THE IMPACT OF THE 287(G) PROGRAM ON PROCESSES OF HISPANIC
INTEGRATION AND ENGAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF CHARLOTTE-
MECKLENBURG, NORTH CAROLINA

by

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Public Policy

Charlotte

2012

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ABSTRACT

SILVA MATHEMA: The impact of the 287(g) program on processes of Hispanic integration and engagement: A case study of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina (Under the direction of DR. HEATHER A. SMITH)

This research explores the impacts of a federal-local partnership called the 287(g) program on the processes of integration of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina. Federal 287(g) allows Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to partner with state and local authorities to enact several immigration enforcement functions. In 2006, Mecklenburg County signed the 287(g) agreement to authorize a number of local sheriff deputies to determine the legal status of individuals arrested for a crime. As a new immigrant gateway, Charlotte-Mecklenburg has received a large number of immigrants in a few decades that are largely Hispanic. Previous research suggests that like any other government program, 287(g) has several intended and unintended consequences on the community. The impacts of this program are thought to be most acutely felt by the Hispanic community.

Using a mixed method analysis, this research explores whether 287(g) impacts processes of Hispanic integration in terms of three main axes: social trust, social interaction, and spatial mobility. First, using secondary data, this study quantitatively investigates changes in trust, interaction, and mobility of Hispanics after 287(g) was implemented in Mecklenburg County. Second, this study qualitatively examines the program's impact on processes of integration using 46 in-depth interviews with a variety of service providers. The qualitative method portion focuses on the service providers because they are at the frontlines of delivering basic services to the newcomers in a new

immigrant gateway, and as such, provide the infrastructure of integration processes. Respondents come from a range of backgrounds: local law enforcement, community organizations, advocacy organizations, churches, health care providers, school systems, courts, media, and members of the Hispanic student community. Triangulating these two methods and bringing together various pieces of information, this research builds a deeper understanding of the impacts of 287(g) in a new immigrant gateway.

There are many personal and institutional reasons that may hinder the processes of integration of Hispanics. Furthermore, economic events such as the recent downturn can also impact the daily lives of Hispanics and their integration pathways. However, the findings of this research suggest that 287(g) plays a major role in impacting trust, interaction and mobility of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The findings imply that the impacts of 287(g) cannot be clearly divided into intended and unintended consequences as previous research suggests. There are intended impacts of 287(g) that are in line with the official objective. For example, the 287(g) program has several intended consequences, such as identification and removal of undocumented criminals. However, the qualitative interviews suggest that there are underlying intentions of 287(g) that seek to target undocumented individuals regardless of the nature and severity of their crime. Similarly, the unintended consequences of the program also range from major impacts to more minor ones. Both quantitative and qualitative methods indicate that in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Hispanics' trust in police have eroded after the implementation of the 287(g) program. The investigations on trust and interaction suggest that perception of the impact of 287(g) depends on whether the service provider is from a governmental or non-governmental organization. This is an important finding since in a new immigrant

gateway such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg, as non-governmental organizations have been shown to play a pivotal role in providing an integration infrastructure to Hispanics (and other immigrants) rather than governmental organizations. Furthermore, this research indicates that the daily mobility of Hispanics, specifically driving an automobile, has been impacted by a combination of 287(g) and a change in driver's licenses laws in North Carolina which points to the compounding role 287(g) plays in conjunction with other policies. Finally when asked directly about 287(g)'s impact on Hispanic mobility, respondents indicated that an adverse economic climate has a greater impact on the movement of Hispanics away from Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Hispanics may have migrated out in search of better opportunities elsewhere. Collectively, these findings not only point to the expected existence of intended and unintended consequences, but to an unexpected and more complex impact playing out in terms of Hispanics' trust, interaction, and mobility as viewed through the service provider's lens.

The findings indicate that the unintended consequences of 287(g) stem from three main reasons: (1) Many individuals who are convicted of minor offenses, like traffic infractions are processed by 287(g); (2) Misinformation among both the Hispanic community and local law enforcement, and (3) 287(g) may have compounded the mistrust, unwillingness to interact, and mobility issues that may have previously existed.

These findings indicate that Charlotte-Mecklenburg should explore other options to address the problem of identification. Resolving this issue may assist in the implementation of 287(g) according to its intended goal: to focus on major criminals. Additionally, this research indicates that consistent education of Hispanics about 287(g) is crucial to addressing the problem of misinformation about 287(g). Along with

educating Charlotte-Mecklenburg's Hispanics, local law enforcement authorities who are not trained by ICE on 287(g) should also be educated about the program, as they are usually the ones who make the initial arrest. The findings suggest that dealing with the issue of identification and misinformation simultaneously may begin to decrease the negative impacts of the program and increase its effectiveness in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

This research uses disparate pieces of evidence to advance the discussions about the impact of local involvement in immigration enforcement policies in a new gateway city. The findings point to a need for better empirical data related to immigration enforcement policies and integration processes to be able to accurately gauge its impact on a local context. Future research can also investigate how these types of local immigration enforcement policies can potentially have a broader impact on children and immigrant families.

DEDICATION

In loving memory of my father, Vijaya,
for teaching me to persevere and stay positive

To my mother, Padma,
for inspiring me

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Leslie Jenkins for patiently working with me to obtain the quantitative data. I would also like to thank the UNC-Urban Institute, Crossroads Charlotte, and the Roper Center for providing the quantitative data. I have to thank my interviewees in Charlotte-Mecklenburg for opening their hearts to me.

I want to acknowledge all my friends in the program who have been a part of this journey with me. I want to thank my friend and colleague Martha Bottia, who has provided constructive criticism and support throughout this process. I am also indebted to my friend Mamata Thapa who patiently listened to everything I had to say.

I will be forever grateful to my family in Kathmandu, Nepal. My graduate career would not have been possible without their sacrifices. I would like to express my gratitude to my two lovely sisters, Juna and Paavan, and brother in-law Binaya. I could not have done this without their love, support, and occasional distractions. I am also grateful to my in-laws Rajani and Mohan, and my brother-in-law Mohit for their unwavering support and encouragement.

There are not enough words to express my gratitude towards my husband of three years and partner for life, Nutan, who has gone through every twist and turn with me during this journey. This is his achievement as much as it is mine.

Lastly, I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, Padma, who dreamt about this achievement before I did. I dedicate this to my father, Vijaya, whose support and encouragement have been and will continue to be a guiding light.

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ACCESS   Agreements of Cooperation in Communities to Enhance Safety and Security

ACS   American Community Survey

AEDPA   Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act

CAP   Criminal Alien Program

CMPD   Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department

DHS   Department of Homeland Security

DID   Difference in Differences

DMV   Department of Motor Vehicles

DOJ   Department of Justice

EMTALA   Emergency Medical Treatment and Active Labor Act

ERO   Enforcement and Removal Operations

ESL   English as a Second Language

FBI   Federal Bureau of Investigations

GAO   Government Accountability Office

IACP   International Association of Chiefs of Police

IADP   Immigration Authority Delegation Program

ICE   Immigration and Control Enforcement

IIRA   Illegal Immigration Relief Act

IIRIRA   Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration and Responsibility Act

INA   Immigration and Nationality Act

INS   Immigration and Naturalization Service

IRCA	Immigration and Reform and Control Act
IRU	International Relations Unit
ITIN	Individual Taxpayer Identification Number
JEM	Jail Enforcement Model
LEA	Local Enforcement Authority
LEC	Law Enforcement Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department
LEP	Limited English Proficiency
LES	Law Enforcement Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office
MCSO	Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office
MOA	Memorandum Of Agreement
MOU	Memorandum Of Understanding
NCSL	National Conference of State Legislatures
OIG	Office of Inspector General
PSM	Propensity Score Matching
SCBCS	2008 Social Capital Benchmark Community Survey
SCCBS	2000 Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey
USCIS	US Citizenship and Immigration Services

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The United States of America has a long history of attracting large numbers of foreign immigrants from developed as well as underdeveloped countries. Over time, these immigrants become an integral element of the American society, seamlessly adapting to its economy, culture, and values. Several factors influence the process and the extent to which immigrants integrate in a new community and how the host society adjusts to new arrivals. Basic language proficiency and financial capital that immigrants bring with them assist their incorporation to new societal contexts (Nee & Sanders, 2001). Their adaptation may also depend on a combination of existing social networks and networks they develop in a receiving society (Hagan, 1998). Independent of the factors within immigrants' control, their experience is mediated by the context of receptivity in the communities where they settle (Jiménez, 2011). The rules, regulations, as well as the social, and political environment of a receiving society, shape and guide the processes of integration of every immigrant. As Berry (2003) argues, policies as well as daily interactions with the members of the dominant society will influence how immigrants choose and are able to live in their new societies. As this research seeks to demonstrate, immigrant related policies have the ability to influence the everyday lives of immigrants in intended as well as unintended ways.

The focus of this research is on a federal immigration enforcement policy adopted

by local jurisdictions in the U. S. called the 287(g) program. Section 287(g), a provision

of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), was introduced in 1996. This program

operating under the Agreements of Cooperation in Communities to Enhance Safety and

Security (ICE ACCESS) allows Immigration Control and Enforcement (ICE)[1] to partner

with local governments to enact several functions of federal immigration laws (ICE,

2011a). By signing the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with the federal government,

the local jurisdictions are given authority to identify and detain undocumented

immigrants who are suspected or charged of criminal activity, and can then be processed

by ICE for deportation. The program gained momentum four years after its inception, and

by September 2011, there were 68 active 287(g) agreements across 24 states. Between

January 2006 and September 2011, the program has identified more than 279,311

removable individuals from the local jails in the U.S., and trained around 1,500 state and

local officers. The program has been implemented by localities that want to "do

something" to solve their immigration "problem," and its implementation is said to have

led to myriad of intended and unintended consequences on the immigrant communities

(Varsyani, 2010b; Willson, Singer, & Derenzis, 2010).

Several scholars have documented how current immigration enforcement in the

U.S has "devolved" from federal government to non-federal local entities (Coleman,

2012; Provine & Varsanyi, 2012). The 287(g) program is one of the major examples of

the devolution of the power of immigration enforcement. Other scholars have specifically

focused on the "enforcers," or the local officers, who are responsible for implementing

[1] ICE is a component of Department of Homeland Security (DHS).

the immigration enforcement policies (Decker, Lewis, Provine, & Varsanyi, 2009; Armenta, 2012). Studying the 287(g) program in Davidson County, TN, Armenta (2012) finds that the ICE deputized officers "have developed overlapping and contradictory ideas about their jobs" (p.207). According to her analysis, the officers take three major types of roles. For many officers, screening individuals for immigration status is a job that they have to do, as they do not have any discretion to decide on deportations. The decision whether or not to deport lies squarely on ICE. Other officers are concerned that they are processing some individuals for minor crimes. These officers believe that deportation is a harsh punishment for a minor crime. Still there are other officers who feel that they are identifying and removing dangerous criminals or potential criminals and increasing the public safety for the larger community.

Other researchers argue that involvment of local law enforcement in immigration enforcement deteriorates the police-community relationship (Khashu, 2009). For instance, Varsanyi, Lewis, Provine, and Decker (2012) state that:

> Immigration enforcement devolved to the local level through cooperative agreements with federal authorities threatens to disrupt fragile trust, carefully nurtured over the years, between local law enforcement and immigrant communities (p. 140).

These concerns are consistent with the arguments of several other researchers who have focused their study on the impact of 287(g) on the relationship between local law enforcement and the community. Nguyen and Gill (2010) study the jurisdictions in North Carolina that have the 287(g) program and the program's connection with deterring crime. Their research finds little evidence that 287(g) is decreasing crime in the communities. In their report, they document that in North Carolina, 287(g) has processed

more individuals for misdeamenors than for serious crimes. They argue that the unintended consequences of the program, such as underreporting of crime, mistrust of Hispanics in law enforcement, and victimization of Hispanics, may have the effect of increasing crime. However, Vaughan and Edwards (2009) report that 287(g) has been successful in identifying many major criminals, as well as low level criminals who have a high potential of committing graver crimes.

Coleman (2012) studies the local implementation of 287(g) and Secure Communities and argues that the federal programs take on a "site-specific" form. Although 287(g) and Secure Communities are both federal immigration enforcement programs, the uneven application of the program in different communities produces disparate outcomes. For example, Coleman (2012) argues that Raleigh-Durham's 287(g) has been shaped mostly by its focus on community policing driving the arrests away from non-criminal violations. However, in neighbouring Wake County's version of 287(g) and Secure Communities, a focus on "illegal aliens" has led to thousands of deportations. Furthermore, Coleman (2012) contends that intersections of routine policing and local scale immigration enforcement polices in the spaces of social reproduction of undocumented immigrants may have grave consequences. Although Coleman (2012) hints at these unintended consequences, his study concentrates on the "politics, policy, and practice of immigration enforcement" in the two adjacent North Carolina counties (p. 161).

The possibility of the erosion of trust between an immigrant community and local law enforcement due to its involvment in immigration enforcement has been a matter of contention among various researhcers and practitioners. For example, an International

Association of Chiefs of Police[2] spokesperson went before the congress in 2005 and
expressed that this partnership with the local law enforcement has a potential to have a
"chilling effect in immigrant communities and could limit cooperation with police by
members of those communities" (*Testimony of IACP*, 2005, p. 13). There is heightened
concern that the deterioration of trust by Hispanics due to policies such as 287(g) may not
be just limited to the local law enforcement authorities. The fear of authorities may
translate to fear of accessing other governmental services providers such as schools,
hospitals, and other social service agencies (Guterbock et al., 2009; Khashu, 2009) and
by extension to other service providers. Furthermore, Schneider and Ingram (1993) state
that when government sends negative messages in the form of policies to a particular
group of its population, that population may avoid contact with the governmental
institutions in general. Using Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina as a case study, this
research explores the intended and unintended impacts of the 287(g) program on the
processes of integration of Hispanics. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina is one of
the *pre-emerging immigrant gateways* which have received a large number of immigrants
in a short number of decades (Singer, 2004). As with other pre-emerging gateways, the
immigrant population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg is largely Hispanic. Indeed, the
Charlotte metropolitan area has been recognized as one of the top five *Hispanic
hypergrowth* areas due to the volume and rapidity of increase in its Hispanic population
(Suro & Singer, 2002). Singer (2004) argues that the immigrants in these fast growing
gateways have lower levels of English proficiency and higher poverty rates. She contends
that government and non-governmental organizations in these rapidly growing gateways

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[2] International Association of Chiefs of Police is an international organization of police executives and has
around 20,000 members in over 100 countries (IACP, 2012).

can play an important role in providing an infrastructure for immigrant integration.

Service providers in new immigrant gateways such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg, which has

limited established minority community support structures, receive the onus of delivering

basic services to new groups (Brenner, 2009). Brenner (2009) agrees that, along with

governmental organizations, the non-governmental organizations that cater to that

minority group are also uniquely positioned to deliver services to the new community.

She contends that service providers are on the "frontlines" of dealing with the needs of

the new community. Treating service providers as an infrastructure for integration,

Brenner (2009) finds that the new gateways have various strategic measures to integrate

the new communities ranging from assistance in economic development, public safety,

and partnerships with non-governmental organizations. Realizing the significance of the

role of service providers in new immigrant gateways, this research explores the often

overlooked view of the service providers in order to examine the impact of the

immigration enforcement policy on a fairly new community.

Another characteristic of a pre-emerging gateway is that the swift transformation

of the demographic composition has the potential of creating social conflict along ethnic

and social lines (Singer, 2004). The personal constraints of immigrants in terms of lower

levels of English and lower socioeconomic status will present challenges in the

integration process. Furthermore, there are many other institutional factors that may

impact the processes of integration. Growing negative immigration rhetoric at the

national level and changes in policies at the state level may have had an impact on the

trust, interaction, and mobility of Hispanics. In such an environment, an introduction of a

local immigration enforcement policy such as 287(g) has the potential of exacerbating the negative environment for the Hispanic community.

The 287(g) program also has the potential to meet its objectives. For example, it may help the local law enforcement to identify and remove undocumented criminals from their communities. The 287(g) program may also increase public safety by assisting local law enforcement authorities in fighting crimes such as drug trafficking, smuggling, and human trafficking. However, when local police and sheriffs act as immigration authorities, there is a possibility that it will erode the level of trust immigrants place on them (Weissman, Headen, & Parker, 2009; Nguyen & Gill, 2010) and by extension on other service providers. Furthermore, this policy may impact the interactions of Hispanics and influence their mobility patterns in, around, and out of the counties that are actively implementing 287(g) (Parrado, 2012).

To explore the multilayered and nuanced relationships between the 287(g) program and the three processes of integration, this research triangulates between the quantitative and qualitative techniques. The quantitative method uses individual level, secondary survey data furnished by the Roper Center, consisting of questions on trust and interaction in Mecklenburg County. This secondary survey data consists of 184 individuals, with 60% of the individuals identifying themselves as Hispanics. Along with the survey data, a combination of census and other publicly available data is used to provide information on demography and settlement patterns of Hispanics in Mecklenburg County. The results from the quantitative analysis are used as a springboard to further analyze the research questions using qualitative methods. Using in-depth interviews, the issues are studied qualitatively through the lenses of various service providers: law

enforcement; immigration lawyers; health care providers; educators; community representatives; private sector representatives; advocates; and members of the Hispanic student community. As the governmental and non-governmental service providers deal with Hispanic clients on a day to day basis, their experiences with the Hispanic clients will help create a comprehensive illustration of the impacts of 287(g) on Hispanics. Complementing the responses from the service providers, a small number of Hispanic immigrants are also interviewed to capture a complete picture of the policy's impacts on the Hispanic community. Furthermore, 63% of the service providers in the sample self-identify as Hispanics, and could clearly speak about the issues concerning the Hispanic community in the wake of the 287(g) program in both professional and personal terms. The "site-specific" nature of the 287(g) program begs an investigation of, both how the program is operated in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, and how the program impacts the social spaces of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Thus, using findings from the quantitative and qualitative methods augmented by contextual data, this research seeks to advance the understanding of the impacts of 287(g) as it relates to integration processes.

This research makes four important contributions to theory and practice of the relationship between integration and local immigration enforcement policy. First, it builds on previous research, which states that the policies of the receiving society may constrain the processes in which newcomers integrate into a community (Berry, 2003). By deconstructing the processes of integration in terms of trust, interaction, and mobility, this research provides a simple framework to understand the local impacts of an immigration enforcement policy on a particular population. Researchers identify trust as one of the essential elements that helps in the integration processes of newcomers in the

receiving communities (Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010; García-Ramírez, de la Mata, Paloma, & Hernández-Plaza, 2011). Interaction is another basic and important factor in the forming of the relationships among different groups (Gordon, 1964). Furthermore, newcomers might move out of the areas in reactions to the oppressive policies of the host society (Lee, 1966). This research develops the interconnections between the local immigration enforcement policy, the 287(g) program, and these three processes of integration.

Second, this research builds on and adds to the growing and rich literature on local immigration enforcement policies in the new south (Furuseth & Smith, 2010; Waslin, 2010; Winders, 2011; Armenta, 2012; Coleman, 2012). Studying the local implementation of the 287(g) program, it explores the impact of the program beyond public safety. As this research suggests, the focus on public safety, although important, is not the only area where the program impacts Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The impact of the program spreads out into other aspects of Hispanics' daily lives.

The third contribution of this research is its primary focus on the service providers. Charlotte-Mecklenburg's emergence as a pre-emerging gateway and a Latino hypergrowth metro creates a unique and important role for the governmental and non-governmental service providers in integrating Hispanics (Singer, 2004; Brenner, 2009). This research makes a case that their interaction, and the level of trust that Hispanics place on these service providers, is reflective of how Hispanics are integrating into the larger community. Among the variety of service providers interviewed, more than half of the service providers in the qualitative sample are Hispanics. The research benefits from the dual identities of some of the service providers, as they can relate their experiences as

a service provider augmented by their own experiences as a Hispanic in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

The final and related contribution of this research is the case study area of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Mecklenburg county is not only the first in North Carolina to implement 287(g), but the language that the Mecklenburg County's MOA uses has served as a template for 54 other jurisdictions across the U.S. (Capps, Rosenblum, Rodriguez, & Chishti, 2011). Therefore, the study of the impacts of 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg is significant, as it should reflect the potential impacts of 287(g) in other jurisdictions. Although, the impact of 287(g) is site-specific in nature and will depend upon various contextual factors in a particular jurisdiction, a structured knowledge of the impacts on the Hispanic community may serve as a guideline. Charlotte has often been called a "vanguard city" in the globalizing south for leading the way in transforming its economic importance and in terms of immigrant growth (Graves & Smith, 2012, p. 2). Similarly, Charlotte-Mecklenburg seems to be a vanguard city in initiating the involvement of local governments in federal immigration enforcement policy in the form of 287(g).

In a time when immigration policies, restrictive or otherwise, are gaining traction in the U.S., an exploration of 287(g) adds to the ongoing debate about how local involvement in immigration enforcement policies plays out in the communities. The awareness of the local impacts of 287(g) reveals the methods that are working, as well as the ones that are not working, to achieve the intended goals of the program. Rather than falling into the trap of political rhetoric for and against the 287(g) program, the result of

this research urges policymakers to have a balanced perspective in order to develop and implement workable immigration enforcement policies.

Before beginning to delve deeper into research, there are a several issues that need clarification up front. Unless otherwise specified, "Hispanics," "the Hispanic community," or "the Hispanic population" denotes all Hispanics; immigrant Hispanics as well as non-immigrant Hispanics in the U.S. It is important to note that the majority of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg are first generation immigrants, as Charlotte-Mecklenburg is a new immigrant destination. Similarly, "Hispanic immigrants" or "foreign-born Hispanics" are Hispanics who are not born in the U.S. Additionally, "Hispanics" and "Latinos" or "Latinas" are used interchangeably throughout this research. Hispanics or Latinos/Latinas are individuals whose ethnic descent derives from South and Central America[3], including those individuals who self-identify as Hispanics in the census and other surveys that are used in this research. Furthermore, "the community" refers to the larger community, which may consist of Whites, African-Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and other ethnic communities.

1.1 Research Questions

This research recognizes that there are two important facets of this topic, the policy itself and the impact of the policy on the processes of integration of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Most of the studies of 287(g) policy focus on the reasons behind requesting for partnership with ICE, the relationship between demographic changes and crime, the constitutionality of the program, and the impact on public safety (Weissman et

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[3] According to Census 2010, South American countries include Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Falkland Islands, French Guiana, Guyana, Paraguay, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela.
Similarly, Central American Countries include Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, s Belize, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Panama. Source: U.S. Census Bureau <www.census.gov>

al., 2009; Wong, 2010) . Several studies have examined the local impacts of 287(g), but they have not focused explicitly on the processes of integration of Hispanics (Weissman et al., 2009; Nguyen & Gill, 2010). The central research question that this research seeks to answer is as follows:

> What is the impact of the 287(g) program on the processes of integration of Hispanics in a new immigrant gateway?

The investigation of the central question calls for a deeper analysis of "the processes of integration," as results may differ according to which axes of integration are being studied. In past literature, the extent of an immigrants' incorporation has been measured in terms of how they have compared with natives on education, income levels, language ability, and settlement patterns (Alba & Nee, 2003). However, this research does not look at these end results of integration; rather, the aim of this research is to focus on the processes that eventually may lead to these results. Focusing on service providers gives this research an opportunity to exclusively study these processes of integration through the interaction the Hispanic community has with the service providers. In regards to a new immigrant gateway like Charlotte-Mecklenburg, service providers play an essential role in building an infrastructure that helps in the process of integration of Hispanics. Additionally, studying the policy impacts on the Hispanic community under the broader framework of integration provides this research a different perspective that brings issues of trust, interaction, and mobility under a single umbrella. Therefore, the central research question is divided into three principal sub-questions in reference to the three axes of integration. Each sub-question is further divided into other specific questions. They are as follows:

(i)   Social Trust**:** How does the 287(g) program impact social trust that Hispanics place in the service providers as well as the community?

        a. What is the effect of 287(g) on trust placed by Hispanics in local law enforcement?

        b. What is the impact of 287(g) on trust Hispanics place in other service providers?

        c. What is the impact of 287(g) on trust Hispanics place in the larger community?

(ii)   Social Interaction**:** How does the 287(g) program impact the interaction of Hispanics with the service providers and the community?

        a. What is the impact of 287(g) on participation of Hispanics in community activities organized by local law enforcement, church, and immigrant advocacy organizations?

        b. How does 287(g) impact the interaction Hispanics have with other members of the community?

(iii)   Spatial Mobility: How have settlement and spatial mobility patterns of Hispanics shifted after the implementation of 287(g)?

        a. How have the patterns of in-migration and out migration of Hispanics changed after the implementation of 287(g)?

        b. How have the patterns of residential pattern of Hispanics 287(g) changed after the implementation of 287(g)?

        c. How has the movement of Hispanics changed in the city? Have there been changes in driving patterns or their use of public transportation?

1.2 Overview of the Research Process

      This research approaches the investigation of this topic layer by layer. It begins by building connections among different theories across various disciplines. Chapter 2 reviews past literature illustrating major themes and theories of integration and assimilation. It pays particular attention to the intersections in literature between the established society's policy and its impact on social trust, interaction, and mobility for

newcomers. Additionally, this chapter theoretically establishes social trust, social interaction, and spatial mobility, termed as *processes of integration* throughout the research, as three key mediums through which integration occurs. Finally, Chapter 2 also explores the positive and negative impacts that various public policies may have on these processes of integration. Next, Chapter 3 provides a detailed background on the 287(g) program, its federal origins, its application to local contexts and its funding. Following the historical context of the program, the chapter then summarizes various reports and evaluations highlighting the critical benefits and drawbacks of the 287(g) program. Chapter 4 provides a background on Charlotte-Mecklenburg, and discusses why Charlotte-Mecklenburg, a society absent of a strong immigration history, is well suited as a case study to observe the impacts of 287(g). It begins with a general overview of the demographic shifts that were happening in the southern regions and hones in on the changes in North Carolina and Charlotte-Mecklenburg. It emphasizes the demographic changes that have taken place in Charlotte-Mecklenburg in the past several decades and compares them with state and national figures. Along with a focus on demographics, the chapter also traces the shifts in immigration climate in the region in general and particularly in North Carolina and Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

Chapter 5 introduces a logic model based on a combination of theories that illustrates the complex relationships between 287(g) and its suggested outcomes in a simple schematic diagram. Then, the chapter systematically deals with each axes of integration: social trust, social interaction, and spatial mobility. First, it describes the measurement of each axis; and second, it presents the respective research expectations. The logic model and research expectations serve as a blueprint to guide the exploration of

the research questions through quantitative and qualitative methods. Chapter 6 elaborates on the quantitative aspect of this research. This chapter first tackles the questions of social trust and social interaction, and then it deals with the topic of spatial mobility.

Chapter 7 focuses on the qualitative phase of this research. The qualitative analysis examines the research expectations of the study and explores other associations that may be revealed during the interview process. In particular, it explains the interview collection process, the analytical technique used to analyze the data, the results, and policy implications suggested by the respondents. Chapter 8 brings together both the quantitative and qualitative pieces of this research, and presents the main findings and policy implications that flow from the overall study. This chapter also discusses the findings in reference to the research questions and expectations presented in Chapter 5. Finally, Chapter 9 concludes with a short overview of this research, and the strengths and limitations of the data and methods used for analysis. This chapter then delineates directions for future investigations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Assimilation and Integration Theories

Before elaborating on the processes of integration, discussions of integration and

assimilation literature reveal an age-old controversy regarding the appropriate

terminology to represent the adjustment of immigrants. The disagreement is not only

limited to terminology. Schneider and Crul (2010) state that there is a lack of agreement

among scholars about the "theoretical and methodological concepts and indicators" of

immigrant adaptation (p.1143). While scholars in the U.S. widely use the term

assimilation, many European scholars prefer the term *integration,* as assimilation has a

negative historical connotation (Brubaker, 2001; Hiebert & Ley, 2003; Ellis & Almgren,

2009; J. Schneider & Crul, 2010). In the European context, integration signifies a change

in both dominant and immigrant group where immigrants develop a unique blend of the

two groups. In comparison, during the 1920s and early twentieth century, most research

in the U.S. on immigrant adjustment focused on the idea of Anglo-conformity. According

to this view, an immigrant adapts to the cultures and behaviors of the larger society,

leaving his/her own identity behind.

One of the seminal works by Gordon (1964) on immigrant assimilation is based on the principles of Anglo-conformity where the immigrants become similar to a white "core culture" (Brubaker, 2001, p. 540). Alba and Nee (2003) defend Gordon's (1964) theories and contend that although Gordon maintains Anglo-conformity, he never implies unlearning of an individual's own culture. They emphasize that Gordon's (1964) notable contribution to the assimilation literature is the development of the seven categories: *structural, cultural, identificational, marital, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic*. In modern times with a gradually changing reference group, researchers like Alba and Nee (2003) move away from ethnocentric rhetoric and manage to redefine assimilation. Alba and Nee (2003) criticize Gordon (1964) for not including *socioeconomic assimilation* as one of the categories in his classification scheme. Socioeconomic assimilation, now a widely used component, measures assimilation of immigrants in terms of education, occupational mobility and income (Vigdor, 2008). Massey (1985) identifies yet another dimension of assimilation called *spatial assimilation*. Spatial assimilation occurs when economically capable immigrants move from their immigrant concentrated neighborhoods to areas that are mixed or predominantly native. However, Portes and Zhao (1993) argue that assimilation theory in its current form is not applicable to second generation immigrants. They introduce a concept of *segmented assimilation,* highlighting that second generation immigrants follow a different trajectory than their first generation predecessors.

Among the types of assimilation introduced by Gordon (1964), the two that have received most recognition are cultural assimilation and structural assimilation. By Gordon's (1964) definition, structural assimilation occurs when minority individuals start

getting involved in clubs, cliques, and institutions of the majority group. Basically, he implies that increases in interaction between natives and immigrants leads immigrants to adapt to the lifestyle of the majority. Cultural assimilation, also called acculturation, is a dynamic rather than a static process. Gordon (1964) explains that the process of culturally assimilating starts as soon as an individual sets foot on a foreign land; and the process thrives as the immigrant spends more time in the dominant culture. However, the extent and speed of cultural assimilation may depend upon where an individual settles. In other words, context and place are important factors for cultural assimilation. If the individual settles in an isolated place where there are limited chances of interaction with the larger group, then the assimilation process may be slower. Conversely, if an immigrant has plenty of interactions with the natives, then the process of a cultural assimilation may be faster. Here, Gordon (1964) touches on a possible relationship between interaction and cultural assimilation. Acculturation has also received its own share of attention throughout history by scholars of diverse disciplines (Kuo & Roysircar, 2004). After cataloguing the vast breadth of taxonomies of acculturation, Rudmin (2004) suggests that the taxonomy developed by Berry is the most suitable for research that needs a model which balances the reactions of the host as well as the immigrants. Berry (2003) frames acculturation under two themes: the maintenance of an individual's ethnic identity, and the interaction of the individual with the receiving society. He highlights that cultural change can take place through simple behavioral change in food, dressing sense, and speech. Berry (2003) points out that when individuals cannot easily change they may feel *acculturative stress* and suffer from "uncertainty, anxiety and depression" (p.21). Berry (2003) argues that acculturation is not a one-dimensional process; rather it happens on

multiple dimensions and cannot be measured by degrees or levels. Contrary to Gordon

(1964), who bases his assimilation theory on a model where Community A fully

assimilates to Community B to a point where no differences can be seen between the two

groups, Berry (2003) offers a different position. He contends that assimilation is not the

only end result of immigrant incorporation. Berry (2003) draws a distinction among four

types of adaptation strategies that immigrants follow: *assimilation*, *integration*,

separation and *marginalization*. Division of these strategies is important because it

highlights the different adaptation paths immigrants follow depending upon the reactions

of the receiving society.

As seen in the Table 1, assimilation occurs when individuals move away from

their cultural identities and seek interaction with the receiving society, a description

matching Gordon's (1964) basic assumption of assimilation. Another way individuals

adapt into a society is through integration strategy. Individuals are said to be pursuing an

integration strategy when they have interest in maintaining their cultural identity while

adapting some identities of the receiving society. In contrast, if individuals wish to

maintain their original identities and avoid any interaction with the receiving society then

they are following a separation strategy. Individuals are said to be pursuing a

marginalization strategy when they not only cut off ties with their own identities but also

avoid making new ties with the larger community. Berry (2003) contends that

marginalization strategy may often lead to acculturative stress. Berry (2003) warns

researchers against strictly confining an individual into one of his four strategies because

the strategies an individual follows can be fluid over time. For example, someone who is

currently not maintaining any contacts with members of the larger society may be in the

process of developing those relationships. He cautions that it would be misleading to

"pigeonhole" or stereotype individuals as they may be evolving (Berry, 2003, p. 28).

TABLE 1: A framework of acculturation strategies followed by ethnocultural groups

Issue 2: Relationships Sought Among Groups	Issue 1: Maintenance of Heritage Culture and Identity	
	Yes	No
Yes	Integration	Assimilation
No	Separation	Marginalization

Source: Adapted from Berry, J.W. (2003)

As mentioned, a unique aspect of Berry's (2003) research is the equal attention he

gives to the role of a dominant group in the incorporation of a new group. He clarifies

that non-dominant groups do not have the freedom to choose a strategy; but the dominant

group has the power to constrain the choices of the non-dominant group.

Berry (2003) introduces a third dimension to Table 1 by including the strategies

the larger society follows. He theorizes that when a dominant group follows policies that

help assimilation of individuals in the non-dominant group, then it is called the *melting

pot* strategy. Alternatively, if the dominant group follows polices that "demands"

assimilation from the individuals of the non-dominant group, then it is known as the

pressure cooker model. Furthermore, a dominant group follows *segregation* strategy

when they pursue policies that result in discouraging members of the non-dominant group

to maintain relationship with the larger society, and pushes them to adhere to their own

cultural identities. Similarly, *exclusion* strategy involves promoting policies that separate

members of the non-dominant group from maintaining relationships with both the

dominant and non-dominant group. In comparison, if the larger society accepts diversity

and promotes policies that help integration of non-dominant members then they are following *multiculturalism* strategy.

The reactions of the dominant society may be official in the form of policies, laws and regulations the local government agencies pass. In other instances, the reactions may be informal through local newspapers, radio stations, and other daily interactions. Researchers have reignited the importance of context of reception for immigrant incorporation in economic, political and social arenas (Waldinger, 1996; Donato, Stainback, & Bankston III, 2005). Evidence that immigrants may be following a negative strategy as a result of policies directed at them can be found in public policy literature. Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that the government's treatment of individuals depends upon how individuals are socially constructed. Social construction of an individual is the way the society views an individual. For example, women and children are positively viewed by the larger society and enough support can generally be garnered to invest in programs that benefit them. But groups such as criminals and immigrants are negatively viewed by the society, and the general population is less likely to support proposals that help them. Thus, the negatively viewed groups of the society often receive negative messages from the government as well as the larger society. An immigrant's unwillingness to access government services stems from the negative messages that they receive. Immigrants may expect punishment unless they follow what the government advises them to do, or they may avoid contact with the government to prevent punishments. For these individuals there is little faith in "fairness or effectiveness" of the government. Participation, if any, will be disruptive in nature, taking the form of riots and protests. In the context of this research, given the fear of punishment or deportation, the

possibility of immigrants protesting against the 287(g) program is minimal. With low trust in the government, the role of non-governmental organizations may become central to provide an infrastructure that assists in the processes of integration of immigrants.

One criticism of Berry's (2003) framework is that on several occasions, even when individuals want to follow an integrative strategy and the dominant group welcomes multiculturalism – other factors such as language, socioeconomic status, and age may constrain individuals. For example, one study shows that an immigrant's age at entry impacts his/her language learning ability whereby higher age may hinder integration although the immigrant and the dominant group are open to it (Bleakley & Chin, 2010). Individuals who enter the country after their language-learning threshold has passed may find it harder to overcome the language barrier in comparison to individuals who enter when they are young. The level of acculturative stress an individual feels is also related to lower socioeconomic status (Kuo & Roysircar, 2004). Therefore, there may be personal constraints unrelated to the policies of the larger society that impact their processes of integration.

Using Berry's (2003) theory, this research argues that the processes of integration of a minority group are contingent upon the policies and reactions of the larger society. Rudmin (2006) agrees that the actions of the dominant group are capable of relieving or causing stress in the new group. Thus, he contends that research should be directed at identifying whether certain actions of the larger society violate minority rights.

As the literature suggests, incorporation of immigrants has its share of terms, from Gordon's (1964) assimilation to Berry's (2003) acculturation, to others who prefer integration (Ellis & Almgren, 2009). Current literature on adaptation of immigrants

suggests that researchers still widely use "assimilation" when studying second generation immigrants, spatial segregation, and socioeconomic assimilation (Bleakley & Chin, 2010; Haller, Portes, & Lynch, 2011; Park & Iceland, 2011).

2.2 Why Does Integration Matter in the United States?

The United States Census 2010 estimates that the Hispanic population is the largest minority population with a total of 50.5 million (16.3%), surpassing the 38.9 million African American (12.6%) in the U.S. (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011).The 2010 Census also reports that the Hispanic population grew by 15.2 million (43%) from 2000 to 2010. The growth in Hispanic population represents almost half of the 27.3 million increase in total population in the U.S. Moreover, the Department of Homeland Security estimates that there are about 11.5 million undocumented[4] immigrants in the U.S. as of January 2011 (Hoefer, Rytina, & Baker, 2012). Among the undocumented population, the highest numbers of individuals come from Mexico (6.8 million), El Salvador (660,000), Guatemala (520,000), Honduras (380,000), and China (280,000). Given the rapidly growing presence of Hispanics, they are intertwined with the core of the American communities, yet there is concern about their degree of integration. Jiménez (2011) states that concerns about immigrants' inability to integrate into the United States mainstream have existed ever since there have been immigrants. Suro (2006) argues that the U.S. cannot look at historical European migrants and expect contemporary Hispanic migrants to become indistinguishable from the Americans in a timespan of a few generations. He states:

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[4] Undocumented immigrants – Census defines undocumented immigrants as those foreign born non-citizens who are not legal residents. They may have entered the U.S. without inspection or they may have stayed past their visa expiration date (Hoefer, Rytina, & Baker, 2012).

Immigrants today, like immigrants before, are busy absorbing American ways; the difference is that nowadays there are many more ways to be an American, many more accepted flavors and variations (Suro, 2006, p. 30).

Suro (2006) implies that, rather than assimilating, contemporary immigrants are integrating into the American society. Berry (2003) suggests that successful integration "is most likely to be achieved in host contexts characterized of a positive multicultural ideology, low levels of prejudice, positive mutual attitudes among ethno-cultural groups, and a sense of identification with the larger society by all individuals and groups" (García-Ramírez et al., 2011, p. 87). Furthermore, Sinclair (2002) recommends that stable and strong communities form only when communities promote positive community identities and prevent intergroup conflicts.

It is important to acknowledge that assimilation into the dominant society may not be a desired or even an ideal strategy for an individual to follow. Research implies that selective assimilation may be preferred for immigrants rather than full assimilation with the dominant society (Rambaut, 1997; Portes & Hao, 2002). Portes and Hao (2002) find that children of immigrants who are proficient in their own language along with English fare better in terms of family relations and personality outcomes than fully assimilated children. Similarly, Constant, Gataullina and Zimmerman (2006) follow Berry's (2003) model to compare among the acculturative strategies. On the one hand, well integrated immigrants who maintain contact with their ethnic network have "ethnic specific capital" along with the qualities to thrive in the native job market (Constant et al., 2006, p. 2). On the other hand, assimilated immigrants are at a disadvantage, because although they may get jobs available for natives, they may not be able to get jobs that require ethnic human capital. Following this reasoning, integrated immigrants may benefit from an increased

pool of contacts from both societies. They venture outside their ethnic comfort zones to develop relationships with people outside their networks while maintaining connections within their own circles. Constant et al. (2006) also find that both integrated and assimilated individuals do better in the labor market than immigrants following a separation or marginalization strategy.

Sinclair (2002) notes that the way government reacts to the arrival of immigrants also delivers significant signals to both communities "as they provide authoritative context regarding the characteristics of the new group that are socially meaningful" (p.322). He implies that if the government passes integrative policies then this action sends a positive message to the community about the newcomers. In order to improve "intercultural relationships" among their people, Berry (2003) recommends that societies pursue integration policies (p.34). The United States, unlike the European countries, does not have a comprehensive integration policy in place to ease the lives of the newcomers. The United States' laissez faire approach has mainly succeeded because of the "high quality public education, legal protection from discrimination, and strong labor markets" (Jiménez, 2011, p. 19). Degradation of public education, increase in undocumented immigrants and prolonged economic downturn may question the ability of this approach to achieve successful integration of immigrants. The U.S. integration policy is limited to resettlement programs for refugees (Jiménez, 2011).

Although pro-immigrant local policies have received less coverage, researchers state that there are numerous communities that have passed both immigrant-specific as well as immigrant non-specific policies that help in the integration of immigrants in the U.S. These policies range from higher minimum wages and overtime payments to

increases in efforts to improve health coverage by insuring the uninsured (Mitnik & Halpern-Finnerty, 2010). Especially for employers, immigrant integration increases "worker loyalty, reduces employee turnover and absenteeism, and boosts worker productivity and motivation, thereby increasing businesses' efficiency and competitiveness" (ASCA, 2008, p. 1). These policies increase the level of trust and interaction in the communities and expedite an immigrant's integration.

2.3 Theories of Social Trust, Social Interaction, and Spatial Mobility in Relation to Integration

Although the significance of interaction is seen throughout the immigrant adaptation literature, there is limited research on how trust may be a mechanism through which any type of incorporation occurs. Robert Putnam popularized social trust and interaction studies in his study of social capital in the United States (Putnam, 2000). Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (1994) suggest that trusting individuals are more likely to get involved in community activities. However, they argue that increased interaction and civic engagement also gives rise to trust. Depicting trust as a cause and an effect of civic engagement, Putnam et al. (1994) call it a "virtuous circle" (p.177). Uslaner (2002), however, contends that "generalized trust," which is defined as "*most* people can be trusted," is inherent in individuals rather than arising through civic engagement (p.7). Putnam (2007) further argues that ethnically diverse communities show lower levels of social trust among and between the dominant and non-dominant population. He concludes that ethnic diversity points towards social isolation. Putnam clarifies that individuals in more diversified communities appear to "pull in like a turtle" and avoid interacting with each other (Putnam, 2007, p. 149). Replicating Putnam's model in the

context of western Europe, Lancee and Dronkers (2010) find that a neighborhood's ethnic diversity decreases the quality of contact between neighbors when economy, religion, and language are constant. Although the quality of contact suffers, ethnic diversity in a neighborhood does not have a significant negative impact on the level of trust in the neighborhood for immigrants and natives.

Trust as a social capital is important for immigrants to build relationships (Örkény & Székelyi, 2009). Trust can play a *bonding* role by facilitating development of connections within their own groups. Bonding ensures that families, religious clubs, and groups of common ethnic background stick together. Furthermore, trust can also play a *bridging* role, which helps in the formation of relationships outside their own families and groups. Bridging trust networks become extremely important for immigrants who come to settle in new areas and are trying to forge new relationships. Örkény and Székelyi (2009) state that in communities where trust between the immigrants and host society is compromised, the only survival strategies for immigrants are "ethnic segregation and self-ghettoisation" (p.129). These characterizations of survival techniques are similar to the separation and marginalization techniques in Berry's (2003) model. As Dinesen and Hooghe (2010) speculate:

> In the context of immigration it seems reasonable to assume that trust in other people will be beneficial for the social integration of immigrants in their new countries in the sense that trusting individuals will be more likely to socialize with natives than distrusting individuals (p.698).

Dinesen and Hooghe (2010) argue that most immigrants in Western European societies come from countries that have lower levels of generalized trust. However, they find that when individuals travel from low trust countries to high trust countries, their

level of trust increases to match that of the natives. Dinesen and Hooghe (2010) further

state that discriminatory and exclusionary practices of the receiving country may cause

large differences in trust between the dominant and non-dominant groups. Their main

query is whether integration policy helps to improve the level of trust between natives

and minorities in Western European countries. Although there are studies that show

otherwise, their analysis indicates that inclusionary policy does not impact trust among

individuals. If integration policies do not build majority-minority trust, then this raises

questions as to whether restrictive and exclusionary policies hamper trust among

individuals of different groups. García-Ramírez et al. (2011) argue that when confronted

with oppression in receiving societies, immigrants may develop feelings of mistrust and

hostility, which discourages formation of relationships. The impacts of oppressive actions

affect newcomers on three levels: citizenship level, interpersonal level and intrapersonal

level. At the citizenship level, actions of the larger society that lead to labor exploitation,

economic insecurity, and legal exclusion causes individuals to feel powerless,

stigmatized, and discriminated. At a deeper interpersonal level, newcomers may

experience distrust, isolation, and conflict. The immigrants may also suffer from feelings

of hopelessness, fear, shame and distress at the interpersonal level. Studying Moroccan

women in Andalusia, García-Ramírez et al. (2011) demonstrate that it may be possible

for newcomers to integrate into the community if they understand the inequalities and

take active steps to confront them.

An aspect of integration that has received minimal attention is that some

immigrants when faced with a repressive environment may choose to move to another

place to escape such policies. This speaks to the core of why people migrate in the first

place – in search of better lives and opportunities. Migration scholar Lee (1966) theorizes that injustice and oppressive laws are some of the factors that may push individuals to migrate to other areas. Labeled as spatial mobility, one of the purposes of this research is to investigate a possibility that the 287(g) program may make the newcomers move or relocate to a different neighborhood, county, state or even country.

The various theories presented in this chapter show that laws and regulations of the host society may impact the integration processes of newcomers. Using this larger framework of processes of integration, this research identifies social trust, social interaction, and spatial mobility as the three axes through which immigrants integrate into the community. The next chapters will present the backgrounds of both 287(g) and Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

CHAPTER 3: SECTION 287(G) PROGRAM

This chapter concentrates on tracing the origins of the 287(g) program and the changes it has undergone as the program spread in the U.S. The chapter explores the specific details of the program, including the basics of its implementation, the different types of 287(g) programs available, and federal funding appropriated to the program since its inception. Following this discussion, the chapter observes several communities that have a 287(g) partnership with the federal government. This chapter ends with an overview of different evaluations and reports highlighting the benefits and negative consequences of the program.

3.1 The Historical Policy Context

Historically, the federal government has held exclusive rights to implement civil immigration enforcement policies along with other federal criminal laws, while local and state officials concentrated on criminal laws (Varsyani, 2010a). The federal 287(g) program is an example of a gradual shift of immigration enforcement power from federal government to state and local governments. Even the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), passed in 1952, does not recognize the role of state and local authorities in immigration enforcement ("Immigration and Nationality Act," 1952a; Waslin, 2010). State and local governments are involved in some functions of the criminal provisions

under INA as they assist the federal immigration authorities in "investigation and prosecution of criminal violations and sharing information" (Idilbi, 2008, p. 2). However, the state and local governments are not allowed to identify and remove undocumented immigrants, a civil violation aspect of the INA (Seghetti, Ester, & Garcia, 2009). Criminal violations under INA include felonies such as smuggling of undocumented immigrants, disobeying removal orders, entering the country illegally, re-entering after being removed, and hiring undocumented immigrants (Idilbi, 2008). Alternatively, civil proceedings include living in the United States undocumented, and facing deportation charges.

The federal government initiated the gradual shift in power of immigration policies from federal to local government in 1996 with the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA). AEDPA authorizes local law enforcement to arrest and detain individuals who are undocumented and have been previously convicted of a crime in the United States (Waslin, 2010). Additionally, Congress amended the INA as a part of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration and Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), and included Section 133, also known as 287(g). The 287(g) program permits federal authorities to partner with local governments to enforce several immigration policies including civil enforcement measures. In part, it was the U.S. Congress' response to allegations that U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)[5] had insufficient funds and human resources to deal with criminal aspects of its undocumented population (Horowitz, 2001). Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa originally authored the 287(g)

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[5] In 2003, INS was dismantled and its functions shifted from Department of Justice to Department of Homeland Security and spread across three departments, namely, US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and US Customs and Border Protection (CBP)(Donovan, 2005).

program to empower local law enforcement authorities to "investigate, apprehend, and detain illegal aliens" (Grassley, 2009). He formulated this policy after a college student in Iowa was killed in a car accident by a previously deported and undocumented individual. Along with Senator Charles Grassley, the 287(g) program also received the guidance and support from California Congressman Chris Cox and Rep. Lamar Smith (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009).

Section 287(g) requires local law enforcement officers of partnering governments to complete a four-week training program under the Immigration Authority Delegation Program (IADP). ICE certifies the instructors of this training program. Currently, the training includes a rigorous understanding of the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA), the limits of authority, immigration law, civil rights laws, liability issues, and knowledge of cross-cultural issues. The training also familiarizes the officers with the ICE Use of Force Policy, the U.S. Department of Justice's "Guidance Regarding the Use Of Race By Federal Law Enforcement Agencies (2003)," public outreach and complaint procedures for 287(g), and the procedures under Federal law and Vienna Convention on Consular relations to notify the arrest or detention of a foreigner (ICE, 2006). The training takes place at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Charleston, South Carolina. Each officer has to pass the exams satisfactorily (at least 70%) to qualify for the 287(g) program. Only these qualified local law enforcement officers receive authorization to implement:

> a function of an immigration officer in relation to the investigation, apprehension, or detention of aliens in the United States (including the transportation of such aliens across State lines to detention centers) at the expense of the State or political subdivision" ("Immigration and Nationality Act," 1952b).

The statute does not allow untrained officials to implement immigration enforcement related functions. The trained local and state officials screen individuals for immigration status, place ICE detainers, hold them in custody for 48 hours, transfer them to an ICE facility, and issue ICE charging documents initializing their removal process (Capps et al., 2011).

Other types of immigration enforcement programs similar in functions to 287(g) are Criminal Alien Program (CAP) and Secure Communities. The origination of CAP can be traced as far back as 1986, and was established with an aim to "begin deportation proceedings even before conviction" (Guttin, 2010). Under CAP, Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) officers can identify and remove the individuals that are already incarcerated in the federal, state, and local jails. The ERO officers are responsible for screening all inmates and issuing ICE detainers to initialize their removal process before they are released from the jails (ICE, 2012a). According to ICE, DHS issues immigration detainers as a notice to federal, state and local law enforcement authorities "to inform the LEA that ICE intends to assume custody of an individual in the LEA's custody"(ICE, 2012b). Similarly, Secure Communities, which was piloted in 2008, comes into play when individuals are booked into local jails and their fingerprints are sent to Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) for a criminal background check. Under Secure Communities, the FBI automatically sends the fingerprints of all individuals to ICE. In turn, ICE checks those fingerprints against its immigration database called IDENT, to reveal whether the person is in the U.S. unlawfully. IDENT is a fingerprint repository that contains data on more than 91 million individuals, from travelers without any criminal record or violations, to individuals that have broken immigration laws.

Ultimately, ICE takes enforcement action depending on the "severity of their crime, their criminal history, and other factors – as well as those who have repeatedly violated immigration laws" (ICE). Besides differences in funding and training of officers, the main difference between 287(g) and Secure Communities is the method of screening individuals for their immigration status[6]. Under Secure Communities, local law enforcement authorities are not directly involved in inquiring about the legal status of an individual. In contrast, under 287(g), ICE trains local officers to gain authority to inquire about legal status of individuals through an interview process.

Besides these federal programs, a number of local governments have passed a patchwork of polices and ordinances which may make it difficult for undocumented immigrants to find work, find a place to live, and even find a school for their children. With growing frustration over the "broken" national immigration system in the U.S., some local jurisdictions have "taken matters into their own hands" (Varsyani, 2010b, p. 138). The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) states that a total of 1,538 immigration related bills and resolutions were introduced by 50 states and Puerto Rico in the first quarter of 2011, compared to 1,180 bills in the first quarter of 2010, an increase of approximately 30% (Carter, Lawrence, & Morse, 2011). While the federal and state court systems have challenged the constitutionality of a number of these programs, jurisdictions have been successful in passing ordinances and policies that penalizes

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[6] As of April 2012, ICE states that there are 1700 jurisdictions that have Secure Communities. Moreover, DHS is planning to expand the program nationwide by the year 2013 (ICE). Passed in 2008 by the Bush Administration, Secure Communities enabled instant electronic data sharing between ICE and local jails. There has been limited analysis on how the program impacts the communities. An initial report about the program published by Chief Justice Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy stated that there were several issues with the application of Secure Communities (Kohli, Markowitz, & Chavez, 2011). There were three main problems with Secure Communities; (1) potential racial profiling by officers (2) deportation of individuals that are not committed violent crimes, and (3) lack of due process of individuals that are placed in removal proceedings.

employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers. Researchers argue that employer sanctions are constitutional, as they simply reemphasize the federal immigration policy as articulated in the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (Mitnik & Halpern-Finnerty, 2010). Some localities have used a mixture of available policies, such as trespassing laws, land use, and solicitation laws, to prevent day laborers from congregating in certain public spaces (Varsyani, 2010a). For example, in 2006, the city of Hazleton, Pennsylvania became one of the first cities to pass an Illegal Immigration Relief Act (IIRA) (Fleury-Steiner & Longazel, 2010; Varsyani, 2010b). The Hazleton ordinance targets undocumented immigrants through a combination of housing and worksite enforcement policies. According to the policy, it confiscates licenses of employers who knowingly hire undocumented employees and impose fines on landlords that knowingly rent to undocumented individuals. The appellate courts have challenged these policies on the grounds of constitutionality.

As this brief overview shows, 287(g) is not an isolated immigrant enforcement program, there are multiple federal partnerships and local programs that seek to address the issue of undocumented immigrants. The 287(g) program is just one of several federal partnerships with local governments to increase their efforts to implement immigration enforcement laws. The difference in 287(g) is the extent of involvement of local law enforcement authorities, as it is the only program that trains and authorizes local police officers or sheriff deputies to inquire about the legal status of individuals. The intensity of involvement of local law enforcement authorities, however, depends on the type of 287(g) agreement a community signs with the federal government.

3.2 Types of 287(g)

According to ICE, there are two major types of 287(g) program that localities can implement: Correctional or Jail Enforcement Model (JEM) and Task Force or Field Level Model (Weissman et al., 2009). Under the correctional model, local law enforcement officers can check the legal status of individuals only after they are booked into a correctional facility following an arrest. A local officer, who may not be trained under the 287(g) program, is often the first official who encounters, arrests an individual, and charges him/her with a criminal violation. After booking an arrestee in a local jail, ICE-trained officers screen him/her to check their legal status. The screening process involves an interview with the arrestee where the ICE trained officer asks about his/her place of birth and nationality. In contrast, the Field Model is more flexible for local authorities as it allows officers or "task force officers" to inquire about immigration status of individuals before they are booked into jail. In other words, the officers can screen individuals in the course of routine policing activities. Along with inquiring about legal status, task force officers have the authority to issue ICE detainers, arrest warrants for immigration violations, and search warrants (Capps et al., 2011). Some local officials have signed MOAs that are a hybrid of correctional and task force model. As of September 2011, of the 68 agreements, 33 counties (48.5%) have a correctional model, 20 counties (29.4%) have a task force model, and 15 counties (22.1%) have a hybrid model (ICE, 2011a)[7]. Therefore, the implementation of 287(g) is not uniform across different jurisdictions. The federal government allows local governments flexibility to shape the program according to their needs.

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[7] A detailed list of localities that have the 287(g) program, the type of their respective models, and the date they signed the agreement is included in Appendix F.

3.3 Funding for the 287(g) program (2006-2012)

As shown in Table 2, the funding for 287(g) increased from five million dollars in 2006 to 68 million dollars in 2012 (12.6% increase in five year period). The 287(g) MOA states that participating local jurisdictions are responsible for the salaries, benefits, overtime payments, local transportation, housing, training and expenses associated with the training of all personnel serving under the program.

TABLE 2: Allocated funding for the 287(g) program (2006-2012)

Fiscal Year	Funding in Millions ($)	Percentage Change (%)
2006	5	_
2007	15.4	208.0
2008	42.1	173.4
2009	54.1	28.5
2010	68.0	25.7
2011	68.0	0.0
2012	68.0	0.0

Source: OIG (2010), ICE. (2011)

ICE covers the expenses of salaries and benefits of certified instructors along with the cost of ICE personnel and training materials. If funds are available, ICE covers the expenses incurred for purchasing and maintaining equipment needed to perform the 287(g) functions. The participation jurisdictions covers all other costs associated with cabling, power upgrades, administrative supplies, and office space (ICE, 2006). With the ongoing pressure on overall budget spending, the 287(g) funding for FY 2013 is projected to decrease significantly[8].

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[8] DHS Secretary Janet Napolitano requested a decrease of 17 million for 287(g) program. In order to implement the reduction in budget, the DHS will suspend the least productive task force agreements in jurisdictions that have Secure Communities (DHS, 2012). On June 17th, Rep. John Sullivan amended the 2013 budget bill (H.R. 5855) to preserve 287(g). The amendment which prohibits any funds to be used to terminate the 287(g) agreements was passed by the House (Jennings, 2012).

3.4 State and Local Contexts of the 287(g) Program

The first jurisdiction to engage in negotiations with ICE for the 287(g) agreement was Salt Lake City, Utah in 1998 (Capps et al., 2011). The police chief of Salt Lake City argued that the majority of felons arrested for trading drugs in his city were undocumented Mexicans (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009). But given the local Hispanic advocacy groups' concerns of racial profiling and civil violations, the city backed out of negotiations and voted not to enter into the partnership (Capps et al., 2011). Another county that started the negotiation processes but opted out was Alamance County, North Carolina (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009). Later in 2007, Alamance County signed the agreement with ICE to implement the program under the flagship of Sheriff Terry Johnson.

Although 287(g) was already in the legislation in 1996, renewed interest in the program was seen only after the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. Attorney General Ashcroft encouraged states to use this law as a counterterrorism tool, after which, the popularity of the program escalated (Weissman et al., 2009). Specifically, the 9/11 Commission Report suggested that even though 287(g) was in place, it lacked the resources to play any counterterrorism role (Zelikow, May, & Jenkins, 2004). As a rationale behind the involvement of local law enforcement authorities in immigration policy implementation ICE states:

> Terrorism and criminal activity are most effectively combated through a multi-agency/multi-authority approach that encompasses federal, state and local resources, skills and expertise. State and local law enforcement play a critical role in protecting our homeland because they are often the first responders on the scene when there is an incident or attack against the United States. During the course of daily duties, they will often encounter foreign-born criminals and immigration violators who pose a threat to national security or public safety (ICE, 2011a).

An increase in immigrant population and an increased effort to combat crime and terrorism sparked a nationwide interest to join the 287(g) program after 2001. Florida signed the first agreement in 2002 followed by Alabama in 2003 (Capps et al., 2011).The motivations behind signing the 287(g) agreement with ICE varied. For example, Florida was focused on using the agreement to increase the resources for local authorities to combat terrorism, while Alabama utilized the program to deal with the problem of fraudulent documents used in obtaining driver's licenses.

As Table 3 illustrates, from 2006 to 2007 the number of programs increased from seven to 34, a growth rate of approximately 385.7%. From 2007 to 2008, the number of programs increased from 34 to 68, an increase of approximately 100%. The growth rate after 2008 slowed down to a negative 5.9% in 2009. However, from 2009 to 2010, there was a 14.1% increase in the number of agreements. After 2010, the rate of growth significantly slowed down and is negative in 2011 and February 2012. However, the percentage increase in total number of officers trained for the program has grown inconsistently, reaching its peak during 2006 to 2007. Throughout the history of the program, 10 jurisdictions dropped out of the program.

TABLE 3: Percentage change in total number of programs and number of officers trained under the 287(g) program (2002-2012)

Year	Total Programs	% Change in Programs*	Total Officers	% Change in Total Officers*
2002	1	-	36	-
2003	2	100.0	57	58.3
2004	2	0.0	57	0.0
2005	4	100.0	134	135.1
2006	7	75.0	186	38.8
2007	34	385.7	594	219.4
2008	68	100.0	940	58.2
2009	64	-5.9	940	0.0
2010	73	14.1	1200	27.7
2011	69	-5.5	1240	3.3
2012	68	-1.4	-	-

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security (As of February 2012),Vaugh,J.M. &Edwards, J.R. (2009). * calculated by author

In 2005, DHS maintained that the 287(g) program was designed to strictly target criminals who were undocumented and a threat to the community, and not to arrest "the landscape architect that had a broken headlight" (*Testimony of Paul M. Kilcoyne* 2005, p. 62). Despite the clarification by DHS, counties such as Frederick County, MD, Cobb County, GA, and Gwinnett County, GA, chose to apprehend any person who was removable regardless of the gravity of their crime (Capps et al., 2011). This type of application resulted in a larger number of detainers, as it included individuals who committed serious felonies as well as others who committed minor offenses. Investigating civil rights violations in Maricopa County, AZ, the Department of Justice (DOJ) published a report citing unconstitutional and discriminatory policing practices within the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office (DOJ, 2011). Following this report, DHS terminated the 287(g) jail model agreement with Maricopa County. It also restricted the

access of Maricopa County Sheriff's Office to the Secure Communities program (DHS,

2011).

However, in other counties, such as Los Angeles County, CA, local authorities are

allowed to ask for documentation only after individuals are convicted of a crime. In fact,

the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) exercises a policy called Special Order 40

that prevents police from initiating "police action with the objective of discovering the

alien status of the person" (Report, 2001). Special Order 40 is targeted to protect

undocumented individuals who were more to likely to be victimized and exploited by

criminals because of their status. Likewise, the Metropolitan Police Department of

Washington, D.C. has also released a public memo clarifying its stance on the

involvement of local police department and immigration enforcement. The memo

released on April 2007 states:

> MPD [Metropolitan Police Department] officers are strictly prohibited from
> making inquiries into citizenship or residency status for the purpose of
> determining whether an individual has violated the civil immigration laws or for
> the purpose of enforcing those laws. In other words, the MPD is not in the
> business of inquiring about the residency status of the people we serve and is not
> in the business of enforcing civil immigration laws (Lanier, 2007).

There are numerous other local governments and police departments with policies that

limit the authority of local law enforcement and city employees (Tramonte, 2011).

Mecklenburg County, NC, joined the 287(g) program in 2006, making it the first

jurisdiction in North Carolina to sign the agreement. By June 2009, 22 communities in

North Carolina had requested ICE to enter into the 287(g) partnership with them, the

highest number of such requests from any one state (Wong, 2010). Among the 22

communities, as of September 2011, there are seven counties in North Carolina that are

implementing the program. The decision of ICE to approve the partnership is mostly based on individual negotiations and adequate jail space in the jurisdiction. Under the leadership of Sheriff Jim Pendergraph, Mecklenburg County is also the first to initiate the program with a clear intention to apprehend undocumented immigrants (Capps et al., 2011). In a 2005 congressional hearing, Sheriff Pendergraph expressed his concern that the federal government was not doing enough to control "illegal" immigration (*Testimony of Sheriff Pendergraph*, 2006). While Sheriff Pendergraph believed that apprehending "criminal aliens" was important, he stressed that "illegal" immigrants were putting pressure on schools, social services, health department, and criminal justice systems.

Mecklenburg County participates in the Jail Enforcement Model which allows 287(g) trained officials to inquire about legal status only after an individual is booked into jail (Caldwell Jr., 2009). Within the first nine months of the program, 1,600 arrestees were processed under 287(g) and 853 were deported from Mecklenburg County (Idilbi, 2008). Between 2007 and 2009, a number of counties followed suit, using the text of the Mecklenburg County's MOA as a template to set up their own agreements. Capps et al. (2011) find that most of the 54 agreements signed between 2007 and 2009 followed the language of the Mecklenburg County MOA. Additionally, the majority of these jurisdictions are located in the southeast region of the U.S. For instance, Davidson County, TN, has used the Mecklenburg County MOA as a guide to apply for their 287(g) in August 2006. Davidson County specifically states that Sheriff Hall pursued 287(g) program "believing that it is too late to deport an individual once a serious crime is committed" (DCSO, 2009).

Following this era where the 287(g) program was used to deport removable

immigrants, in January of 2009, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) reviewed

the 287(g) program and highlighted several major structural and implementation issues

(GAO, 2009). The report warned ICE that the participating localities might be using the

authority granted by the program in ways not matching its intended goal. The Office of

Inspector General (OIG) produced another audit report that had similar concerns about

the program. OIG contended that the resources of the program were not concentrated on

keeping dangerous undocumented immigrants off the streets. In contrast, the majority of

the arrestees committed minor to no offenses. In light of these reports, ICE reformed the

287(g) program in mid-2009, and released a statement assuring that it had ironed out the

administrative and implementation issues emphasized on the OIG report (ICE, 2011b).

Among actions such as strengthening the basic training of officers, ICE asserts

that it requires officers under reformed 287(g) to maintain records of "alien arrest,

detention, and removal data in order to ensure operations focused on criminal aliens, who

pose the greatest risk to public safety and community" (ICE, 2011b). ICE (2011b) states

that guidelines for ICE field offices supervising the 287(g) program have been

implemented in order to prioritize "the arrest and detention of criminal aliens." The new

template requires the jurisdictions to prioritize their arrests according to the severity of

the crime. ICE asserts that highest priority arrests under 287(g) are assigned to Level 1

criminal undocumented immigrants followed by level 2, and 3 [9] (ICE, 2009). The

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[9] ICE's identification of levels of criminals are as follows (ICE, 2009):
Level 1 – Undocumented immigrants who have been convicted of or arrested for major drug offenses
and/or violent offenses such as murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and kidnapping;
Level 2 – Undocumented immigrants who have been convicted of or arrested for minor drug offenses
and/or mainly property offenses such as burglary, larceny, fraud, and money laundering; and
Level 3 – Undocumented immigrants who have been convicted of or arrested for other offenses.

existing partnerships are required to renegotiate their MOA's adhering to the new

template. The majority of the partnerships have been renewed in accordance to the newly

issued guidelines. Despite these reassurances from ICE, reports claim that even the new

agreements provide local LEAs enough latitude to apprehend undocumented immigrants

that have not committed a serious crime (Capps et al., 2011).
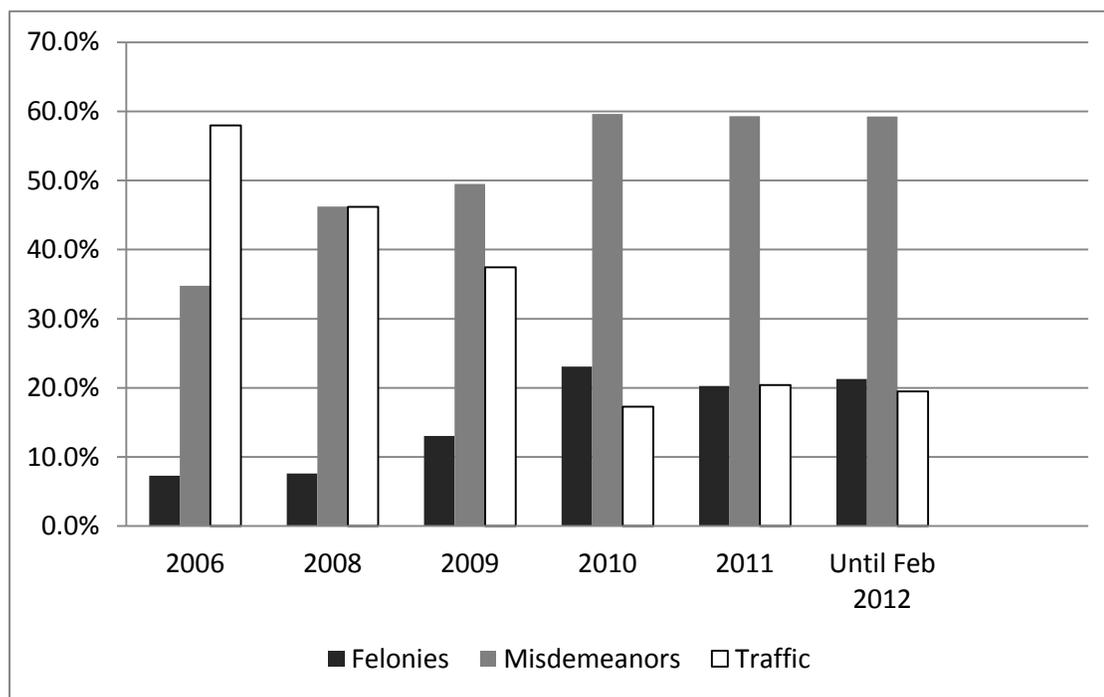
FIGURE 1: Percent of 287(g) proceedings by level of offenses in the U.S. (2006-2012)
Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security[10]

Figure 1 shows the national figures of percentage of 287(g) proceedings by the

level of offenses, specifically, felonies, misdemeanors, and traffic offenses. This figure

shows that during the initial phase of the program in 2006, traffic offenses dominated the

287(g) proceedings. The figure indicates that in 2006, approximately 58% of the total

proceedings were traffic related. However, as the years progressed, the percentage of

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[10] Data obtained by FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) request to DHS

287(g) proceedings through traffic related offenses decreased. The decrease is most

evident after 2009, which is co-incidentally the year in which the 287(g) program was

revised to refocus its efforts on targeting dangerous criminals. From 2009 to 2010, traffic

related offenses decreased from 22,630 to 8,475 or a decrease rate of 62.5%. However,

the percentage of individuals processed for misdemeanors steadily increased from 2006

to 2010. After 2010, the percentage of misdemeanors averaged around 59.4% of the total

proceedings in the next two years. The percentage of felonies processed by 287(g) also

increased steadily from 2006 to 2010. In 2010, these were approximately 23.1% of all the

proceedings under 287(g).
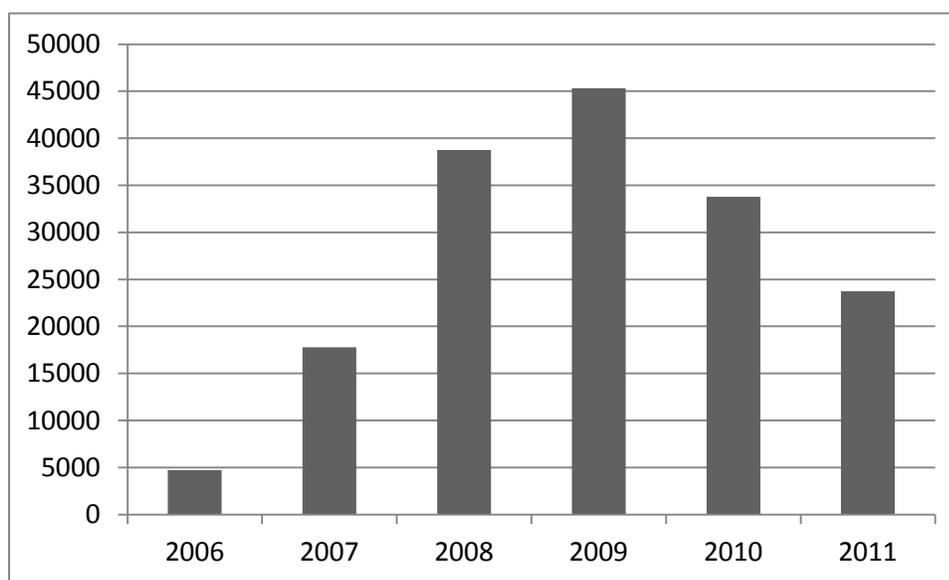
FIGURE 2: Total number of undocumented individuals removed by 287(g) in the U.S.
(2006-2012)
Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security[11]

Figure 2 illustrates the number of undocumented individuals who were removed

through the 287(g) program. The number of individuals removed gradually increased

from 2006 to 2009 reaching a peak in 2009 with 45,308 individuals removed. After 2009,

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[11] Data obtained by FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) request to DHS

the number of individuals removed declined in 2010 and 2011. As of February 2012, the total number of individuals that have been removed by the program since January 2006 is 168,171. Figure 1 and Figure 2 together illustrate that after the revision of 287(g), the program was processing more individuals who were convicted of a felony; however, the percentage of individuals processed by 287(g) for minor crimes was still high at 60%. The change in policy seems to have an impact on the percentage of individuals processed for traffic offenses. Furthermore, the policy shift also seems to have an impact on the number of actual removals of undocumented individuals.

3.5 Benefits and Challenges of the 287(g) program

Proponents of the 287(g) program point out that the involvement of state and local authorities act like a "force multiplier" for ICE (OIG, 2010, p. 5). By joining forces, the federal and local authorities can better identify and deport undocumented individuals convicted of a crime. The cross designation of sheriffs, police, and detectives trained under the 287(g) program provides ICE more opportunity to investigate violent crimes, drug and human trafficking, and gang violence. Local officers carrying out immigration enforcement functions add to the ICE workforce and help them to correctly channel their resources. Sheriff Jenkins of Frederick County, MD, speaking at a panel discussion, argues that 287(g) is more effective than Secure Communities program as "under 287(g) we are an extension or force multiplier for ICE. We have that training. We have that certification" (CIS, 2012).

Furthermore, assistance from Law Enforcement Authorities (LEA) also helps ICE in cutting costs. ICE is responsible for supervision, equipment, and training of the local officers, but the local and state agencies bear the costs of the officer's salaries and

benefits. The local LEAs also benefit financially, as they can identify and remove the inmates that are already in their jails (ICE, 2011a). Whitfield County, GA reports that the program helped them to reduce their jail population, as it allowed them to identify and remove 400 undocumented individuals (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009). ICE reimburses local jails for holding a removable undocumented individual once it takes custody of that individual, thus imposing no additional financial burden on the local agency (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009). For instance, in Davidson County, TN, the federal government has reimbursed $61 a day, or an estimated $1 million per year for undocumented individuals detained in their jails (DCSO, 2009).

Besides the financial assistance, 287(g) also serves as a tool for the local law enforcement to assist them in identifying undocumented individuals arrested for a crime. During a congressional hearing on immigration enforcement, Sheriff Pendergraph makes a case for 287(g) when he states:

> This certification [287(g)] gives us access to ICE databases of fingerprints and photographs, which is the only real method of positively identifying a person and their immigration status. Most law enforcement agencies in this country are trying to identify the legal status of an individual by telephoning the Law Enforcement Support Service Center in Vermont and submitting the name of a person in question. This is virtually worthless and a waste of time. I know it is shocking, but people lie to law enforcement about their names and use names of persons who are in this country legally (*Testimony of Sheriff Pendergraph*, 2006).

The above statement indicates that without the 287(g) program, local law enforcement authorities may lack the necessary authority to be able to easily identify individuals in their custody. Furthermore, Vaughan and Edwards (2009) report that other participating agencies claimed 287(g) was a major factor in decreasing local crime rates. For instance, Davidson County reports that after two years of 287(g) there was 46%

decline in "illegal aliens" committing crime. They further report that Davidson County has been successful in removing around 70 gang members. Moreover, 287(g) has processed around 40% of those who had been previously arrested.

Furthermore, the flexibility of the 287(g) MOA provides the local jurisdictions opportunities to tailor the program according to their specific needs. Capps et al. (2011) find that some of the counties in their jurisdictions such as Clark County (LA) and, Prince William County (VA), crafted the program such that only serious criminals could be identified and removed from their communities. Colorado's MOA was targeted specifically to decrease smuggling.

A report also finds some evidence that the non-citizen Hispanic population had significantly dropped in some of the jurisdictions that had 287(g) (Capps et al., 2011). For example, analyzing the American Community Survey data from 2005 to 2009, Capps et al. (2011) find that three of their four study areas saw a decline in non-citizen Hispanic population. Frederick County (MD), Loudon County (VA), and Prince William County (VA), all experienced a decline in non-citizen Hispanic population, with the largest percentage decrease of 61% in Frederick County. Prince William County has experienced the second largest decline of 21%.

Along with the benefits of the 287(g) program, reports identify several challenges ranging from the lack of overarching federal government guidance to other unintended social consequences. Research reports from the Office of Inspector's General (OIG) and the Government Accountability Office (GAO) indicate that there are discrepancies in the program's effectiveness to meet its goal. The flexibility in the implementation of the 287(g) program also has some negative consequences. Nguyen and Gill (2010) state that

the main reason behind the discrepancies is that the program's guideline provides

enormous discretion to LEAs to tailor the 287(g) MOA according to their respective

needs. For example, Weisman et al. (2009) contend that the distinction between the

Correctional Model and Task Force Model is rather vague, as there are cases where

individuals are arrested and brought to the correctional facility to check their immigration

status. Some jail models even allow officers to inquire about the legal status of

individuals outside detention facilities under certain circumstances (Nguyen & Gill,

2010). However, studies suggest that problems within the 287(g) program are

widespread, mainly because of the high number of individuals with minor offenses and

traffic violations arrested and processed for deportation (Weissman et al., 2009; Nguyen

& Gill, 2010; Vazquez, 2011). These types of misguided arrests have the potential to lead

to other unintended social consequences impacting the whole community. The

International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) report that there is a chance that the

287(g) program may have a "chilling effect" on the immigrant community (*Testimony of

IACP*, 2005, p. 11). However, Vaughan and Edwards (2009) refute these allegations that

the 287(g) has any type of "chilling effect" on immigrants. They report that "crime

statistics, social science research, or real-life law enforcement experience" indicate that

there is no evidence of changes in reporting of crimes by ethnicity (Vaughan & Edwards,

2009, p. 19). For example, in Prince William County, crime reporting by victims was

identical for Hispanics and non-Hispanics in 2008 (Guterbock et al., 2009). Due to the

lack of earlier surveys, Guterbock et al. (2009) are not able to establish if the crime

reporting had changed after 287(g) in Prince William County. Since there is no difference

in Hispanic and non-Hispanic crime reporting they claim that there is no under reporting

of crimes by Hispanics during the time of the survey.

One well-documented unintended consequence is the collapse of the relationship

between the local police and immigrant communities (Seghetti et al., 2009 ; Nguyen &

Gill, 2010; Vazquez, 2011). As 287(g) seeks assistance of local law enforcement to act as

immigration officers, it has potential effects on their routine policing duties.

Responsibilities of police include protecting civilians, regardless of their legal status in

order to maintain a cohesive and safe community (Decker et al., 2009). Community

policing –"a philosophy of policing that requires significant collaboration and

cooperation with community members" has been the prevalent policing technique in the

U.S. communities over the past two decades (Khashu, 2009, p. 24). This type of policing

relies heavily on the help of community members to maintain public safety. Local police

involvement in immigration enforcement may break down the trust between the

immigrant communities and police, hindering any kind of cooperation. Research suggests

that there may be a decrease in public safety that may arise from the immigrant's

hesitation to report a crime and to speak up against criminals (Khashu, 2009; Nguyen &

Gill, 2010). With the looming possibility of deportation of their friends, family members,

or themselves, individuals may be reluctant to come forward with crucial information to

solve crimes (*Testimony of IACP*, 2005). Furthermore, when police take on immigration

roles, the efforts of local police to build relationships with its immigrant residents may

lose its credibility (Nguyen & Gill, 2010). The local police conduct community outreach

initiatives including school-based programs such as G.R.E.A.T (Gang Resistance

Education and Training) and D.A.R.E (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) where local

police inform students about driver's safety, gang prevention, and drug awareness could be impacted. Nguyen and Gill (2010) comment that connections between communities and police developed over years might morph into a relationship driven by fear and mistrust due to a restrictive programs like 287(g).

Others have raised concerns that there may be increases in victimization of immigrants due to such policies, especially, domestic violence victims who are already unwilling to come to police for help may be further discouraged (*Testimony of IACP*, 2005). To protect undocumented victims and witnesses, congress has created U-nonimmigrant visa under the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act in 2000 (USCIS, 2010). This legislation allows individuals to apply for a U-nonimmigrant visa if they can establish that they are assisting in the investigation and prosecution of a criminal activity. A U-Visa provides temporary immigration benefits lasting as long as four years to qualified individuals. However, a report states that there are major challenges in obtaining these certifications (Sreeharsha, 2010). Furthermore, in events of emergency, such as in situations where one has to dial 911, a witness can never be sure if they will be approved for U-Visas. In fact, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), another arm of the DHS, issues a maximum of 10,000 U-Visas in any given fiscal year (USCIS, 2010). USCIS defers the additional applications to the following year and puts them on a waiting list.

Immigrants' fear of police and their unwillingness to have any interaction with them may make some members of the immigrant population vulnerable, and thus, easier targets for victimization as well as exploitation. Criminals may take advantage of an immigrant's legal status, as perpetrators are aware that undocumented do not have

enough papers to open a bank account and may be carrying large amounts of cash with them (Khashu, 2009). The possibility that they are reluctant to go to the police for help makes them even more attractive to these criminals. Furthermore, access to the court systems may also suffer as immigrants who feel unsafe may hesitate to file complaints against fraudulent employers, companies, or individuals who exploit them (Vazquez, 2011). Immigrants may prefer to lead their lives outside the formal court systems, even though exploitative employers and frauds are most likely to target them. Immigrants may also be reluctant to file for divorce or have a custody battle in the family court system.

Programs like the 287(g) may not be impervious to racial profiling and discrimination based on certain attributes of an individual (Weissman et al., 2009). A report states that comparison of crime data before and after 287(g) in Davidson County, TN, indicates possibilities of racial profiling (Idilbi, 2008). Idilbi (2008) further reports that traffic violation arrest rates in Davidson County for Hispanics more than doubled since the implementation of 287(g). He argues that as undocumented residents cannot get driving licenses in Tennessee, an officer, who arrests a Hispanic-looking individual on suspicion that he/she is driving without a license, is automatically profiling that individual. Nguyen and Gill (2010) also argue that 287(g) impacts mostly Hispanics in North Carolina. The concerns of these researchers are not unfounded, as Figure 3 illustrates, the top five countries processed by 287(g) in the U.S. from 2006 to February 2012 are all Latin American countries. The highest numbers of individuals processed are from Mexico with 188,383 individuals. Mexico makes up around 78.9% of the total individuals processed by 287(g). The next four countries which constitute approximately 16.1% of the total proceedings are as follows: Guatemala (13,762), Honduras (11,966),

El Salvador (11,864), and Nicaragua (781). The details of the top ten countries processed by 287(g) are included in Appendix G. One notable point is the figures in Appendix G shows that the United States is one of the top ten countries, with 608 individuals processed by the program. These statistics also raise concerns about individuals from the U.S. who may be wrongfully processed by the program.
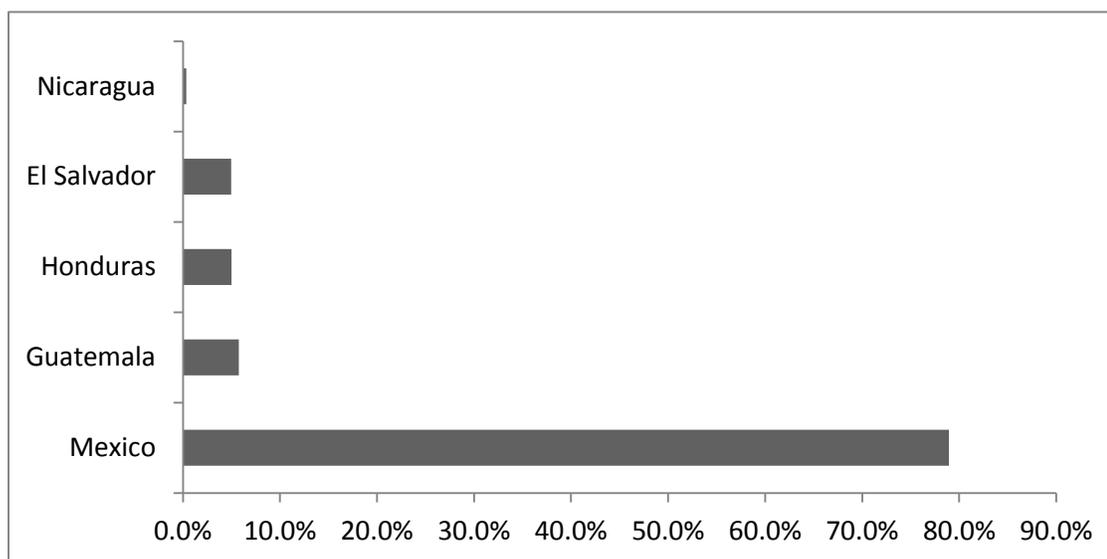
FIGURE 3: Top five countries processed by 287(g) (2006- February 2012)
Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security[12]

Chisti (2002) argues that even a well-intentioned police officer may engage in profiling individuals according to their ethnicity when they are asked to enact immigration policies. If a group of people feel that they are being discriminated against, Weissman et al. (2009) argue that the trust that these individuals place on the state and local institution breaks down. The breakdown of trust is not just limited to the undocumented immigrants (Khashu, 2009). The program may impact the documented friends and families of the undocumented individual and even the U.S. citizens.

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[12] Data obtained by FOIA (Freedom of Information Act) request to DHS

Evidence of unintended consequences may be seen in lawsuits from various civil rights as well as immigrant organizations. For instance, Casa de Maryland, a pro-immigrant group, filed a complaint against Frederick County, MD, Sheriff's Office to release information about the implementation of the 287(g) program under the Public Information Act. Casa De Maryland argued that the Sheriff's Office seemed to be "engaging in the racial profiling of individuals who are, or appear to be, of Hispanic or Latino Origin" (*Casa de Maryland v. Frederick County Sheriff's Office*, 2008) . In another lawsuit in Davidson County, TN, a pregnant Hispanic woman filed a case against a Sheriff's Office, as she believed her civil rights were violated when she delivered her baby under shackles (Reporter, 2011). The court decided in her favor, granting her a monetary compensation of $200,000 (Castillo, 2011). She is now requesting the federal court to grant her a U-Visa, which would allow her to stay legally in the country for several more years. In another case, Department of Justice has filed lawsuit against Alamance County, North Carolina Sheriff's office as they are alleged to have "engaged in discriminatory policing and unconstitutional searches and seizures" ("Justice Department Vs. Alamance County Sheriff's Office," 2011). The case against the Alamance County Sheriff's Office is open and ongoing. Expensive lawsuits have led some cities and counties to reevaluate their decision to partner with the federal authorities, and several have contemplated opting out of the program (Nguyen & Gill, 2010).

Law enforcement aside, evidence suggests that the 287(g) program can potentially impact immigrant's access to other municipal and local government services (Khashu, 2009). A survey of individuals in Prince William County indicates that there was a dramatic decline of Hispanics' trust in government after the implementation of 287(g)

(Guterbock et al., 2009). The invisibility of immigrants may also be traced through their hesitation to access medical care, school systems, faith based and other profit and non-profit organizations. In case of medical care, emergency rooms in the United States are obligated by law under the 1986 Emergency Medical Treatment and Active Labor Act (EMTALA) to provide service to everyone, regardless of legal status and ability to pay[13]. These emergency room visits may, in reality, be more expensive to the state, as the health problems may have reached an advanced stage, requiring critical care. In education settings, invisibility may be traced through the unwillingness of Hispanics to access school services, even when the school services are integrative in nature. The impact of immigration enforcement laws in schools was seen in Alabama after HB56 was passed, which allowed local police making traffic stops to ask for legal status of individuals. Although the courts blocked one of the provisions of HB56 that required school officials to check for legal status of children, Alabama schools felt a massive increase in absences of Hispanic children (CNN, 2012). Additionally, in Alabama there was a sharp decrease in students getting their education through English as a Second Language (ESL) programs. Areas that have experienced local immigration enforcement have also seen increased levels of distraction, anxiety, and absences among Hispanic children (Khashu, 2009). In the worst-case scenario, the tendency of Hispanic parents pulling their kids out of the schools and moving elsewhere where the laws are less restrictive may portray the increasing invisibility.

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[13] Any hospital that have an emergency room and that receives payment from the Department of Health and Human services, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services for services that are provided for the Medicare/Medicaid patients. This covers almost all the Hospitals in the United States except Shriner's hospital for Crippled Children and other military hospitals ("EMTALA," 1986).

Alternatively, faith based organizations have been recognized as non-governmental institutions that play a vital role in the integration of immigrants. These organizations are one of the initial places immigrants often turn to for help. With regards to churches, researchers argue that these religious institutions are usually the most welcoming place a new immigrant encounters in a foreign country (Menjivar, 2003; Ley, 2008). Menjivar (2003) points out that often churches offer new immigrants with "material and financial support, as well as legal counsel, access to medical care and housing, a lobby for less stringent immigration policies, and a welcome from the non-immigrant members" (p.25). Due to the variety of social services they offer, churches become a "hub" for immigrants where trust and relationships are developed and nurtured (Ley, 2008). To appeal to the newcomers, sometimes churches add religious practices in their services that closely match the immigrant's own traditions (Menjivar, 2003). Faith based or religious institutions not only connect immigrants to persons like themselves, but they also help in fostering relationships with individuals from other groups (Foley & Hoge, 2007). It is estimated that United States has approximately 7,000 Latino Protestant churches, 3,000 Korean Protestant congregations, and 700 Chinese Christian churches. Crossing the language barrier, around 3,500 Catholic parishes in the U.S. also have their mass in Spanish (Foley & Hoge, 2007). For example, in Charlotte, NC 70% of the Latinos are Roman Catholic and 50% of all Catholics in Western North Carolina are Latinos (Deaton, 2008). Ethnic churches such as *Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church* and *Our Lady of Assumption* have been assisting immigrants and their children by providing them a place of worship, interaction, and other services such as food and medical care when needed.

Invisibility of immigrants may also be apparent in hesitancy expressed by immigrants to access the services provided by the faith-based organizations. Likewise, immigrants' unwillingness to participate in activities organized by the faith based organizations may also be an indication of their necessity to live a low profile life. Therefore, community impacts of 287(g) may be clearer when access to services of faith-based organizations is examined.

As the above discussion reveals, 287(g) may be an answer to many woes of local law enforcement authorities. Along with the benefits that have been documented in this chapter, there are also a number of possible weaknesses of the program. Structuring these discussions of intended and unintended consequences in terms of social trust, interaction and mobility allows this research to methodically study the impacts. Moreover, asking other service providers, including the local law enforcement, clarifies if 287(g) influences the processes of integration of Hispanics immigrants. When 287(g) is applied to a new immigrant destination, such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the changes that service providers experience with their Hispanic clients may be apparent in their daily interactions. The next chapter furthers this discussion, as it presents the detailed context of Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

CHAPTER 4: CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG, NORTH CAROLINA

After the detailed overview of the 287(g) program, this chapter investigates the study area of this research – Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina. It first traces the expansion of the Hispanic population from traditional gateways to new immigrant gateways. This chapter places Charlotte-Mecklenburg in the context of the larger demographic and policy shifts occurring at the regional, state, and national level. Next, it explores shifts in local polices that impacts the Hispanic population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

4.1 Emergence of New Immigrant Gateways

Southern States

There is evidence that Hispanic settlement are shifting away from the traditional destinations to places which had until recently rarely experienced large influxes of Hispanics (Suro & Singer, 2002; Zúñiga & Hernández-León, 2005). Research suggests that before 1990, the majority of the Hispanic population resided in a handful of states in the U.S. Specifically, McHugh (1989) finds that in 1987, 90% of the Hispanic population were concentrated in nine states – California, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, New York, New Jersey, Florida, and Illinois. Among these nine states, four of the states are located in the Southwest region of the U.S.

Studying the migration patterns of Mexicans, Durand, Massey, and Charvet

(2000) state that from 1990 to 1996, the percentage of Mexicans moving out of

traditional states rapidly rose from 13% to 31%. Moreover, Saenz (1991) notes that as the

environment around the traditional destinations became increasingly hostile towards

immigrants, destinations with exciting economic opportunities, and welcoming

environments became more attractive for "trailblazers" seeking newer "frontiers" (p.146).

Previous research also suggests that the 1986 Immigration and Reform and

Control Act (IRCA) reinforced the movement of Hispanics out of the traditional

gateways to new destinations (Smith & Furuseth, 2006a). IRCA legalized eligible long-

term undocumented residents under the Legally Authorized Worker (LAW) program, and

undocumented agricultural workers under the Special Agricultural Worker (SAW)

program. Along with increased funding for border enforcement efforts, IRCA also

penalized employers who knowingly hired undocumented workers (Durand, Massey, &

Parrado, 1999). The IRCA was established to curb undocumented immigrants in the U.S.

However, Durand et al. (1999) argue that instead of decreasing the number of

undocumented immigrants, IRCA "was instrumental in transforming a predominantly

rural, male, and temporary flow of migrant workers into a feminized, urbanized, and

permanent population of settled immigrants" (p. 527). The requirements imposed by

IRCA on newly legalized populations in order to maintain their legal status transformed

the seasonal nature of immigration into a permanent settlement. According to Durand et

al. (2000), the legalization of undocumented workers had two main consequences on

immigrants. It increased the number of newly legalized undocumented workers, and it

gave them the freedom to move away from traditional settlements. Furthermore, the

increasing hostility towards immigrants in states like California, coupled with dwindling

economic conditions, also made migrating out much more attractive. With no fear of

detection and deportation, the newly legalized Hispanics could move freely to other

states, including the southern states, in search of better opportunities (Smith & Furuseth,

2006a).

Using Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and Primary Metropolitan Statistical

Areas (PMSAs) data, Singer (2004) analyzes the contemporary immigrant settlement

patterns. She develops a typology for immigrant gateways according to the historical and

current immigration flows in the metropolitan areas. She divides the immigrant gateways

into six categories: former, continuous, post-World War II, emerging, re-emerging, and

pre-emerging gateways. She states that the 1990s saw an immense amount of growth of

immigrants in non-traditional states. By 2000, there were thirteen states that received

immigrants at rates twice as high as the national averages of 57.4%. Most of these states

were in the western and Southeastern states of the U.S. For instance, some of the fastest

growing states in the Southeast were North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia,

Tennessee, and Kentucky. In comparison, the growth rate in traditional gateway states

including California, New York, and New Jersey was less than the national average,

indicating that there was a definite shift in contemporary immigrant settlement patterns.

Singer (2004) mentions that one characteristic of new immigrant gateways is that the

immigrants are more likely to be from Latin America or Asia. She also states that the new

immigrants are more likely to be low-skilled, undereducated, poor, and with limited level

of English proficiency. Therefore, the population migrating to these new immigrants

gateways is potentially disadvantaged and in need of additional support from the

community to integrate. In such an environment, Singer (2004) suggests that service

providers in the new immigrant communities, both governmental and non-governmental

can form the infrastructure to ease the integration processes of newcomers.

Like the changes in the immigrant settlement, the movement of Hispanics has also

followed similar patterns from traditional gateways to new immigrant gateways. Lichter

and Johnson (2009) argue that there was evidence that Hispanics were moving away from

traditionally more established areas in the southwest, to high growth areas mostly located

in the Midwest and Southern states. Besides the moving from other states, Hispanics

were also moving directly into new gateways from their home countries, or moving to

new gateways after a short stay in traditional gateways. Suro and Singer (2002) state that

the Hispanic population in the U.S. has grown between 1980 and 2000 in most of the

metropolitan areas. However, the extent and the rate of the growth differed according to

locations. They state that more than 50% of the Hispanic population still resided in

traditional gateways such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, among others.

Although Hispanics still maintained a stronghold in these "established Latino metros,"

immigrant gateways like Los Angeles and Miami were showing signs of slowdown in

Hispanic population growth. In comparison, fast growing gateways which started with a

small number of Hispanics were showing "explosive growth" from 1980 to 2000 (Suro &

Singer, 2002, p. 4). Among the emerging immigrant gateways, Suro and Singer (2002)

highlight the emergence of "hypergrowth" areas that experienced growth more than

double the average national growth rate for metropolitan areas, or more than 300 %

growth between 1980 and 2000 (p.5). Eleven of the eighteen metros they identified as a

hypergrowth area are from the southern region of the U.S. Furthermore, the top five

hypergrowth areas are all in the southern states. With a growth of 1,180%, Raleigh, NC saw the greatest change in its Latino population from 1980 to 2000. During the same times period Atlanta, GA saw an increase of 995% in their Latino population. While Greensboro, NC and Charlotte, NC saw an increase of 962% and 932% in its Latino populations between 1980 and 2000, respectively. The changes in the settlement patterns from old to new immigrant gateways do not appear to be a one-time phenomenon. In the southern states, the strong 1980-2000 growth trend of Hispanic population shows signs of sustainability. Recent census numbers indicates that between 2000 and 2010, the Hispanic population in the south grew by more than 6.6 million, an increase of 57.3% (Hoefer et al., 2012).

The rise of southern states as a new gateway for the Hispanic population has received immense amount of attention from researchers (Winders, 2011). Winders (2011) states that most of the southern communities are either trying to meet the needs of Hispanic community or identify their needs. Private service providers such as Spanish newspapers and Spanish radio stations have also become widespread in these communities. Moreover, southern localities are dotted with clusters of Hispanic businesses as well as Hispanic grocery stores around their neighborhoods. In the face of changing increases in visibility of Hispanics in the southern states, there was also rising tensions in the communities (Winders, 2007). Winders (2007) states that the changing demographic landscape in the post-9/11 era also brought new anxieties to local immigration enforcement. Southern states quickly became one of the regions in the U.S. who led the way on local immigration enforcement. After 9/11, many of the southern communities, including the ones in North Carolina, applied for 287(g). Soon after Florida

signed the first agreement, a number of other southern states entered into 287(g) partnership. As Appendix F shows, currently 37 out of 68 partnerships are located in the southern region of the U.S.

Figure 4 shows the total number of applications ICE received from the local law enforcement and the number of applications that were approved aggregated by state until 2009. Wong (2010) shows that by June 2009, 89 counties across 24 states have applied for 287(g). Among them, 41 agreements have been approved and 28 counties have been rejected. As Figure 4 illustrates, North Carolina has the highest number of applicants (22) and also highest number of approvals (eight) among the 24 states. Figure 4 also shows that the number of counties requesting for 287(g) is higher in other southern states such as Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. California and Arizona are other states outside the south that have a high number of applicants for 287(g).
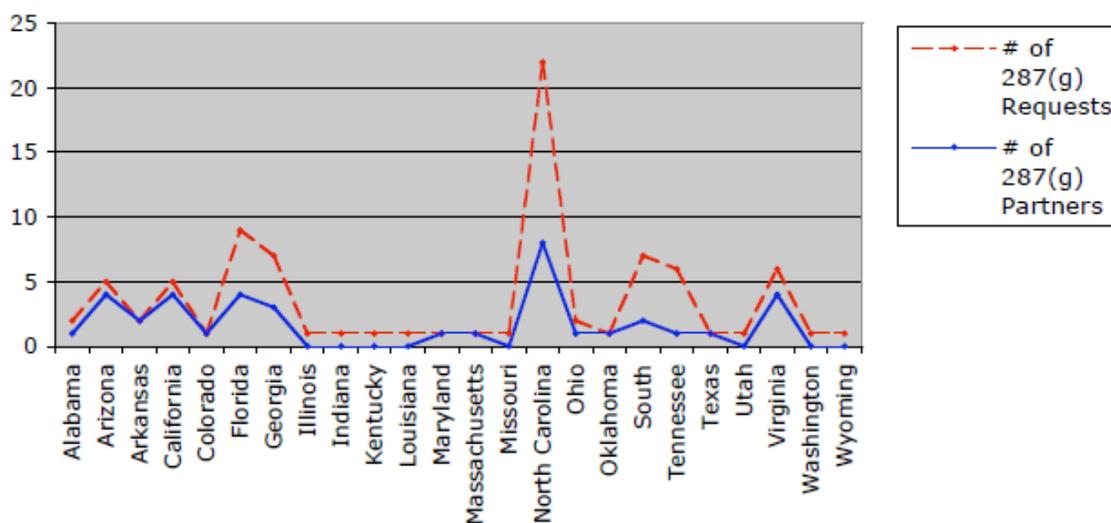
FIGURE 4: The 287(g) program approval by State (As of June 2009)
Source: Wong (2010)

North Carolina

The fact that three of the top five Latino hypergrowth areas are in North Carolina provides evidence that North Carolina has received a large number of Hispanic population in the last several decades. Troubled economies of traditional gateways were no match for the healthy labor markets and welcoming attitudes of North Carolina and other southern states (Winders, 2005). The growth of Hispanics in North Carolina is composed of both native and foreign-born Hispanics. From 2000 to 2010, census counts show that the Hispanic population in North Carolina increased by 421,157, a growth rate of 111.1% (Ennis, Ríos-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). The 2010 census estimates show that among the 800,120 individuals who identify themselves as Hispanics in 2010, 486,960 are Mexicans (60.9%), 71,800 are Puerto Ricans (9.0%), 18,079 are Cubans (2.3%), and 223,281 belong to other Hispanic groups (27.9%). Studying the Mexican migration, Zúñiga and Hernández-León (2005) state that the percentage of Mexican migrants in North Carolina alone increased by a massive 1,800% from 1990 to 2000. In terms of foreign-born Mexicans, the numbers increased from 172,065 in 2000 to 264,974 in 2010, a percentage increase of 53.9%. This last decade shows a slowdown of growth in Mexican immigrants compared to the previous decade.

Table 4 shows the American Community Survey's (ACS) three-year estimates of the foreign-born population in North Carolina. It shows that approximately 413,675, or 58.5% of the total foreign-born, are born in Latin America in North Carolina. According to the 2010 ACS estimates, foreign-born Mexicans are still heavily represented. Specifically, among the 413,675 foreign-born Hispanics, 264,974 are born in Mexico (64.1%). Among the foreign-born Hispanic population, around 84.5% are not citizens.

Additionally, an estimated 92.8% of those born in Mexico are not citizens. More than

half of the foreign-born Hispanics speak English less than "very well" (approximately

67.2%), and most have less than high school education (approximately 53.6%).

TABLE 4: Characteristics of foreign-born population in North Carolina (2008-2010 Estimates)

	Total Foreign-born	Born in Latin America	Born in Mexico
Foreign-born Population	707,171	413,675	264,974
Naturalized Citizen	29.3%	15.5%	7.2%
Entered 2000 or later	3.6%	2.0%	0.8%
Entered 1990 to 1999	9.3%	4.6%	2.6%
Entered before 1990	16.4%	8.9%	3.8%
Not a citizen	70.7%	84.5%	92.8%
Entered 2000 or later	41.4%	47.8%	51.1%
Entered 1990 to 1999	22.0%	29.3%	34.8%
Entered before 1990	7.3%	7.4%	6.9%
Educational Attainment			
Population 25 years and over	547,563	307,286	189,385
Less than high school graduate	35.4%	53.6%	64.5%
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	20.4%	22.6%	22.7%
Some college or associate's degree	17.4%	14.0%	9.1%
Bachelor's degree	15.1%	6.2%	2.7%
Graduate or professional degree	11.6%	3.6%	1.0%
Ability to speak English			
Population 5 years and over	699,552	411,026	263,287
English only	15.7%	7.4%	2.9%
Language other than English	84.3%	92.6%	97.1%
Speak English less than "very well"	51.7%	67.2%	75.3%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2008-2010 American Community Survey

However, around 22.6% Latin American born are high school graduates. In terms of

foreign-born Mexicans, 75.3% do not speak English "very well" and around 64.5% have

less than high school education. Most notably, among those born in Mexico half (51.5%)

entered North Carolina after 2000. Additionally, in North Carolina, the undocumented

population has increased by 53.8%, from 260,000 in 2000 to an estimated 400,000 in 2010 (Hoefer et al., 2012).

The characteristics of a new immigrant population present an enormous challenge to service providers of new destinations such as North Carolina, as they have a limited system in place to deliver the services needed by its new residents. Waters and Jiménez (2005) argue that established gateways have institutions in place, including services like health clinics, social organizations, and bilingual aids. The older immigrants in the established gateways initiate these immigrant specific services when they need them. Later, these services provide valuable resources to newer immigrants who arrive to these established gateways. However, Waters and Jiménez (2005) contend that newer gateways do not have such an infrastructure of support because they have not needed them until very recently. In such a climate, the public and private service providers are faced with tremendous challenges arising from a rapid change in population landscape. Brenner (2009) also argues that the service providers of new destinations may form an integrative infrastructure for Hispanics.

However, the service providers in North Carolina were not ready structurally to accommodate the changes in its residents. These service providers can range from schools and hospitals to law enforcement. For example, from 1985-86 to 2004-2005, North Carolina experienced an increase of 2,614% in their Hispanic school enrollment, while an increase in total school enrollments was just 24%. Thus, Hispanic enrollment in schools constituted of 57% of overall enrollment in North Carolina during the time period (Kasarda & Johnson Jr., 2006). Compounding the issue, there has been a shortage of

licensed ESL teachers in the state of North Carolina. In 2002, there were only 900 ESL teachers in North Carolina (Anrig & Wang, 2007).

During the 1990s many elementary schools in North Carolina were scrambling to serve the unexpected surge in Hispanic student enrollment (Kandel & Parrado, 2006). For example, before the 1990s, an elementary school located in one of the high Hispanic growth area in North Carolina was mostly black and white, with 60% non-Hispanic white and 40% non-Hispanic black. Between 1990 and 2000 that school's population composition changed to 52% Hispanic, 39% black and 9% non-Hispanic White. Kandel and Parrado (2006) emphasize that while many foreign-born parents of these new immigrant student bodies come from established immigrant gateways like California, the majority of them do not have high English proficiency and worked in low-paying jobs.

Figure 5 shows the shifts in the distribution of K-12 students in North Carolina from 2000 and 2011. As there may have been school district boundary changes, a direct comparison cannot be made. However, the figure shows the general increase of Hispanic students (K-12) from four percent in 2000 to 13.5% in 2011. This figure also illustrates that the percentages of Whites and African-Americans in North Carolina public schools has decreased in the last decade. It can also be noted that the percentage of students in the "others" category, which comprises of Asians, American Indians, and other ethnicities, increased from three percent in 2000 to 7.70% in 2011.
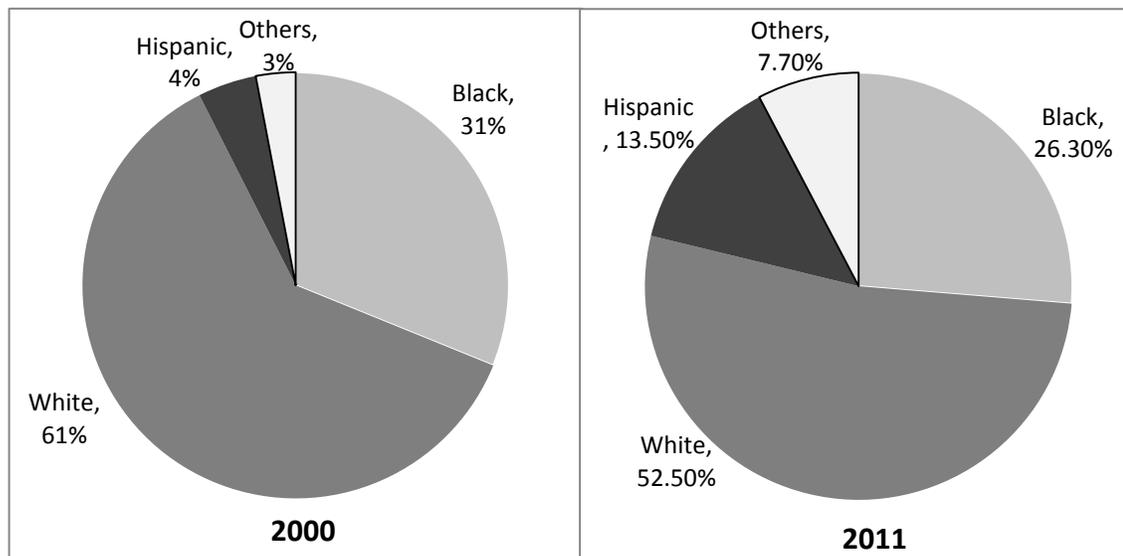
FIGURE 5: Distribution of total number of students (K-12) by ethnicity in North Carolina (2000 and 2011)
Source: www.ncpublicschools.org/

Kasarda and Johnson Jr. (2006) conclude that Hispanic population in North Carolina cost around $817 million annually for the state of North Carolina. For K-12 education, the annual cost was $467 million; health care is the next large expenditure, with a total of $299 million annually. Furthermore, corrections cost the state $51 million annually. As Hispanics contribute $756 million in taxes to the state of North Carolina, Hispanic population's net cost to the state budget is approximately $61 million. Although there is a net deficit, Kasarda and Johnson Jr. (2006) argue that the Hispanic population's contribution is beyond just the taxes paid. They contend that Hispanic population has contributed to a number of industries in North Carolina, such as the construction industry.

The pressure of serving the growing Hispanic population has sparked discussions of restrictive immigration policies in local jurisdictions in North Carolina (Nguyen, 2007). As early as February 2004, the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) in North

Carolina has already been moving towards restrictive immigrant policies by limiting the types of documents that it would accept for acquiring a driver's license (McClain, 2006). The program, called *Operation Stop Fraud,* is a partnership between DMV and Crime Control and Public Safety (CC&PS). The North Carolina general statute requires at least two forms of identification to apply for a driver's license: a valid driver's license, passport with a visitor status (I-94) or a work visa (I-551), and a social security number or a birth certificate (original or certified) (NCDOT, 2003). Before these changes in regulations, North Carolina was one of the states that accepted an Individual Taxpayer Identification Number (ITIN) and other foreign identification cards, such as *matricula consular[14],* as a proof of identification to obtain a driver's license. After legislative action in 2006, North Carolina has also revised its N.C. Gen. Stat. § 20-7(b1) to require a social security card (Weissman et al., 2009) in order to obtain a driver's license, a learner's permit or an identification card . Therefore, this policy prevents immigrants who do not have proper papers from getting driver's licenses in North Carolina. This policy may have separate impacts on the immigrant community, as immigrants who cannot get licenses still have to drive to work and do other activities. A natural extension of this consequence may be an increase in the number of drivers that drive without a license and without auto insurance (Nguyen & Gill, 2010). While achieving its aim of standardizing issuance of driver's license and identification cards, this policy may have compromised road safety for the general public.

In addition to these state policies, the federal government enacted the REAL ID Act in 2005 that requires a security number and a proof of legal status for a driver's

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[14] Matricula consular is an identity card issued by the Mexican government to its citizens living in a foreign country.

license to be accepted as a federal identification ("REAL ID Act," 2005). The act asserts that if the state did not comply with the new standards of the REAL ID Act, the license or identification cards issued by that state would not be accepted by federal agencies for any official purposes. The act also allows issuance of temporary licenses to individuals who are in the U.S. lawfully, such as, refugees, and individuals with pending visa applications. The deadlines to comply with the requirements of the REAL ID Act have been extended twice. All states were required to at least meet the material compliance requirement by May 2011 (Kephart, 2011). As of 2011, North Carolina has met 14 of the 18 benchmarks set by the REAL ID Act. The states were not required to issue all eligible individual drivers a REAL ID compliant driver's license until December 1, 2017.

In North Carolina, there have been other local initiatives directed explicitly at immigrants (Nguyen, 2007). Nguyen (2007) argues that some local jurisdictions in North Carolina successfully passed an English only ordinance, employer penalties, and landlord sanctions. In 2006, the City of Landis in Rowan County passed an ordinance designating English as the official language of business, while in the same year, Davidson County passed an ordinance that made English the official language of government. Also in 2006, Gaston County passed a resolution that prohibited county staff from delivering services to undocumented immigrants. This policy was drafted using the "Illegal Alien Relief Act" of Hazleton, Pennsylvania. Additionally, Cabarrus County passed a similar policy that limited the access of public services to undocumented immigrants. Reinforcing the federal law against hiring undocumented immigrants, Gaston County, Forsyth County, and Mint Hill also issued a mandate that penalized employers if they hire undocumented immigrants. Again modeled after Hazleton, Gaston County passed a

policy that punished landlords if they rented to undocumented immigrants or to

households with a higher number of people than a set limit.

The 287(g) program is also one of the responses to the population pressures the

local jurisdictions are facing in North Carolina. As mentioned earlier, in total, 22

communities in North Carolina had applied for the 287(g) program by June 2009 (Wong,

2010). Figure 6 shows an illustration of North Carolina jurisdictions that currently have

287(g), have expressed interest in adopting 287(g) (as of July 2009), or have dropped out

of the program.
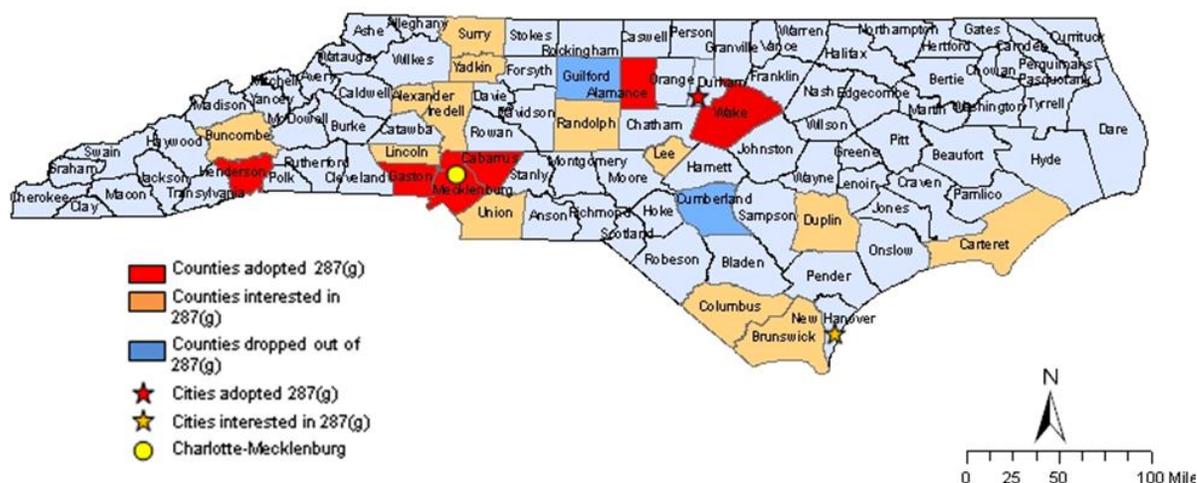
FIGURE 6: North Carolina Jurisdictions and the 287(g) Program
Source: Adapted from Nguyen and Gill (2010)

Currently, seven jurisdictions in North Carolina have the 287(g) program. They

are as follows: Alamance County, Cabarrus County, City of Durham, Gaston County,

Henderson County, Mecklenburg County, and Wake County. All counties have the jail

enforcement model of 287(g) except the City of Durham, which has a task force

agreement. As mentioned earlier, Alamance County Sheriff's Office is in the midst of a

lawsuit filed by the Justice Department for engaging in discriminating police techniques.

By July 2009, thirteen other jurisdictions had expressed interest in adopting 287(g). Two

counties have dropped out of the program. Cumberland County, which had signed the

287(g) agreement in June 2008, dropped out of the program in December 2009, citing

that the Sheriff's Office could not meet ICE's requirements (Cumberland, 2009).

Cumberland County did not have the jail space and other resources that ICE had

requested. Cumberland County also disagreed with giving up the rights to privacy of

employees who were assigned to 287(g). Guilford County also dropped out of 287(g) in

November 2010 after around eleven months into the program (Green, 2010). Guilford

County was one of the counties that implemented a limited version of 287(g), which

resulted in removing eight people from January 2010 to November 2010. The Guilford

County Sheriff's office dropped out of the program and opted to implement the Secure

Communities program.

<div align="center">Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina</div>

4.2 Demographic Changes in Charlotte-Mecklenburg

   Bordering South Carolina, Charlotte-Mecklenburg is one of the new immigrant

gateways in North Carolina which has undergone a notable demographic transition in the

past several decades. Mecklenburg County is composed of a major city called Charlotte

and other smaller cities surrounding the core such as Cornelius, Davidson, Mathews,

Mint Hill, Pineville, and Huntersville. Although, this study is largely looking at the

county level impacts of 287(g), the changes at the city level speaks volumes about the

transformations that have happened county-wide. During the 1990's, Charlotte had a

small immigrant population, which constituted 3.8% of the 396,003 population (Smith &

Furuseth, 2008). With Charlotte's booming economic outlook during the 1990's and its

welcoming environment, it was able to capture the attention of an increasing number of immigrants. In 2000, Charlotte's immigrant population grew to 59,849, representing 11% of the total population. Smith and Furuseth (2008) remark that approximately 45% of the immigrants in Charlotte arrived after 1995. As 2000 census estimates illustrate, the immigrant population in Charlotte in 2000 came from a variety of regions: Africa (7.9%), Europe (12.5%), Asia (26.3%), and Latin America (50.3%). The intensity of growth in immigrant population in the Charlotte metropolitan area made it one of the five *pre-emerging* immigrant gateways (Singer, 2004). The pre-emerging gateway cities are characterized by having the presence of a small immigrant population in the 1980s but experienced "sudden" and "rapid" growth over a 20 year time period[15] (Singer, 2004, p. 7). Singer (2004) also finds that Latin American immigrants are over-represented in the pre-emerging gateway cities.

Observing only the Hispanic immigrant population, during the 1970's there was a small but thriving population of 638 Hispanic immigrants in Charlotte (Smith & Furuseth, 2006b). Smith and Furuseth (2006b) state that 51% of the Latino population during the 1970s in Charlotte was Cuban. Their anti-communist and pro-capitalist attitudes, educational attainment, and skin color helped them to fit in to the new culture. Therefore, the early Latino population was able to "quickly assimilate into the dominant white American culture" (Smith & Furuseth, 2006b, p. 196). The decades following the 1980s brought about a definite shift in the volume and characteristics of Hispanics that moved to Charlotte. The newer population that came to the city was distinctly different from the older Euro-Latino population. While much of the older Latino population

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[15] Other pre-emerging gateways are Austin-San Marcos, TX, Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, NC, Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC, Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT

embraced the opportunities the newer immigrants brought with them, they were also skeptical of the demographic shifts. Smith and Furuseth (2006b) note that most of the new Hispanic migrants were members of the indigenous, underclass community in their home countries. Their different skin color, dialect, educational attainment, and time of arrival also set them apart from their predecessors.

The full extent of the growth of the Latino population in Charlotte was realized only after the release of the 2000 census data. From 1980-2000, the Latino population in Charlotte metropolitan area saw an increase of 932% (from 7,469 in 1980 to 77,092 in 2000), contributing to a 5% increase in the overall population. These increases in Hispanic population placed Charlotte metropolitan area as the fourth largest "Hispanic hypergrowth" area in the U.S. (Suro & Singer, 2002). From 2000 to 2010, census reports that the Hispanic population in Charlotte city increased from 39,800 to 95,688. The new Hispanics are composed of both a native-born population as well as a foreign-born population. For example, in terms of 2010 ACS three-year estimates, among approximately 92,129 Hispanics in Charlotte, 53,906, or 58.5%, are foreign-born Hispanics. Charlotte's foreign-born immigrant population came from a wide variety of regions in the world. The 2010 ACS three year estimates report that while many of the foreign-born were from Latin America (54%), other modest percentages of individuals were born in Africa (8%), Europe (9%), Asia (27%), and North America (2%).

Charlotte's dramatic demographic shifts in the past three decades reflect the changes at the county level. The 1980 census numbers show that the Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County was 3,954, which made up around 0.8% of the total population. Similar to the demographic change in the city of Charlotte, the 2010 census numbers

show that Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County saw an increase of 148%, from

45,205 in 2000 to 1,12,195 in 2010. Figure 7 illustrates how these increases in Hispanic

population at the county level compare against larger geographical scale. It shows a

comparison of percentage population change from 2000 to 2010 at four different

geographic scales: National, Southern States, North Carolina, and Mecklenburg County,

NC (Ennis et al., 2011).
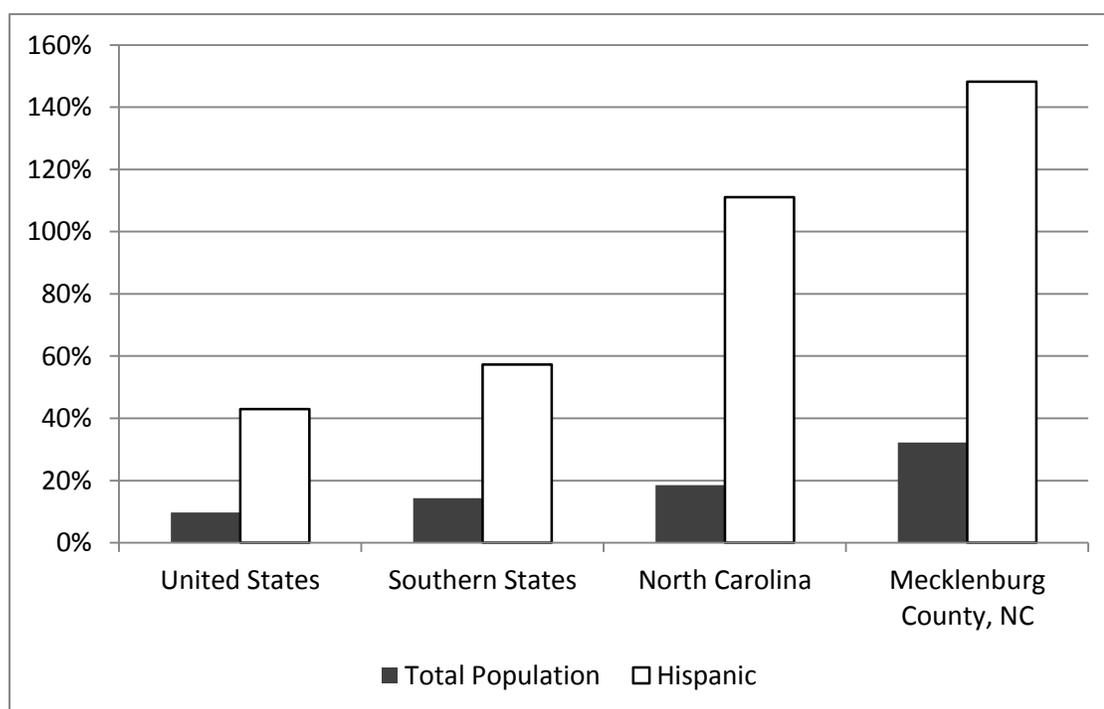
FIGURE 7: Comparison of percentage change in population (Total and Hispanic) 2000-
2010
Source: Ennis et al. (2011), U.S. Census Bureau

As Figure 7 illustrates, there is a general increase in total population across the

board at all geographical scales. In Mecklenburg County, Hispanic population saw an

increase of 148% from 45,205 in 2000 to 1,12,195 in 2010. In comparison, North

Carolina's Hispanic population increased from 378,963 to 800,120, a percentage change

of 111%. In the southern states, Hispanic population change was about 57%, with an

increase from 11,586,696 to 18,227,508. However, there was only a 43% increase from

35,305,818 in 2000 to 50,477,594 in 2010 in the United States. Census estimates clearly

show that Mecklenburg County experienced Hispanic population growth above the

national and state average between 2000 and 2010. The increase in Hispanic population

also constituted 30% of the change in total population of the county from 2000 to 2010.

Therefore, Mecklenburg County maintains its position as one of the most resilient

Hispanic destinations in the U.S. when compared to state and National percentage

changes in the Hispanic population.

The 2010 census illustrates the diversity of the Hispanic population in

Mecklenburg County. The population distribution in Figure 8 shows that the Hispanic

population is still significantly Mexican. The Census 2010 numbers show that there are

around 47,403 Mexicans (42.3%) in this county. Mecklenburg County also has modest

shares of Puerto Ricans (9,523), Hondurans (8,138), and El Salvadorans (10,625) in its

Hispanic population. The number of Cubans (3,571) and Dominicans (3,895) in

Mecklenburg County in 2010 is small compared to other groups.

Additionally, the 2010 ACS three-year estimates show that the Hispanic

population in Mecklenburg County is a combination of both a native-born and a foreign-

born population. In 2010, of an estimated 107,447 Hispanics 42,724, or 40%, are born in

the U.S. Of those born in the U.S. 20,056, or almost half of the Hispanic population, are

born in a state other than North Carolina. The other half are born in state of residence, in

this case North Carolina. Therefore, Mecklenburg County has received an almost equal

number of Hispanics who are born outside this state. A striking aspect of this

demographic change is that the Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County is still

overwhelmingly foreign-born with 61,269, or 57%, of the Hispanic population born

outside the U.S. The largely foreign-born quality of the Hispanic population in

Mecklenburg County becomes critical for service providers who serve them since they

may have different and special needs than the native-born populations.
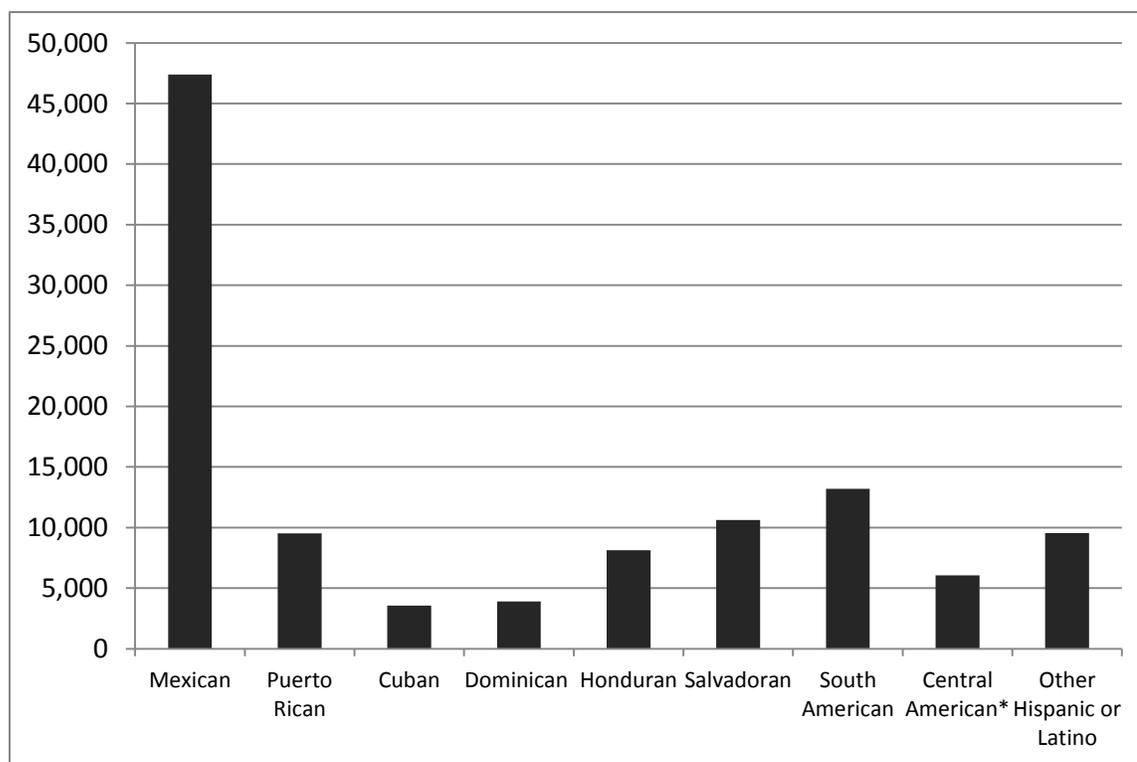
FIGURE 8: National origin of Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County, 2010
Source: U.S. Census Bureau
*Central American excludes Mexican, Honduran, and Salvadoran

Table 5 explores several characteristics of the population born in Latin American

countries that resided in Mecklenburg County in 2010. As individuals born in Mexico are

heavily represented (41.5%) in this population, this table also further elaborates the

characteristics of Mexican-born individuals. The majority of the foreign-born Hispanics,

or 84.3% of foreign-born Hispanics, are not citizens. The percentage of foreign-born

Mexicans that are not citizens is even more significant at 93.7%. More than half of the

non-citizen Hispanics entered after 2000; yet the percentage is still higher for non-citizen

Mexicans at 57.6%. However, 15.7% of the individuals born in Latin American are naturalized citizens, compared to only 6.3% of individuals born in Mexico who have naturalized.

In terms of educational attainment, 48.2% of foreign-born Hispanics have less than a high school education. Among Mexican-born individuals, 65.3% have less than a high school education. However, around 20% of both foreign-born Hispanics and Mexican-born have at least a high school degree. Additionally, in terms of ability to speak in English, 67.1% of foreign-born Hispanics and 77.4% of foreign-born Mexicans reported that they spoke less English less than "very well." Almost 98.5 % of Mexican-born immigrants spoke a language other than English. Also, almost half of the foreign-born Hispanics households are linguistically isolated in Mecklenburg County. Linguistically isolated households, as defined by the census, are those households where all individuals, fourteen years or older, speak a language besides English and do not speak English very well (Census, 2012). Table 5 reveals several qualities possessed by contemporary Hispanic immigrants in 2010. It shows that the foreign-born population in Mecklenburg County is largely characterized by individuals with lower educational attainment, and a lower ability to speak English.

As Singer (2004) argues the linguistic disadvantage of immigrants in the pre-emerging gateways is going to present immense challenges in terms of service delivery. Lack of proficiency in English language is a major barrier for the immigrant newcomers to receive information. Singer (2004) argues that local governments in established gateways are better prepared to handle new immigrants, as they are aware of the

communication challenges. Service providers in pre-emerging gateways are "ill-

equipped" to provide an immigrant-specific service delivery system (Singer, 2004, p. 17)

TABLE 5: Characteristics of foreign-born population in Mecklenburg County: Latin
America (2008-2010 Estimates)

	Total	Born in Latin America	Born in Mexico
Foreign-born population	126,216	66,412	27,592
Citizenship and period of entry			
Naturalized citizen	29.5%	15.7%	6.3%
Entered 2000 or later	3.2%	1.6%	0.4%
Entered 1990 to 1999	10.9%	4.5%	2.1%
Entered before 1990	15.4%	9.6%	3.8%
Not a citizen	70.5%	84.3%	93.7%
Entered 2000 or later	45.9%	53.2%	57.6%
Entered 1990 to 1999	18.5%	24.8%	30.1%
Entered before 1990	6.2%	6.3%	6.0%
Educational attainment			
Population 25 years and over	99,524	50,686	20,658
Less than high school graduate	30.6%	48.2%	65.3%
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	20.3%	23.8%	21.4%
Some college or associate's degree	17.6%	14.5%	9.2%
Bachelor's degree	19.3%	8.3%	2.7%
Graduate or professional degree	12.3%	5.2%	1.4%
Ability to speak English			
Population 5 years and over	125,010	66,153	27,463
English only	13.4%	6.9%	1.5%
Language other than English	86.6%	93.1%	98.5%
Speak English less than "very well"	51.5%	67.1%	77.4%
Linguistically isolated households	31.7%	45.5%	58.7%

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates

As Figure 9 shows, in 2010 foreign-born Hispanics in Mecklenburg County are

spread across several different types of occupations. Approximately 34%, the highest

percentage across all occupations, are concentrated in natural resources, construction, and

maintenance occupations. The second highest is service occupations where, 27% of the

foreign-born Hispanics are employed. Around 17% of them work in the production, transportation and material moving occupations. Modest percentages of foreign-born Hispanics, approximately 12%, are involved in management, business, science, and arts occupations. Similarly, around 10% are employed in sales and office occupations. This figure illustrates that as of 2010, the majority of foreign-born Hispanics are concentrated in service occupations and natural resources, construction and maintenance occupations.
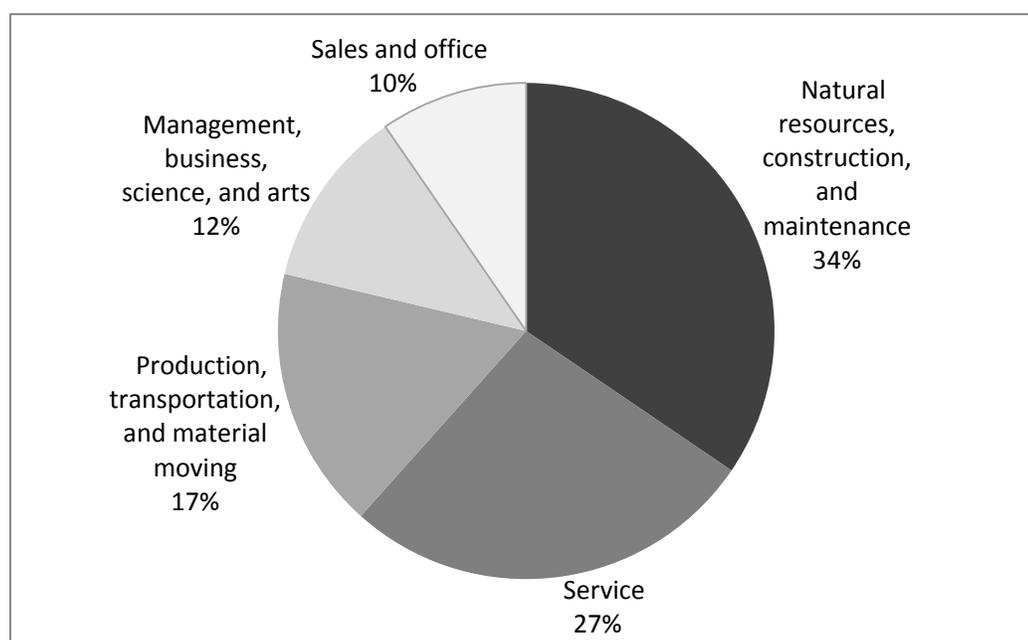
FIGURE 9: Occupational distribution of foreign-born Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County, 2010
Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates

The statistics from the larger Mecklenburg County and the core city of Charlotte reveal the newness of the Hispanic immigrant population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Examining the 287(g) program, in the case of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, provides a unique opportunity to explore integration of this largely immigrant Hispanic population. Charlotte-Mecklenburg's status as a new Hispanic destination that does not have an

established large Hispanic population creates an environment for new residents to find their way around the system (Waters & Jiménez, 2005). Established immigrant gateways have strong networks that provide the newcomers with valuable social networks which grant access to information about jobs and settlement (Hagan, 1998). In the absence of social support systems in a new immigrant gateway such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg, public, private service providers and immigrant advocates play a critical role in providing an infrastructure to ease the integration process of the newcomers into the larger community.

4.3 Shifting Local Reactions and Policies in Charlotte-Mecklenburg

As mentioned earlier, before the 1990s, Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg were inconspicuous, but were important in filling up unwanted low-wage jobs created by a growing economy (Deaton, 2008). Deaton (2008) contends that, previously, the general feeling towards the Hispanic population was warm and welcoming. The relationship between the public and the Latinos was regarded to be mutually beneficial. The government had programs that welcomed new immigrants and even the Governor of Charlotte, Governor Patrick McCrory, had a favorable view of the Hispanic population. Several events in the 2000s increased the visibility of this burgeoning new community. As noted earlier, after the release of the 2000 census numbers, Charlotte-Mecklenburg began to comprehend the enormity of the transformation within its demographics (Smith & Furuseth, 2006b). Deaton (2008) points out that the majority of Hispanics were in low wage jobs and had no health insurance. The service providers in Charlotte-Mecklenburg started to experience the pressures created by the needs of its new residents. Moreover, in the spring of 2006, a rally for immigration reform was organized that unveiled the

massive numbers and potential power of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg (Deaton, 2008). The Hispanics' sudden visibility in Charlotte-Mecklenburg was soon regarded to be intrusive.

In reaction to these changing dynamics, the dialogue among local media and politicians in Charlotte-Mecklenburg also began shifting. Smith and Furuseth (2006b) argue that the local media portrayed a stereotypically negative image of Latinos. Latino immigrants in Charlotte were generally portrayed as young, male, and Mexican, while in reality, the population also had traditional families and non-Mexican immigrants. Wives followed these young males into the new communities where they started a family. Even parents followed these new families to assist with child- rearing activities. The population coming to Charlotte swiftly changed from single males or "trailblazers" to traditional families (Suro & Singer, 2002, p. 8). The Latino immigrant population was also depicted to be predominantly undocumented, whereas statistics indicates that a number of the Latino immigrants were citizens and legal immigrants migrating from other states. The settlement patterns of the Hispanic population in Charlotte do not support the popular myth that they are concentrated in "a single, homogeneous, disadvantaged, and overwhelmingly Latino barrio, with stereotypical crime, illegality, and poverty" (Smith & Furuseth, 2007, p. 4). Smith and Furuseth (2007) argue that the Hispanic population in Charlotte are not concentrated in the center city neighborhoods, as is often the case for gateway cities, but instead are spreading out into suburbs and forming distinctive clusters. Latinos are also settling down in segmented suburban neighborhoods with different socioeconomic levels (Smith & Furuseth, 2006b; Weeks, Weeks, & Weeks, 2006-2007). This change in settlement patterns of Hispanics is not unique to Charlotte. As Suro and

Singer (2002) report, 54% of Latinos in 2000 resided in the suburbs, which is a 71%

increase from the 1990 census.

Smith and Furuseth (2006b) contend that the flawed perceptions of the Hispanics

created by local media and public discourses may have had an impact on the direction of

local immigrant policies and programs. The changing climate of Charlotte-Mecklenburg

was also apparent in the way the role of local police department transformed in the past

decades. Chief Darrel Stephens of the Charlotte Mecklenburg Police Department

(CMPD) states that in the late 1990s, the public discourse on immigration revolved

around concerns about the lack of bilingual police officers and other service providers to

efficiently meet the needs of the new population ("Police Chiefs," 2008). This public

sentiment led to the establishment of the International Relations Unit (IRU) in 2000 "with

a mandate to become a county-wide resource committed to improving the quality of life,

reducing crime and fostering mutual trust and respect with members of the international

community" (Mendoza et al., 2004, p. 5). The CMPD/IRU, following the philosophy of

community policing, conducted awareness programs in order to build trust and foster

positive relationships with the new community. Additional initiatives under IRU included

Second Language Incentive Program, and an interpretation and translation initiative that

involved other service providers as well. The CMPD/IRU report concludes that the

process of gaining trust was slow and hard, but once immigrants were able to get over the

language barrier, they developed a healthy rapport with the community. This relationship,

in turn, helped CMPD to get inside information on gang members, drug traffickers and

other criminal activities.

Another initiative of the local governments was the establishment of the

Immigration Study Commission in December 2005, led by Charlotte Mayor Patrick

McCrory. The Commission was created to "analyze the impact of immigration on

Charlotte's (and region's) quality of life, public safety, and economic opportunities"

(Phillips, 2006, p. 4). The 28 person panel consisted of immigrant advocates as well as

opponents (Furuseth & Smith, 2010). As a result, the four-point recommendation the

panel came up with was also conflicting. Pro-immigrant recommendations included a

program that created a pathway to citizenship for workers who contribute to the

economy. The advocates also expressed their support for the North Carolina DREAM[16]

Act. Anti-immigrant recommendations included allowing the police department to

inquire about legal status under 287(g). One of the recommendations was to deport

individuals who were arrested for a DWI (Driving While Impaired) for the first time.

The state and local policy environment in North Carolina and Charlotte-

Mecklenburg indicates it had been advancing towards more restrictive policies even

before signing the 287(g) agreement. In 2005, Commissioner James of Mecklenburg

County Board of Commissioner made a motion to permit:

> agencies administering state and local benefits to deny some such benefits to
> illegal aliens and to participate in the SAVE[17] system for determining legal
> immigration status for benefit eligibility purposes (Paige, 2005, p. 13).

The motion failed to pass with six votes against the motion and three votes for the

motion. If the resolution had passed, it would have penalized any individual or

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[16] DREAM Act (Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors) allows a path to citizenship for qualified undocumented immigrant students.
[17] Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements (SAVE) Program allows aid government agencies that provide benefits to determine an immigrant's status so that only eligible immigrants get the federal, state, and local benefits and licenses (USCIS, 2011).

organization (for profit or non-profit) that received a county contract and employed undocumented workers. Commissioner James reasoned that undocumented individuals should not be eligible for benefits that were appropriated for citizens and legal residents. In fact, he states that, "the only thing illegal immigrants should be entitled to is emergency care if their life is threatened" (Paige, 2005, p. 13).

According to Chief Darrel Stephens, the positive outlook towards the Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg reversed around 2006 ("Police Chiefs," 2008). Stephens suggested that the increased visibility of Hispanics, coupled with growing concerns that they were using public services, resulted in the change in attitudes. North Carolina's effort in 2004 to deny the driver's licenses for individuals who could not provide proper documents was a harbinger of the events that followed in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. In 2005 at the National Sheriff's Association's annual conference, the Sheriff from California, who was looking into signing the agreement, introduced Sheriff Pendergraph of Mecklenburg County to the 287(g) program (Caldwell Jr., 2009). Caldwell Jr. (2009) states that after Sheriff Pendergraph returned from the conference he further explored 287(g) and its relevance in Mecklenburg County jails. Mecklenburg County jails had been experiencing an increasing number of individuals who the sheriff suspected to be undocumented. Before it could be established that those individuals were undocumented, they would often be released into the community. Caldwell Jr. (2009) argues that immigrant related crime was also in the community's mind because of an accident that was caused by an undocumented individual. In 2005, an undocumented individual named Ramiro Gallegos was driving drunk when he became involved in an accident which resulted in the death of Scott Gardner, an NC school teacher. This accident prompted the

U.S. Representative for North Carolina and Charlotte Congresswoman Sue Myrick to formulate an Act targeting Driving While Impaired (DWI) arrests (*Sue Myrick* 2012). In 2005, she went before congress to promote "The Scott Gardner Act," which makes Driving While Impaired (DWI) a deportable offense after three DWI arrests. She points out that Gallegos had been arrested for drunk driving five times, two of them in North Carolina. The Scott Gardner Act was added as an amendment to the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005[18].

The Sheriff's Office took steps to address some of these concerns by signing the 287(g) program in 2006 with ICE. Congresswoman Sue Myrick supported Sheriff Pendergraph in his efforts to bring the 287(g) program to Mecklenburg County. The Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office also attempted to persuade the CMPD to inquire about legal status during their routine policing (Furuseth & Smith, 2010). CMPD resisted these efforts and chose not to get involved in the 287(g) program. Currently, only a few deputies in the Sheriff's Office and the federal officers have the authority to ask the individuals about their immigration status. Since Mecklenburg County participates in a jail enforcement model, the trained sheriff deputies can ask about the legal status of individuals only after they have been arrested and brought to the jail for booking. CMPD states that it does not have the authority to arrest an individual if his/her only violation is being in the U.S. without documents (CMPD, 2012). Nonetheless, if an individual is arrested during routine policing and booked into local county jail, the Sheriff's Office, under the 287(g) program, can check his/her legal status.

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[18] In 2012, she again went before the congress to amend this Act and make DWI a deportable office after one arrest (*Sue Myrick* 2012).

As noted earlier, in August 2006, a few months after the enacting of 287(g),

Sheriff Pendergraph of Mecklenburg County testified before the Congress to promote the

287(g) program as an important tool in solving the problem of *illegal* immigration in the

U.S (*Testimony of Sheriff Pendergraph*, 2006). He also encouraged other states to sign

the agreement with ICE. In his testimony, he states that the large number of individuals

identified under the 287(g) program reveals the enormity of the undocumented criminal

problem. Sheriff Pendergraph, while sympathetic to immigrants looking for a better life

in the U.S., clarified that he was concerned "for those crossing our porous borders

looking to cause harm and commit acts of terrorism against the United States" (*Testimony*

of Sheriff Pendergraph, 2006, p. 50). His testimony stressed that the financial and human

resources provided by the federal government to local and state agencies to deal with the

undocumented population in their jails were inadequate[19].

In 2008, both City of Durham and Wake County became two of the North

Carolina jurisdictions to adopt the 287(g) program. City of Durham is a part of the

Raleigh-Durham metropolitan area that is also designated as a pre-emerging gateway. On

one hand, City of Durham has the task force model rather than the jail enforcement

model. On the other hand, Wake County, NC, which encompasses the city of Raleigh,

participates in a jail enforcement model similar to Mecklenburg County. As discussed

earlier, the task force model in the City of Durham allows ICE-trained local officers to

investigate immigration status of individuals during their routine policing activities, even

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[19] After serving thirteen years as a sheriff of Mecklenburg County, in 2007 Sheriff Pendergraph was selected to serve as an Executive Director of State and Local Coordination for USCIS. As of April 2012, Former Sheriff Pendergraph serves as a commissioner on Mecklenburg County Board of Commissioners. He is also running for congress this may and is endorsed by former Congresswoman (NC) Sue Myrick (Myrick, 2012).

when that individual has not been charged for a crime. The main difference between the

jail enforcement model and task force model is that in the jail enforcement model, an

individual is required to be arrested and brought to the jail before any inquiry about

his/her immigration status can be made by an ICE-deputized officer. Therefore, task force

model provides an increased level of flexibility and discretion for the participating

jurisdiction. Coleman (2012) finds that despite the discretion provided by the task force

model, the number of 287(g) proceedings in the City of Durham has been very modest.

The reason behind the low numbers is that in 2003, the City of Durham has passed an

ordinance outlining non-cooperation with ICE which states:

> No Durham City officer or employee, during the course of and scope of their
> employment, shall inquire into the immigration status of any person, or engage in
> activities designed to ascertain the immigration status of any person (Gray, 2003,
> p. 10)

In the event of a conflict with federal laws, the order also states that a federal law

supersedes any city laws and ordinances. Coleman (2012) argues that the City of Durham

has chosen to apply 287(g) to control gang violence in Durham and mostly exercises

287(g) only after an arrest. Furthermore, the police department in Durham accepts other

forms of identification as a proof of identification during investigating traffic offenses.

As stated earlier, individuals without a social security number cannot receive driver's

license in North Carolina. Therefore, the City of Durham is trying to decrease the number

of individuals arrested for driving without a license by accepting forms of identification

other than the driver's license. In contrast, Wake County's jail enforcement model only

allows the Sheriff's Office to inquire about the legal status of individuals during the

booking process following an arrest. Coleman (2012) states that, from June 2008 to

December 2009, the number of deportations through 287(g) and Secure Communities in Wake County is comparable to the numbers in Mecklenburg and Alamance counties. Furthermore, he states that around 50 % of the the ICE detainers placed is a result of traffic violations. Although the City of Durham has a task force model of 287(g), in comparison to Wake County, the implementation seems to be much milder and constrained. As Coleman (2012) points out in his analysis, 287(g) is site-specific in nature, and its implementation, as well as its impacts, is dependent upon the context in which the policy is applied as well as how it is applied. Mecklenburg County's application of 287(g) seems similar to Wake County's, as both implement a jail enforcement model, and neither accepts other forms of identification in the event of a traffic violation. Coleman (2012) argues that immigration enforcement activities on the roads may have negative consequences on immigrants' day-to-day lives.

In Charlotte Mecklenburg, 287(g) has been a subject of protest marches. In May 2010, hundreds of individuals showed up in Charlotte-Mecklenburg to march from Marshall Park to the Mecklenburg County jail to protest against the 287(g) program and Arizona SB 1070. The protestors were concerned that the program was not only tearing families apart, but was also straining local resources (WSOCTV, 2010). In the face of these protests, there were still efforts to pass policies that were restrictive in nature for the Hispanic population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. For example, Commissioner Bill James from the Mecklenburg Board of County Commissioner's attempted to pass a motion for the Mecklenburg County in order:

> …to consider instructing the Department of Social Services (DSS) to ignore State and Federal regulations and disclose to the Sheriff/ICE/Homeland Security the details of ANY individuals within their files who have been determined to be illegal under the SAVE program to determine whether or not they are a threat to

national security, have a criminal background, or associated with those that may be a security threat (Paige, 2010, p. 14).

Commissioner James reasoned that the sharing of information about undocumented individuals with ICE was an important national security measure. This motion would identify undocumented individuals that go to the services offered by DSS and report them to the immigration enforcement officials, both local and federal. The motion failed to pass by a count of 5 votes to 3. If this motion had passed, it may have prevented undocumented parents from receiving benefits such as food stamps for their U.S. born children.

However, it is clear that the 287(g) program provides local LEAs a much needed legal avenue to enact local immigration policies in order to deal with the issues brought about mainly by the rapid demographic shifts. In the next few chapters, this research raises and attempts to answer several key questions that focus on 287(g) and its impacts on the Hispanic community and beyond. The following discussions bring together the theory and reality to methodologically study the impacts of 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Using a schematic logic model, this chapter presents the steps this research takes

to study the impacts of 287(g). The schematic diagram forms connections among the

integration theories and social trust, interaction, and mobility. This chapter also presents

the research expectations along each of the three axes of integration, which will later be

examined employing the quantitative and qualitative techniques.

5.1 Logic Model

The overview in Chapter 4 provides a context in which the 287(g) program is

implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. There was a negative attitude towards

immigrants partly fueled by the mainstream media rhetoric. Research suggests the new

immigrant population, overwhelmingly Hispanic, in this pre-emerging gateway may

already have some personal constraints that will impact its integration process (Singer,

2004). The 287(g) program is being implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg amidst these

transitions. This research examines the additional shifts in the integration processes of

Hispanics when confronted with local government policies that maybe restrictive in

nature.

The logic model depicted in Figure 10 shows a schematic diagram of how the 287(g) program may have several intended and unintended consequences that influence social trust, social interaction, and spatial mobility. Researchers have evidence that the 287(g) program is helping local law enforcement authorities to identify individuals who pass through its jails (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009; DCSO, 2012). These reports also demonstrate that the program is meeting its intended goal by removing from the community undocumented individuals convicted of committing a crime. If 287(g) operates as intended, the program may increase overall public safety by deporting smugglers, human traffickers, and violent gang members. However, there are other studies that raise concerns about the negative impacts of the program on the community (Nguyen, 2007). One main concern is that the majority of individuals processed under the 287(g) program are suspected of committing minor offenses. This unintended consequence is expected to have negative impacts on the level of trust immigrants place on public and private service providers, straining interactions with the service providers and other community members, and hindering their mobility.

Social trust, in turn, is expected to be related with social interaction and spatial mobility of Hispanics. The level of trust of an individual is reflective of how much that individual interacts with the broader community, and whether that individual feels safe enough to continue living in that community. A Hispanics' reaction, then, to 287(g) may be played out in the community at multiple levels. Reluctance of Hispanics to interact with government services such as the police might prevent them from reporting a crime, which may be indicative of a loss of trust in local authorities. Moreover, decrease in trust may be portrayed by hesitancy to access basic and essential services in schools, hospitals,

and court systems. Decrease in social interaction may mean unwillingness of an individual to participate in activities organized by churches, schools, and advocacy organizations. The program may also raise concerns within the Hispanic community about driving, further hindering their interaction and stifling their mobility. Hispanic movement out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg may demonstrate one of the ways in which Hispanics may respond to the program.

Impacts

Social
Interaction
-Hispanics'
interaction with
the service
providers as well
as the community
decreases

-Agencies see less
Hispanics
volunteering
-Agencies report less
participation of
Hispanics in
activities and events

Social Trust
-Hispanics lose
trust in the
police, other state
agencies, local
government and
non-government
agencies, and the
community

-Hispanics report
crime less
-Hispanics hesitate to
come forward as
witnesses
-Hispanics fear
police
-Hispanics are
victimized more
-Do not file civil
lawsuits
-Domestic violence
do not get reported

Reasons for
Unintended
consequences
-Hispanics
committing petty
crimes are
detained and
eventually
processed for
deportation

Local law
enforcement
officers assist the
federal government
to identify and
deport
undocumented
immigrants
arrested for
committing serious
crimes.

Federal
287(g)
program

-Agencies report
that Hispanics are
scared to access
services, like,
hospitals, schools,
and banks

Spatial Mobility
-The mobility of
Hispanics may be
negatively
impacted due to
fear

-Hispanics drive
less
-Move out of
neighborhood,
county or state

Reasons for
Intended
consequences
-Dangerous
undocumented
immigrants are
identified and
deported

Crime decreases
in Mecklenburg
County

FIGURE 10: A schematic diagram of the impact of the 287(g) program on the processes of integration and engagement of Hispanics

This research explores these possibilities, keeping in mind that the environment in Charlotte-Mecklenburg may not have been favorable for Hispanic integration to begin with. To study how 287(g) impacts Hispanics' integration processes, the research triangulates two primary methods of data collection: quantitative and qualitative methods. A triangulation of these two methods of analysis provides a rigorous analysis and added to the validity of the results with one method complementing the other. This research also triangulates between the sources of respondents. The quantitative method uses responses of the Hispanics, whereas the qualitative technique collects the responses of service providers for the Hispanic community. Berg (2006) suggests that methods should be triangulated if certain aspects of the research cannot be answered satisfactorily with only one method. Moreover, if the research comes to similar conclusions while using different methods, it increases the validity of the measurements used (Schutt, 2006).

Since quantitative data that this research relies on a secondary survey, one of the limitations of quantitative analysis is that it does not cover all of the relevant research questions. The quantitative method is assessed first and the results are used to guide the qualitative analysis. Thus, quantitative analysis sets the stage for further analysis through qualitative techniques. With the collection of qualitative data, the research is not limited to data from secondary sources. There is increased flexibility in evaluating the research questions in greater detail and depth, at scales that cannot be achieved through quantitative methods alone.

5.2 Research Expectations and Measurements

Similar to the conceptualization of integration, the measurement of integration has

also evolved with time. Researchers have attempted to measure integration in various

ways, but they have struggled to agree on a single method (Alba & Nee, 2003). However,

it is evident that integration of immigrants translates into the society at different levels,

both socially and spatially. Language proficiency is used extensively as the basic

measurement scale for immigrant integration because it is one of most visible ways

immigrants adapt to the receiving society; it is also a measure that is readily available in

the census datasets (Waldinger & Feliciano, 2004; Jiménez, 2011). Other measurements

that highlight the integration of immigrants are intermarriage with a native-born

individual, number of children, and their marital status (Vigdor, 2008; Jiménez, 2011).

Jiménez (2011) contends that increases in intermarriage among groups is a sign of social

integration. Individuals of different ethnic groups and different national origins marrying

each other indicate that the social and ethnic barriers among the different groups are

"highly permeable" (Jiménez, 2011, p. 15). Researchers quantify socioeconomic

integration of immigrants according to their educational attainment, income,

homeownership, educational attainment, labor force participation, and occupations

(Kalmijn, 1996; Vigdor, 2008).

Measuring integration in terms of socioeconomic indicators, language

proficiency, marital status, and number of children may be the most tangible, as well as

convenient methods of gauging the level of integration; however, they are far from being

the only way Hispanics manifest their integration in the society. If research focuses on

just these most obvious measurements, it may overlook the complex processes of

integration that are just as important dimensions of Hispanics' lived experience. Studying processes of integration as measured by social trust, social interaction, and spatial mobility, this research sets itself apart from other integration studies. In order to answer the research questions, this research use past literature and reports to develop several research expectations. These research expectations provide guidance to investigate the impacts of 287(g) along each of the three axes of trust, interaction, and mobility. While these research expectations provide a structure for the quantitative and qualitative methods, the inductive nature of this research allows the exploration of other potential patterns and associations concerning 287(g) and Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The following sixteen research expectations refer to Hispanics, it is important to note that in the context of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the Hispanic population has a large immigrant population.

a) Social Trust

The concept of social trust is defined as the extent to which individuals trust the individuals and institutions around them. As discussed in the literature review, social trust is a significant facilitator through which a group integrates into the society. This research argues that the 287(g) program may impact this delicate link of social trust that Hispanics place on the service providers, and thereby depicts how the integration infrastructure in the community changes. As previous studies suggest, this research expects that the involvement of a local jurisdiction in the 287(g) program may decrease the level of trust Hispanics placed on local service providers, such as law enforcement, schools, and hospitals. The research expectations of this study of the impact of 287(g) on social trust are as follows:

RE1: Hispanics post-287(g) are more likely to have lower levels of trust compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE2: Hispanics post-287(g) are more likely to have lower levels of trust in law enforcement compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE3: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to report crimes compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE4: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to come forward as witnesses compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE5: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to access primary care services compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE6: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to access emergency room services compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE7: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to access education services compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE8: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to access the civil court system compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE9: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to access banking services compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE10: Hispanics post-287(g) are more likely to be exploited by employers compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

b) Social Interaction

Social interaction represents yet another important dimension of the processes through which integration plays itself out in the community. This research studies social interaction in two ways: interaction of Hispanics with the service providers and interaction of Hispanics at a personal level. Hispanic individuals participating in activities organized by service providers and advocates may illustrate that they see themselves as a part of the community and feel safe volunteering at church events, schools, or participating in political rallies. Evidence of individuals interacting at a personal level

suggests that Hispanics are mixing and mingling with individuals that are different from their ethnicities. However, when faced with restrictive policy, it may be possible that Hispanics will be scared to do basic activities such as going to grocery stores, parks, or malls. The level of interaction Hispanics have with the service providers, as well as with the individuals of the community, is likely to be negatively affected by anti-immigrant policies and anti-immigrant rhetoric.

The research expectations that address the connections between social interaction issues and the 287(g) program are as follows:

RE11: Hispanics under 287(g) are less likely to participate in community activities compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE12: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to have personal interactions with other races compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE13: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to participate in church activities compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

c) Spatial Mobility

Settlement patterns of immigrants have also been widely used by researchers to measure integration of immigrants into the fabric of the society (Massey, 1985). Such patterns can be studied at a variety of scales: neighborhood, county, and higher scales. However, research suggests that the relationship between settlement patterns, specifically residential segregation, and integration is nuanced (Bolt, Özüekren, & Phillips, 2010). Some past literatures suggest that living in ethnically mixed neighborhoods may result in higher chances of interaction among the immigrants and the dominant group (Gordon, 1964). Musterd (2003) mentions there is an assumption that if individuals live in homogenous and spatially concentrated neighborhoods, it will impact their integration

and upward social mobility. Conversely, living in ethnically concentrated neighborhoods

may provide immigrants with strong social networks, which may be a source of

information to help them navigate their lives (Wright, Ellis, & Parks, 2005). However,

individuals' socioeconomic situation may constrain their choice to live in ethnically

mixed neighborhoods (Massey, 1985). Besides income, English usage, age, and ethnic

group are other characteristics may affect their decision to move to a predominantly

white neighborhood (South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005). Other factors, like the length of

time in the U.S. and time of arrival may also impact whether immigrants choose to stay in

an ethnically concentrated neighborhood or move out (Wright et al., 2005). Apart from

settlement patterns of the individuals, changes in spatial mobility of individuals might be

observed in how they travel within the community. As a result of the 287(g) program,

Hispanics might be afraid to drive, take public transportation, or move about in the

community.

At a higher spatial scale, such as a county or metropolitan, Hispanics' willingness

to migrate and settle into a county may signify welcoming attitudes of a locality along

with other macroeconomic factors, such as better job prospects, higher standards of

living, and lower home prices. On the other hand, an increase in out-migration of

Hispanics or a slowdown in the rates of Hispanics migrating into the county may be

attributable to harsh economic conditions. As mentioned earlier, policies and laws that

are restrictive in nature may also discourage some immigrants to move into a community

(Lee, 1966). Moreover, policies may encourage other immigrants to move out of a

community. Camarota and Jensenius (2009) argue that a combination of immigration

enforcement policies in the United States may have had an effect of discouraging the

settlement of less-educated and young Hispanics immigrants in the U.S. At any scale, it is indisputable that pull and push factors of the economy play a vital role in the ebb and flow of migration (Lee, 1966).

Quantitative methods using census tract data can convey how the settlement patterns of Hispanics have changed in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, but cannot convey if the changes are related to the program. Qualitative analysis became a crucial step to get to the crux of mobility issues of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

This research expects that 287(g) impacted spatial mobility of Hispanics in such a way that it decreased their mobility within Charlotte-Mecklenburg and increased their movement out of the area. The research expectations framing these issues are as follows:

RE14: Hispanics post-287(g) are more likely to move out of a county compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE15: Hispanics post-287(g) are more likely to move out of a neighborhood compared to Hispanics pre-287(g).

RE16: Hispanics post-287(g) are less likely to drive than Hispanics pre-287(g).

This chapter has presented a framework to answer the research questions of this research. The logic model and the 16 research expectations serve as a guideline as the analysis progresses from quantitative to qualitative methods. The next chapter uses quantitative data and methods to tackle several of these research expectations. The chapter following the quantitative section explores the research expectations further using qualitative methods. After systematically explaining the methodology, each chapter presents the results.

CHAPTER 6: QUANTITATIVE METHODS AND RESULTS

The purpose of the quantitative analyses is to observe the changes in processes of integration of Hispanic individuals in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Since there is no available data that explicitly relates trust, interaction, and mobility shifts of Hispanics to 287(g), this research relies on general social capital and census data. Although a direct causal relationship cannot be drawn relating the changes in the three axes with 287(g), the quantitative analysis provides a strong starting point for the qualitative research.

There are two major types of quantitative methods that are used to study the research expectations presented in the preceding section. The first type of quantitative method studies the research expectations related to social trust and social interaction while the second method studies the research expectations under the spatial mobility axis. Specifically, the first method studies the research expectations RE1, RE2 and RE11 which involve establishing if there were any significant changes in trust and interaction of Hispanics before and after the time period that 287(g) was implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. As noted earlier, the 287(g) program was implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg in 2006. Therefore, the time period used for the first phase of the quantitative analysis is 2000 and 2008.

The main challenge is to determine whether the measures of social trust, interaction, and mobility of Hispanics would have changed in the absence of 287(g). Would the level of trust Hispanics place on service providers decrease? Would their frequency of interaction with the service providers reduce? Would Hispanics move out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg? The possibilities are endless, as there is no way of finding out what would have happened if there had been no program. There is a chance that the trust and interaction of Hispanics would have decreased even under normal circumstances. This problem of "counterfactual" is often mentioned by policy researchers as "the fundamental problem of causal inference" (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994, p. 77). Policy evaluators often include a comparison group in the analysis to find out what would have happened if there had been no program. However, evaluators have to be careful what they are comparing against to prevent any pre-existing differences between the groups that bias their research. For example, in a pure experiment of diabetes medicines subjects are randomly assigned to a treatment group and control group. Random assignment ensures that there is no difference between the treatment and control group. The treatment group is given a medicine while the control group is given a placebo. The observed difference in blood sugar levels between the groups after they take the medicine shows the true impact of the medicine.

Since government programs and policies are never pure experiments, it is difficult to isolate the impact of a program. Blundell and Costa Dias (2005) suggest that a commonly used method by policy evaluators is the natural experiment technique; in this method, the evaluator treats the policy as a treatment and attempts to find a "naturally occurring comparison group that can mimic the properties of the control group in the

properly designed experimental context" (Blundell & Costa Dias, 2005, p. 428). Rossi,

Lipsey, and Freeman (2004) advise that using statistical techniques to create a control

group that is similar to the treatment group is one of the most common ways to tackle a

quasi-experimental design. Thus, this research uses a statistical matching technique called

Propensity Score Matching (PSM) to construct a control group that was most similar to

the treatment group (Cho, 2009). Comparing against a matched control group ensures that

differences in trust and interaction were not due to inherent differences between the two

groups. The treatment group for this quantitative analysis is the Hispanics, as previous

research suggests that they are the largest group impacted by the 287(g) program

(Nguyen & Gill, 2010). PSM matches the treatment group, Hispanics, with comparable

non-Hispanics in Mecklenburg County. Frequently used by policy analysts to conduct

program evaluation, an estimator called difference-in-differences (DID) is used to

observe if there were changes in social trust and social interaction from 2000 to 2008

between Hispanics and non-Hispanics. Blundell and Costa Dias (2005) argue that PSM

when combined with the DID approach "has the potential to improve equality of non-

experimental evaluation results significantly" (p.438).

The 2000 and 2008 survey data is limited to social capital questions and does not

include other questions on mobility aspects of an individual's life. Thus, in order to study

the mobility and settlement patterns, this research compares 2000 and 2010 census

datasets. This phase of analysis involves studying the spatial mobility and settlement

patterns of Hispanics before and after the program through a series of maps of Charlotte-

Mecklenburg. To examine whether there were any traces of segregation of Hispanics

compared to non-Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the researcher calculates the index of dissimilarity (ID).

6.1 Testing Social Trust and Social Interaction

a) Data and Variables

The quantitative data examines two time periods, 2000 and 2008, measuring social trust and social interaction pre and post-287(g). A key assumption is that secondary data collected through surveys in 2008 would have given enough time for the community to be impacted by the program. Measuring the impacts after the program has been in place for a while also diminishes any impacts of the program solely due to the newness of the program.

This research uses a survey called the 2000 Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (2000 SCCBS) designed by Robert Putnam[20] and Saguaro Seminar at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard (SCCBS, 2000). This national social capital survey contains an oversample of Hispanics and African-Americans, allowing analysis across these groups. The 2000 SCCBS survey includes respondents from Mecklenburg County, with relevant questions on social trust and social interaction. The Saguaro seminar used a random-digit-dialing method to collect the responses during the period of July to November 2000. An international survey firm called TNS Intersearch conducted the survey and prepared the data for analysis. Among the 566 individuals in Mecklenburg County, the total number of respondents that identify

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[20]In 2000, Robert Putnam wrote a seminal book on social capital called "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community."

themselves as Hispanics in the 2000 survey is 40 (7.07 %)[21]. Since SCCBS 2000 contains personal identifiers at the census block level, the data is restricted for public use[22].

This research also uses a survey conducted by Crossroads Charlotte[23] in partnership with University of North Carolina at Charlotte Urban Institute called 2008 Social Capital Benchmark Community Survey (2008 SCBCS) for Charlotte-Mecklenburg (SCBCS, 2008). The 2008 SCBSC survey instrument uses many of the same questions developed by the Saguaro Seminar and Robert Putnam. Additionally, this 2008 survey used a random-digit-dial sample of individuals purchased from a private survey sampling firm. In order to include Hispanics, the researchers at the Institute also purchased a sample of telephone numbers of individuals who had Hispanic sounding surnames. They trained 17 students to administer the survey using the Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system. The telephone surveys were conducted from July 2008 to August 2008. In total, the 2008 survey collected responses from 855 individuals with 107 (12.5%) individuals identifying themselves as Hispanics.

By utilizing the time period between 2000 and 2008, this research benefits from a pre-287(g) and post-287(g) snapshot, as 287(g) was enacted in 2006 in Mecklenburg County. The repeated cross-sectional structure of the dataset also allows the use of a variety of statistical techniques to measure if trust and interaction changed in 2008. A limitation of this analysis is that the two surveys, though comparable, have a small sample of Hispanic individuals.

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[21] The questions from the survey that are relevant to this study are included in Appendix A.

[22] The researcher applied for and was approved to receive a one-year use agreement for the restricted 2000 SCCBS dataset from the Roper Center in collaboration with University of North Carolina at Charlotte's Information Technology Department.

[23] Crossroads Charlotte is a non-profit organizations that aims "to build trust by creating access, inclusion and equity in Charlotte-Mecklenburg" (Crossroads, 2012).

The unit of analysis for this phase of quantitative analysis is the individual.

Research expectations RE1, RE2, and RE11 require measurement of two principle

dependent variables: social interaction and social trust. *rTrust*, the dependent variable for

RE1, is a dichotomous variable that measures whether individuals generally trust other

people (=1). A dependent variable for RE2, *rTrustPolice*, is also a dichotomous variable

that indicates whether individuals trust the police (=1). Furthermore, *SocialInteraction*

and *rVolunteer* are the two independent variables that measure social interaction (RE11).

SocialInteraction measures the frequency of individuals attending public meeting or a

club meeting. The second variable, *rVolunteer,* measures the total number of times an

individual volunteered in a 12-month time frame. A complete list of variables of the

quantitative analysis is included in Appendix B.

b) Estimating Propensity Scores Matching Using Nearest Neighbor Matching

First, this research estimates the propensity scores for each individual in the

dataset based on several observable demographic and socioeconomic factors in the two

times periods, 2000 and 2008. Propensity score, P($\mathbf{x}$), is defined as the conditional

probability of assignment to a treatment given a vector of covariates (Rosenbaum &

Rubin, 1984). In other words, propensity score matching estimates the probability of each

individual assigned to a treatment group, depending on various covariates included in the

analysis. Rosenbaum and Rubin (1984) state that if being treated by 287(g) is ($z =1$) and

vector of covariates is assumed to be $\mathbf{x}$, then P($\mathbf{x}$) = Pr ($z = 1 \mid \mathbf{x}$). An assumption of PSM,

also known as conditional independence, is that the covariates will not have any impact

on the assignment of treatment. In this case, the impact of 287(g) is independent of other

demographic and socioeconomic factors that are included as covariates. This analysis

identifies Hispanics as the treatment group and non-Hispanics as the control group. The combined dataset of 1,421 individuals is composed of 147 Hispanics. The vector of covariates includes 10 observable characteristics, namely gender, age, income, employment, education, marital status, number of children, and homeownership.

The equation for the logit model to estimate the propensity score is as follows (Rosenbaum & Rubin, 1984):

$$\log [P(\mathbf{x})/(1 - P(\mathbf{x})] = \alpha + \beta\ f(x) \tag{1}$$

where α and β are parameters and $f(x)$ is a specified function.

This analysis utilizes a module in STATA called *pscore* to estimate the propensity score, which also ensures the satisfaction of the balancing property (Becker & Ichino, 2002). Satisfaction of the balancing property implies that the distribution of the propensity scores within a given block or strata of homogenous propensity scores are similar for the treated and the control group (Cho, 2009). This analysis restricts the tests of balancing property to a region of common support, which limits the test of the balancing property only to cases that have similar propensity scores for the treated and the control groups (Becker & Ichino, 2002). Becker and Ichino (2002) argue that using just the observation in the region of common support may improve the quality of matches in the later stages of matching. Imposing common support also means that propensity scores from the control group that fell outside region of common support are excluded.

Then, using the estimated propensity scores, this analysis uses a k-nearest neighbor matching with replacement (k-NNMR) algorithm to select individuals for the control group who are the closest match, in terms of propensity scores, to individuals in the treatment group. To conduct the k-NNMR algorithm, this analysis uses the STATA

module *psmatch2* (Leuven & Sianesi, 2003). Abadie and Imbens (2006) contend that matching with replacement allows each observation in the treatment group to be used more than once for matching. They further argue that matching with replacement produces a match of higher quality as it increases the set of possible matches versus matching without replacement. This analysis utilizes the k-nearest neighbor matching algorithm to estimate a matched outcome using the 10 nearest neighbors within a given propensity score caliper. It uses this process to construct a sample of Hispanics (treatment group) matched with non-Hispanics (control group) who are most similar to each other in Mecklenburg County, differing only on the treatment of 287(g).

One drawback of PSM is that much of the data that does not fit the common support gets excluded, resulting in a smaller number of cases. Also, the matches are only as good as the observable covariates; therefore, matching will be imperfect if an unobservable covariate was influencing the assignment to the program. Thus, PSM does not guarantee a complete reduction of differences, as there will still be some selection biases.

c) Difference-In-Differences Estimator Using Propensity Score Matched Samples

After creating a matched sample using the propensity scores for each year, this analysis uses the matched sample to compare trust and interaction outcomes of Hispanics with outcomes of non-Hispanics before and after the program. Also known as the difference-in-differences (DID), a key assumption is that no factor other than the 287(g) program impacts the levels of trust and interactions of Hispanics in comparison to non-Hispanics in the sample. Also DID assumes that there are common time effects across groups and there are no compositional changes within each group (Blundell & Costa

Dias, 2005). Since general trust and trust in police are dichotomous variables, this analysis estimates a basic logit model. Two interval-level variables measure social interaction and are estimated using a multivariate regression model.

A basic multivariate regression model was conducted to estimate the DID. The equation is as follows:

$$Y_{it} = \beta_0 + \delta_0 \, After287_t + \beta_1 Hispanic_i + \delta_1 After287_t \cdot Hispanic_i +$$

$$\gamma_1(Demog) + u_{it} \tag{2}$$

where Y_{it} was *SocialInteraction* or *rVolunteer* for an individual *i* during time *t*. The variable *After287_t* is 1 if the observations are from post-287(g), and represents the aggregate factors that affect social interaction for the treatment and control groups in the same way over time. $Hispanic_i$ alone captures potential differences in the control and treatment group before the policy change. The interaction term $After287_t \cdot Hispanic_i$ equals 1 for the treatment group for the post-287(g) period (Woolbridge, 2001). The variable $Demog$ represents the demographic controls used in the estimation. The controls variables include dummy variables for gender, marital status, income, level education, income, and homeownership. The controls also include interval-level variables for age and number of children.

The estimator $\hat{\delta}_1$, also known as the DID estimator, is interpreted as follows: If $\bar{y}_{A,1}$ is the sample average of y for the control group for the first year and $\bar{y}_{A,2}$ is the sample average for the second year. Similarly $\bar{y}_{B,1}$ is the sample average for the first year and $\bar{y}_{B,2}$ is the sample average for the second year for the treatment group. Then, $\hat{\delta}_1$ can be expressed as follows:

$$\hat{\delta}_1 = \left(\bar{y}_{B,2} - \bar{y}_{B,1}\right) - \left(\bar{y}_{A,2} - \bar{y}_{A,1}\right) \tag{3}$$

In other words:

$$\hat{\delta}_1 = Difference\ (pre - post)average\ of\ Treatment\ Group -$$

$$Difference\ (Pre -\ Post)average\ for\ Control\ Group \tag{4}$$

Thus, $\hat{\delta}_1$ gives a change in social interaction of the treatment group subtracting out any

change that may have happened with or without the program. Since, a control group is

included in the analysis, this model controls for alternative factors that changed the

interaction in the area between the two time periods. The treatment group and control

group are statistically similar to each other due to the use of propensity score matching.

Thus, any difference that the analysis finds is entirely due to the program. Therefore, any

observable and unobservable factors other than the program that impacts social

interaction of Hispanics and non-Hispanics will be accounted for in this model.

Estimating the DID for a dichotomous variable as an independent variables is not

as straightforward, as the relationships are non-linear. Therefore, this analysis uses the

logit model (with categorical by categorical interaction) to study RE1 and RE2. To ease

interpretation of results from the logit model, this analysis uses a model that produces

results in probability metric instead of odds ratios. This analysis first estimates the logit

form of Equation (5) with *rTrust* or *rTrustPolice* as the dependent variable:

$$Log\ (Z_{it}) = \beta_0 + \delta_0\ 287_t +\ \beta_1 Hispanic_i + \delta_1 287_t\ .\ Hispanic_i +$$

$$\gamma_1(Demog) + u_{it} \tag{5}$$

where Z_{it} is a dummy for social trust, which is equal to 1 for Trust, for individual i during

time t. The same sets of controls from Equation (2) are used in this estimation. Since

Equation (5) produces estimates in odds ratio, it is necessary to use another method to calculate the simple effects in terms of probabilities. After estimating Equation (5), this research estimates conditional marginal effects of the program on the level of general trust and trust in police placed by Hispanics. The conditional marginal effect estimates the differences in probability of the dependent variable, as the categorical variables change from 1 to 0, holding all other covariates constant at their means. This estimation method produces a separate estimate for differences in probability during the post-287(g) period for Hispanics and non-Hispanics. Next, for DID estimation one difference in probability is subtracted from another to produce a difference-in-differences estimate. The corresponding standard errors estimates allow examining the statistical significance of the differences in trust between the treatment and control group.

d) Results

Descriptive Results

This analysis compares the datasets from 2000 SCCBS and 2008 SCBCS. In each year, Hispanic groups are matched with non-Hispanic groups. The descriptive results are shown in Table 6. In the matched sample, there are 45 individuals in 2000, among them approximately 58% identify themselves as Hispanics. In 2000, 31% are males among the Hispanics, in comparison to 16% males among non-Hispanics. The mean age in this sample is comparable for both groups, at around 30. The educational attainment of Hispanics is also balanced amongst two groups, except in terms of individuals with a high school diploma. Hispanics have a higher percentage of individuals with a high school diploma.

TABLE 6: Descriptive statistics of the matched sample (2000 and 2008)

	2000		2008	
	Hispanics (treatment)	Non-Hispanics (control)	Hispanics (treatment)	Non-Hispanics (control)
Total Number	45		139	
Race (%)	57.8	42.2	60.4	39.6
Gender (%)				
Male	31.1	15.6	34.5	23.7
Age (Mean)	29.61	32.1	42.9	47.4
Education				
Less than high school	13.3	8.9	17.3	6.5
High school diploma	22.2	11.1	11.5	5.8
Some College	20.0	20.0	28.8	23.0
Marital Status (%)				
Married	26.7	24.4	43.9	30.9
Children (Mean)	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.2
Employment status (%)				
Employed	44.4	33.3	46.0	30.9
Income (%)				
More than $30,000	31.1	26.7	41.0	30.9
Own a home (%)				
Own	17.8	15.6	33.8	27.3
General trust				
Trust people in general	8.9	15.6	14.4	14.4
Trust police (%)				
Trust	20.0	24.4	29.5	16.5
Social interaction (Mean)	2.4	8.4	4.4	5.9
Volunteer (Mean)	2.6	3.9	5.8	6.0

Source: 2000 SCCBS and 2008 SCBCS

In 2000, around 25% of both groups are married and, in general, both groups have

a mean of 1.5 children. In terms of employment, 44% of Hispanics are employed,

compared to 33% of non-Hispanics. Additionally, 31% of Hispanics earn more than

$30,000, in comparison to 27% non-Hispanics. Comparable percentages of individuals

own homes in this sample. In terms of general trust, only 9% of Hispanics generally trust other people, compared to 15.6% non-Hispanics. Also, 20% of Hispanics trust police compared to 24% of non-Hispanics who trust police. Social interaction mean indicates that non-Hispanics are more active than Hispanics.

The matched 2008 sample has 139 individuals with approximately 60% identifying themselves as Hispanics. In the sample, 34% Hispanics are males, in comparison to 24% non-Hispanic males. The mean age for the non-Hispanics is slightly higher at 47, compared to 43 for Hispanics in the sample. In terms of educational attainment, higher percentages of Hispanics have less than high school or at least a high school diploma in 2008. Higher percentages of Hispanics are also married, 44% in comparison to 31% of non-Hispanics. However, the numbers of children for both groups are similar. Additionally, higher percentages of Hispanics are employed and earn more than $30,000 when compared to non-Hispanics. The descriptive statistics indicate that general trust in people is balanced for both Hispanics and non-Hispanics, at around 14%. In fact, more Hispanics in this sample trust police than non-Hispanics. As in the year 2000, non-Hispanics have a higher mean of social interaction and volunteering than Hispanics. However, the difference between Hispanics and non-Hispanics in terms of interaction and volunteering has decreased.

At first glance, the simple descriptive statistics suggests that the percentage of trust increased for Hispanics from 2000 to 2008. Contrarily, for non-Hispanics the level of trust appears to have decreased. The nuanced nature of these changes requires further investigation. The following section elaborates the results from the empirical analysis.

Empirical Analysis Results

The distribution of the propensity scores for the original sample in comparison to the matched sample is illustrated in Figure 11. For both time periods, the graph indicates that the difference between Hispanics and non-Hispanics decreased for each year after matching. In terms of the 2000 sample, there is a significant decrease in the difference in Hispanics and non-Hispanics between the matched and unmatched sample. As Figure 11(b) illustrates, the matched sample has a clear overlap of propensity scores for Hispanics compared to non-Hispanics than the original sample in Figure 11(a). The test of reduction in bias suggests that the difference in propensity score distribution between Hispanics and non-Hispanics reduced for all covariates except for marital status.

a) Propensity Scores For Hispanics and Non-Hispanics before matching (2000)

b) Propensity scores for Hispanics and Non-Hispanics after matching (2000)

c) Propensity scores for Hispanics and Non-Hispanics before matching (2008)

d) Propensity scored for Hispanics and Non-Hispanics after matchiing (2008)
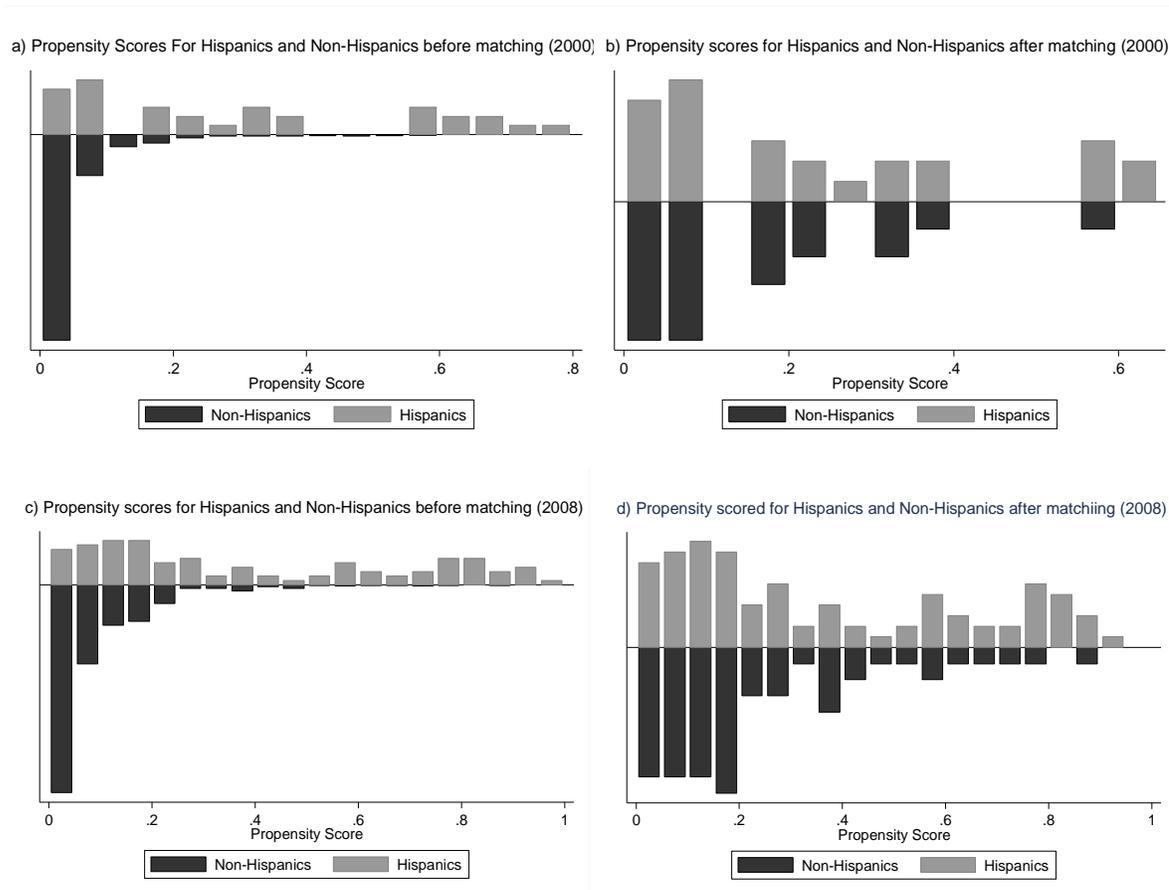
FIGURE 11: Estimated propensity score distribution for Hispanics and non-Hispanics before and after matching (2000 and 2008)

Similarly, for the 2008 sample, the analysis indicates that the matched sample significantly decreased the differences between Hispanics and non-Hispanics across the board. As the distribution of propensity scores in 11(d) shows only the cases that overlapped are kept in the sample. Matching the two groups, Hispanics (treatment) and non-Hispanics (control) group, ensures that the two groups are now comparable to each other. In other words, in terms of characteristics that are included in calculating the propensity scores, there are minimal differences between the two groups. The results of this analysis are included in Appendix C.

Difference-in-differences analysis of social interaction illustrates that there are no significant differences in participation or volunteering in Hispanics after the program when compared to their non-Hispanic counterparts. The results from the logit model for general trust differences yield no significant differences in probability in Hispanics and non-Hispanics after the program. However, an analysis of trust in police portrays a more complex picture. The results in Table 7 indicate the differences in probabilities of trust in police for Hispanics and non-Hispanics from 2000 to 2008. It shows the estimates when each of the covariates is kept constant at one value while others are kept constant at their means. Table 7 only shows the results of covariates that are significant across both groups.

For individuals that have some college education, probability of trust in police decreased more for Hispanics than non-Hispanics after the implementation of 287(g), holding all other covariates at their means.

TABLE 7: Differences in probabilities of trust in police among Hispanics and non-Hispanics after the 287(g) program in Mecklenburg County

Fixed Covariates		Hispanics	Non- Hispanics
Education			
	Some College (=1)	-0.357	-0.202
		(0.150372)*	(0.0652303)**
Income			
	Less than $30,000(=0)	-0.365	-0.220
		(0.1519366)*	(0.0788043)**
	More than $30,000(=1)	-0.339	-0.340
		(0.1450732)*	(0.1096582)**
Gender			
	Male(=1)	-0.372	-0.270
		(0.1535138)*	(0.0797568)**

TABLE 7 (Continued)

Fixed Covariates	Hispanics	Non- Hispanics
Female=(0)	-0.333	-0.346
	(0.1418516)*	(0.1157386)**
Owning a Residence		
Own Residence (=1)	-0.367	-0.295
	(0.1535956)*	(0.0853336)**
Not Own(=0)	-0.355	-0.321
	(0.1467355)*	(0.1053519)**
Employed		
Employed (=1)	-0.348	-0.330
	(0.1470733)*	(0.103145)**
Not Employed (=0)	-0.364	-0.217
	(0.1518138)*	(0.0813285)**
Married		
Married(=1)	-0.366	-0.297
	(0.1520279)*	(0.0884849)**
Not Married(=0)	-0.350	-0.329
	(0.1491508)*	(0.1072723)**
Age		
23 years old	-0.363	-0.306
	(0.1480716)*	(0.1059623)**
40 years old	-0.362	-0.307
	(0.1505013)*	(0.0919273)**
64 years old	-0.361	-0.310
	(0.0883672)*	(0.1565661)**
Number of children		
No Kids	-0.369	-0.232
	(0.1522501)*	(0.0743219)**
One kid	-0.369	-0.288
	(0.1526077)*	(0.0840842)**
Two kids	-0.343	-0.336
	(0.1457665)*	(0.1064032)**
Three kids	-0.298	-0.366
	(0.1362633)*	(0.1345647)**
Pseudo R^2	0.2024	
N	184	

Standard errors in parentheses, *p < 0.05, *p < 0.01

For those with incomes less than $30,000, Hispanics have a lower probability of trust in police than non-Hispanics after 287(g). However, at incomes more than $30,000, the difference in probabilities of trust in police between Hispanics and non-Hispanics decreases. In terms of gender, male Hispanics have a lower probability of trust than male non-Hispanics after the program. In comparison, the difference between Hispanic and non-Hispanic females is minor. For individuals who own a residence, Hispanics have a lower probability of trust in police compared to non-Hispanics after the program. In contrast, there is minimal difference between Hispanic and non-Hispanic renters. Among employed individuals, the difference in probability of trust in police is minimal between Hispanics and non-Hispanics after 287(g). However, unemployed Hispanics have lower probability of trust when compared to Hispanics. As discussed earlier, in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, a large percentage of Hispanics are immigrants with modest incomes. Thus, having a low-income, being male, and being unemployed may have decreased Hispanics trust in police after the program.

In terms of married individuals, married Hispanics have lower probabilities of trust in police when compared to non-Hispanics. The difference in probability of trust in police between Hispanics and non-Hispanics is lower for unmarried individuals than for married individuals. At age 23, 40, 64, Hispanics have generally lower probabilities of trust than non-Hispanics after the program. For individuals with no children or, one to two children, Hispanics have generally lower probabilities of trust than non-Hispanics. However, for individuals with three children, non-Hispanics have lower probability of trust than Hispanics after the program. One explanation may be that as individuals have more responsibilities, they may be more aware of enforcement programs like 287(g).

Hispanics with a wife and children may have higher level of fear and concern about being

removed from the country when they encounter a law enforcement authority. As previous

research suggests, there is heightened anxiety in the Hispanic community that families

will be separated as a result of the program.

As shown above, there is some evidence that Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg

have lower probabilities of trust in police in 2008 when compared to 2000. The 287(g)

program is potentially one of the factors that have influenced the change in the

probability of trust of Hispanics. These results give some empirical support to the

findings of several reports and evaluations that 287(g) may have an impact on trust

placed by the Hispanic community in the law enforcement authorities (*Testimony of*

IACP, 2005).

Additionally, there are evidences that there are lower probabilities of trust in

police by non-Hispanics in the same time period. Although Table 7 shows that there are

differences in probabilities of trust in police between Hispanics and non-Hispanics, the

DID estimates show these differences are not significant for any of the covariates. This

analysis simply indicates that the probability of trust in police placed by both Hispanics

and non-Hispanics decreased after the 287(g) program. These results back the anecdotal

claims made by other researchers that levels of trust in police may have decreased in the

past decade in 287(g) jurisdictions (Nguyen & Gill, 2010). However, there may be

different reasons that can be attributed to the decrease in general trust in police among

Hispanics and non-Hispanics. The 287(g) may be one of the reasons for the decrease of

trust in police from 2000 to 2008, but there are also other reasons that may have

influenced these changes. For example, general population growth may have produced a

broader decline of trust in police. Increases in diversity in the community may also have decreased trust in police. General concerns about racism may also have played a part in Hispanics' decrease of trust in police. The qualitative method will build on these results to further explore whether the differences of probability of trust in police for Hispanics is connected to the 287(g) program. It will also build on these results to investigate if the changes in trust in police has unintended consequences on Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

6.2 Testing Spatial Mobility

a) Data and Methods

For the analysis of spatial mobility and settlement patterns at census tract level, this phase of quantitative analysis uses the data from census summary files for the years 1990, 2000, and 2010. This analysis uses census data in two main ways to study the changes in mobility and settlement patterns. First, it studies the change in the settlement patterns of Hispanic population through a series of maps at the census tract levels for two of the census years, 2000 and 2010[24]. Despite the boundary changes of Mecklenburg County from 2000 to 2010, maps are able to visually illustrate how the settlement patterns within the county have changed. Second, in order to observe whether the Hispanic settlements have become more segregated in terms of census tracts, this analysis calculates an index of dissimilarity (ID) to compare the pre-287(g) (1990 and 2000) and post-287(g) (2010) time periods. As mentioned earlier, there were boundary changes over these time periods in Mecklenburg County; therefore, a direct comparison of the ID cannot be made across the three time periods. However, the ID assists in observing the

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[24] ArcGIS was used to create the maps for this analysis.

general trends of segregation of Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County. The index

of dissimilarity is commonly used to measure urban segregation for different groups of

people (Park & Iceland, 2011). Logan, Stults, and Farley (2004) state that the ID

"assesses the evenness of two mutually exclusive groups are distributed across" in an

area like a metropolitan area or a county (p.6). This analysis calculates the dissimilarity

indices of the Hispanic population with the non-Hispanics as the reference group at the

census tract level.

This analysis uses the following formula to calculate the index of dissimilarity

(Duncan & Duncan, 1955):

$$\text{ID} = \frac{1}{2}\sum \left| \frac{Hispanic_i}{TotalHispanic} - \frac{nonHispanic_i}{Total\ nonHispanic} \right| \times 100,$$

where *i* represents census tracts in the county. The index ranges from a value of 1

(completely segregated) to 0 (completely integrated). It represents the percentage of

Hispanics that would have to move from their census tracts in comparison to non-

Hispanics to have a uniform distribution of Hispanics in all census tracts.

At this level of analysis, this research is not able to establish a causal connection

between 287(g) and settlement patterns. It did not test the research expectations RE14

through RE16 directly. However, it provides a valuable insight to further study the

settlement issues. This analysis reveals where Hispanics are settling in Charlotte-

Mecklenburg in 2010, and how it is different from previous decade. It also reveals

whether Hispanics are segregating in comparison to non-Hispanics over the years.

Ideally, to establish a causal connection between 287(g) and the outcome, a longitudinal

dataset at the block level is preferable. In the absence of this data, a qualitative method is

instrumental to compensate for the gap in data. Questions are included in the qualitative

section that specifically explores the movement or lack movement of Hispanics within

the county boundaries as well as mobility outside the county in relation to 287(g).

b) Spatial Mobility and Settlement Patterns

The background chapter on Charlotte-Mecklenburg indicates that the net

percentage of the Hispanic population is still increasing in this area as of census 2010.

Even though statistics illustrate that the Hispanic population is growing, it does not show

whether Hispanics that lived in Mecklenburg County before 287(g) program moved out

of the county. It also cannot determine the movement of Hispanics within the county.

However, census statistics do provide this research with the contextual background

revealing the census tracts where Hispanics are settling in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

Figure 12 compares Hispanics in Mecklenburg County in 2000 to 2010. In 2000,

the Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County is not concentrated in the center of

Mecklenburg County, which is also the Charlotte city center. Specifically, only 0% to

4.6% of the population that resides in the center city is Hispanic. Higher percentages of

the Hispanic population are concentrated around the central city, specifically, in the

eastern, northeastern, and southwestern areas of the county. The eastern side, also called

the "Eastside" (UNC-UI, 2006), of the county boasts hefty clusters of census tracts where

percentage of Hispanic population range anywhere from 8.21% to as high as 26.5%. The

clusters of Hispanic population are more spread out in the southwest area, with few tracts

having population between 12.6% and 26.5% Hispanics, and even fewer tracts between

26.5% and 44.2% Hispanics. The southwest has more variation, as it has tracts that have

less than 8.2% Hispanic population. The northeast side of the county has several tracts

that have percentage of Hispanic population from 8.21% to 26.5%, with one tract that has

more than 44.2% of Hispanics. The western area has a number of tracts that have modest

percentages of Hispanics. The southern and northern areas of the county have a small

percentage of Hispanic population in 2000.
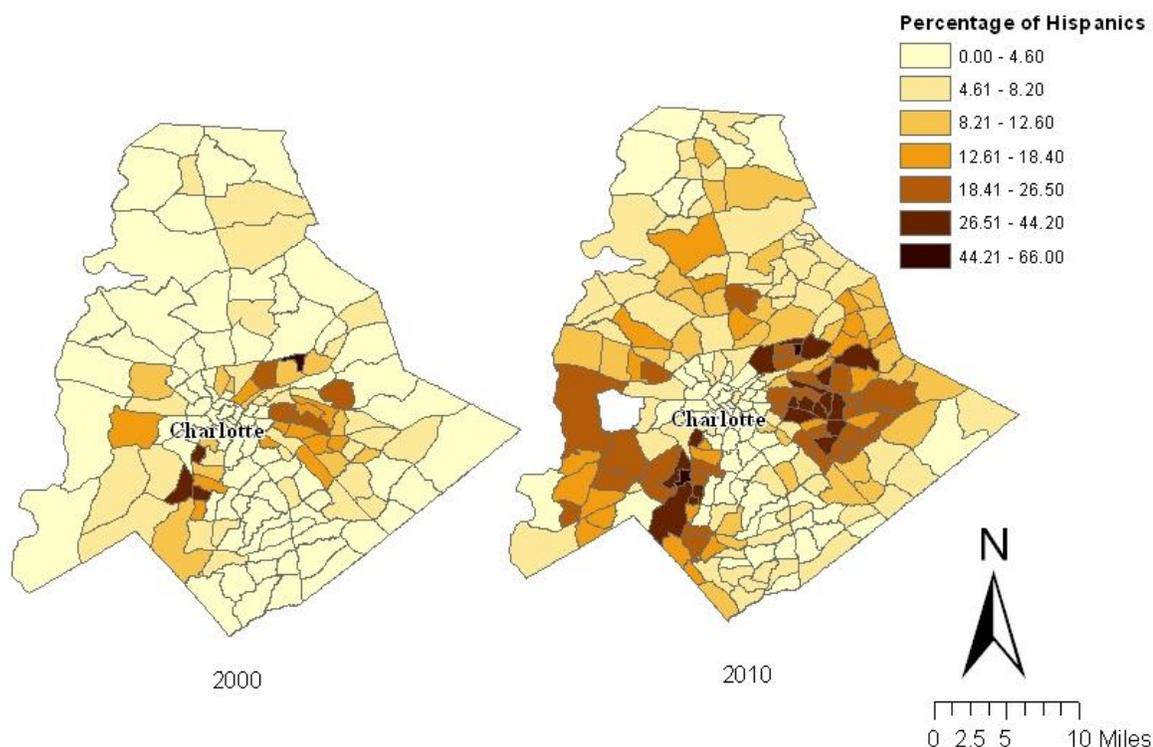
FIGURE 12: Percentage of Hispanic population in Mecklenburg County by census tracts
(2000 and 2010)
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 and 2010

Comparatively, the 2010 map in Figure 12 clearly illustrates the growth of

Hispanic communities in Mecklenburg county census tracts. Similar to 2000, the center

city has low percentages of Hispanics in 2010. In fact, comparison between the two maps

indicates that the Hispanic population is spreading even further away from the center city

and into the suburbs from 2000 to 2010. Besides, spreading out, the Hispanic population

settlement in 2010 also seems to be following a layering pattern. For example, in 2010,

there is an increase in the percentages of Hispanics in the eastside across all census tracts,

with most of the tracts between 18.4% and 26.5%. There are also few tracts in the east

side that have percentages of Hispanics above 44.2%. The eastside of Charlotte-

Mecklenburg had the highest percentage of Hispanics in 2000. The Hispanic population

also seems to have spread out in the eastside, getting closer to the boundaries of

Mecklenburg County. There have also been dramatic increases in the Hispanic population

in the northeast area of the county, with the development of clusters that are not present

in the 2000 map. Some census tracts in the northeast have percentages of Hispanics from

12.6% to a maximum of 26.5%. There are other census tracts that have percentages of

Hispanic more than 26.5% in the northeast. The southwest and western areas also have

clusters that are predominantly Hispanics in 2010. Figure 12 illustrates that some western

tracts that had minimal percentage of Hispanics in 2000, now have tracts with more than

18.4% Hispanics. Additionally, similar to the eastside population spread patterns, the

Hispanic population seems to be moving outwards, towards the southwest and western

border of the county. The northern area of the county, which had minimal Hispanic

population in 2000, saw patches of modest growth in Hispanic population in 2010.

Besides few census tracts that have seen minor growth in the Hispanic population, the

southern part of the county still remains devoid of any census tracts clusters of Hispanics.

c) Index of Dissimilarity

As noted earlier, as a result of boundary changes from 1990 to 2010, this analysis

cannot make a direct comparison of the ID across the census years. Table 8 shows the

dissimilarity indexes for Hispanics with reference to non-Hispanics for three census

years. In 1990, the dissimilarity index is 24.1%, which implies that 24.1% of the

Hispanics, in comparison to non-Hispanics, have to move from their census tracts in

order to distribute evenly across all census tracts in Mecklenburg County. The Hispanic

population has become more segregated from the non-Hispanic population in

Mecklenburg County, with an index of dissimilarity of approximately 39.8%. Therefore,

approximately 39.8% of Hispanics would have to move from their census tracts, in

comparison to non-Hispanics, to be evenly distributed in Mecklenburg County. The

analysis of Hispanic settlements through an illustration in Figure 12 demonstrates that

there is an increase in census tracts that have higher percentages of Hispanic individuals

in 2010. The dissimilarity index of 37.1% in 2010 implies that the level of segregation

may not have changed from previous decade. According to Logan and Stults (2010), a

segregation index between 30% and 60% generally represents a moderate level of

segregation. The dissimilarity index of Hispanics in comparison with non-Hispanics in

Mecklenburg County is between 20% and 40%. This implies that Mecklenburg County

does not have a severely segregated population as of yet.

TABLE 8: Dissimilarity Index for Hispanics in reference to non-Hispanics in
Mecklenburg County

	1990	**2000**	**2010**
Dissimilarity Index (%)	24.1	39.8	37.1

The national metropolitan averages indicate that dissimilarity index of Hispanics

compared to Whites have been steady, holding at around 50% since 1980 to 2010. (Logan

& Stults, 2010). When Blacks are used as a reference group, the 2010 national

dissimilarity index is 43.2%. Logan and Stults (2010) state that the metropolitan areas

that have an established large Hispanic population are also the most segregated. The

newer destinations for Hispanics, which tend to have lower percentages of Hispanics,

also have lower but growing dissimilarity indices. These national metropolitan averages are not directly comparable to the dissimilarity indices calculated above, as the reference group is different. Logan and Stults (2010) use Whites and Blacks as a reference group as opposed to non-Hispanics.

6.3 Conclusion

The quantitative analysis suggests that the probability of trust in police is lower for Hispanics in 2008 than in the year 2000. Therefore, there is some evidence that the trust in police placed by Hispanics may have changed after the implementation of the 287(g) program. This quantitative method controls for demographic factors such as, age, income, and education that impacts trust in police. However, trust in police may have also changed because of reasons other than the 287(g) program. Growth in population, an increase in diversity, or an increase in concerns about racism may be some of the factors that may have impacted trust. The decrease in trust in police also raises concerns about the unintended consequences it may have on the larger Charlotte-Mecklenburg community. These quantitative results set the stage for a comprehensive investigation of 287(g) using the qualitative methods. Using specific questions connecting 287(g) to trust factors, qualitative methods study the relationship between 287(g) and changes in interaction, and the mobility of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

The analysis of spatial mobility and settlement patterns illustrates that Hispanics in Mecklenburg County are not only concentrating in neighborhoods that are predominantly Hispanics in 2000 but are also spreading outwards towards the eastern, southwestern, and western areas boundaries of the county. The two maps illustrate that settlement patterns of the Hispanic population changed in the decade between 2000 and

2010 in Mecklenburg County. Although there are clear formations of clusters in the eastside, northeast, and southwestern areas, the population is spreading outwards towards the border of the county. The center of the county and the southern areas has low percentages of Hispanic population in 2000 as well as in 2010. These results indicate that contemporary Hispanics are perhaps bypassing the center cities and settling in the suburbs (Suro & Singer, 2002; Smith & Furuseth, 2007). The spread of the Hispanic population away from the center city into the suburbs suggests sustainability of the trends portrayed by Suro and Singer (2002). However, relationships of these moves with the 287(g) program cannot be drawn.

The calculation of the dissimilarity indices indicates that the Hispanic population is generally more segregated than non-Hispanics in 2000 and 2010 than in 1990. Again, any relationship with 287(g) cannot be drawn using these statistics. Therefore, to delve further into these issues, this research uses qualitative techniques and examines the questions that cannot be studied using quantitative methods.

CHAPTER 7: QUALITATIVE METHODS AND RESULTS

The qualitative method attempts to answer all the research questions this study poses, while the quantitative results reveal a need for an in-depth analysis to adequately answer them. As noted earlier, the main research questions of this research focus on the impacts of 287(g) on the trust Hispanics place on the service providers and the larger community, and on the interaction Hispanics have with them. It also investigates whether there are changes in spatial mobility and settlement patterns of Hispanics as a result of the program. To collect qualitative data, this research uses semi-structured, open-ended, and in-depth interviews, which follow a set script approved by UNC Charlotte's Institutional review board. This research uses interviews of local law enforcement, public and private service providers, advocates, and Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Using different respondent groups increases the validity of answers received from each interview (Yin, 2002). In the case of this research, while the focus is on the service providers and their perceptions of the extent to which processes of integration of Hispanics are affected by 287(g), it is important to augment and validate this perspective with the Hispanic migrants themselves. Therefore, this research includes a small number of individuals from the Hispanic student community. Patton (1990) suggests that open-ended interviews are the best way to find out about issues that researchers cannot directly observe.

For instance, Patton (1990) explains that researchers cannot observe thoughts, feelings, intentions, and behaviors that occurred in the past. Patton (1990) further argues that interviewing is a method that provides a way to see the issues through other people's perspectives. Using open-ended and semi-structured interviews, this research is able to explore the research questions through the perspectives of different service providers, as well as Hispanics and Hispanic migrants. Since 287(g) deals with sensitive issues of local immigration enforcement policies, most respondents are concerned about confidentiality issues. This investigation may not have received the kind of personal accounts that the confidential interviews generated if this research used other qualitative techniques such as focus groups.

The data collection began in November 2011 and ended in April 2012. Through the five months of data collection, the researcher revised the IRB three times in order to include particular sections and accommodate requests of the study population. The revisions of IRB were required, as some of the respondents that the researcher needed to contact were below the age of 18, could not speak in English, or could only be reached through Skype or telephone. In one case, a respondent requested slight wording changes to the consent form, which were made in consultation with the IRB.

7.1 Data Collection

To identify potential interviewees, this research uses two types of non-probability sampling methods, purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Non-probability sampling techniques are used during non-experimental studies when the probability of being chosen to a treatment or a control group is not equal (Schutt, 2006). First, this study uses the resources provided by the researcher's advisor and committee members who are

active in Hispanic immigrant research and outreach at the community level in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Purposive sampling allows this research to select key individuals who constantly interact with Hispanics and provide them with direct services. This initial list of key informants comes from a wide range of service providers, namely, law enforcement, advocacy organizations, health care, and education. Each of these initial informants is able to provide an additional list of individuals who serve Hispanics and are knowledgeable about Hispanics in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg area. Using purposive sampling along with snowball sampling ensures that this research has a rich set of potential interviewees who are not limited to a certain circle. Finally, to complement and balance the interviews of the service providers, this sample includes a few Hispanic students who are not service providers. Furthermore, many of the service providers in the sample are Hispanics; therefore, they are able to speak from a service provider's perspective as well as from a Hispanic's perspective. Altogether, this sample is composed of five basic groups of interviewees. Appendix E has a detailed list of the groups interviewed.

The interviewees are recruited through email and telephone. The first email to the interviewee briefly describes the purpose of the research and requests their participation in the study (Appendix H). When the potential interviewees agree to participate, they receive a second email thanking them for their willingness to participate, with an attachment that provides them more information about the research and what their participation entails, also called the informed consent form (Appendix I). Specifically, the consent form reassures them that their responses are confidential and informs them that the interviews are digitally recorded. The researcher schedules the interviews at least two

days after the consent from has been sent to give them ample time to read and ask questions before the interview. There are a few cases where individuals have declined to participate in the study after reading the consent form. There are also other cases where the consent form has been amended to enable participation. This revision of the consent form changes the language without harming the basic structure of the interview process. In instances where the correspondences are not answered, the researcher rechecks the email addresses for accuracy and emails the ones that have incorrect email addresses again. After waiting for a few weeks for a reply, if the researcher does not hear back from the potential interviewees, they are then contacted through telephone to request their participation. Using snowball sampling, after each interview, the researcher asks the interviewee to provide contact for other individuals they believe to be good candidates for the research. On several occasions, the interviewee would make the call himself/herself, informing potential interviewees about this research. If these potential contacts agree to an interview, the researcher sends an initial request email, thanking them for agreeing to participate. The researcher also attaches the informed consent form to provide them with more information about the research and their participation. There are 144 individuals who were initially contacted requesting their participation in the study. Out of 144 individuals, 46 individuals are interviewed resulting in a response rate of 31%.

Before each interview, the researcher reiterates the materials of the consent letter verbally, and asks the respondent to sign the letter. On average, the interview process lasts between half an hour and an hour. The interviews are digitally recorded with the consent of the respondent, except one interviewee who did not want to be recorded. The

researcher also takes detailed notes of all interviews. The interviews are conducted in places that are convenient and comfortable to the respondents, usually in their office or a coffee shop. The interviews are conducted in English. All the interviews are conducted one-on-one, except in a case where two respondents asked to be interviewed together. There is no type of compensation to the respondents for their time and contribution. This implies that the participation is completely voluntary. As the researcher is the only one administering all the interviews, the interview experience is consistent for all respondents.

The questions of the interviews are designed to understand the intended and unintended consequences of the program on Hispanics. The answers to these questions are based on the interaction of the service providers with their Hispanic clients in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. While most interview questions are general for all respondents, certain questions are tailored to the service provider being interviewed. For example, law enforcement authorities are asked questions about how the trust level on them placed by Hispanics may have changed after the program. The interviews with law enforcement authorities also include questions about a Hispanic's willingness to report a crime or come forward as a witness. Appendix D includes a complete list of interview questions.

This research also investigates whether any changes occurred in the ways Hispanics trusted other service providers in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. These other service providers include schools, hospitals, public service providers, private service providers, advocacy groups, media, community representatives, and apartment owners. Through the interviews with these other service providers, this research evaluates how access to services varied through the years, given the demographic changes in population in

Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The agencies that deal with Hispanics are on the frontlines and serve as a conduit between the Hispanics and the wider community. These agencies are also aware of changes in access to basic services by Hispanics, as they interact with them on a day-to-day basis. Public and private service providers are asked questions about changes in the services they provided and changes in access to those services by Hispanics. They are also asked about participation of Hispanics in the activities they organize. The interviews with the Hispanics focus on their personal experiences, particularly ones from before and after the program. The interviews with all the service providers include questions about mobility and settlement patterns of Hispanics. The questions are designed to reveal whether Hispanics have indeed moved away from the county, and whether the movements are connected to 287(g). Interview data is significant in exploring the changes in settlement patterns of Hispanics at the neighborhood scale as well as in the county scale.

7.2 The Sample

The sample includes 46 individuals representing a variety of different service provider groups, with a small number of non-service providers Hispanics who are members of the Hispanic student community. All of the interviewees are eighteen years or older. Among the interviewees, 56% are males and 63% are Hispanics. Table 9 illustrates the breakdown of participants according to the different groups. Among the total respondents, 9% are immigration lawyers, 9% are community representatives, and 24% are public service providers. The public service providers include individuals serving in the Mecklenburg County Commissioner Board, several Latin American consulates, the health department, and the education department.

TABLE 9: Characteristics of the respondents from the in-depth interviews

Professional group	Number	Percentage	Number Hispanic	Hispanic (%)
Immigration lawyers	4	9%	2	50%
Community Representative	4	9%	2	50%
Public Sector	11	24%	6	55%
Law Enforcement	10	22%	6	60%
Advocates	8	17%	5	63%
Media	4	9%	3	75%
Private Sector	3	7%	3	100%
College students	2	4%	2	100%
Total Percentage	**46**	**100%**	**29**	**63%**

Likewise, the sample of community representatives includes individuals from non-profit organizations and churches. Law enforcement authorities constitute approximately 22% of the total interviewees. Advocates, media, and private service providers make up 17%, 9%, and 7% of the total respondents, respectively. Approximately 4% of the respondents are college students. As can be seen from Table 9, a large percentage of the sample comes from the Hispanic population. Most of these Hispanic individuals are also bilingual, but there are some who expressed concerns regarding the level of their fluency in English language for the interview. However, during the interview, the researcher did not have trouble understanding them and questions were clarified when needed. The distribution of Hispanics across the groups shows that in every group, Hispanics constituted more than 50% of the total number of respondents within that group. Among law enforcement authorities, 60% are Hispanics, and among advocates 63% are Hispanics. As such, many of the interview respondents are able to speak from both professional and personal experiences.

7.3 Data Analysis

For the analysis of the interview data, this research uses a combination of methods. The basic method it uses is called the *Framework analysis,* which involves systematically "sifting, charting, sorting material according to key issues and themes" (Ritchie & Spencer, 2002, p. 310). To analyze the textual data from the interview, the research uses a qualitative data analysis software called Weft QDA (Fenton, 2006). The *familiarization stage* of the framework analysis involves maintaining a list of emergent themes and common issues during the process of data collection and verbatim transcription. The detailed notes about issues that are deemed important to the researchers are also helpful while building these themes. Then, using these notes, themes, and subthemes, this analysis develops a dense thematic framework. Additionally, this analysis uses a priori themes that emerged during the literature review and during the construction of the interview questions to guide this thematic framework. This analysis then applies the codes and themes to index the first several transcripts, adding any other themes that develop during the initial indexing. This analysis codes the initial transcripts line by line to explore more themes and subthemes (Charmaz, 2006). This additional step of line by line coding assists in developing and further refining the thematic framework. Issues that are mentioned repeatedly, inconsistencies, and points that directly contradict one another are given particular attention during the process of indexing. This analysis uses this refined framework to index the remaining transcripts. After indexing all the transcripts, the researcher reads through them again to ensure that they are all coded properly. In some cases, texts are also coded into multiple themes. The next step, known as *charting,* involves making separate charts for each theme and marking entries from respondents

that contribute to the theme. This research uses Weft QDA software to make these charts

and compare and contrast responses of different groups. Even though Ritchie and

Spencer (2002) suggest summarizing the responses into the charts, this analysis uses the

verbatim excerpts to chart the responses in order to maintain their connection to the data.

Then, this research analyzes these themes to find implicit and explicit associations among

responses, provide explanations, and develop strategies for decision-making.

While analyzing and writing the results of these interviews, this research has

switched genders of respondents and referred to them by their professional titles to

preserve their anonymity and maintain confidentiality. For ease of comparison, the

interviewees have been divided into four groups: law enforcement, public service

provider, private service provider, and advocates. As Table 10 shows, the law

enforcement group includes officers and sheriff deputies in Charlotte-Mecklenburg (22%

of the total respondents). Public service providers include individuals from schools,

hospitals, and other governmental organizations (24% of the total respondents). Private

service providers consist of private organizations, and immigration lawyers (15% of the

total respondents). Advocates include individuals from advocacy groups, media,

churches, and Hispanic students (39% of the total respondents). All groups have more

than 50% representation from the Hispanic population.

TABLE 10: Respondents by type of service providers

Service provider	Number	Percentage	Number of Hispanic	% Hispanic
Law enforcement	10	22%	6	60%
Public service providers	11	24%	6	55%
Private service providers	7	15%	5	71%
Advocates	18	39%	12	67%

On some occasions, this research highlights the responses from specific groups where it is instructive to show the difference. Moreover, to draw out the distinction between the police department and Sheriff's Office, officers at the Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office are labeled LES officers, while officers from the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department are referred to as LEC officers. Furthermore, where relevant, this research presents the results of qualitative analysis in terms of percentages. Statistics such as this should be taken as general observations rather than significant measures of the responses. Finally, where quotes are used, they are representative of the group noted, unless otherwise indicated.

7.4 Results

This section presents the results of the qualitative interviews. Before discussing the intended and unintended consequences, this section evaluates 287(g) in the context of Charlotte-Mecklenburg as expressed by the respondents. It traces how the program developed and changed in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the debate surrounding its implementation, and how the change in leadership in the local law enforcement department affected the philosophy of the program. This section briefly observes other coinciding events that impacted the trust, interaction, and mobility of Hispanics along

with 287(g). Lastly, it discusses the detailed accounts of intended consequences of the program and the unintended consequences of the program.

7.4.1 Context of 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg

Consistent with prior research, this research indicates that, the atmosphere in Charlotte-Mecklenburg prior to 287(g) "was welcoming" to Hispanics (Deaton, 2008), but as the decade of 2000 progressed, so did the climate of general negative attitudes towards Hispanics. Some advocates, public/private service providers reaffirm that Charlotte-Mecklenburg was "welcoming" until the late 1990s and early 2000s. An African American public service provider explains that fifteen or twenty years before, "diversity" in Charlotte-Mecklenburg meant the balance between Black and White populations. He expresses that many people are still trying to understand "where did all of these people [Hispanics and other internationals] come from?" A Hispanic Community representative, who grew up in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, notes that the awareness about the "explosive growth" of the Hispanic population may have made some people here uncomfortable. This is consistent with research by Deaton (2008) who suggests that the "increasingly hostile climate" towards Hispanics is in part due to the rapid growth of this population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg (p. 11). Furthermore, an advocate states that the mainstream media should also be held accountable for the negative portrayal of the Hispanics. Advocate7, who runs a local Hispanic service center, expresses that the local media, radio and television channels, portray Hispanics as "criminals" who took away jobs from the native and are involved in drunk driving. LEC3 also agrees that media has placed a "stigma" on undocumented immigrants, "especially the Hispanic population" in Charlotte-Mecklenburg by saying that the population does not pay taxes.

Additionally, Smith and Furuseth (2006b) note that media coverage on Hispanics increasingly mixes local stories surrounding Hispanics and undocumented immigrants, creating an "inflated and misrepresented public impressions" of Hispanics (p. 201). Hispanics are often connected with stories of crime, misuse of government services, and economic burdens. These changing attitudes toward Latinos are expressed by several public private service providers and advocates. For instance, Advocate2, who is Hispanic and serves in an advocacy organization for Hispanics, relates her experience reflecting the changing attitudes in Charlotte-Mecklenburg:

> When I first moved to Charlotte fifteen years ago, everybody was so happy that the Latino people were here, they [said], "we are so happy, you work really hard [and] you don't take breaks,"...and now suddenly...[they say], "we don't want you here."

Many interviewees echo that Hispanics are established in the construction industry in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Some advocates and public service providers state that Charlotte-Mecklenburg is primarily built by Hispanic construction workers, especially, the uptown buildings, the light rail, and the I-485 loop. For example, a court official states, ironically, that the new court and jails are mainly constructed by Hispanic workers. Private sector3, a Hispanic woman who works at a local Hispanic grocery store, articulates her disappointment about the attitudes towards Hispanics. She states:

> [First buildings in] uptown and everything [was built with the help of] Latino workers. [Right now the attitude is] Hispanic people, I don't need you, [go away] from my city, thank you for building my city but go away. This is not your city.

Reporter4 points out that the change in attitudes is reflected by how the political leadership changed their reception of the Hispanic Community. Regarding the construction industry, she states that the then Mayor of Charlotte expressed his gratitude

towards the new community helping to build Charlotte around 2000. However, as Deaton

(2008) argues, the initial warmth from the political leadership for Hispanics waned in

2006, and the Mayor was "less accessible" to the Hispanic community. Therefore, this

analysis indicates that the mood in Charlotte-Mecklenburg toward Hispanics prior to

287(g) may have already been leaning towards negative.

a) Debate about the Application of the Program

Reporter4 states that when the program was first introduced to the public in

Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the Sheriff's Office promised that it was intended to reduce

crime by identifying dangerous, undocumented criminals in the larger community.

However, LEC1 expresses that the crime data they used to "sell" the program to the

Hispanic community was incorrect. LEC1 further states that a rise in immigration was not

related to the rise in crime in Mecklenburg County. This statement is consistent with

findings by Nguyen and Gill (2010) who, in a study of North Carolina counties using data

from 2000 to 2006, find that changes in immigrant population and changes in the

Hispanic population are not related to crime rates. They further state that other variables,

like general population growth, urbanizations, and economic downturns, impacted the

crime rates in North Carolina counties in that time period.

Furthermore, respondents across the board agree that when 287(g) started in

Charlotte-Mecklenburg there was "turmoil," "pushback," and "a lot of fear" in the

Hispanic community. However, Reporter4 points out that the Sheriff's Office was

transparent with the Hispanic community about the arrest data, and assisted the Hispanic

community in understanding the program. For example, one of the Hispanic reporter

states that the Latino media requested the Sheriff's Office provide a way to identify who

has been arrested and processed through 287(g). In response, the Sheriff's Office set up a

detailed website, where interested individuals can go and access information about an

arrestee and find, for example, the type of crime he/she committed. Although the website

still exists, the information is not as detailed as Reporter4 said that it used to be. Also,

Reporter4 states that the Sheriff's Office held several press conferences, one of which

revealed that many low-level offenders were being processed through the program.

While some agree that 287(g) has been applied as intended, 58% of the sample

argues that more non-criminals are being picked up rather than criminals. The

respondents state that most of the individuals processed through the 287(g) program have

committed a minor traffic infraction or other minor misdemeanor offenses. The concern

over non-criminals getting processed in the program has been raised numerous times in

the reports and evaluation of the program (GAO, 2009; OIG, 2010). A public official,

who initially supported the implementation of 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, admits

that the program is not being implemented to meet its original goal. He reveals:

> we had unanimous support … we all voted to support it[25], if it was implemented
> the correct way, it actually is aimed to get violent criminals out of the country and
> to focus on not people who are not driving without a license or stopped for a
> misdemeanor but people who are felons … to match them with a database with
> immigration services to determine whether they can be determined. The problem
> is how you implement it and if you do have profiling on behalf of officers and if
> you do have officers who think that every immigrant is trying to get a free ride
> here and not contribute to the community and just have that attitude then you are
> going to get over-zealous enforcement, which is not what it was intended to do.

Respondents from the sample also recount numerous incidents where someone

they know has been arrested for a minor infraction, traffic or otherwise, and then has

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[25] The 287(g) program was on the agenda before the Mecklenburg County Board of Commissioners and it
passed with unanimous support.

been deported. Figure 13 illustrates the percentage of misdemeanors and felonies in terms of the total 287(g) proceedings in Mecklenburg County, from the start of the program in May 2006 until February 2012. According to the general statute of North Carolina, crimes like drug trafficking, homicides, robberies, assaults with injury, frauds are categorized under felonies. Other minor crimes like traffic violations, DWIs, minor assaults, trespassing, and minor larceny fall under felonies. As Figure 13 illustrates, the percentage of misdemeanors is greater than 80% in all the years except in the year 2012, when the data was only collected up to February[26]. The number on each bar represents the actual number of individuals that went through 287(g). The percentage of individuals who have committed felonies rarely rises above 15% from 2006 to 2012. The graph corroborates with the interview responses, as well as previous research that show many of the individuals processed under 287(g) committed only misdemeanor offenses.

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[26] The data is only until February, because the data was requested in February 2012.
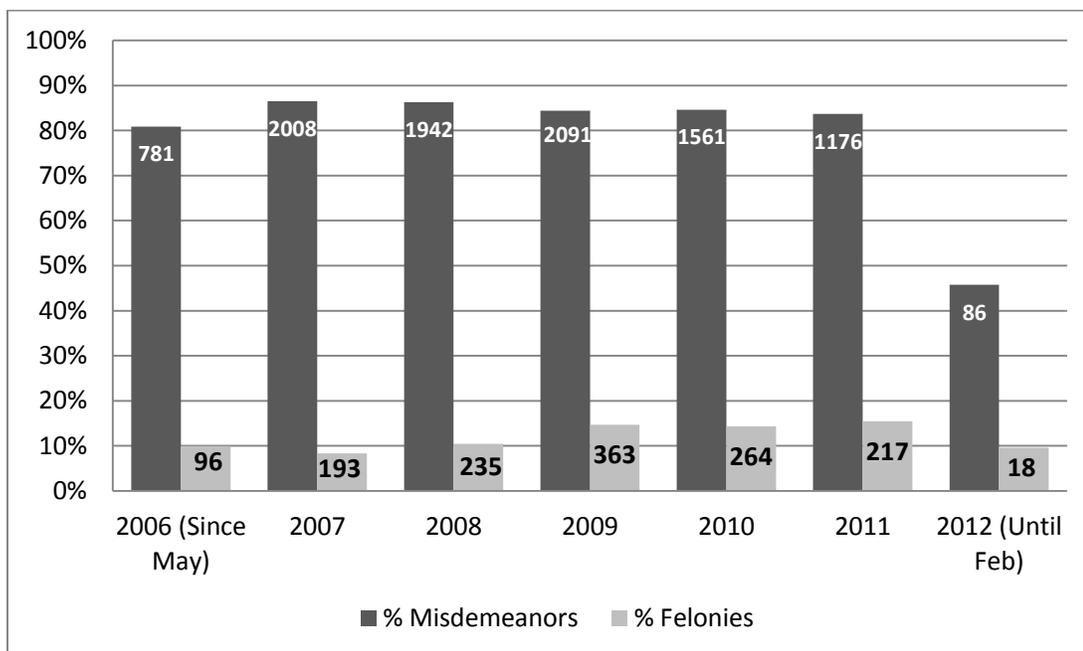
FIGURE 13: Misdemeanors and felonies as a percentage of the total 287(g) proceedings in Mecklenburg County (2006-2012)
Source: Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office
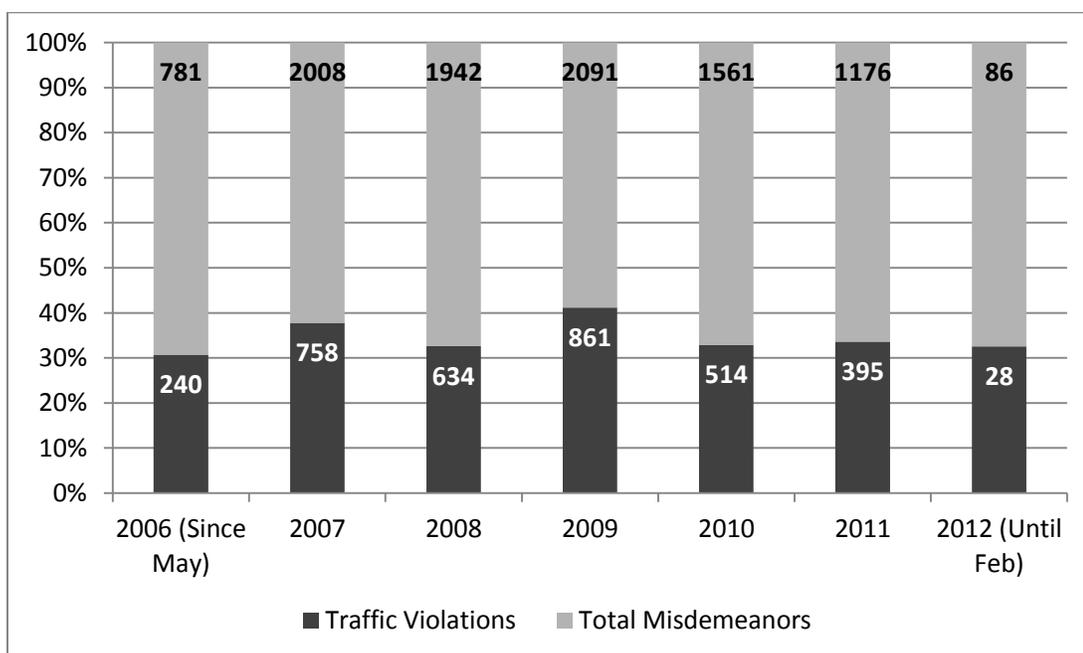
FIGURE 14: Traffic violations as a percentage of the total number of misdemeanors under the 287(g) proceedings (2006-2012)
Source: Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office

Another recurring issue among the respondents is that most of the arrests were related to minor traffic offenses. Figure 14 illustrates the traffic violations as a percentage of the total number of misdemeanors processed under 287(g). The number on the total misdemeanors bar represents the total number of misdemeanors, including traffic violations. The number on traffic violations bar represents the total traffic violations. The percentage of traffic violations never dips below 30%, and reaches as high as 41% in 2009.

Although Figure 13 and Figure 14 affirm that 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg is processing more misdemeanors than felonies, it does not draw a complete picture. In response to an advocate inquiring about the statistics of 287(g), the Sheriff's Office responds that the statistics do not reflect whether the individual that has been arrested for a minor crime has a criminal history in another state. However, more detailed data on 287(g) proceedings other than the data on immediate arrests are not available through the Sheriff's Office at the time of the research. It is difficult to come to definite conclusions without these detailed statistics. Moreover, LEC2 explains that law enforcement authorities arrest and bring people into the jail for not having a driver's license because there is no other way of knowing who they are when they are stopped for a traffic violation. In other words, there is "no valid way to identify them," except by running them through the program. He explains that if an American is caught driving without a license they have to arrest him or her.

The possibility of racial profiling is also one of the argued impacts of 287(g). Many advocates and public/private service providers perceive that Hispanics are "racially profiled" by law enforcement. One of the Hispanics who works in the private sector

argues that most of the individuals processed through 287(g) are Hispanics. An

immigration lawyer, who deals with 287(g) cases on a daily basis, remarks:

> I've heard Hispanic clients tell me that they feel like they got arrested just for
> driving while brown because state law enforcement officers, they think just the
> same, you've got brown skin, you look Hispanic, therefore you must not have a
> license, they might stop them for no reason. I do have clients who tell me, "I
> didn't run that red light," or "I did stop in that stop sign," or they'll say that, "I
> wasn't speeding but he pulled me over." I don't know that's true or not but I do
> hear about enough, that's not just an isolated incident.

This is consistent with prior reports and evaluations which express concerns about

potential profiling of Hispanics by law enforcement authorities (Weissman et al., 2009;

Nguyen & Gill, 2010). However, local law enforcement authorities in the sample explain

that the policy is not targeted at Hispanics. Detailed data on ethnicity and levels of crime

is required to study these allegations about profiling. This data is not publicly available

for use at the time of this research. However, available data indicates that many

individuals from countries other than Latin America have also gone through the program.

Figure 15 shows the number of individuals that went through the program by

country of origin from May 2006 to February 2012. The four highest countries – Mexico,

Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala – account for approximately 94% of the total

287(g) proceedings throughout its history in the county. Since its start in 2006, 287(g) has

processed individuals coming from thirty four different countries, including the four

countries above[27]. These countries constitute around 6% of the total proceedings by

287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. From 2006 to 2012, the number of individuals from

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[27] Other countries included Brazil, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Nigeria, United Kingdom, Dominican Republic, Peru, Trinidad, Chile, Panama, Canada, Zambia, China, Costa Rica, Bosnia, Korea, Lebanon, Gambia, Liberia, Niger, Argentina, Congo, Uruguay, Africa, Haiti, Thailand, Cambodia, Ghana, Colombia, and Venezuela.

Mexico who have gone through the program declined from approximately 70% to 60%.

Among the individuals who have been processed, the percentage of individuals from

Honduras fluctuates between 15% and 20%. Furthermore, the percentage of individuals

from Guatemala and El Salvador gradually increases from approximately 5% in 2006, to

approximately 10% in February 2012.
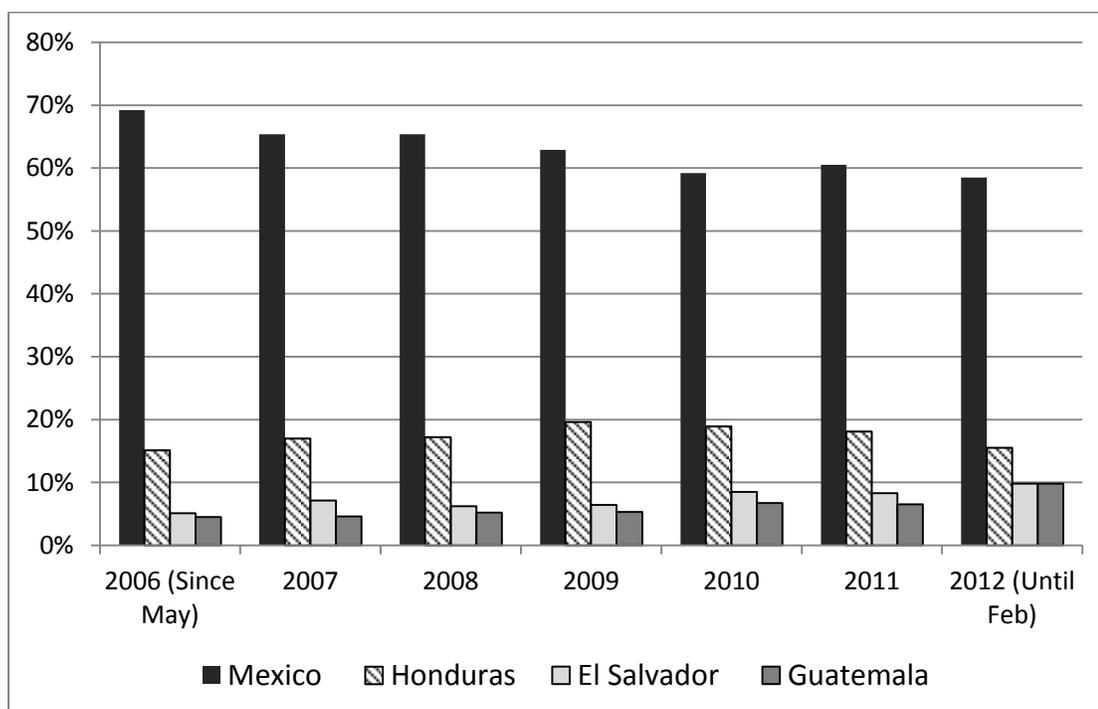
FIGURE 15: Percentage of individuals processed by 287(g) in Mecklenburg County by
country of origin (2006-2012)
Source: Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Department

The three highest represented countries in the 287(g) proceedings runs almost

parallel to the percentages of individuals in Mecklenburg County from those countries.

For example, the 2010 census shows that the country with the highest number of foreign-

borns in Mecklenburg County is from Mexico (a total of 47,403 individuals). The number

of foreign-born individuals from El Salvador and Honduras are modest with, 10,625 and

8,138 individuals, respectively. According to census 2010 data, there are approximately

2,775 Guatemalans in Mecklenburg County. An anomaly is that although the percentage of the population from Guatemala is not as high as from El Salvador in Mecklenburg County, Guatemalans are almost equally processed by 287(g) as El Salvadorans. It may be speculated that Guatemalans are potentially new to the area and are still learning about the rules and regulations of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Their newness may have made them unaware of the way 287(g) works in Charlotte-Mecklenburg; thus, their actions may make them more likely to be arrested.

b) Changes in the Philosophy and Change in the Implementation of the Program

There are notable structural changes to 287(g) at the federal as well as county level since 287(g) started in 2006 in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. As previously mentioned, in 2009, ICE required all existing 287(g) partnerships to be revised under the new guidelines. According to this release, ICE reiterated its stance that 287(g) was only targeting dangerous criminals and divided criminal activities into three levels: Level 1, Level 2, and Level 3 (ICE, 2009). By ICE's standards, Level 1 criminals are those individuals who have been arrested for major crimes such as serious drug offenses and violent offenses (murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and kidnapping). Level 2 criminals include minor drug offenses and property offenses (burglary, larceny, fraud, and money laundering). Conversely, Level 3 criminals include individuals that have been arrested for other minor offenses. ICE instructed the program participants to focus on major or Level 1 criminals rather than lower level criminals.

An immigration lawyer, who often works with 287(g) clients, mentions that there was a recent change in the fall of 2011 within ICE in terms of issuing a Notice to Appear (NTA) in court, which places an individual in deportation proceedings. According to the

memo, if a removable individual does not have a prior criminal record, and is convicted

of a minor offense, such as driving without a license, or other minor traffic violation, the

ICE officer can use his/her discretion and not issue a Notice to Appear to that individual.

Immigration lawyer2 states that the ICE officers were not "issuing Notices to Appear and

they are not placing people in removal proceedings so readily."

LES2 argues that the changes in the ICE guidelines do not really impact 287(g) at

the local level. Law enforcement still has to report unidentifiable people regardless of

their crime to ICE. However, the change in ICE guidelines impacts ICE's own

proceedings, as it was they who make the decision of issuing ICE detainers to

individuals. According to LES2, the current local law enforcement is concerned only

about the state-level charges. As long as the apprehended individuals satisfies the state

charges related to their crime, these individuals can go home, provided ICE chooses not

to issue a detainer. In cases where ICE issues a detainer, the local ICE-trained officials

can assist in that process.

Additionally, there have been changes in the philosophy of 287(g) at the local

level. In Mecklenburg County, 287(g) was initially established in 2006 to catch and

deport undocumented individuals depending upon their immigration status rather than the

severity of their crime (Capps et al., 2011). LES1, who witnessed this initial process,

states that the intention of 287(g) was:

> To identify after arrest, someone in this jurisdiction as to what their immigration
> status was. Are they here 'cause they crossed the border illegally, are they here
> because they have been deported and they are back here again, have they stayed
> longer than what their visas would allow, have they stayed longer than their
> education visa would allow? That's the intended purpose of 287(g), to identify
> people in the country illegally.

In 2008, a change in law enforcement leadership in LES and LEC also marked the beginning of a change in how 287(g) was implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. LES2 reveals that there was a shift in philosophy about the main intention of program, he states:

> The intended impacts for me are obviously identification … other intended impacts are if we find somebody who is a serious criminal on United States through our checking on them, that's an intended impact to get them off the street...if there is somebody that has violated the immigration laws, multiple times, from immigration standpoint that's an intended impact… to keep [them from] coming back into the country.

Along with the change in leadership also comes a focus on outreach and community policing. LES and LEC officers, as well as the reporters in the sample agree that the local law enforcement authorities are trying hard to educate the Hispanic community about the 287(g) program. Several officers, both LES and LEC, in the sample sometimes went to the local Spanish radio stations to build a rapport with the Hispanic community and garner trust. They answer questions and clarify issues with the Hispanic community. One of the LEC officers also mentions that the new leadership instructs its officers to build trust with the larger community and not just Hispanics. LEC5 states that there was more emphasis of them being a "beat cop." A beat cop means that when:

> you, [the officer], are in a particular response area, particular beat...square mileage, block, if issues happen that officer should be there, he should be able to communicate with the community. [He should] know that this guy is not good, this girl is not good, this guy is always drunk, this guy is selling drugs.

These changes at the federal and local level influence the implementation of 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The service providers at the local level feel the change in law enforcement leadership along with the ICE's directive to focus on major criminals. Several advocates and public/private service providers mention that, compared to when

the program was first implemented, the "tone of 287(g) had come down." An advocate

recalls an incident with one her clients who was caught driving without a license but just

received a ticket. She mentions that earlier officers would have arrested and placed him

in deportation proceedings. Furthermore, since ICE issued a memo allowing the

discretion of the officers when issuing a Notice to Appear, the number of people coming

to her for consultation has decreased. Therefore, according to the respondents, the

situation in Charlotte-Mecklenburg has improved for the Hispanic community due to

some of the shifts at the federal and local level.

As Coleman (2012) states, the 287(g) program is site-specific in nature, as there is

much variability in its application. Along with site-specificity, this analysis indicates that

there may also be a temporal element to the program. The overall changes in ICE should

impact all jurisdictions equally. However, the program may also change with time

according to the changes in leadership of local law enforcement that is responsible for

implementing the program. There is a definite difference in how the program is currently

operating in Charlotte Mecklenburg when compared to its initial years of implementation.

According to some respondents, these changes in philosophy may have trickled down to

the Hispanic community.

c) Coinciding Events

The 287(g) program did not take place in a vacuum, and there were many other

factors that were impacting the daily lives of Hispanics during this time frame. The three

most important events as expressed by the interviewees were the economy, the

September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, and transitioning attitudes in Charlotte-

Mecklenburg about immigrants. First, the economy officially went into recession in

December 2007 (Isidore, 2008). Many interviewees concur that jobs have attracted a lot

of Hispanics to migrate to North Carolina. Past literature also illustrates that North

Carolina's positive economic growth, coupled with low unemployment rate in the past

few decades, attracted both foreign-born and native residents to North Carolina (Deaton,

2008) . Earlier analysis indicates that high percentages of foreign-born Hispanics in

Mecklenburg County are involved in construction and service sector occupations

respectively. Due to the economic downturn, North Carolina along with other states has

seen a rise in unemployment rates. As Figure 16 shows, the unemployment rate in North

Carolina was approximately 3.7% in 2000 and increased to 10.9% in 2011. Many

respondents perceive that much of the out-migration of Hispanics from Charlotte-

Mecklenburg happened just as the job prospects in North Carolina were becoming grim.

For instance, Health care provider1 mentions:

> I don't think it is because of the program, because the program is going on from 2006. The city is still growing in terms of the community, I think it is the jobs that are causing people to move away. 'Cause that is interesting, sort of the crash started happening in 2007, so it was just a year before 287(g) happened but the things that I have heard from community members and other providers is that it is the lack of jobs that's causing people to move.
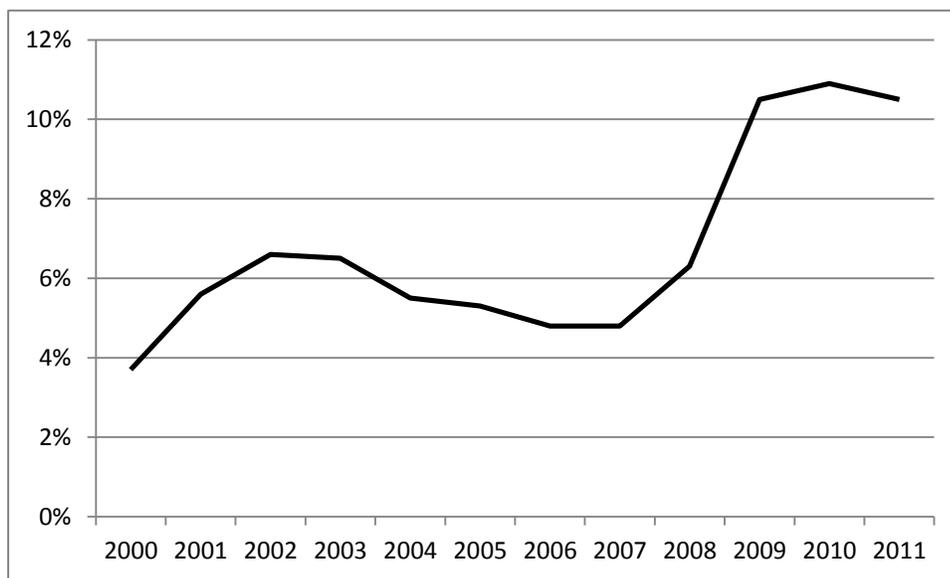
FIGURE 16: North Carolina unemployment rate, 2000-2011
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Second, respondents indicate that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks may

have created a general sense of anti-immigrant feelings in the communities of the U.S.

For instance, LEC2 states,

> The terrorist attacks of 9/11, I think prior to that the population was very
> [welcoming] especially in Mecklenburg County, we were very welcoming to
> immigrant population in Charlotte. Documented, undocumented wasn't an issue
> as much for the general population. It wasn't until after the terrorist attack and
> this idea that we have a lot of undocumented, whether they are terrorist or not,
> were the cause of these attacks kind of raised everybody's awareness [about]
> undocumented and that we need to secure our borders, we need to rid ourselves
> of anybody not here legally.

Along with general attitudinal changes, there was also an institutional change in

North Carolina that may have led to a change in requirements to obtain a license. This

policy prohibits many individuals who do not have proper documentation from obtaining

a driver's licenses. This policy, in collaboration with 287(g), may have a direct impact on

the daily mobility of undocumented individuals in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

7.4.2 Intended Consequences

As discussed in Chapter 4, the service providers in the new immigrant gateways are not accustomed to serving immigrant populations and are faced with unfamiliar challenges and pressures at all levels. Local law enforcement authorities, both the Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office (referred to as LES) and the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department (referred as LEC), in Charlotte-Mecklenburg are one of the government agencies that have to confront the challenges of serving a new and rapidly growing immigrant population. With a rapidly increasing Hispanic population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the officers at the sheriff's office also report that there is an increase in arrestees who are Hispanics. For instance, LES1 highlights that law enforcement authorities in Charlotte-Mecklenburg are ill equipped to handle the volume of Spanish speaking individuals who are brought to their jails. They have to hire interpreters in order to get the basic information about those individuals. An officer at the Sheriff's Office, who was in law enforcement before the 287(g) was implemented, expresses his concern about their inability to identify Hispanics who are brought to their jails. For instance, LES1, recalling, his experience states:

> I started to notice an increase in Hispanic arrestees in early 2000. I'd go over to the jail and there would be many Spanish speaking people there and we [had] no idea and they had these names that we could not verify, we had no way to identify the status of these folks.

As the above statement indicates, local law enforcement authorities lack the tools to solve the problem of identification. The 287(g) program provides a practical tool for the LES officers to solve some of the day-to-day challenges they face with the largely immigrant Hispanic population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. However, the presence of the

program in the Mecklenburg County jails also provides assistance, although not directly,

to LEC and LES officers who are out on the streets for routine policing, as they are the

ones who interact with the population. Approximately 36% of all respondents agree that

the 287(g) is intended to solve the issue of identification. An officer from the LEC

highlights that 287(g)'s objective is to identify individuals. He states:

> [What it intends] to do is people that have gotten into this country that have criminal background that we don't know who they are because there is no documentation … and I have come across somebody with one name and it turns out that it is somebody else and they actually have a pretty violent past.

Law enforcement authorities state that prior to 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg,

they did not have access to federal databases, such as databases from ICE and FBI. LES1

further states that before 287(g) even fingerprinting the arrestees was "worthless,"

because they did not have access to a database to compare the fingerprints. He further

states that without the background check, there is no way that the local enforcement

authorities know whether the individual has committed a crime in some other state. The

local law enforcement authorities have to rely on ICE for identification and verification

purposes. LES1 describes that once an unidentifiable individual is in their custody, the

LES officer contacts ICE and requests them to run a background check on that individual.

As this process takes time, law enforcement authorities often have to release the

individual after the individual serves his/her sentence or posts a bail. Later, even if they

find out that the individual they have released is wanted in some other state, law

enforcement authorities would not be able to track down that individual because the

information provided by the arrestee was usually false. The frustration of not getting

assistance from the federal government to deal with its new challenges is apparent when

LES2 criticizes ICE stating:

> the process used to take us several days sometimes, because we'd have to call
> ICE, they are not the easiest people to get to answer the telephones and we have
> to get the information from them and then they will get back to us. It's possible
> that the person may have made bond and left the jail and was gone and we find
> out that this person is wanted in Arizona or Arkansas or somewhere else.

After 287(g) was implemented, LES no longer has to wait for ICE to do the

background checks for them because ICE trained local sheriffs have authority to run the

background checks on individuals. LES1 states that the background check process that

used to take them a day or two, now takes them around two to three minutes. Thus, the

287(g) program has removed many of the structural barriers that prevented LES from

doing its job, and streamlines the process of identification. Another officer at the

Sheriff's Office points out that 287(g) improves their ability to know if individuals are

wanted elsewhere. For instance, LES2 states:

> the very first person that we ran on the 287(g), he was telling us who he was but it
> turned out it was not true and he was actually wanted for other crimes in the
> western part of US,… but it bore out what the intent was.

The majority of Sheriffs in the Caldwell Jr. (2009) study that opted for 287(g) in

North Carolina agree that identification of individuals is the intended consequence of

287(g) (Caldwell Jr., 2009). The interviews also reveal that most service providers also

understand the importance of identification to maintain public safety. For example,

Reporter4, who works for one of the Hispanic newspapers, also talks about the issues

with the federal government and the importance of identification when, he states:

they were lot of [individuals] with records. Like they did one thing in another
state, it took a while for them [MCSO] to run the background check and the
person may bail out from the jail and may disappear on the street …

The next intended consequence of 287(g) is to identify and remove individuals
who are undocumented and are arrested for a violent crime. Many individuals across law
enforcement authorities and public/private spectrum, or approximately 59% of the total
respondents, believe that the intention is to identify and remove undocumented criminals
from the United States. For instance, Public sector3 notes that the main goal of the
program is to improve public safety for the whole community, including the Hispanic
community. He states that Hispanic residents are often victimized, as they are known to
have large amounts of cash with them. Many advocates and public/private service
providers believe that the Hispanic community completely supports the intention of
removing criminals from the society. Furthermore, approximately 41% of the Hispanics
in the sample expressed that the Hispanic community does not want criminals in its
neighborhoods. For example, Public sector1, who is Hispanic herself, states that:

The community agrees that we don't want criminals living among us. If there is
someone that is a criminal and [is] undocumented… take [them] away…take
[them] as far as possible away from our communities.

There is a difference in opinion among respondents about who are the main
targets of the program. While many advocates also agree that the program is meant for
criminals who are undocumented, there are other advocates and public/private service
providers who believe that the program is designed to catch undocumented individuals.
Therefore, the third intended consequence of the program, as expressed by 30% of the
respondents, is to identify and remove any individual that is found to be undocumented.

As noted earlier, although ICE has always maintained that the main priority of 287(g) is

to remove violent criminals, the implementation of the program has not been consistent in

Mecklenburg County. Since the change of leadership in the law enforcement of

Mecklenburg County, its focus on criminals who are undocumented has increased.

However, for some advocates, talking about the program still instigates negative

emotions towards the system. For example, Advocate1 who deals with Hispanics on a

daily basis expresses, "I believe this law [was an] excuse for the government to start

sending people back to the country."

In contrast, for some LES and LEC officers being an undocumented individual is

enough to process him/her through 287(g) as law enforcement authorities have no way of

knowing whether that individual has a criminal past in his/her own country. The offense

he/she might have committed here may indeed be minor, but due to the lack of complete

background information, there is no way of knowing the threat level of that person. For

instance, LEC5 states:

> …if you are a gang member, a murderer [in your country] and there is no
> documentation. You come to America, [and] your behaviors might be the same
> way. You might do the same thing, do we want you here, [be]cause you chose not
> to do the proper steps, you chose to do the wrong steps and all we have is the
> simple federal law says you are an illegal immigrant, undocumented and you need
> to go back. [287(g)] is supposed to be for good.

One LES officer expresses that if individuals are removed for minor offenses, that

individual should know that coming to the U.S. without following proper procedures puts

him/her at risk for such consequences. For example, LES1 states:

> I don't [have] much sympathy for [undocumented individuals] either because at
> some point in time the individual we are dealing with through 287(g) made a
> conscious decision to cross the border into this country and violate the law.

Another intended consequence that is also mentioned in research reports is that 287(g) is like a "force multiplier" to ICE in conducting local immigration enforcement (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009). Many advocates and public/private service providers believe that the program allows ICE to use local law enforcement authorities and have more "boots on the ground." An advocate mentions that it provides the federal government with the use of local officers who are on the "frontlines" and have "the right contacts." Another officer from the LEC points out that the federal government does not have enough resources to reduce the number of undocumented individuals, so the program allows them to use what is already in place. For example, Immigration lawyer2 comments:

> the idea is that the state law enforcement officers do encounter these people on a day-to-day basis whether stopping them for a traffic violation or for something far more serious such as an aggravated assault or breaking or entering something more serious to that nature. They encounter them and so in processing them, it makes sense for them to also run a background check on them in terms of immigration.

In contrast, some public and private service providers and advocates debate that the 287(g) is intended to deter undocumented individuals from coming to Charlotte-Mecklenburg. A health care provider, who works with the Hispanic population, jokingly remarks that the county has not achieved their intention of controlling immigration because "they are still here." One report concludes that increased immigration enforcement may have decreased the number of undocumented individuals in the U.S (Camarota & Jensenius, 2009). Analyzing the Current Population Survey from 2007 to 2008, Camarota and Jensenius (2009) estimate that the undocumented individual

numbers declined by 11% . Other public and private service providers and advocates in

the sample also believe that 287(g) is a way to discourage immigration in general.

The next intended consequence is that through the implementation of 287(g), law

enforcement authorities want to establish that the U.S. is a society of law. If an individual

is in the U.S., they have to respect and follow the laws, rules, and regulations of the

country. Whether it is immigration enforcement law or a criminal law, LES1 voices his

frustration, saying that throughout his 40 year career, he never had to make an excuse for

enforcing the law. Several other LES and LEC officers as well as public service

providers, also share his opinion. LEC7, who is Hispanic, agrees that:

> Every country has their laws and we have to respect that. If you go to jail, you go
> to jail because you did something wrong, so you are in this country,…follow the
> rules and be nice, some people they just come in here and do whatever they want,
> so they have to pay the consequences. [If] you…drink and drive, you can go to
> jail.

Another intended consequence of the program is that through 287(g), the county

is able to secure federal funds. Some advocates and reporters state that the county is

reimbursed for every federal inmate they house, and individuals that are detained by ICE

are federal prisoners. For example, in 2009 the ICE reimbursed Davidson County, TN

$61 a day for every undocumented individual detained in their local jails, which

amounted to a total of a million dollars in that year (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009). In an

economic downturn where state and local government are going through budget cuts,

reimbursements provided by the federal government to house federal arrestees are an

added bonus of 287(g).

Another LEC officer mentions that 287(g) is also one of the reactions to the

World Trade Center terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. He mentions that the

terrorist attacks were successful because local police "did not do enough" to remove

those attackers for a simple crime they may have committed in the past. The act of

establishing the 287(g) partnership with the federal government is a response to these

public safety and counter-terrorism issues. However, there are other advocates who

believe that 287(g) does not improve public safety. These advocates feel that the program

manages to create a sense of "perceived safety" in the larger community, implying that

the safety it has created is not real. There are other respondents who believe that the issue

is more than public safety. For example, a health service provider, who is also a Hispanic,

points out that 287(g) is a way to deal with the large influx of immigrant population. She

reveals that the government services, such as law enforcement authorities, are not

prepared to handle the changes in demographics.

7.4.3 Unintended Consequences

The unintended consequences of the 287(g) program are divided into two layers.

The first layer details the impact of the program on social trust and social interaction of

Hispanics with the service providers. For example, how did the level of trust on the

service providers change after 287(g)? How did their interaction with the Hispanics

change? Did the number of Hispanics coming to the events organized by the service

providers change after 287(g)? This phase of the results section methodically traces the

shifts in relationship in this order: law enforcement authorities, other government and

non-government service providers, schools, hospitals, advocates, and private service

providers.

a) Impact on Service Providers in terms of Social Trust and Interaction

Law Enforcement Authorities

The majority of the service providers are impacted by 287(g) however some are affected more directly than others. There is evidence that the program most directly impacts law enforcement. First of all, many LEC officers clarify that 287(g) does not authorize the police department to inquire about immigration status. For example LEC2 articulates the police department's stance:

> The real fundamental issues are the new Latinos coming into the community,…
> are not familiar with the services available to them, the services that CMPD
> provides them what our roles and responsibilities are and the simple fact that if
> they are again law abiding citizens, witnesses, victims, that we will work with
> them to deal with public safety issues in their community, that we will not ask
> them what their legal status is. We will not start investigating them regarding to
> immigration violations. That our role is to simply provide them with a safe
> community to live work, play, whatever, and they have to be an integral part of
> that and if they are not, they are not sharing information with us, that's not very
> effective.

Only a handful of sheriffs who have undergone training with ICE have the authority to ask about immigration status of individuals, and only after they are arrested and brought to the jail for booking. One of the main unintended consequences of the program on LEC is that the Hispanic community cannot distinguish between a local police officer, a sheriff deputy, or an immigration officer from ICE. For example, LEC1 argues that:

> …the individual thinks that it is the police department's function because I saw
> my husband leave with the police and the next thing I know he is deported back to
> Mexico...we are guilty by association by just being with them. So that's where the
> distrust comes in, it's not so much that they don't trust us because they don't
> understand we are not part of the program, but the fact how we work with the
> program, of course, by the arrest procedures...it's an ongoing battle, it always has
> to continue.

The LES Office is aware of how the 287(g) may affect the LEC's routine policing duties. For example, LES2 states:

> the sheriff's office and the police department get along extremely well, we have a great working relationship, [the Sheriff's Office] understands what impacts might be on them, they understand what impacts might be on us on whatever we do. The police as far as I know do not ask about immigration status and [the Sheriff's Office is] fine with that. [Sheriff] deputies out in the field don't ask about immigration status. We only ask about immigration status if somebody is arrested and brought in to the jail. That's the only time.

Many advocates also agree that the Hispanic community cannot differentiate among LEC, LES, and ICE officers. Hispanics associate the LEC officers with deportation, as they are the ones who usually made the initial arrests. Referring especially to the undocumented Hispanics, Reporter1 argues that all Hispanics know is that their loved one has been pulled over by the LEC, and ultimately, is deported. Many law enforcement authorities, both LEC and LES, also state that there is a considerable amount of misinformation about 287(g) among Hispanics. They express that Hispanics do not know enough about the rules and regulations or about how 287(g) works. An LEC officer, a Hispanic himself, actively tries to educate the Hispanic community about the program. However, he states that educating the Hispanic community is difficult, as Charlotte-Mecklenburg has a transient Hispanic population. Thus, the outreach has to be frequent and repetitive to reach this population that is constantly changing. The LES and LEC officers also caution the Hispanic population about what they should do to avoid being arrested. They ask the Hispanic community members to be more careful and not to get into trouble. For example, LEC5 explains:

> I have to make this statement, always wearing a seat belt, using the turn signals, not try to have police contact with minor traffic offences.

The possibility that the program hampers the trust between the local law enforcement and the Hispanic community is a matter of concern to some LEC officers. These concerns are also raised in a report by Police Foundation, who conducted a series of focus groups with law enforcement personnel around the country, asking them about local involvement in immigration enforcement (Khashu, 2009). Khashu (2009) argues that it is imperative that the immigrant community feels that they can trust law enforcement authorities in order to maintain public safety. Some LEC officers in the sample mention that in order to do their work properly, they needed trust and cooperation from the immigrant community. Several LEC officers mention that because they have worked hard to develop and maintain those personal relationships with the Hispanic community before 287(g), the relationships withstood the impact of the program.

Besides personal relationship building efforts, there are also some organized efforts by the local police department to build relationships with the new community prior to 287(g). An initiative called the International Relations Unit (IRU) was established in 2000, long before 287(g), with a goal to better understand the changing demographic of the county so that they can improve and tailor their services. With the change in LEC chief of Police, the IRU was disbanded in 2008 (WSOCTV, 2008). However, some LEC officers, advocates, and public service providers believe that those prior efforts of the LEC department to develop alliances and collaborations with the international community in Charlotte-Mecklenburg are thwarted by 287(g). For instance, LEC10 shares that he has started a group where members from the Hispanic community – business owners, and Hispanic leaders – can come to community meetings to share their concerns. LEC10 states:

> [With] 287(g) program, my [meeting] attendance has been decreasing because they [Hispanics] feel … fear that they might be locked up. [The meetings] might be a sting operation, the police are generating it, and I am not coming. I've been told that answers here. [Hispanics say], "I'm not going because I think it is a set up."

A local police officer that works with the drug trafficking unit argues that it is a barrier to doing his job, because sometimes if they arrest a non-citizen for drug trafficking, they cannot get the individual out of the jail in order to receive help and information from that person. If that individual is a citizen, he contends that the process is different. He states that once an individual went through 287(g) program, he/she is "done."

Another unintended consequence is that some public/private service providers believe the program places "an undue burden" on the local police officers. Public service provider3 points out that only a handful of sheriffs are trained by ICE, and that most of the LEC and LES officers that carry out the initial arrests may not have dealt with immigration issues or are not well-versed in federal policies. An LES officer remarks that the various police departments in Charlotte-Mecklenburg make most of the arrests. According to LES2:

> anybody who comes into our jail [Mecklenburg County] anybody who is arrested and mostly arrests are made by police agencies although few may come to sheriff deputies.

Although police departments make most initial arrests, an LEC officer guesses that fewer than 40% of the LEC officers know about 287(g). Some respondents express that the law asked local LEC officers to do more than they are trained for or paid to do, and placed them in a difficult position to implement a "bad law." Public service

provider3 states that these ICE untrained LEC officers are sometimes the ones who have

to deal with the aftermath of an arrest, as they are responsible for calling up social

services at times when children are left alone in the house after their parents are taken

into custody. For instance, LEC9 reveals an inner struggle he faced while performing his

duties:

> [Everybody] has the job aspect of it and you have the human side, so it's one of those things that you try to weigh, and I mean the law is law. Like I said, with certain things it is not mandatory that people go to court for certain things. But if you [have] an option of not arrest[ing] for that offense…and you do that with a lot of people in general anyway, but more so [when] you feel for some of them, because when you see the family in the car and you see it looks like a good family, they are here. they are working and they are not here to create crime or cause crime, your human side kicks in at that point. So if you have an option of not arresting for something, now…for something you just can't get over, you have to [arrest]. And that's not just for me; I have seen it from other officers that are not Latinos as well. They gauge the person just like anybody else, and they prevent them from actually going to jail for something they'd rather just pay the fine with mail if they choose to do so.

As the statement above indicates, much of the decision about making an arrest is

left at the discretion of the officer. Many respondents agree that there are good police

officers and there are bad police officers. As there are no protocols or training, at the

scene, the personal discretion of the LEC and LES officers (ICE un-trained) is one of the

factors that drive initial arrests of individuals. Decker et al. (2009) argue that immigration

enforcement is "an emerging area of police responsibility" and lacks "clear policy

guidance, training opportunities, well-established statutory authority, and an integration

into the mission of the agency" (p.7). Community representative3 raises her concern that

racial profiling might be "encouraged" by 287(g), as the decision to arrest an individual

fell upon each officer at the scene of the crime rather than a set guidance.

Many service providers, approximately 32% of the sample, reflect on the decreased level of trust placed by Hispanics in police after 287(g). Advocates, public and private service providers, and some LEC officers, believe that 287(g) has eroded the trust Hispanics placed in the police. This is consistent with the concerns of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), who testified before Congress in 2005 stating that the local involvement in immigration enforcement may erode people's trust in police (*Testimony of IACP*, 2005). IACP mentions that these programs and policies can potentially have a "chilling effect" on the general immigrant community, and hamper its relationship with the local law enforcement (*Testimony of IACP*, 2005, p. 13). In one of the interviews, a Hispanic college student comments that she still trusts the police during emergencies, but she avoids contact if there are situations where an interaction with police can be avoided.

However, a few LEC officers and public and private service providers express that the mistrust in police was present even before the program was implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. A few LEC and LES officers also believe that the mistrust is cultural in nature. For example, a LES officer believes that the allegations that he heard about the program having a "chilling effect" is not true, as the immigrants brought the mistrust from their home countries. He points out that Hispanics did not trust police in their country of origin and that mistrust transferred to law enforcement authorities in the U.S. when they migrated. In response to the claim that 287(g) has a "chilling effect" on Hispanics he comments that "you can't chill something that is already frozen." However, a health care provider argues that even if Hispanics did not trust the police before 287(g), the program aggravates the level of mistrust.

Some of the markers of erosion of trust mention by the service providers are Hispanics' fear of police, hesitancy to report a crime, and reluctance to come forward as witnesses. Many of the public/private service providers and advocates (approximately 28% of the sample) share the belief that Hispanics are fearful of the police and do not want to report crimes. Generally, many respondents report that the Hispanics are scared that if they call the police, they will be identified as undocumented and be processed for deportation. For instance Advocate2 points out:

> It can be that they… witness a crime. But they won't call the police because that it has happened the police also ask for kind of ID to the person who called to report this crime. If they don't have the ID, both the bad guy and the guy who called 911 are arrested and [taken], and [go] through the 287(g) process.

When Hispanics get into a car accident, advocates relate they will not call the police and are likely to run from the scene of an accident even when it is not their fault. For example, Immigration lawyer1, who deals with Hispanic clients comments:

> So maybe I [undocumented Hispanic] don't want to report a crime, especially in an auto accident situation, if you have an accident, you report it and then they say, "where is your license?" and you say, "I don't have a license." Now, they will charge you with driving without a license and then all of a sudden they are placing an ICE hold on you [when] you may have been a victim of an accident.

Another potential unintended consequence rising from the fear of law enforcement is that Hispanics are also hesitant to report abuses. Some advocates contend that domestic violence reporting is hindered, as an individual did not want to report his/her abusive spouse for fear that their spouse would be deported. In other cases, they do not want to report domestic violence issues because they think they will get into trouble. An advocate recalls that she witnessed an incident where an officer was more concerned about the status of that individual than the crime. She adds that Hispanics feel

like "even though I am reporting a crime, he is not seeing me as a victim, but as a person

that is breaking the law." To solve this issue of underreporting an advocacy organization

for Hispanics has created a program where the spouses can come to their organization

and report their domestic violence troubles to a law enforcement officer in the presence

of an employee of that organization. By becoming a medium, this organization has

created an environment that is safe and comfortable for Hispanics to report domestic

violence abuses.

The fear of calling police results in other issues such as increased victimization.

Some respondents, especially service providers from the public/private agencies, think

that the Hispanics are victimized more often after the implementation of 287(g). Several

respondents from the public/ private agencies state that landlords, employers who did not

pay them, as well as other criminals, exploit Hispanics. For example, a non-profit

employee sharing an incident about a client, states:

> I just remember one woman. Her house was broken into multiple times by the
> same people and she knew who they were, but she was afraid to call the police
> and they have even told her …"we know you are not going to report it because
> you will get deported," it was very directly that is why they were choosing her
> and they would do it. I think one of her children was on disability so they knew
> when that check would come and you know she would cash it, she does not have
> bank account, and so she would have the money.

Similarly, some LEC officers also express that reporting of crimes by the

Hispanic community is compromised because individuals are scared that their

immigration status is going to be investigated. LEC officers believe that this fear stems

from the confusion about which law enforcement agency is involved with immigration

enforcement. However, there are many LEC officers who believe that there is no change

in reporting of crimes, coming forward as witnesses or reports of victimization after the

287(g). These officers believe that these issues were present even before the program came into being, and cannot say for certain if the program aggravates the situation. A few LEC officers and law professionals believe that Hispanics are targets because the Hispanic community has always been known as a "cash society," as they rarely use banks and carry large sums of cash around with them. LEC1, who is involved in community outreach, states that Hispanics use 287(g) as an excuse not to report a crime. Furthermore, immigration lawyers reveal that there is another law that is balancing the negative impacts that the 287(g) program is having on reporting of crimes. They note that they have more clients who want to report crimes because of a provision called U-Visa. As elaborated earlier in Chapter 3, victims and witnesses of a crime can achieve legal status through this U-visa if they are assisting law enforcement in solving a crime. An LEC officer remarks that one of his Hispanic contacts called him and says that he had been victim of a crime several years ago and asked him if he can file for the U-Visa. Since that individual had given a false name to law enforcement at the time of the crime, LEC1 advises him not to apply for the visa, as that individual may be arrested for giving law enforcement false information.

The interviews with law enforcement authorities, as well as other service providers, suggest that many of the claims about the unintended consequences of 287(g) on Hispanics as indicated by prior research are applicable in the context of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. These findings indicate that Hispanics' level of trust in police has decreased after 287(g) was implemented. There is also evidence that the decrease in level of trust and fear of law enforcement may have given rise to secondary issues regarding reporting of crimes and reluctance to call law enforcement. The next section will observe

if the decrease in the level of trust in police impacts other government and non-governmental service providers.

<div align="center">Other Government and Government Affiliated Service Providers[28]</div>

The service providers in this group include the public service providers and respondents from the government funded initiatives. The majority of the public service providers state that they are impacted by 287(g), both directly and indirectly, because they are viewed as a government service. As mentioned earlier, several studies contend that involvement of local jurisdictions in a program like 287(g) also decreased the level of trust immigrants have in other governmental services, and by extension, other service providers affiliated with the government (Guterbock et al., 2009; Khashu, 2009). The public service providers report that, while accessing their services, Hispanics, the majority of whom are immigrants in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, are fearful about giving out information without knowing where it is going. However, most of the service providers in this sample rarely care about the legal status of individuals while delivering their services. It is more important for these service providers to be able to reach out to the residents of the city. For instance, Public service provider1 states that regardless of the legal status of individuals, Hispanics are still living in the city and using city services. The government agency he works at needs to spread awareness about simple duties for residents, such as keeping the streets clean, recycling, not dumping oil down the drain, and using transportation and streets properly. As his agency also handles housing discrimination complaints, he comments:

> I think 287(g) created that distance between the government agencies and the
> needs of the Latino community. So basically we didn't have as many housing

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[28] These do not include schools and hospitals

discrimination complaints for instance...we don't know exactly the numbers or how real the impact has been but we believe that since the police…[their] role as protectors was affected by this mistrust. We also believe that some of that actually affected us too.

A similar example regarding transfer of mistrust is seen among service providers funded partly by the government, which deliver social services to distressed individuals. Non-profit service provider1 states that access of services to their organization by Hispanics has been decreasing in the past couple of years. As they work with federal funds, they cannot serve individuals who do not provide their social security number. She explains that the organization tries to get the word out to the public that the legal status of the individuals will not be reported. However, she considers Hispanics who come to their organization for help to be "brave." She relates an incident about a Hispanic client who wanted to get help from her organization. Non-profit service provider1 states:

> [I was with a]white male intern, [and] that day for some reason he was wearing like a suit, looked very important, I called my client to the door and she was [an] undocumented Hispanic woman, she saw him and she just started shaking and crying. She was convinced that he [the intern] was from immigration [ICE] and he was trying to convince her and I tried [to convince her]. She just refused to come through the door.

An LEC officer who used to work for a drug prevention agency also discusses a parallel scenario. He is involved in organizing a summer camp for youths and had to confront worried Hispanic parents that do not want to fill out the forms because their children are undocumented. Even if the organization has built personal relationships of trust with these families, Hispanic parents are reluctant to send their kids to a four to five day drug prevention camp. He mentions that these events were apparent during 2006 to 2008, which aligns with the implementation of 287(g) program. Other public service

providers also relate that Hispanics do not want to access social services of any kind, not even food stamps. Although a direct connection between these instances to 287(g) program cannot be established, there may be an indirect relationship.

The impact of 287(g) on the court system is more structural in nature, according to a court officer. For example, the 287(g) program cut short the complete legal procedure each individual goes through when they are convicted of a crime. Court official1 reports that many Hispanic immigrants are either deported before serving their sentences, or serve a short sentence prior to getting deported. Nevertheless, the immigration courts in Charlotte-Mecklenburg receive an extremely high volume of cases related to 287(g). Immigration lawyer4 states that the immigration judges are functioning at their "peaks" and the courts are "clogged." When asked about access of services by Hispanics in family courts and civil courts, Court official1 replies that the court still serves a large number of Hispanics. He clarifies that the court system does not ask for legal status of individuals to access any of their legal services. Even in cases where individuals may have to provide identification and social security information, the information is not shared with the sheriff's office. LEC9 recounts that undocumented Hispanics he works with are willing to go to the court as a witness if a need arises. He adds that the reason they sometimes do not go to court is because they cannot get a time off from their work. However, there is evidence from other service providers that Hispanics are afraid of going to court for a hearing. For instance, Legal professionl3 states that in domestic violence cases, Hispanic women are reluctant to go to court to testify against their abusers. Another private service provider states that Hispanics would rather pay a fine for a traffic offense than go to a court to challenge that ticket.

In terms of interaction and volunteering at the courts, a direct relation cannot be drawn. Court official1 states that he manages a senior volunteer program at the courthouse and they used to have Hispanic participation. However, he comments that it has been several years since they have had any representatives from the Hispanic community in that volunteer program. Around 2006, the courthouse also tried to conduct civics 101 classes for Hispanics in Spanish, but they were unable to find enough people to sign up for it. He assumes that Hispanics are too afraid to come down to court to participate in such programs.

<div align="center">Schools</div>

Similar to the impact on other government service providers, the impact of 287(g) on the access of education services by Hispanics appear to have both direct and indirect impacts. Schools are another institution where trust played a role in the interaction and participation of Hispanics. Some respondents state that schools are often viewed as an extension of government services by Hispanic parents. School representatives are cognizant that 287(g) impacts the way Hispanic parents deal with the schools. For example, Hispanic parents are not as communicative as they were before the program. School representative1 shares that working as a parent coordinator she has worked hard to build trust with Hispanic parents. She had succeeded in making them feel that, "it's ok for you to come to school, it is ok for you to…be the advocate for your kids, [but] when they finally said that they felt comfortable about it then this [287(g)] came in place." She further states that when 287(g) was implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Hispanic parents were scared to speak out at the school against issues such as bullying. She states that "whatever trust was built throughout a long period of time and – it was hard to do

that – then it was definitely it made a big impact on that." However, the school

representative believes that the situation is improving and is not as bad as when the

program had just started.

Around the same time when 287(g) was implemented, the local county school

district passed a policy that required volunteers at schools to provide their social security

in order to conduct a thorough background check. School representatives in the sample

believe that this policy discouraged a number of Hispanics from participating in their

volunteer programs. An advocate relates an incident when her client was asked to update

her social security number in the system. She recalls:

> Participation for schools…for many parents have stopped…not because of the
> school personally tells them ok you cannot come [but] because they are afraid that
> if they go there and they keep asking documentation and social security.

Advocate1 explains that the feeling for Hispanic parents is a complex mixture of

embarrassment that they are going to be rejected and fear that the information may

somehow end up on the hands of immigration officers. Another advocate explains that

the lack of volunteering at schools can be because Hispanic parents have jobs that do not

give them enough time to volunteer. There are also instances where Hispanics in general

are faced with a barrier while trying to volunteer at schools. For example, one Hispanic

college student, who mentored elementary school children at a local school, relates that

she was scared she would not be able to volunteer because her driver's license had

expired. She states:

> I mean because my license had expired by the time I wanted to participate in the
> [local school] program, but it turned out I was able to, they were still able to do a
> background check with the expired number but there was an uncertainty whether I
> would be able to do it or not on the first place, and it was something that I really
> wanted to do.

Volunteering aside, some advocates and public/private service providers mention that Hispanic parents are scared that if the school officials or teachers find out their identity and legal status, they would be at risk of being reported to authorities. Some advocates mention that Hispanic parents are even scared to take their children to the school bus stop, that they have heard stories about parents being "picked up" at the bus stop. Although the connection to 287(g) may be indirect, the fear is real. For instance:

> in one hand we are telling the community you have to be more involved in the school you have to work with the teacher, you have to participate. But the other hand, they cannot do it because they feel, "if I go and talk with my children's teacher and she knows that I am undocumented, and something happen with my teacher and she will report me."

Advocates and public/private service providers mention that there is minimal impact on Hispanic children's access to schools as Hispanic parents still feel safe enough to send their children to school. These service providers state that while Hispanic parents may be impacted, they do not feel that this program compromises their children's access. They comment that Hispanic parents are not pulling their children out of school and the Hispanic school enrollment numbers are still growing in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. This analysis suggests that Charlotte-Mecklenburg is not experiencing absences and dropouts of Hispanic children as a result of increased immigration enforcement activities, such as in the case of Alabama (CNN, 2012).

Hospitals

Some health care providers, advocates, and reporters state that they saw some indirect impact in Hispanic's access to health care services as a result of 287(g). Advocates and reporters relayed that Hispanics, mostly undocumented, are scared of going to the hospitals for fear that the hospital will ask them personal information and

they will be identified and reported. For example, an advocate states that one of her

clients related that some hospitals in Charlotte-Mecklenburg make patients scan their

palms during registration. The palm scanners are designed to secure the registration

process and accurately identify patients and their medical histories (Palm, 2007). In 2007,

Carolina Healthcare System, a major health care provider in Charlotte-Mecklenburg,

became one of the first health care providers to use this technology in the U.S. Advocate1

states her client was apprehensive that if the hospital scanned her palm that information

would be shared with law enforcement and eventually with ICE. She remarks,

> I believe they live in constant fear that immigration is [going to] be everywhere...I mean the 287(g), which is connected to immigration, they think are the same, they think that scanning the palm to send the information to immigration so that 287(g) [can] apply to them.

The statement above illustrates the general fear among the Hispanics in Charlotte-

Mecklenburg, created in part because of the misinformation about 287(g). Although there

is no information sharing between the 287(g) program and hospitals, there seems to be

fear that the two entities are connected. Other instances of reluctance to give out personal

information are also felt by Health care provider2. Health care provider2, who works in

collaboration with the health department, states that as Hispanics are scared to go to the

health department, even though the health department engages in aggressive outreach by

going to high Hispanic settlement areas to administer HIV testing and prevention

awareness. He states that as he is Hispanic, and so the Hispanic community is much more

open and friendly with him. However, his Hispanic clients are still scared when they are

filling out forms. Health care provider2 recounts his experience when he has to collect

some personal and health related information from the Hispanic community. He states:

> I learned to know because…they wouldn't say it but there was certain they would look at something or they would just sit there and stop and they would not actually say anything and I would have to reach out and say, "ok you don't have to put…, we are not going to send this anywhere," and that kind of gave them a relief. You saw that in their faces in the way that they conducted themselves.

Some advocates also believe that there is hesitancy to fill out forms among Hispanics and sometimes they filled out false information out of fear.

However, health care providers in the sample say that Hispanics still access the hospitals in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, particularly the emergency rooms (ER). Health care provider3, who is involved in a volunteer based program conducting outreach activities to encourage preventive care among Hispanics, explains that Hispanic men are more likely to go to the ER because they prefer not to go for doctor visits. She suggests that a combination of fear and cultural barriers discourages Hispanic men from maintaining a relationship with the doctor. An additional reason for accessing the ER is also because emergency rooms are required by law to treat everyone regardless of their legal status. Another health care provider surmises that Hispanics who are undocumented and fearful usually wait until the last minute to seek medical care, and that is why they end up in the emergency rooms. Advocate5, recounting an incident, gives an example:

> I remember this man calling me…"my wife is dying,"…he said, "I am very afraid to take her to the hospital because we might be deported from there," and I said, "no no no, you need to take your wife right now to the hospital right now, it does not matter what's [going to] happen, but you need to take her right now." And later on we learned that she had a serious infection, if she did not go to the hospital at that moment she was [going to] die.

Some health care providers also state that there is an issue of access because of a lack of transportation. Hispanics, who often do not have a valid driver's licenses, do not want to drive to access hospital services or take part in studies done by hospitals. As

individuals can get arrested for driving without a driver's license, this limits their access

to hospitals and other places. Health service provider1 recalls an incident about one

woman whose driver's license had been taken away, and therefore she stopped

participating in the healthcare study program because she was afraid to drive.

Advocacy Organizations

Advocacy organizations are those organizations that cater their services mainly to

Hispanics. This group also includes reporters from Spanish language newspapers and

members of grassroots organizations who work towards increasing awareness about basic

rights among Hispanics. Many advocates agree that the trust placed on them by the

Hispanic community has not decreased as a result of 287(g). As they are active in the

Hispanic community, the advocacy, grassroots organizations, and Hispanics newspapers

state that they have established a level of trust to an extent where the Hispanic

community is not scared to access their services. Advocate3 states that access to their

services by Hispanics has increased in the past few years following the 287(g) program.

The number of Hispanics volunteering in their organizations has also increased

dramatically. Furthermore, they have not seen a decrease in participation by Hispanics in

the public and cultural events they organized. The advocacy organizations provide

Hispanics with numerous resources and information to navigate their lives in Charlotte-

Mecklenburg.

As these advocacy organizations are on the frontlines of delivering basic services,

they also confront the unintended consequences of 287(g) on the Hispanic community

firsthand. As a result of 287(g), they have been adding several different programs to solve

new problems and meet new demands. For instance, Advocate1, who has worked with

an advocacy organization for more than a decade and seen the transformation of her

organization, states that after 287(g):

> it became very much a priority to deal with those issues where in the past, we
> have been delivering program around education, homeownership, you know
> moving up in the ladder in a corporation...becoming more engaged in the
> community,...it sort of took like a totally 90 degree turn to deal with somebody
> coming through the door to the offices saying,…"my husband did not come home
> last night, I don't know where he is." We started looking into the system, the
> computer system, and you can pull up their names and their picture is there and
> that was the first time a wife, for example, would see the picture of a husband that
> had been arrested, and she did not know anything that had happened to him the
> night before. So we end up having really to deal with, it just became a whole new
> program to manage and to deal with on those issues so it just...developed into a
> new program.

Moreover, Advocate1 points out that they started having conversations with the

Hispanic community about preparing them for the aftermath of deportation. She further

states that the advocacy organizations discuss with Hispanics what should be done in an

event of a deportation. For example, the processes of taking care of their personal

belongings such as their apartment, and their car. Advocates state that their other

activities included asking individuals to follow the law, drive within the speed limit, and

not draw the attention of authorities. Similarly, an advocate states that her organization

recognizing that the Hispanic community needs legal counsel, hired an attorney to help

with the increased demands. Advocate5 shares that:

> definitely after 287(g) this office has seen hundreds of families, hundreds of
> families that are in this predicament of being deported. At one point we were
> serving every week we were serving 15-20 families in the same situation. In 2006
> it was almost, it was everyday people coming with this situation. It was my father,
> my brother, my sister, my mom everybody being arrested and going through the
> program. We had a talk with ICE and it eased the situation a little bit, but it still
> continued and up to this day, we see people almost on the daily basis with
> deportations.

Furthermore, another advocate shares that her organization identifies that Hispanic women are scared to call law enforcement in regards to domestic violence. To ease the problem of reporting of domestic violence abuses, Advocate3's organization has special programs where they serve as a liaison between the Hispanic community and the police, providing Hispanic women a space to report domestic violence incidents. He comments that 287(g) creates more work for them, as the needs of the Hispanic community have increased. Therefore, there is an increase in the types of programs and, outreach efforts, as well as advocacy activities.

While some organizations concentrate on delivering a tailored service to the Hispanic community, other grassroots organizations are involved in raising awareness about individual rights and organizing marches and rallies. Advocate4 relates several incidents where his organization has worked in collaboration with other advocacy organizations around Charlotte-Mecklenburg to mobilize the Hispanic community in an effort to stop deportation procedures of individuals who are processed through 287(g). He points out that some Hispanics are afraid to show up for rallies, but other Hispanics participate because the program may have impacted them personally. Other organizations, such as Spanish language newspapers, which are strong advocates for the Hispanic community, state that the program also created more work for them. In 2010, they were a part of organizing a rally against 287(g) and assumed that individuals would not show up. She states:

> They [had] marches and protests here after the program, we thought that people are not going to show up, [but] people showed up. I guess they want to show that they are not afraid, they were afraid, but we, the media, the Latino media we [kept] encouraging them.

Other social service organizations, such as churches, that serve mainly Hispanic populations have also received an overwhelming number of Hispanics in past years. A representative of a local church states that they have a health clinic and a free pantry to serve the Hispanic community. Although, not directly related to 287(g), the church representative comments that the clinic has been "overwhelmed and overloaded since the day [the clinic] opened." However, he has seen that getting people to come to the church has been increasingly difficult. He points out that Hispanics do not come to the church because they are fearful of driving without a license. The problem of access due to lack of transportation is often mentioned by the advocates in this group.

<p style="text-align:center">Private Service Providers</p>

This group is comprised of respondents from private sectors, including the immigration lawyers involved in delivering services to Hispanics. Some of the private service providers, especially the immigration lawyers, are impacted by 287(g). Immigration lawyers have received an increase in caseloads since the implementation of the 287(g) program. The majority of immigration lawyers in this sample have to deal with 287(g) cases on a day-to-day basis. Immigration lawyer3, commenting about the increase in cases of 287(g), states:

> I can tell you that maybe ten years ago, I received one phone call for deportation case per year. Then like eight years ago, I could say like two or three deportation cases. Four years ago, it was maybe about four cases per month, and when I left the office in March, I received four cases per day.

However, immigration lawyers share that in the last two years the number of cases has slightly decreased. They suggest that the change in focus of the federal government, as well as the change in the local law enforcement's philosophy, have

decreased the number of people getting processed by the 287(g) program. As mentioned before, Immigration lawyer2 points out that ICE has passed a policy which gives more flexibility to ICE trained officers in their decision to issue a Notice to Appear, which instructs individuals to appear in immigration court. This means that ICE trained officers may not place individuals in removal proceedings for minor infractions. Immigration lawyer2 states that ICE trained officers examine the criminal records of individuals, and if they find no criminal history, the officer exercises his discretion to decide if they should pursue deportation.

However, another private service provider, which provides assistance with job search and career development, states that their organization is not impacted by 287(g). She expresses that as they are a private service provider, Hispanics do not connect them to the government. Therefore, even when their organization's registration form asks for a social security number, Hispanics are aware that they can leave it blank and still receive all the services. She remarks:

> They don't associate this [agency] with legal thing or police or something like that. And also the location, South Boulevard is mainly Hispanics. So, they are still coming. We have two bilingual staff here and we haven't seen any impacts with the 287(g).

In the case of other private service providers like banking services, the majority of respondents state that banks are also not impacted by 287(g), because Hispanics are already afraid to access banks. On the other hand, there is a proliferation of Latino banks in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg area that is rapidly gaining popularity among the Hispanic population. Thus, Hispanics may be accessing the banks that are catering to their population rather than the mainstream banks.

b) Impact on Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg

The second layer of analysis examines the impacts of 287(g) on the Hispanic community in Charlotte-Mecklenburg through the views of the service providers. Approximately 32% of the respondents agree the Hispanic community is impacted, because many Hispanic families are separated as a result of deportation after being processed by the 287(g) program. There are also reports that the separation of families due to deportation of family members, in turn, led to a number of other adverse impacts in the Hispanic community. The respondents mention that, often times, these families are of mixed status; for example, parents are undocumented but children are documented or U.S. citizens. Fry and Passel (2009) estimate that among second generation Latino children, 4 in 10 children "have at least one unauthorized parent and are therefore living in a family whose immigration status is legally mixed" (p. ii). Furthermore, Brabeck and Xu (2010), studying Hispanic families, find that the increases in chances of a parent's deportation impacts the well-being of Hispanic children. The service providers in the sample, who work closely with the Hispanic community, recall numerous incidents where a parent is deported after he/she went through the 287(g) program and the remaining family members have to support themselves. Service providers relate that usually the wage earner is the one who is arrested and deported, causing his/her spouse and children to lapse into poverty. For instance, LEC10 recalls:

> Unfortunately, good family members are all getting hemmed up and I know of individuals right now…he goes to church, he works, he provides his family, he volunteers in the community, he cleans things up, he donates his time on his off time, he raises his children here, children born in America. He does not have a proper documentation when he came over here illegally and broke the law. With no proper documentation, he was stopped by traffic violation, he was arrested, doesn't have a North Carolina license; they ship him back to his country. His wife has no food, can't pay rent, the kids have no food, can't get supplies for schools.

> He doesn't have family to bring his family back to his own country because his job was here. And now we have a family that's on government welfare that the citizens...so it's a vicious type cycle.

A majority of the advocates express their concern for children of undocumented Hispanic parents. They state that children are living in fear that their parents will be deported. Living with fear affects their mental health, causing them to have higher levels of depression and anxiety. Some advocates mention the prospect that their parents can be deported would demotivate them and negatively impact their school performance. For example, a young Hispanic community representative, who grew up in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, mentions that fear of the parents are sometimes passed down to the children. She explains:

> I do think that it creates a sense of fear, but a lot of that fear from what I have seen is being passed down to other generations. So the police comes in and stops the mother, who has their kids in the back and they sense that fear from their mom, and she is crying and they are able to sense that and know what's going on, and I think that fear is being passed on.

Deportation of parents also causes children to live without a parent or, in other cases, become a "pseudo" parent to their siblings. School representative1, a Hispanic, relates an incident of an active Hispanic woman who was stopped at a traffic checkpoint on Eastside and ultimately deported. This Hispanic woman has left two of her daughters behind in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. With no close relatives to take care of them, the older sister has been taking care of the younger sister and is practically a mother to her. School representative1 argues that the children of deported parents pay "a high price," because sometimes they are brought to the U.S. by their parents when they are young. Another school representative agrees when parents are deported, their children are placed in

situations where they have to take on more responsibilities. Many times it is difficult for the children to understand why their parents are deported, creating a general distrust towards the system. Others share that because Hispanic children often lack guidance from their families, they end up joining gangs to fill that void. Another LEC officer, who collaborates with a local school, recounts an incident where a child is living without a father as a result of 287(g). LEC4, who manages a youth program in a school, states:

> I have a kid in that program whose father…was arrested he told me for a traffic related offense, and was deported…few years ago, actually. So this particular child is living in Charlotte with his mother…because he was arrested for a non-violent traffic offense, he was, you know sent back to his home country and this child is growing up without him as we speak. The way its affected him, he is very good kid, very good, I like him a lot, we try to talk some of the things when he is kind of missing his father and…you know for Thanksgiving break this year he was able to go back to his home country to visit [his father], he had not seen his father at least two years he said…And he was describing that emotional experience to me and… my heart kind of went out to him because of that. He is only maybe like 12 years old and he [has spent the] last two three years growing up that way.

Some advocates believe that the stress and fear of being arrested and deported causes some individuals, particularly men, to suffer from mental health issues. Advocate1, a Hispanic, states that some Hispanic men are suffering from "dual diagnosis." For example, performing activities such as driving without a driver's license and fearing that the police will catch them causes them to have panic attacks. According to that advocate, Hispanic men sometimes resort to drugs and alcohol to get rid of their anxiety and depression, and that action makes their predicament worse. Therefore, some Hispanic men suffer from the dual diagnosis of mental stress and drugs/alcohol problems.

Many reporters and advocates relate that even legal Hispanics are fearful of 287(g). The documented Hispanics sometimes have friends or family members who are

not documented, making them wary of the program. Additionally, they fear they may be profiled, as they look Hispanic and speak with an accent. For example, Reporter4 who is Hispanic, states:

> I am a US citizen, how am I going to prove it? I don't have my passport with me all the time, where were you born? Venezuela, I don't believe you are a US citizen. I am going to run [you] through the system. So now you run me through the system, which I already told you…I am a naturalized citizen. She did not believe me, maybe I have a broken accent, and maybe I don't speak English. Well, so they run me through the process even though I am a citizen.

In order to avoid being profiled, sometimes Hispanics changed their appearance. For example, one respondent admitted that she dyed her hair blonde so that she can "look" like she belonged here. Another advocate states that sometimes many Hispanics place stickers on their cars and in their shops that showed their allegiance to the U.S. For example, Advocate2 states:

> They try to become more Americans. In the cars they have a sticker of the Panthers, and you have Tar Heels stickers or a United States flag hat, so more of an embrace of America and which is really setting new identity. You are a big soccer fan and all of a sudden you have a...Bobcats hat.

View of the Program

When asked how Hispanics viewed 287(g), a majority of the service providers share that Hispanics have a negative view of the program. Most of the public private service providers believe that Hispanics thought the program "profiled" them. For example, Healthcare2, a Hispanic, comments that the biggest downfall of the program is that:

> … it does create racial profiling, because we know that there are other undocumented people from other places in the world who might not be targeted because they don't look a certain way.

Others relate that Hispanics thought 287(g) is "discriminatory," "unfair," and "unjust." When asked to recall how Hispanics feel about the program, one of the advocates grew emotional when she remembered the feelings of her community when the program first started. Community representative2, a Hispanic, states that "they feel like they are being imprisoned that they are imprisoned in a free country." A majority of the advocates and public/private service providers (approximately 37%) agree that there is a lot of general feeling of fear in the Hispanic community.

However, several respondents from the public service provider group and LES group express that the reaction to the program sometimes depended upon the legal status of an individual. For instance, LES1 explains that individuals who come to the U.S. following the rules and regulations do not agree that undocumented individuals should have equal rights that citizens have. Public service provider3 explains that some legal individuals may feel that this program is working, as it removes undocumented criminals from the U.S. However, other service providers express that the legal status of an individual does not matter as much, as many legal Hispanics have friends and families who are undocumented.

Another event that portrays a feeling of unfairness is when Private service provider3, a Hispanic woman, opens her purse and shows the researcher that she carries her social security card with her everywhere she goes. She states that she has been in situations where individuals asked for her social security, she relates:

> Because I don't speak English without an accent because I don't …because I look like Hispanic even if I am blonde…so it's not fair...this happened to me.

Advocates reveal that Hispanics are often scared that when they drive without a

license they will be pulled over by police and taken to jail. They live in fear, as they have

heard of someone or know somebody who has been processed through 287(g) and then

deported. This feeling of fear is dynamic in nature because it spreads quickly through the

Hispanic community. Some LEC officers mention that managing these rumors is very

difficult, because many times these rumors are unfounded. Several LEC and LES officers

blame the Hispanic media and activists for spreading misinformation about the program,

and thereby creating fear among the Hispanic community.

Fear of getting deported also makes individuals plan for the unthinkable. An

attorney states that Hispanics who feel that they may be deported take some measures to

plan for deportation. Dubbing it a "disaster plan," this process involves making sure that

all the property is in someone else's name, or issuing a power of attorney to someone

who is documented. Besides taking care of financial issues, Hispanic parents also try to

plan the fate of their children if they are deported. For example, Advocate5, a Hispanic,

shares that she is part of a church group that discusses who is willing to take care of each

of their children if one of them are deported.

Impact on Hispanics' Daily Mobility and Interaction

Most of the respondents state that the program has directly impacted the daily

mobility of Hispanics around Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Around 13% of the respondents

feel that Hispanics are fearful of driving. Respondents agree that the 287(g) program, in

combination with the change in driver license laws in North Carolina, instills a large

amount of fear of driving in the Hispanic community. Respondents argue that if an

individual is arrested while driving without a license or driving with an expired license,

there is a high chance that he/she will be taken to the jail. Service providers express that

many undocumented individuals who have received their driver's licenses in North

Carolina before the change in driver's license law have licenses that have already expired

or are expiring soon. Many advocates mention that the presence of traffic checkpoints[29]

compounds their fear of driving. As a result of this fear, advocates and public/private

service providers state that Hispanics refused to drive far or only drive for important

events. Several advocates mention that Hispanics do not go on vacations because they do

not want to drive far. However, if Hispanics have to drive to work, they take the risk and

still drive. A community representative, who is non-Hispanic and has an undocumented

husband, relates the complications of their daily lives. She is a citizen and her husband is

in the process of getting his legal status. She relates that they have to lead their lives

around Charlotte-Mecklenburg carefully and she never lets her husband drive. She

states:

> My husband is in the process of becoming documented. Technically he is
> undocumented, so on a personal basis I live with it every day. Because I won't let
> him drive, I mean, he is a perfectly good driver, but …there is no way I am going
> to take that chance. And there is a lot of fear, it limits what he can do.

Their concern is valid, as one of the public service providers state that if an individual is

in the U.S. without proper documents and they are petitioning for a visa, having contact

with law enforcement might jeopardize their whole application process.

Many respondents relate that Hispanics came up with novel solutions to solve

their transportation problem. Most advocates and public/private service providers believe

that the Hispanics opt to use public transportation. Another popular solution is having

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[29] Among the respondents, there were many discussions about traffic checkpoints. Some referred to the traffic checkpoints as a general speeding, and DWI checkpoints. Others, however, referred to the checkpoints as immigration raids.

someone else who has a driver's license to drive them to places. For example,

Immigration lawyer2 mentions:

> So a lot of my clients come in for consultation meetings near the office and they bring some random person with them sitting in the waiting room. I'm like, "who's that, does he want to come in?" "that's my driver." We have that a lot, I see that all the time. They leave the driver in the waiting room.

Some advocates remark that Hispanics share rides with other Hispanics to prevent

driving without a driver's license. For instance, Hispanics plan their grocery store visits

together so that they can go in one car with a licensed driver. Other measures include

more expensive solutions like hiring a taxi, and hiring someone else to drive.

Additionally, to avoid going through the traffic checkpoints, Hispanics often

communicate with each other about the presence of checkpoints so that they can drive

around it. LEC1 notes that their department informs the community, Hispanic and others,

where the checkpoints are going to be so that the community is aware of it. Respondents

also mention that Hispanics are extremely careful while driving. A positive unintended

consequence of 287(g) is that Hispanics are more likely to refrain from drinking and

driving after the passage of 287(g). According to LES2, the percentage of Driving While

Impaired (DWI) arrests of Hispanics in Mecklenburg County has decreased in the past

years. As Figure 17 shows, DWIs, as a percentage of total 287(g) proceedings from 2006

to 2011, hovers between 20% to 25%, except in 2008 and 2010, when it goes above 25%.
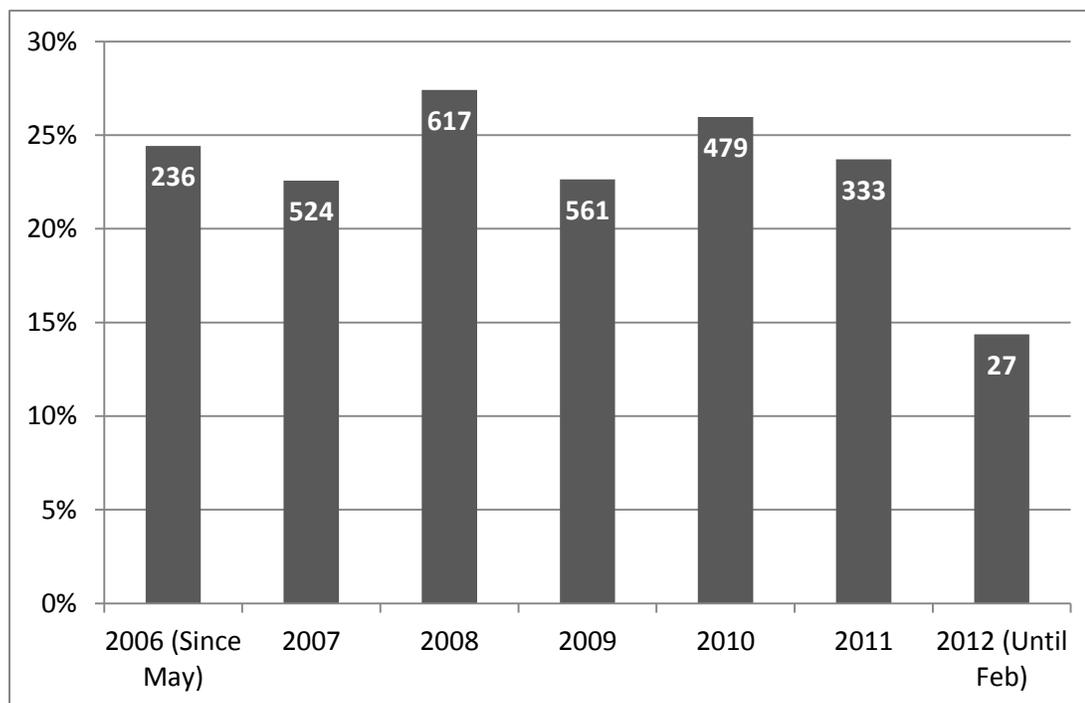
FIGURE 17: Driving While Impaired (DWI) as a percentage of the total 287(g)
proceedings in Mecklenburg County
Source: Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office

Many state that Hispanics avoid driving at times when there is a greater police

presence; for example, they avoid driving at night, driving to uptown, and driving during

holidays. One unique solution is to have their car registered in someone else's name.

LEC5 mentions:

> As they are undocumented and undocumented individuals cannot register [their
> car]. So their friend who is documented has 15 cars and he doesn't drive 15 cars.
> So they are in a legal car with a legal insurance having a seat belt on and
> providing legal driving habits.

One advocate also mentions that there are exploitative businesses sprouting

around Charlotte-Mecklenburg which take advantage of people's situation. For example,

there are some services in Charlotte that charge anywhere from $200 to $300 per person

to take Hispanics to the Mexican consulate in Raleigh. The reality that Hispanics will not

report these exploitative services to authorities may have encouraged these services.

While some respondents believe that 287(g) did not have an impact on the social

interaction of Hispanics, there are others who demonstrate that there is an indirect

relationship with the program. Several advocates and public/private service providers

state that Hispanics rarely go out. For example, Immigration lawyer1 relates that his

Hispanic clients often say, "I just go to work and then I go straight home." These

respondents report that Hispanics used to do recreational activities, such as going to

clubs, bars, malls, and stores. However, some advocates and public/private service

providers also note that, due to the fear of being targeted, Hispanics are reluctant to visit

places which attract a large number of Hispanics. For instance, a community

representative explains:

> I was thinking back to my husband [undocumented]… he doesn't like to go into,
> and this is a shame Latino establishments. He feels, you know, that they will may
> be targeted or some kind, if police are going to be concentrating on any particular
> place, it's going to be where there are lot of other Latinos, so he does not like to
> go to Latino restaurants or stores. That's a shame for the community.

Yet, many advocates and public/private service providers confess that Hispanics were not

civically engaged even before the program. The Hispanic population is still learning to

volunteer. Therefore, the reason Hispanics do not volunteer is not directly due to the

program.

In terms of interactions with the individuals of other races, there is some evidence

that the perception of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg among other communities has

become negative. Respondents believe that the negativity is partly because of the rhetoric

of the 287(g) program and the attention it brought to the topic of undocumented

individuals. Therefore, 287(g) may have been a factor in a heightened sense of negative

awareness. For instance, one advocate comments:

> May be in a negative way, because you are bringing to light that if the police are
> doing something, the general public might think that there is a need for
> something, so that may put a negative taint on immigrants, so they must be bad,
> [that is why] the police doing this. So maybe they view immigrants in a different
> light, whereas maybe it would have been in the past more positive in the sense
> that, "hey these are hardworking people, they are good workers, I want to employ
> them if I am an employer," that kind of thing. So maybe people are less likely to
> deal with immigrants because of it.

Some respondents also believe that the media is responsible for the changes in the

relationship and interaction of Hispanics with the larger community. The reason again is

their increased attention towards undocumented immigrants and how they are using the

public resources.

In terms of relationship with African-Americans, there is not much evidence that

the relationship has changed since the 287(g) program began. However, an advocate

suggests that African-Americans may relate to Hispanics' issues and concerns.

Impact on Spatial Mobility and Settlement Patterns of Hispanics

Spatial mobility refers to moving residences from one neighborhood to another

neighborhood, or moving out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. In terms of movement within

Charlotte-Mecklenburg, there is again mixed responses. An apartment manager strongly

believes that the combination of checkpoints and the 287(g) program impact the ethnic

makeup of her apartment complex. She has lived in the area for 12 years and comments

that Hispanics have slowly moved away from that neighborhood. She states:

> [There are] checkpoints, a lot of residence did not have a driver's license, we used
> to have a high percentage of Latino community, at one point almost 40%
> Hispanic, but a lot of people are moving from the community. So, there has been

a decrease in Hispanics. Currently, just 20% of the residents in this complex are Hispanics, and not many Hispanic prospects coming through the door.

Several other advocates also mention that traffic checkpoints are one of the reasons that Hispanics move away from neighborhoods. However, other respondents point out that even if Hispanics want to move from certain neighborhoods, they might not have enough resources to do so.

Many advocates and public/private service provider agree that Hispanics are moving out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Some of these individuals are moving to other friendlier states, such as New York and Florida, while others are moving to another country, such as Canada. Some Hispanics are also willingly moving back to their country of origin. Although many agree that Hispanics are moving, the reason of their movement is contentious. Several advocates express that Hispanics are moving out because they no longer feel welcome in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. One respondent relates the movement of Hispanics to the program. Reporter2 shares that:

> I have no doubt that thirty people that you know and most of them have children, have leave the area … I know for a fact because of 287(g), the people as a matter of fact some of them went to Canada,…and some of them went to their home, Mexico …to other states yeah, people have left for New York. Recently I had a friend from the Dominican Republic, he was very successful here, his wife his two kids and moved to New York, much easier, they don't have to drive, they are in a very cosmopolitan ambience. They don't pay attention if you are documented or undocumented.

However, many respondents across all the groups feel that the movement of Hispanics out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg is due to the recession and the lack of jobs. They believe that Hispanics were attracted to Charlotte-Mecklenburg because there were a lot of jobs here; they were able to earn money and send it back to their families in their home

countries. Respondents remark that once the construction jobs decreased, many of the Hispanic population also left. This is consistent with research by Parrado (2012), who studies changes in the size of Mexican immigrants from 2005 to 2009 in relation to the 287(g) program. He concludes that the relationship between the changes in size of the Mexican population varies according to the location and their 287(g) models. Parrado (2012) argues that economic recession is a better predictor for decrease in Mexican immigrants in his sample communities.

There are other respondents across the group who state that Hispanics are not moving out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. These respondents note that Hispanics are moving into Charlotte-Mecklenburg. This observation is also valid, as earlier demographic analysis indicates that the Hispanic population in Charlotte-Mecklenburg increased from 2000 to 2010.

7.4.4 Policy Implications Suggested by Respondents

The interviews with the service providers have uncovered several policy recommendations that they perceive may help in decreasing the negative impacts of the program. First, a majority of the respondents across all professions agree that educating the Hispanic community about 287(g) is important in decreasing fear among them. Each government organization should engage in outreach activities in Hispanic communities to clarify their connections with 287(g). As a public service provider explains:

> Mainly what [can] we do is educate, there are some workshops for parents, they are free, they don't ask for anything, you don't have to worry about this or that, we don't have connections, we always explain that this organization, they don't have connection with the police. If you go to the department of the social service…[there is no] police department there, nothing related or if you go to the hospital, the police is not asking for the records … we try to explain that, or even if you have a problem with the employer there is organization which is the equal employment opportunity or the Department of Labor, again there is no police. It is

not like maybe in other country [where] everything is the police, here each organization is separate and the police will only stop you.

The interviews also indicate that educating the Hispanic community is not enough. They state that there should be an effort to increase the awareness among the local law enforcement about the 287(g) program. Respondents also add that there should be increased cultural awareness among local law enforcement, so that there is less chance of discrimination. There are several concerns in the Hispanic community and the service providers that 287(g) opens doors for profiling. In order to remove these contentions, the local law enforcement can have specific protocols in place. One public service provider states,

> I think there needs to be specific protocols around when you run somebody through 287(g) versus just a regular traffic stop. There needs to be more specific … procedures, so that one person cannot be lenient and one police officers be really profiling you know you have to have equal treatment by every officer, I think it would help to be more specific and not let the philosophy of the department or the police chief…dictate that but let the program say, "here are the three things you have to have before you run through 287(g), here are the questions, here is the answer, if you don't do this, then you will just have to make a regular traffic stop."

Protocols and specific steps will also take the burden off the police officers on duty to make a judgment call given a certain circumstance. For example, the protocols can specifically instruct police officers to protect the witnesses and victims from any type of questions connected to immigration. These actions may also remove the fear among the Hispanic community and increase its willingness to call the police or call 911 in times of trouble. The interviews with law enforcement suggest that the police already practice these action of protecting witnesses and victim, but there are some advocates that say otherwise.

Along with the cultural awareness among the law enforcement authorities, the interviews indicate that there should also be cultural awareness among the general public in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. These service providers believe that organizations should find ways to sensitize the general public so that they have a personal connection to the issues of Hispanics. For instance, a church member explains:

> Try to build bridges [so that] people can connect. Because I believe as you get to know people would become, it changes your perspective. When you see José on the news as an illegal immigrant, it provokes certain feelings…when you have lunch with José and you meet his kids and then you make a connection and he's okay, and I think that's one of the most important things we can do is build some relationship.

Another advocate expresses similar thoughts, she states:

> I think the only thing it would be, possibly how do we make the general [public], the mom that is walking with the little girl in a stroller, walking to the car...who is oblivious to this issue, how do we make people aware? Which I think, when you do a poll, most Americans if you were to tell them this is what is happening, separating families it is effecting the mental health of women and the children, it's effecting our own economy [and] our own community. They really would be so opposed to that, but because they don't see it they are blind to it

Apart from education, respondents also recommend some structural solutions to deal with the unintended consequences of 287(g). As this research suggests, identification is one of the key reasons that 287(g) has been implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. One of the law enforcement officers proposes developing a database of individuals in terms of their DNA and fingerprints. According to that LEC officer, individuals can volunteer to have their DNA taken and be fingerprinted in order to get the driver's license. This process would again ensure that individuals are not subjected to 287(g) when confronted with law enforcement for minor reasons like driving without a license.

The officer admits that the local ACLU "shot down" the idea of creating such a database as the local government will be infringing upon people's rights.

Other service providers have concerns about what can be done in an event of a deportation. The advocacy organizations are involved in developing emergency kits that have instructions and telephone number of individuals they can contact for support. Another advocate suggests creating a rapid response team to assist the families after a family member has been deported. For example, Advocate7 suggests:

> Create a task force in your own church, someone like an emergency team and that when somebody gets [deported], or a family member gets deported they can call on you, and you can be that task force and say that the family needs food, the family needs a place to live. An emergency task force or like a team so that they can go and rescue that family so that they don't fall.

The research also indicates that service providers have concerns about 287(g)'s impact on Hispanic children. One school representative suggests that schools already have counselors that children can access, and the counselors can be trained to deal with particular issues these Hispanic children are facing. When asked about the possibility of adding such a program, School official1 grimly states:

> Due to the budget cuts, the number of counselors and social workers and all the support system has just [gone down]…I want to say maybe one-third of what it used to be. So, unfortunately that will be where the kids should get the support, we don't have that in most of the schools anymore

Many respondents across the board agree that the program needed to be applied as it is intended. While some agree that 287(g) needs revisions, many advocates state that the program should be abolished. However, law enforcement authorities in this sample contend that 287(g) provides them with the best possible solution to identify the individuals that are processed through the jails.

7.4.5 Summary

Overall, the qualitative analysis helps to explore and understand the nuances of 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. It helps in examining the intricacies of how a policy change may shape the way new Hispanics are able to navigate their lives in a new immigrant gateway. The interview data indicates that the study of the intended and unintended consequences is not as straightforward as portrayed in previous literatures. Furthermore, the interviews suggest that the role of non-governmental service providers is important in terms of providing an infrastructure to ease integration of Hispanics. The next section discusses the overall findings of the qualitative and quantitative investigations.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This chapter discusses the main findings of the quantitative and qualitative analyses. It situates these results under the larger theoretical framework regarding the processes of integration, and provides policy recommendations. These policy recommendations consist of ways in which the larger community can manage some of the negative impacts of the program.

The results from the quantitative and qualitative analysis indicate that the 287(g) program in Charlotte-Mecklenburg impacts the processes of integration of Hispanics. These findings are consistent with Berry (2003), who theorizes that the policies and views of the larger dominant community play an important role in the integration of newcomers. Previous literature also shows that other factors unrelated to the policies of the receiving society may also impact the processes of integration of newcomers. Personal constraints such as limited English proficiency and dire socioeconomic circumstances may, for example, prevent an immigrant's willingness or ability to access the services provided by institutions.

This has relevance to Charlotte-Mecklenburg which has been identified a pre-emerging gateway. The immigrants in Charlotte-Mecklenburg are largely composed of individuals who have limited English proficiency and lower socioeconomic resources (Singer, 2004). Another characteristic of a fast growing gateways is that the "institutional infrastructure that can assist in integration of immigrants – both community based and governmental – are still being developed and strengthened" (Singer, 2004, p. 16). Singer (2004) further argues that pre-emerging gateways have undergone a sudden demographic transition, from a previously black and white profile to a multiethnic composition. Singer (2004) states this transformation has created a "social conflict" in these pre-emerging gateways, as the natives find themselves in competition with the new immigrants for "jobs, housing, and social services" (p.17). Thus, fast growing gateways such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg may be experiencing ethnic and racial conflicts among its residents. In such circumstances, this research indicates that 287(g) has placed an additional burden onto an already stressed system and a conflicted society that may have been struggling to deal with the immigrant population, which is largely Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

Earlier studies of the impacts of 287(g) have evaluated it in terms of intended and unintended consequences or costs and benefits (Caldwell Jr., 2009; Vaughan & Edwards, 2009; Nguyen & Gill, 2010). However, as the results of this research suggest, the impacts of 287(g) are more nuanced than previously portrayed. There is an official version of the intention of 287(g) that is clearly articulated in the MOAs. Additionally, according to the interviews there are unofficial intentions of the program depending upon the perceptions of the service providers. The unintended consequences of the program range from

impacts that are major in nature to others that are minor and indirect. This analysis sifts

through this layered nature of the impacts of 287(g) and combines the various pieces of

information to enhance the understanding of 287(g) and its impacts.

8.1 Intended Consequences

The official intention of 287(g) is detailed in the Memorandum of Agreement

(MOA) of Mecklenburg County with ICE which states:

> The purpose of this collaboration is to enhance the safety and security of
> communities by focusing resources on identifying and processing for removal
> criminal aliens who pose a threat to public safety or a danger to the community (ICE,
> 2009).

As depicted in the MOA, the findings of this study reveal that 287(g) is a fairly

successful attempt to solve several problems faced by local law enforcement in Charlotte-

Mecklenburg in the face of contemporary immigration. The findings suggest that

identifying the individuals brought to Mecklenburg County jails is the main intent of the

program in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Most of the law enforcement authorities agree that

287(g) serves an important purpose for law enforcement by easing the process of

identifying and verifying individuals who do not have any type of identification with

them. Authorizing some sheriff deputies in Charlotte-Mecklenburg to access the ICE

databases make the background checks efficient and fast. For example, an LES officer

claims that the background checks of individuals that used to take them several weeks

now take less than two to three minutes. Other sheriffs, like the sheriff from Davidson

County, TN, also argue that the ease of conducting background checks of individuals is

one of the reasons that they signed the program (DCSO, 2009). Moreover, 287(g) assists

the federal government's efforts of immigration enforcement, as they receive additional

assistance from the local law enforcement authorities. Thus, the assertion that 287(g) is a "force multiplier" for the federal immigration enforcement is a valid claim (Vaughan & Edwards, 2009; OIG, 2010; CIS, 2012).

Most of the respondents agree that the program serves its officially stated objective of identifying and removing undocumented individuals arrested for a crime. Both law enforcement and non-law enforcement respondents remark that 287(g) is intended to remove violent offenders, such as murderers, rapists, gang members, and drug traffickers, from the streets of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Since the program has been in place in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, it has removed 1,386 individuals who are convicted of a felony charge. In North Carolina, felonies include serious crimes such as drug trafficking, homicides, robberies, frauds and assaults with injury ("G.S. § 14-1,"). By removing these individuals that are a danger to the wider community, 287(g) may have improved the safety of the community as a whole. Capps et al. (2011), studying several communities that have 287(g), conclude that by identifying individuals who are a threat to the society, the program does improve public safety in those communities to some extent. In a five year review of the 287(g) program, Davidson County sheriff remarks that 287(g) is a "public safety tool" (DCSO, 2012, p. 13). In the course of five years, Davidson County claims that they have removed a hundred gang members from its county. During the interviews, Immigration lawyer4 states:

> The intended consequence is making sure who is at the jail and I think that's a very good thing to find out who is being arrested. If this person is dangerous, if this person has ever been in trouble before or they have been let's say cross the borders, they can find out where this person is from that's the intended consequence and that works very well.

However, there is a difference in perception among the service providers about whether or not the program manages to make the communities safer. The advocates in this study, who are mostly Hispanics, believe that 287(g) does not have an impact on public safety. These respondents argue that Hispanics are not the ones committing crimes. For many Hispanics in the sample, the 287(g) manages to create a sense of "perceived safety" in the larger community. For example, a Hispanic service provider relates:

> I don't feel like it is for security. I have one daughter; my daughter is 20 years old so I always worry about her security. You can't go to this area, be careful of this, I don't think that 287(g) has any for my daughter's security. I don't think I don't see for real.

Crime statistics shows that crime is generally down in terms of the crime index in Mecklenburg County. According to North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, in 2001 the crime index[30] was 7615.50, while in 2010 the index went down to 4,980.00 (NCSBI, 2001-2010). There are numerous other events that may have decreased crime rates in Mecklenburg County, and any relation to 287(g) cannot be made without deeper analysis. One of the reporters from a Hispanic newspaper points out that crime is down not because of 287(g). According to her, crime is down because there is an increased presence of law enforcement in the streets of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Without more analysis and crime data, it is not possible to either support or refute her claim.

The difference in perceptions of the intended consequences of the program is apparent in the discussion of who are the main targets of the program. The official MOA states that the main intended consequence of the program is to identify and remove

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[30] Crime index is calculated using violent offences such as murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft and arson (NCSBI, 2001-2010)

undocumented criminals. Although most respondents agree that the intention is to remove

dangerous undocumented individuals, there are many non-law enforcement service

providers who believe that 287(g) is a tool to decrease undocumented individuals in

Charlotte-Mecklenburg, regardless of the nature and severity of the crime. They argue

that, even though not official, the intended consequence 287(g) is to decrease the number

of undocumented individuals, either by catching and removing them, or by deterring

them to come to Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Those individuals in the sample, consisting

mostly of advocates and some public service providers, believe that the removal of any

undocumented individual is an underlying intention of the program. For instance, a pastor

at a local church states:

> I think the intended outcome is, we will create an environment so difficult to live
> that we will force them to voluntarily go back. I think there is no way in the world
> we want to pay the money to send everybody back that does not have their
> documents or their documentation in order. So, what we want to do is we want to
> starve them, scare them, and create this very difficult dark underworld that they
> aren't going want to stay here. So let's make it so bad for them here that they will
> decide to go back there. I think that is I think that is the intended result.

> Additionally, Healthcare2 points out,

> [287(g) allowed them] to be able to basically ask someone for an immigration
> status to prove the immigration status and they are able to see if somebody is not
> here legally then they can put a hold on them and have them processed

For some LEC and LES law enforcement authorities the possibility of

undocumented individuals, regardless of the severity of their crime, being processed

through 287(g) may not be an issue. These respondents explain that there is no way to

know if that individual had committed a crime in their home countries and may

potentially commit crime in the U.S. Therefore, they reason that the preemptive arrest of

that undocumented individual, even for a lesser crime, is acceptable.

Using immigration enforcement as a viable option to control undocumented immigrant population is not a new approach. Vaughan (2006) argues that the 287(g) program is one of the ways in which ICE can expand its removal and apprehension of undocumented individuals, if more communities participated in it. The 287(g) program is one of the cost-effective measures available to enforce immigration laws, as it makes use of the resources that are already in place locally. Comparing several jurisdictions with and without jurisdictions, one report concludes that there is a significant drop in the number of Hispanic non-citizen population in some of the 287(g) jurisdictions (Capps et al., 2011).

This research suggests that many of the respondents in the sample believe that 287(g) has met its official intended consequence of identifying and removing undocumented individuals who are dangerous and a threat to the society. However, the findings of this research indicate that there are official intended consequences and underlying intended consequences according to the varying perceptions of the service provider. Mainly, there is a clear difference in opinion about whom the program is intending to remove. Furthermore, the way to view the intended consequence itself is varied, as there are both positive and negative connotations attached to it.

8.2 Unintended consequences

There are many unintended consequences of 287(g) that cannot be ignored. As with the intended consequence, the perceptions among the service providers of the unintended consequences are also very complex and multilayered. In contrast to the process in which the consequences of the program are studied in a simple and straightforward manner, the findings of this research reveal the nuanced nature of the

impacts, which warrants a much deeper analysis. This research suggests that the impact

of 287(g) on the three axes of integration ranges from impacts at the institutional level in

terms of interactions of Hispanics with the service providers to impacts at a more

personal level. Furthermore, this research also suggests that the impacts 287(g) are not all

one note – they range from direct and severe impacts to far more minor effects.

Interestingly, the impact also varies depending on the service providers being

interviewed. Although the unintended impacts are of higher intensity for undocumented

Hispanics, it also impacts Hispanics who are documented because many times

documented Hispanics belong to families who are of mixed status or they know

somebody who is not documented. The unintended consequences of 287(g) are studied

on three levels: social trust, social interaction, and mobility. This section also includes

other unintended consequences that do not fit in the three criteria. Furthermore, both

quantitative and qualitative methods are used to study the unintended consequences.

a) Social Trust

As discussed earlier, the quantitative analysis of social trust and interaction has

mixed results. The quantitative analysis indicates that probability of trust in police placed

by Hispanics significantly decreased from the pre-287(g) to the post-287(g) period. In

other words, Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg are less likely to trust police after the

program than Hispanics before the program. The probability of trust in police decreased

more for Hispanics who have lower income or are unemployed. Hispanics are less likely

to trust police if they are married and have children. It may be that having more familial

responsibilities led to increased fear of identification and removal, as separation of

families is a concern of 287(g). The quantitative results indicating decreased trust in

police suggest that the concerns raised by researchers and practitioners about 287(g) may not be just anecdotal (Weissman et al., 2009; Nguyen & Gill, 2010). Thus, these results provide an empirical basis to the concerns raised by other researchers. However, as the findings illustrate, there may be other reasons that contributed to the decrease in trust, and 287(g) may be one of the major reasons in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

The qualitative results from the interviews reaffirm the result of the quantitative analysis and demonstrate that trust in police by Hispanics decreased after the 287(g) program in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Therefore, these findings suggest that there is some support for research expectation RE2, which states that after the 287(g) program Hispanics trust in police may have decreased in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The qualitative analysis allows this research to delve deeper into the results of quantitative results and analyze the complexities of decreased trust in police by Hispanics, and to decipher the extent to which this decrease in trust may be related to the 287(g) program. Through the accounts of local law enforcement authorities and other service providers, qualitative analysis suggests that there is some evidence of decrease of trust in police after 287(g). Most of the respondents in the sample, including some LEC officers, agree that there is some level of erosion of trust in police after the 287(g) program. Moreover, many advocates remark that an increase in level of fear of law enforcement authorities accompanies the decrease in level of trust in police by Hispanics. These respondents perceive that Hispanics are more fearful of calling law enforcement even when the need arises. These results further provides support for reports on 287(g) that argue trust in police by Hispanics has decreased after the program (Nguyen & Gill, 2010). These results also confirm the concern raised by the International Association of Chiefs of

Police (IACP) in their 2005 testimony. Reflecting specifically about immigrants, IACP

remark that immigration enforcement will have a negative impact on immigrant

cooperation with the police. They state:

> Without assurances that they will not be subject to an immigration investigation
> and possible deportation, many immigrants with critical information would not
> come forward, even when heinous crimes are committed against them or their
> families (*Testimony of IACP*, 2005, p. 13).

The findings of this research also indicate that there is a slight disagreement

amongst the service providers about change in reporting of crimes by Hispanics after

287(g). The service providers who cater to Hispanics perceive that many Hispanics are

fearful of calling the police to report crimes and to come forward as witnesses. Some

LEC officers also agree that there is fear of calling the police among Hispanics. For

example, a government service employee who volunteers with Hispanic organizations

states:

> that bridge is broken, it is broken and there is a lot of new dynamics around crime,
> around gangs, around silence, people won't say anything and I think that instead
> of being a good thing for the community it creates unrest and tension and I would
> say it made 287(g) program less effective and more difficult to implement.

Some service providers speculate that domestic violence reporting may have

suffered after the 287(g) program. Domestic violence abuse victims may be scared to call

the police because they may fear deportation. These respondents state that domestic

violence is an under-reported crime, and victims do not want to access the services of

local law enforcement authorities for help regardless of their race and ethnicity. In such

circumstances, when a victim is confronted with a policy such as 287(g), the service

providers express their concern that fear of deportation exacerbates the victim's

reluctance in reporting the abuses. The underreporting of domestic violence abuses may

be more pronounced, as many times the abusers may be undocumented and are also the

ones financially providing for the victims. Thus, the victims may feel reluctant to report

their abusers because they do not want the breadwinner of their family to get deported.

While this fear may have existed before the program, the existence of 287(g) may have

compounded their reluctance to access the services of local law enforcement. For

example, LEC3 states:

> [They are] scared of something happen in the house, like domestic violence they
> might be little bit more hesitant calling the police because they think they are
> going to get in trouble or the person the abuser in the domestic violence case and
> if his/her immigration status is different than the other person's then they can use
> that leverage against them.

In other instances, the victim may not be documented and might be scared to seek

help from law enforcement or other agencies because they fear being deported. Qureshi

(2010) points out that battered Latinas are more likely to have lower educational

attainment, to have a language barrier, and marry younger when compared to White

women or African-American women. In cases where the victim is undocumented, the

batterer may use her immigration status to threaten her with deportation. Complications,

such as being separated with the children after deportation, may stop her from reporting

her abuser to the police. Qureshi (2010) also argues that the percentage of battered

undocumented women who called the police is below average, around 18.8%. When

starting with such low percentage, 287(g) may discourage battered women to call the

police for help to report a domestic violence abuses. In 2005, IACP had raised similar

concern about how local involvement of 287(g) may affect reporting of domestic

violence. They argue:

This barrier is heightened when the victim is an immigrant and rightly or wrongly perceives her tormentor to wield the power to control her ability to stay in the country. The word will get out quickly that contacting the local police can lead to deportation or being separated by a border from one's children. Should local police begin enforcing immigration laws, more women and children struggling with domestic violence will avoid police intervention and help.(*Testimony of IACP*, 2005, p. 14)

However, some LEC officers remark that they have not seen any changes in reporting crimes. For example, LEC2 states,

I'd love to say that prior to 287(g) Latinos were civically engaged, reporting everything that happened in their community. No. It wasn't like that. We still have lot of Latinos reporting crime.

Therefore, there seems to be a disagreement within law enforcement itself about whether they have seen a decrease in reporting of crimes by Hispanics after the 287(g). It can be that the relationship they have developed and maintained with the Hispanic community mitigates the impact that 287(g) has on reporting of crimes by the Hispanic community that they work with. It can also be that Hispanics may have been unwilling to cooperate with law enforcement before the 287(g) program, and the situation may have worsened after the program.

Thus, the findings indicate partial support for the research expectation RE3 and RE4, which state that Hispanics report crimes less after the 287(g) program. Although a direct relationship of decrease in reporting of crimes and 287(g) cannot be drawn, this research indicates that 287(g) may be one of the reasons contributing to a possible unwillingness of Hispanics to report crimes. Further, the findings also suggest that victims may be more likely to report crime when the offender is not an intimate partner. Service providers indicate that Hispanics' action of not calling the police to report crimes

do not stop there: the Hispanics are scared to call police even to report other abuses and accidents. Some interview responses on victimizations also illustrate that criminals, landlords, and employers victimize Hispanics more, as the perpetrators know that they will not be reported. Nguyen and Gill (2010) also note that there may be higher incidence of victimization of Hispanics, as criminals would know that Hispanics are afraid of calling the police. However, there is also evidence that victimization of Hispanics is not a new phenomenon, as they are known to carry cash with them. Thus, research expectation RE10, which states that Hispanics may be victimized more after the program, cannot be fully supported, as there is limited evidence victimization of Hispanics changed after the program.

The findings suggest that one of the key reasons for the erosion of trust in local law enforcement is that Hispanics cannot distinguish between a police, a sheriff deputy, and an immigration officer. The CMPD do not directly work with the 287(g) program, and only trained sheriff deputies can implement the 287(g) program once an individual is arrested. This research suggests that LEC officers are often the ones that make the initial arrests and are the ones that are last seen with a Hispanic arrestee before he/she is run through the system. The Hispanic community may make the connection between 287(g) and CMPD, as LEC officers are "guilty by association." Therefore, findings of this research indicate that there may be a blanket erosion of trust, not only in sheriff deputies that are directly involved in the program, but also in other law enforcement such as LEC officers who make the initial arrest. In his study of 287(g) and Secure Communities in Wake County, NC, Coleman (2012) suggests that the role of law enforcement agencies who are not formally involved with federal authorities may be important in studying the

impacts of these immigration enforcement programs. He explains that these "non-enrolled" agencies may be involved in policing activities that may eventually lead to immigration checks.

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of this research indicate that the 287(g) program may have some negative impact on the building of relationship between law enforcement officers and Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Recalling earlier discussions, Berry (2003) defines separation strategy as a strategy followed by the immigrants where they maintain their relationship with the host society, but refrain from establishing relationship with the host society. Furthermore, Örkény and Székelyi (2009) state if the immigrants are not able to trust the host society, their survival strategy often is to separate themselves from the host society and maintain relationships with co-ethnics. As García-Ramírez et al. (2011) point out, an increase in mistrust effects the ways in which groups build relationships with each other. Erosion of trust may have increased the reluctance of Hispanics to reach out for help from law enforcement authorities, even during situations that called for police involvement.

There is a common concern that is raised by government service providers, who state that Hispanics are concerned about giving out personal information to access government services or services that are funded by government. The service providers express that Hispanics are generally uncomfortable with sharing their personal information with these service providers because they do not know whether the information is going to be shared with law enforcement authorities. This mistrust about information sharing may have existed before the program, but the 287(g) program may

have contributed to increase the unwillingness of Hispanics to share their personal
information. For example, a public service provider expresses:

> In terms of the negative impact of the program because it causes Hispanics who
> may be recipient of government services, services in organizations like mine, to
> be less trusting of organizations because they don't know if the organizations
> might be working with them or against them.

Therefore, there is evidence that the loss of trust in law enforcement authorities
spread to other government affiliated organizations as well. Organizations responsible for
providing various services for the city and county residents express that Hispanics are
fearful of accessing their services. These organizations include the court, city services
organizations, and other government affiliated organizations. The fear stems from the
possibility that, from the misinformed Hispanic's perspective, these organizations may be
a façade to catch and remove undocumented individuals. Service providers share that
many in the Hispanic community in Charlotte-Mecklenburg hesitate to access their
services even when told that their information would not be shared with law enforcement
authorities. These actions again point out to the possibility that Hispanics may be
avoiding contacts with the general government service providers apart from law
enforcement because they "looked like the government." Therefore, these findings
indicate that there is some credibility in research expectation RE8, which focuses
attention on 287(g)'s impact on courts. The qualitative analysis suggests that other
governmental and government affiliated organizations besides the courts are also
impacted by the program. These results are in line with the findings of previous research,
which suggests that involvement of local law enforcement in immigration enforcement
may have an impact on immigrant's access of other municipal services (Khashu, 2009).

Additionally, an interim report on immigration enforcement, especially 287(g), in Prince

William County concludes that the policy has decreased Hispanics' trust in government

from 65% among Hispanics to 50% (Guterbock et al., 2009).

Moreover, in terms of access to these government services, the location of these

government services is also important. For example, some of the service providers

mention that these organizations are located in uptown Charlotte-Mecklenburg, where the

jails and Sheriff's Office are located, and that this may have discouraged individuals from

accessing their services. Problems like difficulties of finding a parking spot in uptown

may increase the chances of having an interaction with law enforcement authorities and

may prevent individuals from driving there. The quantitative analysis of settlement

patterns also illustrates that although Hispanics are spreading in Charlotte-Mecklenburg,

the center city is still mostly devoid of Hispanic residents. Some service providers share

that Hispanics may not want to be around uptown area because there is more presence of

law enforcement authorities. Additionally, findings of this research suggest that

individuals may not want to enter the building if it looked like a government building.

For example, a non-profit service provider expresses:

> For [an] undocumented Hispanic person to come here takes a lot of courage
> because this looks like an official building, looks like a government.

The reactions of Hispanics are similar to the argument made by Schneider and

Ingram (1993), who discuss that groups may sometimes receive negative messages from

the government. They specifically state that immigrants are negatively constructed in the

society, meaning that, the larger community does not view the Hispanics positively. The

individuals are wary about government services and may hesitate to access these services

as they do not get positive signals from the government. In other words, they do not feel

welcome to access some of these services. In Charlotte-Mecklenburg's case, where the

Hispanic population has a large immigrant population, 287(g) may be the negative

message they receive from the government. They may feel that the government is unfair

to them and ineffective in fulfilling their needs and they may avoid having a contact with

the government. Therefore, these findings suggest that the decrease in trust in other

government or government affiliated service providers also hampers the building of

relationship between Hispanics and these service providers.

The impact of 287(g) on schools, hospitals, and banks are slightly varied. The

findings of this research suggest that Hispanic parents are reluctant to come to school to

communicate with the officials because they fear that they will be reported. Again,

Hispanic parents are concerned with whether the school officials will share their

information with the law enforcement authorities. Thus, these findings indicate there is

some evidence for research expectation RE7, which states that Hispanics after the

program initiation hesitated to access school services. For example, an employee at one

of the schools states:

> The unintended impact that has affected the community now is that people are
> now drawn not to talk about situations that they might have talked about. Then,
> even with our students that their parents might not be comfortable telling
> information about themselves because they don't know where this information
> would go. And they not have committed the crime but because they feel like they
> are being racially profiled, it is hard for them to find trust in anyone.

In terms of how 287(g) impacts access to hospitals by Hispanics, the findings of

this research suggest that Hispanics are again wary about giving out their personal

information. Similar to schools, Hispanics are worried that hospitals will share their

information with other agencies. This fear of information sharing with agencies like

schools and hospitals may have existed before the program. However, 287(g) may have

had an impact of compounding the fear among Hispanics. Therefore, the fear of

information sharing may have increased after the program came in place. Introduction of

new identification technologies like palm scanners in some Charlotte-Mecklenburg

hospitals may also have exacerbated their fear of giving up too much information about

themselves.

However, this research suggests that Hispanics are still accessing emergency

rooms, as the emergency rooms are required to serve everyone in need. However,

increase in fear of accessing hospitals may lead Hispanics to wait until their medical

needs become serious, thus, increasing their access to emergency rooms. Therefore, this

research does not indicate that Hispanics are less likely to access emergency service after

287(g) (RE6). A church that provides medical services to Hispanics relates that they have

been overwhelmed with the demands of the population. It may be that 287(g) has

encouraged Hispanics to continue to use the emergency services or go to less formal

clinics where they know that they will not be asked a lot of questions.

Another common unintended consequence among the government service

providers, including law enforcement authorities, is that 287(g) is a barrier to successfully

fulfilling their duties. These organizations need to be trusted by Hispanics, as these

individuals, whether documented or undocumented, are a part of the larger community

that as service providers, they are expected to serve. In order to achieve goals such as

keeping all the residents safe and streets clean, the service providers are required to have

a good working relationship with the residents. Local law enforcement authorities need

the communities to cooperate with them to maintain public safety (Decker et al., 2009; Khashu, 2009). For example, the courts need to make sure that the Hispanic community is not scared to come to the courts for help, and they have access to the justice system like other residents in the community. City services, that are responsible to ensure that the residents follow rules and regulations also need to be able to effectively communicate with its residents. Many government service providers perceive that 287(g) may have had a hand in breaking down relationships with the Hispanic community that has taken long to build. The interviews with the government service providers such as law enforcement authorities and schools indicate that 287(g) may have had an effect on their prior efforts to build trust with the Hispanic community.

In contrast, trust in organizations that cater specifically to Hispanics seem to have increased in the wake of the program. These organizations are mostly advocacy organizations, churches, Hispanic media, law firms, and private service providers. The findings suggest that more and more Hispanics are coming to these organizations, either to participate in their activities or to take advantage of various programs they have to offer. Due to increased demands arising from the impacts of 287(g), some of these organizations have added programs to meet the new demands of the population they are serving. For example, some advocacy organizations have hired lawyers to meet the increased demand for legal counsel arising partly as a result of 287(g), while others have information sessions about procedures to follow in case a family member is deported. Distressed Hispanics often turned to these organizations for help when they are in trouble. Rather in this case, trust in such organizations seems to have increased, as they have positioned themselves as a safety net for the Hispanic community.

The findings of this research indicate that it may be significant for Hispanics that these service providers are not affiliated with the government. For example, a private service provider, who delivers social services to the whole community, remarks that the trust that Hispanics place in her organization has not changed in the past years. During the registration process in their organizations, individuals have to fill out forms that ask for social security information. However, individuals can access all their services even if they do not provide that information. She comments:

> With us as the service provider, I would say that it did not change the trust with us. When you register with our center, if you have social you enter, if you don't have you don't enter, so we don't ask for your status. It is in the form but it is just that it is optional for you to answer, you leave it blank. I will register, you will still have access to our services, all our services. Kind of like the 287(g) did not affect [their access].

In the context of Charlotte-Mecklenburg which does not have a large established Hispanic community, these organizations seems to have provided an important network for Hispanics to find out information about basic living in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. So, these findings are contrary to Brenner (2009), who argues that both government organizations and non-government organizations form the infrastructure for integration of Hispanics in new destinations. In the case of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, as a result of local involvement in immigration enforcement policy 287(g), it is the non-government organizations that provide the infrastructure for the integration of Hispanics. The governmental organizations that are willing to provide this infrastructure and assist are not accessed by Hispanics because they are scared that their information will be shared with the law enforcement authorities or immigration officers. This is not to say that these government organizations are not trying to be accessible to the Hispanic community. The

governmental service providers and government affiliated providers in this sample repeatedly reached out to Hispanics to inform them that their information will not be shared with the authorities. However, this research indicates that Hispanics view these service providers as an extension of the government and refrained from accessing the relationships. On the other hand, advocacy organizations and private service providers seem to be playing a major role in providing infrastructure for Hispanics to integrate into the new destination.

The findings suggest that location is also an important factor for these non-governmental organizations, as they are located mostly in areas that have high concentrations of Hispanic settlement and are easily accessible. The advocates comment that Hispanics do not even need to drive to get to their organizations to receive the services because of their location. Specifically, most of these advocacy organizations in the sample are located around eastside, northeastern, and southwestern parts of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. As discussed in previous chapters, these are the regions of Charlotte-Mecklenburg that have census tracts with high percentages of Hispanics in 2010.

Overall, this research indicates that the Hispanic community is gravitating towards organizations that do not seem to be a part of the government structure. These organizations are also mostly run by Hispanics themselves except law firms, which seem to be slightly more diverse. In terms of advocacy organizations, private sector organizations, and, Hispanic media, 11 of the total 15 respondents, or approximately 73%, are Hispanics. Among four immigration lawyers, two are Hispanic and two are non-Hispanic: while, 14 individuals out of 25, or 56%, respondents that come from government and government affiliated service providers are Hispanic. These service

providers include law enforcement departments, public service providers, and community

representatives. This research suggests that Hispanics are consciously avoiding

organizations that they associate with the government. The strong relationships that

Hispanics have with these advocacy agencies will prove to be instrumental for policy

recommendations regarding the 287(g).

b) Social Interaction

The results from the quantitative analysis indicates that 287(g) has no significant

impacts on the changes in volunteering Hispanics at events such as public meetings or

club meetings. Upon closer investigation using the qualitative methods, many advocates

and Hispanic media state that Hispanics do not volunteer because they are still learning to

volunteer. For example, Reporter2 points out:

> I don't think Hispanics volunteer that much, I believe it is an area where few
> people [volunteer], and the people that volunteer they will come despite the
> dangers.

The qualitative analysis also indicates that although some Hispanics may want to

volunteer, in some cases they may face a hurdle. For example, in terms of schools, lack of

volunteering and participation is thought to be more connected to the new background

check policy that the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School district has passed. Some advocates

and public private service providers state that several Hispanic parents are not

comfortable going through background checks for fear that their identity would be

exposed, therefore they opt not to volunteer in schools. Both quantitative and qualitative

analysis shows that the expectation of this research (RE11) that the 287(g) program

impacts participation of Hispanics in community activities cannot be clearly

substantiated.

Likewise, the findings suggest that there is no impact on Hispanic's volunteering at advocacy organizations. Advocacy organizations share that participation of Hispanics has not decreased since the program. One of the advocates mention: "We actually have more I think, we've had more Hispanic volunteers than ever before." It could be that 287(g) may have contributed in increasing the trust Hispanics place in these advocacy organizations, and thus increased their willingness to volunteer and give back. There is also minimal indication that Hispanics are volunteering less at church after 287(g). Thus, the findings from the study did not find sufficient evidence to support research expectation RE13.

The results of quantitative analysis cannot find evidence of changes in interactions of Hispanics in terms of their attendance in public meetings and club meetings after 287(g). However, the findings of qualitative analysis drew a more nuanced picture of Hispanics and their social interaction with the service providers. The research indicates that the social interaction with the service providers depends upon whether the service provider is a government organization or a non-governmental organization. Local law enforcement authorities give several examples where 287(g) hampers Hispanics' participation in the programs they offer. For example, a LEC officer relates that he organizes community meeting with the Hispanics to hear their concerns, but since the program, it has been difficult to get Hispanics to come to these meetings. However, for advocacy organizations, participation in their cultural events has maintained its growth even after the program.

In terms of impact on interaction with the larger community, the findings indicate that Hispanics are following strategies that made them less visible. Service providers

across the board perceive that Hispanics have curtailed their recreational activities, with some of them avoiding places where other Hispanics congregate. These actions raise the possibility that Hispanics may actually be following strategies that are marginalizing them. As Berry (2003) suggests, marginalization occurs when individuals avoid interaction with their own kind as well as with the members of the receiving society. The qualitative interviews suggest that some Hispanics are scared to go to places frequented by other Hispanics due to the fear that those places may be targeted.

c) Daily Mobility

The quantitative dataset does not have any information on the daily mobility of individuals. Therefore, qualitative data is primarily used to address this issue. The qualitative findings provide some support that the impact of 287(g) on daily mobility of Hispanics is directly due to changes in driver's license laws in North Carolina, as well as the REAL ID Act. As discussed earlier, the REAL ID Act requires proof of legal presence and a social security number for states to issue a driver's license. Therefore, a combination of these laws may have increased fearfulness among Hispanics to drive in Charlotte-Mecklenburg (RE16). The findings suggest that the impact of 287(g) on the Hispanic community in Charlotte-Mecklenburg may have compounded as a result of its intersections with other restrictive policy changes at the state and federal level. The issue again goes back to the inability of law enforcement authorities to identify individuals without an identification card. Regardless of the severity of the crime, it is critical for law enforcement authorities to determine the identity of the individual with whom they are dealing. The action of the North Carolina DMV to stop issuing licenses to individuals who cannot provide all the required documentation has prevented many undocumented

individuals from getting driver's licenses, identification cards, or learner's permits. The

interviews suggest that the last batch of NC licenses, which were issued before the

change in driver's license laws, have started to expire.

However, service providers express that many Hispanics who need to drive to

work to earn their living still take the risk and drive without driver's licenses. This action

puts them at risk of being stopped for a minor violation, such as going over the speed

limit or being stopped at a traffic checkpoint, where they may be asked to produce an

identification card. Without any proof of identity, it will fall upon the officer whether to

take these individuals to jail to fingerprint them or issue him/her a citation. However,

LES2 officer states that when someone is stopped on the road:

> If they can't prove who they are, about the only way we can prove, well there is
> two ways and this applies to somebody who is American citizen and somebody
> who is in the country undocumented. If you're driving and you don't have a
> driver's license and they can't figure out who she is, well you can't write a ticket
> to somebody who they don't know they are or where they live so they bring them
> in [arrest them].

The prospect of getting arrested for a traffic violation may have made many

Hispanics scared and uncomfortable to drive around Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The

findings indicate that a lack of transportation may have compelled Hispanics to come up

with creative solutions to get to places they need to go. Some service providers also agree

that many Hispanics do not participate in programs and activities because they do not

have a ride. These actions of the Hispanic community yet again suggest that Hispanics

are constrained by a combination of policies of the host society. These actions are in

tandem with Berry's (2003) theory, which states that the way individuals integrate into a

society is constrained by the policies of the receiving society. In the case of 287(g), it was added to policies already restricting ease of mobility among this group.

Similar to Mecklenburg County, Wake County, NC's immigration enforcement program is also implemented in a way where local immigration enforcement activities intersect with minor infractions like driving without a license (Coleman, 2012). Coleman (2012) suggests that in Wake County, the local immigration enforcement policies are being played out in the spaces of "social reproduction" of undocumented individuals. He states:

> It is increasingly the case in central North Carolina that driving between spaces of work, leisure, education, shopping, religious practice, and so on is more dangerous for undocumented immigrants in terms of risking deportation than actually working without papers (Coleman, 2012, p. 184).

He suggests that these intersections of immigration enforcement and personal spaces may have unintended consequences in an undocumented individual's life. As driving without a license is a Class 2[31] misdemeanor under North Carolina General Statute ("G.S. 20-35,"), previous research suggests that the 287(g) program, in combination with other state level polices, has increased the incidence of the number of undocumented individuals caught driving without licenses, among other minor infractions (Weissman et al., 2009). Studying a combination of restrictive immigration enforcement programs, García and Keyes (2012) find that driving a car is the topmost worry of undocumented individuals in North County, Escondido. Among the 202 undocumented individuals, 67.4% of them state that they are concerned about driving a car. North County, Escondido does not have a 287(g) agreement with ICE, but the local

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[31] Class 2("G.S. 20-35,") misdemeanor allows imprisonment lasting more than 30 days but not more than six months

police department has a partnership with ICE called Operation Joint Effort (Sifuentes, 2012). Under this operation, some local officers can work with ICE to identify and remove undocumented individuals who have a criminal background.

Although, the 287(g) policies may hinder their mobility, Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg have proactively found ways to go from one place to another. These results are similar to the results of García-Ramírez et al. (2011), who find that women in their sample took measures to overcome some of the obstacles related to migrating to a new country. Her research finds that when the Moroccan women in her sample migrated to Spain, these women faced several challenges, such as having a job that exploited them or not finding a job. But these women have taken steps to solve their problems by seeking out help from other Moroccans.

Additionally, the results from interviews with members of law enforcement and advocates indicate Hispanics are more careful about drinking and driving. This finding suggests that the impact of 287(g) on DWIs may be one of the positive unintended consequences of the program. One Hispanic media reporter states there was a problem with drinking and driving among Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg before the program. After the program, Hispanics are more aware of the consequences and refrain from drinking and driving. For example, Reporter4 comments:

> I guess people learned through the hard way, meaning you deported my cousin [for DWI], I don't want to get in trouble so, please we don't [drink and drive], or who is going to drive, the one who has a driver's license. So they planning ahead, which was good, they need to know how the system works and they are slowly [learning]…but they learned it the hard way, they have to put a program in order to say that drinking and driving is not permitted here. So that's one of the good things.

Therefore, this finding indicates that Hispanics are aware of the consequences of 287(g) and are taking precautions to avoid being arrested for drunk driving. As Figure 17 (Chapter 7) shows, the number of DWI's in 287(g) proceedings has gone down every year since 2008. For example, the number has reduced from 671 to 333 from 2008 to 2011.

d) Spatial Mobility and Settlement Patterns

The results from the quantitative analysis indicate that the overall population of Hispanics has grown in Charlotte-Mecklenburg from 2000 to 2010. The Hispanic population in 2000 is spread out around Charlotte-Mecklenburg, forming small clusters in the Eastside, Northeast, and southwestern regions. They have limited presence in the central region, southern and northern region. In 2010, the Hispanic population has grown in those clusters, and has also spread towards the county borders. Figure 12 (Chapter 6) also illustrates that Hispanics are slowly moving into areas where limited percentages of Hispanics resided only a decade ago. Studying Hispanic settlement patterns in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, (Smith & Furuseth, 2008) argue that some Hispanics are moving towards newer neighborhoods in an area that did not have settlements of Hispanics in 2000. They state:

> For some Latinos, location here may also represent the promise of uncontested space and protective anonymity at a particular moment in time when anti-immigrant sentiment appears to be fueling challenges in the other settlement clusters (Smith & Furuseth, 2008, p. 300).

The index of dissimilarity roughly shows that the segregation of Hispanics in 2010 is very similar to 2000. Although, the Hispanic population is growing, they may not be segregating from the non-Hispanics. Again, a direct connection to 287(g) program

cannot be drawn through these analyses. However, the spatial analysis gives a sense of how the Hispanic community settlement patterns are shifting and taking shape in Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

The qualitative analysis provides better information on how the mobility patterns of Hispanics have changed in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, even though definite conclusions cannot be drawn. The interview data indicates that Hispanics are moving from one neighborhood to another mostly because of the traffic checkpoints in their neighborhoods. For example, an apartment manager claims that the movement of Hispanics from her apartment complex is because of the presence of traffic checkpoints in that area. The percentages of Hispanics in her complex are not as high as before, and very few prospective Hispanic residents are coming to her complex seeking apartments. The 287(g) may have played a part in this, as the service providers in the interviews have mentioned that Hispanics are very aware of the checkpoints. Some respondents also mention that the checkpoints are present in areas that have higher percentages of Hispanics. It can be that one of the reasons that Hispanics are not segregating themselves from other non-Hispanics is because they are moving into areas that are not pre-dominantly Hispanics. There is not enough information to make definite claims, but this is an issue that may be researched further.

However, the movement out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg cannot be clearly linked to 287(g). The interviews indicate that although there are some cases where 287(g) may have played a part in the out-migration, the movement is more of a reaction to a combination of factors such as economic downturn and the adverse immigrant climate in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. For instance, LEC2 states:

> I don't think the 287(g) has much of an impact on that …Charlotte in 1990's and 2000, construction in almost every block there was a crane, somebody building something and that brings in a lot of construction workers, it brings in a lot of Latinos. Since probably about the mid 2000's till now, construction almost stopped and I think that has had a bigger impact on migration patterns of Latinos than 287(g).

Thus, this research did not find enough evidence to support that 287(g) is connected with the movement of Hispanics out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg (RE14 and RE15). The interviews indicate that the main driving force behind out-migration of Hispanics from Charlotte-Mecklenburg is better economic opportunities elsewhere. It may be that the changes in the philosophy of the way 287(g) is implemented in Charlotte-Mecklenburg decreased the likelihood of Hispanics moving away from Charlotte-Mecklenburg. It may be argued that the way in which the Sheriff's Office implements 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg is not restrictive enough to make Hispanics move away. If immigration enforcement policies and general immigration climate is more restrictive, as in the case of Arizona, there may have been a possibility that individuals may migrate out of that area to escape such policies. Some respondents even note that the situation is far worse for immigrants in other states than in North Carolina. For example, LEC7 states,

> I hear the people from South Carolina are moving to North Carolina, to Charlotte or even from Georgia you know moving to these areas because South Carolina and Georgia they have …laws over there, the immigration laws are hard, they are hitting hard, so [Hispanics] come here.

These results are similar to the results of a recent research by Parrado (2012) who focuses on the impacts of 287(g) on Mexican immigrant population size. He observes that four communities (Los Angeles, Riverside, Phoenix, and Dallas) in his sample experienced the highest decrease in number of Mexican immigrants compared to other

communities that have similar sizes of Mexican population and have 287(g). However, there are other communities in the U.S. that do not have 287(g), but experienced even larger decreases in Mexican immigrant population compared to the communities that have 287(g). He also finds the economic recession is a better indicator of losses in Mexican immigrant population than 287(g).

e) Other Unintended Consequences

Besides the impacts on the three axes of integration, the service providers also suggest that there are other unintended consequences of the 287(g) program on the Hispanic community. As discussed earlier, this research suggests that the mood in Charlotte-Mecklenburg in regards to its growing Hispanic population started changing around 2000. The media published stories that increasingly related Hispanics to illegal immigration (Smith & Furuseth, 2006b). Therefore, previously held positive views of the Hispanic population is now associated with an increase in crime and exploitation of government services. The 287(g) program has come to Charlotte-Mecklenburg amidst these fears concerning the Hispanic population. As Sinclair (2002) states:

> Government responses to arrival of strangers send critical messages to communities because they provide an authoritative context regarding the characteristics of the new group that are socially meaningful (p.322).

The 287(g) program may have contributed in shaping how the larger Charlotte-Mecklenburg community views the Hispanic community. Hispanics may have been viewed in a negative light before the program and 287(g) may have added to the negativity. For example, Community representative1 remarks that the program may have managed to change the perception of Hispanics in the larger community. She states:

> [The larger community thinks] there must be a reason why they are trying to get these people [Hispanics] out. When they look at that these people are getting thrown out of the country because they're bad and that's not the reality, but it causes that perception in other groups.

The above analysis suggests that the way Hispanics are viewed by the larger community has changed since the program started. However, there is not a clear connection to the change in Hispanic's personal interaction with other races. Therefore, there is not enough evidence that Hispanics' personal interaction with other races have changed after the program as the research expected (RE12).

The qualitative data indicates there are evidences that the Hispanic population is learning to live around 287(g). For example, the findings suggest that Hispanics may have learned to take precautions against committing minor offenses such as driving without a license. The advocates and other service providers in the sample state Hispanics are not raising their voices against 287(g) anymore, and are getting "complacent" about their state of living. Other service providers state that Hispanics are finding ways to prevent the impacts of the deportation of a family member. For example, the advocacy organizations are working with Hispanics to take steps to plan for deportations, such as ensuring that children are taken care of, drawing up legal papers to allow other members of his/her family to access funds and properties in case that individual is arrested and deported.

Many service providers, law enforcement officers, and advocates, advise Hispanics to abide by the rules and take measures to prevent an arrest. It appears that the service providers are inadvertently working together to decrease the number of individuals getting arrested for minor offenses. For example, some law enforcement

officers, advocates, immigration lawyers, and Hispanic media personnel reached out to

Hispanics and instructed them to be careful while driving, to not get in trouble, and to

behave themselves in order to avoid convictions for minor offenses. For example, LES2

remarks that individuals have learned how to avoid the 287(g) program, they have

learned what to do and what not to do. He remarks:

> I think that people think more about what can we do about getting to the grocery store or who can drive me if I don't have a driver's license or…how can I go about doing this.

8.3 Reasons for Unintended Consequences

The findings of this research indicate that there are three main reasons why the

287(g) program has unintended consequences for Hispanics. First, the statistics shows

that the 287(g) program is removing individuals who have committed a minor crime as

opposed to serious criminals. As one of the LEC officers aptly states, "it [287(g)] seems

to be a black and white response to a grey issue." Many service providers agree that the

Hispanic community support removing criminals from their communities, but they are

not comfortable with the prospect that even those individuals who have committed petty

offenses can be run through the program.

The interview responses suggest that it is disconcerting for the implementers of

the program, as well as the service providers, that someone who can just be working to

provide for their family can be processed through 287(g) for running a red light or

driving with a broken tail light. Separation of families arising from these non-criminal

removals is a prominent concern for most service providers. For example, Immigration

lawyer1 expresses:

> It breaks the family apart, which causes a strain in our government, because that means that these people are going to receive government aid. It could cause them homelessness; it could cause people to lose their homes because maybe they need two incomes to support their family.

Furthermore, findings indicate that fear among Hispanics going through 287(g) and getting deported may trickle down to their children. This research suggests that children may be impacted by 287(g), as it affects their mental health and well-being. These concerns are consistent with findings of Hagan (2011), who contends that deportations lead to negative social effects such as separation of families. However, for certain service providers, mostly some LES and LEC officers, undocumented Hispanics being removed from the U.S. for a minor crime is not problematic. The difference in outlook can come from what one considers to be a threat to society. Should the focus of local law enforcement authorities be centered on immigration status of individuals, or should they focus on the severity of the crime before pursuing immigration checks? These contentious issues surfaced frequently during the research and interviews with the service providers. While some local law enforcement authorities believe that it makes sense for local authorities to be involved in immigration enforcement, others express that it is not their business to deal with federal immigration issues. For example, LES2 remarks:

> I feel like that's a federal issue that the United States has to address. Law enforcement is put in a middle of this. And we have a job to do, and we are going to do our job and if the US Congress and the President change immigration laws, then we will enforce whatever our part of that is and work within those constraints.

The conflicting views of the "enforcers" of 287(g) are also portrayed by Armenta (2012) in her study of 287(g) in Davidson County, TN. She argues that inconsistencies in

philosophies even exist among the sheriff deputies that have the authority to implement 287(g). While some sheriff deputies take 287(g) as a part of their jobs, others are not comfortable that they may be processing individuals for a minor offense.

The findings of this research indicate that Hispanics are aware of the conflicts present within local law enforcement authorities. As service providers state that Hispanics would often say that there are good police officers and there are bad police officers, and there are others who are just doing their jobs. The uncertainty and confusion about law enforcement authorities translates into major adverse impacts on the Hispanic community, as described in the earlier qualitative section.

The second main reason for an increased level of fear in the Hispanic community is misinformation. The misinformation about the implementation of the program and the main players of the program contributes in exacerbating the amount of fear already present in the Hispanic community. Some respondents blame the local law enforcement authorities for not doing a better job of clarifying their roles and responsibilities when it comes to 287(g). As mentioned earlier, the findings suggest that due to the transient nature of the Hispanic population, it is hard for law enforcement authorities to spread the message on 287(g). Other respondents portray the Hispanic media and activists as a vehicle of spreading misinformation and rumors about the program. However, the findings suggest that local law enforcement authorities are working with the Hispanic media to clear up rumors. These types of collaboration indicate that local law enforcement authorities recognize Hispanic media as a viable medium to reach out to the Hispanic residents. The research indicates several instances where the two groups, the

Hispanic media and law enforcement authorities, have worked together to find solutions and share information.

The third reason for the unintended consequences of 287(g) is that this program may have had a compounding impact on the negative immigration climate in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The findings suggest that the general level of fear among Hispanics that may have existed among Hispanics before the program may have been compounded after 287(g). Hispanics may have been scared to access the government provided services before the program. This research indicates that after the program, Hispanics' unwillingness to access the services may have been exacerbated. For example, the findings illustrate that Hispanics may have been wary about interacting with local law enforcement authorities in Charlotte-Mecklenburg even before the implementation of 287(g), but 287(g) may have increased their level of fear and mistrust in law enforcement. Additionally, crimes like domestic violence abuses are generally underreported. However, the presence of the program and the increased possibility of deportation of their spouses or themselves may have compounded the problem of underreporting.

Similarly, the negative immigration climate that existed in Charlotte-Mecklenburg may have discouraged Hispanics from sharing information with the service providers. With 287(g) in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, their unwillingness to share information and access government services may also have increased. Therefore, the restrictive nature of immigration enforcement concerning 287(g) may have a hand in compounding the immigrant related issues that existed prior to the program.

8.4 Policy Implications

8.4.1 Steps to Mitigate the Unintended Negative Impacts of the Program

The findings of this research indicate that one of the main issues that need attention is the inability of law enforcement to verify identification of individuals without documents when needed. As previously mentioned, in order to maintain public safety and fulfill their duties, local law enforcement authorities need to be able to identify individuals who pose a threat to society. Since documented and undocumented individuals have become ingrained in the core of the U.S. communities, the government needs to acknowledge this issue and work towards solving the problem of identification in a way that does not disturb the harmony of the society. Solving the problem of identification will help prevent non-criminals from getting caught up in the system and may prevent some of the negative unintended consequences of 287(g).

The federal government started taking these steps when it announced that the program would only target dangerous criminals. However, the combination of change in NC driver's license laws and the federal government's decision to pass the REAL ID Act, work together and fail to target just the dangerous, undocumented individuals. Thus, in reality, minor or non-criminals are often arrested, as local law enforcement needs to identify individuals regardless of the severity of the crime. Solutions may include allowing individuals to get his/her driver's licenses using documents other than a social security number. Previously, in North Carolina individuals have been able to secure a driver's license using the unique tax identification number called ITIN. Allowing all individuals to be tested for their driving skills will also increase road safety for the community in general. These individuals will be eligible to get insurance, and will not be

afraid to call police when they are in traffic accidents. Local law enforcement authorities

can identify individuals that are arrested for minor traffic offenses without having to run

them through the ICE database. Issuing everyone a driver's license or a permit implies

that individuals will be registered in the system and it will be easier to track and arrest

individuals who commit dangerous crimes. Other states that allow driver's licenses for

undocumented individuals are New Mexico and Washington (Frosch, 2012). Utah allows

issuance of a Driving Privilege Card (DPC), which cannot be used as a form of

government identification (DPC, 2012). To obtain a DPC in Utah, individuals need to

show that they have resided in Utah for the past six months or more. The Utah

Department of Public Safety states that individuals can either present their social security

card or ITIN number to obtain the DPC. They state that undocumented individuals can

present their birth certificates and be fingerprinted for identity verification. There have

been some efforts to repeal this provision due to concerns of fraud. However, issuance of

DPC has been in effect in Utah since 1999. Finding an easier way to provide driver's

licenses may decrease the fear of driving among individuals and increase their access to

services. This measure may limit the reach of 287(g) to serious criminal violations rather

than civil offenses.

Besides developing a way to issue driver's licenses, there are also examples of

other ways that Mecklenburg County can prevent the arrest of individuals for driving

without a driver's license. The city of Durham, NC is another pre-emerging gateway that

has 287(g) and is also impacted by the NC driver's license laws. However, the City of

Durham has devised a way to get around the impacts of the combination of these two

policies. A clear difference between Mecklenburg County and Durham City is its policy

in terms of arrests regarding driving without a valid driver's license. While Mecklenburg County requires individuals to produce a valid driver's license as a form of identification when individuals commit a traffic offense, City of Durham accepts other forms of identification (Coleman, 2012). For example, City of Durham has worked with the Mexican consulate in Raleigh to accept *matricular consular* as a valid form of identification to prevent arrests for minor traffic offenses. Officers on the road carry a special device to check the authenticity of matricular consulars. Coleman (2012) states that in general, Durham police officers do not arrest individuals for driving without a license if those individuals can provide acceptable forms of identification such as the matricular consular. He further argues that this action by City of Durham is one of the reasons that they do not have to use 287(g) to confirm the identity of individuals. This research recommends that Mecklenburg County use a similar identification technique to prevent individuals from being processed by 287(g) for minor traffic infractions.

As mentioned earlier, findings suggest that misinformation among the Hispanic community is another reason for the negative, unintended consequences. The results from the qualitative analysis suggest that education about the program is essential to limit misinformation. Education involves spreading awareness throughout the Hispanic community and, local law enforcement authorities, as well as to the larger community of Charlotte-Mecklenburg. The interviews suggest that there are genuine efforts by local law enforcement authorities to reach the Hispanic community. In fact, several officers have independently started initiatives in their designated areas to allow the Hispanic community in that area to come forward with their general questions and concerns that they may have in their neighborhoods. These different initiatives, though innovative and

laudable, seem disjointed, as it is not a concerted effort by law enforcement leaderships. There needs to be more organized support and encouragement by the local law enforcement leadership to clarify its position in immigration and build partnerships with the Hispanic community based on mutual trust.

This research leads to recommendations that outreach efforts also need to be accompanied by actions of the day-to-day law enforcement officers who are on the streets interacting with the Hispanic community. Words without actions will not convince the Hispanic community to rekindle relationships with the local law enforcement. One step towards building trust is that officers need to be fully informed about the procedures of 287(g) program. This research suggests that many law enforcement authorities that are not trained by ICE under 287(g) are not fully aware of the program. Moreover, the findings also indicate that the local law enforcement authorities also need to be more fully aware of other cultural norms within the Hispanic community. Understanding that Hispanic community is diverse in culture and language will also help law enforcement in devising pathways to build relationships with these different groups within the Hispanic community. Additionally, being aware of other societal norms that may be distinct to Hispanics, such as balance of gender roles, importance of familial ties, and diversity in religion, may also help to develop mutual respect among local law enforcement and the Hispanic communities. Working towards decreasing misinformation and increasing cultural awareness of both law enforcement authorities and the Hispanic community will decrease the fear and confusion that the Hispanic community has about the program. These steps, in turn, may potentially enhance police-community trust.

This research suggests that one possible way to achieve these positive relationship-building results is for the CMPD to restart the International Relations Unit (IRU) that functioned during the early 2000 and was discontinued in 2008. The IRU involved practical approaches by the local officers to increase cultural awareness in the department and active outreach activities to the Hispanic community (Brenner, 2009). Some LEC officers recall the effectiveness of the program in easing the relationship between the Hispanic community and law enforcement officers. Other advocates during the interview process also comment on the efforts of the local law enforcement to build relationships through the IRU before the onset of 287(g). As the police department already has a blueprint for an IRU, reviving the unit may be a start in building back the relationship among the Hispanic community and local law enforcement that may have been lost in the past several years. Involving the officers from the Sheriff's office in this IRU may also help in solving the problem of misinformation and building of relationships. Furthermore, the IRU can be used as a platform to conduct sensitivity trainings among the officers for the Hispanic and other culturally distinct communities in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Nguyen and Gill (2010) also recommend that the local law enforcement should hire bilingual officers, and raise cultural awareness among its officers that are on the streets and have direct contact with the Hispanic community.

Additionally, local law enforcement should introduce and strengthen existing programs and provisions that guarantee protection for Hispanic witnesses and victims. They can also increase their outreach efforts and increase bilingual officers to deal with the concerns of a growing immigrant community. The court officials should also get involved in programs that protect victims and witnesses from immigration proceedings,

so that Hispanics can make contributions to investigations without fearing costs. As discussed earlier, the federal U-Visa program protects and encourages individuals to report crimes and come forward as witnesses. However, the active involvement of local law enforcement agencies will assist in providing reassurances to victims and witnesses. These types of programs and efforts will decrease the vulnerability of members of the Hispanic community and increase public safety of the whole community. By taking these measures, law enforcement authorities can show their commitment to raise public safety for all the residents in the community and ensure that the Hispanic community is not getting mixed messages from them.

A positive relationship between law enforcement authorities and the Hispanic community may also transfer to other government and non-government organizations. However, these organizations should also continue their efforts to build effective partnerships with the Hispanic community and continue to spread their messages that they are available to serve them. They can use the Hispanic media and other Hispanic-trusted groups to inform the Hispanic community of the types of services they provide. The information about available services can be spread through booklets, pamphlets, and DVDs in Spanish placed in strategic Hispanic-frequented organizations. This may send positive messages about the availability of services to the Hispanic community.

The findings illustrate that the location of these governmental organizations matters as Hispanics are unwilling to go to uptown Charlotte where many of these public service providers are situated. The interviews indicate that the larger presence of law enforcement in uptown and difficulty to find a parking spot may have discouraged Hispanics to drive to uptown. The quantitative analysis of the settlement patterns also

indicates that while the Hispanic population has spread across Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the center city saw minimal increase. Since Hispanics seem to be avoiding these organizations, these government organizations may have to put extra effort in reaching out to the Hispanic community. Governmental organizations should consider establishing a number of satellite offices in the high volume Hispanic areas to disseminate important information, such as how to use city services. Some of these organizations already have some bilingual individuals in their staffs and are moving in the right direction. Singer (2004) suggests that mobile medical clinic targeting specific ethnic populations can be dispatched to serve the new population in the emerging and pre-emerging gateways such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Furthermore, having staff onboard that are culturally sensitive and can communicate with the immigrant community will also help in increasing access. Singer (2004) contends that building a language sensitive infrastructure is easier in cities that have large percentages of one immigrant group. In Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the immigrant community is largely Hispanics, thus, adding staffs that can communicate in Spanish will break down some of the barriers.

Organizations such as advocacy groups, Hispanic media, and grassroots organizations can serve as an important bridge between the government and government affiliated organizations and the larger Hispanic community. The findings of this research suggest that these organizations have a direct connection with the Hispanic community, and have the potential to play a pivotal role in bringing the different groups together. One of the most important advantages of these organizations is that they already have a relationship with the Hispanic community built on trust. They should continue to advocate for the Hispanic community and use their unique position to further the

relationship of the Hispanic community with other government and government affiliated organizations. Some efforts of these organizations to serve as a link between law enforcement authorities and Hispanic community already exist. For example, one of the organizations serves as a facilitator between a local officer and domestic violence victims in order to help them report their abusers. Law enforcement authorities should continue to develop these types of initiatives to prevent underreporting of domestic violence abuses and other similar crimes. These initiatives should also be publicized within the Hispanic community so that Hispanics are aware of these services. Singer (2004) suggests that collaborations of community organizations and mainstream institutions are mutually beneficial, because mainstream institutions may provide the community organizations with organizational capacity and resources.

The findings indicate that advocacy groups also need to collaborate with each other to create programs and reach a larger community base. Some of the organizations are already providing services to inform individuals about what needs to be done if a family member or a friend is deported. Others are providing information about how to prepare for deportation. However, many of these programs are focused in their own areas and are not coordinated at a larger scale. For example, even if organizations are based in the eastern area of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, they may not have relationships with organizations in the northern parts. If these collaborations are established, each can learn from the other's experience. Additionally, Hispanic media should continue to spread accurate information, engage in responsible information sharing, and focus on building relationships amongst the different entities of the larger community. As discussed earlier, the local law enforcement already collaborates with the Hispanic media to spread

awareness about the intentions of 287(g). They can increase these collective efforts in order to consistently reach out to the transient Hispanic community.

The local government also needs to address concerns related to the Hispanic children whose parents are deported as a result of the 287(g) program. There should be an organized effort or a program that ensures that these children do not fall through the cracks in the system. For instance, the findings indicate that many of the children left behind after deportation of a parent are U.S. citizens or are brought to the U.S. when they are very small. Not realizing the significance of taking care of these young families and children may prove to be detrimental for the wider community, as these children may grow up learning not to trust governmental institutions. The support programs may involve finding other individuals to take care of the children and ensuring that they are taken care of. With these children going through tremendous stress at an early age, it would be beneficial to monitor their development and provide counseling to the children with parents who may be deported or are already deported. As one school representative speculated that budget cuts in schools would prevent these efforts from materializing, a cost effective solution can be to have these programs only at schools that have high percentage of Hispanic students. Furthermore, there are initiatives like Communities in Schools (CIS), which work with Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools to help students to graduate from high school. This initiative can also be one of the avenues through which the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools can identify the needs of Hispanic children who may be at risk because of the deportation of a parent or even the possible deportation of a parent. Brabeck and Xu (2010) suggest that it is important for service providers and practitioners to understand:

> how immigrant parents communicate with their children about the threat of deportation make plans for how to respond in the event that a family member (particularly a caretaker) is detained, and discuss (or not) these plans with children are important to incorporate into human-service work.

However, Brabeck and Xu (2010) caution that practitioners and service providers facilitating such parent/child communication should be aware that these conversations may often lead to increased anxiety and fear among parents.

Further, this research suggests that many children may be left to fend on their own in the event of the deportation of their caretaker. Thus, there needs to be definite protocols in place once a parent has been taken away. The local law enforcement should contact social services or child services to ensure the well-being of Hispanic children after the deportation of parents. These social services should have a follow-up system to keep an update on the status of the children long after the deportation of a parent. Ensuring these children are taken care of may be a start to prevent the children from facing harsh circumstances.

This research also establishes that the relationship between the school officials and Hispanics parents is built on trust. Schools can also raise awareness among their English-speaking teachers about the sensitivity of dealing with Hispanic students as well as parents. Brabeck and Xu (2010) also mention that communicating to the teachers about how the parent's legal status may impact the academic performance and mental health of children is also an important step towards ensuring that the children receive the support that they need. Another significant way to facilitate communication is by hiring more bilingual teachers, which may, in turn, have the effect of increasing the comfort level of Hispanics. Running a background check on all parents who want to volunteer is an

important exercise for schools to maintain the safety of children. But Hispanic parents may be unwilling to give out their information for such background checks. The schools could work towards devising an identification mechanism to enable Hispanic parents to volunteer in school activities. However, the larger issue of identification needs to be tackled in North Carolina to solve this problem of background checks.

Through these various measures it may be possible to mitigate if not eliminate some of the negative, unintended impacts of the 287(g) program in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. However, the issues need to be tackled together for any impact on the negative consequences of 287(g). For example, spreading correct information that officers on the streets are not authorized to ask for legal status is a step in the right direction to solve misinformation; but, these activities need to be coupled with addressing the problem of identification. Both efforts need to be done in conjunction with each other to result in an effective solution to deal with the impacts.

8.4.2 Policy Implications for 287(g)

Many law enforcement authorities and some of the other service providers believe that the intentions of the program are good, but it has flaws. Just as with any other new program, this program needs systematic changes and adjustments so that there are some checks and balances in place to avoid negative, unintended consequences on the Hispanic community. This research indicates that an increased level of transparency about the number of people being processed, the type of crime they are processed for, and their country of origin according to their crime, will help in revealing the strengths and flaws of the program. The data that clearly shows whether the individuals processed by 287(g) have been wanted in another state will reveal the importance to 287(g) to maintain public

safety in the community. This data is not readily available from the county website. Furthermore, a disaggregated national data on 287(g) proceedings can only be obtained after submitting a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to the Department of Homeland Security. Overall, consistent transparency from the federal and local government will limit misinformation about 287(g). Evaluating the 287(g) program in North Carolina, Nguyen and Gill (2010) also recommend that local law enforcement should engage in transparency, community outreach, and education with the community, Hispanics and otherwise.

The authorities should also involve the Hispanic community during decision-making process regarding future policies that are going to impact them. It may make the decision making process of devising policies longer and more cumbersome, but having the community's perspectives and concerns may prove to be a vital addition. This step will not only assist in tailoring the program to be more effective, but also has a higher chance of buy-in from all the stakeholders, including the Hispanic community. As the Hispanic community will already be aware of what the policy entails, there may be more acceptance of the policy. This dialogue between the Hispanic community and law enforcement authorities should be maintained even after the implementation of any kind of immigration enforcement program. Using open discussion forums, law enforcement authorities can understand the concerns about that enforcement activity. Referring to the immigrant community, Khashu (2009) also recommends that the immigrant community should be involved in the making of local immigration enforcement policies. She states that law enforcement should regularly meet with the immigrant community to discuss its stance on immigration enforcement and get recommendations before making any changes

to its policy. Involving the Hispanic community members in the decision-making process will improve the community's relationship with law enforcement. Likewise, Capps et al. (2011) recommend that ICE and local law enforcement authorities have open public forums and engage with the Hispanic community before signing new agreements or renewing the old agreements. They state that including the public formally at the "different stages of the program would improve accountability and public perception of the program and address potential community costs" (Capps et al., 2011, p. 51).

As this research indicates, many respondents agree with the core intentions of the program. As such, this program should be given a second chance, with thorough revisions and insertion of safety nets. This is a fairly new program given that it became widely adopted after 2001. Like any other government programs, flaws are a part of the process, and thus expected. The real test for 287(g) will be how it adjusts and incorporates the Hispanic community's concerns about the implementation of the program. Also, if 287(g) is to be replaced by another program that is untested then abolishing 287(g) where the flaws have been identified makes little sense. The federal government and the local government, however, need to be extremely careful while revising 287(g), as this research suggests that there are numerous unintended consequences in the Hispanic community.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This research set out to investigate if the 287(g) program impacts the social trust, social interaction, and spatial mobility of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, mainly through the perspectives of the service providers. This chapter concludes this research by providing a brief overview of the research questions and the methods used to answer them. It will also summarize the results and the main policy recommendations. Lastly, this chapter examines the strengths and limitations of this research and also discusses the avenues for future research substantiated through this investigation.

9.1 Overview

Are there differences in the trust level of Hispanics in service providers after 287(g)? Are there differences in interaction between Hispanics and the service providers after 287(g)? Are the ways Hispanics move around in Charlotte-Mecklenburg different after the program? Are the shifts in settlement patterns and out-migration and in-migration of Hispanics related to 287(g)? This research seeks to answer these broad questions through a set of research expectations directed at trust, interaction, and mobility of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. It uses a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods to answer these research questions.

The quantitative analysis uses secondary survey data to study several research expectations regarding each of these three axes of integration. The results of the quantitative analysis serve as a springboard for a deeper analysis using qualitative methods. The qualitative analysis further explores the expectations of this research to build a deeper and broader analysis of 287(g). It provides an alternative path to observe the expectations of this research that cannot be studied using the quantitative analysis.

There are several key findings from the quantitative and qualitative analysis. The findings of this research indicate that 287(g) program did not occur in a vacuum. There are numerous other factors that may have contributed to making Hispanics reluctant to access services and interact with the service providers. For example, lack of access to Spanish-speaking service providers, inadequate cultural competence among service providers, lack of access due to mobility issues, and insufficient knowledge about services available are some of the factors that will hamper access to services by Hispanics. These issues are even more pronounced in pre-emerging gateways like Charlotte-Mecklenburg, which do not have special types of services that immigrants need to integrate into the larger community. This research implies that the presence of 287(g) in such contexts may be one of the key factors that contribute to increasing the level of fear and potentially jeopardizing trust, interaction, and mobility of Hispanics.

The findings of this research suggest that there are variations of intended and unintended consequences of 287(g) on Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. There are intended consequences of the program that are in tandem with the original intentions of the program. This research indicates that the 287(g) program meets its intention of identifying and removing dangerous and undocumented criminals from Charlotte-

Mecklenburg. There is an indication that 287(g) provides authority and tools to law

enforcement authorities which streamline the process of background checks of

undocumented individuals. However, the findings suggest that there are other underlying

intended consequences of 287(g) on the Hispanic community. Some respondents perceive

that the intention of 287(g) is to identify and remove undocumented individuals,

regardless of the severity of their crime. In contrast to previous research, which studies

the impact of 287(g) as either a "good" or "bad" phenomenon, the findings of this

research imply that there are variations depending upon the perceptions of the service

providers.

In terms of unintended consequences of 287(g), this research indicates that the

consequences range from minor to severe. The findings suggest that the consequences

differ according to the type of organization, governmental or non-governmental. Both

quantitative and qualitative analyses imply that Hispanics have lower levels of trust in

police in Charlotte-Mecklenburg after 287(g). This research also indicates that the

decrease in trust in police is not limited to law enforcement, but flows over to other

government service providers and service providers that are funded by the government.

However, service providers who are unaffiliated with the government saw little to no

change in their interaction with Hispanic clients. In fact, the findings from this research

suggest that Hispanics' level of trust in non-governmental organizations increased after

the implementation of 287(g). Furthermore, the findings indicate that the location of these

service providers is also a significant factor for Hispanics when it comes to accessing

their services. Similarly the findings imply that while interactions of Hispanics with

government service providers are negatively impacted, there is no clear impact on non-

governmental organization's interaction with Hispanics. These findings indicate that in the case of new immigrant gateway such as Charlotte-Mecklenburg that has 287(g), the role of non-governmental organizations in integrating newcomers into the community may be much greater than governmental organizations.

At a more personal level, the findings indicate that another unintended consequence of 287(g) is that in combination with restrictive driver's licenses requirement in North Carolina, these polices has a negative impact on the willingness of Hispanics to drive in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. As individuals can get driver's license only after they present a social security card, among other documents, many individuals without proper documents are not able to get a driver's licenses in North Carolina. This implies that individuals driving without a driver's license can be arrested for minor traffic infractions in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. In the event of an arrest, there is an increase in the possibility of that individual being processed through the 287(g) program. The findings indicate that under 287(g), traffic infractions are one of the major offenses. The interviews with the service providers suggest that Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg have curtailed their driving activities for fear of getting involved in any traffic offenses. However, in terms of Hispanics moving out of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the economic downturn seems to have played a larger role than 287(g).

Again at a personal level, the research implies that the 287(g) program also has an impact on the general interaction of Hispanics. For example, the findings from interviews with the service providers suggest that Hispanics maintain a low profile and rarely go out for recreational activities. Furthermore, the findings imply that the Hispanic community is impacted because 287(g) may cause separation of families. Separation of families has

spelled more negative social consequences on children who are left behind. The findings

indicate that even the prospect of a parent being deported impacts the well-being of a

child and has the potential for affecting his/her academic performance. This research

suggests that in the event of a parent being deported, there is a possibility that the child is

vulnerable, financially as well as mentally.

This research suggests three causes for the unintended consequences. First,

misinformation about the program among Hispanics, as well as law enforcement

authorities, has created and spread fear within the Hispanic community. Second, large

numbers of non-criminals going through the 287(g) program also exacerbates the impacts

of the program on the Hispanic community. Third, the restrictive nature of 287(g)

compounded the general level of fear among Hispanics. The 287(g) program also

potentially exacerbated the unwillingness of Hispanics to access government services.

Being able to access government services may have eased their process of integration in

the larger community. This research illustrates the delicate relationship Charlotte-

Mecklenburg's Hispanic community has with the governmental institutions. It also

highlights the significant role of the non-governmental organizations in providing an

infrastructure that increases their level of trust and interaction. The findings of this

research indicate that non-government service providers have positioned themselves as a

vehicle to ease the integration processes and have earned the trust of the Hispanic

population.

In terms of policy recommendations, this research suggests that the problem of

identification needs to be resolved to get to the crux of the issues regarding 287(g).

Issuing a driver's license or some other form of identification may begin to solve this

problem. The issues of misinformation can be tackled by extensive outreach and education among the Hispanic community about the program. Alongside educating the Hispanic community, law enforcement officers, who may not be trained by ICE, should also be provided with more education about 287(g). Officers should receive some amount of cultural awareness trainings and sensitivity trainings in order to deal with a diverse population. Other government service providers should also provide cultural awareness trainings for their employees to prepare them to interact with a diverse population. These government services should also boost their outreach efforts to inform Hispanics about the services they offer. As location is one of the key factors regarding access, these government services can open satellite offices, or use non-governmental organizations to get their message across. To decrease the impact of the program on Hispanic children, special counseling can be introduced.

9.2 Strengths, Limitations, and Avenues for Future Research

One of the key strengths of this research is the use of the perspectives of governmental and non-governmental service providers to answer the research questions. The advantages of using a variety of outlooks of the service providers are twofold. First, based on their daily interactions with the Hispanic community, the service providers are able to recall specific examples of how 287(g) has affected their clients. Second, in cases when the service providers are Hispanics, they are able to draw upon their own experiences to answer the questions. However, the study also includes a small sample of Hispanic college students in the interview pool to augment responses of the service providers.

An added strength of this research is the variety of service providers in the sample. If this research only includes responses from law enforcement authorities or only collected responses of the advocates, the results would have been quite different, contingent upon which group of service providers is interviewed. Bringing in different service providers together to answer a similar set of questions allows this research to have a broad and unbiased perspective. Another notable strength of this project is the mixed method approach it takes to analyze the relationship of 287(g) and trust, interaction and mobility. Although the quantitative data is limited, it serves as a spring board for the subsequent qualitative research. The quantitative analyses provide a unique two time period (pre/post) longitudinal data which helped in studying the significance of changes along the axes of integration. However, the results from the quantitative analysis are not able to establish that 287(g) impacts trust, interaction and mobility. The qualitative method is able to build on the results of the quantitative methods and enhance the study of the impact of 287(g). The use of these two methods allows this research to bring together disparate pieces of evidence to investigate how the 287(g) affects the daily lives of Hispanics in a new gateway city.

One of the strengths of this research is that it proposes a framework to study the impact of a local immigration enforcement program on a specific ethnic group. Dividing the processes into trust, interaction and mobility allows this research to uncover hidden dynamics of how an individual's integration process is impacted by the policies and programs of the host society. As this research studies integration as a process, a natural next step to building an argument is to study the endpoint. For example, using Berry's (2003) framework, which divides integration into assimilation, integration, separation,

and marginalization, future research can study whether the 287(g) lead to any of these four endpoints.

Another added strength of this research is the case study it uses to study the impacts of 287(g). Quoted as a vanguard city in the south for its economic transformation and pace of immigrant growth, Charlotte-Mecklenburg has also led the way in formally entering into partnership with the federal government to enact several functions of the immigration enforcement policies (Graves & Smith, 2012). As discussed earlier, many jurisdictions use Mecklenburg County's MOA as a template or a blueprint to implement their own 287(g). Although 287(g) is specific to the context of the jurisdiction, this research on its impact raises concerns that may be applicable to other jurisdictions.

A possible limitation of the qualitative aspect of the research is that it suffers from a lack of pre and post-observation to accurately gauge the changes in trust, interaction and mobility of Hispanics in Charlotte-Mecklenburg. However, the study partially solves this problem by strategically interviewing respondents who have been in Charlotte-Mecklenburg for long enough to speak of the changes. The qualitative methods are also constrained by the lack of controls, which prevents determination of causality. An additional limitation of the research is that results of this study may not be generalizable to all cities in the United States. Nevertheless, the results of this study will be useful to new gateway destinations that are similar to Charlotte-Mecklenburg in terms of immigration history, economic growth, and population changes. A natural next step to develop this research will be to broaden the number of communities and find other communities similar to Charlotte-Mecklenburg. Increasing the number of communities and studying the impacts in terms of the three axes of integration will allow for

comparisons to be made among communities and increase the generalizability of this

research. Additionally, future research can also attempt to collect more targeted

interviews from the Hispanic residents and get their perspective on the impacts of the

program, as well as ways in which they cope with it on a daily basis. Incorporation of

Hispanics' perspectives will add another layer to the study of the 287(g) program, and

might paint an even clearer picture of its impacts.

Moreover, the fact that this research uses a general social capital database to study

the research questions collected on 287(g) also prevents a richer empirical analysis. Thus,

as local involvement in immigration enforcement is growing in popularity, data that

explains its impact on integration processes can serve to identify the consequences of the

program. Furthermore, a structured impact evaluation of the program by carefully

tracking the performance measures by the federal government as well as the local

jurisdictions will assist in providing clearer answers about whether the program is

maintaining its intended goal.

Moreover, this research may not be generalizable to other local immigration

enforcement programs and policies. However, it does give an idea of how local

involvement in immigration policies may affect particular ethnic communities. It also

illustrates the value of studying the impacts of programs that are similar to 287(g). Newer

programs such as Secure Communities, which is targeted to go nationwide by 2013,

should be examined to prevent any of the negative effects of 287(g) discussed in this

research. Specifically, new studies should observe the impacts of local immigration

enforcement on children. This research indicates that even the possibility of the removal

of a parent has a significant impact on children.

This research also makes a broader case to further the discussions of immigration reform. This research indicates that while comprehensive immigration reform may be on the back burner politically, it is in the forefront in the minds of the service providers for the Hispanic community. They feel that 287(g) is a temporary solution that scratches the surface of the problem, while the root immigration issues are left unresolved. Future research can investigate deeper into constructing policies that work towards finding ways to integrate the new residents without disturbing the balance of the U.S. communities.

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APPENDIX A: QUANTITATIVE DATA (QUESTIONS)

i) Social Trust and Social Interaction

These questions come from two social capital benchmark surveys done in 2000 and 2008 that is used to analyze the relationship between social trust and the 287(g) program. These questions are taken from 2000 Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (SCCBS, 2000) and 2008 Social Capital Benchmark Community Survey (SCBCS, 2008).

<44> Do you consider yourself Hispanic or Latino? (2000 long form #62)

1. Yes   2. No   3. Don't know   4. Refused

<38> Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful dealing with people? (2000 #6)

1. People can be trusted   2. You can't be too careful   3. Depends   4.Don't know

5. Refused

<38a> People in your neighborhood (2000 #7A) <38b> the local police in your community (2000 #7F) <38c> White people (2000 #7G) <38d>African American (2000 #7H) <38e> Hispanics or Latinos (2000 #7J) <38f> Asians (2000 7H)

1. Trust them a lot   2.Trust them some   3. Trust them only a little   4.Trust them

not at all   5. Does not apply   6. Don't know

ii) Social Interaction

<17> How many times in the past twelve months have you…

1. Worked on a community Project? <2000 #26c>

2. Attended a public meeting? <2000 # 56l>

3. Attended a political meeting or rally? <2000 #26b>

4. Attended any club or organizational meeting? <2000 #56a>

5. Volunteered? <2000 #58>

<17f> (How many times in the past twelve months have you) have you been in a home of a friend of a different race or had them in your home? <2000 #56G>

APPENDIX B: LIST OF VARIABLES FOR QUANTITATIVE METHOD

Variable	Description
Dependent Variables	
rTrust	1=Yes, trust people 0=No, do not trust people
rTrustPolice	1=Yes, trust police 0=No, do not trust police
SocialInteraction	Number of times the respondent attended public meeting or a club meeting
rVolunteer	Number of times the respondent volunteered in a year
Independent Variables	
After 287g	1=2008 0=Otherwise
DID	
After 287g DID*	Interaction term
rMale	1=Male 0=Female
rIncome	1=More than $30,000 0=Less than $30,000
rMarried	1=Married 0=Otherwise
rEmployed	1=Employed 0=Otherwise
rChildren	Number of children
rOwnRes	1=Own Residence 0=Otherwise
rLessthanHS	1=Less than High School 0=Otherwise
rHighSchool	1=At least High School 0=Otherwise
rSomeCollege	1=Some College 0=Otherwise
rAge	Age of the respondent

APPENDIX C: REDUCTION IN BIAS AFTER K-NEAREST NEIGHBOR
MATCHING ALGORITHM

Independent Variable	% Reduction bias (2000)	% Reduction bias (2008)
rMale	46.6	37.8
rIncome	95.2	56.9
rMarried	-114.9	34.5
rEmployed	89.1	68.1
rChildren	57.3	82.1
rOwnRes	88.9	70.8
rLessthanHS	91.6	94.3
rHighschool	89.4	77.4
rSomeCollege	93.6	68.9
rAge	93.9	98.4

APPENDIX D: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A common set of questions was asked to all respondents with a subset of

questions designed for specific interviewees, where,

[C]= Common question to all respondents

[ST]= Social Trust

[SI]= Social Interaction

[SM] = Social Mobility

i) Examples of Questions for immigration lawyers:

- [C] According to your role and experience as a service provider, how has 287(g) policy affected your work in terms of the three axes of integration?

    a) Social trust (on the service providers and on the community)

    b) Social interaction (with the police and with the community)

    c) Spatial mobility (of the Hispanic community)

- [C] In your opinion, what are the intended and unintended consequences of 287(g) on Hispanics?

- [ST] Have you seen any evidence of changes in reporting of crimes by Hispanics and can these changes be attributable to 287(g) program?

- [ST] Have you seen any evidence of changes in Hispanic witnesses coming forward and can these changes be attributable to 287(g) program?

- [SI] Have you seen any evidence of changes in interaction between Hispanics and local law enforcement in any way since 287(g) was enacted?

- [SI] Have you seen any evidence of changes in the relationship between Hispanics and native population, and Hispanics and other ethnic population in any way since 287(g) was implemented?

- [SI] Have you seen any evidence of changes in the interaction of Hispanics since 287(g) was implemented? (Staying indoors, not driving, not taking public transportation, not frequenting public locations, not volunteering)

- [SM] Is there evidence that Hispanic population is moving away from certain neighborhoods or even the city and are these behaviors a function of 287(g)?

- [C] In your opinion, what is the rationale for 287(g) program and if the program needs changes what are those specific changes?

- [C] In your opinion, what can your department do in order to mitigate the impacts of 287(g)?

- [C] In my quantitative analysis, there was little evidence that 287(g) impacted social trust/interaction/mobility, what would you say to these results?

- [C] Is there anything that you would like to add that I may have missed?

ii) Examples of Questions for Service Providers (Hospitals, Schools, Homeowner

Association)

- [C] According to your role and experience as a service provider, how has 287(g) policy affected your work in terms of the three axes of integration?

    a) Social trust (on the service providers and on the community)

    b) Social interaction (with the police and with the community)

    c) Spatial mobility (of the Hispanic community)

- [C] In your opinion, what are the intended and unintended consequences of 287(g) on Hispanics?

- [ST] [HOSPITALS] How has the frequency and nature of access of services in hospitals changed since 287(g) program and can these changes be ascribed to the program?

- [ST] [HOSPITALS] Is there any evidence that Hispanics are hesitant to access hospital services, primary care or emergency room and are these changes related to the 287(g) program?

- [SI] [SCHOOL] Have you seen any evidence of changes in interaction between schools and Hispanic parents change in past years and are these changes related to the 287(g) program?

- [SI] [SCHOOL] Have you seen any evidence of changes in the involvement of parents of Hispanic children in activities such the Parent Teacher meeting or the like since 287(g) program was implemented?

- [SI] Have you seen any evidence of changes in the interaction of Hispanics since 287(g) was implemented? (Staying indoors, not driving, not taking public transportation, not frequenting public locations, not volunteering)

- [SM] Are there evidences that Hispanic population is moving away from certain neighborhoods or even the city and are these behaviors a function of 287(g)?

- [C] In your opinion, what is the rationale for 287(g) program and whether the program needs changes? What are those specific changes?

- [C] In your opinion, what can your department do in order to mitigate the impacts of 287(g)?

- [C] In my quantitative analysis, there was little evidence that 287(g) impacted social trust/interaction/mobility, what would you say to these results?

- [C] Is there anything that you would like to add that I may have missed?

iii) Examples of Questions for Immigrant Advocates, Churches and Media

- [C] According to your role and experience as advocate, how has 287(g) policy affected your work in terms of the three axes of integration?

    a) Social trust (on the service providers and on the community)

    b) Social interaction (with the police and with the community)

    c) Spatial mobility (of the Hispanic community)

- [C] In your opinion, what are the intended and unintended consequences of 287(g) on Hispanics?

- [ST] In your opinion, how do Hispanics view 287(g) program? Is there evidence of fear in the community?
- [ST] How has the frequency and nature of access of services in your organizations by Hispanics changed since the 287(g) program?

- [ST] Are there any evidences of decrease in access of services in hospitals and in schools by Hispanics that can be attributed to 287(g)?

- [SI] Have you seen any evidence of changes in the interaction of Hispanics since 287(g) was implemented? (Staying indoors, not driving, not taking public transportation, not frequenting public locations, not volunteering)

- [SM] Are there evidences that Hispanic population is moving away from certain neighborhoods or even the city and are these behaviors a function of 287(g)?

- [C] In your opinion, what is the rationale for 287(g) program and if the program needs changes? What are those specific changes?

- [C] In your opinion, what can your department do in order to mitigate the impacts of 287(g)?

- [C] In my quantitative analysis, there was little evidence that 287(g) impacted social trust/interaction/mobility, what would you say to these results?

- [C] Is there anything that you would like to add that I may have missed?

iv) Examples of Questions for Private Organizations (Bankers, Employers)

- [C] According to your role and experience as a private service provider/employer, how has 287(g) policy affected your work in terms of the three axes of integration?

    a) Social trust (on the service providers and on the community)

    b) Social interaction (with the police and with the community)

    c) Spatial mobility (of the Hispanic community)

- [C] In your opinion, what are the intended and unintended consequences of 287(g) on Hispanics?

- [ST] In your opinion, how do Hispanics view 287(g) program? Is there evidence of fear in the community?

- [ST] How has the frequency and nature of access of services in your organizations by Hispanics changed since the 287(g) program?

- [SI] Have you seen any evidence of changes in the interaction of Hispanics since 287(g) was implemented? (Staying indoors, not driving, not taking public transportation, not frequenting public locations, not volunteering)

- [SM] Are there evidences that Hispanic population is moving away from certain neighborhoods or even the city and are these behaviors a function of 287(g)?

- [C] In your opinion, what is the rationale for 287(g) program and if the program needs changes? What are those specific changes?

- [C] In your opinion, what can your department do in order to mitigate the impacts of 287(g)?

- [C] In my quantitative analysis, there was little evidence that 287(g) impacted social trust/interaction/mobility, what would you say to these results?

- [C] Is there anything that you would like to add that I may have missed?

v) Examples of Questions for Immigrants

- [ST] Do you trust the police in your community? Has the level of trust changed in any way in last few years? What factors would you cite as behind that change? What role if any does 287(g) play in your change in trust with police?

- [ST] Have you seen any changes in accessing services like going to the grocery store or taking a bus in Mecklenburg County in the Hispanic community?

- [ST] Have you seen any changes in the frequency and nature of access of health services in the Hispanic community**?**

- [ST] Have you seen any changes in the frequency and nature of access of education services?

- [SI] How often do you volunteer in the community?

- [SI]How often do you attend community activities? (organized by church, advocacy organization and the neighborhood)

- [SM] Are you contemplating moving to another neighborhood in Mecklenburg County or moving away from Mecklenburg County? Why?
- [C] In your opinion, what is the rationale for 287(g) program and if the program needs changes, what are those specific changes?

- [C] In my quantitative analysis, there was little evidence that 287(g) impacted social trust/interaction/mobility, what would you say to these results?

- [C] Is there anything that you would like to add that I may have missed?

APPENDIX E: LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS INTERVIEWED

1. Law enforcement

   a. Sheriff department

   b. Charlotte Mecklenburg Police department

2. Immigration lawyers

   a. Lawyers

3. Public Service Providers

   a. Medical

   b. Education

   c. Court employees

   d. Consulates

   e. Other government services

4. Private Sector Representatives

   a. Media (all forms)

   b. Apartment Managers

5. Community Representatives

   a. Immigrant and Latino Advocates

   b. Non-profit organizations

   c. Chamber of commerce

   d. Faith based organizations

   e. Neighborhood Associations

   f. Grassroots organizations

6. College students

APPENDIX F: LIST OF ACTIVE 287(G) PROGRAM (AS OF SEPTEMBER 2011)

State	Law Enforcement Agency	Type	Date Signed
Alabama	Alabama Department of Public Safety	Task Force	9/10/2003
Alabama	Etowah County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	7/8/2008
Arizona	Arizona Department of Corrections	Jail Enforcement	9/16/2005
Arizona	Arizona Department of Public Safety	Jail Enforcement	4/15/2007
Arizona	City of Mesa Police Department	Jail Enforcement	11/19/2009
Arizona	City of Phoenix Police Department	Jail Enforcement	3/10/2008
Arizona	Florence Police Department	Jail Enforcement	10/21/2009
Arizona	Pima County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	3/10/2008
Arizona	Pinal County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	3/10/2008
Arizona	Yavapai County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	3/10/2008
Arkansas	Benton County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	9/26/2007
Arkansas	City of Springdale Police Department	Task Force	9/26/2007
Arkansas	Rogers Police Department	Task Force	9/25/2007
Arkansas	Washington County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	9/26/2007
California	Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	2/1/2005
California	Orange County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	11/2/2006
California	Riverside County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	4/28/2006
California	San Bernardino County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	11/19/2005
Colorado	Colorado Department of Public Safety	Task Force	3/29/2007
Colorado	El Paso County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	5/17/2007
Connecticut	City of Danbury Police Department	Task Force	10/15/2009
Delaware*	Delaware Department of Corrections	Jail Enforcement	10/15/2009
Florida	Bay County Sheriff's Office	Task Force	6/15/2008

State	Law Enforcement Agency	Type	Date Signed
Florida	Collier County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	8/6/2007
Florida	Florida Department of Law Enforcement	Task Force	7/2/2002
Florida	Jacksonville Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	7/8/2008
Georgia	Cobb County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	2/13/2007
Georgia	Georgia Department of Public Safety	Task Force	7/27/2007
Georgia	Gwinnett County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	10/15/2009
Georgia	Hall County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	2/29/2008
Georgia	Whitfield County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	2/4/2008
Maryland	Frederick County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	2/6/2008
Minnesota	Minnesota Department of Public Safety	Task Force	9/22/2008
Missouri	Missouri State Highway Patrol	Task Force	6/25/2008
Nevada	Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department	Jail Enforcement	9/8/2008
New Jersey	Hudson County Department of Corrections	Jail Enforcement	8/11/2008
New Jersey	Monmouth County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	10/15/2009
New Mexico	New Mexico Department of Corrections	Jail Enforcement	9/17/2007
North Carolina	Alamance County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	1/10/2007
North Carolina	Cabarrus County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	8/2/2007
North Carolina	City of Durham Police Department	Task Force	2/1/2008
North Carolina	Gaston County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	2/22/2007
North Carolina	Henderson County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	6/25/2008
North Carolina	Mecklenburg County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	2/27/2006
North Carolina	Wake County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	6/25/2008
Ohio	Butler County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	2/5/2008
Oklahoma	Tulsa County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	8/6/2007

State	Law Enforcement Agency	Type	Date Signed
South Carolina	Beaufort County Sheriff's Office	Task Force	6/25/2008
South Carolina	Charleston County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	11/9/2009
South Carolina	Lexington County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	8/19/2010
South Carolina	York County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	10/16/2007
Tennessee	Davidson County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	2/21/2007
Tennessee	Tennessee Highway Patrol / Department of Safety	Task Force	6/25/2008
Texas	Carrollton Police Department	Jail Enforcement	8/12/2008
Texas	Farmers Branch Police Department	Task Force	7/8/2008
Texas	Harris County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	7/20/2008
Utah	Washington County Sheriff Office	Jail Enforcement	9/22/2008
Utah	Weber County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	9/22/2008
Virginia	Herndon Police Department	Task Force	3/21/2007
Virginia	Loudoun County Sheriff's Office	Task Force	6/25/2008
Virginia	Manassas Park Police Department	Task Force	3/10/2008
Virginia	Manassas Police Department	Task Force	3/5/2008
Virginia	Prince William County Police Department	Task Force	2/26/2008
Virginia	Prince William County Sheriff's Office	Task Force	2/26/2008
Virginia	Prince William-Manassas Regional Jail	Jail Enforcement	7/9/2007
Virginia	Rockingham County Sheriff's Office	Jail Enforcement	4/25/2007
Virginia	Shenandoah County Sheriff's Office	Jail & Task force	5/10/2007
Massachusetts	Massachusetts Department of Corrections	Jail Enforcement	In Negotiation

**Do not have 287(g) trained officers,

Source: ICE factsheet, http://www.ice.gov/news/library/factsheets/287g-reform.htm

APPENDIX G: TOP TEN COUNTRIES PROCESSED BY 287(G) (2006-
FEBRURARY 2012)

Country	Numbers Processed	Percentage Processed
Mexico	188,383	78.94%
Guatemala	13,762	5.77%
Honduras	11,966	5.01%
El Salvador	11,864	4.97%
Nicaragua	781	0.33%
Peru	676	0.28%
Brazil	652	0.27%
Cuba	639	0.27%
United States	608	0.25%
Colombia	575	0.24%
Total number of individuals processed from all countries	238,653	

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security

APPENDIX H: EXAMPLE OF A RECRUITMENT EMAIL

Dear Mr. / Ms. _____

I am a graduate student at University of North Carolina at Charlotte. I am doing a PhD in Public Policy. I am working on my final project titled "The Impact of the 287(g) program on processes of integration and engagement of Hispanics: A case study of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina." I would like to ask you some questions about this topic. You can take part in this project only if you want to. Also, you need to be above 18 years old, provide service to the Hispanic population in Charlotte or be a Hispanic immigrant.

The purpose of this project is to study the impacts of 287(g) program on how Hispanic immigrant adapt in Charlotte. The project is studying Hispanic community along three levels,

- Changes in trust
- Changes in how Hispanics interact
- Changes in how Hispanics live or move in Charlotte

Mecklenburg County signed a 287(g) agreement with the US government in 2006. This program allows the sheriff to ask about legal status to immigrants put into jail.
The interview will be 40 to 60 minutes. The interview will have around 15 questions. I will take notes during the interview. I will also tape the interviews if you are ok with it. You are free to skip any question if you do not want to answer them.

All the data I collect from you will be private. I will also remove your names from the data so that no connection can be made between your name and your answers. For example, if you are an officer, you will be called Officer 1, Officer 2. There are no other risks in participating in this project at this time. I will not ask any questions about anyone's legal status. The community may benefit from policy advices that this research may find.

Please let me know when you will be free in the next few weeks. Also, tell me if you where you would want the interview to take place. Please call or email me to fix an interview when you have a chance. If you know of other individuals who will be good for the interview, please let me know. Let me know if you have any questions about the study.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,
Silva Mathema
PhD in Public Policy, Fourth Year
Public Policy Department
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

APPENDIX I: EXAMPLE OF A CONSENT FORM

Project Title and Purpose

This project is titled "The impact of the 287(g) program on processes of integration and engagement of Hispanics: A case study of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, North Carolina." The aim of this project is to study the effects of 287(g) on Hispanic community in Charlotte. The project will look at Hispanic community on three main levels,

- Changes in trust
- Changes in how much they interact
- Changes in the way they live and move in the city

Mecklenburg County agreed to take part in 287(g) program in 2006. The 287(g) allows sheriff to ask about legal status to immigrants put in jail. This project is important as the 287(g) is becoming very popular among counties and cities. This research seeks to help policymakers and communities to make decisions about the policy and its effects.

Investigator(s)
Primary investigator (student) – Silva Mathema
Responsible faculty – Dr. Heather Smith

Eligibility

You may participate in this project if you are a (a) Immigration lawyer (i.e. sheriff, police, attorney, legal aid, court officer, domestic violence staff), (b) Public Service Provider (i.e. health care provider, school representative, social service, local housing authorities), (c) Community Representative (Immigrant and Latino advocate, faith based organization member, secular arts and community group member, neighborhood association member, outreach organization member) (d) Private sector representative (Banker, Employer, Chamber of commerce staff, media, realtor, LATM women's business association member), (e) Hispanic immigrant above 18 years of age

You may not participate in this project if you have not yet reached the age of 18, or are decisionally or mentally incompetent.

Overall Description of Participation

I will use data collected through interviews and other data sources. The questions will be around trust, interaction and mobility of Hispanics. I will take notes during the interview. I will also tape the interview if you are ok with it. I will ask around 15 questions. I will not take any pictures of you.

Length of Participation

The interview will be about 40 to 60 minutes long. I will interview you only once.

Risks and Benefits of Participation

This project does not give any direct benefits to you. However, the findings of this project may have policy recommendations that may benefit policymakers, the Hispanic community and service provider.

This project does not have any risks to you at this time. You are free to skip a question if you do not want to answer it. I will not ask any questions about anyone's legal status.

The project may involve risks that are not currently known.

Possible Injury Statement

If you are hurt during this study, we will make sure you get the medical treatment you need for your injuries. However, the university will not pay for the medical treatment or repay you for those expenses.

Volunteer Statement

You are a volunteer. The decision to participate in this study is completely up to you. If you decide to be in the study, you may stop at any time. You will not be treated any differently if you decide not to participate in the study or if you stop once you have started.

Confidentiality Statement

Any information about your participation, including your identity, is completely confidential. The following steps will be taken to ensure this confidentiality:
- I will store the data in a protected laptop and external drive
- When not in use, I will keep the data and the result in a locked location.
- I will delete the recordings after the project is completed or after around two years (whichever comes last).
- Only I will know the password of the interview data.
- Only I will have the key to the room the data is stored.
- I will remove your name from the dataset so that no connection can be made between your name and your answers.
- In my report, I will identify you according to your official standing. For example Officer 1, Officer 2.

Statement of Fair Treatment and Respect

UNC Charlotte wants to make sure that you are treated in a fair and respectful manner. Contact the university's Research Compliance Office (704-687-3309) if you have questions about how you are treated as a study participant. If you have any questions about the actual project or study, please contact Silva Mathema (Primary Investigator, 434-284-0344, smathema@uncc.edu) and/or Dr. Heather Smith (Responsible faculty, 704-687-5989, heatsmit@uncc.edu).

Approval Date

This form was approved for use on October 2011 for use for one year.

I have read the information in this consent form. I have had the chance to ask questions about this study, and those questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am at least 18 years of age, and I agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I will receive a copy of this form after it has been signed by me and the principal investigator of this research study.

_____   _____

Participant Name (PRINT)   DATE

_____

Participant Signature

_____   _____

Investigator Signature   DATE