study area, and after a couple of interviews, I decided that I needed to get the answers to the questions in person because

the information I receive that way is much more in-depth and meaningful. I familiarized myself with the questionnaire so that I could simply converse with the informant, making sure to steer the conversation back to the appropriate topic when it went adrift. I then recorded the answers to the questions on the survey form. I kept a detailed field journal in which I recorded all of the answers to my questions – in a narrative format – for the businesses I had visited each day. I further described the business itself, the interview, the informants and their anecdotes, and other details of my visit. I also filled in gaps and details that would not have shown up on the survey form.

Field Work

The first trip to the field to collect data for this study lasted four days: a Wednesday through Saturday in October 2005. On Wednesday and Thursday I averaged about twelve interviews each day. On Friday I only managed to complete six interviews. Not as many owners or managers were at the places of business I went to on Friday. Ultimately, I was able to map the spatial distribution of the immigrant-owned business establishments around Green Springs Highway and Lorna Road (***Figure 4*** and ***Figure 5*** respectively). Each map differentiates between Asian and Hispanic businesses as well as businesses owned by other immigrants. The two maps also identify the specific businesses whose owner or manager was interviewed. Although I made an attempt to visit every immigrant-owned business in the study area, the owner or manager of a particular business was not always present at the time of my arrival or simply refused to be interviewed – although the latter was hardly ever the case. There may be additional

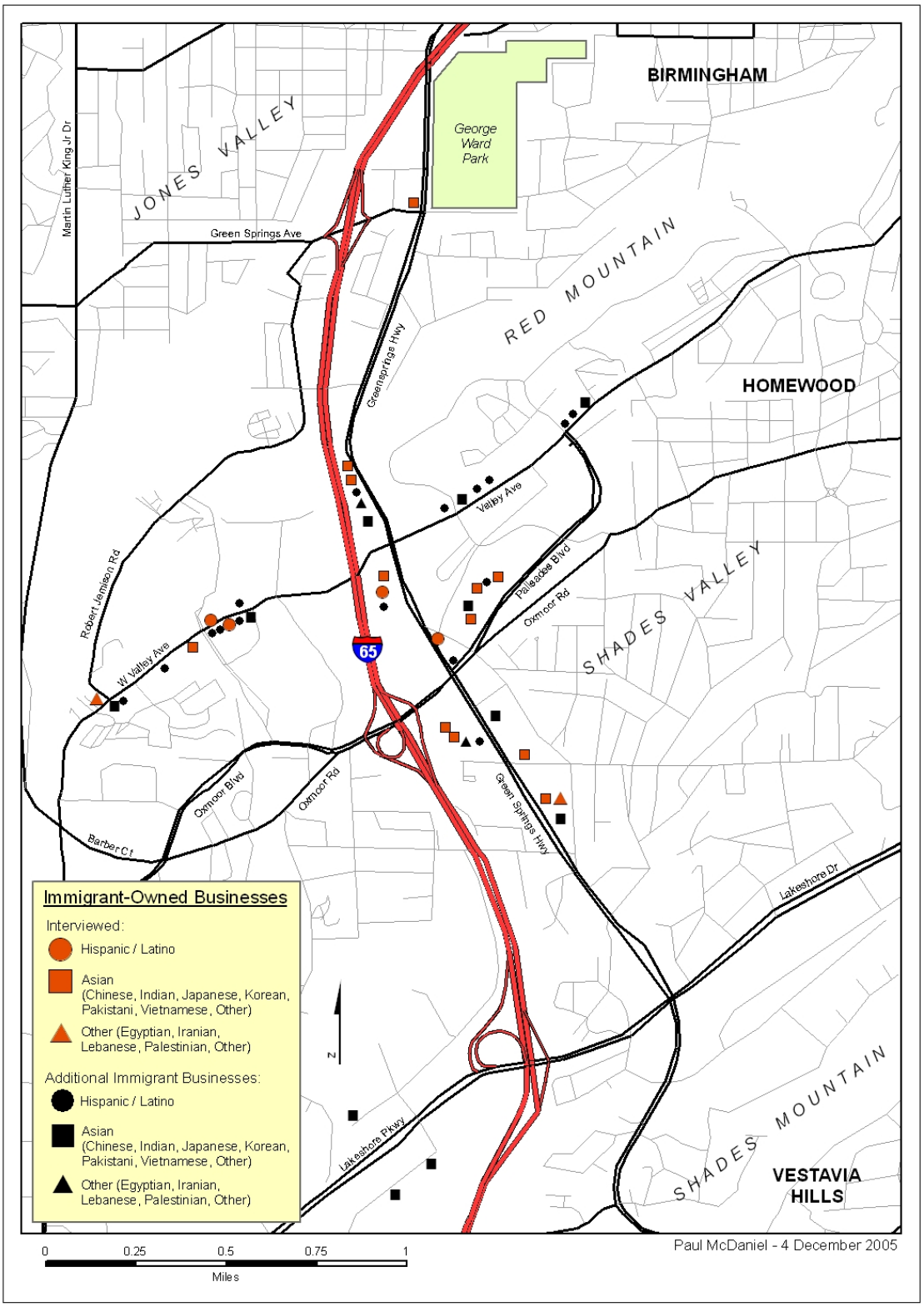

Figure 4. Immigrant-owned businesses around Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue in Homewood.

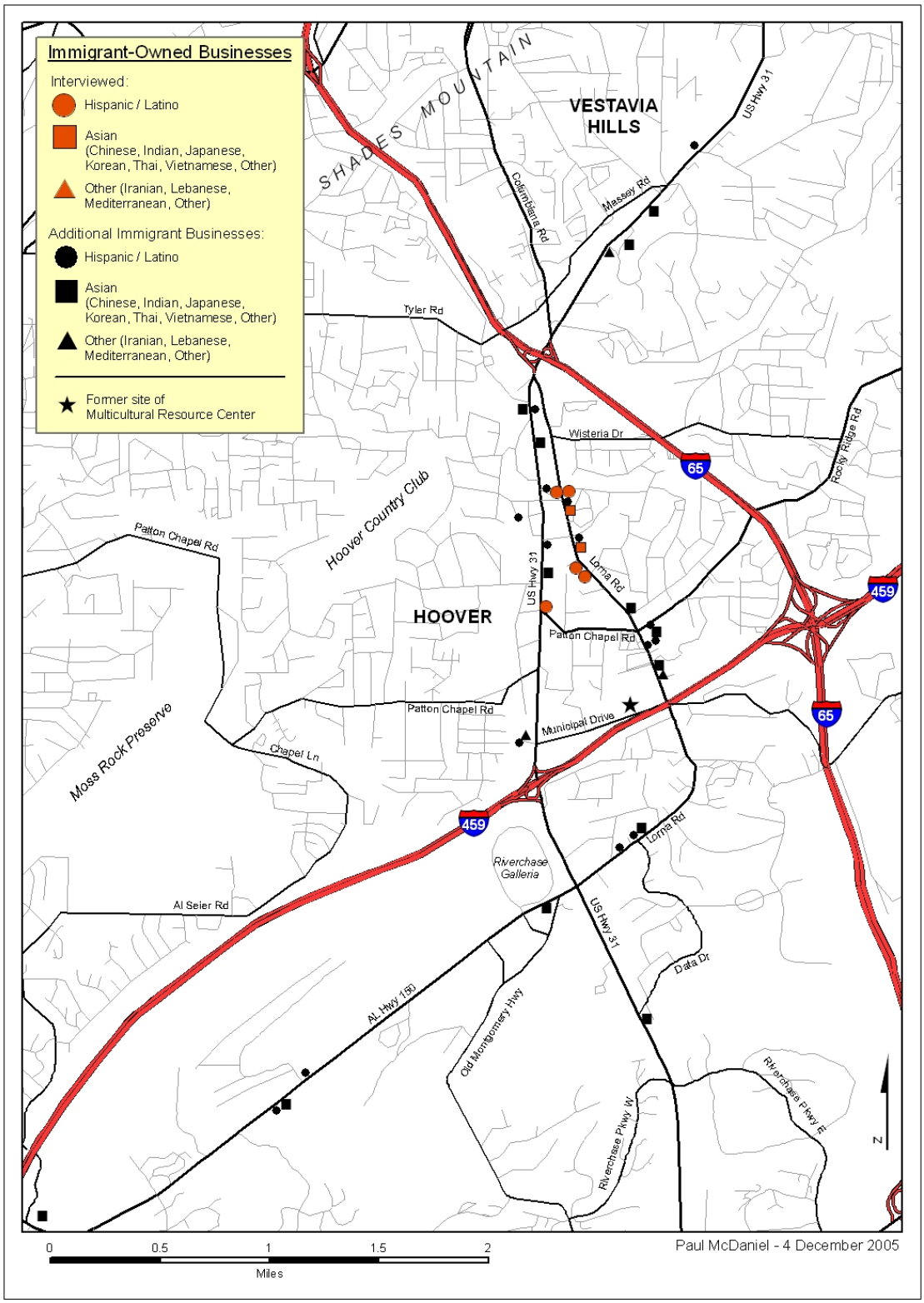

Figure 5. Immigrant-owned businesses around Lorna Road and U.S. Highway 31 in Hoover.

immigrant businesses that I failed to become aware of and as a result are not shown in either map. Additionally, I noticed new immigrant businesses opening in both study area corridors during my return visits in the months following the initial field work. I also conducted archival research in *The Birmingham News* and *Birmingham Post-Herald* and at the Birmingham Public Library.

The Survey

The survey questionnaire began with one page of ten basic questions. This later evolved into two pages of much more detailed questions, but I created a system to keep the numbering at ten by categorizing questions. ***Appendix B*** contains the actual survey itself. Although I received the answers to the survey questionnaire through a conversational format, the actual document itself was useful to record the answers for each informant and his or her business while in the field in order to keep everything organized in a logical fashion. This method facilitated an easy experience for inputting the data into the computer later that day and once I returned from the field.

Interviews

I utilized semi-structured and open-ended interviews with owners of immigrant businesses in the study to gain more in-depth information. Twenty-five interviews of immigrant business owners were completed. However, these interviews represent much more than twenty-five businesses because many of the people I interviewed actually own more than just the business location where I conducted an interview. Once I returned from the field, I used the survey forms with my notes on them as well as the field journal

to record all of the data in a spreadsheet matrix. This facilitated a streamlined analysis of all the interview information in one location and made it easy to compare responses for similar questions.

Other Correspondence

Additional information regarding the two potential international corridor areas was obtained through correspondence with local business and government officials. I contacted city council members in both Hoover and Homewood, as well as the mayors of both cities, and asked a variety of questions regarding their thoughts on the potential formation of an international corridor in their respective cities.

I also contacted representatives of a variety of immigrant organizations in Birmingham and immigrant groups of the area. From these sources I obtained background, historical, and general information on the various immigrant groups regarding their presence in the area. These contacts were also useful to ascertain their views of immigrant-businesses and the potential formation of an international corridor area.

CHAPTER 4:
DEMOGRAPHICS AND IMMIGRATION TO BIRMINGHAM AND THE STUDY AREA

This chapter details the history and demography of migration to the Birmingham area. Immigrant settlement patterns and economic indicators provide context for understanding Birmingham's ethnic economy. I use quantitative techniques to support the discussion of the demographic structure of the area. The subsequent chapter discusses the results of a regression model for predicting ethnic business locations using demographic and economic census tract data for both Jefferson and Shelby Counties.

Brief History of Immigration to Birmingham

Birmingham was not founded until the 1870s, a late start for a city in the U.S. South. Its population grew rapidly, however, and much of the growth was through immigration. Like many American cities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Birmingham received sizeable numbers of immigrants from European origins. Prominent communities of people from Germany, Greece, Italy, and other nations resulted from the wave of European immigrants arriving on America's shores. This growth slowed when the U.S. government "shut the door" to immigration in the early part of the twentieth century.

Many of the Asians and Latinos now living in Birmingham came after 1964 when American immigration laws changed from an origin-based preference system to a system focused on family-reunification and entry of people with outstanding accomplishments. These changes resulted in greater diversification among origin countries. Around 33

percent of post-1964 immigration to the United States has been from countries in the Americas and another 33 percent from Asian countries. Undocumented immigration has also increased because of U.S. economic expansion combined with long warning periods for visas.

Overview of Current Birmingham Demographics

The majority of demographic data used in my study is from the 2000 Census. Additional, more recent data was obtained from the 2004 American Community Survey (ACS). In my analysis, I focus on the Foreign Born population, as these are the actual immigrants themselves. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, "the term *foreign born* [is used] to refer to anyone who is not a U.S. citizen at birth. This includes naturalized U.S. citizens, lawful permanent residents (immigrants), temporary migrants (such as foreign students), humanitarian migrants (such as refugees), and persons illegally present in the United States" (U.S. Bureau of the Census). In contrast, the Census Bureau uses the term *native* to refer to anyone born in the United States or a U.S. Island Area such as Puerto Rico, or born abroad to a U.S. citizen parent (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

Figure 6 illustrates the spatial distribution of Asian, Hispanic, African-American (Black), and Anglo (White) population groups, by census tract for Jefferson and Shelby counties in 2000. The black and white populations are largely spatially separate from one another. This is a product of Birmingham's pre-Civil Rights Movement history. At one

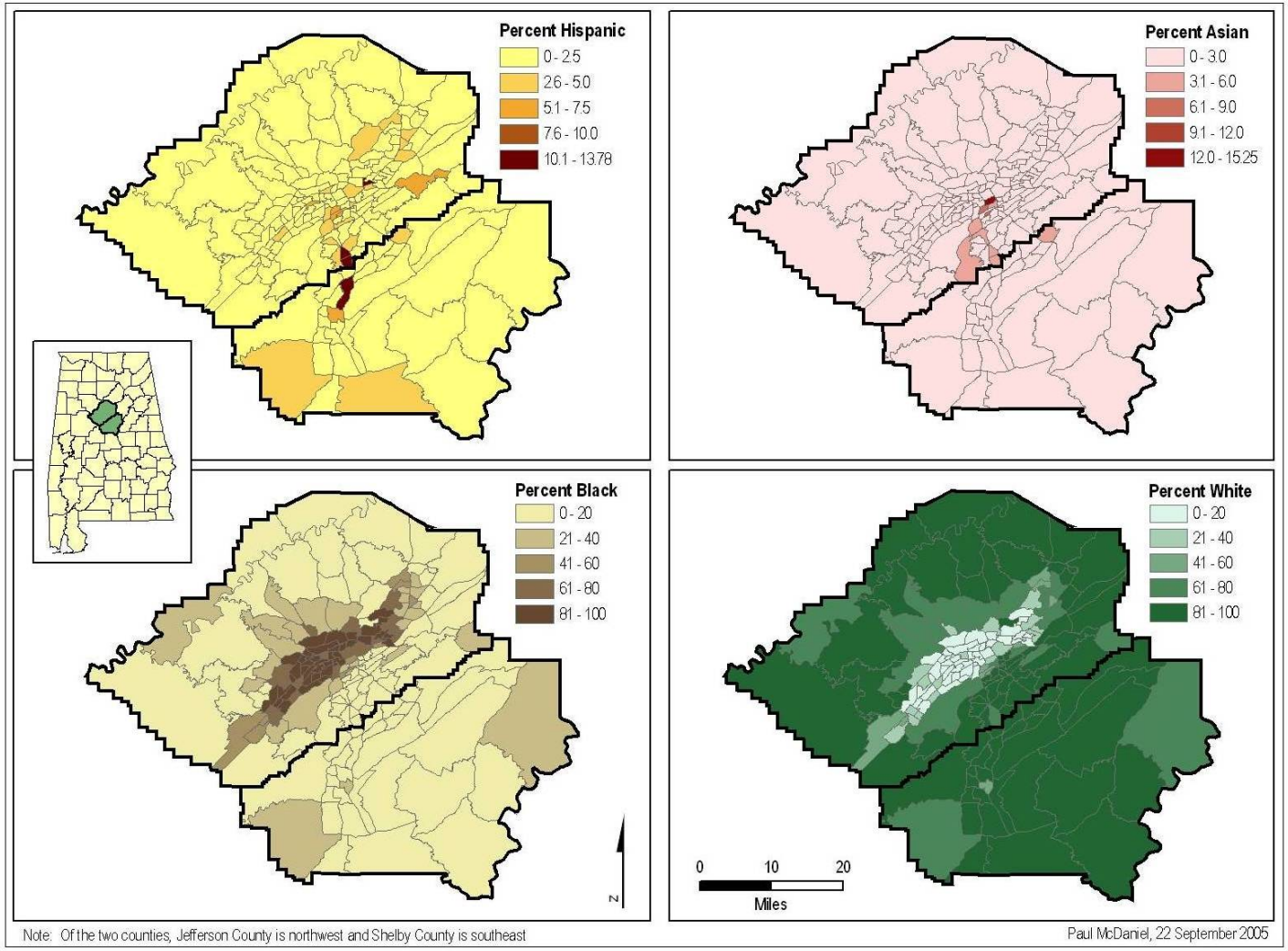

Figure 6. Percent Hispanic, Asian, Black, and White by census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties, Alabama, in 2000.

point, Birmingham was regarded as "the most segregated city in America" (Connerly 2005) and "America's Johannesburg" (Wilson 2000). Contrary to the findings in studies of several other southern cities (see Smith and Furuseth 2004; Mohl 2003), the Hispanic and Asian populations in Birmingham appear to be settling in mostly white majority areas.

Location Quotient

The *location quotient* is an index for comparing an area's share of a particular activity with the region's share of this phenomenon. It is useful for calculating and mapping relative distributions (Wheeler, et. al., 1998, 368). A location quotient (LQ) was calculated for each census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties, based on the Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born population groups. Also, a location quotient for the Black and White populations in the two counties was calculated for comparison with the other three groups. An LQ is calculated using the equation

$$LQ_i = (A_i / \Sigma A_i) / (B_i / \Sigma B_i)$$

where A_i is equal to the level of the activity in area i and B_i is the level of the base. In this case A_i is equal to either the Asian, Hispanic, or Foreign Born population in a census tract, depending on the calculation, and B_i is equal to the total population in a census tract. Location quotients can be interpreted by using the following conventions (Burt and Barber 1996, 80):

1. If LQ > 1, this indicates a relative concentration of the activity in area *i*, compared to the region as a whole.
2. If LQ = 1, the area has a share of the activity in accordance with its share of the base.

3. If LQ < 1, the area has less of a share of the activity than is more generally, or regionally, found.

For each census tract in my study area, the LQ calculation for the Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born variables was greater than one, and in many cases it was much greater than one. ***Table 5*** depicts the outcomes of the location quotient calculations for my study area tracts – as a reminder, all study area census tracts are within Jefferson County. Most of the other census tracts in the two counties had location quotients of less than one. This indicates that immigrant businesses are located close to immigrant residences (***Figures 7 – 11*** respectively). This is the case despite the fact that the convenience of automobile travel allows for greater flexibility in business location decision.

In ***Figure 7***, the Asian population appears to be clustered in the center of the two-county area. This is interesting because Asian populations tend to be dispersed. The Hispanic population, ***Figure 8***, appears very dispersed across the two-county area, which is interesting because businesses are clustered. The Foreign Born map, ***Figure 9***, primarily made up of Asians and Hispanics, appears to be a combination of the Asian and Hispanic location quotient maps. The population does, however, tend to be more clustered in the center of the two-county area. The Black and White population group location quotient maps, ***Figure 10*** and ***Figure 11***, appear inverse of one another.

Coefficient of Localization

A *coefficient of localization* (CL) was next calculated for the Asian, Hispanic, Foreign Born, Foreign Born naturalized citizens, Foreign Born non-citizens, White, and Black populations in Jefferson and Shelby Counties combined. The coefficient of

Table 5: Location Quotients for Study Area Tracts in 2000

Census Tract #	Hispanic	Asian	Foreign Born: Total	Foreign Born: Naturalized Citizen	Foreign Born: Non-Citizen	White	Black
50	3.46	6.73	5.45	3.87	6.24	0.92	0.85
51.02	2.91	2.12	2.04	1.81	2.15	0.28	2.28
58	3.77	2.70	3.69	1.90	4.57	0.66	1.51
107.01	3.77	7.43	6.12	3.94	7.19	0.79	1.15
107.04	2.25	2.65	3.76	1.61	4.83	1.35	0.26
107.05	0.37	1.68	0.87	0.71	0.95	1.48	0.07
107.06	2.46	3.47	2.61	2.16	2.83	1.04	0.81
129.01	1.08	3.23	2.23	1.74	2.47	1.45	0.09
129.06	1.98	3.10	2.52	2.92	2.32	1.41	0.15
129.08	6.63	4.11	5.89	4.24	6.71	1.25	0.31
129.09	8.36	5.96	7.01	3.41	8.78	1.07	0.51
144.04	1.43	4.30	2.68	2.13	2.95	1.33	0.26
144.05	1.60	2.21	2.46	1.74	2.81	1.33	0.31
144.07	2.95	3.24	3.28	3.11	3.36	1.35	0.22

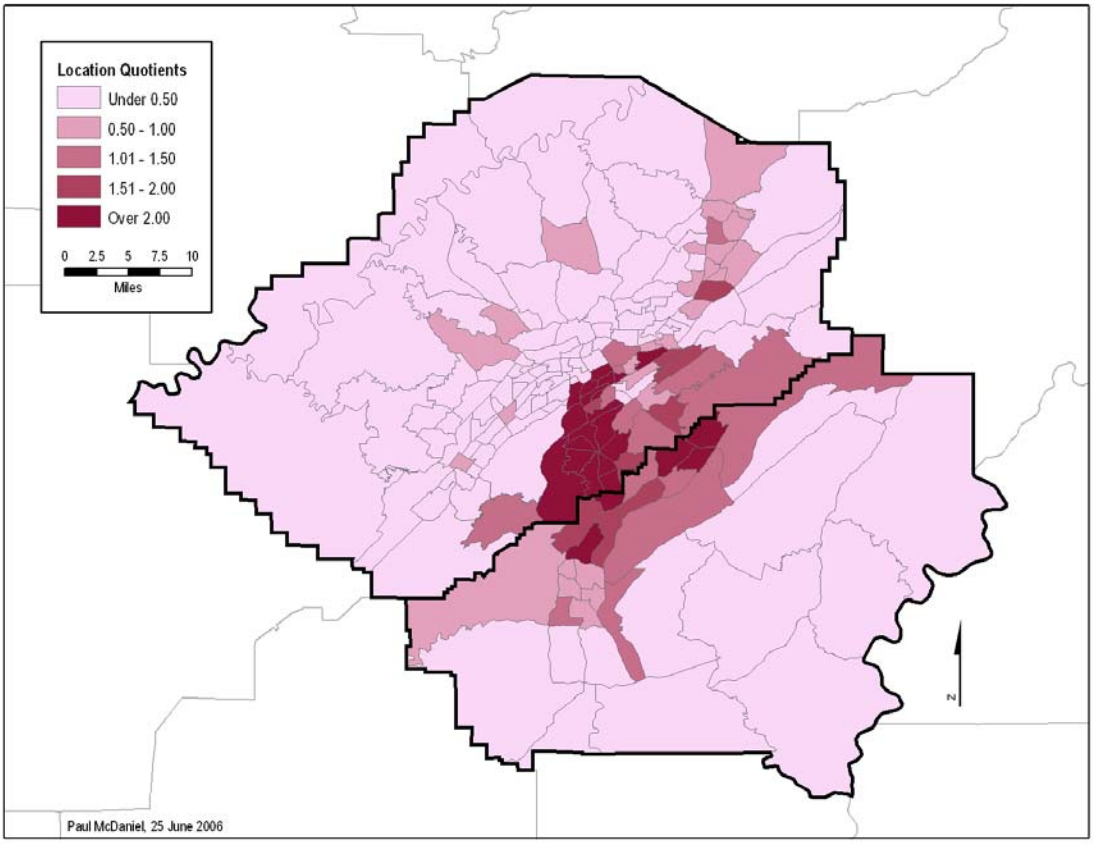

Figure 7. Location quotients by census tract for the Asian Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties in 2000.

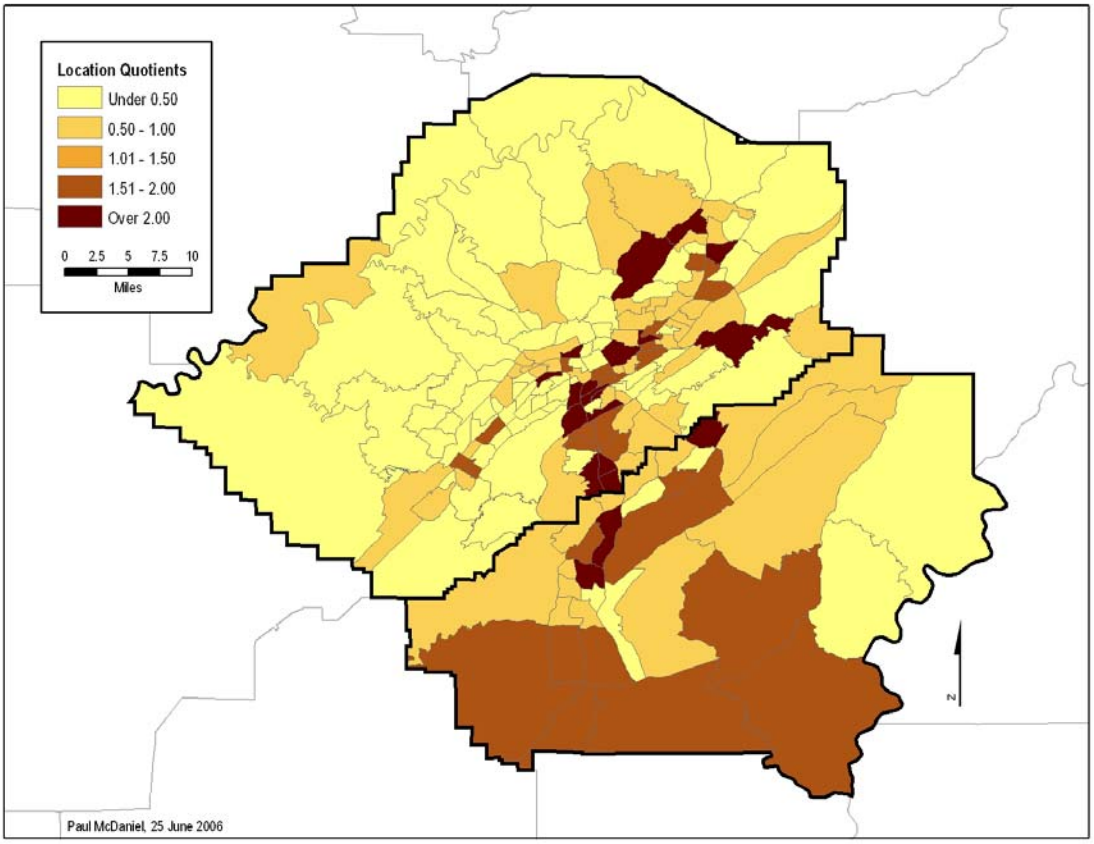

Figure 8. Location quotients by census tract for the Hispanic Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties in 2000.

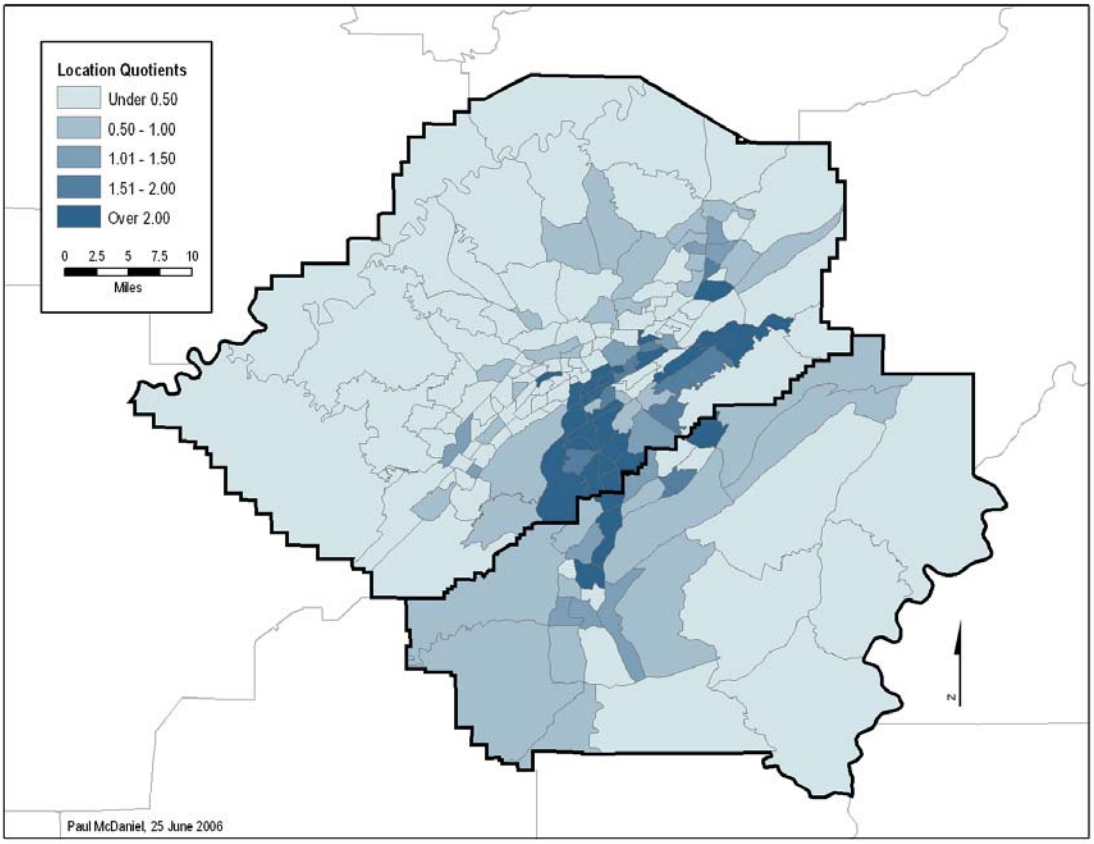

Figure 9. Location quotients by census tract for the Foreign Born Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties in 2000.

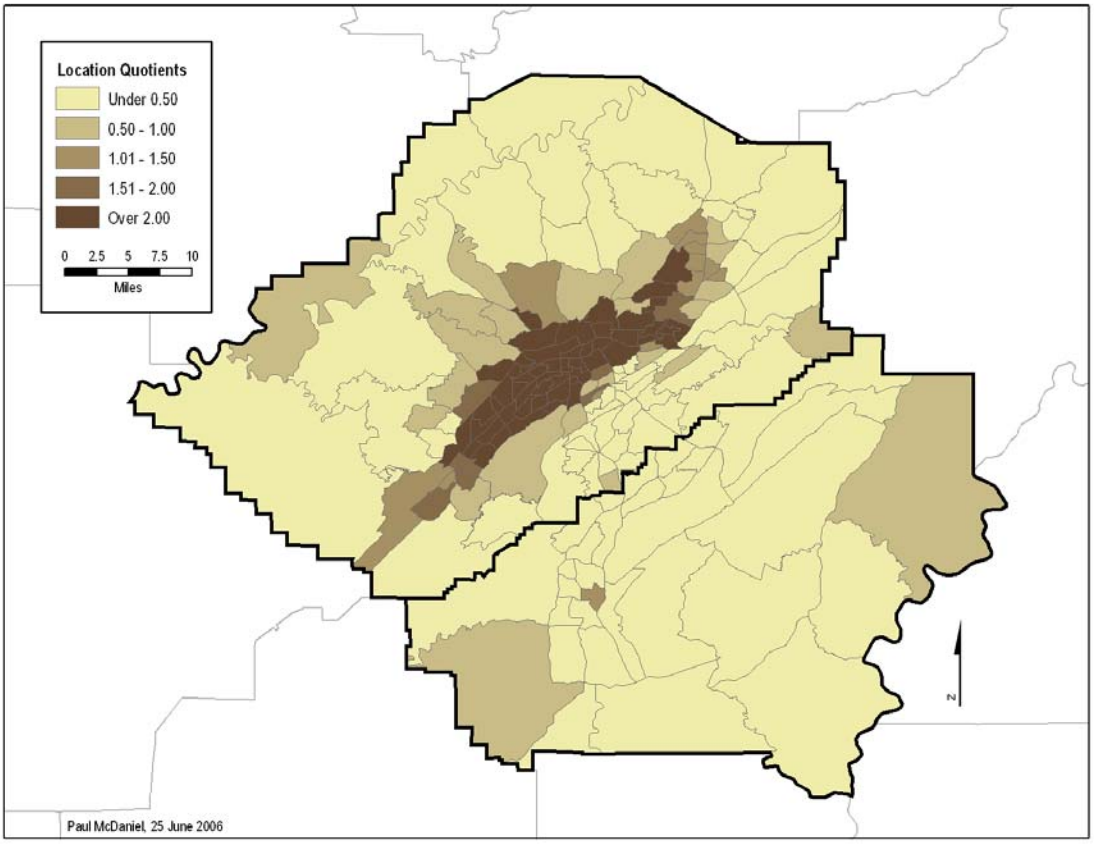

Figure 10. Location quotients by census tract for the Black Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties in 2000.

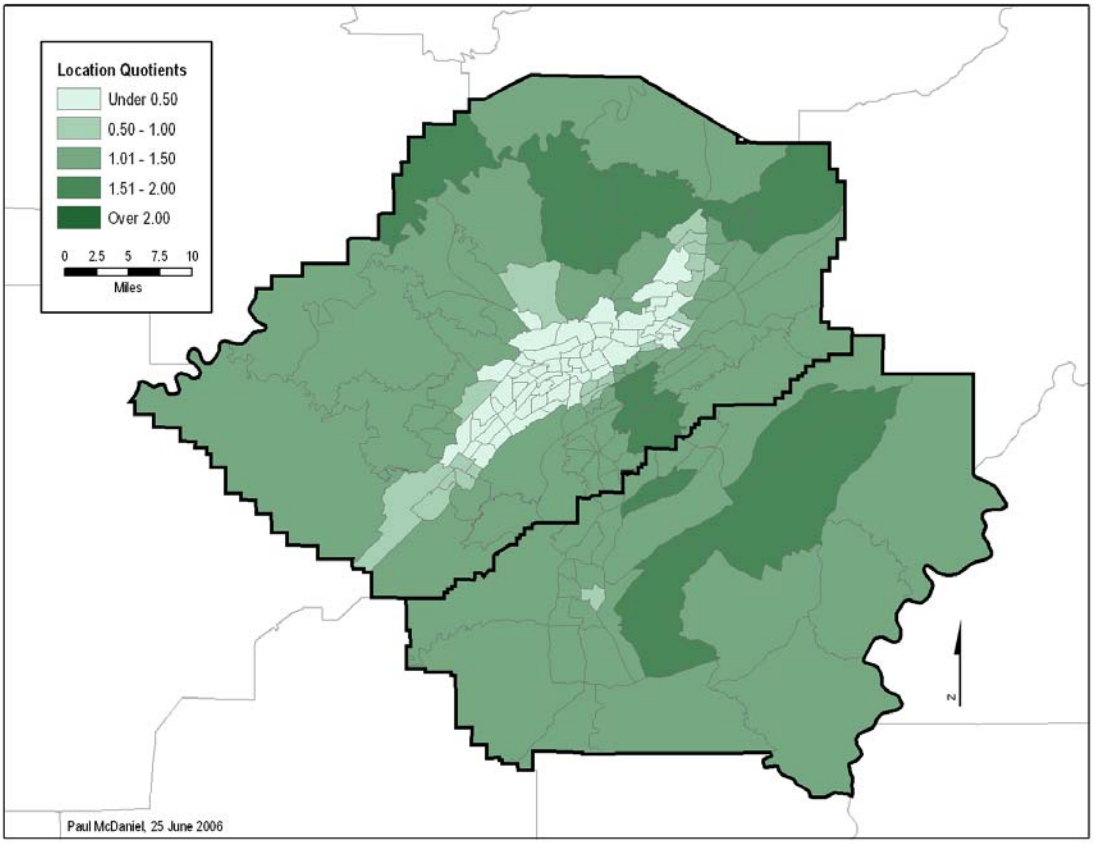

Figure 11. Location quotients by census tract for the White Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties in 2000.

localization is a measure of the relative concentration of an activity in relation to some base, and is represented by a single number for an entire area. In this case, the entire area includes both Jefferson and Shelby Counties, but the CL calculation is based on data for each census tract within the county. A coefficient of localization is obtained through the following steps (Burt and Barber 1996, 81):

1. Calculate the percentage share of the regional activity (e.g. Hispanic Population) in each area, $A_i / \Sigma^n_{i=1}A$, where in this case A_i is a single census tract value and $\Sigma^n_{i=1}A$ is the summation of all the census tract values in the region (Jefferson and Shelby Counties).
2. Calculate the percentage share of the regional base (e.g. Total Population) in each area, $B_i / \Sigma^n_{i=1}B$, where in this case B_i is a single census tract value and $\Sigma^n_{i=1}B$ is the summation of all the census tract values in the region (Jefferson and Shelby Counties).
3. Subtract the value in step 2 from that in step 1, and add *either* all the positive differences or all the negative differences.
4. Divide by 100.

The coefficient of localization ranges from 0 to 1. If CL = 0, the percentage distribution of the activity is evenly spread over the region in exact accordance with the base. As CL approaches 1, the activity becomes increasingly concentrated in one area of the region. ***Table 6*** shows the coefficients of localization for several population groups for Jefferson and Shelby Counties combined. These numbers support what can be seen in the choropleth maps of census tracts in the combined counties for each population group introduced earlier. The Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born populations are not totally clustered in one area, but are not evenly dispersed throughout the county either. There is some clustering but not in one distinctive location. The Foreign Born – Non-Citizen group shows evidence of the most clustering, even more so than Blacks who are traditionally the most segregated group. The high Asian CL is representative of the relative clustering of the Asian population. However, the Hispanic CL is much lower

Table 6: Coefficients of Localization for Population Groups in Jefferson and Shelby Counties based on Total Population

Population Group	Coefficient of Localization
Asian	0.498
Hispanic	0.388
Foreign Born – Total	0.440
Foreign Born – Naturalized Citizens	0.403
Foreign Born – Non-Citizens	0.505
White	0.239
Black	0.458

because the group is more dispersed across the area. As seen in the previously mentioned choropleth maps, a strong inverse relationship exists as to the locations of the majority white and majority black census tracts in Jefferson County.

Index of Dissimilarity, Lorenz Curve and Gini Coefficient

Next, I calculated an *index of dissimilarity* for each of the population groups to determine the amount of segregation between immigrant groups with respect to the white and black populations. Unlike a coefficient of localization, the index of dissimilarity is an indicator of just how much one group is segregated from another group. The index of dissimilarity is the standard measure of segregation and is often used in studies of black and white residential patterns (Massey and Denton 1993, 20). The index ranges from 0 to 100, with 0 meaning no segregation or spatial disparity, and 100 being complete segregation between the two groups with no spatial intermingling. ***Table 7*** shows the dissimilarity indices of the Asian, Hispanic, Foreign Born, and Black population groups with respect to the White population. Likewise, ***Table 8*** describes the amount of

Table 7: Dissimilarity Indices for Population Groups in Jefferson and Shelby Counties based on White Population

Population Group	Index of Dissimilarity
Asian	44.3
Hispanic	44.8
Foreign Born – Total	43.1
Foreign Born – Naturalized Citizens	37.4
Foreign Born – Non-Citizens	51.1
Black	69.7

Table 8: Dissimilarity Indices for Population Groups in Jefferson and Shelby Counties based on Black Population

Population Group	Index of Dissimilarity
Asian	75.9
Hispanic	60.0
Foreign Born – Total	68.8
Foreign Born – Naturalized Citizens	68.5
Foreign Born – Non-Citizens	70.9
White	69.7

segregation of the Asian, Hispanic, Foreign Born, and White populations with respect to the Black population. Overall, according to the indices in both tables, the Black population appears to be the most segregated from any of the other population groups. This is also seen in the visual representations of the choropleth maps of each population group presented earlier in the thesis. Again, this reflects the history of segregation between the white and black population in Birmingham. Today, migrants are coming to work in jobs that are most plentiful in the rapidly growing areas to the south of the city, areas that are predominantly white. It is also no surprise that immigrants tend to settle close to their jobs, which contributes to continued segregation from predominantly black areas of the metropolitan area. Since most city growth is occurring in predominately white areas, most Latino immigrants tend to settle near those areas because that is where they can most easily obtain jobs. There is not much overlap between the Latino and black settlement patterns as is the case in many cities, such as Los Angeles.

I subsequently calculated and plotted a Lorenz curve for the Hispanic, Asian, and Foreign Born population groups in Jefferson and Shelby Counties. Much like the location quotient and coefficient of localization, the Lorenz curve illustrates the distribution graphically and compares the areal distribution of an activity to a base distribution. In this case, as earlier, the three population groups each served as a distribution compared with the base distribution of the total population. The Lorenz curve is constructed in the following manner (Burt and Barber 1996, 82):

1. Calculate the location quotients for the various areas in a region. Reorder the areas in decreasing order of their location quotients.
2. Cumulate the percentage distributions of both the activity and the base in the order determined in step 1.

3. Graph the cumulated percentages for the activity and the base, and join the points to produce a Lorenz curve.

If an activity is evenly distributed in a region with respect to the base, then the Lorenz curve is a straight line matching a line of equality that shows a 1:1 ratio at roughly a 45° diagonal. Conversely, the more concentrated an activity, the further the Lorenz curve diverges from the diagonal. Lorenz curves may also be constructed to compare two different activities rather than to compare an activity with a base. This method is often used in human and urban geography to compare the spatial distributions of ethnic groups, which can be a useful indicator to the degree of segregation or integration in a particular area or region (Burt and Barber 1996, 84).

Graphic representations of the Lorenz curves further support the hypothesis that the Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born population groups are not randomly or equally scattered across the county, but rather are somewhat clustered in certain areas of the county, therefore contributing to the location and concentration of immigrant-businesses (***Figures 12 – 14***). As it turns out, the census tracts where these groups are more prevalent coincide with my study area of immigrant-owned businesses.

Current Trends of Migration and Immigration to Birmingham

In order to provide context for the discussion of my research of immigrant-owned businesses in Birmingham, I detail the demographic characteristics of the various immigrant groups in the city. Within the Birmingham metropolitan area there is a large number of Hispanic persons, the majority of whom are from Mexico. There is also a sizeable Chinese community and a burgeoning Asian Indian community (***Figure 15 - 17***).

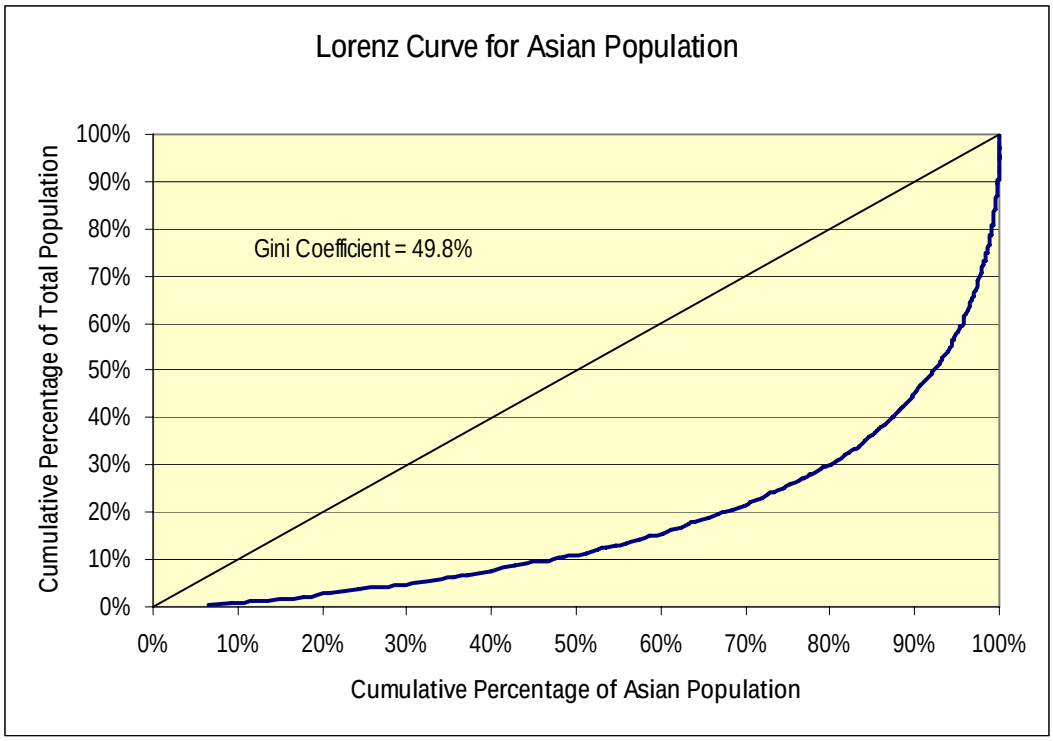

Figure 12. Lorenz Curve for Asian Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties.

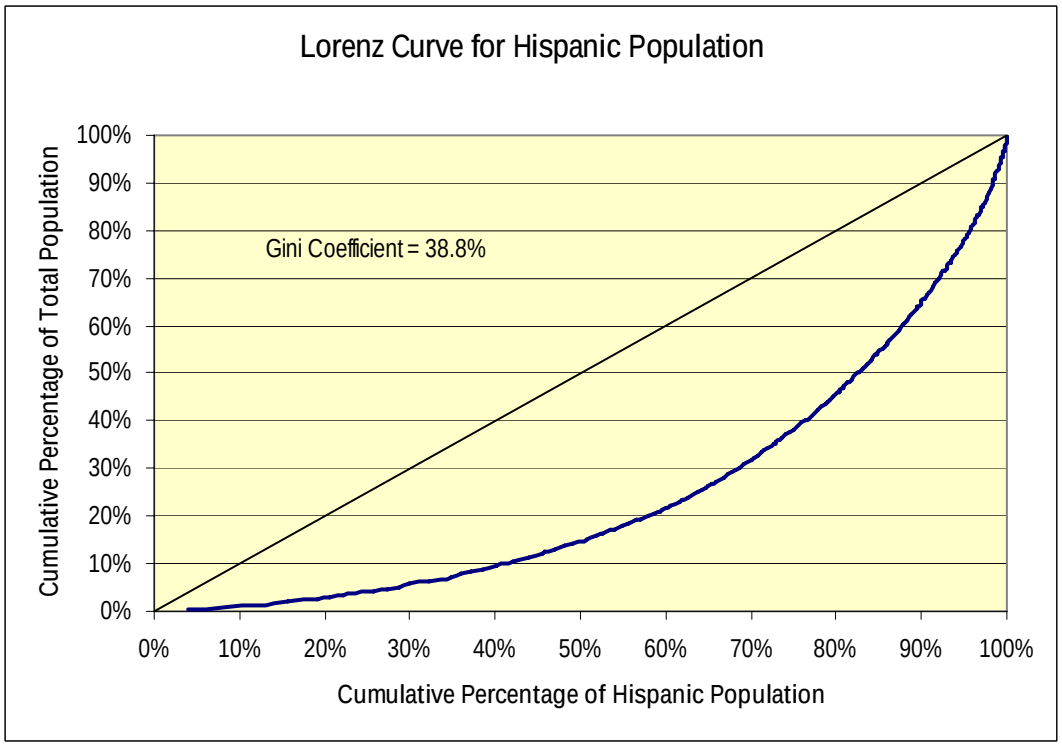

Figure 13. Lorenz Curve for Hispanic Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties.

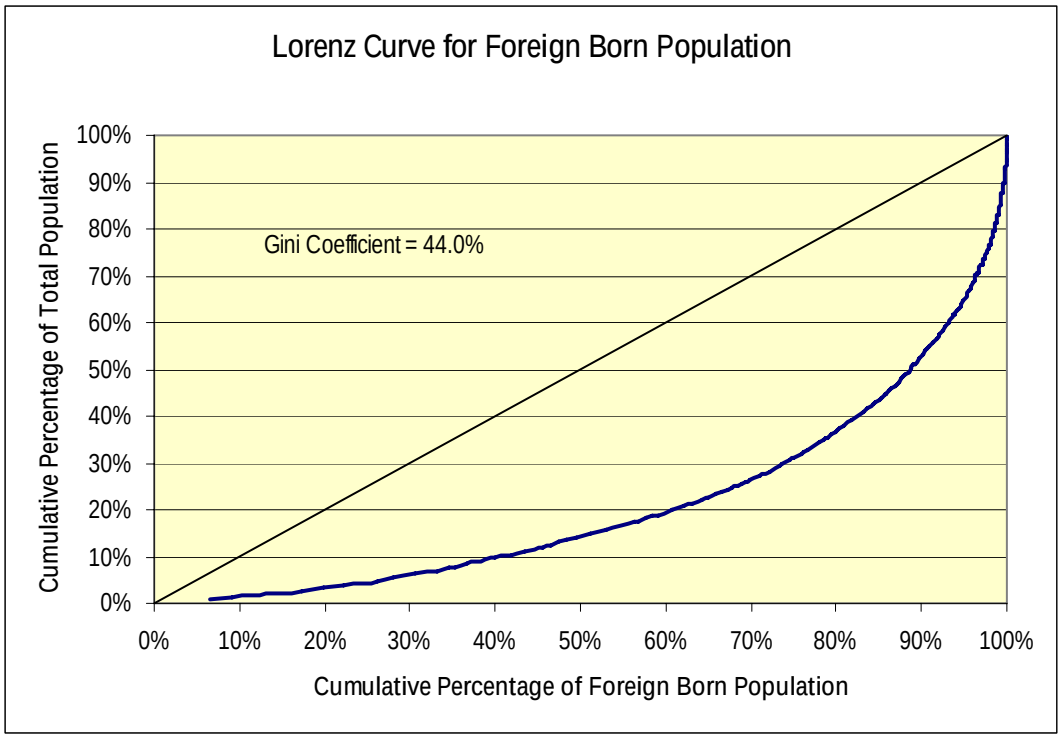

Figure 14. Lorenz Curve for Foreign Born Population in Jefferson and Shelby Counties.

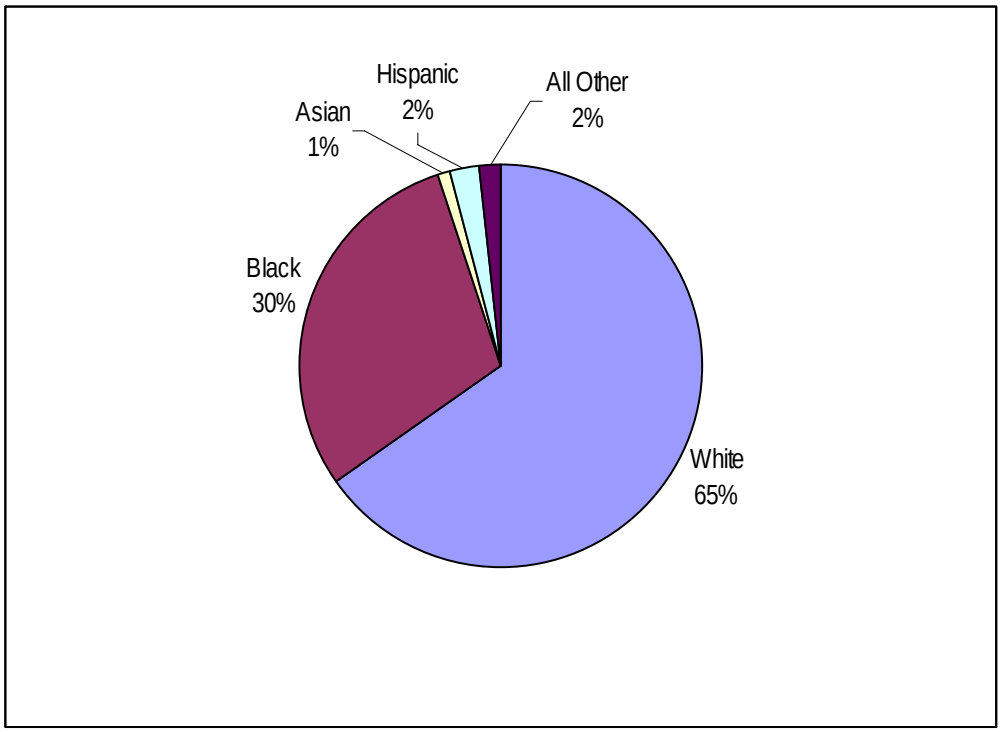

Figure 15. Population Groups in the Birmingham Metropolitan Statistical Area, Alabama, in 2004. Source: 2004 American Community Survey, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

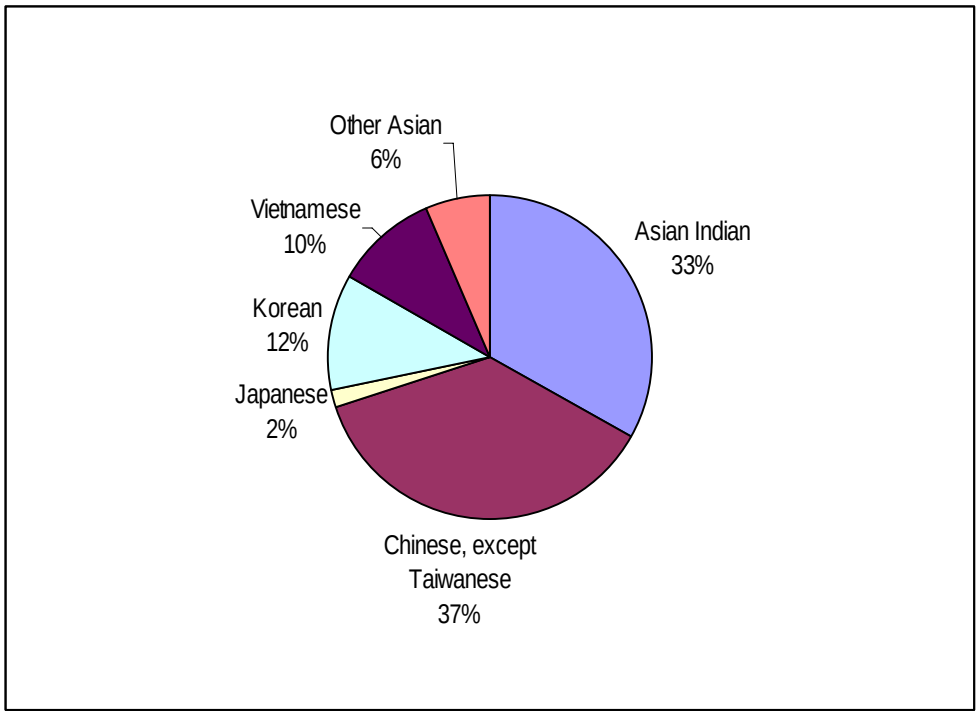

Figure 16. Asian Population Sub-Groups in the Birmingham Metropolitan Statistical Area, Alabama, in 2004. Source: 2004 American Community Survey, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

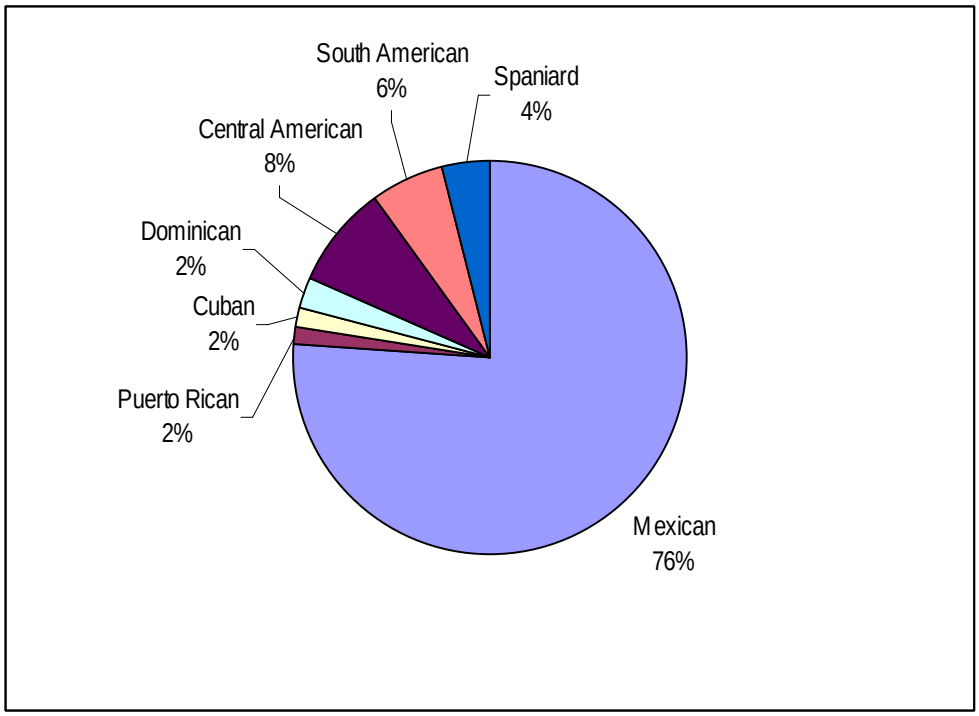

Figure 17. Hispanic Population Sub-Groups in the Birmingham Metropolitan Statistical Area, Alabama, in 2004. Source: 2004 American Community Survey, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

All of these groups have arrived in Birmingham primarily over the last decade. Other immigrant groups present in smaller numbers include Korean and Vietnamese immigrants. Furthermore, smaller and older groups exist, such as German, Greek, Iranian, and Lebanese, who represent both current immigrants and immigration from past decades. A trend of growth for the Hispanic, Asian, and Foreign Born population groups is evident over that time period. Also of note is that the Foreign Born population is in fact primarily made up of Hispanic and Asian immigrants. Although, the Hispanic and Asian population groups are not entirely foreign born – they are also made up of persons born in the United States.

The languages spoken at home among the various populations in Jefferson County are a useful indicator from one year to another of the immigrant or foreign born populations (***Figure 18***). Only data from Jefferson County is used in the following examples because this is the county where my study area is specifically located. Because the number of people speaking either French or Spanish at home in 1990 and 2000 is quite a bit larger than the other languages, a separate chart was created (***Figure 19***). The percent change from 1990 to 2000 of the number of people speaking these languages at home is also illustrated (***Figure 20***). The top five languages with the highest growth rates are Russian, Spanish, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Portuguese. On the other hand, the top five declining languages in the area from 1990 to 2000 are Italian, French, Greek, Japanese, and Arabic.

The absolute change of the Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born Population groups in the Birmingham MSA from 1990 to 2003 shows all three in an upward trend (***Figure 21***). One large draw for Asian, Middle Eastern, and European immigrants is the presence

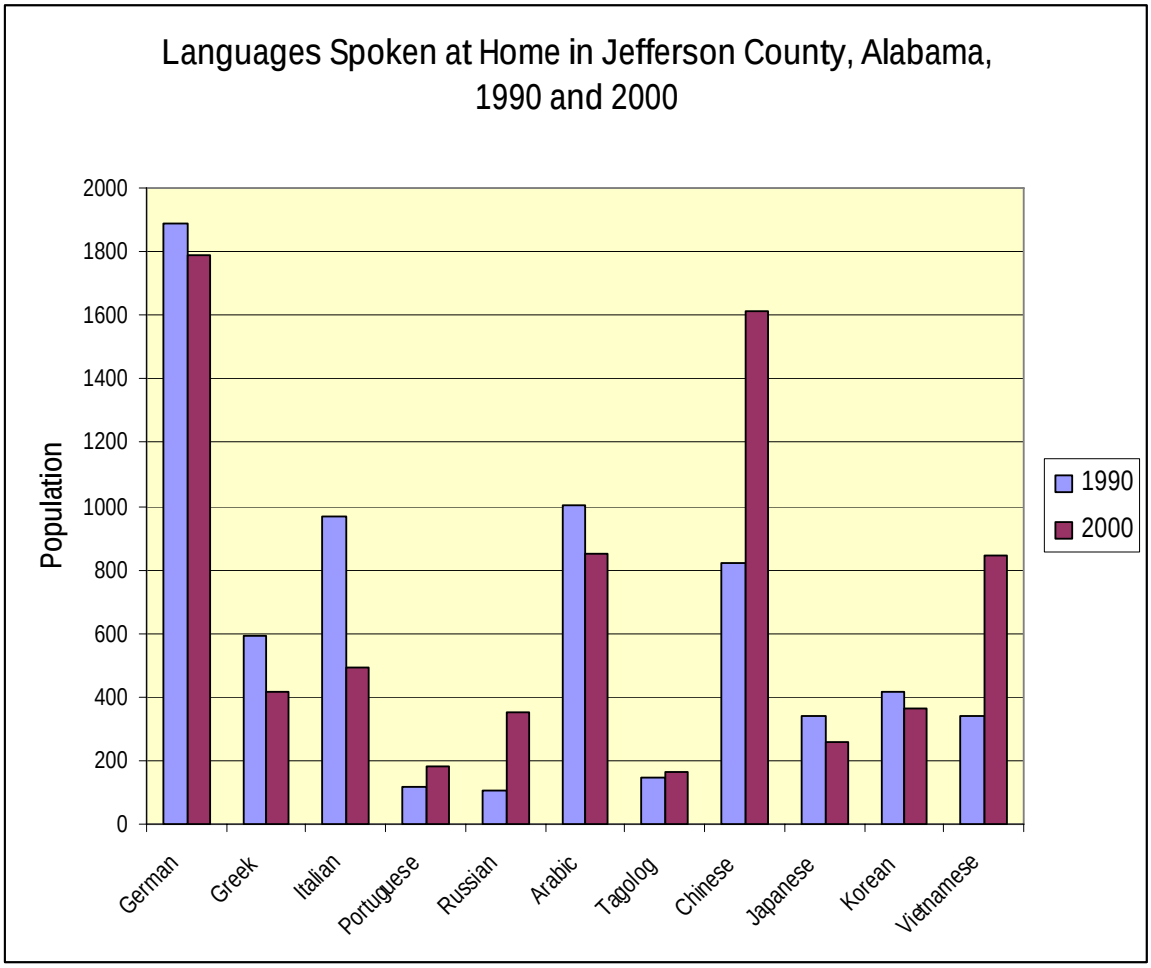

Figure 18. Languages spoken at home in Jefferson County, Alabama, in 1990 and 2000. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Note that certain other languages appeared in the 2000 data, but did not appear in the 1990 data, including Serbo-Croatian, Armenian, Persian, Gujarathi, Hindi, Urdu, Other Indic Languages, Miao-Hmong, Thai, Laotian, Other Asian Languages, Other Pacific Island Languages, Navajo, Hebrew, and African Languages.

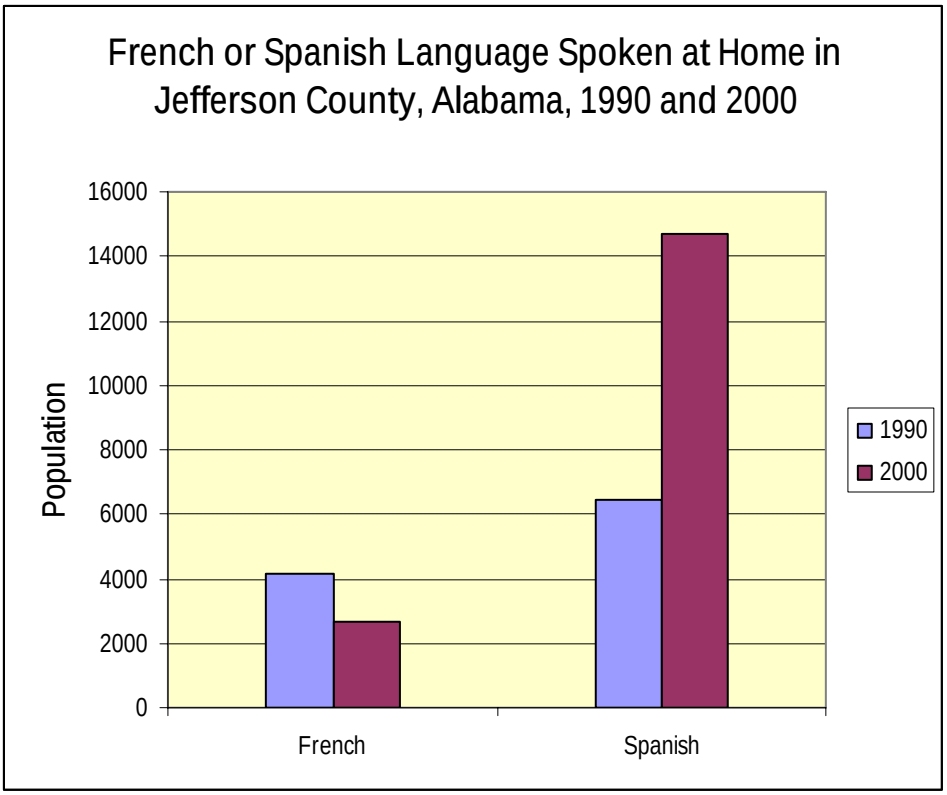

Figure 19. French or Spanish language spoken at home in Jefferson County, Alabama, in 1990 and 2000. Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

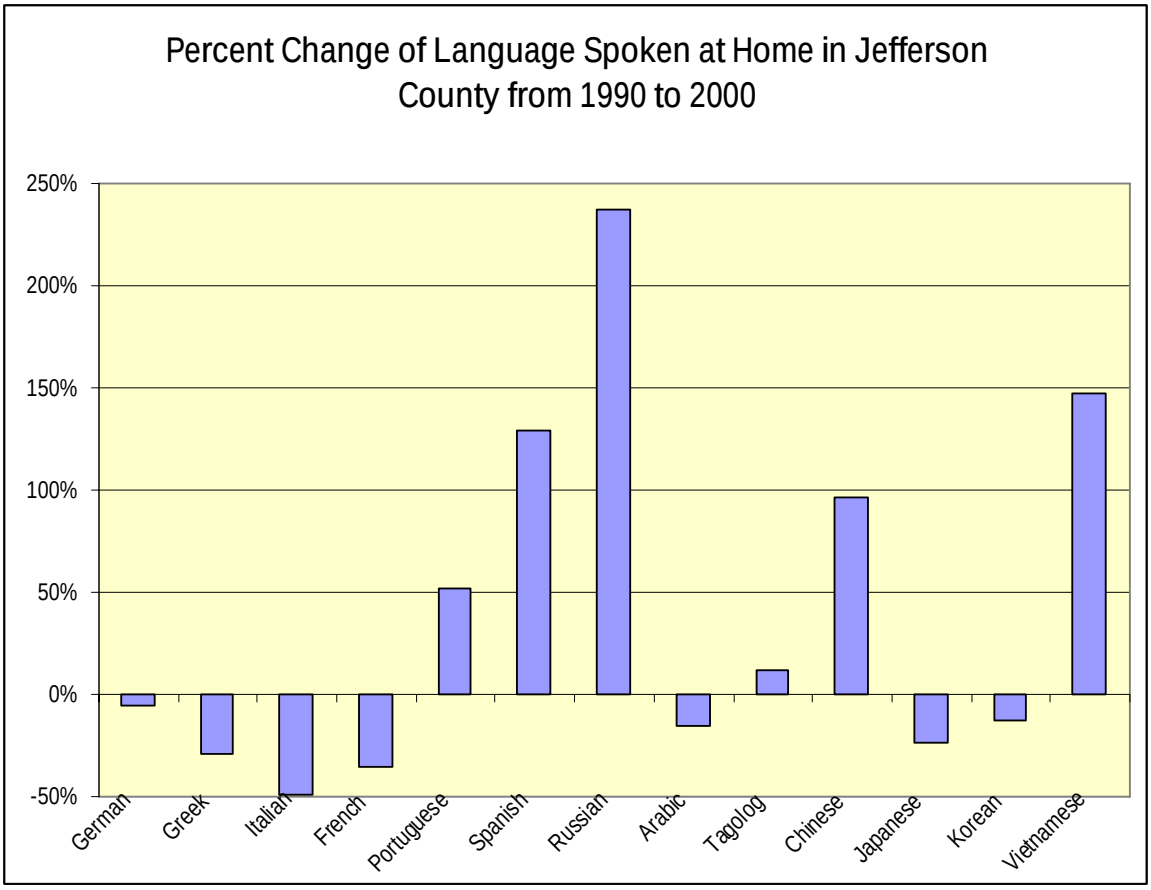

Figure 20. Percent change of language spoken at home in Jefferson County from 1990 to 2000.

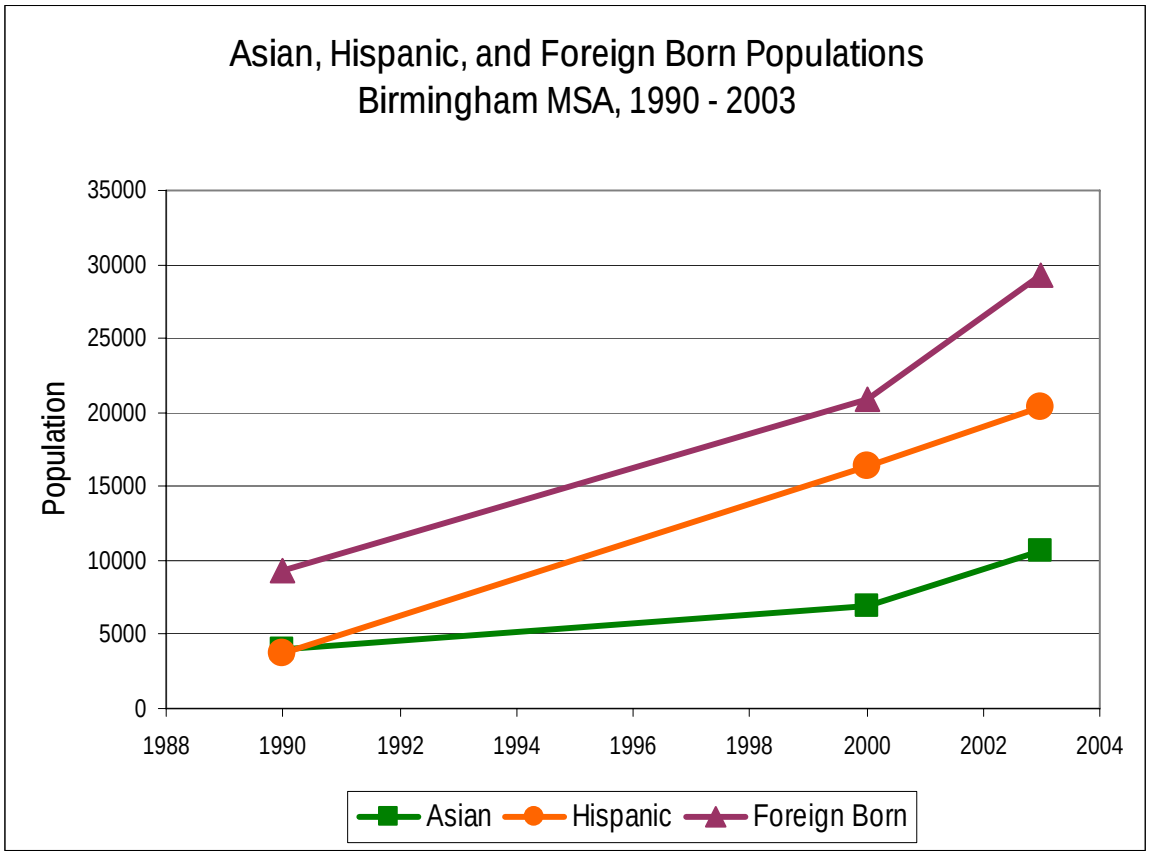

Figure 21. Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born Populations in the Birmingham MSA, Alabama, from 1990 to 2003. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

of the University of Alabama at Birmingham, the city's largest employer and a major science and medical research center. The primary reason for the increase of the Hispanic population in the area is due to the phenomenal regional growth, particularly to the south in the "over the mountain" area. Jobs are plentiful in the fields of construction and landscaping, and other types of low-wage labor. Many Hispanics are ready and willing to fill those positions as wages in the U.S. are often ten times what Hispanic migrants are able to make in their home countries.

As immigrant groups grow, they create a demand for goods and services found within their home cultures. Immigrant entrepreneurs step in to meet that demand, opening a variety of restaurants, retail outlets, services, and other establishments, which initially cater to their own immigrant communities. The longer these establishments remain in business, the more likely they are to attract customers from outside their own immigrant group. Businesses such as these also create a multicultural environment that promotes cultural interaction between immigrant groups and the host society.

An indicator of immigrant business establishments is the percent of self-employed individuals out of the total working population for each ethnic group (***Figure 22*** illustrates these ratios for several population groups in Jefferson County). The data used in this graph appear in ***Table 9***. The groups featured in the graph are those that met minimum threshold values set by the U.S. Census Bureau. Note that *Asian* includes the *Asian Indian*, *Chinese*, *Korean*, and *Vietnamese* groups as well as people from other countries in Asia. Other Asian ethnicities did not meet minimum threshold values and therefore the data could not be released by the Census Bureau. The group *Hispanic* includes people from Mexico, as well as Central and South American countries.

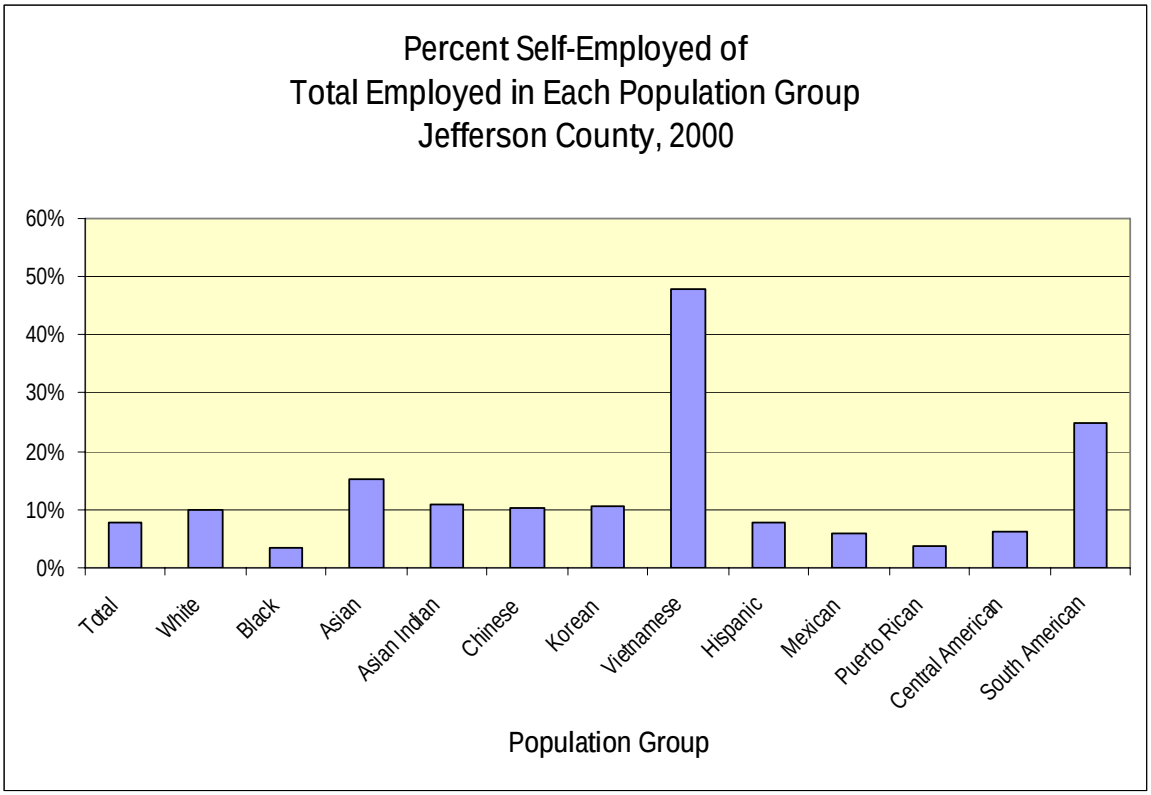

Figure 22. Percent self-employed of the total working population of each ethnic group in Jefferson County, 2000. The results are almost identical to the data graphed for the entire Birmingham MSA. This indicates that the bulk of the populations are in Jefferson County, which would be obvious since that is the most populous county within the MSA.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 9: Self-Employed by Population Group, Jefferson County, Alabama, 2000

Population Group	Total Employed Civilian Population 16 Years of Age and Over	Total Self-Employed	Percent Self-Employed
Total	297,123	23,080	8%
White	190,319	18,705	10%
Black	98,523	3,518	4%
Asian	2,840	434	15%
Asian Indian	757	82	11%
Chinese	944	96	10%
Korean	206	22	11%
Vietnamese	352	169	48%
Hispanic	4,839	374	8%
Mexican	2,904	175	6%
Puerto Rican	405	15	4%
Central American	427	27	6%
South American	229	57	25%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000.

Similarly, the *Central American* and *South American* groups include all Central American countries and all South American countries respectively. Again, each individual country could not be shown because the numbers for some individual countries did not meet the minimum thresholds set by the Census Bureau. Of note are the self-employment statistics for the Asian, Vietnamese, and South American population groups. The percent of self-employed of the total employed Asians is fifteen percent. Twenty-five percent of the working population from South America is self-employed, despite the low population from that region represented in Birmingham. Finally, and most impressive, is the high number of Vietnamese who are self-employed – a staggering forty-eight percent. This explains the large number of Asian markets as well as Vietnamese-owned nail salons throughout the Birmingham metropolitan area.

There are more Asians than Hispanics who are self-employed. Fifteen percent of the 2,840 Asian employees are self-employed, but only eight percent of the 4,839 Hispanic employees are self-employed. A number of studies have hypothesized that different ethnic groups have a cultural predisposition to entrepreneurship – and that Asians are particularly likely to be self-employed (Waldinger 1990). It appears that this is also the case for immigrants to the South. The majority of Hispanic immigrants coming to the Birmingham area arrive with the intent of finding a job in the construction, landscaping, or other service industry job. This is because these are the jobs they have found out about through their networking (McDaniel 2005).

In Birmingham, a wide variety of immigrant-owned establishments – restaurants, markets, and others – exist along and near Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue in

the Homewood area (***Figure 23***), and along and near U.S. Highway 31 and Lorna Road in Hoover (***Figure 24***). Like Buford Highway in Atlanta, the majority of the businesses are either Hispanic- or Asian-owned and operated. There are several Asian markets on and near Green Springs Highway and many Asian restaurants of several varieties both in Homewood and Hoover. Many Hispanic markets – primarily those that are Mexican owned – are along Green Springs Highway (***Figure 25***) and also along Lorna Road in Hoover (***Figure 26*** is an example of a small shopping center dominated by immigrant-owned businesses along Lorna Road). Hispanic restaurants are located in both areas. In addition, many other establishments owned by foreign born persons are in the area. These include Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and Indian markets and restaurants.

Mexican restaurants and Hispanic/Latino markets – *tiendas* or *mercados* – are the most popular form of business for Latinos to establish in the area. As one drives throughout the city, especially in the "over the mountain" area, numerous Mexican restaurants as well as other Latin restaurants dot the landscape. In fact, some "Mexican" restaurants are owned by immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries other than Mexico, who have discovered the local demand for "Mexican" food. A number of *tiendas* / *mercados*, particularly in the Hoover and Homewood areas, also exist. The three mile stretch along Green Springs Highway, from Lakeshore Drive to George Ward Park including adjacent commercial areas along Valley Avenue, is an excellent example of the business diversity in the area.

Over forty different shops and restaurants representing more than a dozen countries are located along and near Green Springs Highway, which, as mentioned

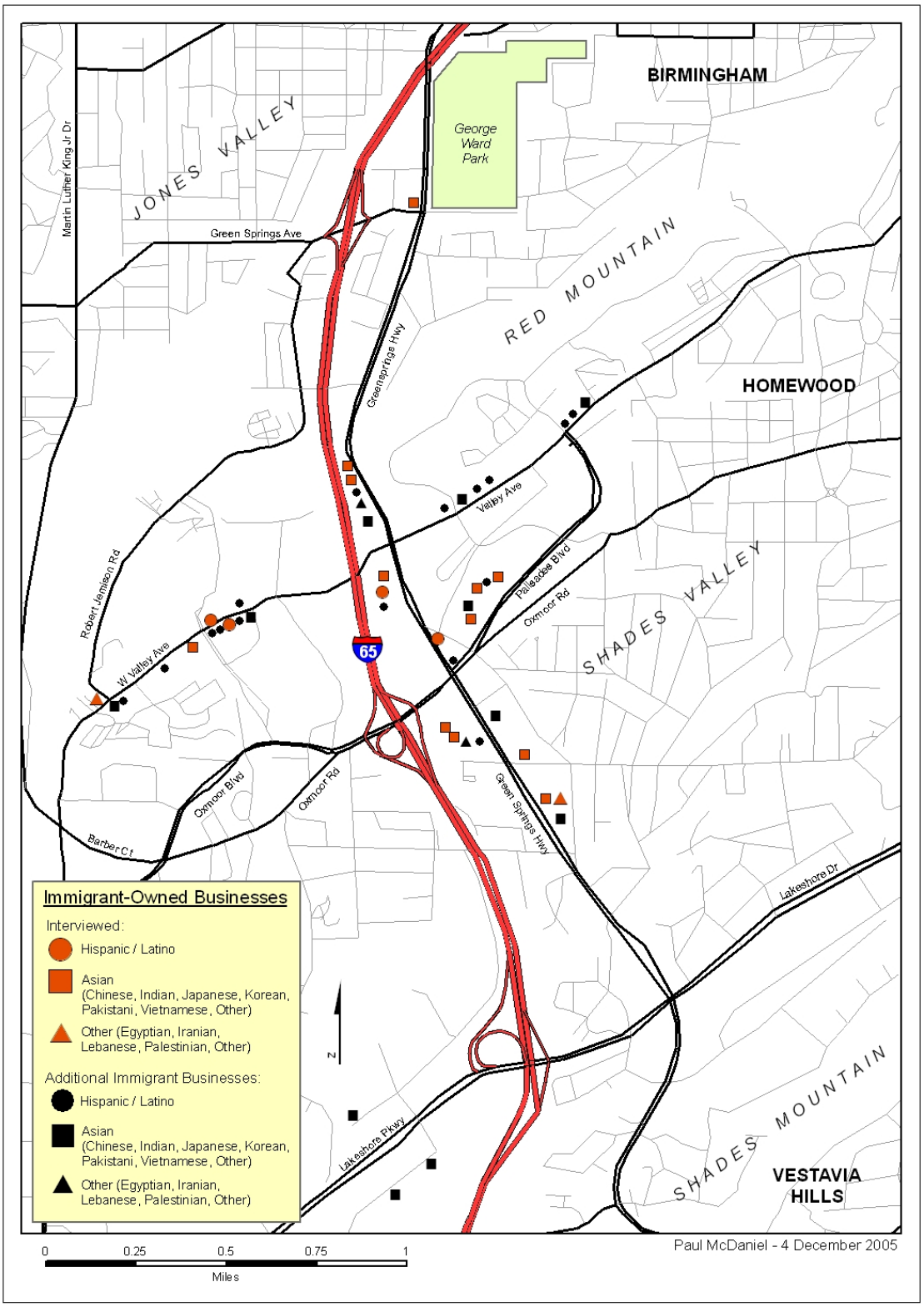

Figure 23. Immigrant-owned businesses around Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue in Homewood.

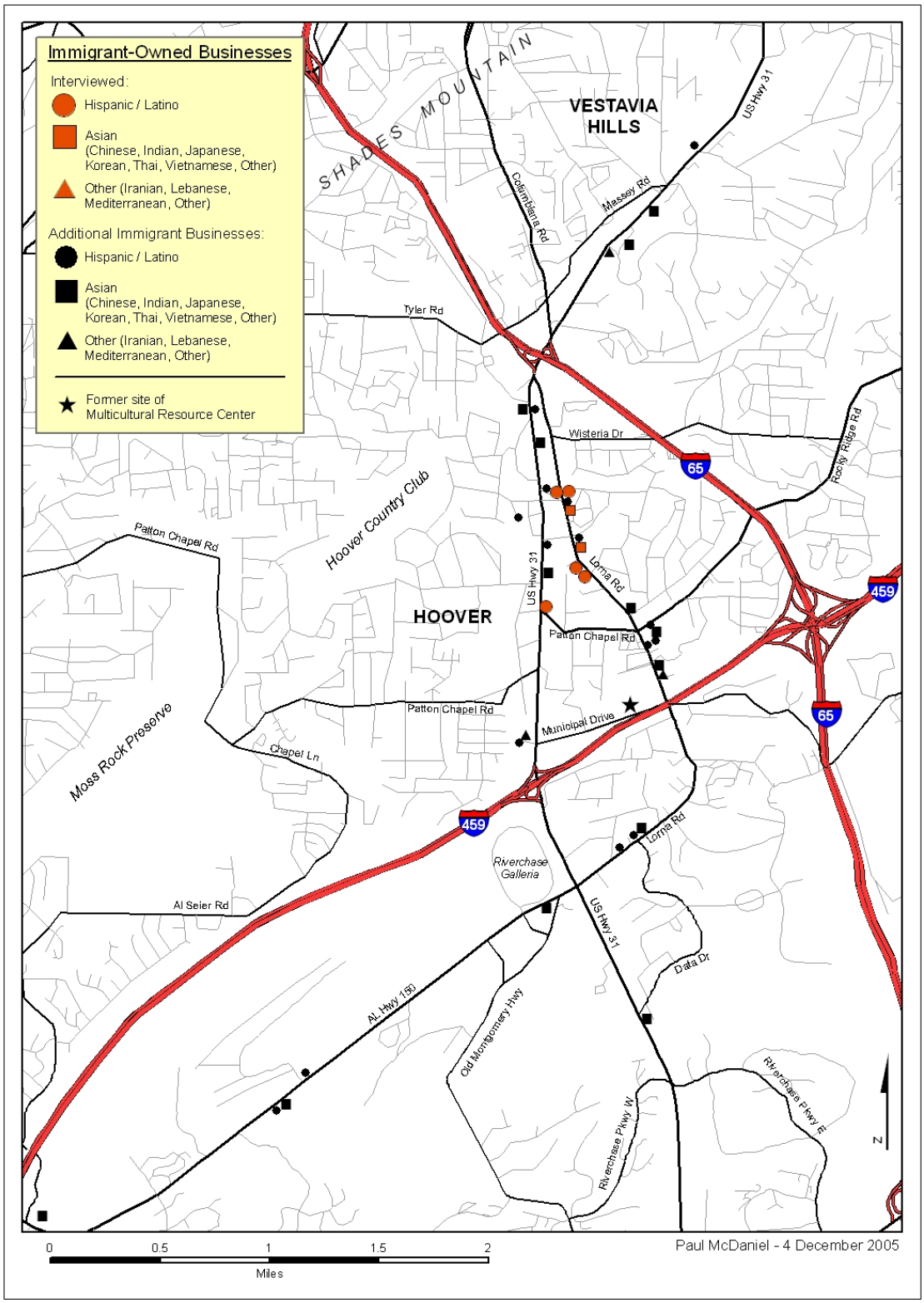

Figure 24. Immigrant-owned businesses around Lorna Road and U.S. Highway 31 in Hoover.

Figure 25. Green Springs Highway looking south, Homewood, AL, October 2005.

Figure 26. Examples of immigrant businesses on Lorna Road, Hoover, AL. From left to right: a Mexican tienda*, a cash advance location (non-immigrant-owned), a Latino place to send money internationally, and an Asian supermarket. October 2005.*

previously, is already drawing comparisons to Atlanta's International Village area along Buford Highway between the towns of Chamblee and Doraville in DeKalb County, Georgia (Abrams 2004). Business offerings in the Green Springs area comprise an array of Latin American – Peruvian, Honduran, and Mexican – as well as Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Vietnamese, Thai, and other Asian. Also present are businesses of a Middle Eastern and Mediterranean origin. The city government of Homewood hopes to use the international offerings of this vicinity to help revitalize the Green Springs area, which is actually separate from the central business district of Homewood located near and along U.S. Highway 31, east of Green Springs Highway. Supporters of such changes hope to campaign for the same type of international redevelopment along Lorna Road in Hoover. Lorna Road has great potential for becoming a vibrant international district similar to

Green Springs Highway (Sanford 2004). Like Homewood, many restaurants and markets are located along and near Lorna Road, representing a variety of ethnicities and nationalities. Examples include the previously mentioned *tiendas*, Mexican and other Latin restaurants, as well as Thai, Chinese, Italian, Mediterranean, Persian, Indian, and other ethnic markets and cuisines.

Of the two international corridors in Birmingham, the Green Springs Highway area appears to be better established. A much wider variety of ethnic business establishments are present on the highway, and also along the intersecting Valley Avenue, particularly in the many shopping centers. Furthermore, Green Springs Highway shows more potential for becoming like the International Village area along Buford Highway in Atlanta. Although the Lorna Road area in Hoover may have similar potential to become an international corridor, this may be a longer and more difficult process.[3]

Immigrant Business Associations

Interactions and linkages among immigrant businesses in the area are evident in the immigrant business associations that have formed in the past few years. Several chambers of commerce in the region are becoming involved with ethnic communities. The Birmingham Regional Chamber of Commerce plans to help small international businesses collaborate with American-owned businesses and with each other (Abrams

[3] This may be a longer process when one considers the current political situation in Hoover, the apparent negative attitude towards immigrants and immigration – particularly Hispanics – and prevalent xenophobic mindsets. The recent vote by the Hoover city council to close the Multicultural Resource Center on Municipal Drive – adjacent to Lorna Road – is one example of the current political climate towards immigrants in Hoover (Kent 2005).

2004). The recently formed Hispanic Business Council, part of the Greater Birmingham Area Chamber of Commerce, provides a forum for education, growth, and business and employer networking that should increase the economic vitality of member businesses in addition to the regional Hispanic community.[4] The President of the Alabama Latin American Association, a board member on the Hispanic Business Council, estimates that there are between 150 to 180 Hispanic owned businesses in the greater Birmingham area, but possibly many more (Connolly 2004). There is not an accurate count because many Hispanic construction contractors are unlicensed and are therefore in the informal economy. The formal businesses are typically restaurants, markets, retail, and landscaping. The business council also hopes to educate the community at large about the Hispanic community and Hispanic businesses.

The Chinese-American Business Association of Birmingham seeks to promote growth among Chinese-American businesses and is open to all businesses and businesspeople of Chinese ancestry throughout the area. Founded in 2002 by businesspeople of Chinese ancestry in the Birmingham area, this association facilitates interaction and cooperation within the Birmingham Chinese business community. Chinese-Americans realized, due to their involvement in various aspects of the business community, "that by working together they could more easily resolve common challenges that they face, reach a broader audience through joint marketing, and form a united front to educate non-Chinese about Chinese culture."[5] The association serves as a medium for discussion among Chinese-American business owners and as a link between

[4] Information from the *Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama* (http://www.hispanicinterest.org/).
[5] Chinese American Business Association of Birmingham. http://www.cabab.org

members of the Chinese-American business community and members of the Birmingham business community as a whole.

The Hispanic Business Council and the Chinese-American Business Association of Birmingham are but two examples of organizations created to foster collaboration among area immigrant-owned businesses. Having provided an overview of immigration and immigrants in Birmingham, I now move on to describe the quantitative and statistical analyses I employed, and the results of the analyses, to gain better insight into the demographic nature of migration to Jefferson and Shelby Counties and the spatial distribution and spatial relationship of ethnicities in the area.

CHAPTER 5:
ANALYSIS OF DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL CORRIDOR LOCATION

Statistical Analyses of Demographic Census Tract Data

Overlap exists between where immigrant businesses locate and where immigrant groups live. To determine if the location of immigrant-owned businesses in my study area within Jefferson County is an occurrence of mere chance or if certain statistically significant factors are behind the concentration, I constructed a database of population and demographic data and conducted a number of statistical tests to support my central research questions. The database consists of a variety of demographic data for each of the 179 census tracts in Jefferson and Shelby Counties from the 2000 Census. I use a Mann-Whitney analysis to compare demographic variables in my study area with other areas. I also use a multiple regression analysis to find out what kinds of neighborhoods immigrants move to, as this is an indicator of where businesses are likely to locate.

Housing and income variables may be indicators of ethnic groups in both Jefferson and Shelby counties, and are used in both the Mann-Whitney and multiple regression analyses. Five different variables mapped by census tract for the two counties appear in the following five figures: renter occupied housing units, population in rental housing units, median contract rent, median family income, and median real estate tax (***Figures 27 – 31*** respectively). Interesting trends may be seen when viewing these mapped values in comparison with the maps of demographic variables. The census tracts in my study area fall within tracts with higher numbers of rental housing units as well as the number of people occupying rental housing units. These also coincide with the areas

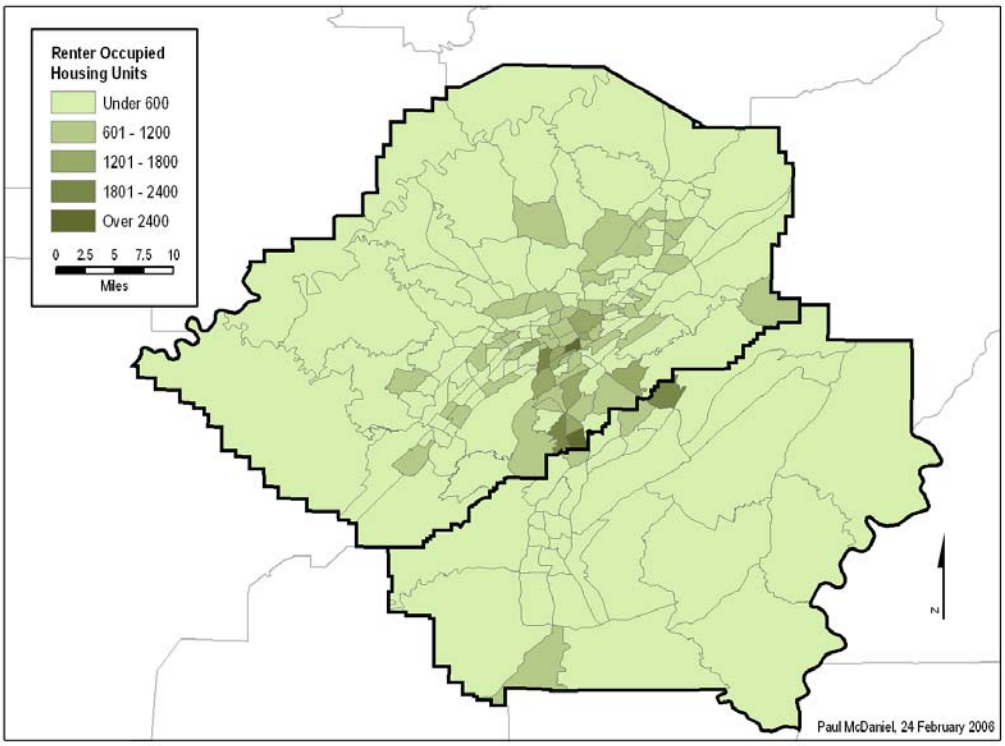

Figure 27. Renter occupied housing units by census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties, Alabama, in 2000. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

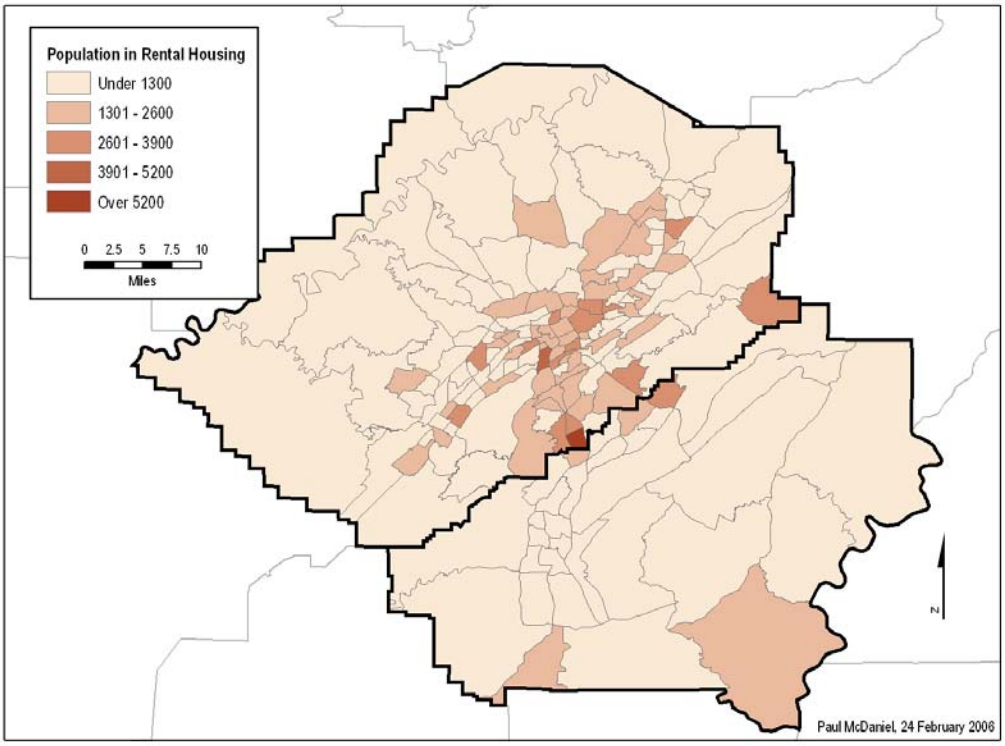

Figure 28. Population in rental housing by census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties, Alabama, in 2000. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

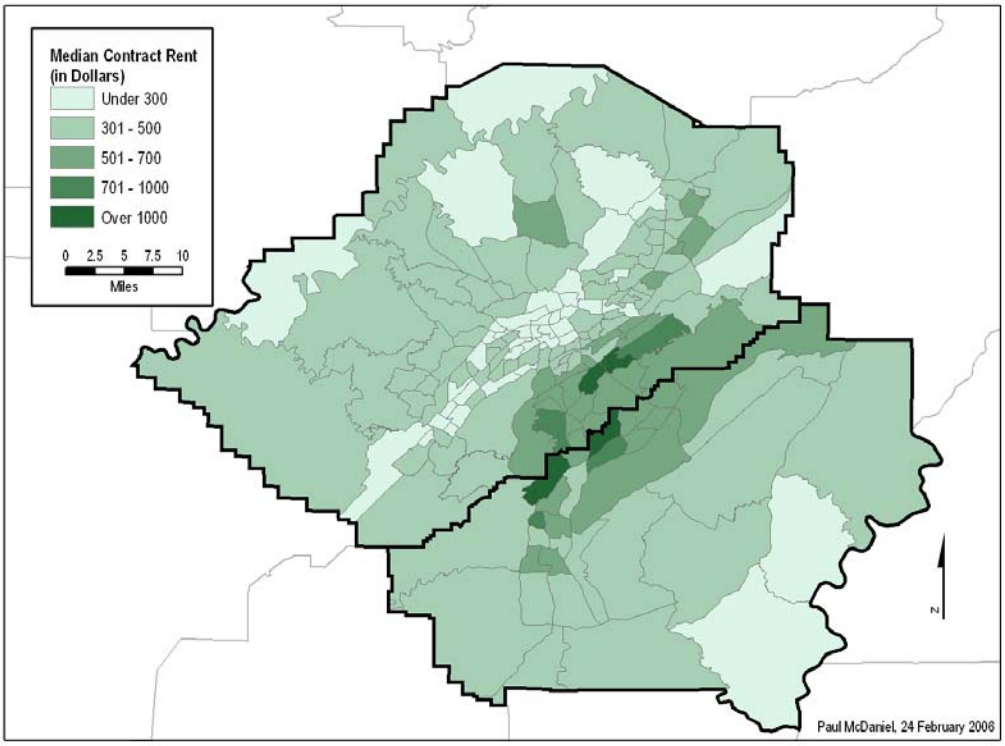

Figure 29. Median contract rent by census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties, Alabama, in 2000. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

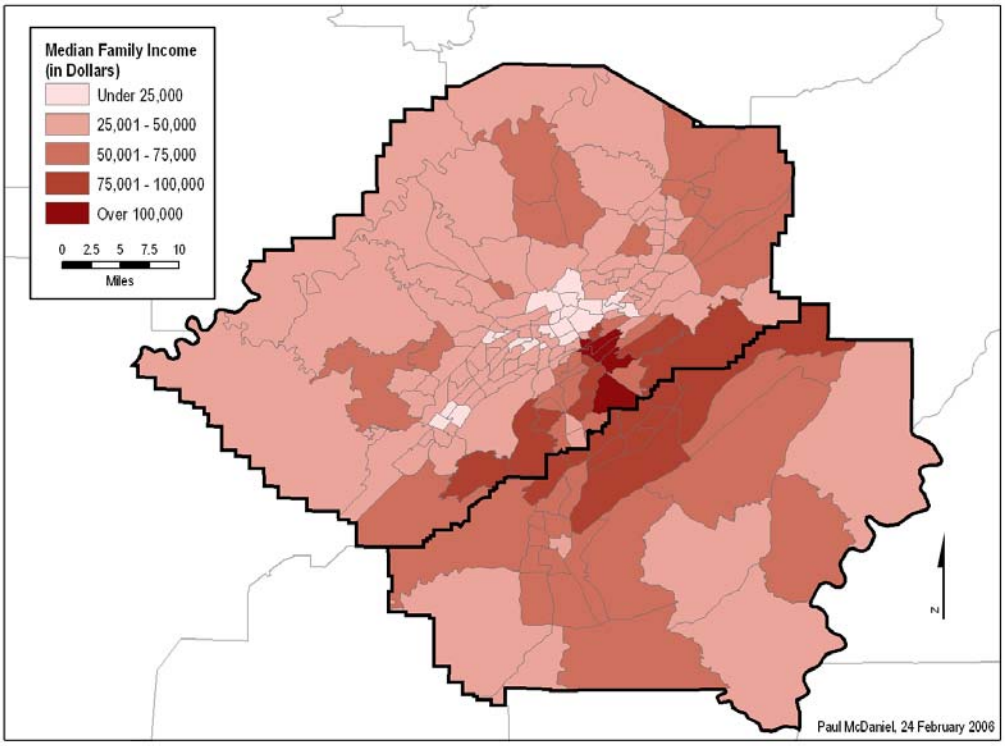

Figure 30. Median family income by census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties, Alabama, in 2000. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

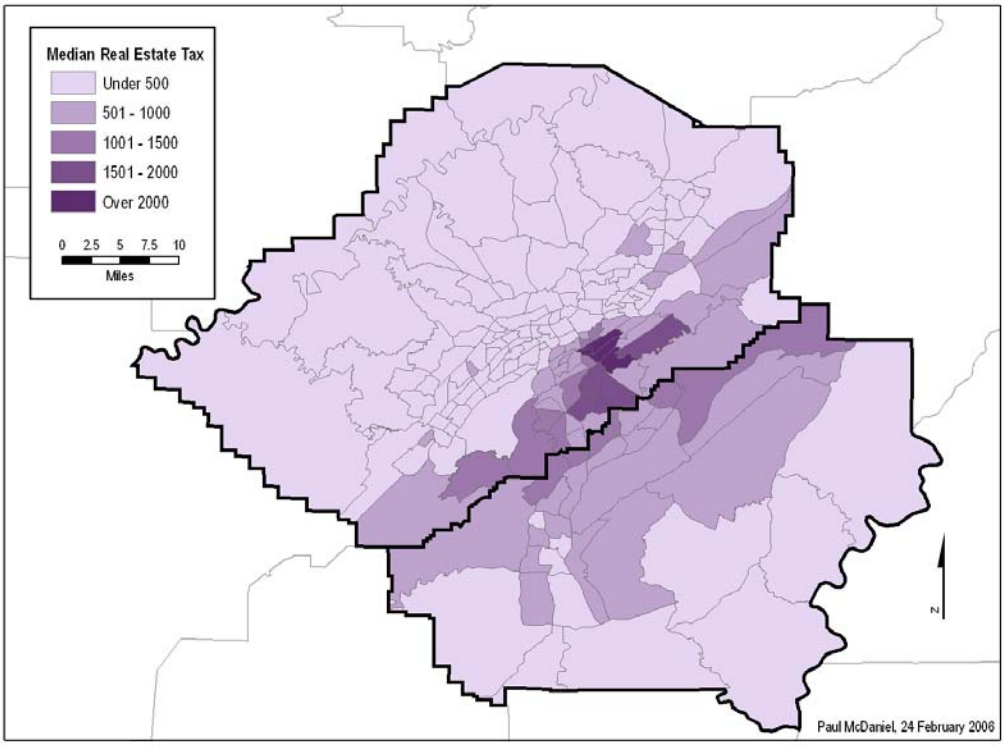

Figure 31. Median real estate tax by census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties, Alabama, in 2000. Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census.

containing higher numbers of foreign born persons. The median contract rent within the study area census tracts is between $500 and $700, in the midrange for the two-county area. The median family income ranges from slightly lower than average to average within the study area. Finally, the median real estate tax is slightly below average to average for the study area relative to other surrounding census tracts.

Mann-Whitney Test

The Mann-Whitney test, which calculates a *U* value, is the nonparametric equivalent to the independent samples t-test. It tests the null hypothesis that two independent populations are identical, or that there are no systematic differences between the means of two groups of data, and is based on data ranking. *U* is found by first ranking all data from low to high irregardless of the group, and then summing the ranks for each group. Next, *U* is calculated using the formulas

$$U_A = n_A n_B + [\frac{n_A(n_A+1)}{2}] - R_A$$

$$U_B = n_A n_B + [\frac{n_B(n_B+1)}{2}] - R_B$$

where U_A is the *U* for group A, U_B is the *U* for group B, n_A is the sample size for group A, n_B is the sample size for group B, R_A is the Rank for group A, and R_B is the Rank for group B. The smaller of the two *U*'s is the test statistic.

The Mann-Whitney test is most appropriate to my data because the dependent variables are non-parametric – not normally distributed. Although a t-test is the most robust comparison of the means from two data groups, it is most appropriate for normally distributed, or parametric data. The results obtained from a Mann-Whitney test on

variables for census tracts in Jefferson and Shelby Counties support the hypothesis that most immigrant businesses will naturally locate in areas with a larger number of immigrants. An example of a null hypothesis I used in this analysis is: "there are no systematic differences between the mean number of Hispanic persons in my study area census tracts and the mean number of Hispanic persons in each of the other Jefferson and Shelby County census tracts." The independent variable is the designation of a Jefferson or Shelby County census tract either being within my study area, or outside of my study area. The dependent variables include Hispanic, Asian, and Foreign Born population groups, among others. ***Table 10*** shows some of the statistically significant highlights from the Mann-Whitney tests. ***Appendix C*** lists the complete table of results for this test. The data in the table of results from the Mann-Whitney tests indicate that there are significantly larger numbers of persons from the respective immigrant or ethnic population groups residing outside of my study area census tracts in Jefferson and Shelby Counties than inside my study area where many immigrant-owned businesses are located.

Regression Analysis

Are number of housing units, housing rent or cost, household incomes, and presence of other ethnic groups good predictors of whether or not immigrants will settle in a particular area? Regression analysis seeks to answer the basic question, "Can we predict the values of variable Y based on knowledge of the values of variable X?" In other words, are the independent variables a useful measure of prediction for the dependent variable. Does X affect the presence of Y? Regression analysis is an efficient and robust method for testing these hypotheses.

Table 10: Results of Mann-Whitney Tests

Population Groups

	% Inside*	% Outside*	Mann-Whitney U	Z	Sig.
Asian	32 %	68 %	101.500	-5.664	<.001
Hispanic	28 %	72 %	224.000	-5.002	<.001
Foreign Born	31 %	69 %	130.000	-5.507	<.001
FB – Naturalized Citizens	22 %	78 %	247.500	-4.889	<.001
FB – Non-Citizens	36 %	64 %	119.500	-5.577	<.001

Location Quotients of Population Groups

	% Inside*	% Outside*	Mann-Whitney U	Z	Sig.
Asian LQ	32 %	68 %	70.500	-5.829	<.001
Hispanic LQ	24 %	76 %	235.500	-4.940	<.001
Foreign Born LQ	29 %	71 %	106.000	-5.636	<.001
FB – Naturalized Citizens LQ	21 %	79 %	232.500	-4.969	<.001
FB – Non-Citizens LQ	33 %	67 %	102.000	-5.670	<.001

Housing and Income Variables

	Inside**	Outside**	Mann-Whitney U	Z	Sig.
Average Household Size	2.104	2.519	203.000	-5.115	<.001
Median Contract Rent	540.143	412.636	442.000	-3.830	<.001
Median Rent Asked	568.286	346.503	346.000	-4.349	<.001
Households with Non-Relatives	268.643	102.358	180.000	-5.238	<.001
Average Family Size	2.816	3.050	231.000	-4.965	<.001
Renter Occupied Housing Units	1308.357	486.861	257.500	-4.822	<.001
Renters Population In Occupied Housing Units	2582.786	1103.115	329.500	-4.435	<.001
Owner Occupied Housing Units: Median Real Estate Taxes	875.286	516.073	378.500	-4.172	<.001

** Denotes percentage of population group that falls within the study area census tracts or outside of the study area census tracts.*
*** Denotes the average of the given variable either inside or outside of the study area.*

Simple linear regression is a statistical method used for understanding the effect of one independent or predictor variable (X) on one dependent or response variable (Y). Multiple regression is a statistical method used for understanding the effects of two or more independent variables on a dependent variable. The regression equation plots the best linear relationship between the variables X and Y. For simple linear regression, this is done through the slope-intercept formula

$$Y = a + bX$$

where Y is the independent variable, X is the dependent variable, a is the intercept constant, and b is the regression coefficient. In the formula, a and b are defined as:

$$a = \overline{Y} - b\overline{X}$$

$$b = \sum xy / \sum x^2$$

where a is the intercept constant, $\overline{Y}$ and $\overline{X}$ are the means of the two variables, b is the regression coefficient, x is deviations of X from $\overline{X}$, and y is deviations of Y from $\overline{Y}$. For multiple regression, which was primarily used in these analyses, the formula for the line is

$$Y = a + b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_3 + \ldots b_kx_k$$

where Y is the predicted value for variable Y, a is the intercept constant, k is the number of independent variables, b_1 to b_k are regression coefficients for the k independent variables, and x_1 to x_k are values on the k independent variables. A statistical measure of how well a line describes data is given by r. An r value near zero would suggest that the model is ineffective and not statistically significant. An *F Distribution* is used for testing the significance of r, and a *t-distribution* is used for testing the significance of the *b*-

weight. The coefficient of determination, or R^2, is the fraction of the total variation that is explained by the regression model. The formula for R^2 is

$$R^2 = \text{ESS} / \text{TSS}$$

where ESS is the explained sum of squared predicted values in the regression model and TSS is the total sum of the squared independent variable. In other words, R^2 is the proportion of a sample variance of the response variable that is explained by the predictor variables. The *b-weights* of the explanatory variables can be compared to determine the relative importance of variation in the explanatory variables in explaining observed variation in the dependent variable.

For my regression analyses, I hypothesized that certain demographic characteristics influence where immigrants choose to settle in an area. Other studies of Latino settlements have used this method (Smith and Furuseth 2004, 229-230). Each census tract in Jefferson and Shelby Counties acts as a case, and there are 179 tracts. The potential independent variables include: number of housing units, households with non-relatives in residence, number of owner-occupied housing units, number of renter-occupied housing units, total population in occupied housing units, renter population in occupied housing units, median contract rent, median rent asked, median price asked, median household income, median family income, and median real estate taxes. Before running the regression, I used a correlation matrix (see ***Table 11***) to test for multicollinearity. I did remove some variables from the regression equation. The variables that were used in the final multiple regression analysis, presented below, include: Median Rent Asked, Median Household Income, Total Households with Non-

Table 11: Correlation Matrix of Potential Regression Variables

	Housing Units	Median Contract Rent	Median Rent Asked	Median Price Asked	Median Household Income	Median Family Income	Households With Non-Relatives	Owner Occupied Housing Units	Renter Occupied Housing Units	Total Pop. In Occupied Housing Units	Renter Pop. In Occupied Housing Units	Median Real Estate Taxes
Housing Units	1											
Median Contract Rent	.189(*) 0.011	1										
Median Rent Asked	.334(**) 0.000	.233(**) 0.002	1									
Median Price Asked	.301(**) 0.000	.509(**) 0	.254(**) 0.001	1								
Median Household Income	.173(*) 0.021	.763(**) 0	0.142 0.058	.576(**) 0	1							
Median Family Income	.184(*) 0.014	.750(**) 0	.194(**) 0.009	.577(**) 0	.946(**) 0	1						
Households With Non-Relatives	.583(**) 0.000	-0.035 0.641	.294(**) 0	0.002 0.981	-.249(**) 0.001	-.182(*) 0.015	1					

Table 11: Continued

	Housing Units	Median Contract Rent	Median Rent Asked	Median Price Asked	Median Household Income	Median Family Income	Households With Non-Relatives	Owner Occupied Housing Units	Renter Occupied Housing Units	Total Pop. In Occupied Housing Units	Renter Pop. In Occupied Housing Units	Median Real Estate Taxes
Owner Occupied Housing Units	.720(**) 0.000	.316(**) 0	.193(**) 0.01	.328(**) 0	.502(**) 0	.432(**) 0	0.005 0.942	1				
Renter Occupied Housing Units	.517(**) 0	-0.074 0.324	.261(**) 0	0.041 0.59	-.329(**) 0	-.224(**) 0.003	.835(**) 0	-.210(**) 0.005	1			
Total Population In Occupied Housing Units	.924(**) 0	.223(**) 0.003	.263(**) 0	.300(**) 0	.313(**) 0	.265(**) 0	.336(**) 0	.879(**) 0	.229(**) 0.002	1		
Renter Population In Occupied Housing Units	.489(**) 0	-.163(*) 0.029	.209(**) 0.005	-0.063 0.404	-.422(**) 0	-.348(**) 0	.795(**) 0	-.217(**) 0.003	.964(**) 0	.250(**) 0.001		1

Table 11: Continued

	Housing Units	Median Contract Rent	Median Rent Asked	Median Price Asked	Median Household Income	Median Family Income	Households With Non-Relatives	Owner Occupied Housing Units	Renter Occupied Housing Units	Total Pop. In Occupied Housing Units	Renter Pop. In Occupied Housing Units	Median Real Estate Taxes
Median Real Estate Taxes	.209(**)	.661(**)	.152(*)	.459(**)	.770(**)	.863(**)	0.028	.259(**)	0.023	.201(**)	-0.096	1
	0.005	0	0.042	0	0	0	0.714	0	0.761	0.007	0.203	

(*) Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). (**) Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Note: For each variable, the top number is the Pearson Correlation Coefficient, and the bottom level is the p-value for significance.

Relatives, Total Renter Occupied Housing Units, Total Renter Population in Occupied Housing Units, and Median Real Estate Taxes.

Dependent variables for the different analyses include: Percent Asian, percent Hispanic, and percent Foreign Born population groups, percent Foreign Born who are naturalized citizens, and percent Foreign Born who are not citizens. I used percentages for the dependent variables in an effort to reduce effects of the modifiable aerial unit problem. Five multiple regression models were run. ***Table 12*** shows the results of the regression models for each of the five dependent variables. The results are a straightforward reflection of recent immigrants' tendency to live with friends or other family members and for Asian immigrants to come in towards the top of the income distribution and Latinos towards the bottom. As the results indicate, the independent variable median rent asked is only marginally significant for only the Foreign Born-Naturalized Citizen variable. Median household income is a highly significant predictor of the Foreign Born-Naturalized Citizens at the 0.01 level and is somewhat significant for the Foreign Born as a whole and for Asians. Total Households with Non-Relatives is highly significant at the 0.01 level for the Foreign Born-Naturalized Citizen group, while it is somewhat significant at the 0.05 level for the Foreign Born as a whole – both with a positive relationship. This is probably due to many Hispanics living in households with larger numbers of people who split the rent on one unit – although many Hispanic low-wage workers are non-citizens. Total Renter Occupied Housing Units is a significant positive indicator of Asian population, Foreign Born, and Foreign Born-Non Citizen, all at the 0.01 level. Total Renter Population in Occupied Housing Units is also a significant indicator of the Asian population, Foreign Born, Foreign Born-Non Citizen, as well as the

Table 12: Multiple Regression Models with Objective Indicators of Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born Population Groups (Percentages)

Independent Variables	Percent Asian	Percent Hispanic	Percent Foreign Born	Percent Foreign Born: Naturalized Citizen	Percent Foreign Born: Non-Citizen
Median Rent Asked	0.103	0.040	0.066	0.109*	0.046
Median Household Income	0.250**	0.128	0.205*	0.391***	0.125
Total Households with Non-Relatives	0.017	0.110	0.225**	0.307***	0.175
Total Renter Occupied Housing Units	1.438***	-0.071	0.893***	0.338	0.965***
Total Renter Population in Occupied Housing Units	-0.990***	0.514*	-0.494**	-0.232	-0.520**
Median Real Estate Taxes	-0.126	-0.018	-0.023	0.084	-0.053
R^2	0.336	0.258	0.409	0.373	0.388
Adjusted R^2	0.313	0.232	0.388	0.351	0.367

Note: *Beta significant at $p < 0.10$; **Beta significant at $p < 0.05$; ***Beta significant at $p < 0.01$

Hispanic population. However, this variable is significant in a negative direction for Asian, Foreign Born, and Foreign Born-Non Citizen groups. However, a contributing factor to this statistic is probably the many unrelated Hispanic low-wage workers who often share the rent on one apartment unit. Median Real Estate Taxes is not a significant indicator of any of the dependent variables.

CHAPTER 6:
BIRMINGHAM'S POTENTIAL INTERNATIONAL CORRIDOR

Having presented evidence for the existence of a potential international corridor in Birmingham and discussed factors predicting the location, I will now look at why immigrants chose Birmingham and why they wanted to locate their businesses in the international corridor areas. The questions posed at the outset of this study are: (1) Why is an international corridor developing as opposed to a single group ethnic enclave? (2) What initially brought immigrant-entrepreneurs to Birmingham, a medium-sized metropolitan area that has experienced minimal in-migration in the last half century? (3) What factors determined the location of the international corridor? (4) How have Birmingham and the suburban cities of Hoover and Homewood, where the international corridor is located, reacted to the arrival of new immigrants and immigrant-entrepreneurs? In this section, I will detail the results received from the qualitative interviews in the context of the central thesis questions and offer my analysis.

Table 13 shows selected results of the semi-structured interviews in a simplified format. This is included to quickly present results and comparisons from the interviews. A more detailed analysis of the results gained from the interviews appears in the subsections following the table.

Immigrants' Reasons for Choosing Birmingham

Why did the immigrant business owners of this study choose to come to Birmingham rather than some other city in the United States? Of the twenty-five interviews completed, the overwhelming majority said they knew others already in

Table 13: Simplified Results of Semi-Structured Interviews

Business Type	Place of Origin	Work before current business?	Why Birmingham?	Why this spot?	Why is area becoming international?
Restaurant	Pakistan	restaurant in New York City	N/A	restaurant already here	Green Springs is central location in metro area
Food Market & Restaurant	Seoul, South Korea	N/A	Friends here	good market for product; knew others	Many "mexicans" here safe; central location; near UAB and Samford universities
Restaurant	Seoul, South Korea	grocery	Sister here (family)	good market for product; "a lot of oriental people and business here"	"Like it here"; Everyone wants to open a business; people know people here; BHM is nice place, easy, no problems
Market	Mexico State, Mexico	construction	Knew people here; like it here	Brother had already started this business here	
Market and Store	Jalisco State, Mexico	N/A	N/A	good market for product	N/A
Restaurant	Peru	housekeepers	Her son, daughter, and husband here	good market for product; 1st South American restaurant in area	Latinos live nearby; many businesses already here
Clothing Store	Durango State, Mexico	always business owner	owned business in Georgia for 10 years	good market for product; only store of this type in Lorna Rd area; many Hispanics here	good for business and everyone; most people are here for 6 to 8 months to make good money, then go back to start business in their own country
Market and Store	Mexico City	farm work	Better job opportunity; farm work is very hard	affordable rent; good market for product; live nearby	Good market for businesses; good places for rent, but rent can also be expensive; people know each other here

Table 13: Continued

Business Type	Place of Origin	Work before current business?	Why Birmingham?	Why this spot?	Why is area becoming international?
Market and Store	Bombay, India	housewife	husband works here; job here	good market for product; a lot of Indians in Hoover	A lot of immigrant communities living in apartments along Lorna Rd - Hispanic, Indian, others
Restaurant	Amatepec, Mexico State, Mexico	Manager for U-Haul	brother here - invited	affordable rent; best deal	It is where immigrants first came to; people want to be close to where others originally came to
Clothing Store	Honduras	Vice President at corporate level for a bank	Feels like Birmingham will be like Atlanta soon (like Buford Hwy)	good market for product	Las Americas was 2nd Hispanic store in area - everyone in region knows this area because of that.
Market and Restaurant	Fujian Province, China	cook	Not many restaurant market here; Birmingham good for business; already some Asian market here	affordable rent; good market for product; most Asians go near here; central location; close to UAB	Central location; good rent; community well connected to other areas of region because of central location in metro area
Market and Restaurant	Beirut, Lebanon	general manager for restaurant chain	parents chose to come here from Lebanon	bought the business that was already here	price is reasonable; good rent; central location
Retail Store	Qingdao, Shandong Province, China	owned a restaurant (but, too many chinese restaurants)	Like it here; good, warm weather; Husbands family is in Minnesota; Smaller and quieter here in Birmingham	good market for product; central location	N/A

Table 13: Continued

Business Type	Place of Origin	Work before current business?	Why Birmingham?	Why this spot?	Why is area becoming international?
Retail Store	Shanghai, China	cashier when in China, before owning gift shop at Galleria	Husband was a student at University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa (but now they are divorced)	affordable rent; live nearby; bored at home, but knows how to order Chinese stuff at good price - "Everything's made in China, and people like unique stuff."	so many Mexicans in the area, and Chinese too. This continues to draw even more here.
Market and Store	Pusan, South Korea	N/A	N/A	affordable rent; area is safe	N/A
Retail Store	Palestine	N/A	N/A	He and his brother own this whole shopping center	It is a universal area; good central location within metro area; everyone knows area of Homewood
Market	South Vietnam	"regular job"	smaller town; less competition	same type of business already here before	"It just happened"
Restaurant	South Vietnam	gas station	Husband here. 1983 - got married	same type of business here before - just took it over	"It just happened"
Restaurant	Acambay, Mexico State, Mexico	kitchen	know people here; a lot of people from Acambay, Mexico (maybe 5,000+); everyone brings friends and relatives	own this building	central location; Hoover was 1st place for Latinos, now they continue to move there and to other areas such as Homewood
Restaurant	Seoul, South Korea	Wings (in Fairfield); this is second location	Husband born in Birmingham	nice area; good market for product; a lot of Mexicans and Blacks around here, "they like wings"	Apartment rent is cheap; a lot of Hispanics and blacks here
Salon	Vietnam	worked for company	husband in Birmingham	live nearby	N/A

Table 13: Continued

Business Type	Place of Origin	Work before current business?	Why Birmingham?	Why this spot?	Why is area becoming international?
Market	Seoul, South Korea	owned another grocery	relatives here	live nearby	"Maybe so many people already have relatives here; it's a network"
Market and Store	Mexico State, Mexico	restaurant	knows other people here	good market for product; knew others here	Many Mexicans moving to this area

Birmingham. Four of the informants declined to answer this question. Fourteen of the informants stated their primary reason for deciding to move to Birmingham, either directly from their home country, or from their initial point of migration in the United States, was because they already knew others established in the area. The people they knew ranged from friends and acquaintances, to close family and relatives to a spouse's family living in Birmingham. Other reasons people gave for choosing Birmingham are: "it's a smaller town with less competition than the larger gateway cities"; "I like it here – it has nice, warm weather, and it is smaller and quieter here"; "there is a good market here for Asian restaurants and markets"; "Birmingham is good for business"; "feels like Birmingham will be like Atlanta soon [like Buford Highway international corridor]"; "there are better job opportunities here." Despite other reasons given, the majority stated in some way that the primary reason they chose to come to Birmingham was because they knew someone already in the city. This trend supports the theory that migrants form networks between one destination and another (see Chapter 2). Once these networks are

set up they serve to aid future migration. This type of migration facilitates the housing and job search process.

Reasons for the Specific Area of Birmingham

Why did immigrants choose to open a business establishment in this particular area of metropolitan Birmingham – either along Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue in Homewood, or along Lorna Road and U.S. Highway 31 in Hoover? Informants gave more than one answer to this question. The majority responded by stating that this area has the best market for their type of business. Many went on to state how "international" the area is becoming, an observation and opinion they had already formed prior to any interaction with me. Twelve informants indicated that there is a good market for their business in this area. Other reasons given include: live nearby (4); same type of business was already there (5); affordable rent (5); nice/safe area (2); and in a central location (2).[6]

Immigrant Employment Status Before Arriving in Birmingham

Another item I wanted to find out through this research was whether or not the immigrant entrepreneurs in this area were business owners before coming to

[6] On the actual survey form, I had several categories listed that an informant could "mark" – and they could mark as many as they felt were applicable to their situation. However, since I conducted the interviews in a conversational manner, these categories were not used, but the informants did mention reasons that, for the most part, conformed to the categories on the survey form. In hindsight, if I do actually administer the survey for the informant to fill out for him or herself in the future, I will remove the categories from that answer and let it be an open-ended question. Having categories of answers for a question such as this one, within view of the informant, may prompt answers different than what the informant might have originally stated and may mask an informant's real answer to a particular question, narrowing the scope of his or her answer.

Birmingham. On the survey, this question was stated in the form of "before your current business, what type of job did you have?" Only two of the informants stated that they owned a business prior to coming to Birmingham. An owner of a Pakistani and Indian restaurant and his family, from Pakistan, previously owned a restaurant in New York City – where they originally migrated to from South Asia – before coming to Birmingham. The owner of a "western wear" store, who came from Mexico to Birmingham via Georgia, indicated he had always been a business owner.

Three of the informants indicated they had previously owned a business elsewhere in Birmingham before opening their current business, but gave no indication that they had owned a business prior to arriving in Birmingham. The Korean owners of an Asian Supermarket had previously owned another Asian Supermarket elsewhere in Birmingham before opening their market in the current location. She actually told me that two previous Asian Supermarkets – one in Vestavia Hills on Highway 31, and one in Homewood on Green Springs Highway – had combined to form this current location on Lorna Road. A Chinese owner of a gift shop near Green Springs Highway indicated that she previously owned a gift shop in the Riverchase Galleria – one of the largest enclosed malls in the South – in Hoover before opening at this location. Another Chinese business owner of a retail outlet, also near Green Springs, said she and her family previously owned a Chinese restaurant nearby. She indicated they decided to close that business because competition is too stiff among Chinese restaurant businesses in the area. This is why they decided to open a different type of business – a retail outlet selling an array of imported items.

Seven of the informants indicated that they currently own another business – or other businesses – in addition to the one where they were interviewed. Of those, six are in Birmingham, and one is in Georgia. One informant, from South Korea, said she currently owns another "wings" restaurant in the Fairfield area, in addition to this new location near Green Springs Highway. She hopes to eventually open a third location in the Southside area of central Birmingham. The Chinese owner of an Asian Market, on Valley Avenue, indicated that the family also owns a Chinese take-out restaurant in downtown Birmingham. She said that was their first business location, and this Asian Supermarket is their second. They are also looking to open a third business within the next two years, citing that the "Asian community is growing fast." The Peruvian owner of a Latin restaurant on Green Springs Highway said that they also own a "Mexican" restaurant in Southside, but would like to expand to a third location in the future.

A number of informants I spoke with, particularly those of Latino origin, indicate that, in addition to owning more than one business in the Birmingham area, they have family members and relatives who also own businesses in the area. This signifies the presence of family partnerships, which are typically important to the success and survival of an immigrant business. The Mexican owner of a Hispanic market on Lorna Road said that he also owns a Hispanic market on Green Springs Highway, two other markets in Alabaster and on U.S. Highway 280, and a *taqueria* in Hoover. He stated these were all family partnerships. Another Mexican owner of a separate Hispanic market in Hoover on Highway 31 – he and his wife own and operate this business only – said he has a brother who owns another Hispanic market on Lorna Road, but unrelated to the previous mentioned market, another brother who owns two Hispanic markets along Valley Avenue

in Homewood, and a nephew who owns a Mexican restaurant, a market and two discos and bars on Valley Avenue. The owners of an entire shopping center on Green Springs Highway – two brothers from Palestine – said that they also own and operate most of the businesses within that shopping center, with the exception of the Tokyo Grocery and Video store – a Korean-owned Japanese market – and a Chinese takeout restaurant.[7] The Palestinian businesses in this shopping center include an Oriental rug store, a car stereo shop, a chicken restaurant, and a dollar store. ***Table 14*** is a summary of the information presented in this subsection.

Immigrants' Views of an International Corridor in Birmingham

Additionally, I asked the informants why they thought this particular area of Birmingham – either the Green Springs Highway area or the Lorna Road area, depending on their location – was becoming so "international." The consensus is that the Green Springs Highway area in Homewood is a central location within the Birmingham metropolitan area and many immigrants live nearby. This international community serves to draw even more migrants to the area through chain migration. Several informants stated that people are already familiar or have heard about the areas around Green Springs Highway or Lorna Road – "La Lorna" as Latinos refer to it – and are apt to move to an area they have already heard of and where they know people. Once the initial immigrant populations settled, and began to open businesses in these two areas, the course was set for the two areas to draw in even more immigrants in the future.

[7] As of April 2006, the Tokyo Grocery and Video store had moved to a new location in a shopping center on U.S. Highway 31 in Hoover, near Lorna Road.

Table 14: Examples of Business Owners With Other Previous or Current Family Businesses

Examples of Businesses I Interviewed	Other Previous or Current Family Businesses
Pakistani-owned South Asian restaurant on Green Springs Hwy. in Homewood	- Owned restaurant in New York City
Mexican-owned western wear store on Lorna Rd. in Hoover	- Owned a business in Mexico, and then in Georgia before coming to Hoover
Korean-owned Asian Supermarket on Lorna Rd.	- Owned another Asian supermarket elsewhere in Birmingham before this one
Chinese-owned retail store on Green Springs Hwy.	- Owned a previous retail store in Hoover before this business
Chinese-owned dollar store on Green Springs Hwy.	- Owned a Chinese restaurant before starting this business
Korean-owned "wings" restaurant on Green Springs Hwy.	- Owns another "wings" restaurant in west Birmingham - Would like to open a third location in Southside area of central Birmingham
Chinese-owned Asian market on Valley Ave. in Homewood	- Family also owns a Chinese take-out restaurant in downtown Birmingham - Would like to open a third business within two years
Peruvian-owned Latin restaurant on Green Springs Hwy.	- Also owns a Mexican restaurant in Southside - Would like to expand to a third location soon
Mexican-owned market on Lorna Rd.	- Market on Green Springs Hwy. - Two markets in Alabaster south of Hoover - One market on U.S. Hwy. 280 - A *taqueria* in Hoover
Mexican-owned market on U.S. Hwy. 31 in Hoover	- Brother owns a market on Lorna Rd. - Another brother owns two markets on Valley Ave. in Homewood - Nephew owns a Mexican restaurant, a market, and two discos/bars on Valley Ave.

Two informants, one from Honduras and the other from China, specifically mentioned that they feel Green Springs Highway and Valley Avenue are well on their way to becoming similar in scope to the Buford Highway international corridor in Atlanta. This is further evidence that Walcott's study in Atlanta is replicable here in Birmingham (Walcott 2002). The fact that immigrants in this area themselves see similarities between Atlanta and Birmingham regarding the development of an international corridor is significant. The Chinese informant, who owns an Asian Supermarket on Valley Avenue, said she knows other immigrant business owners in Birmingham who must travel to Buford Highway in Atlanta twice a week for special products they need for their businesses – products and supplies they cannot obtain in Birmingham. She specifically mentioned that this area needs an Asian style bakery – "less sweet and more healthy than U.S. bakeries," an Asian style hair salon – "because Asian hair is different," and a nail salon supply store for Vietnamese-owned and operated nail salons. Both informants said they feel the area will be like Buford Highway within just a few years – and also stated "the area needs to become like it," and they hope that it will. There obviously is a market in Birmingham among immigrant businesses for products that can only be obtained most quickly from the stores along the international corridor in Atlanta. As these needs continue to grow, new immigrant business owners will most likely open businesses in Birmingham to supply those products and services needed by the ever growing immigrant business community.

To conclude this subsection, several photographs of actual immigrant businesses offer a glimpse into the landscape of the two study area sites (***Figure 32 – Figure 45***, all photographs are by the author).

Figure 32. Two Mexican-owned businesses on Lorna Road in Hoover. A "western wear" clothing store (foreground) and a Latino market.

Figure 33. An Indian-owned market and retail establishment on Lorna Road in Hoover.

Figure 34. A Korean-owned Asian market on Lorna Road in Hoover.

Figure 35. A bank branch catering to a Hispanic clientele on Lorna Road in Hoover.

Figure 36. A Korean-owned restaurant and food market on Green Springs Highway in Homewood.

Figure 37. A Mexican-Owned ice cream store on Green Springs Highway in Homewood.

Figure 38. A Mexican-owned market on Green Springs Highway in Homewood.

Figure 39. A Vietnamese-owned market off of Green Springs Highway in Homewood.

Figure 40. A Vietnamese-owned restaurant on Green Springs Highway in Homewood.

Figure 41. A Mexican-owned market on West Valley Avenue in Homewood.

Figure 42. A Chinese-owned market and restaurant on West Valley Avenue in Homewood.

Figure 43. A Mexican-owned market, store, and restaurant on West Valley Avenue in Homewood.

Figure 44. A Latino-owned shopping center on Lorna Road in Hoover. Businesses include a Mexican restaurant, a Latino grocery, a Laundromat, and a western wear clothing store.

Figure 45. Signage for a Latino-owned shopping center on Lorna Road in Hoover.

The Perspective of Local Government Officials

The views, perspectives, and opinions of local government officials in Hoover and Homewood are an important component in the analysis of the potential international corridors in the study area. Local government views help shape future economic development. If a mayor or city council has a negative perception of immigrants in general, then the international corridor may continue to develop because immigrants will still persist in coming there. However, it may be more difficult to get building permits and amenities like parks nearby. Growth patterns may tend to not favor ethnic businesses.

In the following two sections I present the questions I posed to the mayors of Hoover and Homewood and to the city council members in each city who represent the districts where my study areas are located.

The City of Homewood

The questions I posed to government officials in Homewood were:

1. What are your thoughts on the large, and increasing, number of immigrant-owned businesses along Green Springs Highway, Valley Avenue, and West Valley Avenue?
2. Many of the immigrant business owners feel that this area is well on its way to becoming an "international corridor" similar to that of the International Village area along Buford Highway in northeast Atlanta, Georgia. What do you think of this?
3. Are there plans for any sort of redevelopment around Green Springs Highway or Valley Avenue? If so, what type of redevelopment, and do these plans factor in the many immigrant businesses and business owners of the area?
4. What are your thoughts on so many immigrants moving in and around the Green Springs Highway area? Does this present any problems for the city?

All of the responses were made directly to the author by various city council members. Regarding the first question, one Homewood City Council Member stated, "Green Springs and the West Valley Avenue area, as well as some parts of Hoover, have seen an increase in their [immigrant] population. Affordable apartments, small businesses for sale, and good schools are what I feel they like. My wife and I regularly eat at their businesses and enjoy it." The Mayor of Homewood stated, "Homewood has always been a diverse community. Many of our businesses all over Homewood are owned by immigrants or first generation Americans." Another council member had the following to say: "I am not concerned with the ethnicity of business owners – only that they comply with the zoning ordinances and maintain their properties with pride. Recently, Homewood passed an ordinance defining most of Green Springs as an Urban Revitalization District. This district limits uses of businesses to eliminate less permanent types of organizations [such as] check cashing/pay day loans, and encourage strong neighborhood friendly businesses."

Regarding the second question concerning feelings about the formation of an international corridor, one Homewood City Council Member stated, "Having an international corridor is not a bad thing. A diverse population adds to the city in many ways. Learning about and accepting the cultures of others is a beautiful thing." The Mayor said, "One of the things that makes Homewood attract people from the entire metro area is the variety of businesses. Many businesses have an affinity for each other; it is not a planned occurrence, it is simply following certain economic laws." Another council member said, "I can't think of anything more wonderful than a multicultural business district, especially when this offers all the variety of the many cultures."

Regarding the third question – pertaining to redevelopment – one Homewood City Council Member stated, "We redeveloped Green Springs a few years back. We have started some preliminary work on West Valley Avenue. As money becomes available, I am sure we will continue." The Mayor stated, "Green Springs Highway has been redeveloping since the City did its Beautification Program a few years back. That program was designed to encourage land owners to re-think their property's use, and seems to be working; but the diversity of what is there is more a function of 'who owns the land' than any project or development." Another council member stated, "I mentioned this in answer 1. GURD [Greensprings Urban Revitalization District] is the revitalization plan. It will eventually eliminate all existing non-conforming businesses, and disallow any that do not comply to be developed. The hope is to encourage growth and bring in long term, neighborhood friendly businesses. For me, ethnicity is not a factor one way or the other in what businesses go in on Green Springs and Valley – merely that they comply with the law and are run with pride."

Regarding the fourth question, about migration to the area and problems that might present for the city, the Mayor commented, "Any problems we might experience are not so much the nationality of the people that own the businesses, but the 'type' of businesses that are there. Regardless of the ownership, all cities tend to have more problems with bars, pawn shops [and other predatory type of businesses]." One Homewood City Council Member stated, "The problems, in my opinion, are few. Language barriers and the basic understanding of our laws will always be an issue as more come to live in our city. I have noticed that several Churches have Hispanic services and the schools are adapting. I am sure it will take some time, as it did for my

grandparents. I am happy they 'stuck it out' and made America their home!" Another council member had the following response:

> The large number of immigrants moving into Homewood does not pose a problem for the city…but it presents some challenges. Our excellent school system has proven its ability to work with the large number of children to whom English is a second language – this is hard work – and without any more direct knowledge than listening to my daughter talk about her classes, I am sure that it is hard and frustrating for some of the children and parents. They start in the system at a disadvantage and Homewood's commitment to excellence prevents teachers and all of the rest of the support staff to stand by and watch any child fail. As the number of ESL children grows, the hours put in by the staff multiply. The answer to easing that burden would be more staff, [but] herein lies the [problem] – more staff means more money, and money is a problem for most all municipalities and school systems. I will say that the single most important reason that my husband and I chose Homewood was the diversity. I am thrilled that my children have the opportunity to grow up with all of the cultures around them and consider them commonplace. It would be quite something if all of us could just accept and revel in diversity. I hope that my children's generation does.

All of the comments from local government officials in Homewood paint a positive image of immigration to the local area, as long as immigrants and their businesses comply with laws and regulations just as any business should. In the following section about the responses by government officials in Hoover, there appear to be differences in the way the local government views the local immigrant population. More often than not, they expressed negative feelings towards the immigrant community. Although the questions asked of Hoover officials are practically identical to those asked of Homewood officials, the responses from officials in Hoover appear strikingly different.

The City of Hoover

The questions I posed to government officials in Hoover were:

1. What are your thoughts on the large, and increasing, number of immigrant-owned businesses along Lorna Road, and to an extent Montgomery Highway and AL 150?
2. Many of the immigrant business owners feel that this area, as well as the area around Green Springs Highway in Homewood, is well on its way to becoming an "international corridor" similar to that of the International Village area along Buford Highway in northeast Atlanta, Georgia. What do you think of this?
3. Are there plans for any sort of redevelopment around Lorna Road? If so, what type of redevelopment and do these plans factor in the many immigrant businesses and business owners of the area?
4. What are your thoughts on so many immigrants moving into the Lorna Road area? What problems, if any, does this present for the city?
5. Are there any plans to re-open a multicultural resource center, or has this already happened? If not, what are the city's reasons for this?

Again, all of the responses were made directly to the author by various city council members. Questions one through four are primarily the same four questions asked of Homewood officials. Question five is in reference to the Hoover City government's decision to close the multicultural resource center in August of 2005. The center was located in a building owned by the city, but operated by Catholic Family Services, one block away from city hall on Municipal Drive and one block away from the previous informal hiring area for day laborers along Lorna Road.

Several years ago, the city of Hoover decided that the people waiting along Lorna Road for employment – day laborers – were a hazard. The Multicultural Resource Center, or "La Casita" – the small house, as it was affectionately called – opened in February 2003 to accommodate the workers (Velasco 2003; Archibald 2004). In addition to offering an alternative and safer location for the prospective low-wage day labor employees to congregate, the center offered many other services. These included language assistance, English as a Second Language courses, social services, healthcare, and other informational seminars.

Many Hispanics actually live in apartment complexes near Lorna Road and Municipal Drive and were able to walk to the Center. One patron of the Multicultural Resource Center, who first came to America from Mexico City six years ago, explained the process of waiting for day labor at the Center to one local journalist:

> Everyone takes a number from the list on the board, just like a lottery…you get a good number, you get a good job. One morning the list had 22 names, but it is not uncommon for as many as 50 immigrants to show up at the center. When the number gets that large, many will soon drift to the parking lots of the gas stations on Lorna Road because there, they don't have a list (Gray 2004).

One morning in May of 2005, around 6:00 AM, I personally observed over 100 Hispanic persons congregated outside of the Center. The director of the Center estimated that the staff probably helped over 5,000 people in their first year (Gray 2004).

On August 1 of 2005 the new city administration decided to close the center. The vote passed the city council six to one (Kent 2005). Reasons cited include the use of the center as a pick-up point for day laborers, many of whom were undocumented, causing legal problems for the city, as well as sanitation problems. The day laborers have returned to the service stations and parking lots along Lorna Road where they congregated prior to the opening of the Center. After the decision to close the Center was made, the mayor said he wanted to hold a meeting with local church leaders to discuss the possibility of churches working together to offer more services to Hispanics (Stock 2005). Local churches, many of which already offer some form of service to Latinos, will need a base of operation focused on Lorna Road in order to be effective.

As mentioned previously, the responses from Hoover were of a different tone from those of Homewood. Regarding the first question, one Hoover City Council Member stated, “There are many immigrant owned businesses throughout Hoover. We

have numerous Hispanic, Greek, and Asian locations throughout the retail sections of Hoover – Hoover is a retail community. The principles of supply and demand, along with quality of service will determine who survives." Another city council member stated, "I am all for new businesses as well as the continued existence of businesses. As far as any Hispanic or Latino flavor to these businesses, I think it is great. All I want is for the proper licensing procedures to be followed, all ordinances to be properly adhered unto, and for the sales tax to be properly paid to the state, county, and city."

Regarding the second question, two Hoover City Council Members stated that they were not familiar with the international corridor in Atlanta. However, one member went on to state that they

> …readily recognize the world is smaller than it has ever been, or at least appears to be smaller as a result of communication and transportation. And, as a result, we do have more diversity in our cities, schools and neighborhoods. Most of us think in terms of eating an exotic meal from a foreign land and the idea of it being authentic is always alluring. But of course, there is more of a contribution than food: look at the medical fields, education and research fields, athletics, arts, culture…everywhere.

Another council member went on to state that the "growing immigration populations within Central Alabama are shared by most all municipalities, whether that be Hoover, Pelham, Alabaster, Birmingham, Bessemer, Centerpoint or other areas."

Regarding the third question, two Hoover City Council Members stated there is no plan for redevelopment along Lorna Road, but if ever there was it would have to be driven by private investors. One member also stated that

> Most of Lorna Road is inhabited by apartments. This administration currently takes the opinion that *eminent domain* should not be used in an effort to support retail interests. We do encourage [apartment] complex owners to maintain their properties. The recently passed Property Maintenance Code and Leased Property Maintenance Code should assist in providing guidelines for these properties.

Therefore, the city is apparently not responsible for any sort of redevelopment that may occur along Lorna Road. The development that does occur is solely that of private companies, investors, and owners. One example of the continued growth of immigrant businesses along Lorna Road, and which will contribute to the overall development, is that of a new Latino-themed shopping center. This project is the idea of two Hispanic brothers who own several markets and restaurants elsewhere in Birmingham. The shopping center will consist of a variety of establishments including a Mexican market, an authentic Mexican restaurant, a Spanish-language Laundromat, a clothing and cultural store, and several others (Sanford 2005; Tomberlin 2005).

Regarding the fourth question, one Hoover City Council Member stated that a large population of immigrants living along Lorna Road does not, and should not, pose a problem in and of itself, but went on to state how many problems may be created:

> By their very nature apartments deteriorate and in many cases are not kept up by the landlords. It is well recognized that people take more pride in something they own; and, so is the case, the tenant is not interested in keeping up the appearance of the apartment complex. This deterioration leads to renters asking for better living accommodations, and if they cannot get those, then they move to newer neighborhoods. The older apartments then have to reduce their rental rates, not require leases, and allow circumstances to exist that more competitive apartments would not permit. The effect this has had on Hoover is apartments that are being occupied by more people than the apartment was built to accommodate – safety and fire hazards resulting. I am speculating but, due to the fact that most Latinos or Hispanics do not have a bank account, large sums of money are kept on their persons and this is common knowledge to those of a criminal mind. Thus, the criminal element seeks out many of these tenants and perpetrates a crime upon them, which results sometimes in injuries and gun shots. Just the large number of people living in apartments results in domestic violence as there is only so much space. Many times this results in the police department becoming involved and in some cases, the department of human resources when children are involved.

Another council member offered the following lengthy response:

> I personally do not find issue with immigrants moving into Lorna Rd. or Hoover in general. The problems are the legality of many persons entering our country. Unfortunately, this is a national issue where local municipalities have little jurisdiction. There are however a number of issues that people bring to a community where they expect the community to adjust to their needs rather than assimilating into the community to which they have moved. Many of the families move multiple times – in some cases multiple times per year. This places a tremendous load on our local schools. With the Federal Education program of No Child Left Behind, English as a second language students are graded as though they are mainstream students. This means that if they move into our school district and speak no English they are graded as though they are fluent. Because of this, several of our schools have shown to be failing overall. We have been told that Congress may address this issue when the Act is due for reappropriation in the near future. Many immigrants, mostly undocumented, have found it convenient to live in large groups within single apartment units. We have found as many as three families living in a three bedroom apartment. We have documentation of apartments where they are leased to an individual who then leases out "floor space" in eight to ten hour increments for people to sleep, placing mattresses throughout the apartment rather than furniture. This is a significant life safety issue that we have attempted to address in our Leased Property Code. Lastly there is an increase in crime. Because many undocumented immigrants do not use banks or bank accounts they carry their money on them at all times. This makes them easy targets, whether it be Hispanic on Hispanic or black on Hispanic or white on Hispanic. The fact that they are known to carry unknown quantities of cash has increased crime against their nationality. Many undocumented immigrants do not understand our domestic violence laws. Therefore many believe it is appropriate to abuse their partner should they so choose. Drug trafficking and prostitution have also increased.

Regarding the fifth question, two Hoover City Council Members stated that there are no plans to reopen or build a new multicultural center because there is currently no reason to do so. One council member stated,

> The city did not close the center until those responsible for running it refused to cease illegal activities. The main activity was using city owned property to perpetuate the hiring of illegal workers. This is a federal issue. There was gambling going on at the site with the knowledge of those operating the center. The day laborers were using the property around the building as toilet facilities with feces not only abundant on our property but also adjacent property owners. There was always one person, not affiliated with the program, who created a list of workers every day. Each worker then had to pay him a portion of their days wages to be on his list. Once notified the day labor activities must cease they were told they could continue to use the facility for the purpose of education.

> They chose not to accept the terms and moved. The new site would not permit them to allow day laborers, only educational opportunities (just as we had offered). They accepted that location and since have all but closed down because of the lack of use. It was at that point it was obvious that the only purpose of a center was for the illegal use of undocumented immigrants.

Another council member went on to say:

> There is no law or basis for citing that we have to build one. If a reason exists such as for a humanitarian purpose, then that is not the proper role for the city to participate. It is also humanitarian to pick up and transport older people so they do not have to drive in traffic congestion, it is humanitarian to provide free meals to the poor and to older people, as well as medical care. That is not the role of the city. There is apparently no need for a multicultural center as the services are still provided by the Jefferson County Health Department, Cooper Green Hospital, United Way, churches and [other] organizations to provide services to all people of this State, County and City. Why should the City be expected to provide for one sector and not all citizens. The city should not promote a day labor service to compete with the already existing temporary services that exist. The temporary services have business licenses and are regulated by the proper authorities and must be in compliance with those authorities. The city is not in the business of operating a temporary employee service. We do have needs in this city to provide for all of the citizens to the extent that we are able to financially. Our primary resources come as a result of our retail tax basis and our property taxes. To that extent, we do provide police and fire protection to all citizens and visitors to our city, we provide a library, we contribute to the school system and summer programs, we provide a recreation center and parks with recreation programs, we provide free garbage collections, and we are striving to provide and promote more city activities. We cannot absorb the role of the federal government as a social agency.

This person went on to offer the following vivid explanation as to why the city decided to close the multicultural resource center:

> There are more immigrants to consider than just the Hispanics and Latinos, however, for some reason, the press in this area has taken an approach that Hoover is opposed to this group of people, which is absolutely not true! I do not know if you are aware of this, but the major reason I supported closing the multicultural center was because of health and sanitation reasons. The day laborers were defecating and littering the area to such an extent that it was totally filthy! I was opposed to placing portable toilets around the building because that is nothing but a joke. If you really think about it, Hoover would have been a laughing stock of other cities when word spread that less than 1/2 mile from City Hall the grounds were littered with fecal matter and urine. As an upscale and

> progressive city, that is definitely not the image you want to project. On the other hand, if the people the building was established for do not respect the building and what has been done, then why do it! Close it! So we did…I think diversity is wonderful and we all can learn from it. The major wars from history to today are fought over fear of the unknown of another person's culture. If we all shared an interest in learning about each other and being intrigued by our differences, there would be more peace among all of us.

The following is one final comment made by a city council member in Hoover regarding the city's role in immigration

> The city has no role in immigration; it is a federal government role. As such, the City of Hoover has neither obligations nor expectations to provide in the area of immigration. But, as a body which establishes ordinances and laws and expects citizens and visitors to abide by those ordinances and laws, the city government should be held to the same standard and not expected to promote or further any activity which may violate immigration laws or for that matter the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

As all of these detailed responses from local government officials in Hoover indicate, there seems to be a different view of immigrants in Hoover than in Homewood. However, more often than not, all of the government officials who responded to the questions in both Homewood and Hoover in the end state that diversity and influences from a variety of cultures are beneficial to the local area. Immigrant business owners probably have an easier time in Homewood considering the tone in the responses from government officials in Homewood. The fact that the international corridor in Homewood is larger and more complex than in Hoover may in part be the result of more limited support from the local government. The future of the international corridor in Homewood seems positive in contrast to the corridor in Hoover.

CHAPTER 7:
CONCLUSION

Rapid changes are occurring in the South because of recent immigration. No longer is the South exclusively white and black – Hispanics and Asians comprise increasingly influential minorities. This study indicates that like many other cities in the South, Birmingham has an increasing immigrant population. Because of this, the area is likely to also see a rise in immigrant-owned entrepreneurial establishments in order to satisfy the demand for ethnic products and services.

Immigrant-owned businesses are located throughout the Birmingham metropolitan area, but as my study indicates, they are especially concentrated along and near the study areas described in this paper. The business establishments of a host of immigrant groups are spatially intermingled in these areas, in much the same way as along the Buford Highway international corridor in Atlanta. This may also be a trend in many southern cities as evidenced by Walcott's study of immigrant businesses in Atlanta. Traditionally, immigrants have formed ethnic enclaves – such as Chinatowns. However, the trend in southern cities seems to be that a variety of immigrant groups and their businesses spatially mix in what can be termed an international corridor. Immigrants appear to be rejecting ethnic isolation, showing signs that they desire to interact with the mainstream and attract both customers and employees from outside their own ethnic group.

My thesis has attempted to offer answers to the following four questions regarding an international corridor in Birmingham, Alabama: (1) Why is an international corridor developing as opposed to a single group ethnic enclave? (2) What initially

brought immigrant-entrepreneurs to Birmingham, a medium-sized metropolitan area that has experienced minimal in-migration in the last half century? (3) What factors determined the location of the international corridor? (4) How have Birmingham and the suburban cities of Hoover and Homewood, where the international corridor is located, reacted to the arrival of new immigrants and immigrant-entrepreneurs?

(1) Why is an international corridor developing as opposed to a single group ethnic enclave? I established that most immigrants are initially drawn to the area by friends and family. New immigrant businesses in Birmingham appear to be attracted to areas where other immigrant businesses are already located, regardless of the origin of immigrant business owners. This leads to the formation of an international corridor as opposed to an ethnic enclave made up of a single ethnic-immigrant group. The older immigrant businesses in the corridor were first drawn there because of its central location in the metro area (it is still a relatively central location) and close location to areas where immigrants chose to live upon first arrival in the city. The international corridor is well positioned for continued future growth.

(2) What initially brought immigrant-entrepreneurs to Birmingham, a medium-sized metropolitan area that has experienced minimal in-migration in the last half century? Immigrant-entrepreneurs originally came to Birmingham because of opportunities that opened up as a result of the city's shift to a service economy during the mid to latter half of the twentieth century. Immigrants from across the economic spectrum were drawn to Birmingham to work in research and business firms, or to work as low-wage laborers in services supporting the function of the city and its many suburban communities. The arrival of these new immigrants created a demand for

products and services from their home countries, and entrepreneurial immigrants opened businesses catering to those demands. Today, the trend shows no sign of slowing.

(3) What factors determined the location of the international corridor? As mentioned previously, the international corridor developed in a central location relative to the overall metropolitan area as well as in relation to the residential patterns of immigrants. The locations of the international corridor as well as areas where immigrants first choose to live are both well-established, with continued growth. Both areas complement each other and mutually aid in the decision immigrants must make when choosing where to migrate.

(4) How have Birmingham and the suburban cities of Hoover and Homewood, where the international corridor is located, reacted to the arrival of new immigrants and immigrant-entrepreneurs? I researched this question by interviewing local government officials in both Hoover and Homewood where the international corridor is actually located. Although I asked virtually identical questions to officials in each municipality, the responses received were strikingly different. This reflects differences in how the governing bodies feel about immigration in general. Hoover has been chastised by the usually "immigrant-friendly" media in the past and recently for decisions made regarding the abrogation of services for immigrants, but has also been scolded by constituents of a more "anti-immigrant" mindset. The anger expressed by both groups probably soured their view of the subject of immigration. Officials in Homewood, on the other hand, responded positively to most questions. Immigrant businesses having a longer and larger presence in Homewood than in Hoover perhaps plays a part in the more approving view of immigrants and immigration expressed by the Homewood government.

My study of immigrant-owned businesses in Birmingham arrives at similar conclusions as Walcott's study in Atlanta. Rather than isolating themselves in mono-ethnic enclaves, immigrant businesses of all races and ethnic groups appear to be intermingling spatially with each other as well as drawing customers from the traditional local populations in southern cities. Reasons for this may include the smaller overall numbers of immigrants in cities throughout the South compared to traditional gateway cities. Smaller numbers may propel immigrants to simply locate near other immigrants in general rather than solely with their coethnics. Residentially, the various immigrant groups are dispersed, primarily in the "over the mountain" area south of the Birmingham CBD, with the exception that there are two to three census tracts containing a high proportion of Hispanic immigrants. But this is probably due to the availability of high-density low-rent apartment housing in those tracts, catering to the day-laborer work force.

Aspects of Zelinsky's heterolocalism model are indeed evident in Birmingham in that no mono-ethnic enclaves have formed. Most immigrants are dispersed residentially, but businesses co-mingle spatially in certain areas. Immigrants do appear to be somewhat concentrated, in terms of their businesses, not only with co-ethnic businesses, but with businesses of any immigrant ethnic group. This may also be the trend in many southern cities as evidenced by Walcott's study of immigrant businesses in Atlanta.

Immigrants are indeed coming to the South to live and work. This is a trend that has increased over the past couple of decades, and will likely remain steady or continue to increase into the future. Abundant job opportunities as well as a comfortable climate draw immigrants to the South. As immigration to the South continues, so too will the

increasing visibility and number of immigrant-owned businesses in cities throughout the region.

If immigrants are indeed forming international corridors in cities across the U.S. South then this should be an interesting topic for future study. International corridors are changing the face of retail areas in the U.S. South. Because an international corridor represents the spatial mixing of many different cultures, nationalities, and businesses, the results of its presence may be quite different than those of an ethnic enclave representing a single ethnic group and culture. Local governments should take into account everyone in their jurisdictions and work together with all constituents when making plans for future development within their cities. These governing bodies need to consider the special needs of immigrant entrepreneurs.

This research serves as a contribution to ethnic enclave theory in that it offers evidence of newly forming multiethnic enclaves, or international corridors. It shows that mono-ethnic enclaves are no longer the only model, particularly in cities within the U.S. South. Further research might reveal that multiethnic enclaves are in fact the dominant ethnic business location pattern in new settlement areas for immigrants in the United States. Additional research of this subject in other areas will shed light on the changing demographics and continuing migration to the South.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Letter to Business Owners

4 October 2005

Dear Sir or Madam:

I am Paul McDaniel, a graduate student with the Department of Geography at the University of Tennessee. My thesis research is about immigrant-owned business establishments in the Birmingham metropolitan area of Alabama. This study attempts to determine the various types of immigrant-owned retail establishments along and near Green Springs Highway, U.S. Highway 31, and Lorna Road, south of downtown Birmingham in Jefferson County, Alabama. Also, I would like to determine if an international corridor – similar to an area in northeast Atlanta, Georgia – is forming in this area.

You are invited to participate in this study. Within the coming weeks I will be stopping by your place of business to give you a survey questionnaire about your experience as a business owner/manager in Birmingham. Alternatively, you may receive the questionnaire by mail or I may contact your business by telephone. Should you decide to participate, all you need to do is complete the survey once you receive it. You may return the questionnaire to me either in person while I am at your business establishment or return it by mail in a postage-paid envelope I will provide you when I give you the questionnaire. The 10 questions should take no longer than 10 to 20 minutes to complete and completion is voluntary. The questions are based solely on your opinions and experiences – there are no right or wrong answers.

All responses to the survey will be kept strictly confidential. You also have the option to include contact information for your business, but this is not required to complete the survey if you wish to remain anonymous. The optional business contact information is used to adequately gage which businesses are responding to the survey, and will only be used by the primary researcher - Paul McDaniel. The business contact information will not be published or released to a third party and will not appear in any report of the research.

Your participation will be greatly appreciated. Your thoughts and opinions on your experiences as a business owner/manager are important to me and this research. Inquiries about this research can be directed to me at the above contact information.

Thank you in advance for your consideration to participate in this study.

Yours faithfully,

Paul N. McDaniel
Graduate Teaching Assistant

Appendix B – Survey of Immigrant Business Owners

Survey: Birmingham Immigrant-Owned Businesses

DIRECTIONS: This survey is being done for a research project at the University of Tennessee Department of Geography to determine the types of retail shops along Green Springs Highway, U.S. Highway 31, and Lorna Road, south of downtown Birmingham in Jefferson County, Alabama. All responses will be kept strictly confidential. Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge, seal and return in the postage-paid envelope provided. If you like, you may provide contact information for your business on the back of this form. Contact Paul McDaniel (205-586-3206 or pmcdani1@utk.edu) with any questions or comments you may have regarding this study.

1.a. How many years have you been in the United States?:_____

1.b. How many years have you been in the Birmingham area?:_____

1.c. Did you live elsewhere in the United States before coming to Birmingham? If so, where (city, state)?

2. You are from the country of (city/town, state/province, and country):_____

3. How long have you been in business at this specific location? Was your current business ever located elsewhere?

4. Your business mainly sells:_____

5. What business was at this location before you came here (include type of business)?

6. Before your current business, what type of job did you have?

7.a. Why did you choose to come to Birmingham rather than another city?

7.b. Why did you choose to open a business in this specific area of Birmingham? (check all that apply):

____affordable rent; ____good market for your type of product; ____you knew others here; ____area is safe;
____you wanted to be close to other immigrants; ____you live nearby; ____other reason:_____

7.c. Approximately how close is your place of residence to your business establishment?:

____less than 1 mile; ____1 or 2 miles; ____3 or 4 miles; ____5 or 6 miles; ____7 or 8 miles; ____9 or 10 miles; ____greater than 10 miles

8.a. Which groups form the majority of your customers (check all that apply)? (for Asian, indicate whether Chinese, Korean, etc.; for Hispanic, indicate whether Mexican, Guatemalan, etc.):

____same ethnic group; ____Anglo (white); ____Asian – (specify_____); ____Hispanic – (specify_____);
____ Black; ____mixed; ____other

8.b. Which groups form the majority of your employees (check all that apply)? (for Asian, indicate whether Chinese, Korean, etc.; for Hispanic, indicate whether Mexican, Guatemalan, etc.):

____same ethnic group; ____Anglo (white); ____Asian – (specify_____); ____Hispanic – (specify_____);
____ Black; ____mixed; ____other

9.a. Do you own any other businesses? If so, where?

9.b. Do you have family members who also own a business in the Birmingham area?

9.c. Would you like to expand your business in the future? If so, where would you like to expand to?

10.a. In your opinion, why is this area of Birmingham becoming so international?

10.b. What improvements could the city of Birmingham and "Over the Mountain" cities make to improve your business?

You may include any other comments you have on the back of this page. Thank you very much for responding to this survey!

Please return in the postage-paid envelope provided to the following address:
Paul McDaniel, 304 Burchfiel Geography Building, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996

Appendix C – Results of Mann-Whitney Tests

Mann-Whitney Test Results for Jefferson and Shelby County 2000 Data

Variable	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Sig.
Total_Pop	921	14616	-1.2570	0.209
White	837	14532	-1.7080	0.088
White_LocQuot	1065.5	14760.5	-0.4810	0.631
Black	1011	1116	-0.7740	0.439
Black_LocQuot	956	1061	-1.0690	0.285
AI_AN	1015	14710	-0.7530	0.451
Asian	101.5	13796.5	-5.6640	0.000
Asian_LocQuot	70.5	13765.5	-5.8290	0.000
NH_OPI	493.5	14188.5	-3.9300	0.000
Other_Race	225	13920	-5.0000	0.000
TwoOrMoreRaces	230	13925	-4.9700	0.000
Hispanic_Pop	224	13919	-5.0020	0.000
Hispanic_LocQuot	235.5	13930.5	-4.9400	0.000
ForeignBornPop	130	13825	-5.5070	0.000
ForeingBorn_LocQuot	106	13801	-5.6360	0.000
FornBorn_NatCitizen	247.5	13942.5	-4.8890	0.000
FornBorn_NatCit_LQ	232.5	13927.5	-4.9690	0.000
FornBorn_NonCitizen	119.5	13814.5	-5.5770	0.000
FornBorn_NonCit_LQ	102	13797	-5.6700	0.000
HousingUnits	646	14341	-2.7340	0.006
PopInHouseholds	962	14657	-1.0370	0.300
AvgHouseholdSize	203	308	-5.1150	0.000
MedianNumRooms	690.5	795.5	-2.4980	0.012
MedianYearBuilt	983.5	14678.5	-0.9220	0.357
MedianContractRent	442	14137	-3.8300	0.000
MedianRentAsked	346	14041	-4.3490	0.000
MedianPriceAsked	872.5	14567.5	-1.5200	0.129
MedianHouseholdIncome	993	14688	-0.8700	0.384
MedFamilyIncome	892	14587	-1.4130	0.158
HHwithNonRelatives	180	13875	-5.2380	0.000
TotalFamilies	1132	14827	-0.1240	0.902
TotalPopInFamilies	1067.5	1172.5	-0.4700	0.638
AvgFamilySize	231	336	-4.9650	0.000
TotOccHousingUnits	657.5	14352.5	-2.6730	0.008
OwnerOccHousingUnits	885	990	-1.4500	0.147
RenterOccHousingUnits	257.5	13952.5	-4.8220	0.000
TotalPopInOccHousingUnits	961	14656	-1.0420	0.297
OwnersPopInOccHousingUnits	752.5	857.5	-2.1620	0.031
RentersPopInOccHousingUnits	329.5	14024.5	-4.4350	0.000
OwnerOccHousUnits_MedRealEstateTaxes	378.5	14073.5	-4.1720	0.000

VITA

Paul Noel McDaniel was born January 7, 1982, in Alabaster, Alabama. The oldest child of Randall and Gretchen McDaniel, he grew up in the Bluff Park community of Hoover, a suburban city south of Birmingham, Alabama. Regular travel throughout the southern United States instilled in Paul a love of his native southland. Further frequent travel opportunities, both domestic and abroad, reinforced his lifelong interest in geography and ultimately led to his decision to pursue geography as a profession. Upon graduating from Hoover High School in 2000 Paul traveled to southern China, Hong Kong, and Macau, and then began college at Samford University in Birmingham. His love of geography was steeped at Samford by being challenged in both the traditional theory of the discipline and the technical aspects of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and cartography. The faculty of the Department of Geography at Samford played a strong role in this process. Favorite courses include regional geography courses, particularly Asia and Latin America, and geography of international affairs. Travel and study abroad opportunities while at Samford were integral in the geography education process as well. These include extensive travel throughout the United States and western Canada via the geography department's field camp, study abroad in London and Paris, study abroad in Thailand, Burma, and India, personal travel to the Caribbean, England, Scotland, Ireland, and additional trips around the U.S., specifically the Pacific Northwest, the Southwest, and the Northeast. In the spring of 2004, Paul graduated from Samford University with a Bachelor of Science in Geography, and minors in History and Geographic Information Science.

In August of 2004, Paul moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where he began graduate work in geography at the University of Tennessee. He pursued course work in cultural, urban and rural geography, and research methods. Serving as a graduate teaching assistant furthered his interest in spreading geography to more people through teaching. Paul spent much of the summer of 2005 studying Spanish at Universidad Internacional in Cuernavaca, Mexico, which greatly helped to increase his understanding of the Spanish language and of Mexican society and culture. He spent time in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia during the summer of 2006. After graduating with a Master of Science in Geography from the University of Tennessee, Paul plans to work for a year before pursuing a Ph.D. in Geography.