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**Karthick Ramakrishnan, Dino Bozonelos, Louise Hendrickson, and Tom Wong**

## Inland Gaps: Civic Inequalities in a High Growth Region

### Executive Summary

In recent years, there have been increasing concerns about levels of civic engagement in the United States and disparities in participation among members of different racial and ethnic groups. These civic inequalities take on great importance in states such as California, where no racial or ethnic group can claim majority status. In this report, we examine civic engagement in the Inland Empire region of Southern California, which encompasses the counties of Riverside and San Bernardino. We base our analysis on focus groups, surveys of residents, and interviews with elected officials and community organization leaders.

While civic life in the Inland Empire is vibrant and diverse in many ways, there are also considerable civic inequalities, at both the individual and organizational levels. Latinos and Asian Americans lag in participation behind African Americans and whites on a host of activities, ranging from voting to writing elected officials and attending public hearings. They also have lower levels of civic volunteerism, which in turn may perpetuate their disadvantages in local politics. We also find significant resource disparities between mainstream and ethnic organizations, as well as in their political presence: While public officials pay attention to a handful of Latino and African American organizations, they are largely unaware of the larger array of community organizations serving nonwhite residents. We conclude our analysis with some suggestions for local governments, foundations, and mainstream community organizations to reduce civic inequalities along racial and ethnic lines.

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## Introduction

In recent years, concern has grown about levels of civic engagement in the United States and disparities in participation among members of different racial and ethnic groups. Civic engagement includes both political participation (involvement in activities such as voting, writing to elected officials, and attending public hearings) and civic volunteerism (involvement in activities and community organizations such as neighborhood associations, faith-based groups, educational associations, and ethnic organizations).

There are several reasons why it is important to pay attention to differences in civic and political participation. At the individual level, previous studies in political science have shown that participation in community organizations bears a strong relationship to subsequent involvement in political activities such as voting, attending public meetings, and writing to elected officials (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). Thus, differences in civic participation often lead to disparities in the ability of individuals to have influence over decisions by government and other public actors. At the same time, relationships between civic participation and political engagement also operate at the organizational level. For instance, get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts, voter education, and ballot assistance rely critically on community organizations, such as civil rights groups, labor unions, and other types of organizations. Also, recent research indicates that there are wide disparities between mainstream and ethnic organizations—in terms of their resources, visibility, and influence in local governance (Ramakrishnan and Viramontes 2006).

Scholars and policy analysts have focused on two potentially troubling aspects of civic volunteerism and political participation: Overall declines in participation rates and the persistence of group disparities by race, ethnicity, and immigrant generation (Putnam, 2000; Burns, Schlozman, and Verba, 2001; Ramakrishnan and Baldassare, 2004). Many analysts worry that declining levels of volunteerism will lead to continued decreases in political interest and participation in the future. Some also believe that low levels of volunteerism will adversely affect the provision of public goods and services in many communities—especially in the context of cuts in government spending. Finally, many are concerned that group disparities in volunteerism

will lead to persistent gaps in political participation, leaving immigrants and members of racial and ethnic minorities with a reduced ability to influence policy.

Civic inequalities across racial and ethnic groups take on great importance in states such as California, where no group can claim majority status. In this report, we examine civic engagement in the Inland Empire region of Southern California, which encompasses the counties of Riverside and San Bernardino. At present, we lack a clear understanding of civic and political participation in rapidly growing regions such as the Inland Empire. The Inland Empire is a region undergoing profound demographic changes, both with respect to racial and ethnic diversity and to the influx of hundreds of thousands of residents—from other parts of California, the rest of the United States, and from other countries. These newcomers include not only Asian and Latino immigrants, but also native-born whites and blacks. Policy analysts are beginning to pay attention to the demographic changes underway in the Inland Empire, and the challenges they pose to issues such as infrastructure, education, housing, and socioeconomic mobility. What is missing, however, is a detailed examination of civic and political participation in the region.

This report summarizes findings from focus groups, case studies, and a recent telephone survey of civic and political participation among residents in the Inland Empire (Ramakrishnan 2007). We conducted five focus groups with members of different racial and ethnic groups, 61 interviews with government officials in 11 cities from across the region, and 67 interviews with leaders of community organizations in 8 of those cities. The cities were chosen to ensure variation in city size and the proportion of immigrants in the resident population in four of the most populous subregions of the Inland Empire: Riverside metro, San Bernardino metro, West San Bernardino, and the High Desert. We also have coverage of the Coachella Valley in our telephone survey, focus groups, and interviews with elected officials.

In our analysis, we seek answers to questions that so far remain unanswered by existing studies of the region, including overall levels of civic and political participation, disparities in participation across groups, and the extent to which mainstream and ethnic or racial community organi-

zations are visible and influential in local affairs. We also seek to illuminate promising ideas and strategies among organizations seeking to empower newcomer communities and other disadvantaged groups, and to provide local governments and influential mainstream organizations with the conceptual tools and language necessary to conduct effective outreach.

### Subregions in the Inland Empire

*Given the large size of Riverside and San Bernardino counties, and geographic and economic variations within the region, demographers and policymakers often refer to various sub-regions in the Inland Empire (Johnson et al. 2008). We use the standard definition of subregions to include the following cities:*

*West San Bernardino Region— Ontario, Fontana, Montclair, Chino, Chino Hills*

*San Bernardino Metro— San Bernardino, Colton, Rialto, Highland*

*Riverside Metro— Riverside, Corona, Norco, Mira Loma, Moreno Valley Perris*

*Redlands Region— Redlands, Yucaipa, Loma Linda*

*Temecula— Temecula, Murrieta, Lake Elsinore, Sun City*

*San Jacinto— San Jacinto, Hemet, Menifee, Beaumont, Banning*

*Southern Mountains— Idyllwild, Mountain Center, Anza*

*Northern Mountains— Big Bear Lake, Big Bear City, Lake Arrowhead, Crestline*

*Coachella Valley— Palm Springs, Palm Desert, Cathedral City, Indio, Mecca*

*High Desert— Victorville, Hesperia, Apple Valley, Barstow, Morongo Valley, Joshua Tree, 29 Palms*

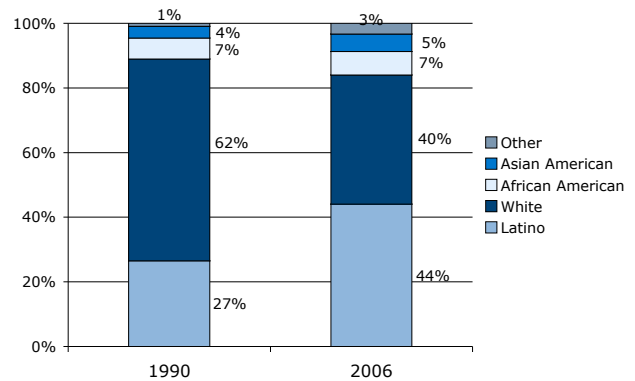
*Eastern Desert— Blythe, Ridgecrest, Needles*

### Inland Empire Growth and Racial Diversity

The Inland Empire region of Southern California is one of the fastest growing regions in the United States (Downs 2005, La Ganga 2007). Currently, the Inland Empire is home to about 4 million residents, making it the 14th largest metropolitan area in the country. During the past three decades the region’s population has increased by nearly 400 percent, and between April 2000 and July 2005 the Inland Empire alone accounted for nearly 20 percent of

California’s entire population growth. Much of this growth can be attributed to the relative affordability of housing in the region when compared to neighboring counties, but employment growth in the region has also played a role in the past decade (Johnson et al. 2008). The region is also expected to continue growing at a rapid clip: According to projections by the California Department of Finance in July 2007, Riverside County is expected to triple in size by 2050 to become the second-most populous county in the state, while San Bernardino is expected to be the state’s fifth most populous county by mid-century (California Department of Finance 2007).

**Figure 1: Racial and Ethnic Diversity Among Residents in the Inland Empire**



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Note: Native Americans account for about 0.5% of the resident population in the region.

Along with rapid population growth, the region is also experiencing significant diversification by race and ethnicity. As Figure 1 indicates, the proportion of Latinos in the region has increased by nearly two-thirds in less than two decades, from 27 percent in 1990 to 44 percent in 2006. At the same time, the proportion of white residents has decreased from 62% to 40%, while the proportions of African Americans and Asian Americans have remained essentially the same. In trying to get a sense of where the Inland Empire is headed in terms of civic and political participation, it is therefore important to pay special attention to differences and inequalities between newer and older residents, and between members of different racial and ethnic groups.

### **Race in the History of the “Inland Empire”**

*The Inland Empire is a term used to describe the inland regions east of Los Angeles – Riverside and San Bernardino counties - and as described above spans over 27,000 square miles. There is, however, some controversy over the context surrounding the origins of the term. Regional historian Rob Wagner acknowledges that the origins of the term are not entirely clear. Wagner finds that the term was first used in a special edition supplement of the Press Enterprise newspaper in April 1914. This “Progress Edition” highlighted development and growth in Riverside County at the time. Wagner’s research suggests that real estate developers most likely created the term during the first decade of the 20th century to lure potential residents to the region (Wagner 2004). In stark contrast, others argue that the origin of the term is rooted in the influence that the Ku Klux Klan had in the region at the turn of the 20th century, with the Klan term “invisible empire” perhaps playing a role (Organizational interview August 22, 2007, Wagner 2004). However, we have not found any documented evidence linking the Klan to the region’s name. The Klan’s prevalence was not special to the area: indeed, the organization boasted a membership of over 4 million people in the greater Los Angeles area and many of these members played an instrumental role in the segregation of society throughout southern California.*

*Despite the controversy over the genealogy of the region’s name, the presence and impact of minority racial and ethnic groups in the Inland Empire is well documented. The first growth of Chinese, Mexicans, and African Americans occurred in the late 1800s with the building of the Southern Pacific Railroad and the subsequent development of the citrus industry. Japanese immigrants came to the region later, with the limitation on Chinese immigration labor following the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Thus, towards the end of the 19th century, the San Bernardino Daily Times described the region as having “all the elements which constitute a real cosmopolitan city. Here can be found represented almost every nationality on the globe, while the languages of all countries can be heard on the streets...” (Wagner 2004). In the past three decades, international migration has played a significant role in the growth of the Asian American population in the region, while migration out of Los Angeles and Orange Counties accounts for much of the growth of the African American and Latino populations.*

### **Community Organizations**

The study of organizations is perhaps one of the most important, and most challenging aspects of understanding disparities in civic engagement. Studies of participation inequality usually focus on individual-level differences in participation between members of different social groups (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, Ramakrishnan and Baldasare 2004). These individual-level studies are helpful because they give a good sense of involvement among a large cross-section of society, including those who are uninvolved, as well as those who are involved in civic and political activities. Studying individual-level differences based on surveys also helps us understand the magnitude of inequalities at a very fundamental level: the extent to which members of particular groups may be more involved in local decision-making than others. Indeed, as we show on page 10, there are significant differences in civic and political participation among Inland Empire residents across lines of race, ethnicity, and class.

At the same time, it is also important to pay attention to community organizations because they add other dimensions of inequality that cannot be detected by individual-level surveys. For instance, two residents may each serve as an officer in different organizations, but one organization may be much more connected to local decision-making than the other. It is also much more challenging to conduct a study of organizations in addition to residents because existing organizational data, such as directories of nonprofits, provide only a partial picture of community organizations, many of whom lack nonprofit status. Also, nonprofit directories often lack information on such important factors as their memberships, political activities, and influence in local decisionmaking. Such an enterprise would entail conducting interviews with organization leaders and outreach staff to get a more detailed view of their activities, memberships, achievements, and challenges. It would also entail finding ways to interview nonprofits, as well as those community organizations lacking nonprofit status.

Since we are unable to interview the thousands of community organizations currently operating in the region, we adopt a mixed strategy: We analyze databases of registered nonprofits to gain breadth in coverage about longevity and activity types among mainstream and racial/ethnic

organizations, and rely on interviews with more than 60 organizations in three sub-regions (Riverside metro, and the High Desert and the Rialto/Colton areas of San Bernardino Counties) to gain more in-depth information about the involvement, visibility, and influence of organizations in local affairs.

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**Analysis of Nonprofits**

Today, there are about 6,800 nonprofits in the Inland Empire region. Of these, religious organizations are by far the most prevalent (Table 1), followed by groups focused on education, youth, health, and sports/recreation. However, some caution is warranted in taking data on nonprofits as representative of community organizations more generally: Not only does this exclude community organizations that are not formally registered as nonprofits, it also includes institutions such as colleges, hospitals, and family trusts that typically would not be considered community organizations. Still, as we indicated earlier, nonprofit directories are useful because they provide a standard basis of comparison of organizations across regions and activity types. We built our organization directory from two publicly available datasets: MelissaData and Guidestar. We then classified the organizational database as follows: two researchers separately went through the entire list of organizations and assigned ethnic membership and activity characteristics to about 90 percent of the groups based on the organization’s name and/or stated mission. The two classification schemes were identical in the vast majority of cases (85%), and for instances where there was disagreement, a third coder did more in-depth research based on content in organization web sites, tax filings, and specialized community organization directories.

We find that 10% of nonprofits in the Inland Empire can be classified as those predominantly serving nonwhite residents. Latino-serving nonprofits are the most numerous (241), followed by those serving predominantly African Americans (123), Korean Americans (48), South Asians (30), American Indians (23), and Arab Americans (19). This is based on our analysis of organization names, mission statements, goals, and activities. This proportion of ethnic-serving nonprofits (10%) is in line with the proportion of ethnic organizations found in other parts of California, such as Santa Clara County and Orange County (Ramakrishnan and Viramontes 2006). Still, this is a low figure that does not compare favorably with the fact that nonwhites account for 60% of the resident population of the region and, as we show later in this report, many mainstream organizations are still doing little to diversify their memberships. There are, however, some signs of change: Ethnic organizations were more prevalent among nonprofits that were created in the 1990s (14%), although the proportion of ethnic organizations founded between 2000 and 2005 fell down to 8%.

**Table 1. Nonprofit Organizations in the Inland Empire by Activity Type**

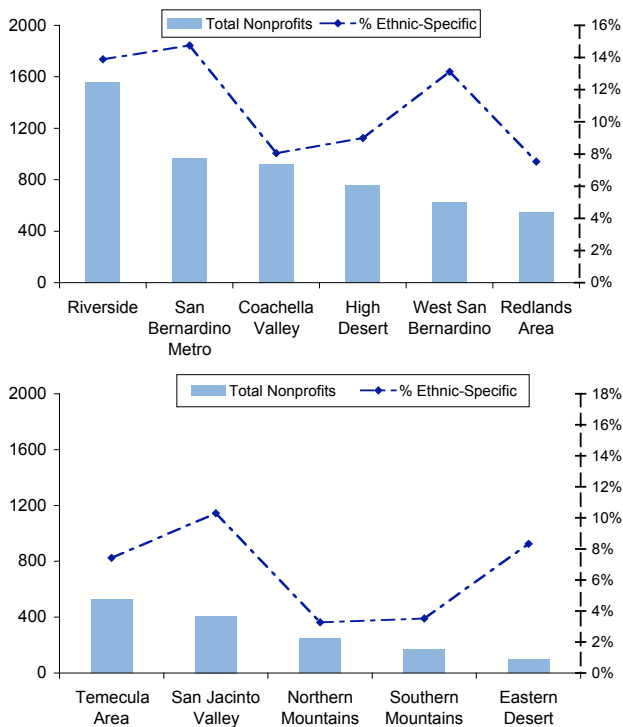
Religious	34%	Homeless	2%
Education	13%	Seniors	1%
Youth	7%	Professional	1%
Health	6%	Environment, Growth	1%
Sports / Recreation	6%	Alumni	1%
Foundations	6%	Poverty	1%
Advocacy	5%	International	<1%
Arts and Music	4%	Business	<1%
Cultural	4%	Veterans	<1%
Safety	3%	Domestic Violence	<1%
Neighborhood	2%	Immigrant Services	<1%
Women	2%	Labor	<1%
Civic	2%	Housing	<1%
Leadership	2%		

*Source: Authors’ analysis of data from nonprofit directories.*



Finally, there are important regional differences in the number of nonprofits and in the proportion of ethnic organizations. As Figure 2 indicates, the Riverside metropolitan area has the largest number of nonprofits in the region (1,562), followed by San Bernardino Metro (970), the Coachella Valley (919) and the High Desert (756). These subregional differences are generally in line with population differences: Urban areas have a high number of nonprofits and sparsely populated areas, such as the Eastern Desert and the mountain areas, have the fewest nonprofits. Similarly, the areas with higher proportions of nonwhites also tend to have higher proportions of nonprofits that serve racial and ethnic populations, with the metropolitan areas of San Bernardino and Riverside ranking high and the mountain areas ranking low.

**Figure 2: Nonprofits by Subregion**



Source: Authors' analysis of data from nonprofit directories.

**Case Studies of Organizations**

So far, we have seen that the number of mainstream nonprofits far outstrips the number of immigrant or ethnic

organizations in the Inland Empire, and that this pattern holds true across most types of civic activities. In addition, the share of ethnic nonprofits is consistently lower than the share of immigrants and nonwhites in the resident population. While these disparities may be meaningful, it is difficult to make claims of civic inequality based on these statistics alone. Not only is it important to examine informal associations that are active in their communities, but it is also important to take into account disparities in organizational resources, visibility in the eyes of government officials, and outreach to newcomer and minority populations. As indicated earlier, this more in-depth information merits a case-study approach in a handful of cities across the region.

Our case studies are built upon extensive interviews with a variety of local stakeholders and community organizations. In eight cities across the region, we used stratified samples to conduct two rounds of interviews. The first round of interviews involved elected officials in the city and school districts, as well as staff in agencies such as parks and recreation. The elected officials were selected at random after an initial stratification based on race/ethnicity, and agency staff was selected based on their relevance to civic participation or social service provision. The second round of interviews involved leaders and staff of mainstream and ethnic community organizations. For each city, we built an organizational database based on information from various nonprofit directories, such as Guidestar and MelissaData. We supplemented this list with names of organizations and informal associations mentioned by our first round of interviewees. We classified organizations by their activity type, ethnic makeup, and number of mentions by government officials. We selected organizations to provide diversity on all these factors, and ended up with 63 completed interviews. The organizations in our case studies can be divided into roughly six categories, as elaborated below:

**1) Civic clubs**

Civic clubs offer networking opportunities and camaraderie for members, as well as opportunities to serve the larger geographic community, which is usually defined in city or regional terms (such as Greater Riverside and High Desert). The services offered by traditional civic clubs such

as Kiwanis, Rotary, Soroptimist, and Lions are similar, ranging from food drives for the needy to educational scholarships for high school students, community fundraising events, and donations to local groups. The organizational structure of these “traditional” civic clubs is also similar. All of those interviewed are part of larger international organizations and derive their bylaws from such federations. They all tend to have a formal leadership structure with specialized executive positions (president, secretary, treasurer), formal nominating procedures, and regular elections.

*Most traditional civic clubs face challenges in expanding and diversifying their memberships, but are doing little to make significant inroads to Latino, African American, and Asian communities.*

Traditional civic clubs are among the most long-standing organizations in our case study communities, with the average year of founding at 1970. They are also the groups with the most predictable resource streams, relying primarily on member dues and regular fundraisers, although the magnitude of their revenues may be lower than large service nonprofits receiving government and private grants. Most of the examined civic clubs have membership numbers ranging from 20 to 80 individuals: they are predominantly white and male, with the exception of groups such as the Soroptimists that are composed entirely of women. Most traditional civic clubs face challenges in expanding and diversifying their memberships, but are doing little to make significant inroads to Latino, African American, and Asian communities. Thus, unlike in other parts of Southern California, ethnic civic clubs, such as Filipino Lions associations, are not present in the Inland Empire (Ramakrishnan and Viramontes 2006). None of the traditional civic clubs describe themselves as politically active. However, all have a significant degree of access to elected officials, whether by attending city council meetings or having elected local officials as members of the group.

## 2) Neighborhood associations

Neighborhood associations can be differentiated between homeowner associations whose members are auto-

matically enrolled by virtue of owning property in a residential community, and neighborhood action groups that can involve homeowners, renters, businesses, and other stakeholders in a neighborhood. The goal of both types of organizations is to provide safe and pleasant living environments for community members. Homeowner associations have considerably more resources because of automatic dues payments, although their resources are concentrated towards providing services to members rather than political advocacy. Still, leaders of homeowner associations are heavily involved in attending local hearings and writing to local officials. By contrast, neighborhood associations tend to rank low in staff and financial resources, but are heavily involved in local politics on matters such as traffic, growth, environmental pollution, and public safety. Ethnic and racial minorities are more involved in areas with high ethnic populations (such as the Casa Blanca and Eastside neighborhoods of the city of Riverside), with concerns about police-community relations playing an important role, in addition to the standard neighborhood concerns elsewhere. By contrast, homeowner associations have found it difficult to diversify their leaderships even in areas with significant proportions of Asian or Latino homeowners.

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## 3) Business groups

Chambers of Commerce (both traditional and ethnic) are prevalent and influential throughout Riverside and San Bernardino counties, as they provide a voice for the businesses in the community. Chambers focus on promoting the businesses they represent, following and advocating for legislation that concerns businesses, and promoting the cit-

ies and communities to potential customers, residents, and future members. In our project, we interviewed Chambers in six different cities, three ethnic Chambers and a building industry association. Many business associations have memberships and activities that encompass several cities, with the Greater Riverside Chamber of Commerce noted as one of the most politically active and influential organizations in the entire region. The ethnic Chambers we interviewed (one Hispanic and two African American) have been in existence for more than 10 years and are visible to local officials. However, when compared to larger, mainstream groups such as the Greater Riverside Chamber of Commerce, Victorville Chamber of Commerce, and the Chino Valley Chamber of Commerce, ethnic chambers are relatively weak with respect to staff resources and political influence as perceived by local government officials.

#### 4) Religious Organizations

As we noted earlier, religious organizations are the most prevalent type of community organization in the Inland Empire. They are also among the largest: For instance, we interviewed three churches with memberships ranging from 2,000 to 6,000 members. We interviewed a total of nine religious organizations, six that were frequently mentioned by local elected officials and three non-Christian groups that received rarer mention. The vast majority of religious organizations we interviewed were congregations, which is in line with the responses given by local elected officials. Participation and service in these groups were geared primarily towards congregants, a finding that was true for both Christian and non-Christian institutions in our sample. However, the group receiving the most mentions across our informant interviews was an organization whose primary focus is incidental to worship and religious education: Catholic Charities of Riverside and San Bernardino Counties. This group provides a variety of services to low-income populations, including food, shelter, professional counseling, and assistance to refugees, migrant workers, and immigrants living in poverty. Among the mainstream organizations in our study, religious organizations were generally the ones most interested and involved in conducting outreach to racial and ethnic minority populations, although establishing services in Spanish and Asian languages were more common among Catholic

churches than in other Christian denominations.

Finally, most of the religious organizations we interviewed (8 of 9) were involved to some degree in politics. This was true, not only for those religious congregations that were mentioned by public officials, but also those from immigrant and minority communities that we interviewed based on our nonprofit database. Involvement in politics typically involved the leadership of the congregation, who remained informed and involved in local decisions. This was especially the case for immigrant religious organizations learning to navigate the process of local permits and nonprofit incorporation. However, these religious congregations also encouraged members to vote in local elections and, in a third of the cases, organized their congregation to take part in petition campaigns, protests, and rallies.

*Among the mainstream organizations in our study, religious organizations were generally the ones most interested and involved in conducting outreach to racial and ethnic minority populations*

#### 5) Arts, cultural, and recreation groups

Next to religious groups, organizations focusing on recreation, arts, and cultural production are the most common type of nonprofit community organization in the Inland Empire. As with most other types of community organizations in the region, they can easily be categorized as mainstream or ethnic in terms of their membership composition. Examples of mainstream organizations include the High Desert Cultural Arts Foundation, the Norco Horseman's Association, the Rialto Boys & Girls Club, the Riverside Community College-Norco Campus (RCC-Norco) Community Advisory Group, and the Rialto Youth Collaborative. Examples of ethnic organizations include the Latino Network, Indian Association of the Inland Empire, the Inland Riverside Chinese School, and Hispanos Unidos.

The organizations in this category vary in the extent to which they are involved in politics. Some groups were created in response to the lack of political responsiveness from local government on issues related to arts and recreation.



For example, the director of the High Desert Cultural Arts Foundation cited the lack of attention given to the arts by local governments as a primary reason for the formation of the group. Likewise, the Norco Horseman's Association was organized to protect a rural way of life for Norco horse owners when it looked like city leaders wanted to suburbanize.

For other organizations, politics is more peripheral to the formation of the organization, with leaders primarily concerned about maintaining the viability of particular languages and cultural traditions, as well as providing other types of services to the larger community. For example, the Inland Riverside Chinese School works with other Chinese American organizations to assist the growing Chinese American community in the Inland Empire. In addition, the Latino Network publicizes cultural events, but it also promotes events to raise awareness in the community of issues affecting Latinos. Still, even for organizations that are not explicitly political in their orientation, leaders in ethnic cultural organizations are eager to educate the larger community about the traditions, interests, and needs of their particular communities. For example, the Inland Empire Indian American Association holds a "Rhythms of the East" concert every October that opens the association to the general community. In addition, the Inland Riverside Chinese School provides scholarships to non-ethnic Chinese students within the Riverside Unified School District in an attempt to broaden their student base and also to provide an opportunity for non-Chinese speakers to understand Chinese language and culture. Finally, the Latino Network is very active in the Riverside community. The organization has between four to five major events a year, most notably their *Celebracion de Mujer in March*, which recognizes women that are not high profile but are prominent in education, politics and other areas.

#### 6) *Advocacy groups and party organizations.*

Advocacy organizations encourage civic participation by politicizing local concerns, raising awareness within communities, and bringing issues directly to the attention of local policymakers. Advocacy in the Inland Empire includes efforts to improve minority and immigrant conditions and civic engagement, environmental protection, police accountability, health and public safety, advocacy on behalf of senior citizens and youth issues, and the prevention of domestic, child, and substance abuse. In all, we interviewed leaders and organizers of twenty-three advocacy organizations. In both our sets of interviews—with government officials and organization leaders—advocacy organizations were seen as highly visible on particular kinds of issues. Members of advocacy organizations regularly attend meetings on local issues and leaders often arrange meetings with officials. For example, our sample included two environmental groups in the Riverside/Norco area. These groups have maintained open dialogue over conservation issues and the preservation of open-space and trails for horse-riding through the relationships they have developed with local officials. It is important to note that while the region has a relatively strong union presence, with the exception of public employees unions, government officials did not cite them as being particularly influential.

We interviewed four African-American advocacy groups. The groups range from informal community-based organizations with local membership to prominent national organizations with nationwide membership and visibility. These groups share similar objectives in that each is concerned about the protection of civil rights irrespective of race. There are, however, noticeable differences in their organizational structures. With respect to membership, the community-based organizations are comprised mostly of African-American professionals and government

*While the region has a relatively strong union presence, with the exception of public employees unions, government officials did not cite them as being particularly influential.*

**continued on page 12**

## Survey of Civic Participation

In June 2007, we conducted a telephone survey of public opinion and participation among adult residents in the counties of Riverside and San Bernardino. Here, we highlight the results of the survey that pertain to community involvement and political participation. More details about the survey and additional findings are available at <http://policymatters.ucr.edu/archives/vol2/>.

Our telephone survey is one of the largest conducted in the past several years in the Inland Empire, with 2,075 responses from adult residents. In order to produce precise estimates for racial and ethnic groups, we over-sampled African American and Asian American residents. The survey was conducted in English, Spanish, Mandarin, Cantonese, Korean, Vietnamese, and Tagalog. The final survey results are weighted responses that are representative of the region in terms of its racial/ethnic mix, age distribution, gender, and educational attainment. The margin of error for the survey is 2% for the general population, 3% for whites, 5% for Hispanics, 7% for African Americans, and 8% for Asian Americans.

It is important to pay attention to disparities in rates of political participation because they indicate that certain groups have more of a say in public policy than others. Before we proceed with an examination of racial gaps in participation *within* the Inland Empire region, it is important first to compare the region to the rest of California. Voting rates in the Inland Empire are lower than in the rest of the state. For instance, the California Secretary of State reports that, in the 2006 election, turnout in Riverside County (52%) and San Bernardino County (48%) were lower than the statewide average of 56 percent.

In addition to voting, there are other types of political activities that have an important bearing on the ability of residents to shape policies that affect them. Signing petitions, attending public meetings, writing to elected officials, and participating in demonstrations and marches—these all play an important role in allowing residents to have a political voice between one Election Day and the next. In our survey, we find that about 30 percent have signed a petition, while 16 percent have attended public forums or government meetings. About one in five has written to elected officials, while 7 percent have participated in demonstra-

tions, rallies, and marches. We do not have comparable data from the rest of the state from the same time period. However, comparisons to statewide data from 2002 suggests that the Inland Empire lags behind these other regions in terms of political activities that go beyond the ballot box (Ramakrishnan and Baldassare 2004).

Just as in the rest of California, there are strong disparities in participation across racial and ethnic groups (Table 2). Whites and African Americans have the highest participation rates for nearly every type of political activity. One notable exception is for involvement in demonstrations and rallies, where Latinos have the highest rates of participation—more than double the rate of any other group. This high level of involvement is most likely due to the groundswell of protests on immigration in 2006 and 2007, indicating that the impact of such marches extends well beyond large cities such as Los Angeles.

**Table A. Political Participation by Race and Ethnicity**

	White	Latino	African American	Asian American
Signed petition	36%	18%	33%	15%
Attended public forum or govt. meeting	18	7	20	11
Written to an elected official	23	12	15	7
Participated in demonstrations, rallies, marches	4	13	5	5

*\* Statewide participation data from PPIC Statewide Surveys in 2002. Data for the 2007 Inland Empire survey may differ due to changes over time and differences in the overall survey questionnaire.*

These racial and ethnic gaps are in some ways related to the nativity of residents. Fewer than one in ten naturalized citizens participate in activities such as signing petitions and attending public forums and government meetings. By contrast, 35% of third-generation immigrants have signed petitions and about one in five have written to elected officials (21%) or attended government meetings (18%). At the

same time, first-generation immigrants are politically active in other ways, with high rates of participation in political rallies and marches (13%).

Political activities are not the only ways in which residents attempt to improve the communities in which they live. Civic participation—whether belonging to community organizations or serving as a volunteer—is also important for providing goods and services to various communities. Civic participation also serves as an important spur to political participation, as those who volunteer become more involved in the political process. It is therefore important to pay attention to disparities in civic participation because they may point to continued disparities in political involvement for the foreseeable future.

Civic participation is open to citizens as well as non-citizens, and so we present most of the data here for all adult residents. In the Inland Empire, about 25% of adult residents are involved in community organizations, and about one in eight have served as officers or volunteers. Looking at differences across racial and ethnic groups, we see that organizational involvement is highest among whites, followed by African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos (Table 3). Similar differences exist when looking at the proportion of respondents who have served as an officer or volunteer in those organizations. Finally, African Americans report the lowest levels of racial homogeneity in their community organizations (26%), and are also most likely to be in organizations that have a majority of female members.

When looking at differences by nativity, we find that membership in community organizations increases with each immigrant generation: from 12 percent of first-generation adults to 20 percent in the second generation and 33 percent for the rest. Similar differences can be found between newer residents and those who have lived in their community for more than 10 years (19% vs. 28%). Finally, in terms of organizational membership, the racial homogeneity of groups decreases significantly from the first generation (63%) to the second generation (36%), while a smaller difference can be noted for newer residents (47%) versus longer-term residents (38% and 41%).

**Table B. Civic Volunteerism among Adults in the Inland Empire**

	White	Latino	African American	Asian American
<i>Involved in Organization</i>	37%	13%	26%	17%
<i>Served as Officer or Volunteer</i>	17	7	17	7
<i>Most organization members are same race as me</i>	42	45	26	43
<i>Most organization members are women</i>	35	37	44	23

So far, we have only presented differences in participation rates without considering other factors, such as education and income, that may also account for racial and ethnic differences in participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, Ramakrishnan and Baldassare 2004). We tested for the relative importance of each factor by running statistical regressions and gauging the extent to which race and ethnicity remain important.

Our analysis reveals that the strongest effects on participation are associated with educational attainment: the odds of attending local meetings is nearly six times greater for those who are college educated than those who do not have a high school diploma. Similarly, large participation gaps associated with education can be found for activities such as writing to officials, belonging to community organizations, and serving in those organizations. Our results also indicate that homeownership plays an important role, even after controlling for education, with about a 40% increase in the odds of participation. After taking homeownership into account, there is no significant difference in the participation of recent movers and long-term residents. Finally, immigrant generation and citizenship status make a difference for most types of civic and political activities, with the exception of attendance at local meetings and writing to elected officials.

**continued from page 9**

employees, whereas the branches of the national organizations are comprised mostly of college students and retirees. These more prominent members often have preexisting social networks that serve to expand the range of interaction and potential cooperation between their groups and other influential ones in the region. Thus, even as the African-American population in cities such as Riverside, declines, community organizations such as The Group in Riverside and the Westside Action Group in Rialto continue to be considered among the most visible advocates in City Hall, especially for low-income populations and neighborhoods.

In addition to civil rights issues, the informal groups advocate on a variety of issues that affect the African-American community, including African-American leadership training, supporting and promoting black-owned businesses, endorsing African-American politicians, and even sponsoring youth athletics. Decision-making processes also vary between these groups. For local branches of the NAACP, decisions on advocacy and outreach are influenced heavily by directives from the national office, while for local organizations such decisions are made after community debates in informal, open-forum settings.

We interviewed four Hispanic/Latino advocacy groups operating primarily in the Riverside area. Their activities include advocacy on behalf of education related issues, including bi-lingual education, neighborhood issues, and voter registration/mobilization and the political empowerment of Hispanics/Latinos. These organizations have deep roots among Riverside's Hispanic/Latino community. One organization has advocated on behalf of the concerns of Casa Blanca residents since 1964. Despite their long-tenure, these organizations, self-admittedly, are not as influential as other organizations are in local politics. The Chair of the longest tenured of these groups noted that, despite their attempts at bringing neighborhood issues to the attention of local government, city officials continue to ignore the concerns of residents.

While disparities in political influence exist between African-American and Hispanic/Latino organizations (as well as within them), our interviews suggest that advocacy groups are generally influential and visible as these organi-

zations when compared to other types of ethnic community organizations. Additionally, the police accountability and public safety organizations included in our study either require the oversight of, or participation by, local officials. The sources of funding advocacy groups rely on also impacts the extent of their political interactions with local governments. The organizations advocating on behalf of senior citizens and youth issues in our study receive public funding through community block development grants (CBDG), which requires oversight of their activities by local government.

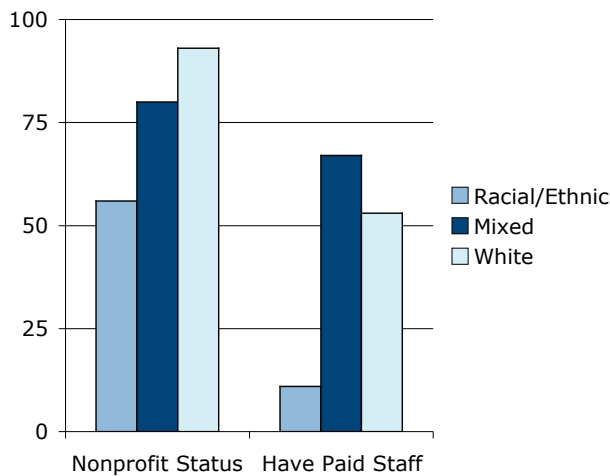
### **Differences in Organizational Capacity and Visibility**

There are several ways to measure differences in the civic capacity of organizations serving predominantly ethnic and racial populations, those serving primarily white residents, and those serving a mix of groups. One measure of civic capacity is whether or not the organization has been formally constituted as a nonprofit organization. Groups with nonprofit status are advantaged relative to those without such status for several reasons: 1) they are more likely to be able to solicit individual donations because such contributions are tax deductible, 2) they are more likely to be able to apply for grants from government and private foundation sources, many of whom require that recipient organizations be nonprofits, and 3) the very process of gaining and maintaining nonprofit status requires formal organizational capacities such as accounting, tax filing, grant writing, and board governance. Our organizational interviews reveal that, among those groups that are "on the radar screens" of public officials, ethnic organizations are much less likely to be incorporated as nonprofits (56%) than those serving mixed populations (80%), and those serving primarily non-Hispanic whites (93%). These differences are also important because they suggest that an exclusive focus on community organizations that are nonprofits would lead to a disproportionate undercount of organizations serving racial and ethnic minorities.

Differences in nonprofit status are also reflected in resource disparities between mainstream and ethnic organizations. Nearly all of the organizations we interviewed lack-

ing nonprofit status also lacked paid staff (either full-time or part-time), while about half of those with nonprofit status had paid staff, with an average of 6 full-time employees per organization. Given the disparities in nonprofit status between ethnic and mainstream organizations (Figure 3), we also find disparities in having paid staff: Organizations serving racial and ethnic populations are much less likely to have paid staff (11%) than those organizations primarily serving non-Hispanic whites (53%).

**Figure 3. Civic Capacity Differences Between Mainstream, Ethnic, and Mixed Organizations**



Source: Authors' analysis of original interview data.

The relationship between lacking paid staff and lacking nonprofit status is often mutually enforcing. This is because organizations often lack a paid staff person with the skills to apply for nonprofit status and file tax forms to maintain such status, and they cannot pay for such a staff member without significant fundraising—which for organizations serving low-income populations often requires applying for grants from government agencies and private foundations.

Ethnic organizations in our fieldwork interviews are also much more recently established, with an average founding year of 1979 versus 1959 for mainstream organizations. This has meant less time to build institutional capacity and to gain visibility among public officials, foundations, and the general public. Finally, ethnic organizations in our field interviews also tended to have less wealthy

memberships, which made them less likely than mainstream organizations to rely on fundraisers and special events to raise revenues. Since our field interviews primarily focused on organizations that appear on the radar screens of public officials, we would expect the resource constraints facing less visible and more informal ethnic organizations to be even greater.

There are, however, some signs that the resource gaps may be starting to diminish, especially with the rise of organizations that serve a variety of racial and ethnic group (what we term “racially mixed” organizations). These organizations, which are difficult to identify based solely on publicly available data on nonprofits, have levels of resources comparable to the mainstream organizations we interviewed, whether it be in terms of having paid staff (two-thirds of the racially mixed organizations we interviewed had paid staff, compared to 53% of organizations serving non-Hispanic whites) or having nonprofit status. In our field interviews, racially mixed organizations were among those most recently established with an average founding date of 1984, compared to 1979 for ethnic organizations and 1959 for mainstream organizations.

Although there may be disadvantages associated with being more recently established (in terms of visibility and name recognition among government officials and residents alike), the more recent vintage of racially mixed organizations with significant resources suggests that disparities vis-à-vis mainstream organizations will diminish over time (although equality may take decades, not years, to establish).

*Ethnic organizations in our fieldwork interviews are also much more recently established... This has meant less time to build institutional capacity and to gain visibility among public officials, foundations, and the general public.*

**Civic Presence and Political Presence**

*Civic presence* (the prominence of organizations in the eyes of residents and private institutions) and *political presence* (prominence in the eyes of public officials) are important aspects of organizational inequality that go beyond resources and capacities (Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad



forthcoming). The concept of political presence is important because it captures the extent to which organizations serving particular groups (such as Latinos, African Americans, new residents, etc.) are part of the decision-making process on local issues, while civic presence is important because it indicates the extent to which such organizations are recognized among the larger society as serving an important role in civic engagement.

While organizational capacity is an important component of civic inequality, it may only be rough indicator of civic presence and political presence. For instance, there may be only one informal Latino advocacy group in a city where Latinos are a third of the resident population, but that organization may hold highly visible rallies that enable it to overcome its resource limitations and draw the attention of public officials. On the other hand, a religious organization with considerable resources may choose to direct most of those resources towards its congregants, and thereby not gain much in the way of civic and political presence. Far more likely, however, is the circumstance where limited resources constrain the ability of an organization to gain visibility among public officials and residents alike, and this limited visibility further limits the ability of the organization to bolster its organizational capacity.

We measure political presence in the following manner: In our first round of interviews, we met with local officials who are best positioned to assess the visibility and influence of civic organizations in local affairs, namely local elected officials and the staff of various city and county bureaucracies that interact with community organizations on a regular basis. We asked who they consider to be the more prominent groups on a range of activities and issues (including arts/music/culture, education, the environment, health, poverty, labor, and advocacy).

The particular organizations mentioned by public officials varied considerably across the Inland Empire, perhaps not surprising given the various types of local organizations in each city. However, a few clear patterns emerged in our interviews with public officials: For most types of activities, mainstream organizations received far greater mention than racial and ethnic organizations. This was true even in the case of arts and cultural organizations: Although a disproportionate share of ethnic nonprofits focus on issues of

arts, music, and culture, public officials tended to mention mainstream organizations as being the most prominent,

### **Political Presence Among Mainstream Organizations: Two Illustrations**

*The Victorville Chamber has been in existence longer than the city of Victorville itself. The Chamber's activities have changed over time. In the early years, the organization was focused on helping the small number of businesses in the area. However, with tremendous population and business growth in the past five years, the organization has played a much bigger role in local politics. The Chamber is very active politically; a board member attends City Council meetings, board of supervisors meetings, and most city planning and city issue meetings. They have a lobbyist and a dedicated staff person that writes and keeps in touch with elected officials. The Chamber takes stances on issues that concern their business members, and hosts debates for local elections such as for the county board of supervisors. By their own estimation, as well as those of local government officials the organization is one of the most prominent and politically influential groups in the Victorville area.*

*The mission of the Norco Horsemen's Association is to monitor Norco to make sure that the city preserve its "animal keeping lifestyle" by requiring large home lots for large animal housing and the upkeep of the trails throughout the city and the surrounding area. The Horsemen are politically influential in local politics: several councilmembers belong to the Association, and the group is heavily involved in issues related to land use. According to the Horsemen leadership, "Many issues in Norco do arise concerning horses and the like, therefore the Association deals with elected officials, reporters and takes stances on animal related issues".*

including well-established groups such as the Chino Community Theater, the Redlands Cultural Arts Commission, and the Riverside Symphony. Infrequent mentions of ethnic organizations were less of an issue in cities with large racial and ethnic populations, such as Riverside and Rialto. However, mentions of organizations serving racial and ethnic communities were rare in smaller cities with significant nonwhite populations, such as Chino and Chino Hills in

the western parts of the Inland Empire, and Apple Valley and Victorville in the High Desert. The only exception was for the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in each area, which received frequent mentions.

In terms of differences in political presence across various racial and ethnic groups, organizations serving Asian Americans were off the radar screens of most public officials. This was true even in Chino Hills, where Asian Americans account for 26 percent of the resident population. Even though our nonprofit database indicated 11 Asian immigrant organizations in the city, including 9 religious institutions, officials in the city were only able to mention one organization, a Hindu group that was known primarily for its contentious and controversial bid to build a large temple in the city (Harvard Pluralism Project 2005). The low political presence of Asian organizations was also apparent in large cities such as Riverside: even though we found over 30 Asian American community organizations in our nonprofit database, our interviews with six public officials yielded only one mention. Hispanic and Latino organizations fared better in the large cities, with multiple mentions of groups such as the Casa Blanca Community Action Group, the Latino Network, and the Greater Democratic Club of Rialto. In smaller cities, however, Latino organizations were largely invisible to public officials, with the notable exception of the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. In one small city, for instance, Basque and Portuguese organizations—reminders of the area's agricultural past—got more mentions than organizations serving Latinos.

**Organizations serving Asian Americans were off the radar screens of most public officials. This was true even in Chino Hills, where Asian Americans account for 26 percent of the resident population.**

Finally, public officials in our interviews mentioned African American organizations about as frequently as Latino organizations, despite the fact that our analysis of nonprofits indicates higher numbers of Latino-serving nonprofits in the region. Among those African American

### **Political Presence and Influence Among Ethnic Organizations**

*A good illustration of a politically prominent ethnic organization is The Group, a grass-roots organization that addresses issues primarily involving the African American community in the city of Riverside. These issues include the hiring and promotion of people of color by the city, the implementation of a city code of ethics, continuing racial problems within the Riverside Unified School District, maintaining an effective police review commission, and the advocacy of diverse leadership for the city. The Group is designed "to be a forum for people to get their issues identified articulated to the right power communities." Today, African Americans make up only about 7% of the city's population, whereas in previous decades the percentage was much higher. According to most of city officials we interviewed, The Group has a major presence in Riverside. Its ability to raise awareness on local issues has led them to be sought out by other organizations such as the Latino Network to form alliances on issues pertaining to people of color. In addition, some residents in nearby cities seek out The Group as there may not be any suitable organization that can address their issues in their hometown. The geographic reach of The Group has also been helped by foundation grants to provide leadership training to residents from various parts of the region.*

*By contrast, organizations that do not have personal connections to elected officials, or any consistent political mobilization, rank low in both political presence and influence. Even though Hispanos Unidos has had some successes in the past—for example forcing the District to provide healthcare to bilingual aides—high leadership turnover has hampered the development of enduring personal connections to local government officials. Consistent mobilization has also been a problem, as leaders in the group bemoan the lack of "a unity of effort." As one leader noted, a major problem for Latino organizations is "that they start with one goal and they wind up shooting in every direction because there are so many issues and so many problems and not that many organizations available to deal with them." Thus, the organization has found it difficult to keep working-class Latinos involved in community action. Without consistent participation by its members and fluctuation in the leadership, the organization has failed to gain the kind of traction that other ethnic advocacy organizations have enjoyed.*

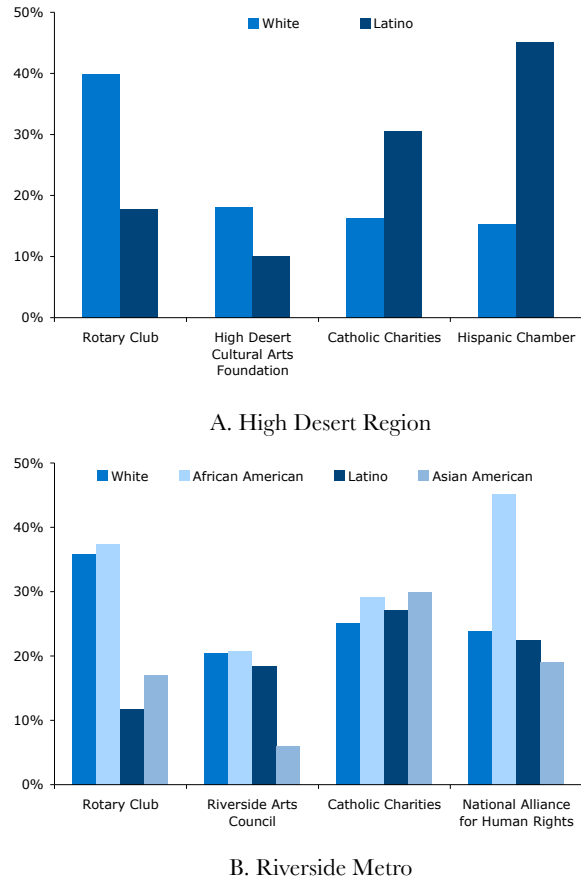
and Latino organizations that did get mentioned, ethnic chambers of commerce were most frequently cited, followed by advocacy groups that have mobilized on behalf of low-income residents and on issues such as police brutality (such as The Group, Cops and Clergy, and Casa Blanca Community Action Group in Riverside, and the Westside Action Group and the Mexican American Political Association in Rialto).

In our subsequent interviews with these organizations, we discovered that many lacked nonprofit status and resources such as paid staff positions. What they had in common, however, was some kind of personal connection to a member of the city council, who often served as an ally on issues pertaining to the group’s membership or other relevant community. Furthermore, organizations advocating in low-income neighborhoods have maintained their political presence by consistently pushing for member interests at city council meetings, public hearings, and rallies. So, even though ethnic organizations in the Inland Empire generally have lower levels of political presence than mainstream groups, personal connections and consistent political mobilization have enabled a few Latino and African American organizations to emerge as spokespersons for their respective communities.

In addition to political presence, it is also important to pay attention to the prominence of community organizations among residents and private institutions. Civic presence is important to understanding organizational inequalities because it affects the ability of organizations to grow their memberships, attract skilled volunteers, and solicit private donations and grants. Our measure of civic presence is based on our survey of residents, in which we asked respondents in Riverside/San Bernardino, the High Desert, and the Low Desert if they had heard of a particular organization in their area, and how well they knew the organization’s activities. To provide some standardization across regions, we chose the Rotary Club, Catholic Charities, an ethnic organization and an arts organization with high political presence. Based on our fieldwork and past studies of civic engagement, we would expect Rotary Clubs to have the highest levels of civic presence and ethnic organizations to have the lowest. At the same time, we would expect the prominence of mainstream organizations to be high among non-Hispanic whites and low among nonwhite

residents, and the reverse to be true for ethnic organizations.

**Figure 4. Knowledge about Community Organizations**



Source: Authors’ analysis of telephone survey data.

The results from our survey indicate that the civic presence of mainstream organizations is only slightly higher than the civic presence of ethnic organizations. Indeed, Catholic Charities, a racially and ethnically mixed organization, generally had the highest level of civic presence. However, the similarity in civic presence between mainstream and ethnic organizations belies differences across racial and ethnic groups. In Figure 4, we present the levels of civic presence for various organizations in the Riverside/San Bernardino area and in the High Desert.

We present the results for only whites and Latinos in the High Desert because of small sample sizes of Asian Americans and African Americans in the region. As the results indicate, the Rotary Club has a much higher level of visibility among white residents than among Latino residents, while the opposite is true for Latino organizations. This is especially true in the High Desert, where whites and Latinos seem to inhabit sharply distinct civic spheres. Not only are white residents largely unaware of the Hispanic organization with the highest level of political presence in the region, they are also largely unaware of Catholic Charities, a racially mixed organization that has operated for nearly two decades in the region. At the same time, Latinos are significantly less likely than white residents to be aware of mainstream civic organizations such as the Rotary Club and the High Desert Cultural Arts Foundation. A similar pattern holds true among Low Desert respondents in our survey, with white respondents much more likely to be aware of groups like the Rotary Club, and Latinos more aware of organizations such as Raices, a Latino cultural organization that caters primarily to youth.

In the Riverside/San Bernardino area, differences in the civic presence of community organizations are far less pronounced across racial and ethnic groups, with a few notable exceptions: Latinos and Asian Americans are considerably less aware of mainstream organizations such as the Rotary Club and, surprisingly, African Americans were the ones most aware of the National Alliance for Human Rights, a group that primarily advocates on behalf of Latino residents in the region. Finally, Catholic Charities is the organization with the highest degree of visibility among Asian American and Latino residents in the area, and also ranks fairly high in civic presence among whites and African Americans.

*Even though ethnic organizations in the Inland Empire generally have lower levels of political presence than mainstream groups, personal connections and consistent political mobilization have enabled a few Latino and African American organizations to emerge as spokespersons for their respective communities.*

So, to summarize, we find two types of patterns regarding civic presence: In high population density areas such as Riverside metro and San Bernardino metro, whites and nonwhites show about equal levels of awareness of ethnic organizations and racially mixed organizations that we have shown elsewhere to have high levels of political presence among local government officials. However, in areas of lower population density such as the High Desert and the Low Desert, whites and nonwhites are largely unaware of organizations that serve the other group's population. In the latter circumstance, it is tempting to say that there is a balancing effect in terms of the political consequences of these patterns in civic presence. However, given the higher rates of political participation among whites than Latinos, it is likely that the lack of mutual civic awareness between whites and Latinos leads to greater political disadvantages for Latino residents than for whites.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

While civic life in the Inland Empire is vibrant and diverse in many ways, there are also considerable civic inequalities, both at the individual and organizational levels. While public officials pay attention to a handful of Latino and African American Chambers of Commerce and advocates for the poor in high-density neighborhoods, they are largely unaware of other community organizations serving nonwhite residents. Furthermore, we found significant resource disparities between mainstream organizations and ethnic organizations in terms of having nonprofit status and paid staff. The relationship between nonprofit status and organization resources is also mutually enforcing, as informal organizations are unable to receive grants from government agencies and private foundations. Finally, we found an increase in the last 20 years of "mixed" organizations serving members of more than one racial and ethnic group. These organizations seem to have more resources than others exclusively serving Latino, African American, or Asian American residents.

There are several potential solutions to address civic inequalities at the organizational level. For instance, public officials can make it a priority to know their communities beyond the handful of organization leaders with whom

they currently interact. Expanding the circle of who they know certainly entails costs for public officials, but it is also likely to benefit them by growing their name recognition and bases of support within different racial and ethnic communities. Having more blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans in elected and appointed positions can also make a difference. In our interviews, we found such officials to be much better informed about organizations serving racial, ethnic, and immigrant populations. While increasing the proportion of nonwhite elected officials may be a challenging task in cities with at-large elections, increased diversity on boards and commissions can help to build future generations of local leaders. Diversifying government boards and commissions can also help to open channels of communication between local governments and various racial and ethnic communities.

*Expanding the circle of who they know certainly entails costs for public officials, but it is also likely to benefit them by growing their name recognition and bases of support within different racial and ethnic communities.*

Foundations and government agencies can also play a greater role in rewarding organizations serving multiple groups more than those serving only one group. Thus, funders can expedite the extent to which mainstream organizations begin diversifying their membership. Finally, foundations and well-funded organizations can also help ethnic organizations overcome their resource disadvantages by helping informal associations achieve nonprofit status. This strategy is something that organizations such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund are already trying with informal Latino associations in Los Angeles. Thus, mentoring on organizational development can occur, not only by organizations in the Inland Empire, but also by large advocacy groups in Los Angeles and Orange County. Any of these strategies has the potential to significantly reduce civic inequalities. What is clear from our study is that doing nothing will leave residents and community organizations with significant inequalities in civic re-

sources and political visibility, and this does not bode well for a region that continues to rapidly diversify by race and ethnicity.

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#### *Volume 2, Issue 1*

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#### **Inland Gaps: Civic Inequalities in a High Growth Region**

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