Welcoming the Outsider: Local Construction of the Law towards Immigrants

By

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Submitted to the graduate degree program in Public Affairs and Administration and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the local construction of law on the street regarding immigrants. Local agencies play a key role in immigration enforcement and in providing services to immigrants. They are increasingly the face of the state to immigrants, a face that varies across localities and regions and ranges from friendly to hostile. In the context of climate change, immigration to the United States is likely to increase and place greater pressure on public services in many areas. While much attention has been focused on punitive responses to immigration, this dissertation's basic thesis is that many local government agencies have adopted surprisingly welcoming policies toward immigrants. The dissertation develops this thesis in three phases. First, it develops the concept of welcomeness of public agencies toward immigrants. Welcoming policies are policies and practices that are designed to *improve* interactions between local administrative agencies and immigrants, *encourage* immigrants to settle in the community and *protect* undocumented immigrants from being victimized or harassed. Second, the dissertation develops a framework for measuring the degree of welcomeness of particular agencies. Third, it examines how widely local agencies are welcoming (or unwelcoming) to immigrants and what are the conditions that shape the degree of welcomeness. Drawing on nationwide surveys of local police departments and public libraries and interviews with department leaders and frontline employees, the dissertation shows that many agencies have *consciously* and *deliberately* developed policies and practices that are intended to develop positive relationships between the agency and immigrants, encourage immigrants' use of the agency and help immigrants integrate into the community. While libraries, as a service agency, might be expected to emphasize equality of service, police departments' mission is regulatory and they might be expected to adopt a more punitive (and thus less welcoming) orientation. The evidence that welcoming policies are widespread in both settings suggests that welcomeness is not confined to the service context. The dissertation shows that in both settings professionals are pulled between political pressures that are often hostile to immigrants and professional norms favoring equal service to all in the community. How much a local agency is welcoming or unwelcoming depends on the balance between these opposing forces. Professional norms help organizations resist political pressures. The dissertation suggests that welcoming policies and practices are likely to gain increased significance as climate change contributes to increasing immigration.

Acknowledgements

Obtaining a PhD has been a twenty year dream. When I graduated with a bachelor's degree, I had to decide between entering the workforce and going to graduate school. I chose the workforce for personal reasons, but I always wanted to return to graduate school. Fortuitous circumstances, a little encouragement and a lot of courage were needed to take a leap and pursue this dream. The idea of writing a dissertation was exciting, but daunting and more than a little frightening, and it has been one of the most rewarding, yet difficult processes, I have encountered and I have many people to thank.

I want to especially thank my advisor Dr. Chuck Epp for his encouragement to pursue a PhD, the opportunity to work with him and for his honesty, patience and guidance. If I can only be half the teacher, writer, and mentor that he is, I will have achieved something remarkable. I want to thank you for your advice, guidance and encouragement.

I want to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Dr. H. George Frederickson, Dr. Steven Maynard-Moody, Dr. Heather Getha-Taylor, and Dr. Jorge Soberon, who provided the foundation for my intellectual advancement. Their comments, suggestions and questions challenged and guided me. Thank you for your support and interest in my research.

True friends are difficult to find and especially valuable. My sincere appreciation goes to Jeannette Blackmar who is a true friend. You helped me keep things in perspective and keep my eye on the finish line. I am grateful for your friendship. Your support and encouragement in this process were invaluable.

I have valued many conversations with my colleagues in the School of Public Affairs and Administration and I appreciate their encouragement and support. You made this journey memorable.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In a conservative, rural Midwestern county deputies often respond to minor traffic accidents involving immigrants but, rather than ticket the driver, they explain the rules of the road and proper driving habits. They are strictly forbidden to initiate an investigation of the immigrant's legal status. These practices of helping immigrants represent the county sheriff's commitment to working with the different immigrant communities in his jurisdiction so they will see his department not just as law enforcers but also as helpers. He has instructed his deputies to help immigrants understand the law and the ways of their new community.

This sheriff's commitment to helping immigrants might be unsurprising in cosmopolitan California or liberal Massachusetts—but I discovered it in one of the most conservative, anti-immigrant states in the United States. Given the widespread Republican opposition to immigration, local agencies in this highly Republican community might be expected to engage in hostile actions towards the immigrant populations, including taking steps to identify the status of immigrants, but the policies and practices of two important local agencies, the city police department and the public library, reflect openness and welcomeness towards immigrants.

This city is not an isolated case. Although some cities have implemented punitive policies towards immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, others have implemented welcoming policies designed to welcome and help integrate immigrants. This dissertation examines these policies and practices. My central questions are: how widespread are welcoming policies and why have cities adopted them?

This dissertation explores the extent of welcoming policies and practices and the factors that may affect their development; how the situational context of the affects the implementation

of these policies at the street-level; and how climate change is likely to increase immigration into the United States over the coming decades. This chapter describes the political context regarding immigration and what is known about local enforcement of immigration law; explains the central concept of this research -- welcomeness; describes my research questions in more detail and then summarizes the theoretical lenses through which I examine these questions and describes the study's research design and data.

Thesis

The policies and practices of local agencies towards immigrants vary substantially. What explains these variations? My core thesis is that policies of welcomeness to immigrants are surprisingly widespread. Welcoming policies, as I define the term, are policies and practices that are designed to *improve* interactions between local administrative agencies and immigrants, to *encourage* immigrants to settle in the community and to *protect* undocumented immigrants from being victimized or harassed. While I acknowledge that many state and local governments have implemented punitive policies of immigration-law enforcement, many others have adopted policies of welcomeness. After briefly summarizing other aspects of my thesis I return to a fuller discussion of my concept of welcomeness.

The second part of my thesis is that while the degree of welcomeness of local agencies is affected by political pressure associated with ethnocentric attitudes regarding perceived threats posed by immigrants, these pressures are mitigated by powerful, deeply engrained professional norms of equal service that encourage the development of welcoming policies and practices as elements of a more general commitment to equal service to all members of the community. Professional leaders in libraries and police departments have come to strongly favor norms of equal service. Across a wide range of localities, greater levels of commitment to these norms are

associated with higher levels of welcomeness. At the same time, however, greater political

pressure to respond punitively to immigrants reduces the level of welcomeness by local agencies.

On balance, though, the evidence suggests that professional norms of equal service are

surprisingly influential in the face of political pressure.

   To what extent does front-line staff honor these policies of welcomeness? While it is

often observed that front-line staff does not fully carry out policies imposed from above, there

are good reasons to think that front-line staff support and act upon their superiors' directives to

be welcoming. Theories of street-level bureaucracy suggest that front-line staff respond more

helpfully to members of the public when they are perceived as hardworking and "worthy." In

interviews conducted for this study, staff commonly describes immigrants in such positive terms:

as hard-working, respectful, and as victims of crime rather than criminals.

   In sum, in spite of widespread opposition to immigration and public and political

discourse emphasizing the 'unworthiness' of many immigrants, I argue that many local agencies

are not only able to resist pressures to respond punitively, but respond with welcomeness. In the

face of increased migration, or at least a potential *perception* of increased immigration, due to

the environmental effects of climate change, local agencies may respond more favorably towards

immigrants than public and political actors.

The Concept of Welcomeness

   Local agencies have adopted a wide range of policies and practices designed to welcome

and integrate immigrants into the community. These welcoming policies and practices are in

stark contrast to punitive immigration enforcement but they go considerably beyond a mere

absence of hostility. Welcoming policies are often intentionally created, thoughtfully

implemented and are found in a variety of communities, including many in which welcomeness

would not be expected. Relative welcomeness, then, is the degree to which administrative policies and practices vary from punitively excluding immigrants to helping to integrate immigrants into the community. This chapter first presents the theoretical basis for this concept of welcomeness and then distinguishes the concept of welcomeness from the more common focus on immigration-law enforcement that concentrates attention on one end of the welcomeness continuum.

My concept of welcomeness builds on a body of research showing that the administration of law and policy varies considerably, even toward subordinate and marginalized groups, and that these variations directly shape peoples' understanding of their place in society.[1] For example, Soss found that low-income recipients of Social Security disability benefits (SSDI) and recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) experienced considerably different administrative processes in these two programs: while SSDI was perceived as fair, rational, and rule-governed, AFDC was perceived as unfair, opaque, and arbitrary.[2] Recipients of SSDI learned the habits and ways of thinking of full citizens: that they are respected members of society, who may call upon, and influence, government; recipients of AFDC, by contrast, felt reinforced in their perceptions of their own marginality and government's lack of responsiveness. Immigrants who experience administrative processes that are perceived as fair and rational would be expected to have different perceptions of public organizations.

My concept also draws on the work of Irene Bloemraad whose comparative study of the United States and Canada found that immigrants in Canada were significantly more likely to

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[1] Charles R. Epp, *Making Rights Real: Activists, Bureaucrats, and the Creation of the Legalistic State* (University of Chicago Press, 2009); Charles R. Epp, Steven Maynard-Moody, and Donald Haider-Markel. *Pulled Over: Racial Framing of Police Stops* (Forthcoming, 2013); Joe Soss, "Lessons of Welfare: Policy Design, Political Learning, and Political Action," *American Political Science Review* 93, no. 2 (1999): 363-80; Joe Soss, Jacob S. Hacker and Suzanne Mettler, *Remaking America: Democracy and Public Policy in an Age of Inequality* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2007).
[2] Soss, *Lessons of Welfare*.

become civically engaged and to naturalize than those in the United States.[3] She attributes this to

Canada's coherent, national, programmatic policy designed to fund and encourage immigrants to

integrate and to naturalize, in contrast to the United States' immigration policy which is more

enforcement focused and requires the individual seek out information and navigate a labyrinth of

public agencies to apply for citizenship. Her research concludes that public funding from the

national government and programmatic support, typically administered at the local level, for

immigrant integration programs strengthens immigrants' civic engagement and political

attachment. Local governments and agencies play an important role in how immigrants view

their place in society and those that develop practices and policies that reach out to immigrants

and help them understand rules, norms and processes will help integrate them into society.

I have borrowed the term welcomeness from the research of Wen and his colleagues on

homeless peoples' access to healthcare.[4] Their research drew on narratives to understand how

homeless individuals perceived their treatment at healthcare facilities and how their perception

affected their likelihood to return to that agency for assistance. They reported that some policies

expressed welcomeness to homeless persons. They used the work of Martin Buber as a

theoretical foundation for the concept of welcomeness. In this work, the author describes "I-It"

as the way a person interacts or refers to thing or object while "I-You" is the way a person relates

to a dynamic human being. The healthcare recipients who experienced and described

unwelcoming interactions with healthcare providers used "I-It" language to describe these

interactions. They felt as if the people with whom they interacted treated them rudely and felt

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[3] Irene Bloemraad, *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada* (University of California Press, 2006).
[4] Chuck K.Wen, Pamela L. Hudak and Stephen W. Hwang, "Homeless People's Perceptions of Welcomeness and Unwelcomeness in Healthcare Encounters," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 22, no. 7 (2007): 1011-1017.

ignored or brushed aside. In many cases they described discriminatory treatment, power imbalances and a feeling that they were not viewed as human beings. Individuals who experienced welcoming encounters with the healthcare providers used language associated with Buber's "I-You" concept. They felt as if their concerns and needs were heard and taken seriously and were viewed as a person. The individuals who experienced unwelcomeness indicated they were less likely to seek assistance from the agency in the future than those who had a welcoming encounter.

These observations by Wen and his colleagues closely parallel Tom Tyler's theory that people place a high value on being treated respectfully by persons in authority.[5] Tyler's research suggests that being treated respectfully is especially important to members of groups that are historically or commonly viewed as outsiders or of lower status. These individuals often are unsure whether they are accepted as full members of the community. Being treated respectfully sends the message that they are accepted as a member of the community.

Although most immigrants are not homeless, their status is in some ways analogous to the homeless and the concept of welcomeness can be extended to the immigrant context. Both the homeless and immigrants are viewed as, at best, marginal members of society. Immigrants sometimes may not understand social norms or speak English fluently, may be viewed with suspicion by employees and may perceive public employees as being disrespectful or hostile. It

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[5] Tom Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law* (Yale University Press, 1990); Tom Tyler, P. Dogoey and H. Smith, "Understanding Why the Justice of Group Procedures Matters: A Test of the Psychological Dynamics of the Group-Value Model." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (1996): 913–30; Tom Tyler and E. Allan Lind, "Intrinsic Versus Community-Based Justice Models: When Does Group Membership Matter?" *Journal of Social Issues* 46 (1990): 83–94; Tom Tyler and E. Allen Lind, "A Relational Model of Authority in Groups," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, edited by M. P. Zanna 115–91 (Academic, 1992); Tom Tyler, "Public Trust and Confidence in Legal Authorities: What Do Majority and Minority Groups Members Want from Law and Legal Institutions?" *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 19 (2001): 215–35.

is plausible to expect that agencies that have policies and practices that encourage or facilitate positive interactions between employees and immigrants will be perceived as more welcoming than those that have policies and practices that inhibit positive interactions or promote negative interactions. Policies, practices and interactions with public employees that show respect and acceptance of immigrants as equal members of the community may enhance immigrants' perceptions of individual public agencies and encourage integration in to the community.

Dimensions of Welcomeness

Welcomeness has several dimensions. Most basically welcomeness encompasses both the formal policies of the organization and how front-line staff act and speak toward immigrants. Following Soss, we can think of local agencies as varying in the degree to which they present a face to immigrants of regularity, fairness, accessibility, and rule-abidingness.[6] I have identified several dimensions of welcomeness, specifically the extent to which the agency: a) makes its policies and processes available in the native languages of local immigrant populations, b) has outreach programs to immigrant communities, c) cooperates with other local agencies and organizations that support or assist immigrants, d) recruits and hires bilingual employees or uses translation services, and, finally, e) how front-line employees carry out these programs and procedures in practice when interacting with immigrants.

I measure welcomeness through five dimensions for police and six dimensions for public libraries. These dimensions represent a range of agency actions and are sensitive to the continuum of possible actions, both symbolic and substantive.

The first dimension is in-language resources and shows that the agency recognizes the importance of effective communication and providing relevant information to immigrants. This

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[6] Soss, *Lessons of Welfare*.

dimension shows their willingness to expend time and money to communicate effectively with immigrants. Since many immigrants are low English proficient (LEP), they may not be able to fully participate and engage with an agency in English. In-language resources help agencies bridge that gap in order to fully engage with and assist immigrants. Immigrants' perceived failure to learn English is a controversial issue for many Americans and elected officials at all levels of government have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to make English the official language of their jurisdiction, legislation that has ardent supporters and opponents. Providing in-language resources may not be politically popular, but hiring bilingual employees and providing information in other languages shows agencies recognize immigrants in their community and want to reach out and interact effectively with them. For LEP immigrants, equal service to them requires in-language resources.

The second dimension is community outreach programs to immigrants. Outreach includes efforts to engage with immigrants in the community in order to build trust and encourage immigrants to utilize the agency's resources. For libraries, outreach efforts are intended to educate immigrants about the library and explain the resources it provides. For police departments building trust is especially important so that immigrants will call the police when they are the victims or witnesses to a crime. Institutions in Canada that engage with immigrants in the community promote their integration into the community through coherent, organized programs designed to help immigrants learn the language, obtain information and learn social customs and norms.[7] In the United States, some agencies have also created programs to reach out to immigrants in order to promote trust, enhance their relationship with immigrant groups, obtain feedback from immigrants to improve service provision and improve immigrants' understanding

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[7] Bloemraad, *Becoming a Citizen.*

of services in the community. Outreach and trust-building promote both immigrant integration and the core mission of the agency. Agencies may adopt many kinds of outreach efforts.

The third dimension is collaboration with other agencies and organizations to meet the needs of immigrants. Public agencies increasingly engage in collaborative governance which brings private and public stakeholders together with public agencies to make decisions.[8] Police departments and public libraries often engage in collaborative networks to provide services because of the fragmented nature of social-service administration in the United States and the wide range of services needed by immigrants. No single organization or agency is able to provide comprehensive services to immigrants. Because of this, public agencies often have ties to other organizations through networks based on formal and informal relationships.

In the absence of a coherent national immigrant integration policy, local agencies and organizations are the primary sources of these services. Libraries view their mission as providing information to patrons and librarians have long viewed their profession as aligned with social workers. Police officers often serve in the capacity of social workers when interacting with victims of crimes. They provide information to victims of domestic violence, provide counseling information to rape victims and are tasked with interacting with relatives of victims. Collaboration reflects the agency's and community's commitment to meeting the broad needs of immigrants in the community.

The fourth dimension is whether (and how much) the organization provides training to staff to help them interact more effectively with immigrants. In neo-institutional theory research, training is a substantive action organizations use to ensure compliance with policies and legal

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[8] Chris Ansell and Alison Gash. "Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 18, no. 4 (2008): 543-571; Michael McGuire, "Collaborative Public Management: Assessing What We Know and How We Know It." *Public Administration Review* 66, no. s1 (2006): 33-43.

requirements.[9] Employee training represents a commitment to ensuring effective interactions between immigrants and front-line employees. Interactions with immigrants may require specialized skills and knowledge. Positive interactions between immigrants and agency employees may require language skills, knowledge of customs and cultural norms as well as specific organizational policies such as verification of immigration status by police and what types of identification libraries will accept when confirming eligibility for a library card. Employees who receive training may have more positive and effective interactions with immigrants.

The fifth dimension (and final dimension for police departments) examines enforcement efforts to limit access to services to undocumented immigrants or to identify and detain undocumented immigrants. Although these policies directly target only undocumented immigrants, both documented immigrants and citizens may be negatively affected. Punitive law enforcement efforts towards immigrants may cause immigrants to not contact the police when they are victimized. Policies that prevent immigrants from obtaining a library card exclude them from fully accessing information that can benefit them and their families. Policies restricting benefits to documented immigrants or citizens, or requiring enforcement of immigration law, have a substantive impact on how immigrants are included in the community and their ability and likelihood of using these agencies.

The final dimension (which is limited to public libraries) is programming for immigrants. Literacy and education have been central to the mission of public libraries and libraries have sought to improve literacy and provide information to the community. Common programs include adult literacy programs, children's reading programs and hosting speakers and book

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[9] Lauren B. Edelman and Stephen M. Peterson, "Symbols and Substance in Organizational Response to Civil Rights Law." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 17 (1999): 107-138.

clubs. In addition to helping libraries fulfill their core mission, programs are intended to attract

patrons to the library, help immigrants integrate into the community, provide information and

skills and create opportunities for immigrants to meet and interact with others in the community.

Alternate theoretical explanations of the degree of welcomeness

Four theories guide my examination of why local agencies are more or less welcoming:

neo-institutional organizational theory (positing that agencies' policies will be influenced by

professional norms shared among professional networks), minority-threat theory (positing that

agencies in communities experiencing greater immigration levels will be less welcoming),

economic regimes (positing that agencies in communities in which immigrants are perceived as

important to the local economy will be more welcoming) and the theory of street-level discretion

(positing that front-line employees are influenced by the characteristics of their immediate

situation and the actions of the person they are addressing).

Local government agencies are influenced by professional norms of equal service to

members of the public, and these norms may push agencies to adopt welcoming policies toward

immigrants. Neo-institutional theories are helpful in understanding the influence of these

professional norms. Neo-institutionalism posits that professionalized organizations are somewhat

insulated from their immediate political environments and instead are strongly influenced by

institutionalized norms and procedures that typically grow from their broader organizational

environment.[10] These institutional norms--socially constructed collections of norms, rules,

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[10] Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation* (University of California Press, 1957);
Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Root* (University of California Press, 1949).

standard operating procedures and structures--"give meaning to behavior, and explain, justify, and legitimate behavioral codes."[11]

In the wake of the civil rights era, public and professional norms increasingly condemned racial and ethnic discrimination.[12] Public administration professionals, too, began emphasizing the value of fairness, justice and equality in the administration of public policies and services. Thus, H. George Frederickson argued that public administrators "should be committed to both good management and social equity."[13] In time, social equity became known as the "third pillar" of public administration, in addition to efficiency and effectiveness.[14]

Local law enforcement agencies and public libraries are influenced by such broader professional norms and institutional models. Public libraries widely accept a professional norm of openness to all people, and this may encourage these agencies to adopt policies and materials that are especially welcoming to immigrants. Policing, unlike libraries, seems to be subject to competing institutional norms regarding immigrants. One favors neutral service without regard to peoples' race, ethnicity, or immigration status. Even the norm of aggressive criminal enforcement may encourage adoption of welcoming policies on the grounds that solving crimes requires the trust of the community. Additionally, the powerful norm of community policing, which favors police responsiveness to local communities probably is consistent with what I am calling welcoming policies.[15] To the extent that these initiatives include outreach to immigrant

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[11] James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "Elaborating the "New Institutionalism"" in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* edited by Robert E. Goodin (Oxford University Press, 2006): 22.

[12] Howard Schuman, Charlotte Steeh, Lawrence Bobo, and Maria Krysan. 1997. *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Philip A. Klinker and Rogers M. Smith. 1999. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[13] Frank Marini, editor. 1971. *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective*. Scranton, PA: Chandler. p 313.

[14] H. George Frederickson. 2012. "Thick Social Equity." Retirement Lecture Series, Number 2.

[15] See Wesley Skogan, *Police and Community in Chicago: A Tale of Three Cities* (Oxford University Press, 2006).

communities, we might expect that police agencies that accept the norms of community policing may be more welcoming to immigrants.

Police agencies, however, are also under considerable normative and professional pressure to vigorously enforce immigration laws, at least when a person suspected of a violent crime is also suspected of being an undocumented immigrant. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) encourages local law enforcement agencies to enter into a partnership, the 287(g) program, in which the local agency is delegated authority for immigration enforcement. Since 2002, ICE has signed agreements with 74 law enforcement agencies in 24 states resulting in the training and certification of over 1,300 state and local law enforcement officers.[16] Currently, 39 law enforcement agencies have signed agreements with ICE.[17] Secure Communities is another ICE program: when an individual is booked into a local jail, their fingerprints are shared with the FBI to see if they have a criminal record, and the FBI automatically shares the fingerprints with ICE to check against its immigration databases. ICE can take enforcement action if the person is in the United States unlawfully or otherwise removable due to a criminal conviction. Both programs have been criticized for encouraging front-line officers to target people they suspect of being undocumented immigrants. Local law enforcement agencies may also develop internal policies regarding immigrants. Decker and his colleagues found that 39% of municipal police departments had a written policy regarding interactions with persons who were suspected of being undocumented and that when a policy is

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[16] Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), "Fact Sheet: Updated Facts on ICE's 287(g) Program," (2011), accessed November 20, 2011, "http://www.ice.gov/news/library/factsheets/287g-reform.htm
[17] Ibid.

available, police officers follow the policy.[18] We might expect that agencies that have adopted

norms of strict immigration-law enforcement will be less welcoming than other agencies.

Minority-threat theory posits that social control measures directed against racial

minorities intensify as their population increases.[19] While previous minority-threat research

focuses mainly on the police, other agencies are not immune to these pressures. Thus, in some

communities, public libraries have eliminated Spanish language collections from their shelves in

response to criticism that they cater to 'illegal' immigrants.[20] The basic point of minority-threat

theory is that majority groups use local agencies, especially the police, to maintain their power.[21]

An increase in the relative proportion of minority groups is perceived by the dominant group as

an economic, political and criminal threat. The dominant group responds with political

discrimination, symbolic segregation and coercive strategies; communities may increase the

resources of law enforcement agencies,[22] and police may use more coercive strategies in their

interactions with minority individuals.[23] While minority-threat theory has focused especially on

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[18] Scott H. Decker, Paul G. Lewis, Doris Marie Provine, and Monica W. Varsanyi. "Immigration and Local Policing: Results from a National Survey of Law Enforcement Executives," (2008), accessed October 17, 2011 from "https://ccj.asu.edu/about-us/research/immigration-research-section/current-project

[19] Hubert M. Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations* (Wiley, 1967).

[20] Fernando Quintero, "Protesters cite porn on shelves - 'Fotonovelas' drive crowd to demand that librarian resign." *Rocky Mountain News*, August 9, 2005; Julia Stephens, "English Spoken Here." *American Libraries* 38, no. 10, (2007): 41-44.

[21] Allen E. Liska, *Social Threat and Social Control*. (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992); S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Tom Wong, "Immigration Policies Go Local: The Varying Responses Of Local Governments To Undocumented Immigration," (2007) *Unpublished paper, University of California,* accessed March 12, 2013 "https://2048.berkeley.edu/files/RamakrishnanWongpaperfinal(1).pdf; Monica W Varsanyi, "Immigration policing through the backdoor: City ordinances, the 'right to the city' and exclusion of undocumented day laborers," Urban Geography 29, no. 1 (2008): 29-52.

[22] Ted Chiricos, Kelly Welch and Marc Gertz . 2004. "Racial Typification of Crime and Support for Punitive Measures," *Criminology* 42, no. 2 (2004): pp. 359 – 389; Lincoln Quillian and Devah Pager. "Black Neighbors, Higher Crime? The Role of Racial Stereotypes in Evaluations of Neighborhood Crime," American Journal of Sociology 107, no. 3 (2001): 717-767.

[23] See Malcolm D. Holmes, "Minority Threat and Police Brutality: Determinants of Civil Rights Criminal Complaints in U.S. Municipalities," *Criminology* 38, no. 2 (2000): 343-365; Pamela Irving Jackson, *Minority Group Threat, Crime and Policing* (Praeger Publishers, 1989); Brad W. Smith and Malcolm D. Holmes. "Community Accountability,

whites' fears of black criminality, it is plausible that whites associate criminality with other minority groups, too, and, indeed, the larger the Latino population, the more whites are fearful of crime in their community.[24] Markert found that hostility from both whites and blacks towards Latinos is exacerbated by their perceived illegal status and the perception that they do not want to learn English.[25]

In addition to political pressures and professional norms, local administrators have powerful incentives to serve important local economic interests. Paul Peterson's work shows that the relative autonomy of local governments in the United States and their dependence on local revenues has forced local governments to adopt competitive policies favoring local economic growth.[26] In this context local administrators may be attentive to the needs and preferences of the large economic interests in their local areas. When those local players employ a lot of immigrants, local agencies may well be more welcoming. Local agency leaders are aware of the broader socioeconomic system and they make decisions which support that system.

Whatever the policies adopted by organizational managers, however, situational imperatives at the front-line may greatly shape how street-level staff act toward presumed immigrants. Street-level discretion regarding immigrants is especially likely in jurisdictions that have no formal policies regarding immigrants. Decker and his colleagues found that in many communities, local law enforcement agencies do not have formal policies to guide officers in their interactions with persons who may be undocumented and, in the absence of formal policies,

Minority Threat, and Police Brutality: An Examination of Civil Rights Criminal Complaints," *Criminology* 41, no. 4 (2003): 1035-1063.

[24] David Eitle and John Taylor. 2008. "Are Hispanics the New 'Threat'? Minority Group Threat and Fear of Crime in Miami-Dade County," *Social Science Research* 37, no. 4 (2008): 1102–1115.

[25] John Markert, "The Changing Face of Racial Discrimination: Hispanics as the Dominant Minority in the USA – a New Application of Power-Threat Theory." *Critical Sociology* 36, no. 2 (2010): 307-327.

[26] Paul E. Peterson, *City Limits* (University of Chicago Press, 1981).

front-line officers appear to be developing informal norms to govern these activities.[27] These

informal norms are probably shaped by the situational contexts in which officers interact with

immigrants and the assumed moral worthiness of the immigrant in question. Thus, officers

facing a drunk, belligerent and possibly dangerous person may be expected to take actions to

bring the person under control; officers facing a sober victim of a robbery may be expected to

record the person's complaints and act with sympathy. In this theory, the situational context--the

characteristics of the suspect, the characteristics of the victim, the presence of onlookers, and so

on—may greatly shape how officers act.[28] Front-line workers' actions toward members of the

public are influenced especially by the assumed moral worthiness of the person in question.[29]

Front-line workers, in this view, are likely to act helpfully toward people who seem to be

conventionally normal and who are trying to do the right thing; but they are likely to act

punitively toward people who seem to be morally suspect.

Attitudes and law toward immigration in the United States

The conditions for a conflict between professional norms of equal service and fear of

immigrants are widespread. The United States is a nation of immigrants and is celebrated as a

melting pot of diverse cultures, but immigration has long been a matter of high political

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[27] Decker, Lewis, Provine and Varsanyi. *Immigration and Local Policing*; Scott H. Decker, Paul G. Lewis, Doris Marie Provine, and Monica W. Varsanyi, "Immigration and Local Law Enforcement: Results from a National Survey of County Sheriffs," (2010) accessed October 17, 2011, "https://ccj.asu.edu/about-us/research/immigration-research-section/current-project

[28] Sarah Fenstermaker Berk and Donileen R. Loseke, "" Handling" Family Violence: Situational Determinants of Police Arrest in Domestic Disturbances." *Law and Society Review* (1980): 317-346; Douglas A. Smith and Christy A. Visher, "Street-Level Justice: Situational Determinants of Police Arrest Decisions," *Social Problems* 29, no. 2 (1981): 167-177; Samuel Walker, Cassia Spohn and Miriam DeLone, *The Color of Justice: Race, Ethnicity, and Crime in America*. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Cengage Learning, 2006); Robert E. Worden, "Situational and Attitudinal Explanations of Police Behavior: A Theoretical Reappraisal and Empirical Assessment," *Law and Society Review* 23 (1989): 667-710.

[29] Steven Maynard-Moody and Michael Craig Musheno, Cops*, Teachers, Counselors: Stories from the Front lines of Public Service* (University of Michigan Press, 2003).

controversy and the target of repressive legal regulations.[30] A survey of likely voters in February 2013 conducted by the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) found that 86% of respondents believe that undocumented immigration is a problem for the United States, 53% stated that the U.S. border is not secure and 74% stated that the government is not effective at preventing undocumented immigration.[31] A similar survey conducted in 2013 by the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) found that 64% of respondents believe that enforcement of immigration laws has been "too little."[32]

These views are only the most recent instance of controversies over immigration dating nearly to the origins of the country. The United States has a long history of restricting immigration specifically from non-Western European countries. To be sure, some have claimed that liberal values of equality and welcomeness to all are core elements of American principles. Gunnar Myrdal was among the first to claim that the ideas of "humanistic liberalism" were the foundation of what he called the "American Creed" proclaiming that all individuals were equal with rights to freedom, justice and opportunity.[33] Kenneth Karst concludes that these liberal values are accepted by many Americans as part of the national tradition.[34] But in many periods Americans have not honored these principles and many have not accepted them. Rogers Smith, in *Civic Ideals*, demonstrates that while some Americans have celebrated equality of

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[30] Pew Research Center. "Public Priorities: Deficit Rising, Terrorism Slipping," accessed January 15, 2013 http://www.people-press.org/2012/01/23/public-priorities-deficit-rising-terrorism-slipping/; Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals*. Yale University Press (Yale University Press, 1997).

[31] Federation for American Immigration Reform, "National Survey of 1000 Likely Voters." (2013) accessed May 26, 2013, "http://www.fairus.org/facts/illegal-immigration-and-amnesty-polls."

[32] Steven A. Camarota, "Americans Prefer Illegal Immigrants Head Home: Results of a National Survey," *Center for Immigration Studies* (2013) accessed May 26, 2013 from http://cis.org/sites/cis.org/files/camarota-survey-illegals-feb-13.pdf.

[33] Gunnar Myrdal, *An America Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*. (Harper & Row, 1944).

[34] Kenneth L. Karst, *Belonging to America: Equal Citizenship and the Constitution*. (Yale University Press, 1989).

membership, others have championed racial and ethnic hierarchy. Laws governing citizenship in the United States from the colonial to the progressive periods, he observes, have "expressed illiberal, undemocratic ascriptive myths of U.S. civic identity, along with various types of liberal republican ones."[35] Who was allowed to become a citizen of the United States historically was often based on ascriptive factors such as race and ethnicity. Immigrants' race, ethnicity, religion and language have historically influenced U.S. immigration policy by affecting the public's perception of their ability to assimilate culturally and politically and their moral suitability for inclusion in American society.

Nativists have historically viewed ascriptive characteristics as determinants of the moral 'worthiness' of immigrant groups to be part of American society.[36] Thus, racial and ethnic minorities and people from non-traditional Christian or other religions were typically viewed as unable to assimilate into American society.[37] These exclusionary traditions are reflected in current immigration policy and related public discourse. Today, opponents of immigration still distinguish between the few "worthy" immigrants, mainly skilled white Christians, who are welcome, and the many "unworthy" immigrants, primarily the undocumented and unskilled from non-white regions of the world, who are unwelcome.[38]

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[35] Smith, *Civic Ideals*.

[36] Philip A Klinker and Rogers M. Smith. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. (University of Chicago Press, 1999); Smith, *Civic Ideals;* James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in America*. (Yale University Press, 2003).

[37] Ibid.

[38] Anna Maria Mayda, "Who Is Against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward Immigrants." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 88, no. 3 (2006): 510–530; Christian Dustmann and Ian P. Preston. Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes to Immigration. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy Advances* 7:1 (2007), 1-39; Leo R. Chavez, 2008. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation*. (Stanford University Press, 2008); Gordon H. Hanson, Kenneth Scheve, and Matthew Slaughter. "Individual Preferences over High-Skilled Immigration in the United States," in *Skilled Migration Today: Prospects, Problems, and Policies*, eds. Jagdish Bhagwati and Gordon Hanson. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2008): 24–44; Jens Hainmueller and Michael J. Hiscox. "Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration: Evidence from a Survey Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 104 no. 1 (2010): 61-84.

In the last decade, immigration has again become a highly controversial topic. Opponents of immigration have claimed that many immigrants are engaged in criminal activity, particularly drug trafficking and drug-gang violence, and are threats to national security, particularly in the form of terrorism. In making these claims, opponents of immigration explicitly link immigrants to images of drug-gang violence in Mexico and Islamic terrorism.[39] Unauthorized immigrants are said to be "illegal," deplete public resources, steal jobs, and violent.[40]

In recent decades Latinos are especially the target of anti-immigrant sentiment. Leo Chavez found evidence of a Latino Threat Narrative that focuses on the uncontrolled fertility of Latinas, a refusal to assimilate and a belief that the Mexican government encourages emigration to the U.S. in order to stage a takeover of lost lands.[41] Immigrants, it is claimed, are a threat to American culture and national identity.[42] Some historians have observed that Americans often view outsiders as immoral and a threat to American moral purity.[43]

After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, immigration is increasingly perceived as a national security threat, especially regarding Muslim immigrants who are often perceived as "others."[44] Basing the worthiness of immigrants on characteristics such as these has implications for immigrants since the majority of immigrants to the United States, both documented and

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[39] United States. Congress. House. Committee on Homeland Security. Subcommittee on Investigations, and Michael T. McCaul. *A Line in the Sand: Confronting the Threat at the Southwest Border*. Subcommittee on Investigations, House Committee on Homeland Security, (2006); Chavez, *Latino Threat.*

[41] Chavez, *Latino Threat.*

[42] Peter Brimelow and Brian Lamb. Alien nation: Common sense about America's immigration disaster. (New York: Random House, 1995); Samuel P. Huntington, "Hispanic immigration threatens to divide America." Race relations: Opposing viewpoints (2005): 62-79.

[43] Morone, *Hellfire Nation*.

[44] Didier Bigo. "Security and immigration: toward a critique of the governmentality of unease." Alternatives: global, local, political 27, no. 1 suppl (2002): 63-92; Didier Bigo, Terror, insecurity and liberty: illiberal practices of liberal regimes after 9/11. Vol. 1 (Routledge, 2008); Kathleen Moore, "United We Stand: American Attitudes toward (Muslim) Immigration post-September 11th. *The Muslim World*. 92 (2002): 39-58.

undocumented, come from nonwhite regions.[45] In the wake of 9/11, some communities and

states targeted Muslim immigrants. The Islamic Center of Murfreesboro in Tennessee faced

vocal opposition from elected officials and citizens.[46] Arizona, Louisiana and Tennessee have

passed laws that forbid use of Islamic law by American judges and at least twenty-one other

states have proposed such legislation.[47]

Immigration opponents' recent efforts focus especially on restricting Latino immigration

from Mexico. At the state and local levels, many elected officials, citizens and law enforcement

officers believe the federal government is failing at securing the border and are passing laws,

such as Arizona's SB 1070, which requires local enforcement of federal immigration law, and

are implementing policies designed to identify and detain immigrants and to create an

environment so hostile that 'illegals' will proactively leave.[48]

Immigration-law enforcement at the local level

By linking the issue of immigration to risks of criminality, opponents of immigration

have pressed local law enforcement agencies to engage in immigration-law enforcement and to

treat immigrant populations as criminal threats. Immigration enforcement is increasingly done at

the local level through a "multilayered jurisdictional patchwork" in which multiple law

enforcement agencies in the same geographic area enforce immigration law in different ways.[49]

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[45]U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics." Office of Immigration Statistics, (2012).

[46] Bradley Blackburn, 2010. Plan for Mosque in Tennessee Town Draws Criticism from Residents. ABC News, June 18, 2010 accessed May 26, 2013 "http://abcnews.go.com/WN/murfreesboro-tennessee-mosque-plan-draws-criticism-residents/story?id=10956381#.UaKekV0o7IU

[47] National Conference of State Legislatures, "Will Islamic law ever be a part of the US legal system?" (2011).

[48] Kris W. Kobach, "Attrition through Enforcement: A Rational Approach to Illegal Immigration." *Tulsa Journal of Comparative & International Law*, 15 (2007): p 155.

[49] Monica W Varsanyi, Paul G. Lewis, Doris Marie Provine, and Scott Decker. 2012. "A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork: Immigration Federalism in the United States." *Law & Policy* 34, no. 2 (2012): 138-58.

The federal government has two programs that involve local law enforcement in enforcement of federal immigration laws, Secure Communities, a nationwide system that links local jails and federal immigration databases, and 287(g), which allows local and state law enforcement agencies to enter into a partnership with ICE, under a joint Memorandum of Agreement (MOA). Local law enforcement agencies also must enforce a range of state laws and city ordinances regarding immigrants.

Research on localities' responses to immigration has focused mainly on these efforts at local immigration-law enforcement. Studies suggest that these punitive local policies are increasingly widespread, and that the primary impetus for these initiatives is a conservative political coalition animated by concerns about the impact of immigrants on taxes, schools and quality of life.[50]

Despite the evident hostility of many policies toward immigrants, many public institutions have voiced opposition to state and local laws that are hostile to immigrants. Although five states have adopted Arizona SB 1070-style legislation that requires local police officers check immigration status during stops and arrests, similar legislation failed in 31 states. Police associations in many states, including the Arizona Association of Chiefs of Police (AACOP), California Police Chiefs Association, Dallas Police Association, Washington Association of Sheriffs and Police Chiefs and the Colorado Association of Chiefs of Police have opposed state-level enforcement initiatives and many local law enforcement officers in such cities as Chicago, Illinois, Los Angeles, California, Glenwood Springs, Colorado and Austin,

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[50] Ibid; Damien Cave, "States Take New Tack on Illegal Immigration," June 9, 2008 accessed April 7, 2013 "http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/09/us/09panhandle.html?_r=0

Texas have expressed opposition to legislation that would require local law enforcement to inquire about immigration status.[51]

Opposition to punitive local policies is thus widespread, but no study has yet examined whether local governments or local agencies are adopting policies more in keeping with these views. In fact many local agencies, even in an age of hostility to illegals, have developed deliberate, comprehensive policies and practices favoring neutral service to immigrants and, even, education in how to be a member of the community. This dissertation demonstrates that many agencies, even in politically conservative regions, have welcoming policies and practices.

Climate Change, Public Opinion and Immigration

Although there is scientific consensus that climate change is occurring and there is evidence that it will trigger human migration, there is less certainty about how much immigration there will be and from where the immigrants will come. In fact undocumented immigration has declined in recent years, and border enforcement has increased over the last two decades. Immigration from Mexico has been declining since 2001[52] (see Figure 1) and since 2010 net migration from Mexico has *decreased* to zero. These types of fluctuations are common; immigration between Mexico and the United States has varied considerably over the last century due to economic, social and environmental factors in the two countries.

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[51] Arizona Association of Chiefs of Police, "AACOP Statement on Senate Bill 1070," accessed May 26, 2013 "http://www.leei.us/main/media/AACOP_STATEMENT_ON_SENATE_BILL_1070.pdf
[52] Jeffrey Passel, D'Vera Cohn and Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less," (2012) accessed May 23, 2013 from http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/04/Mexican-migrants-report_final.pdf.

Annual Immigration from Mexico to the U.S.: 1991-2010
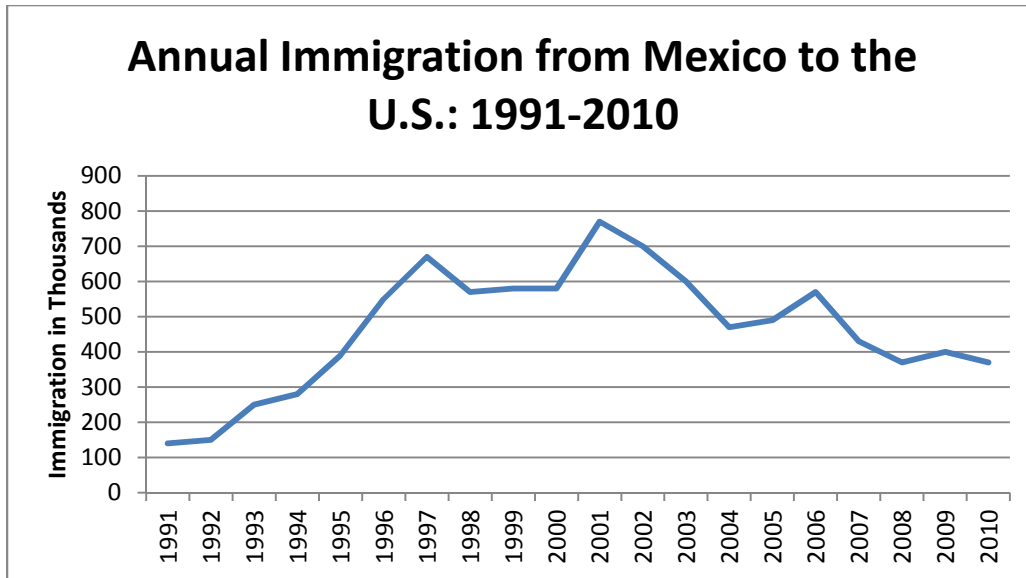
Figure 1: The trend of annual immigration from Mexico to the United States.[53]

In the context of climate change the recent decline is not likely to continue. Chapter 6 explores more fully how climate change may contribute to increased immigration from Mexico. What is clear, though, from a comparison of the heated rhetoric about illegal immigration from Mexico with the actual trend illustrated in Figure 1, is that political opponents of immigration may arouse great controversy even in the context of low or declining levels of immigration. How an issue is framed as a public problem affects agenda setting more so than objective indicators.[54] Immigration, documented and undocumented, is likely to remain a politically controversial issue as long as one side successfully frames the issue in terms that generate opposition. Opposition to immigration is influenced by the race and ethnicity of the immigrant groups with citizens feeling

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[53] Data from Pew Hispanic Center estimates compiled from various sources.
[54] Deborah Stone, "Causal Stories and the Formation of Policy Agendas." *Political Science Quarterly*. 104, no. 2 (1989):281-300.

more threatened by Latino immigration due to elite groups cues about these immigrants.[55] If, as expected, climate change increases pressure among Mexican citizens to migrate north, the conditions will remain ripe for politically-inspired fears of immigrants.

Research Design, Methods, Data and Data Analysis

My analysis focuses on two types of local agencies, public libraries and local police departments. Both of these types of agencies frequently interact with immigrants but have a different focus. Local law enforcement agencies are regulatory agencies that are subject to political pressures and competing priorities but have a strong professional norm of equal service. Public libraries are service agencies with a mission to provide access to information and to serve the public. Libraries have strong professional norms to protect civil liberties but are also subject to political pressures. The differences between police and libraries help me to ascertain how widely local agencies may have adopted policies of welcomeness. Simply put, we might expect service agencies like libraries to be more oriented toward welcomeness because equal service is essential to their mission. By contrast police agencies' regulatory mission may encourage these agencies to adopt a more punitive posture and be less welcoming. If, nonetheless, police agencies widely adopt welcoming policies this suggests that these policies are not confined to the service context.

My data consist of statistical data drawn from an original survey of local police departments and libraries in cities around the country and follow-up interviews with, and observations of, police and library officials in a sub-sample of 13 cities. The survey data allow for creation of a multi indicator index measuring the degree of welcomeness and assessing

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[55] Chavez, *Latino Threat*; Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, Elizabeth Suhay, 2008. "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52, no. 4 (2008): 959-978.

influences on local agencies' relative welcomeness. The interview and observational data allow for clarification of the meaning of welcoming policies in the perspective of local officials, and also make it possible to assess whether the actions of street-level workers are consistent with these policy prescriptions. The following section explains the collection strategy and analysis techniques for the survey and interview data.

The key measures of the dimensions of welcomeness were obtained from an original, nationwide survey of public library executives and police chiefs. The survey was distributed in June and July of 2012 and all correspondence with survey respondents was based on the tailored design method for mixed-mode surveys.[56] In June 2012, a link to a detailed online survey was distributed via email to library executives in counties with a minimum population of 30,000 and a foreign-born population of at least 5% and police chiefs in cities with a minimum population of 10,000 and a foreign-born population of at least 5%.

Library respondents were asked to answer the questions for their library system as a whole, rather for a specific library or branch library within the system. Based on the 2006 - 2010 American Community Survey (ACS), 2,069 met these criteria. Valid email addresses were obtained for 1,887 executives. These executives received an invitation to complete the survey online and were promised anonymity of their responses. After sending three follow-up emails, surveys were received from 461 libraries for a response rate of 24% and 358 were useable. The responses were a reasonably representative sample of US counties in this size range.

Based on the 2006 - 2010 American Community Survey (ACS), 2,157 police departments met the population criteria. A small number of communities were omitted since they lacked their own police department. Valid email addresses were obtained for 1,510 chiefs. These chiefs

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[56] Don A. Dillman, *Mail and Internet Surveys: The Tailored Design Method*. (Wiley, 2007).

received an invitation to complete the survey online and were promised anonymity of their responses. After sending three follow-up emails, useable surveys were received from 291 departments for a response rate of 19%. The responses were a reasonably representative sample of US cities in this size range.

The survey responses for both agencies were merged with a number of other statistics regarding the social, economic and political characteristics of each county. The additional data was drawn primarily from US census sources, but data was also included from other sources including the Congressional Quarterly election data, the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Department of Labor.

In addition to the survey I conducted a total of 41 in-depth interviews with police commanders and librarians in 20 communities. Ten of these were conducted prior to constructing the survey in order to help design the survey instrument; 31 were conducted following the survey in communities selected to represent systematic variations in the survey findings. In the pilot study phase, I conducted interviews in three states, one in the South, one in the Midwest and one in the Southern Central United States. The selected cities ranged from a population of 11,000 to over 1.5 million with at least a foreign-born population of at least 5%. In the phase of interviews that followed the survey, organizations were chosen to represent the spectrum of welcomeness and from different geographic regions. In this phase I conducted interviews with both leadership-level managers and front-line staff. Front-line staff were selected based on the recommendations of managers. Appendix A provides descriptions of the organizations chosen for interviews, Appendix B and C provide copies of the police (A) and library (B) surveys and Appendix D provides the questions contained in the interview protocol. When the interview phase concluded, a total of 31 interviews have been completed.

I recorded interviews using two methods. The vast majority of interviews were audio recorded. The audio recordings were transcribed by a student employee to maintain accuracy. In situations in which the respondent expressed discomfort with being recorded, I collected field notes. For interviews in which field notes were taken, I cleaned the notes immediately after the interview in order to accurately capture the respondent's statements. I then coded the interviews for key concepts of interest, drawing on literatures on minority-threat theory, neo-institutional norms, situational imperatives and economic regimes.

I coded and analyzed interviews using Atlas ti to compare respondent statements. I first coded respondent statements broadly for each concept of interest. Next, the responses were broken down by coding pieces of stories using more specific sub-categories. Third, I analyzed each subcategory to determine if it reflected the presence or absence of a specific attribute. Finally, I used Atlas ti to isolate instances where codes overlapped. I searched for statements that supported and contradicted the theoretical frameworks.

Observations of front-line employee interactions with residents were conducted where feasible. Ride-a-longs were conducted with two police departments and involved interactions with a total of four front-line officers. Recordings were not permitted so I took notes during the ride-a-longs and I cleaned the notes immediately after in order to accurately capture the respondent's statements.

For libraries, observations were conducted in at least one library or branch for each library system I interviewed. The observations were conducted by sitting near key employee-patron interaction areas: the front desk/circulation desk and reference desk, as well as near in-language collections. I took notes during the observations and cleaning the notes was not necessary.

I then coded the notes for both libraries and police departments for key concepts of interest, drawing on literatures on minority-threat theory, neo-institutional norms, situational imperatives and economic regimes.

Chapter Outline

The second part of the analysis (Chapters 2 and 3) focuses on testing the research questions outlined earlier for each organization using three theoretical frameworks outlined above: professional norms of equal service, minority-threat theory and economic regimes. Chapter 2 presents the qualitative and quantitative finding for police departments and Chapter 3 presents the results for public libraries. In each of these chapters I examine the degree of welcomeness of local agencies, the dimensions of welcomeness and what influences agencies to develop welcoming or unwelcoming policies and practices. The data reveal that the degree of welcomeness is affected by economic and political factors, but professional norms help insulate these organizations from the broader environment.

The third section (Chapters 4 and 5) discusses how the situational context of the immigrant/front-line worker interaction shapes how the front-line worker implements organizational policies and leadership preferences at the street-level. I will show that front-line workers develop perceptions of the relative worthiness of minorities, including immigrants. I will show that immigrants are often perceived as hard working, and that this perception is commonly contrasted with the perception of African Americans as unwilling to work and as criminals. This contrast contributes to perceptions of immigrants as morally worthy. I also show that front-line employees are sensitive to professional norms and the preferences of the organization's leadership. The perceptions of immigrants as morally worthy coupled with adherence to professional norms and the chain of command may constrain hostile actions towards immigrants.

Chapter 6 provides the broader context of the importance of this issue by exploring the relationships between climate change, environmental degradation, potential increased immigration from Mexico and Central America and the implication of this for local and state governments. I review existing literature to determine the relationship between environmental change, agricultural production and immigration to the United States. This chapter gives particular attention to small landholders who will be affected by climate change and lack the resources and supportive government policies to help them adapt. The chapter shows that climate change is projected to decrease crop yields in Mexico which is likely to push more Mexicans, especially small land holders, to utilize existing migration networks to immigrate to the United States. How local agencies welcome, or not, immigrants today may indicate how they respond to increased immigration from Mexico and Central America in the future.

The final section (Chapter 7) discusses the results, provides concluding remarks and directions for future research and discusses the implications for local governments in light of increased pressures from climate change-induced migration.

Conclusion

During a 2012 NCAA tournament game members of the University of Southern Mississippi band taunted a Hispanic Kansas State basketball player by yelling "where's your green card." [57] This act of prejudice was subtle, but other acts of prejudice towards immigrants are violent. In Maryland Victor Hernandez, a Honduran immigrant working as a dishwasher, was walking home in 2007 when he was attacked and beaten until unconscious by teenagers. After

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[57] Chris Chase, "Southern Miss band chants 'where's your green card?' to Puerto Rican Kansas State player, March 15, 2012. (blog). http://sports.yahoo.com/blogs/ncaab-the-dagger/southern-miss-band-chants-where-green-card-puerto-205326741.html.

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being arrested, the teens told police that they were "amigo shopping" — seeking vulnerable Hispanic workers to rob.[58]

Prejudice is alive and thriving in the United States and can be attributed, at least in part, to ethnocentrism characterized by strong loyalty to an in-group who share common customs and ways and by denigration of those who are different and which predisposes people to react with suspicion, contempt, or condescension towards others who are different. New immigrants present conspicuous differences. The research of Donald Kinder and Cindy Kam found that ethnocentrism is the single most important determinant of opposition to immigration.[59]

In spite of widespread prejudice towards immigrants, local agencies often develop welcoming policies and practices designed to build positive relationships with immigrants. My research explores these policies and practices in order to understand why, in the face of "prejudice, broadly conceived"[60] many local police departments and public libraries are surprisingly welcoming toward immigrants.

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[58] Mock, Brent, "Immigration Backlash: Violence Engulfs Latinos," Southern Poverty Law Center, November 27, 2007, accessed "http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/immigration-backlash-violence-engulfs-latinos
[59] Donald R. Kinder and Cindy D. Kam, *Us Against Them: Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion* (University of Chicago Press, 2010): 138.
[60] Daniel J. Levinson, An Approach to the Theory and Measurement of Ethnocentric Ideology, *The Journal of Psychology* 28 (1949): 19-39.

Chapter 2 - Police Departments

Some local police departments engage in punitive immigration-law enforcement, and this has garnered much publicity and controversy. But, as my research reveals, other departments have quietly adopted policies and practices of "welcoming" immigrants into their communities. This chapter places these "welcoming" policies, as I call them, in the context of debates over illegal immigration and then describes my original research on how much local police departments have adopted "welcoming" policies and why some departments are more welcoming than others.

In assessing why some are more welcoming than others, I draw on theories of "minority-threat" and professional norms. Minority-threat theory posits that the greater the relative size of minority populations in a locality, the more the police department is pressured by local white majorities to punitively control these minority groups.[61] This theory seems well positioned to help explain why some police departments have engaged in punitive immigration enforcement. By contrast, neo-institutional organizational theories emphasize how professional norms shape organizational policies independently of environmental pressures on the organization.[62] Thus, professional police norms favoring equal treatment and good community relations may

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[61] Valdimer Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (Knopf, 1949); Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*; Michael W. Giles and Melanie A. Buckner, "David Duke and Black Threat: An Old Hypothesis Revisited." *Journal of Politics* 55, no. 3 (1993): 702-13; Lincoln Quillian, "Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe." *American Sociological Review*, 60, no. 4 (1995): 586-611; Lawrence Bobo and Vincent L. Hutchings. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *American Sociological Review* 61 (1996): 957-72.

[62] Lauren B. Edelman, "Legal Environments and Organizational Governance: The Expansion of Due Process in the American Workplace." *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, no. 6 (1990): 1401-1440; Lauren B. Edelman, "Legal Ambiguity and Symbolic Structures: Organizational Mediation of Civil Rights Law." American Journal of Sociology, 97, no. 6 (1992): 1531-1576; Lauren B. Edelman, Christopher Uggen, and Howard S. Erlanger,"The Endogeneity of Legal Regulation: Grievance Procedures as Rational Myth." *American Journal of Sociology* 105, no. 2 (1999): 406-54; Epp, *Making Rights Real.*

encourage police departments to resist pressures for immigration enforcement—or even to adopt

welcoming policies so as to foster good relations with immigrant communities. In the analysis

presented in this chapter, I develop several measures of perceived minority-threat and

professional norms and control for key background and economic factors such as per capita

income, department budget, unemployment and the importance of immigrants to the local

economy.

Institutional context

To understand how local police departments have come to have a wide range of policies

towards immigrants in spite of widespread public and political opposition to immigrants, it is

useful to understand the structure of local law enforcement and the development of professional

policing norms.

American law enforcement consists of tens of thousands of local agencies, governed by

local jurisdictions and operating largely free of federal control. Although decentralized, these

agencies have been heavily influenced by common national reforms.[63] The most prominent of

these were the development of professional insulation from direct political control by local

political parties and hierarchical, paramilitary command structures under the control of a police

chief.[64] Professionally-insulated, chief-led departments were the norm by the 1960s. Then, in the

wake of the Civil Rights Movement, these insulated departments faced a new threat to their

professional legitimacy: the allegation that police were racist (Black and Reiss 1967; Kerner

Commission 1968). As public norms shifted against overt racism, police departments, along with

other public agencies, adopted policies prohibiting racial discrimination by their officers. Overt

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[63] Robert M. Fogelson, *Big City Police* (Harvard University Press, 1977); Samuel A. Walker, *Critical History of Police Reform: The Emergence of Professionalism* (Lexington Books, 1977).
[64] Walker, *Critical History of Police Reform*.

discrimination based on race and ethnicity are now viewed as immoral and police departments and other institutions have implemented policies to eliminate overt displays of racism and to be more responsive to the racial and ethnic groups in their community.[65]

Many police departments also have taken steps to become more responsive to the community. In the 1980s community policing emerged as an alternative policing structure to improve police responsiveness to the community. Community policing is based on the premise that community problems require a decentralized and personalized police approach that brings citizens into policing.[66] Community policing emphasizes organizational strategies that support the use of partnerships and problem solving techniques to proactively address the conditions that give rise to public safety issues, including crime, social disorder and fear of crime.

This philosophy shifts the police focus from reactively responding to crime and making arrests, to proactively engaging with residents in community building which emphasizes preventing crimes, helping victims and building rapport with minorities. These efforts engage residents in identifying problems and solutions and are intended to increase the community's ability to resist and recover from crime.[67] Community policing involves more than a shift in philosophy; it includes community partnerships, organizational changes and problem solving.

Community policing encourages police to form partnerships with organizations and people in the community and to allow residents an opportunity to have input into the police process. Partners help identify problems and develop solutions which increases trust in police. Community policing requires transforming the police organization. Typical changes include

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[65] David Alan Sklansky, "Not Your Father's Police Department: Making Sense of the New Demographics of Law Enforcement." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 96, no. 3 (2006): 1209-1243.

[66] Wesley G. Skogan, and Susan Hartnett. *Community Policing, Chicago Style*. (Oxford University Press, 1997).

[67] Jack R. Greene, "Community Policing in America: Changing the Nature, Structure, and Function of the Police." *Criminal justice* 3 (2000): 299-370.

decentralization of authority, command and personnel through neighborhood or geographically based patrols and stations.[68] Front-line officers are given more discretion and the number of command levels is reduced, flattening the organization. The role of management shifts from directing the activities of officers to guiding them. Hiring practices also change under community policing. The characteristics of officers who will perform well in community policing have been identified as conscientious, emotionally mature and stable, influential, amicable, service-oriented, and having practical intelligence.[69] Problem solving is a component of community policing and is the proactive and systematic examination of problems in order to develop and evaluate responses. This process, referred to as SARA, focuses on scanning (problem identification and prioritization), analysis (understanding the problem or issue), response (developing solutions), and assessment (evaluating the response).

Research is somewhat divided on police commitment to community policing. Some scholars argue that police departments who claim to follow community policing mainly pay lip service to the ideal of community responsiveness; others argue that widespread commitment to community policing has made police departments more responsive to community concerns.[70] In any case, community policing is now widely touted by police departments as a better way to police and to serve their community.

As a result of these reforms, police professional norms have evolved in recent decades toward an emphasis on good community relations and equal treatment of all members of the community without regard to race or ethnicity. Still, as surveys of police departments have

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Laeatta M. Hough, "Hiring in the Spirit of Service: Definitions, Possibilities, Evidence and Recommendations." (Community Policing Consortium, 2002).

[70] Greene, "Community Policing in America."

shown, not all departments have accepted or adopted community policing reforms.[71] Where adopted, these professional norms promote positive relationships with immigrants and may serve to insulate police departments from broader environmental pressures to address immigration punitively.

The basic elements of policing's institutional context in the United States provide the essential context for this study of local police policies toward immigrants. Police departments are locally governed, so the local context is potentially a key environmental influence on departmental policies. Departments differ in their political environment, operating in communities with a wide range of ideological beliefs. They also differ in the socio-economic and demographic makeup of the community. In addition to these local influences, the police leadership of local departments varies considerably in the degree of agreement with national professional police norms. Some local departments are led by chiefs who are firmly committed to national norms of equal treatment and community policing; others are less committed to these norms.

Local enforcement of federal immigration law

If community policing is a key normative influence on local police departments, another (and conflicting) pressure is the growing body of law encouraging local enforcement of immigration law. The pressure on local police departments to engage in immigration enforcement has grown considerably in recent years. The federal government has developed two key mechanisms for doing so: 287(g) agreements and the Secure Communities program. The 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act authorized the Federal

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[71] Ibid; Steve Herbert, "Tangled Up in Blue Conflicting Paths to Police Legitimacy." *Theoretical Criminology* 10, no. 4 (2006): 481-504.

Government to enter into agreements, typically referred to as 287(g) agreements, with state and local law enforcement agencies allowing officers to enforce federal immigration laws. The local officers must receive training and act under the supervision of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers. The agreement allows officers with these departments to identify, process, and under certain circumstances, detain immigrants they encounter during their regular, daily law-enforcement activity.

A broader program is Secure Communities which uses integrated databases and partnerships with local and state jailers to increase domestic deportation capacity. The program is designed to identify criminal aliens and prioritize serious offenders for deportation. When an individual is booked into jail, local authorities run fingerprints against federal immigration and criminal databases. If a person's fingerprints match those of a non-U.S. citizen, the Law Enforcement Support Center (LESC) of ICE is automatically notified. Officials then evaluate the case, based on immigration status and criminal history. Since its inception, the program has been criticized for the continued increases in deportations and for deporting minor offenders rather than focusing on serious criminals. Criticism has also come from local police departments, city governments and social advocates who maintain that the program lowers trust between immigrants and law enforcement and divides families.[72]

Research on local law enforcement and immigration laws has largely focused on understanding the devolution of immigration enforcement to local departments, why police

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[72] Waslin, "The Secure Communities Program"; Wessler, "Applied Research Council Shattered Families; Wexler, "Task Force on Secure Communities Findings and Recommendations."

departments choose to enforce federal immigration laws and why they adopt punitive policies towards immigrants.[73]

The implementation of 287(g) and Secure Communities creates overlapping jurisdictions engaged in a variety of increasingly aggressive enforcement activities.[74] As a result, immigrants are increasingly apprehensive and fearful of interactions with police.[75] Participation in 287(g) programs has declined from 74 jurisdictions in 2010 to 39 today since some agencies have withdrawn and ICE has terminated agreements with some agencies, most notably those in Arizona due to racial profiling and civil rights violations. On the surface, 287(g) agreements may not appear to be a widespread enforcement tool since currently only 39 law enforcement agencies have signed 287(g) agreements with ICE, primarily sheriff's offices (31), state department of corrections (3), regional jails (2) and three cities. The number of jurisdictions with enforcement agreements understates their impact since most of these jails receive inmates from other jurisdictions, including cities within the county; as a result these agreements have greater reach.[76] The other law enforcement agencies that use these facilities are part of the program, regardless of their preferences, and those they arrest are subject to their enforcement processes. The law enforcement agencies who use the county jail do not participate directly in the deportation process since their agency does not have a signed agreement. If the law enforcement agency is in a community that does not support local enforcement of federal immigration law,

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[73] Paul G. Lewis and S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, "Police Practices in Immigrant-Destination Cities: Political Control or Bureaucratic Professionalism?" *Urban Affairs Review* 42, no. 6 (2007):874–900; Varsanyi et al,"A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork; Lewis, Paul G, Doris Marie Provine, Monica W. Varsanyi, Scott H. Decker. "Why Do (Some) City Police Departments Enforce Federal Immigration Law? Political, Demographic, and Organizational Influences on Local Choices." Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory. 23, no. 1 (2013): 1-25.

[74] Mathew Coleman, "The "Local" Migration State: The Site-Specific Devolution of Immigration Enforcement in the U.S. South." *Law & Policy* 34, no. 2 (2012): 159-190.; Varsanyi et al, "A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork."

[75] Coleman, "The "Local" Migration State."

[76] Ibid; Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), "Activated Jurisdictions," (2012) accessed May 8, 2013, "http://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/sc-activated2.pdf.

the agency can deny they participate in immigration enforcement since they do not have a signed agreement. In these jurisdictions, there is a "hub and spokes" configuration of enforcement. The county jail is the 'hub' and the other departments who use the facility are the 'spokes'.[77] The sheriff's department, the hub, has a signed agreement while the other law enforcement agencies, the spokes, do not. The spokes *magnify* the effects of the agreement between ICE and the sheriff's department, the hub.

The work of Lewis and his colleagues shows that the policies and practices of local police departments vary considerably, from sanctuary cities that do not allow city funds or resources to be used to enforce federal immigration laws, to those that aggressively enforce federal immigration laws.[78] Their research found that city policy towards immigrants and departments with a Hispanic police chief were associated with less aggressive immigration enforcement while more conservative Republican communities are related to more aggressive enforcement in unreformed city governments. Demographic threat variables, such as high rates of violent crime and unemployment were not related to enforcement policies and practices. This research is important since it increases our understanding of why some local law enforcement agencies engage in immigration enforcement.

The research on local enforcement of immigration law has not examined local policies and practices toward immigrants other than *enforcement* practices. But, as I will show, local police departments have adopted a range of policies toward immigrants that have little to do with enforcement. In fact, they are just the opposite: they aim to welcome immigrants into the community. Many local police departments have implemented policies and practices that are designed to reach out to immigrant communities, to build trust with them and to help them

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[77] Coleman, "The "Local" Migration State."
[78] Lewis et al, "Why Do (Some) City Police Departments Enforce Federal Immigration Law?"

integrate into the community. At the local level, there is much more to the story than enforcement since department policies and practices range from unwelcoming to welcoming and police departments develop surprisingly welcoming policies and practices even in ideologically conservative communities.

Dimensions of Welcomeness

A key contribution of this chapter is to conceptualize relative "welcomeness" to immigrants in the policing context. In this section I outline five dimensions of welcomeness that represent a range of department actions. In conceptualizing these five dimensions, I build on prior research that has shown that local agencies are facilitating immigrants' socioeconomic and political integration into the community.[79] While these studies suggested that some local agencies are less punitive than is generally assumed, they stopped short of fully conceptualizing the range of ways in which local agencies may be truly "welcoming."

The five dimensions identified in my study are summarized in Table 1: in-language resources, community outreach programs, collaboration with other agencies and organizations, staff training and enforcement efforts. The premise of my analysis is that the more a department does in each of these areas, the more welcoming it is toward immigrants.

Each of these dimensions may be thought of as varying from symbolic to substantive. That is, while some efforts to provide in-language resources are more akin to presentational symbolism (made to look like the department is offering in-language resources, but not really

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[79] Mary C. Waters and Tomás Jiménez. "Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges." *Annual Review of Sociology* 31 (2005): 105–25.; Douglas S. Massey, (ed.) *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*. (Russell Sage, 2008); Helen B. Marrow, "Immigrant Bureaucratic Incorporation: The Dual Roles of Professional Missions and Government Policies." *American Sociological Review.* 74, no. 5 (2009): 756–776.

doing very much in this way); other efforts represent more sustained and meaningful

interventions.

Table 1: Law Enforcement Policies

Dimensions of Welcomeness	Measures
In-language Resources	• In-language pamphlets, brochures, flyers • Webpages in a language other than English or link to a translation website • Bilingual pay/recruitment • Percent bilingual police officers
Community outreach programs	• Symbolic outreach to immigrants • Substantive outreach programs to immigrants
Collaboration with other agencies	• Collaboration with law enforcement agencies • Collaboration with non-LEA organizations and agencies
Staff training	• Training to improve interactions with immigrants
Enforcement Efforts	• Status verification policies • Participation in 287(g) ICE program

Dimension 1: In-Language Resources

The first dimension is in-language resources and recognizes the need for departments to

communicate effectively with and provide information to immigrants and their willingness to

expend time and money to do so. Information is important to members of the community,

perhaps more so for those members new to the country, its culture and customs.[80] This

dimension is composed of four measures. The first measure is the availability of in-language

written materials, including pamphlets, brochures and flyers. For example, one department

provides information about their office of professional standards and how to file a complaint in

English, Spanish and Somali (see Figure 3) while another has an animal control and licensing

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[80] Nadia Caidi, Danielle Allard and Lisa Quirke. "Information Practices of Immigrants." *Annual Review of Information Science and Technology* 44, no. 1 (2010): 491–531.

brochure available in English and Spanish.[81] Government agencies increasingly use the Internet

to provide information and services to residents. The second measure reflects the increasing use

and importance of e-government and is the availability of information on the department's

website in a language other than English or a link to a translation website. The third and fourth

measures reflect the department's emphasis on recruiting and hiring officers who are bilingual

and reflect both symbolic and substantive policies. The third measure represents symbolic efforts

to recruit and hire bilingual officers. Does the department offer a bilingual pay differential or

bonus or provide extra points to bilingual candidates in the hiring process? The fourth measures

the substantive outcomes of hiring and recruiting. What percent of the sworn officers in the

department are bilingual?

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[81] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 34, June, 21, 2013; Author's interview with police chief, Interview 9, February 20, 2013.

GARDEN CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

Chief James R. Hawkins

La dhaqanka booliiska
Xuquuqda aad leedahay iyo Masuuliyda ama xiika ku saran

Sharciyada wadankan waxaa loo sameeyay inay ilaalyaan qofka xornimadiisa, xuquuqdiisa, hantidiisa, iyo in lagu dadaalo horumarinta bulshada, in la lagu dadaalo cadaalada iyo ammaanka guud.

Booliisku waxuu u xilsaaranyahay inay adkeeyaan sharciga.

Shareigu waxuu ku siinayaa xuquuq isla markaana waxaa ku saaran xil iyo masuuliyad. Xuquuqdaas iyo xilkaasa waa isku mid haddii aad tahay qof marayxanka u dhashay iyo haddii aad tahay qof sharci ku jooga maraykanka iyo haddii aad tahay qof aan sharci ku lahayn maraykanka.

Waxayzalhan hoos ku qoran waxaa loogu talo galay in laguu sheego xuquuqda aad leedahay iyo masuuliyada ama xilka ku saran iyo in laguu sheego sida haboon ama fiican ee la rabo inaad ula dhaqantid saraakiisha booliiska.

Haddii booliisku ku istaajiyo xilka ku saran waa: Inaad wadada dhinac uga baxdo, iilmaamaha oo dhanna aad raacdid, inaad booliiska siisd magacaaga iyo ciiwaankaada ama address-kaada, u dhiib I.D-gaada ama laysinkaada markii lagu weydiiyo, si deggan ama xasilan oo aan handaal ku jirin ula hadala booliiska.

Haddii booliisku ku istaajiyo waxaad xaq u leedahay: inaadan ka jawaabin su'aalaha hadhow dhibaato kuu keeni kara, in si xushmad leh laguula dhaqamo, inaan xoog ama awood siyaado ah aan laguu sheegan ama laguguła dhaqmin.

Haddii booliisku inay ku xiraan doonayaan xilka ku saaras waa: Inaadan isku dayin inaad la dagaalanto booliiska, ha isku dayin inaad saraakiisha booliiska isku taagto ama aad la muranto.

Haddii booliisku inay ku xiraan doonayaan waxaad xaq u leedahay: inaan xoog ama muruq laguu isticmaalin, inaan caay ama aflagaado laguu geysanin.

Haddii aad aragto booliiska oo qof xiraya ama istaajiyay xilka ku saran waa: inaadan faraha la galin shaqada booliiska, inaadan la hadlin ama la murmin booliiska, inaadan su'aalo weydiin booliiska, ka fogoow meesha ay booliiska qofka ku xirayaan ama kula hadlayaan, warkooda maqal haddii ay ku yiraahdaan naga fogaw.

Maxaan sameeyaa haddii aan muran ka qabo dacwada la igu soo oogay ama aan dareemayo in booliiska si xun iila dhaqameen: Ogow tigidh lagu siiyay macnaheeda ma aha dambigii waa laguagu qiray ama adiga ayna dambiga leh. Waxaa lagu siinzyaa fursad aad ku doodo ama ku muranto markii aad maxkamada kor tagtid. Haddii aad ka xuntahay sida booliisku ay kuula dhaqmeen ha isku dayin inaad la dagaalanto ama la muranto. Inta la joogo goobta wax ka dhaceen haddii aad la muranto ama la dagaalanto booliiska waxaa laga yaabaa inay kuu keento xabsi dheeraad ah ama dambi ka wayn kii markii hore laguu haystay.

Sideen u diiwaan gelin karaa dacwad aan ka qabo saraakiisha booliiska mid ka mid ah ama aan warbixin fiican ama amaan aan uga dhiibi karaa askarta booliiska mid ka mid ah:

Haddii aad dacwo ka qabto askarta booliiska mid ka mid ah ama aad rabtid inaad warbixin fiican ka bixiso saraakiisha booliiska mid ka mid ah oo si fiican kuu caawiyay, fadlan soo wac qaybta booliiska ee magaalada Garden City (620) 276-1300.
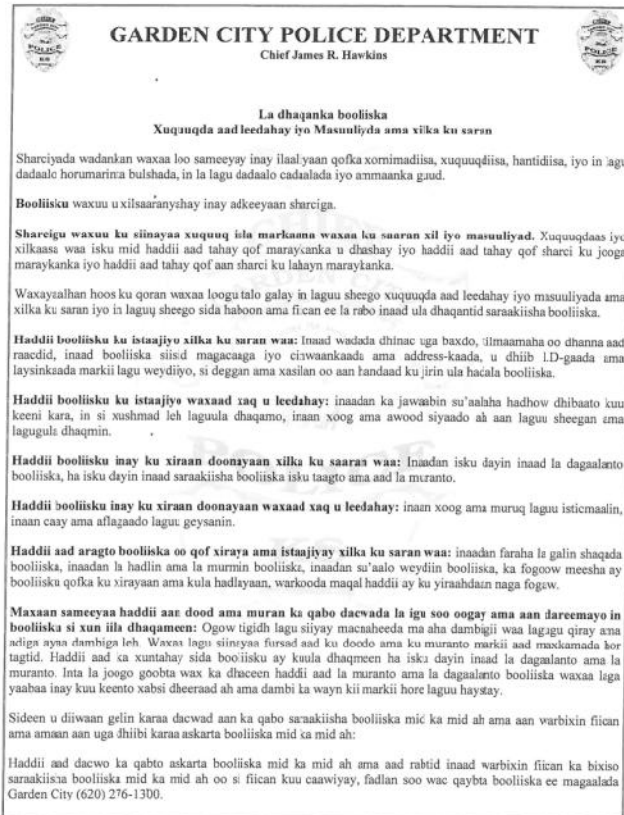
Figure 2: Flyer in the Somali language by Garden City, Kansas Police Department. Flyer is also provided in English and Spanish and is titled "Interactions with the Police: Your Rights and Responsibilities."

Dimension 2: Community Outreach

Many police departments attempt to reach out to the community in order to build trust and relationships and to obtain feedback. Accordingly, in the policing context the second dimension of welcomeness is the extent to which the department reaches out specifically to immigrants in the community in both symbolic and substantive ways. Some departments may symbolically reach out to immigrants by using non-English media, participating in meet and greets with immigrants in the community and meeting with immigrant leaders in the community. These actions represent attempts to obtain information or demonstrate interest in the needs and issues of immigrants, but do not necessarily indicate that the department uses the information to

formulate policies or practices. Departments may also reach out to immigrants in more substantive ways, such as incorporating feedback from immigrants in the development of neighborhood or community policing strategies, recruiting immigrant leaders or immigrants to participate in citizen police academies and providing training to immigrants in community policing. These actions represent substantive attempts to not only communicate with immigrants but also to integrate their needs and concerns into departmental policies and practices. For example, according to an urban police chief in a South Central state, he routinely goes on Spanish language radio shows to provide updates, explain police procedures and programs and take calls from listeners.[82] A police officer in a rural, Midwestern state reported to me that his department had reached out to leaders in a refugee community to discuss issues. [83] The officers had received calls regarding suspected domestic violence as well as complaints regarding people not following traffic laws and storing meat on apartment balconies. The police department reached out to immigrant leaders and scheduled a community meeting in which they explained local laws, answered questions and received feedback from the immigrants. Both sides felt the meeting was productive and helped clarify laws for the immigrants and helped the officers understand the immigrants' culture.

Dimension 3: Collaboration

The third dimension is collaboration with other agencies and organizations. Police departments may collaborate with other law enforcement agencies and with other organizations in different ways and with different motivations. Collaboration can have negative and positive effects on welcomeness and my two measures of collaboration, discussed in detail below, reflect this. Participation in a 287(g) agreement with ICE is a form of collaboration, but it may have

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[82] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 33, June 28, 2011.
[83] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 34, June 21, 2011.

negative consequences for immigrant/police relations. Collaboration with other law enforcement agencies may be out of necessity rather than a targeted policy towards immigrants. For example, I spoke with a police chief in an urban city in California that is a designated sanctuary city by the city council. [84] The police are prohibited by local ordinance from inquiring about status or reporting anyone to ICE. However, the city jail has limited space so prisoners who need to be detained more than a few days are transferred to a county jail which participates in the Secure Communities program. Once an immigrant is booked into the county jail, their presence is reported to ICE and the FBI. ICE can, and has, placed holds on city prisoners once they are booked into the county jail. According to the chief, immigrants are often confused by the policies of the differing jurisdictions and may believe the city police violated the city ordinance. [85]

By contrast, collaboration with non-law enforcement organizations is a positive element of departmental welcomeness. A suburban, Midwestern police chief reported to me that he proactively reached out to the local school district to identify their concerns. [86] As a result, his department identified a largely hidden immigrant population who was not being served by the police department and other government and civic organizations. The chief and his department contacted other organizations and immigrants in the community in order to assist this group of residents. As a result of the initiatives of his department, the community started a summer program designed to help immigrants with reading and math as well as helping them improve their social skills, the fire department and code enforcement department forced a local apartment complex to correct serious safety deficiencies, a group of local organizations implemented a weekly after school tutoring program for immigrants to help them in key subject areas and the

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[84] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 11, February 21, 2013.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.

city expanded the hours and the size of the local food back to accommodate immigrants whose work schedule precluded them from using the resource. The police department initially identified the issues and brought other organizations on board to help address them, even though the issues were not primarily related to crime. Results from these programs have been considerable. As a result, the apartment complex now meets code requirements, the children who participate in the summer program and the tutoring programs have increased school performance and have fewer disciplinary issues (from 36 the previous school year to 6 the following year) and the County Health Department reported that the children are no longer losing weight during the summer.

To reflect the potential difference between collaborations with other law enforcement agencies and collaborations with other types of agencies and organizations, the collaboration dimension of my measure is composed of two separate measures for police, the extent of collaboration with other law enforcement agencies and the extent of collaboration with other types of organizations. These other organizations include public school districts, neighborhood associations, religious or faith-based organizations, refugee and resettlement organizations and ethnic or cultural organizations. In the additive index introduced below, collaboration with other law enforcement agencies loads negatively and collaboration with other groups loads positively.

Dimension 4: Staff Training

During encounters with immigrants, police officers may struggle to communicate effectively, particularly when there are significant language or cultural differences between the officer and the immigrant. For example, officers may encounter differences in cultural expectations regarding non-verbal behavior, such as how to make eye contact and how much personal space should be expected, as well as cultural expectations regarding verbal communication, such as the expectation in some immigrant communities that officers should

directly address only the head of the family or should avoid addressing female members of the household. These challenges may be addressed in part by police training. Accordingly, the fourth dimension of welcomeness is whether or not the organization provides training to officers in order to help them interact more effectively with immigrants. Departments may provide a variety of training including training in language or cultural awareness skills and education on immigration law or status verification procedures.

Dimension 5: Enforcement

The final dimension examines whether police departments have formal policies that address immigration-status verification. I have coded common departmental policies on this matter from those that are most unwelcoming to those that are most welcoming. At the unwelcoming end of this continuum are department policies *requiring* officers to confirm a person's immigration status upon any lawful contact and suspicion that the person may be an undocumented immigrant. A somewhat more welcoming policy, but still toward the "unwelcoming" end of the continuum, are policies allowing officers to verify immigration status upon the arrest of an individual who is suspected of being an immigrant. At the mid-point on this continuum are departments that have no written policy on these matters. Finally, on the welcoming end of the continuum are departmental policies that *prohibit* officers from checking the immigration status of an individual.

A general index of welcomeness

I have combined these various dimensions into a single additive index of the degree of local departmental welcomeness. Due to different scales for some of the survey questions, I used Stata's Alpha command to standardize the components to a common mean before combining into the additive index. The Cronbach's alpha for this index is .73 indicating it may be

considered reliable. Factor analysis confirmed the dependent variable is tapping a single concept.[87]

Figure 3 shows the distribution of the dependent variable, Welcomeness. Some departments have very welcoming policies and practices towards immigrants, while some are extremely unwelcoming.
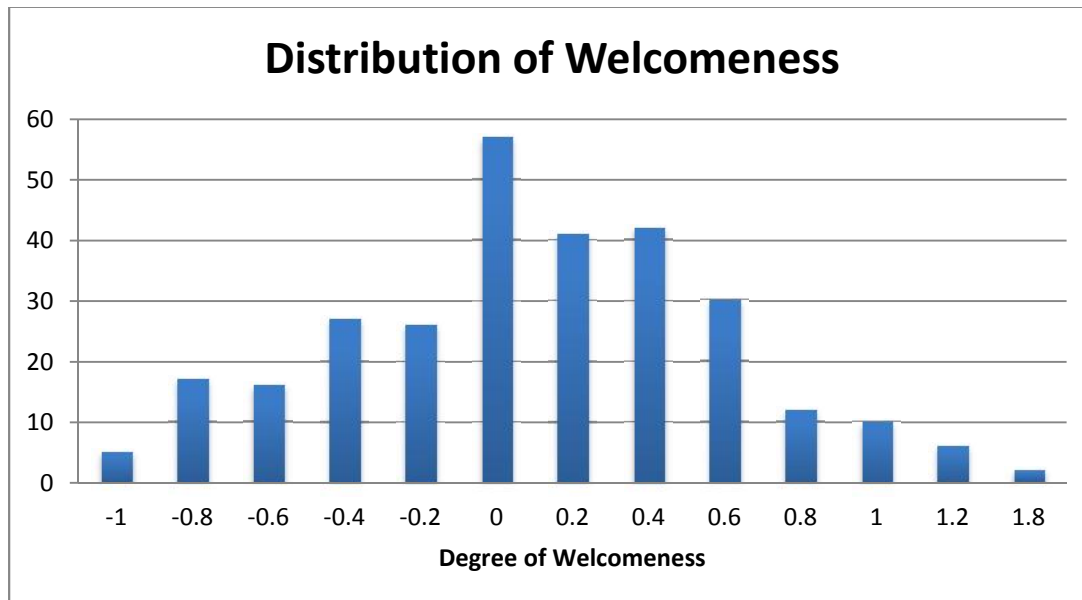

Figure 3: Histogram of the distribution of the dependent variable, Welcomeness.

The differences between welcoming and unwelcoming police departments are remarkable. For example, City A provides pamphlets, brochures and flyers in languages other than English, has webpages in other languages, and 19% of its officers are certified bilingual. In the past year City A's police department has:

- Used non-English media, such as radio stations, newspapers and television stations
- Attended or participated in meetings and 'meet and greets' with immigrants in the community
- Talked with immigrant community leaders about community issues or needs
- Participated in community events that reach out to immigrants

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[87] A factor analysis of the eleven items in the welcomeness scale reveals one main factor (eigenvalue of 2.70), accounting for 73% of the variation. In the analysis presented in this chapter, I use the actual value of the additive scale as the dependent variable. Results are similar if I use the factor score as the dependent variable.

- Members of the department have attended professional seminars and forums to learn about new services and programs for immigrants
- Met with staff at refugee centers and other agencies that serve immigrants
- Partnered with immigrant leaders and groups and included their feedback in the development of neighborhood or community policing strategies
- Recruited immigrant leaders and immigrants to participate in citizen police academies
- Formed problem-solving partnerships with immigrant leaders and immigrant groups, through written agreements.
- Trained immigrants in community policing
- Over 60% of their officers have had training in cultural awareness and skills to help them interact with immigrants.

This department has policies and practices that are more than symbolic actions and represent a substantive attempt to be welcoming towards immigrants. In contrast, a comparable community, City B, that is one standard deviation below the mean, does not provide any material in a language other than English, the website has no information in a language other than English and does not have a link to a translation site, has provided no training to officers to help them interact with immigrants, has a written policy requiring officers check an arrestee's immigration status upon arrest even though the state does not require local law enforcement agencies to do so, has no certified bilingual officers, and engages in virtually no collaborative activity regarding immigrants. This department engages in little activity that welcomes immigrants.

Possible Influences on Local Police Policies and Practices Towards Immigrants

Police departments have developed a wide range of policies and practices towards immigrants, but what factors might explain these variations? This research focuses on three possible explanations: professional norms of equal service, minority-threat theory and economic factors.

Professional Norms

Institutional theories suggest that organizations are social constructs that are shaped by shared meanings and rely on symbols to orient members of the organization in relation these shared meanings. These norms and procedures insulate organizations from the local environment.[88] Neo-institutional theories have extended these older institutional insights by observing that the shared meanings that structure organizations are shaped not only by cultural patterns within an organization but by what are called "field-level" norms and procedures that are disseminated throughout a field of similar organizations via professional associations and networks.[89] As a result, institutions in a field, such as policing, adopt a dominant model of the right way to do things. In policing, these field-level norms and procedures are key elements of police professionalism.

Community Policing

Community policing is a key element of police professional norms.[90] As we have seen, community policing is a cluster of ideas and practices that favor police responsiveness to local communities[91] and it has been adopted by many departments in order to build trust and confidence between police and residents by having open lines of communication and cooperation. Community policing emphasis forming collaborative partnerships between law enforcement, residents and community organizations in order to identify and develop solutions to problems and to increase trust in police. The police organization also changes to support these partnerships and the shift to proactive problem solving. Changes occur in management, including

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[88] Selznick, *Leadership in Administration*; Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots*; March and Olsen, "Elaborating the "New Institutionalism.""

[89] Paul J. DiMaggio and Walter W. Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* (1983): 147-160; Frank Dobbin and John R. Sutton. "The Strength of a Weak State: The Rights Revolution and the Rise of Human Resources Management Divisions." *American Journal of Sociology*, 104, no. 2 (1998): 441-476.

[90] Skogan, *Police and Community in Chicago*.

[91] See e.g. Ibid.

policies and strategic planning, the organizational structure, including geographic assignment of officers and personnel, including training, recruiting and hiring practices. Departments that adopt community policing do so to varying degrees. Some departments implement some aspects, while others develop a formal, written community policing plan and restructure the organization to fully integrate community policing strategies and structures. Community policing has become the dominant model for police work.[92]

Community policing plans are common among police departments, but the level of commitment to those ideals varies. Some police departments say they follow community policing ideals, but their actions and commitment to community responsiveness are largely superficial and symbolic[93] while others are committed to community responsiveness.[94] Police professionals recognize the difference in commitment. As a police chief in a department with a formal, written community policing plan observed,

> "I get real disappointed in my profession when we talk about how important community policing is and how important these various outreach efforts to diverse communities are, then, when the budget cuts start that's the first thing that gets cut. That tells me that maybe things aren't really well integrated into their departments in the first place because if you're saying something is super important and then that's the first thing you cut, it tells you maybe it's not that important after all. Around here we have not made that kind of cut. We have gone further; in fact all of our officers are engaged in community policing: all officers and not just some departments or some units. We have placed

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[92] William Oliver and Elaine Bartgis, "Community Policing: A Conceptual Framework." *Policing* 21, no. 3 (1998): 490-509; Herbert, Steve. *Citizens, Cops, and Power*; Skogan, *Police and Community in Chicago*.
[93] Steve Herbert, *Citizens, Cops, and Power* (University of Chicago Press, 2006).
[94] Wesley Skogan, *Police and Community in Chicago: A Tale of Three Cities* (Oxford University Press, 2006)

expectations around proactive neighborhood engagement on all our personnel, not just on a few here and there."[95]

Survey responses reflect the range of commitment to community policing, with 89% of departments in the survey indicating they have a community policing plan and, of those, 49% have a formal, written plan and 51% have an informal but not written plan. Departments that have developed and implemented a formal, written community policing plan may show a stronger commitment to respecting all groups equally in the community, including immigrants. Therefore I expect that:

H_1: Having a written community policing plan is expected to be associated with a higher degree of welcomeness.

FBI Training

The FBI National Academy provides training for local law enforcement leaders in order to improve administration in police departments and other law enforcement agencies. The Academy also focuses on spreading professional standards, knowledge and cooperation. Its mission is "to support, promote, and enhance the personal and professional development of law enforcement leaders by preparing them for complex, dynamic, and contemporary challenges through innovative techniques, facilitating excellence in education and research, and forging partnerships throughout the world."[96] Executives who complete the Academy are eligible to join state-level professional associations. The FBI is a high profile organization that uses its

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[95] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 11, February 21, 2013.
[96] Federal Bureau of Investigations, "National Academy," accessed May 10, 2013, "http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/training/national-academy.

prestigious National Academy to promote professional standards and 44% of the respondents indicated they had participated in the Academy. Therefore:

H_2: Departments led by a chief that has participated in the FBI National Academy is expected to be associated with a higher degree of welcomeness.

Professional Associations

Professional networks serve as a mechanism to disseminate norms and rules among organizations. The local connection to these broader field-level professional associations is often a professional employee who is given authority to carry out a professionalized task and who comes to see his or her role as bringing the agency into better compliance with broader norms. These professionals act as a "window" between the organization and the broader professional field and legal environment.[97] These professionals are a path through which the professional association can exercise influence within organizations. For example, following the influence of broader professional norms, organizations may adopt new social norms and rules in symbolic form while leaving the underlying practices largely unchanged.[98] Then, faced with pressures from local activists and these internal professionals, organizations may follow through with substantive actions.[99]

In the context of policies toward immigrants, the relevant professional position is the designated liaison with the immigrant community. The responsibility of this professional position is to facilitate better communication between the department and immigrants in the community. In the absence of such an official, it is thought that immigrants are less likely to

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[97] Lauren B. Edelman, Steven E. Abraham and Howard S. Erlanger, "Professional Construction of Law: The Inflated Threat of Wrongful Discharge." *Law & Society Review* 26 (1992): 47-84.

[98] Lauren B. Edelman, "Legal Environments and Organizational Governance: The Expansion of Due Process in the American Workplace." *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, no. 6 (1990): 1401-1440.; Lauren B. Edelman, "Legal Ambiguity and Symbolic Structures: Organizational Mediation of Civil Rights Law." *American Journal of Sociology*, 97, no. 6 (1992): 1531-1576.

[99] Epp, *Making Rights Real*.

proactively interact with, and provide information to, the police department. The liaison to these communities can develop trust, work individually with them to identify needs and issues and then serve as a conduit or window for feedback, needs and preferences of immigrants in the community into the police department. Liaisons with the immigrant communities are not common, with only 19% of the departments responding having one. Departments with a designated liaison who works with immigrants may have a better understanding of and relationship with immigrants. Therefore:

H_2: Departments with a designated immigrant liaison are expected to be associated with a higher degree of welcomeness.

Political Factors

Minority-threat theory suggests that as the relative percentage of the minority population increases, the dominant majority in a community will place pressure on local agencies, including police, to act punitively. This key expectation of minority-threat theory is best characterized as political pressure, since the concerns of dominant majorities are typically manifested in the political process, and are commonly associated with conservative political attitudes.

A basic observation of minority-threat theory is that police enforcement is more punitive in contexts where minorities are a greater proportion of the population.[100] Minority-threat theory observes that majority groups use local agencies, especially the police, to maintain their power.[101] An increase in the relative proportion of minority groups is perceived by the dominant group as an economic, political and criminal threat. The dominant group responds with political discrimination, symbolic segregation and coercive strategies: communities may increase the

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[100] Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*; Ramakrishnan and Wong, "Immigration Policies Go Local."
[101] Liska, *Social Threat and Social Control*; Ramakrishnan and Wong, "Immigration Policies Go Local; Varsanyi, "Immigration policing through the backdoor."

resources of law enforcement agencies[102] and police may use more coercive strategies in their

interactions with minority individuals.[103] While minority-threat theory has focused especially on

whites' fears of black criminality, it is plausible that whites associate criminality with other

minority groups, too, and, indeed, the larger the Latino population, the more whites are fearful of

crime in their community.[104]

As detailed below, I use four measures that tap several dimensions of the minority-threat

theory.

Minority Immigrant Population

Several of these are measures of the proportion of the local population who are members

of racial or ethnic minorities. Immigrants to the United States, whether documented or

undocumented, come from predominantly non-white regions of the world and are increasingly

settling in suburban and rural communities in states that do not have a tradition of immigrant

settlement. In extending minority-threat theory to the immigration context it is logical to infer

that punitive immigration enforcement is a version of the sorts of punitive policing long observed

by minority-threat theory. Recent immigrants to the United States predominantly come from

non-European countries and are racial, ethnic or religious minorities. Unwelcoming policies,

including enforcement of federal immigration laws, may encourage racial profiling.[105] Although

many police departments have policies that prohibit racial profiling, immigration enforcement

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[102] Chiricos, et al, "Racial Typification of Crime and Support for Punitive Measures,"; Quillian et al, "Black Neighbors, Higher Crime?."

[103] Jackson, *Minority Group Threat, Crime and Policing*; Holmes, "Minority Threat and police brutality;" Smith and Holmes, "Community Accountability, Minority Threat, and Police Brutality."

[104] Eitle and Taylor, *Are Hispanics the new 'Threat'?.*

[105] Mary Romero and Marwah Serag, "Violation of Latino civil rights resulting from INS and local police use of race, culture, and class profiling: The case of the Chandler roundup in Arizona." *Cleveland State Law Review* 52 (2004): 75-96.

may lead some officers to focus on individuals that are speaking a foreign language or who look Hispanic.[106]

To assess minority-threat theory in the context of immigration, I measure local "minority-threats" in two ways. The first is the proportion of the population that is white. I use data from the American Community Survey (2006 – 2010) to calculate the percentage of the population that is white. There is significant variation in the data: communities range from 8% to 97% white, with a mean of 73%. Communities that have a higher proportion of whites may be able to exert more consistent and concerted political pressures on agencies to act punitively. Therefore:

H_3: A larger proportion of white residents is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

The second measure of the influence race and ethnicity focuses on the proportion of immigrants in the community from regions that are not predominantly white, specifically the percentage of the total population of the community that is from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. Immigrants from these areas are likely to be racial and ethnic minorities. I again use data from the American Community Survey (2006 – 2010) to calculate the percentage of the population that is foreign-born and whose country of birth is in one of these regions. Again, there is significant variation in the data: the proportion of the local population from these "non-white" regions ranges from 1% to 64%, with a mean of 12%.Therefore, in keeping with minority-threat theory:

H_4: A larger proportion of immigrants from non-white regions is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

Border Proximity

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[106] Trevor Gardner, II and Aarti Kohli, "The CAP Effect: Racial Profiling in the ICE Criminal Alien Program." The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity, & Diversity, Berkeley Law Center for Research and Administration (2009): 9-10.

Geographic proximity to international borders may also affect perceptions of threat.[107] Human trafficking, drug and gun smuggling and related crimes have gained attention due to escalated violence in Mexico, creating concern in some US states, especially those close to the Mexican border. Two variables, one for states that border Mexico and one for states that border Canada, were created to test for the effect of proximity to an international border on the degree of welcomeness. States that share a border with Mexico are Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California and states that border Canada are Alaska, Idaho, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Washington. Of the survey respondents, 26% of the departments are in a state that border Mexico and 14% are in a state that border Canada. Agencies in states that share a border with Mexico are expected to be affected in the following ways:

H_5: Sharing a border with Mexico is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

The political and public discourse about immigration focuses on the U.S. – Mexico border even though the northern border is longer than the border with Mexico, is less monitored, and terrorists have been caught attempting to cross the border. Little political attention has been given to the shared border with Canada, perhaps because Americans widely perceive Canadians share a common ethnic origin; both countries are predominantly Christian, English-speaking democracies. These considerations lead to the expectation:

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[107] R. Michael Alvarez and Tara L. Butterfield, "The Resurgence of Nativism in California? The Case of Proposition 187 and Illegal Immigration." *Social Science Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (2000): 167-79; Regina Branton, Gavin Dillingham, Johanna Dunaway and Beth Miller, "Anglo voting on nativist ballot initiatives: The partisan impact of spatial proximity to the US-Mexico border." *Social Science Quarterly* 88, no. 3 (2007): 882-97; Regina Branton and Johanna Dunaway, "Spatial proximity to the US-Mexico border and newspaper coverage of immigration issues." *Political Research Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (2009): 289-302; Lewis et al, "Why Do (Some) City Police Departments Enforce Federal Immigration Law?"

H$_6$: Sharing a border with Canada is expected to be associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

Finally, some states have passed anti-immigrant legislation, such as Arizona's SB 1070, that requires or allows local law enforcement agencies to verify immigration status under varying circumstances. Six states (Arizona, Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Caroline and Utah) have passed legislation similar to Arizona's although not all states have fully implemented it due to pending lawsuits challenging some or all provisions of the law.[108] I take into account if the department is in a state with this type of legislation. These laws may conflict with a department's preferences, but professional and legal obligations may force them to comply and enforce state law. States with Arizona-style legislation may impose hostile policies and practices on local departments. This is treated as a dichotomous variable with states that have passed a variation of Arizona's law coded as having this type of legislation and the other states coded as not having this type of law. Twelve percent of the departments that responded are in a state with this type of legislation.

H$_7$: Being in a state with Arizona SB 1070 style legislation is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

Popular political attitudes

A clear ideological divide exists on the issue of immigration. Conservatives are more likely than liberals to support restrictive immigration policies, increased security on the Mexico-U.S. border and policies to encourage self-deportation of undocumented immigrants. Many studies of local and state policies towards immigrants find conservative political attitudes are

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[108] Immigration Policy Center, "Q&A Guide to State Immigration Laws," (2012), accessed May 9, 2013, http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/special-reports/qa-guide-state-immigration-laws.

associated with variation in policies,[109] although Hopkins does not find such a relationship,[110] and Lewis and his colleagues[111] observe that conservative political attitudes are associated with more punitive immigration enforcement in unreformed cities not governed by a city-manager form of government. Conservative political attitudes would be expected to influence variations in welcoming policies and practices.

I have measured the influence of political ideology on local policies in two distinct ways. Conservatives tend to be more opposed to immigration, especially undocumented immigrants, and therefore are more likely to support policies and practices and laws that are hostile to immigrants. Partisan preferences are measured by the percent of the county residents that voted for the Republican candidate for president in 2008.[112] A wide range of political attitudes are represented in the sample, with the percent of the total vote for the Republican candidate ranging from a low of 6.5% to a high of 75%. The mean percentage vote was 44%.

H_7: Agencies in communities with a higher percentage of residents who vote Republican are expected to be associated with a lower degree of welcomeness towards immigrants.

The second measure is the presence of nativist extremist groups specifically opposed to immigration in the state. The number of these groups more than doubled from 2007 to 2010.[113] These groups engage in a variety of activities, including watching the border for undocumented

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[109] Jorge M. Chavez and Doris Marie Provine, "Race and the Response of State Legislatures to Unauthorized Immigrants." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 623, no. 1 (2009): 78–92.; S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Paul G. Lewis, "Immigrants and Local Governance: The View from City Hall." (San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California, 2005); Ramakrishnan and Wong, "Immigration Policies Go Local."

[110] Daniel J. Hopkins, "Politicized places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (2010): 40-60.

[111] Lewis et al, "Why Do (Some) City Police Departments Enforce Federal Immigration Law?"

[112] Voting results obtained from CQ Press Voting and Elections Collection Online retrieved from http://library.cqpress.com/elections/search.php

[113] Southern Poverty Law Center. 'Nativist Extremist' Groups 2010. Intelligence Report, Spring 2011, Issue Number: 141.

immigrants crossing the border and staging protests. These groups are characterized by conservative political beliefs and intense opposition to immigration which is often viewed as a national security threat. Since membership numbers of the groups are not available, this variable is calculated on the number of nativist groups per 1,000 residents of the state. The mean number of residents per nativist group is 199 with a range of 0 (no nativist groups in the state) to 646 state residents per group. This expectation may be summarized:

H9: Departments in states with a larger number of nativist groups on a per capita basis are expected to be associated with a lower degree of welcomeness.

Economic Factors

Local administrators have powerful incentives to serve local economic interests. Paul Peterson's work shows that the federal structure of government has forced local governments to focus on economic growth.[114] Local administrators may be attentive to who are the big economic players in their community. Where those local players employ a large proportion of immigrants, local agencies may be more welcoming since the key local employers depend on immigrants as workers. Local agency leaders are aware of the broader socioeconomic system and they make decisions which support that system. The economic importance of immigrants to a community is measured in two ways, one state-level measure and one local level measure.

Percentage of workforce that is foreign-born

The first is the percent of the state-wide workforce that is foreign-born. Immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants and refugees, are often concentrated in particular sectors of the economy, such as agricultural workers, meat packing, restaurants and hotel housekeeping. I spoke to a local sheriff in a rural Kansas county that is dependent on the meat packing industry which employs many immigrants. He reported that in the past he has had to assist federal

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[114] Peterson, *City Limits*.

authorities arrest a worker in one of the plants and he has developed relationships with the workers.[115] He enters the plant himself and takes the person into custody. The workers and managers know him so there is no panic and productivity is not affected. He recognized the importance of immigrants to the local economy when he said "without immigrants this community would die."[116] The vast majority of immigrants in this county live within the city limits while they work outside the city boundaries in the jurisdiction of the sheriff's department. Another Midwestern police captain told me that many of the immigrants that live in his community actually work in a neighboring city in the meat packing plants. [117] The immigrants live in his jurisdiction, but they work in another jurisdiction. As these examples suggest, immigrants may be viewed by agency leaders as a significant element of the local workforce whether or not they live within the agency's jurisdiction. For this reason, I have relied on data regarding the proportion of employees at the state-level who are immigrants, based on data compiled by the Immigration Policy Institute.[118] The mean percentage of the state workforce that is foreign-born is 17% and ranges by state from 3% (in Maine and Wyoming) to 35% (in California). This expectation may be summarized:

H_{10}: A higher percentage of the state-wide workforce that is foreign-born is expected to be associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

Perception of importance of immigrants to local economy

The second measure is based on a survey question asking the respondent to indicate their level of agreement from strongly disagree to strongly agree to the statement "Immigrants are

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[115] Author's interview with county sheriff, Interview 1, June 22, 2011.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 34, June 21, 2011.
[118] Immigration Policy Center, "Assessing the Economic Impact of Immigration at the State and Local Level," (2009), accessed April 12, 2012, "http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/assessing-economic-impact-immigration-state-and-local-level.

very important as employees in the local economy." This question measures the department leader's *perception* of the importance of immigrants to the local economy. In the sample, 12% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the view that immigrants are very important as employees in the local economy, 44% were not sure and 45% agreed. This expectation may be summarized:

H_{11}: A higher perception of the importance of immigrants to the local economy is expected to be associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

Control Variables

To see whether the professional, political, or economic influences really matter, I need to consider the possibility that local police departments are influenced mainly by other local conditions, among them the size of the department and the economic well-being of the local population. I take into account three standard measures of these local conditions.

First, I consider the per capita income in the city. Per capita income and the average level of education of residents are closely correlated; rather than using two closely-correlated measures I have used per capita income. Communities characterized by higher income and education are likely to have residents who are more knowledgeable of other languages and other cultures and therefore more accepting of immigrants. The immigrants who *live* in the more affluent communities may also have more education and higher paying jobs so they may be perceived as more worthy than poorer, less educated immigrants who may *work* in low paying jobs in the community. According to both a police chief and police officer I spoke with in an affluent West Coast community, homes prices start at one million dollars and the immigrants who live in the community are well educated but local restaurants and hotels employ many

immigrants who live in neighboring, less affluent communities.[119] Second, I take into account the department's annual operating budget (excluding capital budget), which is correlated with the size of the city. Departments with larger budgets may be better able to fund activities and practices that are welcoming. For example, they can pay to have written pamphlets and brochures translated to other languages, they can recruit bilingual officers outside their geographic area and offer pay and other financial incentives. Third, I include the average monthly unemployment in the community in 2011. A common criticism of immigrants is that they take jobs from Americans and use social welfare benefits. During recessions, support for immigration decreases. In communities with higher levels of unemployment, police departments may face public pressure to act punitively.

Results

To understand why some departments are welcoming while others are not, I examined the influence of the various factors discussed above on my index departmental welcomeness. In this analysis I used OLS regression since the generated variable "welcomeness" is continuous and relatively normally distributed. In order to correct for the possibility of correlation in the error term between departments within a state, the standard errors are clustered at the state-level. Table 2 shows results from the OLS regression analysis from the three limited models, each containing only the measures associated with a particular theory, and the full model that controls for all variables. The dependent variable ranges from -2, representing extreme unwelcomeness, to 2, representing extreme welcomeness.

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[119] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 9, February 20, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 11, February 20, 2013.

Table 2: OLS Regression with Robust Standard Errors[120]

		Minority-threat Model	Professional Norms Model	Economic Model	Full Model
Political Variables	% of populations white	-.620 (.178)***			-.553 (.212)**
	% Immigrants Non-white	.149 (.029)***			.170 (.033)***
	Arizona Style Legislation	-.105 (.054)*			-.193 (.076)***
	Share border with Mexico	.091 (.055)			.215 (.061)***
	Share border with Canada	-.049 (.082)			-.072 (.096)
	2008 Presidential Vote (% Republican)	-.022 (.279)			.069 (.286)
	Nativist Groups per 10K population	-.00007 (.0002)			-.00004 (.0003)
Professional Variables	FBI Training		.038 (.072)		.051 (.076)
	Community Policing Plan		.329 (.092)***		.265 (.102)**
	Immigrant Liaison		.367 (.078)***		.251 (.069)***
Economic Variable	Foreign-born % of the Workforce			1.11 (.307)***	-1.19 (.492)**
	Perception of economic importance of immigrants			.115 (.037)***	.048 (.041)
Control Variables	Budget	.000009 (.000003)**	.00001 (.00001)	.00001 (.00001)*	.000005 (.000007)
	Average monthly unemployment 2011	.032 (1.30)	2.43 (1.09)**	1.13 (1.51)	2.18 (1.26)*
	Per capita income	-.003 (.003)	-.005 (.002)**	-.006 (.003)*	-.001 (.003)
	R Squared	.254	.210	.152	.351
	Observations	225	216	209	202
*p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01.					

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[120] The variables for the total proportion of the population that is white and the percentage of the foreign born population that is non-white are correlated at -0.4673 using Pearson's Correlation command in Stata. Removing one variable from the regression model produces no substantive change in the other variable.

When examining the influence of minority-threat variables alone, as expected, a higher proportion of white residents is associated with lower levels of welcomeness in police departments. What is surprising is that as the percentage of immigrants from traditionally non-white regions (Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America) increases, police departments show a *higher* likelihood of welcoming policies. Both of these variables--the percentage of the population that is white and the percentage of the population that is non-white immigrant—are significant at the 99% level.

When examining the influence of the variables measuring professional norms, I find that two of the variables are associated with higher levels of welcomeness as expected. Having a community policing plan and having a designated liaison to the immigrant community are associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

When examining the influence of the variables measuring the economic context alone, I find both variables, the perception of the economic importance of immigrants and the foreign-born percentage of the workforce are significantly associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

These partial models suggest that police policies respond to a range of conditions, both political and professional. The key question is whether (and how much) these influences matter when controlling for each other and for other possible influences.

When controlling for all of these factors in the full model (column 4 of Table 2), a clear picture emerges. In addressing immigrant populations, police departments are caught between political pressures to punish and professional norms to treat all community members equally: the larger the white proportion of the population, the less the department is welcoming, but the more committed is the department to community policing, the more it is welcoming. Let's examine each of these relationships more closely.

The perceived threat of minorities does have an effect on the degree of welcomeness: as the proportion of whites increases, departments are less welcoming. Likewise, the objective measure of the proportion of immigrants in the state-wide labor force is negatively associated with welcomeness. Public opinion towards immigrants is often focused on the perception that they (immigrants) take jobs away from Americans. These results suggest that as the proportion of workers statewide who are immigrants increases, the public may demand more punitive actions towards them. Departments in states that have adopted Arizona-style immigration laws are significantly less welcoming than departments in other states.

But the story is more complicated: police departments are not entirely beholden to whites' fears of immigrants. In fact, larger proportions of non-white immigrants are associated with more welcomeness. As the proportion of immigrants from Africa, Central and South America and Asia increases, police departments are more welcoming. Although immigration enforcement at the U.S. – Mexico border is the dominant issue in the immigration debate, cities in states that share a border with Mexico border show a significantly higher likelihood of having more welcoming policies. This may be because these states have higher percentages of Hispanic residents and a history of migration with established networks. The existing relationships between friends and families in the U.S. and Mexico may override pressures related to fears of crime.

Likewise, professional norms of community policing have a significant effect on the degree of welcomeness towards immigrants. Having a community policing plan is positively associated with increased welcomeness. Community policing plans are designed to build trust and cooperation between residents and police. Departments that are committed to community policing may develop policies that are welcoming and avoid policies, such as 287(g) agreements,

that would decrease trust with immigrants. Departments that emphasize the norms and values of community responsiveness have policies and practices that are more welcoming. Having a community liaison is also associated with higher levels of welcomeness. The liaison may serve as a channel between immigrants and immigrant groups and the police department through which the needs and concerns of immigrants can be passed to the department and through which the policies and practices of the department can be communicated to immigrants.

Which of these influences—political pressure versus professional norms—has a more substantial influence? Figure 4 shows the relative magnitude of the influence of some of the independent variables (using the results of the Clarify procedure). The range of the dependent variable, welcomeness, illustrated in the figure ranges from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean. On the continuous independent variables "low" represents the 25th percentile and "high" represents the 75th percentile; the dichotomous variables are varied between not present and present. With this in mind, it is striking that the most substantial effects are those associated with neo-institutional norms. Thus, all else equal, the difference between not having a community liaison officer ("liaison") and having one produces a shift on the dependent variable of over one-half a standard deviation in welcomeness. Likewise, the difference between not having a community policing plan and having one produces a shift over one-half a standard deviation. Proximity to the Mexico border (versus elsewhere) produces a similarly large effect: police departments in states bordering Mexico are substantially more welcoming. By contrast, the measures of minority-threat are associated with less substantial—but still significant--shifts in the dependent variable. All other things equal, the difference between being in a state with Arizona style immigration legislation versus a state without this legislation produces a change of between one-third and one-half of a standard

deviation on the degree of welcomeness: police departments in states with Arizona-style legislation are substantially less welcoming. Completely contrary to the expectations of minority-threat theory, the effect of a difference between a low foreign-born non-white population (75th percentile below the mean) and a high foreign-born white population (75th percentile above the mean) is to make a local police department substantially more welcoming, by about a third of a standard deviation on the welcomeness scale. To be sure, the larger the proportion of the local population who are white, the less welcoming is the local police department—but the size of this effect is considerably smaller than that of other influences. In sum, the effects illustrated in Figure 4 are consistent with the results outlined above: the effect of neo-institutional norms is more substantial than the effect of local political pressures associated with "minority-threat," and having a larger local population of foreign-born people from Asia, Latin America, and Africa actually leads local departments to be more welcoming rather than less welcoming.
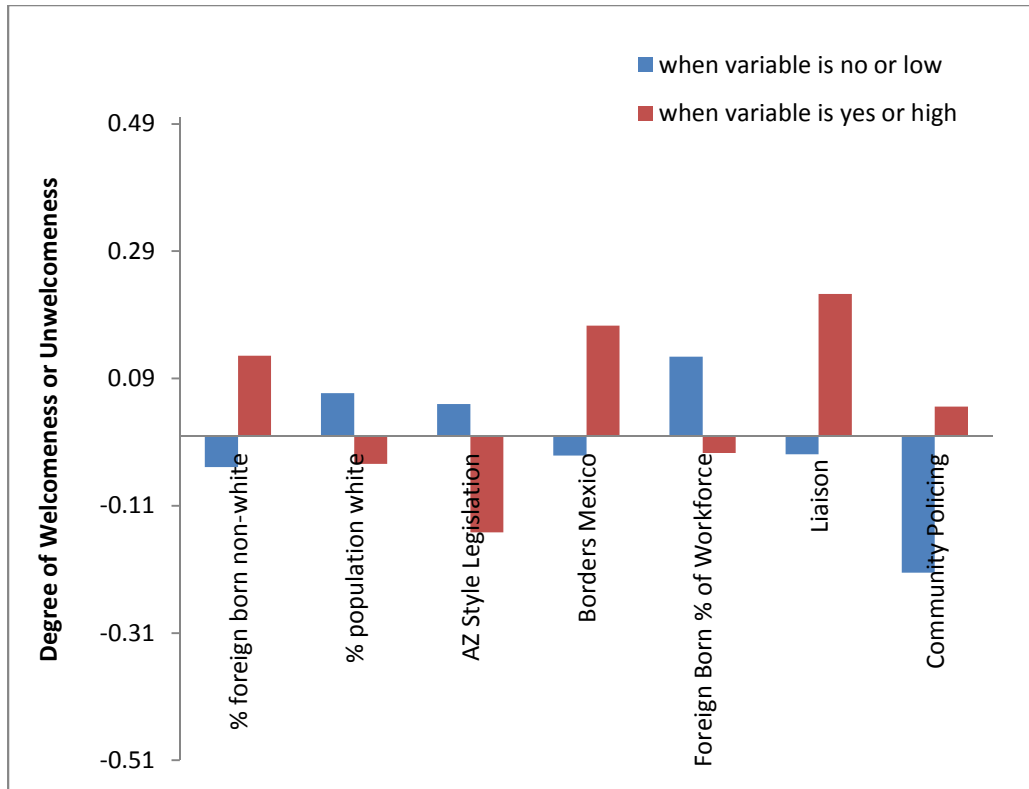
Figure 4: The impact of various factors on the degree of welcomeness.[121]

Police chiefs' comments in in-depth interviews are consistent with these statistical

patterns. The general response from police executives is that enforcing federal immigration is not

within their legal jurisdiction and responsibility. They frequently cited the lack of financial

resources and personnel and how aggressive enforcement of immigration law would damage to

the police department's relationship with immigrants in their community.[122] As one Midwestern

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[121] King, Gary, Michael Tomz and Jason Wittenberg. "Making the Most of Statistical Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 2 (2000): 341-355. Each pair of columns represents the impact of variations in the identified variable on the police department's degree of welcomeness, with all other variables set at their means. The figure's scale covers one standard deviation above and below the mean on the dependent variable (welcomeness). On the independent variables "low" represents the 25th percentile and "high" represents the 75th percentile on the independent variables. Results generated using the Clarify procedure in Stata.
[122] Author's interview with police captain, Interview 34, June 21, 2011; Author's interview with police chief, Interview 15, March 14, 2013; Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.

police captain explained, "It (enforcing federal immigration law) is not our responsibility."[123]

This captain, and others,[124] expressed that enforcing federal immigration law is the responsibility of the federal government.

Discussion

Research on law enforcement and immigrants has focused largely on punitive actions and policies in which local law enforcement departments enforce federal immigration law or state or local laws that target undocumented immigrants.

That research observed that a substantial proportion of local police agencies are engaged in some form of immigration-law enforcement. If this were all we know, it would be reasonable to infer that local police departments mainly act in punitive ways toward immigrants. In this chapter I have shown that punitive enforcement is only part of the story. Police departments are caught between competing pressures: political pressure from the white population to act punitively toward immigrants and professional norms to treat all members of the community equally, whether or not they are immigrants, and whether or not they are *undocumented* immigrants.

This chapter examined the various ways in which police departments interact with immigrants. I argue that the policies and practices of police departments towards immigrants are influenced by economic, demographic and professional factors that mitigate political pressures to respond punitively.

Literature on immigration suggests that political factors should be a strong predictor of bureaucratic organizations' policies and actions towards immigrants. Attitudes towards

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[123] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 35, June 21, 2011.
[124] Author's interview with police chiefs, June 28, 2011, June 28, 2011, March 14, 2013, and county sheriff June 22, 2011.

immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, are divided along ideological lines with conservatives often favoring more restricted immigration and more punitive policies towards undocumented immigrants. An extensive policing literature shows that as the minority proportion of the population grows, police departments act in increasingly punitive ways toward these populations, suggesting that immigrants who are increasingly from non-white regions of the world may be treated more punitively than non-immigrants.

My findings provide only limited support for this presumption that the politics of punitive immigration enforcement drives everything. As expected, departments in states with Arizona style legislation are less welcoming. These departments are mandated by state law to identify and arrest undocumented immigrants. Enforcing laws is a core function of police departments so it is not surprising that state-level legislation is associated with lower levels of welcomeness. Consistent with minority-threat expectation, having a higher proportion of the population that is white is also associated with lower levels of welcomeness. The majority group may pressure law enforcement to deal punitively with a perceived threat from undocumented or non-white immigrants. However, what is interesting is that the proportion of the foreign-born population from non-white regions is also significant, but in an unexpected direction. As the proportion of this population *increases*, welcomeness *increase*s. This suggests that police departments are not merely responding to political pressures from dominant groups in the community. Also unexpected is the relationship between welcomeness and proximity to the southern border. Attention from the media, interest groups and elected officials typically focuses on the perceived threat of undocumented crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. Research by Lewis and his colleagues (2013) shows that communities within 100 miles of the southern border are more likely to have an enforcement orientation towards immigrants, but the results of this study indicate that police

departments in states that border Mexico are more likely to be associated with welcomeness than states that border Canada or states that share an international border.

The factors affecting law enforcement's decision to enforce federal immigration law has been well documented, but little is understood about the factors that drive their broader policies towards immigrants. My study identifies key policies and practices that reflect the department's broader interactions and attitudes towards immigrants in the community. Police departments have made intentional decisions to reach out to immigrants by creating policies designed to recruit and hire officers with language skills, providing information in languages other than English and providing training to help their officers interact effectively with immigrants. In addition, many departments are part of collaborative networks to help build trust with immigrants, identify their issues and needs and help immigrants understand the role and policies of police.

The evidence reported here suggests that political factors and professional norms of equal service play important roles in shaping police policies towards immigrants. Police departments respond to pressures from dominant groups in the community; however a larger proportion of immigrants from non-white regions and professional norms of equal service are associated with higher levels of welcomeness. Professional norms have the most substantial impact on the degree of welcomeness of police departments. Even in politically conservative communities, professional norms of equal service can mitigate political pressures and create police departments that are surprisingly welcoming.

Conclusion

Existing public administration research on the relationship between local law enforcement agencies and immigrants focuses on the contextual factors affecting agencies'

decisions to enforce federal immigration laws.[125] But these studies also show that enforcement of immigration laws is far from universal. What these studies neglect is an analysis of the potentially positive policies and practices that are designed to promote a positive relationship with immigrants, including undocumented immigrants. This chapter empirically tests the relationships between political factors, professional norms of equal service and economic factors on the degree of welcomeness of city police departments towards immigrants. I argued professional norms of equal service influence departmental policies and allows them to resist political pressures to respond punitively towards immigrants.

The findings presented here suggest that while lower degrees of welcomeness of police departments is associated with state-level Arizona SB 1070 style legislation and a higher proportion of white residents, those departments who internalize professional norms of equal service are more likely to adopt policies and practices that are more welcoming. Professional norms may insulate departments from political pressures to act punitively towards immigrants. Based on these findings, future research should include measures of professional norms in understanding police responses towards immigrants.

Does my measure of welcomeness document policies and practices that are truly welcoming? Or are these policies merely symbolic, designed only to show compliance with norms of equal service and non-discrimination? I believe that in most cases these policies and practices are relatively substantive efforts to develop positive relationships with immigrants. While some of the measures of welcomeness can be implemented with little effort and resources, others require a significant investment of time and money to build relationships with groups that

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[125] Scott H. Decker, Paul G. Lewis, Doris Marie Provine, and Monica W. Varsanyi, "On the Frontier of Local Law Enforcement: Local Police and Federal Immigration Law," in *Immigration, crime, and Justice*, ed. William F. McDonald (Bingley: Emerald, 2009); Varsanyi et al, "A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork"; Lewis et al, "Why Do (Some) City Police Departments Enforce Federal Immigration Law?."

may possess little political power in the community. Interviews with police chiefs, front-line

officers and community relations officers (discussed in Chapter 4) provide additional support for

this conclusion.

Chapter 3 – Libraries and Welcomeness

Libraries have played an important role in immigrant integration in the United States since the early 1900s by providing free access to a wide range of information and services.[126] Andrew Carnegie was one of the early, primary supporters for public libraries since he viewed them as a place for immigrant self-education, enlightenment, and the study of democracy and English.[127] Libraries across the nation accepted this mission. In 1896, the Jersey City library's mission was to instill "higher standards of intelligence and morality which tend to make better citizens;" in 1912 Buffalo librarians maintained that there was "no easier or more direct method of promoting better citizenship than by the distribution of good books;" and in 1923 the Pittsburgh public library championed the library as "a common meeting ground for all races, creeds and sects."[128] This commitment to assisting immigrants continues today. Immigrants heavily use public libraries for all manner of materials and services, and libraries in communities with large or new immigrant populations often face a demand for services and materials that exceed their resources. In 2004, the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service collaborated with the Institute of Museum and Library Services to convene a working group of librarians from across the country to identify current practices in library services for immigrants and provide

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[126] Plummer Alston Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience* (Greenwood Press, 1999); Luevano-Molina, Susan (ed). *Immigrant Politics and the Public Library* (Greenwood Press, 2001); U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and The Institute of Museum and Library Services. "Library Services for Immigrants: A Report on Current Practices."
[127] Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*.
[128] Ibid.

ideas for programs and services.[129] The group's report observed that libraries play a critical role in offering a wide range of services to immigrants.[130]

Research on public libraries and immigrants has focused on the ways in which libraries provide materials and services to immigrants, but this hardly scratches the surface of the full range of libraries' policies and practices toward immigrants. As I will show in the following analysis, some libraries provide extensive materials and programs for immigrants in the community but others do little. Libraries that do much in these areas may be thought of as having "welcoming" policies and practices; libraries that do little are unwelcoming. This chapter describes and aims to explain the considerable variation in policies and practices of local public libraries towards immigrants. The goals of this chapter are four-fold. First, it summarizes what is known from past research about the role of public libraries in providing information and services to immigrants. Second, the chapter identifies the key dimensions of welcomeness of public libraries. The third goal is to describe the prevalence of each dimension among library systems. Finally, using three competing theories, this chapter seeks to enhance understanding of what factors influence welcoming policies. The data for this analysis are drawn from an original survey of library executives in 358 municipalities nationwide administered in 2012.

Library Professional Associations and Equality of Access

Library professions view the public library as a democratic institution that is important to the free exchange of ideas. The American Library Association declares that "Libraries in America are cornerstones of the communities they serve. Free access to the books, ideas, resources, and information in America's libraries is imperative for education, employment,

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[129] U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and The Institute of Museum and Library Services. "Library Services for Immigrants: A Report on Current Practices," (2005).
[130] Ibid.

enjoyment, and self-government."[131] In service to these ideals, librarians provide and defend the

right of all to use libraries' services. Libraries provide free, open, neutral space for everyone in

the community. The American Library Association Core Values Task Force II Report identified

the core values of public libraries as access, confidentiality, democracy, diversity, education,

intellectual freedom, preservation, the public good, professionalism, service, and social

responsibility. These core values are directly found in ALA policy statements.[132]

The key values of public libraries emphasize the importance of free access to information

and civil liberties. Libraries emphasize equality of access, a key professional norm of public

libraries. Equality of access is central to the mission of public libraries as presented in the

Library Bill of Rights, the guiding principles of the American Library Association (ALA), the

dominant professional association in this field. A fundamental tenet of the ALA Bill of Rights is

equal treatment and access. The first principle states "Books and other library resources should

be provided for the interest, information, and enlightenment of all people of the community the

library serves. Materials should not be excluded because of the origin, background, or views of

those contributing to their creation."[133] Principle #5 states "A person's right to use a library

should not be denied or abridged because of origin, age, background, or views."[134]

The Role of Libraries in Providing Information and Services to Immigrants

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[131] American Library Association, "Libraries: An American Value," accessed May 26, 2013 Retrieved from http://www.ala.org/advocacy/proethics/codeofethics/codeethics.

[132] American Library Association, "Core Values Task Force II Report," accessed May 26, 2013 www.ala.org/ala/oif/ statementspols/corevaluesstatement/corevalues.htm.

[133] American Library Association, "Library Bill of Rights," accessed May 15, 2013, www.ala.org/work/freedom/lbr.html.

[134] Ibid.

Public libraries are "service" agencies[135] heavily influenced by professional norms favoring openness to all people regardless of status and have historically provided immigrants with information and education.[136] Still, libraries' policies and practices towards immigrants vary substantially. Libraries are currently subject to political and community pressures and some have eliminated Spanish language collections in response to public pressure.[137] While some librarians argue that immigrants are best served when they are provided with materials that help them learn English, others maintain that immigrants should have access to materials in the language they prefer.[138]

Public libraries in the United States date to the 1600s, but it was not until the late 1880s that they proliferated as wealth and population grew and broad public support for free libraries grew in response to a growing emphasis on education.[139] Private philanthropists, most notably Andrew Carnegie, donated substantial amounts of money for libraries across the country and others donated book collections to help start libraries. Free public libraries were viewed as a way to help educate residents of all socio-economic status.

In the late nineteenth century, library workers were gaining recognition as a profession, and this growing professionalization shaped their orientation towards immigrants.[140] The American Library Association (ALA) was founded in 1876 as the leadership organization to promote, develop and improve library services and the profession of librianship. The two key

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[135] Marrow, *Immigrant Bureaucratic Incorporation*.

[136] Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants and the American Experience*; Luevano-Molina, *Immigrant Politics and the Public Library*; Task Force on New Immigrants. *Building an Americanization Movement for the Twenty-first Century*. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2008); Burke, Susan K. "Use of Public Libraries by Immigrants." *Reference & User Services Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2008): 164-174.

[137] Quintero, "Protesters cite porn on shelves "

[138] Quesada, Todd Douglas. "Spanish Spoken Here". *American Libraries* 38, no. 10 (2007): 40-44; Stephens, Julia. "English Spoken Here." *American Libraries* 38, no. 10 (2007): 41-44.

[139] Shera, Jesse H. *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629-1855*. (University of Chicago Press, 1947).

[140] Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*.

guiding documents for the organization is its Code of Ethics and Library Bill of Rights. The

library profession's ethical professional standards are presented in the ALA's Code of Ethics.

The first Code was adopted in 1939 and it has been revised three times since.[141] As the

profession of librarianship was relatively new, the first Code focused on the relationship between

the librarian and the governing body, constituency, society, library and profession. Section II of

the Code emphasizes core concepts that remain today: impartial service, privacy and providing a

wide range of materials for their constituents.

The ALA also has a Bill of Rights, adopted in 1939 which espouses similar beliefs as the

Code of Ethics. The ALA states that the Bill of Rights sets out the basic policies that should

guide library services. Article one of the Bill of Rights states that materials should not be

excluded "because of the origin, background, or views of those contributing to their creation."[142]

Article two states "A person's right to use a library should not be denied or abridged because of

origin, age, background, or views."[143] The ethics and fundamental policies of the American

Library Association promote values and actions that are, at their core, welcoming.

From 1870 to the 1960s, library workers emulated other professions that they viewed as

having similar missions, including social workers and educators that were involved in the

Americanization movement.[144] Library professionals sought ways to make libraries more useful

in this broad effort. Regarding immigrants, librarians emphasized policies that supported

Americanization.[145] During World War I, military personnel found that many immigrants could

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[141] American Library Association, "History of the ALA Code of Ethics". Retrieved from
http://www.ala.org/advocacy/proethics/history.
[142] American Library Association, "Library Bill of Rights."
[143] Ibid
[144] Ibid.
[145] Task Force on New Immigrants, *Building an Americanization Movement for the Twenty-first Century*.

not speak or understand English well enough to follow orders.[146] In response, libraries ramped up

efforts to help immigrants learn English and assimilate into society. Many libraries reached out

to immigrants to educate them about the services and programs they offered.[147] Librarians often

saw immigrants as clients who would benefit from the resources and services available at public

libraries.

During World War I libraries acquired fewer in-language materials due to disruptions in

the international book trade, wear and tear on the existing collection and, in a few cases,

censorship of materials.[148] In spite of this, many libraries continued to show a commitment to

egalitarian ideals. For example, during the Red Scare after World War I, many libraries resisted

efforts to ban or limit access to materials perceived as subversive and developed many creative

programs for immigrants.[149] Consistent with the ALA's Code of Ethics, Libraries and librarians

largely stayed away from the political aspects of immigration policy and focused their resources

and efforts on assisting immigrants in the country. By providing information, personal assistance

and guidance, libraries were able to help immigrants adjust, survive and advance in American

society.

However, support for providing resources to immigrants was not universal or always seen

as a priority. In the 1920s a librarian explained "We have never done anything for the foreign-

born of our city because we have never had money enough to get all the books we need for

ourselves."[150] This library focused its resources on providing for the residents who expected

privilege. In response, Eleanor Ledbetter, a librarian in Cleveland and member of the ALA's

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[146] Plummer Alston Jones, *Still Struggling for Equality: American Public Library Services with Minorities*. (Libraries Unlimited, 2010).
[147] Ibid.
[148] Jones, *Still Struggling for Equality*.
[149] Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*.
[150] Ibid.

Committee on Work with the Foreign Born declared that "A library which takes this position has no claim to democratic standing. It is a class institution."[151] Although librarians may have personally supported nativist policies, as a profession they largely focused on Americanizing the immigrants who were in the United States.[152]

In the mid-1920s, library efforts towards immigrants merged into a broader effort to promote adult literacy and to meet the needs of illiterate adults, many of whom were moving to cities from the South.[153] Lower immigration and financial constraints during the Great Depression reduced the ability of libraries to provide foreign language materials, but they also found ways to continue this service, including consolidating collections in a central reserve and utilizing library loan programs.[154]

Libraries have not universally accepted positive practices towards immigrants. During periods of anti-immigrant preferences, some libraries reduced services and programs for immigrants or eliminated specific collections, such as German language materials during and after World War I. Many public officials challenged the loyalty of German immigrants, labor organizers, and radical groups, and these leaders led a sharp reaction against anything deemed "un-American." They targeted library materials, too.[155]

During World War II and the Red Scare of the 1950s, some libraries responded to pressures to deprioritize or remove in-language materials from shelves, but many libraries expanded services to immigrants and other minorities.[156] The emphasis was still on Americanization. The Library Services Act of 1956 provided federal funds to libraries for the

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[151] Ledbetter, Eleanor. "Is the Public Library Democratic?" *ALA Bulletin* 16 (1922).
[152] Luevano-Molina, *Immigrant Politics and the Public Library*.
[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*.
[156] Ibid.

first time and this allowed expansion of programming to disadvantaged groups and the creation of libraries in areas that had none. In the 1950s the focus of libraries shifted from Americanization to an emphasis on helping immigrants, and other disadvantaged groups, become full, participating members of the democratic process. The ALA promoted programs to provide materials to disadvantaged groups including those in rural areas, migrant worker camps and Indian reservations.

In the 1960s, libraries responded to the Civil Rights Movement by promoting desegregation of library facilities and full access to library facilities. The ALA and by extension its members were committed to equal access of library facilities, programs and materials. The Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* which had upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal." Libraries in some areas were criticized for being segregated and therefore not meeting the principle of equal access since separate facilities were inherently unequal. In response, the ALA created the Committee on Civil Liberties in 1960 to study and make recommendations on the current ALA positions on civil rights and in 1961 the ALA approved the Committee's recommended amendment to the Library Bill of Rights in support of desegregation. Amendment Five stated that "A person's right to use a library should not be denied or abridged because of origin, age, background, or views."[157] The organization took an additional step in promoting equal access by passing protocols that would deny membership to segregated libraries. As a result, segregated libraries began to disappear.[158]

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[157] American Library Association, *Library Bill of Rights*.

[158] Doris Hargrett Clack, "Segregation and the Library," in Encyclopedia of Library and information Science 27 (Marcel Dekker, 1979): 193-94.; Connie Van Fleet, "Lifelong Learning Theory and the Provision of Adult Services," in *Adult Services: An Enduring Focus for Public Libraries*, ed. Kathleen M Heim and Danny P. Wallace (ALA, 1990): 177-78.

Individual libraries desegregated their facilities and implemented programs to help disadvantaged members of the community, including Africa Americans, Latinos and Native Americans. Many libraries expanded adult education programs, including English as a Second Language classes. Although the ALA emphasized equal service and promoted services to the disadvantaged, the organization still found that local library services were not equal with more services available in white neighborhoods than in minority neighborhoods of similar size and economic levels.[159] In 1969, the ALA held an institute on Serving Disadvantaged Adults to help local public libraries learn how to develop programs and meet the needs of these groups.

In the 1970s, libraries responded to increased racial and ethnic awareness resulting from the Black Power Movement, Red Power Movement and Chicano Movement as well as increased immigration from Asia and the Caribbean. The ALA undertook a study that highlighted the need for bilingual librarians and also created caucuses to champion the needs of these groups within the ALA, including the Black Caucus of ALA and the Association to Promote Library and Information Services to Latinos and the Spanish Speaking (REFORMA). The ALA also sponsored caucuses for other ethnic groups including Italian Americans, Polish Americans, Armenian Americans, Jewish Americans and American Indians.[160] These steps gave minority groups a voice in the ALA.

The ALA and libraries shifted to a focus on promoting multiculturalism in the 1980s, largely in response to the growth in awareness of racial and ethnic diversity and the increased organization of these groups. The ALA recognized the broad range of cultures and identities and right of individuals to express these. The 1981 revisions to the ALA's Code of Ethics reflected the changing social, political and economic environment in the United States. This new Code

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[159] Jones, *Still Struggling for Equality*.
[160] Ibid.

emphasized resisting censorship, privacy of patrons, and declared a commitment to provide "the highest level of service to all library users through appropriate and usefully organized resources; equitable service policies; equitable access; and accurate, unbiased, and courteous responses to all requests."[161] The ALA's Library Bill of Rights sets out the basic policies that should guide library services and explicitly protects the rights of immigrants to library services. Article two states "A person's right to use a library should not be denied or abridged because of origin, age, background, or views."[162]

In 1980 the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS), a Presidential advisory council of library professionals, established a Task Force to understand existing services, resources and programs for minority groups. The Task Force found most of the programs for these groups had been funded with federal dollars and when budgets were reduced, the programs were eliminated or severely curtailed.[163] The Task Force also found that minority librarians bore the most responsibility for multicultural services and they criticized this practice and emphasized the importance of all staff members' involvement. Service to ethnic minorities was the responsibility of all librarians, not just minority librarians. They identified the key feature of successful multicultural programs during this time -- the active participation of minority groups in the planning and implementation of programs. The NCLIS and ALA recognized that all librarians had a role in assisting minorities and those patrons should have a voice in the identification and development of programs. Other key projects included the

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[161] American Library Association, "Statement on Professional Ethics, 1981Introduction." accessed May 15, 2013 "http://www.ala.org/advocacy/proethics/history/index4
[162] Ibid
[163] Ibid.

expansion of in-language collateral, partnering with community organizations and training programs for personnel.[164]

The 1990s saw another shift in the focus of libraries, this time to an emphasis on globalization and technology.[165] Equal access and service were still central. Multiculturalism was now viewed not just as including the nation's internal minorities, but also on groups within the global society. The ALA established a Subcommittee on U.S. - Mexico libraries that coordinated collaboration between libraries in the United States and Mexico and held Forums to explore issues that affected libraries in both countries. The organization also implemented guidelines to help libraries fit into the new information and technology culture.

In a globalized world with advances in technology, immigrants were able to maintain closer ties to their native country through long distance phone calls and less expensive air travel. National borders became less important as information flowed freely and communication became easier. Libraries recognized the importance of technological advances and began looking for ways in which they could ensure minorities were not left behind.[166]

In the new century, libraries have continued to expand their efforts to provide access to information and technology. Libraries provide free, public access to computers and the internet as well as expanding into new formats such as audiobooks that can be played on MP3 players and e-books. Some libraries have purchased tablets and e-readers so patrons of all socio-economic status can learn and utilize new technologies.

Libraries have continued to experience pressures to restrict materials and programs for immigrants in the new century. The Patriot Act was passed in 2001 after the terrorist attacks on

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[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Jones, *Still Struggling for Equality.*

9/11. The Act required libraries reveal patron's records, including materials they borrowed and their internet usage. The ALA opposed the provisions of the Patriot Act that limited individual's right to free and open access to information and the right to express their opinion and passed a Resolution in 2003 opposing these measures.[167] The 2008 revision to the Code of Ethics restates the librarian's commitment to equality of service and privacy, but now as an established fact rather than a "should." Thus, it states that "We provide the highest level of service to all library users through appropriate and usefully organized resources; equitable service policies; equitable access; and accurate, unbiased, and courteous responses to all requests" and "We protect each library user's right to privacy and confidentiality with respect to information sought or received and resources consulted, borrowed, acquired or transmitted."[168]

Librarians have been among the most persistent opponents of the Patriot Act. In adopting this critical stance, librarians are akin to what Rosemary O'Leary has called "government guerillas," public servants who work against the wishes and policies of their agency and supervisors in pursuit of the public interest, fairness and justice.[169] The public's image of librarians may be one of ladies with their hair in buns shushing loud patrons, but following the signing of the Patriot Act, many became "guerilla librarians." Individual librarians and library systems have implemented policies to protect patrons' privacy, including eliminating computer sign-up sheets, shredding documents they are not legally required to keep and posting notices warning patrons that the FBI may access the records of what books they borrow.[170] As Librarian

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[167] Ibid.

[168] American Library Association, "*Statement on Professional Ethics, 1981 Introduction*."

[169] Rosemary O'Leary, *The Ethics of Dissent: Managing Guerilla Government. Washington*, DC: CQ Press (2006).

[170] Dean E. Murphy, (2003-04-0). "Some Librarians Use Shredder to Show Opposition to New F.B.I. Powers". New York Times. Retrieved July 5, 2013; "Libraries Rally Against USA Patriot Act". Politics (Fox News Channel). May 7, 2003. Retrieved July 5, 2013; Judith Graham (April 3, 2003). "Libraries warning patrons: Federal government may be spying on you." Chicago Tribune.

Cindy Czesak at the Paterson Public Library in Paterson, N.J., a densely-populated Middle Eastern community stated "We're quiet rebels."[171] The War on Terror has affected federal funding of libraries. Federal funding is no longer distributed through the NCLIS, but through the Department of Education and other federal agencies that may not focus on programs that promote equal access to minority groups.

The ethics and fundamental policies of the American Library Association promote values and actions that are, at their core, welcoming.

Institutional Context

Most public libraries today share a common organizational and financial structure. Public libraries are typically either city libraries, in which primary support is received from a city government and services are directed to those who reside within the city, or a county or regional system in which the library receives support from one or more counties and provides services to a broader geographical area. Many libraries have branch libraries in neighborhoods and cities throughout their geographical service area, including in immigrant neighborhoods. Thus, an urban library has created "New Immigrant Centers" in some branch libraries (see Figure 5). These centers are located in branches in areas with higher concentrations of immigrants and have dedicated computers and materials for immigrants.

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[171] "Libraries Rally Against USA Patriot Act". Politics (Fox News Channel). May 7, 2003. Retrieved July 11, 2008

Figure 5: A "New Immigrant Center" in a library systems. Photograph by author.

Some libraries have located specialized services in these branches, such as larger in-language collections, programs and citizenship materials, and others have designed the buildings to be more appealing to residents in the neighborhood. For example, in a Midwestern library, a branch library in a Latino neighborhood was constructed to appeal to the residents by using Aztec/Mayan inspired architecture (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Photo of the exterior of a branch library in a small, Midwestern city. Photograph by author.

The library also has an exterior sign for the library in English and Spanish (see Figure 7). The

sign includes the Spanish word for library (biblioteca), which increases awareness of the library

among Spanish speaking residents.

Figure 7: Photo of the exterior sign in Spanish and English. Photograph by author.

Public libraries are typically funded by tax money from city, county and state governments with some having foundations or "Friends of the Library" organizations to help with additional financial support. Libraries typically lend books and other materials for no cost, but will charge modest fines if materials or returned late or are lost or damaged. States often provide some support for public libraries, although funding for public libraries has declined in recent years. The American Library Association reports that 41% of states saw a decline in state budgets for public library funding in 2009.[172]

An Expanding Range of Programs and Services

Public libraries have added materials and services in new formats as technology has changed over time. Initially, libraries focused on providing books and newspapers, but many libraries now provide programming for children, such as story time, and adult literacy classes, as

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[172] American Library Association, "The State of America's Libraries."
http://www.ala.org/news/mediapresscenter/americaslibraries/soal2012/public-libraries

well as DVDs, CDs, and e-books. Libraries also now usually have computer and internet access for the public. Many low income people and people who live in rural areas lack internet access. Public libraries are an important access point for many individuals in the United States and help to bridge the digital divide between those who have access to computers and the internet and those who do not. Almost all public libraries have computers and internet access available for no charge and in 2009 an estimated 77 million people accessed the internet at public libraries.[173] Grants from individuals, corporations and philanthropic foundations, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation are an important funding source for these initiatives. Some libraries provide in-language computer classes (see Figure 8) to help immigrants become computer literate so they can improve their skills for the job market and be able to apply for jobs online.

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[173] Samantha Becker, Michael D. Crandall, Karen E. Fisher, Bo Kinney, Carol Landry, and Anita Rocha. "Opportunity for All: How the American Public Benefits from Internet Access at US Libraries." *Institute of Museum and Library Services* (2010).
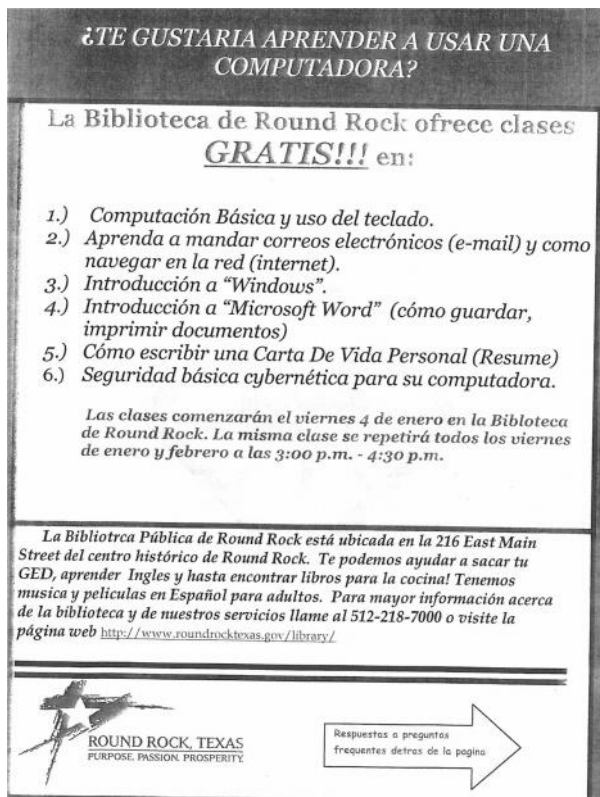
Figure 8: Flyer advertising Spanish language computer classes.

Public libraries perform many functions. They frequently form partnerships with schools and community organizations to promote literacy and learning at all age levels. Many libraries provide story time programs for children to encourage reading and learning, homework assistance for older children and adult programs such as book clubs, adult literacy programs and speakers. Some have expanded these programs to include languages other than English. A "literacy bus" in one community, for example, goes to various designated locations in their service area to provide in-language materials and provide reading classes in Spanish (see Figure 9).
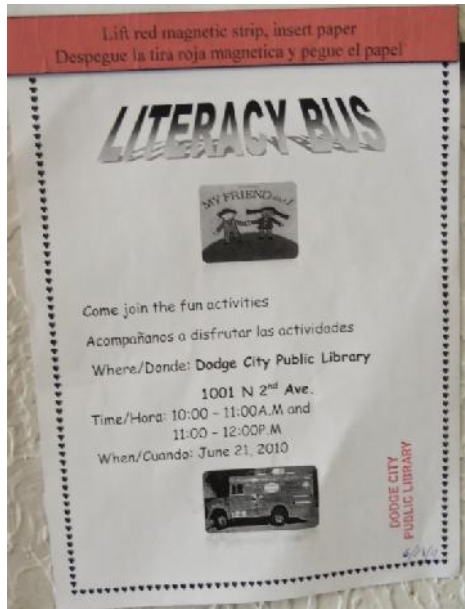
Figure 9: A flyer in English and Spanish for a literacy program. Photograph by author.

Supporters of these various programs say that the programs provide economic benefits to both the individuals who participate and the community more broadly.[174] A more educated and literate community can attract new businesses and economic investment. Some programs are touted specifically for their economic benefits to participants. For example, a Spanish-language program offered by a Colorado library is aimed at providing help in finding jobs (see Figure 10).

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[174] Americans for Libraries Council. "Worth Their Weight: An Assessment of the Evolving Field of Library Valuation," (2007); Bureau of Business Research IC² Institute, The University of Texas at Austin. "Texas Public Libraries: Economic Benefits and Return on Investment," (2012).

Figure 10: Flyer in Spanish for a class offered at the library to help patrons learn about library resources to help with job searches, how to write a cover letter and resume and fill out a job application and assistance with preparing for an interview.

Libraries also promote cultural awareness through exhibits for Black History Month,

Diwali (an important Hindu festival) and Cinco de Mayo celebrations as well as housing

genealogical information and local historical documents. A large urban library promoted

awareness of Indian (South Asian) culture through exhibits (see Figure 11), promoting the

library's in-language materials (see Figure 12) and providing cooking classes.

Figure 11: Photo of an exhibit of Indian Saris. This exhibit had been displayed previously and was displayed again the following year due to its popularity. Photograph by author.
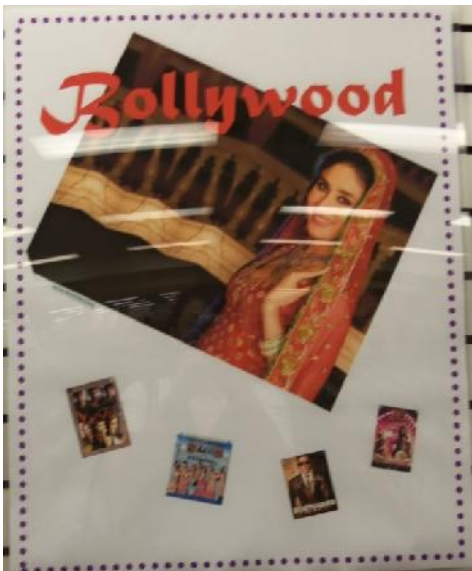
Figure 12: Photo of a poster advertising the library's collection of Indian DVDs. Photograph by author.

Dimensions of welcomeness

How much libraries provide programs and services to reach and serve immigrants will be called the extent to which libraries are "welcoming." Libraries have a wide range of such programs and services, and it is useful to divide them into several dimensions. The following discussion of the dimensions of welcomeness builds on prior research and interviews conducted for this dissertation.[175] As in the previous chapter on policing, each of these dimensions encompasses a continuum of possible actions that vary from the merely symbolic to the substantive.

Dimension 1: In-Language Resources

The first dimension is in-language resources, which is a term used to characterize any library document, audio tape (or compact disc), digital video disc (DVD), sign, or other resource that is conveyed in the language of a group of immigrants in the community. In short, in-language resources are books or CDs in Spanish (or Hindi, Somali, German, or any language other than English). Websites, because of their importance, are considered separately below. Providing in-language resources is an extension of the core purpose of the public library, which is to provide information and to educate residents. The essential function of a library is to provide public accessibility to a wide range of information in books, newspapers, magazines, the Internet and speakers and seminars.

This dimension is composed of eight measures. The first measure is the availability of in-language written materials, including books, magazines, DVDs and CDs. In-language materials

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[175] Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and The Institute of Museum and Library Services. "Library Services for Immigrants; Luevano-Molina, *Immigrant Politics and the Public Library*.

are typically shelved in separate sections to make it easier for patrons to browse the materials that meet their needs (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: Photo of shelves of books in Spanish. Photograph by author.

The second measure is the availability of collateral materials, such as pamphlets, bookmarks, calendar of events and newsletters to patrons, in languages other than English. Figure 14 illustrates a flyer, written in Spanish, giving notice of a library's homework-assistance program for schoolchildren.

Figure 14: Flyer posted in a library advertising their homework assistance program for children.

The third measure is the presence of signs in the library to help non-English speaking patrons find materials. Libraries can be confusing places, with row after row of books and materials, multiple stories in a building and complex classification and categorization systems. Signs represent a commitment to help non-English speakers find materials in this complex structure. Figure 15 is a photograph of a sign in Russian directing patrons to the materials available in that language. Figure 16 is a sign in English and Spanish for a quiet room in a library. Finally, Figure 17 is a sign in Spanish indicating that the section is for Children's Fiction books. The in-language signs help immigrants find the materials they need.

Figure 15: Sign indicating the library has books in Russian. Photograph by author.

Figure 16: Sign for a study room in English and Spanish. Photograph by author.

Figure 17: Sign in Spanish indicating that the section is for Children's fiction books. Photograph by author.

The fourth measure is whether the library has in-language holdings in the majority of languages spoken in the community. Thus, if six languages are spoken in a locality, does the library have holdings in at least four of these languages? Purchasing in-language materials obviously imposes a cost, and thus it is in this fourth dimension where the measure of welcomeness taps the extent of libraries' substantive (as opposed to merely symbolic) efforts. Libraries have many competing priorities and face budget restrictions. They must balance the needs of the various groups in their community. Striking this balance may be complicated by tensions between local majorities, which typically are white and English speaking, and immigrant minorities. Many communities have immigrant populations from multiple countries or regions of the world and may have several or dozens of languages and dialects spoken in the community. Purchasing materials in the majority of these languages represents a significant resource commitment. This is a dichotomous variable.

The fifth measure is how much priority the library gives to obtaining non-English materials for their patrons. As noted above, libraries face budget pressures and must allocate resources to meet the needs of their patrons. Some libraries may choose to limit acquisition of in-language resources in order to continue to provide the existing level of service for established

patrons, while other libraries may prioritize the acquisition of in-language resources in order to provide equitable service to immigrants. Libraries may have materials in the majority of languages spoken in their community, but not prioritize acquisition of these materials so these collections may remain disproportionately small and limited compared to English collections. This dimension is measured by a Likert scale and is based on the library director's report of the priority given to purchase of these materials.

The sixth measure is whether the library provides United States Customs and Immigration Service (USCIS) test preparation materials to assist immigrants in studying for the citizenship test. The USCIS provides little organized assistance to immigrants to help them integrate into society or help them become citizens. While sample tests, materials and forms are available on the USCIS website, immigrants must find them. Many libraries have chosen to provide USCIS materials in an organized manner to immigrants. For example, Figure 18 is a photograph of a Civics and Citizenship Toolkit published by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services that is available at a public library.
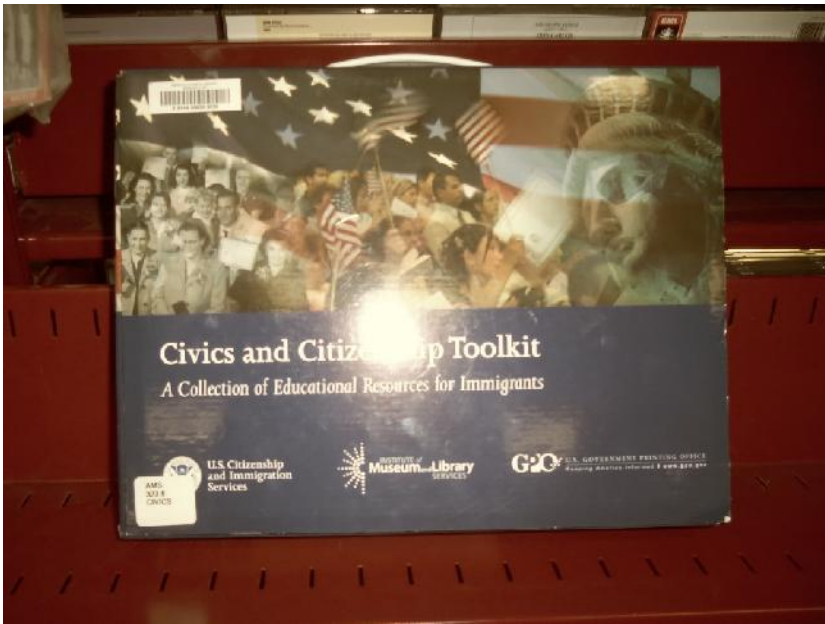
Figure 18: Shelf with citizenship materials. Photograph by author.

The seventh and eighth measures reflect the library's emphasis on recruiting and hiring employees who are bilingual. The first of these is whether the library offers a pay differential or bonus to bilingual employees or provides extra points to bilingual candidates in the hiring process. These bonuses represent at least an attempt to recruit and retain bilingual employees. The second of these measures the substantive outcomes of hiring and recruiting: what percentage of the library employees are bilingual?

Dimension 2: In-language website

The second dimension reflects the increasing use and importance of internet communications and is the availability of information on the library's website in a language other than English or a link to a translation website. Libraries increasingly offer services online, including the ability to search the catalog, see upcoming events and programs, and reserve and renew materials. Some libraries provide the full array of these resources in the language of

immigrant groups in their community. Thus, Figure 19 is an image of the front-page of a

California public library's website. The main page has an option to view the website in three

languages. Some libraries offer online access to such language learning programs as Mango

Language (see Figure 20). These resources help immigrants gain access to information, learn

English and develop basic computer skills. The measure is a single dichotomy expressing

whether a library has any such online in-language resources.

Figure 19: In-language webpage for a library.

Figure 20: Sign promoting the library's online language learning program software that is available to patrons. Photograph by author.

Dimension 3: Library classes and programming

The third dimension of welcomeness is the extent to which library facilities are used by the library or other organizations to provide programming and services of particular interest to immigrants. Libraries often have meeting rooms, computer labs and other facilities that they use to provide classes and programming for patrons. They may also allow other organizations to use their facilities for free or for a small fee. Libraries are typically located in convenient locations with ample available parking making them ideal locations for organizations to offer programs to the public. Many types of programs of interest to immigrants may be offered: educational programs or speakers, citizenship classes, English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, children story times in a language other than English, and English conversation sessions. For example, a

library in a Western state offers ESL courses and has sponsored a public meeting with the local

representative to the United States Congress to discuss the Deferred Action for Childhood

Arrivals (DACA) policy, a federal policy with significant implications for immigrants.[176]

Another Midwestern library has invited speakers to the library to discuss issues relevant to

immigrants, including a representative from the Social Security Administration to discuss social

security benefits and immigration lawyers to discuss the naturalization process and other legal

issues.[177]

I use two measures of the extent of library programming for immigrants: the number of

these programs for immigrants and the frequency with which they are offered.

Dimension 4: Collaboration

The fourth dimension of welcomeness is the extent to which the library collaborates with

other organizations and agencies. Libraries and other organizations that serve immigrants may

face a demand for those services that exceed the ability of any one group to provide, especially in

areas with large or new immigrant populations. Many public libraries work with other agencies

and organizations in the community in order to identify needs, promote literacy and to obtain

feedback. Collaboration with other agencies and organizations is considered to be a best practice

for libraries by both the American Library Association (ALA) and a working group convened in

October 2004 by the Office of Citizenship, a department in the USCIS.[178] The endorsement of

collaboration by this working group is a valuable indication of the importance of collaborative

networks, as the working group was composed not only of representatives from public libraries

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[176] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 18, February 26, 2013.
[177] Author's interview with library bilingual coordinator, Interview 37, June 22, 2011.
[178] U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and The Institute of Museum and Library Services. "Library Services for Immigrants: A Report on Current Practices," (2005).

but also of representatives of immigrant organizations and educators working with English language learners.[179]

A useful example of collaboration on immigrant issues is from Williamson County Texas.[180] There, the Literacy Council of Williamson County in Texas uses meeting rooms at the Round Rock Public Library for its volunteer orientation and provides ESL classes at two public libraries and two churches in the county. Using these facilities allows the Council to have classes in convenient locations for students. Libraries commonly develop relationships with nonprofit organizations, faith-based organizations, social service agencies, literacy councils and public school systems. These partnerships allow all organizations to share information, refer immigrants to the appropriate organization and bridge resource gaps. Figure 21 shows signs in English and Spanish on the exterior of a public building in a Spanish-speaking area of a Midwestern city which houses a branch of the public library, a Head Start office and an office of the local community college.

I use two measures of the extent of collaboration: the number of organizations with which the library collaborates and the frequency of interactions, each measured on a Likert scale.

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[179] Author's interview with library bilingual coordinator, Interview 37, June 22, 2011.
[180] Author's Interview with library director, Interview 32, February 11, 2013.

Figure 21: Signs on the exterior of a building in a Hispanic neighborhood in a Midwestern city. This public library, head start and community college share facilities, collaborate with each other and have signs that are in English and Spanish.

Dimension 5: Community Outreach

The fifth dimension is the extent of the library's outreach efforts to immigrant communities based on key actions suggested by the 2004 working group at the Office of Citizenship, including recruiting immigrants to serve on the library board, holding tours of the library for immigrants groups and hosting seminars and lectures on issues of interest to immigrants.[181]

Many public libraries attempt to communicate directly with members of immigrant communities in order to build trust and relationships and to obtain information about how best to serve these groups. Since many immigrants come from countries without a tradition of a free, egalitarian public library system, new arrivers may not be aware of the services and programs offered by the library, so many libraries reach out to immigrants through public schools, ethnic

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[181] U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and The Institute of Museum and Library Services. "Library Services for Immigrants: A Report on Current Practices."

organizations and refugee centers. Immigrants may also lack trust in public agencies, particularly when they come from countries where public agencies are abusive and where providing personal information to such an agency (even for something as innocuous in this country as a library card) is regarded as risky. In this context, libraries may regard outreach messages and programs as key ways to improve immigrants' perceptions and use of the library.

Outreach efforts range from symbolic to substantive. Some actions may symbolically reach out to immigrants, such as using non-English media to promote events and meeting with immigrants in the community. These actions represent attempts to obtain information or to demonstrate interest in the needs and issues of immigrants, but they do not necessarily show that the library is using that information to change policies or to acquire materials or programs for immigrants. Libraries also reach out to immigrants in more substantive ways, such as recruiting immigrants to serve on the library board, holding tours of the library for immigrants groups, sending surveys to residents in multiple languages and participating in such public events as block parties and cultural festivals to publicize the library's services to immigrants. These actions represent substantive attempts to incorporate immigrants in the library's organizational structure and to integrate their needs and concerns into the organization's policies and service provision.

For example, a library in a Southern state routinely sends library employees to neighborhood parties to promote the library and explain its services.[182] These neighborhood parties are commonly held throughout the city, including in areas in which many immigrants live. During these events, residents learn about the library and its programs and services and

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[182]Author's interview with library director, Interview 13, Mach 13, 2013,library assistant, Interview 24, March 13, 2013 and Interview 25, March 13, 2013.

library employees learn about residents' needs and issues. For another example, a library in a South Central state developed a display of the Muslim religious holiday of Ramadan which educated non-Muslims about Islam and reached out to Muslims in the community who were involved in developing the display. The display was also intended to demonstrate that the library was for all members of the community. The director stated "we have a growing Muslim population in this area and they are part of the community just like everybody else."[183] A Midwest community participated in an ethnic community celebration of Cinco de Mayo and provided information about library services, allowed residents to sign up for library cards and gave away donated children's books.[184] Outreach efforts are measured by a Likert scale.

Dimension 6: Staff Training

When library patrons visit a library or contact it for information, they encounter library employees, and these interactions may give rise to communication difficulties both linguistic and cultural in nature. Whether and how the library prepares its employees to address these difficulties is the sixth dimension of welcomeness. Immigrants often come from countries that do not have public libraries that are open to everyone, and so they may be unfamiliar, intimidated and uncomfortable when they come to the library. Language and cultural differences may make them hesitant to ask questions, even when approached by a library employee. Other differences include cultural expectations regarding appropriate forms of eye contact, personal space, as well as cultural expectations regarding how to address female members of the family.

My measure of this dimension is whether or not the organization provides training to employees to help them interact more effectively with immigrants. This dimension is an index of

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[183] Author's interview with library director, Interview 28, February 11, 2013.
[184] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 24, March 13, 2013 and Interview 25, March 13, 2013.

the number of types of training provided to employees. Libraries may provide a variety of training including language classes or cultural awareness skills.

Dimension 7: Immigration Status Verification Efforts

While some library services, such as the ability to read magazines, newspapers and books on site, are available to anyone who enters the library, other services are limited to those who have a library card. Full access to all library programs and services is only available to those with the borrowing privileges given with a library card. To get a library card, libraries generally require an applicant to verify that she is who she says she is and that she lives in the library's service area.

The seventh dimension measures the ease with which immigrants, including undocumented immigrants, can provide the necessary documentation to obtain a library card. Library policies vary considerably regarding what forms of documentation are acceptable to prove one's identity and address. Some forms of identification are less onerous to provide than others, and thus library policies vary considerably in making it easy or hard for an immigrant to obtain a library card. The most welcoming libraries require no photo ID or accept a wide range of photo identification cards including business IDs, passports issued by other countries and Consular Matricular cards issued to Mexican citizens in the United States by the Mexican embassy and consulates, regardless of their immigration status. The most restrictive libraries require U.S. government issued identification such as a driver's license, state ID card, U.S. passport or United States Permanent Resident Card (Green Card). This dimension is measured by a Likert scale.

The dimensions of welcomeness in library policies are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Library Policies

Dimensions of Welcomeness	Measures
In-language Resources	- In-language materials, collateral and signs - Citizenship test and process materials - Priority of purchasing non-English materials - Materials in the majority of languages spoken in the community - Bilingual pay/recruitment - Percent bilingual employees
Library classes and programming	Use of library facilities for classes, speakers and other programs for immigrants
In-language website resources	Webpages in a language other than English or link to a translation website
Community outreach programs	- Symbolic outreach to immigrants - Substantive outreach programs to immigrants
Collaboration with other agencies	Collaboration with other organizations and agencies
Staff training	Training to improve interactions with immigrants
Eligibility requirements	Requirements to obtain a library card

A general index of welcomeness

I have combined these various dimensions into a single additive index of the degree of public library welcomeness. Due to different scales for some of the survey questions, I used Stata's Alpha command to standardize the components to a common mean before combining into the additive index. The Cronbach's alpha for this index is .77 indicating it may be considered reliable. Factor analysis confirmed the dependent variable is tapping a single concept.[185]

Figure 22 shows the distribution of the dependent variable, Welcomeness. Some libraries have very welcoming policies and practices towards immigrants, while some are extremely

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[185] A factor analysis of the eleven items in the welcomeness scale reveals one main factor (eigenvalue of 3.13), accounting for 77% of the variation. In the analysis presented in this chapter, I use the actual value of the additive scale as the dependent variable. Results are similar if I use the factor score as the dependent variable.

unwelcoming. The differences between welcoming and unwelcoming libraries are remarkable. For example, the library in City A is one standard deviation above the mean on the index of welcomeness. It has provided training to employees to help them interact more effectively with immigrants including language skills, diversity, cultural skills and training on programming for immigrants. Library facilities have been used to provide English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, computer and citizenship classes, speakers of interest to immigrants and information about community resources for immigrants. The library has signs in a language other than English. The foreign language collection is 5% of the total library collection, representing a substantial expenditure. This library has policies and practices that are more than symbolic actions and represent a substantive attempt to be welcoming towards immigrants.

In contrast, a comparable community, City B, that is one standard deviation below the mean, has a foreign language collection that is 2% of their total collection, does not have signs in foreign language, does not consider obtaining foreign language materials a priority, library facilities have not been used for ESL classes, citizenship classes, computer classes for immigrants, or for speakers of interest to immigrants. The library has not provided training to its employees to help them interact more effectively with immigrants. This library engages in little activity that welcomes immigrants.
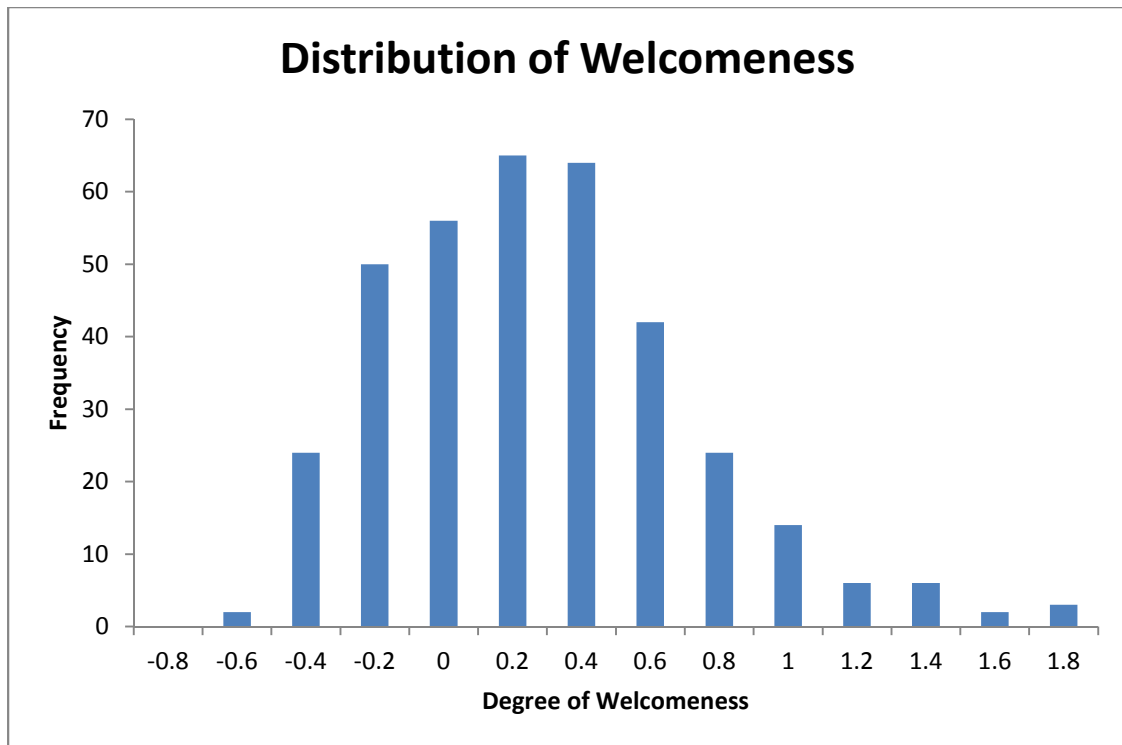
Figure 22: Histogram showing the distribution of the dependent variable, Welcomeness.

Possible Influences on the Policies and Practices of Public Libraries towards Immigrants

Public libraries have a wide range of policies and practices towards immigrants, but what factors might influence these variations? This research focuses on three possible explanations: professional norms of equal service, minority-threat theory and economic factors

Professional Norms

As discussed in the previous chapter, the theoretical premise of this study is that institutional norms shape local agency policies and practices toward immigrants. For public libraries, professional norms and rules may be passed through the organization by personnel affiliations with professional associations, primarily the American Library Association (ALA). Libraries have historically conveyed a symbolic message of welcomeness and the American Library Association emphasizes the importance of libraries to immigrants. While membership in

the ALA is ubiquitous for professional librarians, many front-line library workers are not

members of the ALA. Indeed, the basic hiring requirement for many of these workers is a high

school diploma with a preference for a bachelor's degree. For these workers, many paid at or

near minimum wage, the ALA membership fee of $46 a year for non-salaried workers may not

seem a worthwhile investment. Still, front-line library employees play an important role in

library-immigrant relationships and have considerable discretion in their day-to-day interactions

with library patrons. Professional norms and rules may be disseminated from library

professionals to front-line employees through training and performance expectations.

Equality of Access

Equality of access is a key professional norm of public libraries and is central to the

mission of public libraries. The American Library Association (ALA) is the dominant

professional association in this field and the Library Bill of Rights outlines its guiding principles.

A fundamental tenet of the ALA Bill of Rights is equal treatment and access. The first principle

states "Books and other library resources should be provided for the interest, information, and

enlightenment of all people of the community the library serves. Materials should not be

excluded because of the origin, background, or views of those contributing to their creation."[186]

This principle is important because it states 'all people of the community,' and this is explicitly

not limited to citizens. Principle #5 states "A person's right to use a library should not be denied

or abridged because of origin, age, background, or views."[187] This principle supports the rights of

all people to utilize library services regardless of origin, including status. In 2005 the ALA

adopted a resolution opposing the Real I.D. Act that would create a standardized, state-issued

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[186] American Library Association, "Code of Ethics of the American Library Association," accessed May 26, 2013 http://www.ala.org/advocacy/proethics/codeofethics/codeethics
[187] Ibid.

identification card. In this resolution, the ALA affirmed the "right of individuals, regardless of their legal status, to library services" and stated that the ALA works to educate libraries on ways patrons can demonstrate eligibility for library services and protect patron privacy in order to encourage immigrant' use of public libraries.[188]

I have measured the influence of professional associations on each library's policies by a survey question that asks the respondent to rate the influence of professional associations, such as the ALA, on their library's policies and practices towards immigrants. This reported influence varies considerably: while 44% of respondents indicated that professional associations had no or little influence shaping the library's policies and practices towards immigrants, 52% indicated that these organizations had moderate to high influence on these policies and practices. Another possible measure, whether librarians are members of the ALA, while quite similar to a measure of professionalism used in the previous chapter on policing, is not workable in the library context because virtually all professional librarians are members of this professional association. In sum,

H1: Higher influence of professional associations on the policies and practices towards immigrants is expected to be associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

Professional associations

Professional networks are a mechanism through which norms and rules are disseminated. The local connection to these broader field-level professional associations is often a professional employee who is given authority to carry out a professionalized task and who comes to see his or her role as bringing the agency into compliance with broader norms. These professionals act as a

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[188] American Library Association, "The American Library Association Strongly Opposes Legislation to Make Permanent those Provisions of the USA PATRIOT Act Set to Expire in 2005," accessed May 26, 2013 http://www.ala.org/Template.cfm?Section=archive&template=/contentmanagement/contentdisplay.cfm&ContentID=67090

"window" between the organization and the broader professional field and legal environment.[189]

These professionals are a path through which the professional association can exercise influence within organizations. For example, following the influence of broader professional norms, organizations may adopt new social norms and rules in symbolic form while leaving the underlying practices largely unchanged.[190] Then, faced with pressures from local activists and these internal professionals, organizations may follow through with substantive actions.[191]

Drawing on these studies, it is plausible to expect that the professional position of a library liaison to immigrant communities may serve as such a window into the library for communicating the concerns, needs and preferences of immigrants. In the context of policies toward immigrants, the relevant professional position is the designated liaison with the immigrant community. Immigrants may not know about the library and the services it provides. The liaison to these communities can work with other organizations that assist immigrants and can build trust and work with immigrants and immigrant leaders to identify their needs and issues. That position can then serve as a conduit or window for feedback, needs and preferences of immigrants in the community into the library. Liaisons with the immigrant communities are not common: only 28% of the libraries responding have one. Libraries with a designated liaison who works with immigrants may have a better understanding of and relationship with immigrants. This leads to the following expectation:

H_2: Libraries with a designated liaison to the immigrant communities are expected to be associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

Political Factors

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[189] Edelman, "Legal Ambiguity and Symbolic Structures."

[190] Edelman, "Legal Environments and Organizational Governance"; Edelman, "Legal Ambiguity and Symbolic Structures"

[191] Epp, *Making Rights Real*.

Minority-threat theory suggests that as the relative percentage of the minority population increases, the dominant majority in a community will pressure local agencies, including libraries, to act punitively. These factors are categorized as political since the pressures are often manifested in the political process or are associated with particular political preferences. Although public libraries are not high profile public agencies that are politically controversial, they do depend on funding from city, county and state governments. As detailed below, I evaluate four political factors to determine their influence on the degree of welcomeness of libraries: the proportion of the population that is white, the proportion of the population that are immigrants from regions of the world that are typically non-white, proximity to an international border and the political attitudes of the local population.

Minority Population

As we have seen in previous chapters, minority-threat theory suggests that majority groups use local agencies to maintain their power: as the relative proportion of minority groups increases, the dominant group perceives this as an economic, political and criminal threat and responds with political discrimination, symbolic segregation and coercive policies. While previous minority-threat research has focused mainly on the police, other agencies are not immune to these pressures. Thus, in some communities, public libraries have eliminated Spanish language collections from their shelves in response to criticism that they cater to 'illegal' immigrants.[192] As the relative proportion of minority groups in the community increases, the perceived threat from them may increase. As a result, libraries may face pressure to reduce or eliminate foreign language materials and programming, and fearing loss of public support from the majority group in the community, they may choose to comply with these pressures.

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[192] For examples, see Julia Stephens, "English Spoken Here"; Quintero, "Protesters cite porn on shelves - 'Fotonovelas'."

Immigrants to the United States are from predominantly non-white regions of the world. They are also increasingly settling in suburban and rural communities in what are called "new destination states," those that do not have a tradition of immigrant settlement, and so these new immigrants often have produced considerable changes in the ethnic and racial composition of the local population.[193] If minority-threat theory is a useful explanation outside of the policing context, we might expect to find that library policies are more or less welcoming to immigrants in relation to how much new immigrant groups are perceived by the local majority as a threat.

I have measured the influence of race and ethnicity in the same ways as in the previous chapter: the proportion of the local population that is white and the proportion of the local population consisting of immigrants from non-white regions of the world. I will not repeat the description of these variables here.

Likewise, the expectations derived from minority-threat theory are similar to those described in the previous chapter on policing:

H_3: A larger proportion of white residents is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

H_4: A larger proportion of immigrants from non-white regions is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

Border Proximity

As described in the previous chapter, past research would lead us to expect that proximity to a national border is likely to affect an agency's degree of welcomeness. Proximity to the Mexican border is thought to lead to less welcomeness. Due to the lack of controversy regarding immigration from the U.S.-Canada border, states that border Canada are expected to be no

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[193] For general explanation see Víctor Zúñiga and Rubén Hernández-León, eds. *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States*. (Russell Sage Foundation Publications, 2006); Brookings Institute. *The New Geography of United States Immigration*. Brookings Immigration Series No. 3 (2009).

different in the degree of welcomeness from other states. I will not repeat the discussion of these variables here. In sum:

H_5: Sharing a border with Mexico is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

H_6: Sharing a border with Canada is expected to have no effect on the level of welcomeness.

Popular political attitudes

As shown in previous chapters a clear ideological divide exists on the issue of immigration. Based on previous research, we would expect agencies in more conservative communities to have lower levels of welcomeness. My sample of localities varies considerably on this measure from a low of 10% voting for the republican presidential candidate to a high of 81%, with a mean of 44%. My second measure is the number of nativist extremist groups in the state per 1,000 residents of the state. I will not repeat the description of these variables here. In sum:

H_7: Agencies in communities with a higher percentage of residents who vote Republican are expected to be less welcoming towards immigrants.

H_8: Departments in states with a larger number of nativist groups on a per capita basis are expected to be associated with a lower degree of welcomeness.

Arizona-style immigration-enforcement legislation

As noted in the previous chapter, six states (Arizona, Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Caroline and Utah) have passed anti-immigrant legislation that is similar to Arizona's SB 1070 and requires or allows local law enforcement agencies to verify immigration status under varying circumstances. These state laws place considerable demands on local governments to develop more punitive policies and practices towards immigrants. Public libraries, like police departments, may respond by removing or decreasing foreign language materials and

programming for immigrants. I have measured the presence of such legislation with a dichotomous variable coded "1" for states that have passed a variation of Arizona's law and "0" for all other states. Six percent of the libraries that responded are in a state with this type of legislation.

H9: State-level anti-immigrant legislation, such as Arizona SB 1070, is expected to be associated with lower levels of welcomeness.

Economic Factors

For the reasons outlined in the previous chapter, local agencies are likely to be attentive to the interests of local business enterprises, and this is likely to be true as well of libraries. Libraries are public organizations that typically rely on funding from the state, local and federal governments in order to function. Libraries may also depend on community organizations, such as Friends of the Library, to raise additional money and show public support to elected officials. Corporations, such as Dollar General, and philanthropic foundations, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, are also active in providing funding to libraries for in-language materials and computers and internet access. Due to this dependence, library executives, like other local administrators, have powerful incentives to serve local economic interests. Local agencies may be more welcoming when immigrants are important to local businesses as employees.

In keeping with the analysis in the previous chapter, I have measured the economic importance of immigrants to a community in two ways. The first is the percent of the state workforce that is foreign-born. The second is respondents' answer to a survey question asking how much they agree with the statement "Immigrants are very important as employees in the local economy." I have described these measures in the previous chapter and will not repeat that discussion here. In sum:

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H_{10}: A higher percentage of the state-wide workforce that is foreign-born is expected to be associated with higher levels of welcomeness.

H_{11}: A higher perception of the importance of immigrants to the local economy is expected to be associated with higher degrees of welcoming policies and practices toward immigrants.

Control Variables

To see whether the professional, political, or economic influences really matter, I need to consider the possibility that public libraries are influenced mainly by other local conditions. These include the size of the library system and the economic well-being of the local population. To measure these things I rely on three standard measures: the size of the library's annual operating budget, the local community's per capita income, and the local community's average monthly unemployment rate. These measures and their rationales were discussed in the previous chapter and I will not repeat the discussion here.

Results

Examining each of the categories of possible influences alone (without controlling for the others) suggests that professional norms, political pressure, and perceptions of the economic importance of immigrants each show promise as possible influences on a library's degree of welcomeness. Among the variables measuring professional norms, having a designated liaison to the immigrant community is associated with higher levels of welcomeness. Among the variables measuring political pressure, being in a county that is more politically conservative is associated with lower levels of welcomeness. But, as revealed in the previous chapter on policing, as the percentage of immigrants from traditionally non-white regions (Africa, Asia and Latin America) increases, libraries show a *higher* likelihood of welcoming policies. This is contrary to the expectation of minority-threat theory. Likewise, being in a state that borders Canada is associated with lower levels of welcomeness, another association that is contrary to the

expectations of minority-threat theory. Among the variables measuring the economic context, the perception of the economic importance of immigrants is positively associated with welcomeness.

When all of these possible influences are considered in the full model, the results reveal a story much like that in the previous chapter on policing: libraries are caught between political pressure from political conservatives to be less welcoming to immigrants and professional norms to be *more* welcoming, especially where immigrants form a sizable portion of the population. Libraries respond to each of these pressures, but especially to their professional norm of welcomeness to all members of the community.

Table 4: OLS Regression with Robust Standard Errors[194]

		Minority-threat Model	Professional Norms Model	Economic Model	Full Model
Political Variables	% of population - white	.458 (.273)			.438 (.293)
	% Immigrants Non-white	1.07 (.217)***			.996 (.268)***
	Share border - Mexico	.022 (.088)			.109 (.116)
	Share border with Canada	-.146 (.060)**			-.162 (.064)**
	2008 Presidential Vote (% Republican)	-1.06 (.368)***			-1.01 (.442) **
	Nativist Groups per 10K population	-.00003 (.0002)			-.00005 (.0002)
	Arizona Style Legislation	-.064 (.088)			-.075 (.069)
Professional Variables	Influence of professional associations		.036 (.022)		.014 (.023)
	Immigrant Liaison		.316 (.066)***		.287 (.052)***
Economic Variable	Foreign-born % of the Workforce			.223 (.430)	-.203 (.469)
	Perception of economic importance of immigrants			.134 (.025)***	.078 (.025)***
Control Variables	Budget	-.0002 (.0001)**	.0003 (.0001)*	.0003 (.00009)***	.0003 (.0001)
	Average monthly unemployment 2011	2.22 (1.29)*	4.03 (1.35)***	3.87 (1.59)**	2.74 (1.20)**
	Per capita income	-.062 (.016)**	-.036 (.017)**	-.046 (.014)***	-.025 (.016)
	R Squared	.240	.189	.181	.353
	Observations	244	223	232	213

*$p<.10$; **$p<.05$; ***$p<.01$.

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[194] The variables for the total proportion of the population that is white and the percentage of the foreign born population that is non-white are correlated at -0.3392 using Pearson's Correlation command in Stata. Removing one variable from the regression model produces no substantive change in the other variable.

One variable associated with minority-threat theory has the expected result: libraries in communities that are more politically conservative are significantly less welcoming.

But other variables associated with minority-threat theory are associated with library welcomeness in unexpected ways, and I think it is best to interpret these unexpected results in the light of neo-institutional theories of the influence of professional norms. Thus, larger proportions of non-white immigrants are associated with *more* welcomeness, entirely contrary to the expectations of minority-threat theory. Library professional norms call on librarians to facilitate access to their materials by all members of the community. These results reveal that as the immigrant proportion of local populations increases, librarians respond in keeping with this professional norm: they take active steps to increase accessibility to these immigrant groups. Likewise, having on staff a professional liaison to immigrant communities is significantly associated with more welcoming policies. This, too, is expected by theories of neo-institutional norms and how key professional staff positions act as windows between the organization and its environment.

As expected, one economic variable, the perception of immigrants' economic importance, is associated with higher levels of welcomeness. Public libraries' reliance on funding from city and county governments and donations from local businesses may make them more sensitive to meeting the needs of immigrants, especially when they are a significant proportion of employees in the area.

Some results, to be sure, were unexpected. Contrary to expectations, libraries in states that share a border with Canada show a significantly lower likelihood of having welcoming policies. This is an interesting result that deserves further research. Likewise, the measure of the influence of professional associations had no significant association with welcomeness, but this

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is understandable in light of follow-up interviews. These interviews with leaders of seven public libraries in three states suggest that professional norms associated with the ALA's stated mission are so deeply ingrained that the library professionals who answered the survey probably did not *consciously* associate their library's policies and practices with the recommendations of the ALA. When asked in the interviews, "how do the library professional associations affect the library's policies and practices towards immigrants," the responses were noncommittal and the interviewees looked puzzled. When asked a follow-up question of "how do the mission and values of the American Library Association, such as the Library Bill of Rights, influence the library's policies and practices towards immigrants," interviewees generally expressed recognition of the link between their policies and those of the ALA. In response to the question that specifically referenced the ALA, a library director explained "At this library we use the American Library Association kind of as a guide and a resource where we can. If there is a question that arises from the community that we need kind of to validate what we are doing then we usually can go to the American Library Association. We go to them for different ideas to see what other libraries are doing."[195] Another Library Manager explained "We use those [the ALA's mission and Library Bill of Rights] as a foundation absolutely. We are members so their philosophies are pretty much what we follow. They are good guidelines. We are all part of the profession and believe in those charges. It goes to making sure that people have access to the information that they need."[196] This would suggest that the survey question probably was not a good measure of the influence of library professional standards on library policies.

Table 5 shows the relative magnitude of the influence of some of the independent variables (using the results of the Clarify procedure). The range of the dependent variable,

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[195] Author's Interview with Library Director, interview 31, February 14, 2013.
[196] Author's Interview with Library Manager, interview 25, March 14, 2013.

welcomeness, illustrated in the table ranges from one standard deviation below the mean to one standard deviation above the mean. On the continuous independent variables "low" represents the 25the percentile and "high" represents the 75th percentile; the dichotomous variables are varied between not present and present. With this in mind, it is striking that the most substantial effect is associated with neo-institutional norms. Thus, all else equal, the difference between not having a designated liaison with the immigrant community ("liaison") and having one produces a shift on the dependent variable of over one-half a standard deviation in welcomeness. The perception of the importance of immigrants to the local economy produces a shift of between one-third and one-half a standard deviation. Where library leaders perceive immigrants as important to the local economy, the libraries are substantially more welcoming.
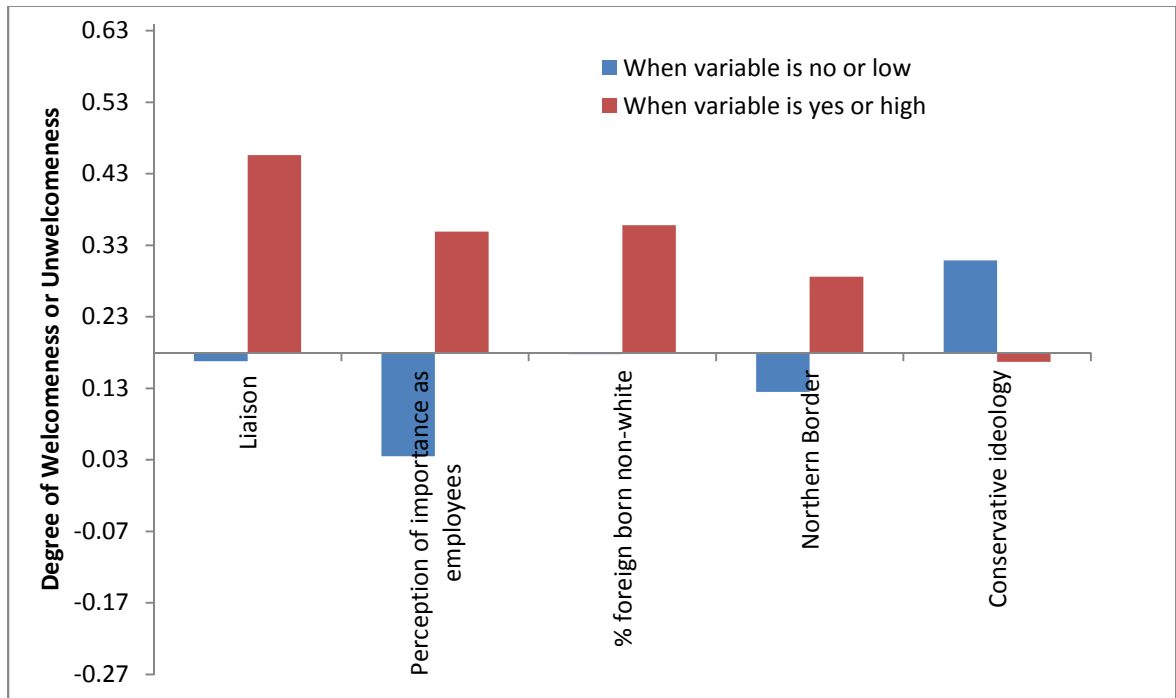
Table 5: The impact of various factors on the degree of welcomeness.[197]

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[197] King, Gary, Michael Tomz and Jason Wittenberg. "Making the Most of Statistical Analysis." American Journal of Political Science 44, no. 2 (2000): 341-355. Each pair of columns represents the impact of variations in the

By contrast, the measures of minority-threat are associated with less substantial if still significant shifts in the dependent variable. Completely contrary to the expectations of minority-threat theory, the effect of a difference between a low foreign-born non-white population (75th percentile below the mean) and a high foreign-born non-white population (75th percentile above the mean) is to make a library substantially more welcoming, by about a half of a standard deviation on the welcomeness scale. All other things equal, the difference between being in a county with relatively few conservative voters and relatively many conservative residents produces a change of between one-third and one-half of a standard deviation on the degree of welcomeness: public libraries in counties that are more conservative are substantially less welcoming.

In summary, the effects illustrated in Table 5 are consistent with the results outlined above: the effects of neo-institutional norms and economic factors are more substantial than the effect of local political pressures associated with "minority-threat," and having a larger local population of foreign-born people from Asia, Latin America, and Africa actually leads public libraries to be more welcoming rather than less welcoming.

Discussion

Libraries, like police departments, interact frequently with immigrants and may offer resources that are critical for immigrants. While libraries have come under increasing pressure to shift resources away from the foreign-language materials needed by immigrant groups, this chapter has shown that public libraries policies and practices towards immigrants are influenced

identified variable on the library's degree of welcomeness, with all other variables set at their means. The figure's scale covers one standard deviation above and below the mean on the dependent variable (welcomeness). On the independent variables "low" represents the 25th percentile and "high" represents the 75th percentile on the independent variables. Results generated using the Clarify procedure in Stata.

by deeply engrained professional norms to make the library accessible and useful to all members of the community.

Literature on attitudes towards immigrants suggests that we might expect political factors to strongly influence organizational policies and actions towards immigrants.[198] Attitudes towards immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, are divided along ideological lines with conservatives often favoring more restricted immigration and more punitive policies towards undocumented immigrants. These expectations are partly borne out. The more politically conservative the community, the less welcoming its library is.

But these political pressures are only part of the story, and a relatively small one. As the proportion of the population who are immigrants from non-white regions of the world increases, library welcomeness *increases*. This is entirely unexpected by minority-threat theory, and it suggests that libraries, like police departments, are not the puppets of local political majorities. Library executives are not merely responding to political pressures from dominant groups in the community.

My findings provide support for the presumption that economic factors and professional norms of equal service play important roles in shaping library policies towards immigrants. Perceptions of the importance of immigrants as employees in the community and higher rates of unemployment are associated with higher levels of welcomeness. Libraries may seek to generate public support and financial support by supporting the economic needs of businesses that employ immigrants.

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[198] Mayda, "*Who Is Against Immigration*?"; Dustmann and Preston, *Racial and Economic Factors in Attitudes to Immigration*; Chavez, *The Latino Threat*; Hanson and Slaughter, "Individual Preferences over High-Skilled Immigration in the United States."; Hainmueller and Hiscox, "Attitudes toward Highly Skilled and Low-skilled Immigration."

Discourse around immigration often reflects the perception that immigrants take jobs away from American citizens. Historically crackdowns on immigration, and especially punitive policies toward undocumented immigrants, have gained greatest force during recessions. But my results show that libraries are more welcoming in communities with higher levels of unemployment. The qualitative results indicate that libraries recognize not only the importance of immigrants to the local economy but also understand that the library plays an important role in helping immigrants to find jobs. Libraries are an important mechanism to provide information and services to members of the community. In addition to written materials, libraries help address the digital divide in the country by providing access to computers and the internet. A recurring theme in interviews with librarians was the importance of providing immigrants with access to computers to look for and apply for jobs, even entry level and short-term employment. Without access to computers at the library, many low income immigrants would struggle to find jobs.

My findings also support the argument that professional norms of equal service have important and positive effects on the degree of welcomeness towards immigrants.[199] In these examples, professional associations take both symbolic and substantive actions to show their compliance with broader legal and professional norms. Libraries widely use liaisons with the immigrant communities to disseminate information to those groups as well as obtain feedback and information on immigrants' needs and preferences. This communication enhances the library's services to immigrants as well as immigrants' access to information and services the library provides. Since many immigrants do not come from countries with public libraries or with public libraries that are open to the general public, they may not know to seek out the

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[199] Edelman, "Legal Environments and Organizational Governance"; Edelman, "Legal Ambiguity and Symbolic Structures"; Edelman et al, "Professional Construction of Law." Epp, "Making Rights Real."

library. By working with immigrant groups and with other organizations that work with immigrants, the library is able to promote its services to these groups. In return, libraries may be able to broaden their public support in the community.

Library facilities are open to members of the public who enter, walk around and see the shelves of in-language materials, notices of classes and programs for immigrants and in-language signs and may overhear a library employee speaking a language other than English. These are powerful and visible indicators of libraries' welcomeness to immigrants. While city governments may hesitate to reduce a police department's budget, libraries have faced budget cuts in many communities. Libraries are a low profile public organization with a mission that, unlike public safety, may be seen as not critical to a community.

Despite the potential public and political criticism and backlash, welcoming libraries make a conscious, deliberate decision to provide services and materials for immigrants. To illustrate this important point, a library in a conservative state provides books and DVDs in all the major languages spoken by the immigrant groups, including Somalis, Ethiopians, and Burmese. Obtaining these materials is not easy for the library. The library also provides fax services because some immigrant groups need the service. Why does this library go to these lengths? The Deputy Director explained, "Because our professional mission as a public library is to provide the materials and information the public needs, the way they need it. *We are a public library; that is what we do*."[200]

Conclusion

Existing research on bureaucratic incorporation of immigrants has suggested that racial and ethnic minority groups will be incorporated into local politics before local bureaucratic

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[200] Author's interview with Deputy Library Director, Interview 36, June 21, 2011.

agencies improve treatment of these groups.[201] These studies suggest gaining political rights and

political representation is a prerequisite for gaining benefits from public agencies.[202] As Meier

and O'Toole (2006) find, from a political control perspective bureaucratic response to minority

groups follows the lead of elected officials.[203] Only one study has found that bureaucratic

organizations are taking the lead in incorporating immigrants into the community.[204]

Like Marrow, I find that bureaucratic agencies are taking a leading role in welcoming

immigrants. The findings I present here suggest that while libraries are responsive to political

pressures to behave punitively towards immigrants, those pressures are often offset by

professional norms of equal service and perceptions of the importance of immigrants to the local

economy.

Providing equal access to service may understate the role of libraries: more than simply

providing services, librarians may serve as sense-makers in the community. For organizations,

sense-making is about re-imagining their story in such a way that it is comprehensible to their

local community and resilient in the face of challenges. It is about fitting the organization into

the broader social and cultural context.[205] Librarians, heavily influenced by professional norms

of equal service, engage in this activity on an ongoing basis and have done so throughout the

history of public libraries. In the face of changing community demographics, social and

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[201] Rufus P. Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David H. Tabb, *Protest is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics* (University of California, 1984); Robert Alan Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (Yale University Press, 1961); Michael Jones-Correa, "Race to the Top? The Politics of Immigrant Education in Suburbia" in New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration, ed. D. S. Massey (Russell Sage, 2008); Russell Sage; Lewis and Ramakrishnan, "Police Practices in Immigrant-Destination Cities"; Marshall, T. H. "Citizenship and Social Class" in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*, (ed) T. H. Marshall (Doubleday and Company, 1964): 65–122.

[202] Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class."

[203] Kenneth Meier and Laurence O'Toole, "Political Control versus Bureaucratic Values: Reframing the Debate." *Public Administration Review* 66, no. 2 (2006): 177-192.

[204] Marrow, *Immigrant Bureaucratic Incorporation*.

[205] Scott, Richard W. *Institutions and Organizations*. (Sage, 1995); Karl E. Weick, Kathleen M. Sutcliffe and David Obstfeld. "Organizing and the Process of Sensemaking." *Organization Science* 16, no. 4 (2005): 409-421.

economic needs and technology, libraries have rewritten their organization's story in ways that keep the public library relevant to the community. Libraries are more than repositories for books and literacy programs. The commitment to their core mission of literacy is still central to their story, but in their search for a shared meaning in a changed community they have incorporated other roles and commitments. They look at their community and its needs and change their story in small ways on an ongoing basis. For immigrants, they still promote literacy with books and classes, but as they see gaps in the broader services, libraries have stepped in to fill them. They have cultural displays and programs that educate residents and send the message to newcomers that they are part of the community. Libraries have responded to the needs of local employers and potential employees by providing access to computers and the internet as well as training on how to use them. They provide assistance with resumes and job applications. They are a central place in the broader community where residents of all races, ethnicities and economic statuses come and interact.

Faced with competing public preferences and ambiguous situations, librarians rely on their understanding of their context in the broader community, such as their history as an egalitarian organization, their role of providers of information and their focus on literacy to develop their understanding of the services they should provide to immigrants and their role in helping immigrants in the community. Based on these findings, future research should not assume that libraries only respond to demands from the dominant groups in the community or from elected officials. In fact, libraries often seek out the underserved, unseen groups in the community in order to identify their needs and better serve them.

Chapter 4 - Black Man Walking, Brown Man Working: Situational Context and Police Perceptions of Worthiness

How front-line employees act toward immigrants is a test of whether welcoming policies matter in practice. Discretion is inherent in policing, but whether front-line employees substantially depart from official policy is debated.[206] There is some evidence that police officers tend to follow the policies and preferences of leadership.[207] But there is also evidence that police officers on the street sometimes widely depart from official policy.[208] What is clear is that street-level bureaucrats exercise considerable discretion in their day-to-day interactions with individuals.

Among the most important influences on these interactions is how the street-level bureaucrat perceives the moral worthiness of the member of the public.[209] These perceptions are shaped by how the person is acting (e.g., whether sober or drunk, respectfully or disrespectfully), by how much they look *normal* (e.g., whether conscientious and hardworking or irresponsible and lazy), and by the setting (e.g., whether a middle-class neighborhood or an impoverished, high-crime area). Much of the research in this area has analyzed police decisions to take formal

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[206] Michael K. Brown, *Working the Street: Police Discretion and the Dilemmas of Reform* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1988); Carole K. Chaney and Grace H. Saltzstein, "Democratic Control and Bureaucratic Responsiveness: The Police and Domestic Violence." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (1998): 745-68.

[207] Charles Katz and Vince Webb, *Policing gangs in America* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006); Skogan and Hartnett, *Community Policing*.

[208] Donald J. Black and Albert J. Reiss, Jr, "Police Control of Juveniles." *American Sociological Review* 35 no. 1 (1970): 63-77; Jerome H. Skolnick, *Justice without Trial: Law Enforcement in Democratic Society*. 3rd ed. (MacMillan, 1994); Jerome H. Skolnick and James Fyfe, *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force* (Free Press, 1993).

[209] Maynard-Moody and Musheno, *Cops, Teachers, Counselors*.

action, especially to make arrests, and shows that the arrest decision is influenced by these situational factors.[210]

This chapter presents research on situational context that differs from previous research on this topic in two ways. First, it extends existing research by exploring how immigrant status and the local immigration context shapes perceptions of moral worthiness. Second, Chapters 4 and 5 examine for the first time how situational imperatives affect library employees' actions. Addressing these questions is crucial for understanding whether and how official policies of welcomeness are translated into front-line actions.

While research on situational imperatives has not focused on official interactions with immigrants, there are good reasons to think that immigrant status may affect these interactions. Given the powerful evidence that situational factors affect police officers' decisions, it is likely that factors related to immigrant status, particularly language and cultural differences and perceived "legal" status may also affect these interactions. This chapter examines how the situational context affects police and library employee interactions with immigrants. I begin by using the policing literature on situational context to develop the hypotheses that front-line workers' discretionary treatment of people who are perceived to be immigrants may be influenced by a) the local context, specifically the extent to which immigration has grown locally to become perceived as a "threat," and b) individual situational factors, specifically the extent to which the individual who is perceived to be an immigrant is perceived to be morally "worthy" or "unworthy." Then I present results from semi-structured interviews conducted with organizational leaders and front-line employees. A total of 41 in-depth interviews were

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[210] See esp Donald Black, "The Social Organization of Arrest." *Stanford Law Review* 2, no. 3 (1971): 63-77; Richard Lundman, "Routine Arrest Practices: A Commonwealth Perspective." *Social Problems* 22 (1974): 127-141; Smith and Visher, "Street-Level Justice."

conducted with police chiefs and front-line officers and library executives and front-line employees. Ten interviews were conducted prior to the survey and 31 were conducted following the survey. Agencies were selected to represent unwelcoming, neutral and welcoming organizations. Welcoming organizations were one standard deviation above the mean, unwelcoming organizations were one standard deviation below the mean and neutral were within one standard deviation below and above the mean.

The interviews suggest that perceptions of immigrants as "worthy" are found in all types of departments. All types of departments face similar challenges when interacting with immigrants and have adopted similar methods to overcome them. While the chief of only one (unwelcoming) department expressed belief that the public would support more punitive actions towards immigrants, political pressure in favor of more punitive immigration enforcement is probably more widespread than this would suggest and, as we have seen in previous chapters, may explain the adoption of unwelcoming policies in some places.

Situational Context and Front-line Employee Interaction with Immigrants

Immigrants have historically been judged based on whether they were judged as 'worthy' by the dominant groups in society. These judgments of worth have historically been based on their ascriptive characteristics, such as race and ethnicity.[211] Thus, Klinkner and Smith argue that a long-standing inegalitarian tradition views white Americans as "chosen by God, history or nature to possess superior moral and intellectual traits" and that these individuals are part of a "special community" that is "distinctively and permanently worthy" regardless of the achievements of the individual.[212] Those who do not fit within the ascribed characteristics of race, ethnicity, gender, religion or sexual orientation historically have been excluded from

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[211] Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal and Harts;" Smith, *Civic Ideals*.
[212] Klinkner and Smith, The Unsteady March. 38

citizenship by deliberate policy.[213] Popular discourse about immigration still focuses on ascriptive characteristics and perceptions of worth. Controversy has centered on 'illegal' immigrants who break the law through the act of coming to the United States to 'steal' jobs, have 'anchor babies' to remain in the U.S., rely on welfare benefits and remain loyal to their home country by not learning to speak English and assimilate. Another area of controversy is on immigration from countries that are predominantly Muslim, or believed to be Muslim, with the discourse focusing on beliefs that America is under attack from Islam and that these immigrants want to impose Sharia law.[214]

Front-line bureaucrats often have wide discretion. The law that is delivered by police officers on the ground is often very different from the law on the books. Law is "applied downward," meaning that the higher the status the individual, the better they are treated.[215] The sociological status of the individual is important as is the relative status between those involved. Police will respond different when an affluent white woman's purse is stolen by a homeless black male than they would if her purse were taken by a friend of a similar social status. As the sociological relationship between the victim and the offender changes, the same event will be perceived differently by police and society.

Lipsky (1980) found that front-line bureaucrats exercise considerable discretion in their day-to-day interactions with individuals and in this function serve as policy decision-makers.[216] Street-level bureaucrats experience huge caseloads, ambiguous agency goals, and inadequate resources which, coupled with discretion, results in a substantial difference between government

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[213] Smith, *Civic Ideals*.

[214] Bobby Ghosh, "Islamophobia: Does America Have a Muslim Problem?," *Time Magazine*, August 30, 2010; Moore, "United We Stand."; National Conference of State Legislatures, "Fears of 'creeping sharia'."

[215] Donald Black, *The Behavior of Law* (Academic Press, 1976).

[216] Michael Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy*: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services. (Russell Sage Foundation, 1980).

policy in theory and policy in practice. Rather than evaluate each case individually, they must

ration resources, screen applicants for qualities their organizations favor, rubberstamp

applications, and impose uniform processes. According to Lipsky, street-level bureaucrats are

generally middle class and tend to ration services based whether the client meets middle class

values of hard work and thrift. Those who do not exhibit these values may experience less

service.

Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) extended the research on street-level bureaucrats

by showing that discretionary decisions rest on judgments about the character of the individual

with whom they are interacting.[217] Front-line workers distinguish the worthy from the unworthy,

sometimes by comparing the person with whom they are interacting to themselves or to those

they know. Those who 'measure up' are viewed as worthy and may be treated differently, and

more favorably, than those who do not.

Other research indicates that bureaucrats are insulated from politics in the community and

tend to rely on advice from other bureaucrats.[218] This same research shows that bureaucrats are

influenced by the professional associations in their area and resist intervention from elected

officials when it conflicts with professional guidance.

Research on street-level discretion has observed that some types of situational factors

especially influence officers' actions. These factors include the nature and severity of the

person's violations, his or her demeanor and personal characteristics (race, ethnicity, gender, and

age), and the context, such as if the encounter is occurring in a public place or private residence

and the presence of bystanders. Police officers act more punitively towards people who have

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[217] Maynard-Moody and Musheno, *Cops, Teachers, Counselors*.
[218] Elizabeth Gruber, *Controlling Bureaucracies* (University of California Press, 1987).

committed more serious offenses.[219] For example, officers tend to act more punitively toward

men who are drunk, belligerent and disrespectful than women who are sober, quiet and

respectful.[220]

The foregoing studies disagree on whether officers treat racial minorities worse than

whites. In analyzing the variables previously presented, some researchers have found that there is

no discrimination against black suspects, while others found that hostility and disrespectful

behavior towards police increases the likelihood of arrest and that black suspects are more

vulnerable to formal action because they are perceived to be insufficiently deferential.[221] Epp,

Maynard-Moody and Haider-Markel (2013 forthcoming) found racial disparities in police

investigatory stops but not traffic-safety stops.[222] Their work also found that officers treat

disrespectful drivers more disrespectfully and punitively, regardless of the driver's race.

This literature provides a foundation for understanding interactions between street-level

bureaucrats and immigrants. The focus of street-level research on such situational factors as

whether the person appears "normal" or "hardworking" may be extended to include additional

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[219] Lynnette Feder, "Police Handling of Domestic Calls: The Importance of Offender's Presence in the Arrest Decision." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 24, no. 6 (1996): 481-490; Kathleen J. Ferraro, "Policing Woman Battering." *Social Problems* 36 (1989): 61-74; Eve S.Buzawa and Thomas Austin. "Determining Police Response to Domestic Violence Victims." *American Behavioral Scientist* 36, no. 5 (1993): 610-623; Douglas A. Smith, D. "Police response to interpersonal violence: Defining the parameters of legal control." *Social Forces* 65, no. 3 (1987): 767-782; Helen M. Eigenberg, Kathleen E. Scarborough and Victor E. Kappeler, "Contributory factors affecting arrest in domestic and non-domestic assaults." *American Journal of Police*, 15, no. 4 (1996): 27-54; William M. Holmes, "Police Arrests for Domestic Violence." *American Journal of Police*, 12 (1993) 101.

[220] Berk and Loseke, "Handling of family violence"; Worden, "Situational and attitudinal explanations of police behavior"; Alissa Pollitz Worden, "The Attitudes of Women and Men in Policing: Testing Conventional and Contemporary Wisdom." *Criminology* 31, no. 2 (1993): 203-241.

[221] Berk and Loseke, "Handling of family violence"; Robert E. Worden and Alissa A Pollitz, "Police Arrests in Domestic Disturbances: A Further Look." *Law and Society Review* (1984): 105-119; Black and Reiss, "Police Control of Juveniles"; Black, "The Social Organization of Arrest"; Lundman, Richard. 1974 "Routine Arrest Practices: A Commonwealth Perspective." *Social Problems* 22:127-141; Richard E. Sykes and John P. Clark, "A Theory of Deference Exchange in Police-Civilian Encounters." *American Journal of Sociology* 81, no. 3 (1975); Richard E. Sykes, James C. Fox and John P. Clark, "A Socio-legal Theory of Police Discretion." *The Ambivalent Force: Perspectives on the Police* 3 (1976): 171-183.

[222] Epp, et al, *Pulled Over*.

factors relevant in the immigration context, specifically whether the immigrant is suspected to be undocumented or appears to be unusual due to cultural or linguistic differences. The research on situational imperatives has not considered whether a person's perceived status as an immigrant matters, but this status seems similar to some of the personal characteristics that clearly do affect these interactions. Officers may perceive immigrants, especially Hispanics, as being in the country 'illegally' and therefore 'unworthy' or as already guilty of a crime for being in the country without proper documentation. Immigrants from Africa may face racial discrimination like that suffered by African Americans born in the United States. Immigrants may be perceived as acting abnormally because of cultural differences, such as speaking loudly or gesturing in pronounced ways. Immigrants' clothing may also shape perceptions. Immigrants wearing loose, flowing tunics or native headwear may cause concerns for officers, especially in conjunction with other situational factors. For example, officers may be concerned that weapons could be hidden in loose garments, may perceive women wearing veils as victimized or they may perceive men wearing Middle Eastern headwear as hostile or suspect. Language barriers, too, may affect officers' perceptions of immigrants. Officers often respond to volatile or emotional situations. In these situations, immigrants may be speaking or shouting in their native language. This may be perceived as a safety issue for officers since they cannot understand what is being said. Police officers treatment of immigrants may vary based on situational factors and if the officers perceive the actions of the immigrant as respectful or disrespectful.

These factors may affect how library employees interact with immigrants, too. Front-line library workers exercise a great deal of discretion in common interactions with patrons. When patrons enter the library, workers can choose to proactively approach and ask if they need assistance, decide how quickly they approach the patron, the extent to which they assist with a

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particular issue and, depending on policy, the information required of a potential patron to allow use of library services. For example, a library worker may see a patron who looks confused in the library stacks, but they have discretion about whether to approach the person to inquire if they need assistance and how quickly to do so. While some libraries have specific policies regarding what types of photo identification and address verification is required to obtain a library card, others only state that a photo ID and documentation confirming address is needed. This gives employees discretion as to whether they will accept a business' employee photo ID or a consular card issued by a foreign country. It is likely that how front-line employees exercise their discretion in these situations will affect how immigrants perceive public libraries.

Library workers perform their duties in a public environment with broadly accepted social norms of behavior, but immigrants may be unfamiliar with these norms. Libraries are widely accepted to be quiet areas in which patrons lower their voices. They are places where patrons wait their turn in line to check out materials, to use a computer, to ask a question and to obtain materials. Many countries lack a widely available, open public library system so immigrants may not be aware of these social norms and may behave in ways others perceive as being inappropriate or disrespectful. This type of behavior may influence whether and how front-line employees interact with immigrants. For example, someone who speaks loudly may be reprimanded or avoided by a library worker.

The physical attributes of a patron may also affect whether and how a library worker interacts with that individual. An employee who overhears a woman speaking to her child in another language or sees someone wearing the traditional clothing of their home country may choose to not assist that patron in the same way they might choose to assist another patron.

While the existing research does not specifically examine the situational context of front-line employee and immigrant interactions, it is reasonable to expect that

H₁: The actions of front-line officials will vary from punitiveness to welcoming, depending on the characteristics of the situation. Specifically, immigrants who are disorderly and appear to be morally "unworthy" will be treated punitively; immigrants who are orderly and appear to be morally "worthy" will be treated with welcomeness.

The Local Context: Public Perceptions of "Minority-threat" and Front-line Employee Response

How geographic contexts are perceived, too, may be shaped by racial stereotypes. Stereotypes frequently equate minority race and ethnicity with criminality and the general public often attributes urban violence to racial and ethnic minorities.[223] Research shows that the greater the percentage of racial minorities in the local population, the greater is whites' fear of crime, even after taking into account the actual rate of crime.[224] This, as we have seen, is called minority-threat theory, and it postulates that the perceived criminal threat of minorities shapes punitive state actions against minority communities and individuals.[225] Scholarship shows that police resource allocation is primarily affected by the demands from the dominant group for protection from the supposed criminality of minorities. Several studies have found that the greater the relative size of the minority population the greater the use of punitive law enforcement responses, including police use of deadly force, police force size, arrest rates,

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[223] Quillian and Pager, "Black Neighbors, Higher Crime?; Ted Chiricos, Kelly Welch and Marc Gertz, "Racial Typification of Crime and Support for Punitive Measures."

[224] Chiricos, Ted, Michael Hogan and Marc Gertz. "Racial Composition of Neighborhood and Fear of Crime." Criminology 35, no. 1 (1997): 107-129; Allen E. Liska, Joseph J. Lawrence and Andrew Sanchirico. "Perspectives on the Legal Order: the Capacity for Social Control." *American Journal of Sociology* (1981): 413-426.

[225] Allen E. Liska and Mitchell B. Chamlin, "Social Structure and Crime Control Among Macrosocial Units." *American Journal of Sociology* 90 (1984): 383-395..

incarceration rates and executions, all after taking into account actual rates of crime.[226] Other

scholars have found that the larger the relative size of the racial minority population the more

there are informal punitive actions including lynchings, hate crimes and interracial killings.[227]

A central component of minority-threat theory is that ''aggregate measures of

punitiveness will vary with aggregate measures of racial composition because the presence of

Blacks creates a fear of crime that helps to mobilize punitive resources.'' [228] Although there has

been little research on whether the relative size of the Latino population has a similar effect on

fear of crime, one study showed that the relative size of the Latino population directly affects

fear of crime among white residents.[229]

The Latino Threat Narrative, a common theme in popular discussion and media coverage,

conveys negative stereotypes about Latinos, particularly those of Mexican descent.[230] The

underlying assumptions of the Narrative include: Latinos are a reproductive threat because their

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[226] Mitchell B. Chamlin, "A Macro Social Analysis of Change in Police Force Size, 1972-1982: Controlling for Static and Dynamic Iinfluences." *The Sociological Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1989): 615-624; David Jacobs, "Inequality and Police Strength: Conflict Theory and Coercive Control in Metropolitan Areas." *American Sociological Review* 44 (1979): 912-925; Pamela Irving Jackson and Leo Carroll, "Race and the war on crime: The Sociopolitical Determinants of Municipal Police Expenditures in 90 Non-southern US Cities." *American Sociological Review 46* (1981): 290-305; David F. Greenberg, Ronald C. Kessler and Colin Loftin, "Social Inequality and Crime Control." *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 76, no. 3 (1985): 684-704; M. Craig Brown and Barbara D. Warner, "Immigrants, Urban Politics, and Policing in 1900." *American Sociological Review* 57 (1992): 293-305; Liska and Chamlin, "Social Structure and Crime Control Among Macrosocial Units"; Martha A. Myers, "Black Threat and Incarceration in Postbellum Georgia." *Social Forces* 69, no. 2 (1990): 373-93; Charles R. Tittle and Debra A. Curran, "Contingencies for Dispositional Disparities in Juvenile Justice." *Social Forces* 67, no. 1 (1988): 23-58; Charles D. Phillips, "Social Structure and Social Control: Modeling the Discriminatory Execution of Blacks in Georgia and North Carolina, 1925–35." *Social Forces* 65, no. 2, (1986): 458-472.
[227] Jay, Corzine, James Creech and Lin Corzine, "Black Concentration and Lynchings in the South: Testing Blalock's Power-threat Hypothesis." *Social Forces* 61, no. 3 (1983): 774-796; Donald P. Green, Jack Glaser and Andrew Rich, "From Lynching to Gay Bashing: the Elusive Connection Between Economic Conditions and Hate Crime." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75, no. 1 (1998): 82-92; David Jacobs and Katherine Wood, "Interracial Conflict and Interracial Homicide: Do Political and Economic Rivalries Explain White Killings of Blacks or Black Killings of Whites?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, No. 1 (1999): 157-190.
[228] Ted Chiricos, Ranee McEntire and Marc Gertz. "Perceived Racial and Ethnic Composition of Neighborhood and Perceived Risk of Crime." *Social Problems*, 48, no. 2 (2001): 322-340.
[229] Eitle and Taylor, "Are Hispanics the new 'Threat'?"
[230] Chavez, *Latino Threat*.

high birthrate will alter the demographic composition of the nation; Latinos are unable or

unwilling to learn English; Latinos are unwilling or unable to integrate into American society;

the Latino culture is static; and Latinos, especially those from Mexico, are part of a larger

conspiracy to reconquer the southwestern United States and return it to Mexico's control.[231]

These stereotypes are similar to those described by minority-threat theory.

Libraries also face public pressures to respond punitively towards immigrants.[232]

Libraries have removed non-English materials from their shelves or eliminated in-language

programs in response to public opinion that they are catering to 'illegal aliens' at the expense of

law-abiding citizens. While the existing research does not specifically examine the impact of fear

of immigrants on the actions of front-line employees, it is reasonable to expect that

> *H_2: Heightened fear of immigrants among the local majority population may contribute to a greater tendency among front-line employees to view a person who is undocumented as inherently "unworthy" and thus meriting a punitive response.*

Methods

I conducted interviews with police chiefs and front-line employees in ten city police

departments and with library managers and front-line employees in thirteen public libraries. The

chosen police agencies represented the spectrum of welcomeness, with two organizations having

unwelcoming policies and practices, two having neutral policies and practices, and two having

welcoming policies and practices. Likewise, the libraries selected for these in-depth interviews

varied in how welcoming were their formal policies and practices. Three libraries had

unwelcoming policies and practices, two had neutral policies and practices, and two had

welcoming policies and practices. The specific organizations vary in population, percentage of

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[231] Ibid.

[232] Washington Times, "Library's Spanish outreach criticized," August 1, 2005, accessed http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2005/aug/1/20050801-120314-8922r/.

foreign-born residents, per capita income and percentages of racial and ethnic minorities (for additional information see Appendix A).

In each of these organizational contexts I asked the participants to describe how encounters with immigrants differed from encounters with non-immigrants. In the police departments, my questions focused on how officers' interactions with immigrants were affected by the situational factors of bystanders, race, and severity of the alleged crime. In addition, ride-a-longs were conducted with two police departments to observe potential interactions. For libraries, my questions focused on how front-line employees' interactions with immigrants were affected by such situational factors such as race, presence of other patrons and the demeanor of the immigrant. Additionally, I asked interviewees to assess the level of support from the public and elected officials for the agency's policies and practices toward immigrants, and whether the public or elected officials seemed to prefer more punitive actions towards immigrants.

Perceptions of the moral worthiness of immigrants

Officers' views of racial and ethnic minorities varied, but common themes emerged in the interviews. Command-level officers in three police departments, one neutral, one unwelcoming and one conducted pre-survey, acknowledged that some officers supported more stringent enforcement of federal immigration laws, although their perception is that this is a small minority of officers and that this preference does not have a strong influence on these officers' actions towards individuals. There is no obvious correlation between these perceptions and the degree of welcomeness, suggesting that views of "worthiness" are not obviously influenced by departmental policies. Officers in five departments, ranging from unwelcoming to welcoming, talked about immigrants as hardworking people who came to the United States in search of a better life and who were more often victims of crime rather than perpetrators.

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Police officers and police chiefs generally spoke about immigrants in positive terms, indicating their perceptions of immigrants, even undocumented immigrants, as 'worthy.' Police also indicated little pressure from the general public or elected officials to respond punitively towards immigrants. In one unwelcoming department, it is surprising that one chief flatly stated that he has received "no feedback from the public for more enforcement."[233] His perception of immigrants is that they are hard-working and take jobs others are not willing to do. "You have jobs, a lot of them in the restaurant industry or the hotel industry, a lot of labor like in the fields. The reality of it is who is going to do those jobs if you didn't have the immigrants here, whether they are documented or not. I think even in the slower economic times, there could be some people that might take those jobs on but I don't think you will have enough of a work force to fill the jobs. I think there are people that even if they need a job wouldn't do those jobs for whatever reasons."[234] Another police officer in a welcoming department stated "I don't see it [pressure from the public for punitive actions against undocumented immigrants] because they are not causing these things [crime]. They are not the law breakers. They just want to work at the jobs they can get. Most of their jobs pay cash and are hard jobs."[235] These perceptions of immigrants as "worthy" based on their desire willingness to work appeared in both welcoming and unwelcoming departments.

Perceptions of immigrants were not entirely positive. An officer in one welcoming community stated that although in her experience most of the child sexual abuse cases came from the Latino community and that other adults would cover for the perpetrator or not believe the child, this was a small number and most immigrants were willing and eager to work and she

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[233] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 9, February 20, 2013
[234] Ibid.
[235] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 6, February 11, 2013.

respected that. In contrast, she believed that African Americans in the community often target immigrants, especially Latinos who were probably undocumented, for theft. In her view, rather than work the menial, low paying jobs that immigrants did, some African Americans would target immigrants since they knew Latinos carried cash and would be hesitant to report the crime to police.[236]

I found officers' perceptions of African Americans and immigrants differed, and this may affect how the two groups are treated. I spoke with police officers in two communities that have large populations of African Americans and immigrants, predominantly from Latin America. The officers and chiefs in both of these communities indicated that racial tensions exist between these two groups in their communities. These tensions exist even in welcoming communities, as a chief explained "I think the primary racial tensions at the political and community level is between our African American and Latino populations. That is a challenge; the whole black versus brown issue is complex and difficult."[237] Officers in these communities also reported that there have been incidents of African Americans targeting Hispanics for theft, especially since it is known that Hispanics, especially undocumented immigrants, often carry cash since they do not have bank accounts. An officer in a welcoming department in a Sanctuary city told me that these crimes are cyclical. "Two, three months ago, there was a rush of victims. The immigrant males were getting jumped on by couple of young black guys. They [the immigrants] don't have much and the majority of them are elderly Hispanic males that will come and do yard work, handyman work.... that's what they do, just odd jobs. Whatever money they have they hold it and they are always carrying cash, so, one gentleman had five hundred dollars and that was all the money he

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[236] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 12, February 21, 2013.
[237] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 11, February 21, 2013.

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had. They hit him in the head and robbed him."[238] Another officer observed that "there is tension

between blacks and Hispanics," and she gave an example of a call she responded to in which

"the victim was undocumented, but he had lived here since he was really young. He spoke

perfect English. He was assaulted and robbed by blacks. The immigrant was frustrated because

he had worked hard for his money, but because of his status was limited to low paying, menial

jobs and frustrated that those who robbed him had more opportunities but chose crime instead.

You know, it isn't fair. Immigrants appreciate the opportunities they have."[239] The officer also

indicated that she sees little "hostility from whites [towards immigrants], but much more from

blacks in the community. They feel that Hispanics are receiving benefits that took them [African

Americans] much longer to receive. It is as if they think if Hispanics get protection, blacks are

losing some."[240] The tension between immigrants and African Americans was reported by

officers in all types of departments, from unwelcoming to welcoming.

Officers reported that residents of their communities shared these perceptions that

African Americans are a criminal threat. An officer in an unwelcoming department in a

community that is 55% white and less than 3% African American explained that the department

receives calls from residents who call to report that "there is a black man walking in the

neighborhood. The resident wants us [the police] to come check it out. Dispatch will ask if the

person is doing anything wrong and if the resident says no, we will not respond."[241] The officer

stated that they will sometimes get a call like this for Hispanics, but it is usually regarding

blacks. This suggests a perception that a black man walking in the neighborhood is a criminal,

while a Hispanic man in the community is probably working. These stories suggest that, at least

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[238] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 6, February 11, 2013.
[239] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 12, February 21, 2013.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 10, February 20, 2013.

in some of the communities, while African Americans are perceived as criminals who target the vulnerable, immigrants are perceived as hardworking individuals who want to work, support their families and contribute to society.

Most police officers and chiefs interviewed for this study reported that they do not support greater involvement by their departments in enforcing federal immigration laws. Nor do they believe that there is much support or pressure from their community for more immigration enforcement by the local police. Thus, when I asked a police chief in a neutral department in an ideologically conservative state whether he believed the public supported more immigration enforcement by his department, he replied that "I would say that probably most of the community is not even concerned about it [undocumented immigration]. They [residents] are just kind of oblivious to the whole thing. [It is] Probably more politically motivated and I think that is probably the only time that I hear something about immigration is usually around election time [from candidates]."[242] Another police chief, in a neutral department in an ideologically liberal state, was more adamant than others about the issue, stated:

"To me officers took an oath and the one thing I don't particularly like to see from chiefs and sheriffs is when they decide to interpret what the law should be. I think that they carry a lot of weight and yet they should only be speaking for their jurisdictions. I don't think it is our role to try to make or legislate law. I think our role is to effect law; it is part of the executive branch. It isn't for me to decide whether the immigration policy is correct or not correct. If the US government had a policy that required me as a local department to enforce federal law, then that is our job until it is changed by the court system. It is not for me to say I agree or I disagree with those policies. And I think you

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[242] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 8, March 19, 2013.

have a lot of examples, especially from sheriff's departments, where they are very vocal and one-sided in their view [about immigrants]. They are basically stating they are going to violate the law and not fulfill their mission. Now you also have to be cognizant of what the community wants and how it desires to be policed. So I don't really see illegal immigrant populations as a problem to us."[243]

The absence of community and political support for more punitive action against immigrants is found throughout neutral and welcoming communities, but is mixed in unwelcoming departments. In one such department, officers indicated they felt the community would not support punitive action while in another, the chief indicated his community would support it. Perhaps the most that can be said is that the interviews showed no clear correlation between officials' perceptions of political pressure favoring punitive immigration enforcement and the degree of the department's welcomeness.

For example, to my surprise, a street-level officer in an unwelcoming department stated that his community would not accept "stricter enforcement of immigration law. I don't think it would be acceptable to most residents. The community is well educated and affluent and that affects their attitudes. If a high profile incident were to occur, it might change attitudes. I don't think they [residents] would tolerate punitive action towards immigrants, even undocumented ones. I don't think officers want to do it either."[244]

Not all police officers and chiefs were opposed to stricter enforcement of immigration laws at the local level, and the Secure Communities program does have some support. One police chief in an unwelcoming department in an ideologically conservative state with Arizona SB 1070 style legislation reported that the city council had asked his opinion about signing a

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[243] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 10, February 20, 2013.
[244] Ibid

287(g) agreement with ICE. He said, "We did some research then and I talked to him [the previous sheriff] about 287(g) of course and the implication for us. What we decided and what our council back then agreed was that we were not going to be involved in it. That that's something the federal government is responsible for."[245] He also indicated that his community would support increased immigration enforcement:

"I think our community, if I told the news media today we are going to start enforcing immigration law, I don't know that I would get a lot of opposition from the majority of our people. It [opposition] will be from the minority of our people, you know the folks who probably are going to be subject to that. My best advice would be is that 'okay we are going to follow the law and if the law says we have to do that and gives us the authority to do that [enforce federal immigration laws] then we will do that'. We will deal with the staffing issues that brings and all the other stuff."[246]

These stories illustrate several common themes. First, police officers in all types of departments have negative stereotypes about some groups in their community. As we have seen, some think that Latinos commit sex crimes against children more than do other groups and that African Americans are not willing to work and are more likely to target Latinos for thefts. Second, many officers viewed immigrants as hard-working people who would take any job to provide for their family. In their view immigrants are pursuing the American Dream and are working and contributing to society. In essence, they are worthy and perhaps are even more so than African Americans in the community. Strikingly, many of the officers I interviewed did not view undocumented immigrants more negatively than documented immigrants; they viewed both

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[245] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 15, March 14, 2013.
[246] Ibid.

groups as hardworking and worthy members of the community. Immigrants' willingness to work contributed to this perception of worthiness for inclusion and protection in the community.

Challenges during encounters with immigrants

Police officers and library workers reported encountering similar challenges when interacting with immigrants. Both groups reported experiencing language barriers, cultural differences and immigrants' lack of trust in government agencies. These challenges represent potentially significant impediments that front-line employees need to overcome. The following discussion describes these challenges and how front-line workers attempt to overcome them.

Police Department Challenges

Police officers indicated that language barriers are a challenge. In many instances officers simply do not understand what the immigrant is saying. In some situations, such as a traffic stop, this may be a minor although frustrating issue. In other situations, such as calls regarding violent crimes, not understanding what is being said may cause serious problems. Officers must rely on body language, gestures and interpretation from whoever is available. During encounters with immigrants who are not fluent or proficient in English, officers must use other resources, both formal and informal, to obtain the information they need. In some cases, officers are bilingual and are able to handle the interaction without assistance, but in most departments in my study only a small percentage, on average 8.6%, of officers are bilingual. Some departments rely on community policing strategies to assign the bilingual officers to neighborhoods that have higher populations of immigrant groups. Hiring sufficient numbers of bilingual police officers to meet the department's needs is a challenge for all police departments interviewed.

Officers prefer to use internal resources, such as another officer who is bilingual or an officer from another department or agency, such as a neighboring police department, sheriff

department or, in some cases, a fire department. Police chiefs in all of the departments studied here indicated that when needed, an officer could ask dispatchers to send a bilingual officer from their department to assist, although the less welcoming departments had only one or two bilingual officers in the entire department. Chiefs and officers also indicated that neighboring law enforcement agencies were sometimes called to provide a bilingual officer and they were aware of what languages were spoken by officers in neighboring jurisdictions. Assisting with interpretation was described as common among law enforcement agencies. As one chief in a welcoming department with less than 4% bilingual officers reported, "there are a few [bilingual officers] at the county [sheriff's office] and we have some guys, the federal guys like I told you, the DEA, some Marshals, ATF, ICE and FBI. We have some [bilingual] officers and because of our relationship with the federal agencies we can get someone here pretty quick."[247] In some cases, primarily those involving major crimes, outside professional interpreters were brought in to conduct the interviews with suspects, victims and witnesses. An officer in a neutral department with no certified bilingual officers reported, "I worked a pretty big case and we had to use an interpreter to get a statement because the person could not speak directly to me. I felt like the person doing the interpreting wasn't involved necessarily, but it was enough that I wanted to hear directly from this person so she agreed to come in and we sat down and we did an interview with an interpreter. We took a statement from her and it was 'okay this is right from what she said.'"[248] As these examples reveal, while language barriers are a significant challenge for many police departments that interact with immigrants, officers have adapted to these challenges by relying on bilingual colleagues.

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[247] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 5, February 8, 2013.
[248] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013.

Still, sometimes a bilingual officer is not available. In these situations officers may rely on formal or informal translation mechanisms. All police departments interviewed use the 'Language Line' for interpretation assistance. This is a private company that has interpreters who speak over 200 languages.[249] When an officer needs assistance, they can call the Language Line, request an interpreter who will then speak with both parties and translate. Challenges with this service make it one that officers often use only when there no other options are available. For example, interviewees often reported waiting 15 – 20 minutes for an interpreter to be available. For serious crimes in which officers need immediate information, the Language Line may take too long. One officer recalled a case in which "a lady called in about her husband who was firing at her, shooting a gun. She was in the northern part of town and they are trying to communicate with her using the Language Line. I had to jump in as a Spanish speaking officer because it takes maybe fifteen minutes to wait [for an interpreter]."[250] The officer was contacted by the dispatcher to interpret by telephone.

Because delays in the Language Line system limit its usefulness, many officers prefer less formal but officially accepted mechanisms. A common one is to rely on interpretation by others in the household, such as a child, or others in the area, such as a neighbor.[251] Officers in both welcoming and unwelcoming departments often expressed some discomfort with relying on a third party since the interpreter may have a personal bias or may not interpret correctly due to misunderstanding what the officer is asking. Thus, an officer observed, "a lot of time what is readily available to you in the field is someone who says 'oh I can speak English,' but you are always kind of wondering, are they saying what I am saying or are they changing it a little bit or

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[249] Language Line Services, "About Us," accessed May 17, 2013 "http://www.languageline.com/.
[250] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 7, February 11, 2013.
[251] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 8, March 19, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 6.

does it even directly translate? So yeah, those are definitely challenges to overcome."[252] Officers indicated that they use children to translate for parents or relatives, but officers also expressed concern that using a child in this way would put the child in the middle of an "adult" situation, and this posed significant risks of conflicts of interest.[253] For example, parents may attempt to influence the child, or using the child to interpret might pit the child against a parent. As an officer put it, "If I need someone to translate I usually prefer to wait for another officer [either from his department or a neighboring department]. Some people use kids in the household but that can put a child in the middle or the parents might try to influence the child."[254] In routine situations such as traffic stops, officers indicated they are able to muddle through the encounter. Some officers have taken 'Command Spanish' courses or have learned key phrases and words in other languages, such as driver's license, identification, insurance, etc. In addition, officers indicated that many immigrants have learned basic procedures through television and through others in the community so they know what to provide officers when stopped for a traffic violation. Officers' rough proficiency in immigrants' language, coupled with the immigrants' hazy English proficiency and basic knowledge of procedures often allows routine interactions to be completed without a fully bilingual interpreter.

Among these various options officers who are not bilingual clearly prefer to rely on translation by another officer who is bilingual.[255] According to officers in both neutral and welcoming departments, immediate, in-context translation by a bilingual officer is superior in

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[252] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013.

[253] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 10, February 20, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013.

[254] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 10, February 20, 2013.

[255] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 6, February 11, 2013.

every way to muddling through, relying on the Language Line, or relying on a bilingual child or a bilingual civilian adult. Nonetheless too often one of these is the only available alternative.

Cultural factors are also a challenge for many officers, although officers indicate that they learn to adapt when possible. For example, officers commonly reported that cultural differences create inevitable tensions in these encounters with immigrants. Entering a home and not removing one's shoes may be seen as a sign of disrespect by the household while officers may view removing their shoes as inhibiting their ability to pursue a fleeing suspect or may pose some other risk to safety. Officers are often trained to view lack of eye contact from a suspect as suspicious, but for immigrants from some cultures, especially those from countries with corrupt law enforcement, prolonged eye contact is viewed as rude or a challenge to the officer's authority. Officers indicated that they recognize this difference and take it into consideration when interacting with immigrants.[256] Officers in all types of departments, unwelcoming, neutral and welcoming recognize that rather than a sign of suspicion, avoiding eye contact is often a sign of deference.

Officers gain understanding of immigrant groups' cultural expectations through three primary methods, official training, experience and by talking with other officers. Some departments include training on cultural differences in the police academy training and annual in-service training. These training courses are often incorporated into larger 'diversity training' and provide examples and information on cultural differences associated with immigrant groups. Even in unwelcoming departments, officers are cognizant of cultural differences and try to be accommodating, but emphasize the importance of following procedures. As one officer in an unwelcoming department put it, officers "learn about some cultural skills such as removing

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[256] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 8, March 19, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 10, February 20, 2013.

shoes, addressing the eldest male in the household first, in the academy, but a lot is also learned on the streets through other officers and experience. The emphasis is on effective encounters with residents. When responding to calls, officers focus on following accepted procedures first, and then on cultural and language needs."[257] Still, several officers in both neutral and welcoming departments reported that experience in interactions with immigrants is the only way to learn immigrants' cultural norms.[258]

Officers also learned that sometimes they simply cannot abide by a group's norms and must explain, as respectfully as possible, why not. The need to ensure their personal safety was cited frequently by officers as to why they might not comply with a cultural expectation. Thus, an officer reported, "Officers safety is paramount; it is about making sure you go home at the end of your shift. As a cop you see everyone as against you or out to get you."[259] Officers also stated that they tried to be respectful towards the members of the household to reduce tensions and negative perceptions.[260] However, this is not always feasible. As one officer stated, "Officer safety is going to be paramount in any situation so you know you go with your instincts. If you feel like something is out of place, there are times when things raise the hair on the back of your neck and you go with that."[261]

Since officers often rely on other officers both for back-up for personal safety and for interpretation, this interaction with other officers can also provide training for officers who are not accustomed to interacting with immigrants, including rookies. For example, one officer in a welcoming department who is often called to interpret for other officers indicated that while he

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[257] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 10, February 20, 2013.
[258] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 8, March 19, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 6, February 11, 2013.
[259] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013.
[260] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 10, February 20, 2013.
[261] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 8, March 19, 2013.

strictly interpreted the questions and answers and left the decisions to the original officer, he will also try to explain cultural differences to both the officers and the civilians when necessary to facilitate an effective interaction between the two parties. He said, "They [the immigrant] want to shake your [the officers] hand and thank them. I say 'no' don't thank me thank that guy. I try to help both understand the other. I try to explain the differences."[262]

A third challenge confronting the police is that members of many immigrant groups have low levels of trust in the police. This seems to be so for two reasons. The first is that in many of their countries of origin the police are corrupt, abusive, or simply not present. Officers reported that immigrants often assume that police in the United States are similarly corrupt or abusive. Second, many immigrants fear that law enforcement will profile, detain and deport immigrants who are perceived as being undocumented, especially Hispanics. The lack of trust is a challenge for officers since victims and witnesses may be reluctant to contact the police and to provide statements when officers are called. The lack of trust is an issue even in a welcoming department, "We have had incidences where the person is the victim and at the same time they kind of keep it inside. They don't necessarily want police involvement because of the fear [of police]."[263] Some officers observed that this reluctance to contact police may contribute to the targeting of immigrants by criminals. Thus, one officer reported, "there is a lot of crime in those areas where the Hispanics live but generally they don't report crime because they don't trust us."[264] This is common even in Sanctuary Cities. As an officer in such a city with welcoming policies and practices reported, "Latinos often doubt or do not know that this is a sanctuary city.

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[262] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 5, February 11, 2013.
[263] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 6, February 11, 2013.
[264] Ibid.

They [the police and city government] try to communicate this, but the doubts about it among Latinos continue."[265]

Some departments have engaged in significant efforts to build trust among immigrant groups, with varying levels of success. The chiefs of two police departments, one in Iowa and one in Texas, reported significant perceived improvements in relationships with immigrants in the community by creating programs that focus on helping and interacting with their children. The programs initiated by these two departments do not focus directly on crime but on building positive perceptions of police with children. The welcoming Texas department publishes a community events and programs brochure in English and Spanish and events include a bicycle safety rodeo, Cops 'N Kids Carnival and Halloween activities including a Trunk or Treat where officers distributed candy from police cars in the department's parking lot and a Haunted Jail. Although attendance is not counted, the police chief and the front-line officer both indicated that they have seen attendance from minorities and immigrants increase. He observed,

> "If you get the kids engaged, the moms and dads are going to come. We did Trunk or
> Treat on Halloween night. We had free candy and we had no idea how many people were
> going to show up. We had a haunted jail and lined up a lot of police cars right outside.
> There were more Hispanics there percentage-wise than I have seen during the Cops 'N
> Kids program in the summer. We expected 300 kids and had like 1,500. I know we are
> doing some things that are successful but we are willing to get some more ideas. When
> we do these little events close to Hispanic communities obviously we have more

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[265] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 13, February 21, 2013.

[Hispanics attend] since there are better opportunities for them to come. I see a little bit of difference there."[266]

Children are also the focus for the department in Iowa. Although this department is a neutral department on the scale of welcomeness, it has also focused its efforts on children. The chief found out that the public schools faced a challenge since 39 languages and dialects are spoken by parents and children in the school. He reported,

"Along with that [language concerns from the schools] we had a problem apartment complex in town that was a police concern. A lot of trips were going on there and it was deteriorating over the last couple of years. We had a park next to it and that park was being overtaken by drug dealers. They were befriending these elementary kids because they were the ones to teach them how to play basketball and soccer, it wasn't the police officers. As a result, they were becoming the look-outs for these guys as they were doing their drug deals. So we wanted to impact that, change what we saw going on in this apartment complex and deal with what the school system was saying. I knew that was a broader approach than I could tackle myself so we brought in community representatives from the different social service agencies to volunteer groups. I say those first initial meetings there were probably 30 or more groups represented and then we just sort of brainstormed where we wanted to go."[267]

This chief reported that he had learned that that the cost per child of participating in local soccer and baseball leagues was $900 or more per season, which was out of reach for most of the

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[266] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 5, February 8, 2013.
[267] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.

immigrants. Working with community activists, the department brought together citizens and

organizations to provide sports equipment, uniforms and instruction to the children who could

not afford to join the leagues. The police chief and other leaders involved in this program are

encouraging the official leagues to offer scholarships to low income children so they can play in

the formal leagues. He reported that one of the beneficiaries of these scholarships "turned out to

be a really good athlete and he started to become a school leader and has gone on to college

primarily because his abilities in football opened up all these other doors to him. So I am not

here to judge whether athletes should be the right mechanism or not, but we saw it as being an

important one."[268]

The department brought in other local agencies and organizations to help with solutions.

The community liaison officer observed:

> "[While at the apartment complex] I started talking to the kids and I noticed many have
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> scabs all over their arms, so I asked them what is going on with their arms. They told me
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> there are bed bugs and cockroaches that bite them while they are sleeping. I started
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> looking around at this place and it is really dark in these hallways. I called my sergeant
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> and said can you come over here with the camera; I want to take some pictures. It is a
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> three story apartment complex and there is one working washer and one working dryer.
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> The boiler room is unlocked and the door is open. There is an open flame with trash
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> around it! The fire extinguishers hadn't been serviced for 2 – 4 years; they are supposed
>
> to be serviced every year here. There were missing smoke detectors; we found one
>
> working smoke detector on three stories. The guard rails are broken, there is gang graffiti

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[268] Ibid.

and cuss words. We had some real safety issues. So I called our fire marshal, they came right out and started taking photos."[269]

The chief reported that this crackdown on code violations led the owner to sell the property, and the new owner is working closely with the proper agencies to identify and make improvements.[270] Calls to this complex have declined sharply.

The police department also identified health and social welfare issues that affected the children of immigrants. As the chief observed, "We spoke to the elementary teachers about these kids [and] we found they were undernourished, particularly through the summer. The school system had a program where they were weighing the kids when they left for the summer and they weigh them when they come in at the beginning of the year. This particular population, the ones coming out of this apartment complex were losing anywhere from 8 – 10 pounds over the summer months. So we delved into that, which really wasn't a police issue but I think a police department that is viewed as a leader in the community can be a catalyst for forming these groups."[271] The department focused on identifying ways to help feed the children over the summer and identified several solutions.[272] The department worked with other organizations and elected officials to change the hours of the local food bank, which had been open only from 8 am to 5 pm and thus was inaccessible to many working parents. The new coalition of organizations worked to expand hours one day a week, obtain a larger building, and educate immigrants about this resource. Once immigrants began using this resource, other issues were identified since

[269] Author's interview with police community outreach officer, Interview 4, March 7, 2013.
[270] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013; Author's interview with police community outreach officer, Interview 4, March 7, 2013.

immigrants were often not familiar with the foods that were given to them. The group of organizations helped identify the issues and find solutions, including providing instruction on how to prepare food, such as rice and dried beans, and worked with immigrants to identify what types of food they wanted in the food bank. Immigrants and other residents have increased their use of the food bank and children no longer lose significant weight over the summer.[273]

The police department also collaborated with various organizations to create a special summer camp, called Making a Connection (MAC), that provided immigrant children with tutoring, meals, instruction on social skills and fun activities, including attending sporting events and visiting museums and parks. According to the police chief, MAC has had great success. The police department was integral in identifying the need for the camp, the instruction the children needed, providing seed money and playing the role as disciplinarians. The chief observed:

"So with the MAC camp, when we formulated that I had some forfeiture money that I brought into and we went out and Parks and Rec found a few thousand dollars in donations and we started off with about $8,000 - $10,000 the first summer. Now we have a summer donor that is giving us up to $50,000 per year out of their foundation, plus the other monies we bring in. So I saw the police department as a seed to start the program but it was really up to the community to embrace it. As we started the first summer what we had, one of the things the teachers explained to me was that the kids were getting in trouble in disciplinary areas because they did not know how to do simple things like stand in line, raise their hands all of those things. The queue to the water fountain would be up and they would push to the front of the line, a kid pushes back and now you have a fight and they were in the principal's office. We decided the police role was to be the

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[273] Ibid.

disciplinarians. We would show them [the children in the program] the keys to success in our society. And we started with simple things about how to look a person in the eye when we say yes or no. How to shake hands properly, those types of things. So we used that portion where we would come in with our police officers and teach those basic fundamentals to the kids - the secrets to success. Then the teachers donated their time to coming and doing this tutoring through the summer so we started with approximately 25 – 35 kids the first summer and we worked on math and reading assignments through the summer and we had great results. I think the best result I saw was that by the end of the summer, by the middle of the year, the next year, we did an informal review of our kids, the trouble they were in with principals and where they were at now and there was drastic change. They had like 39 of these kids were sent to the office for different disciplinarian issues that first year before we had them. After the summer with us they had 6, so we really tagged that as the best concrete measure that this program was successful."[274]

These reported successes with the children affect the relationship between police and adult immigrants. A community liaison officer stated,

"once they [parents] see the kids interacting and they go back home and talk to their parents we start getting more interactions with them [parents]. To kind of give you an example, when we first started the MAC camp program we had parties in the park where we wanted to bring everyone together. We always asked what the kids wanted, and they wanted things like pizza, watermelon, and balloons and we got those things for them. At one of the last parties we had, "Big Mama" who is kind of like the mother hen of the

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[274] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.

group [Big Mama is the informal leader of immigrants from Africa since she speaks

multiple languages and dialects] came over and said they [other immigrants] wanted to

share some of their food. They brought it over so we could taste some of their food. As

the parties went on, more and more adults came over and started interacting with us and

saw what we were doing for them and for their kids. They appreciated it."[275]

Situational Context and Police Encounters with Immigrants

To explore more deeply how situational factors such as language, cultural differences and

lack of trust may influence officer responses to immigrants in particular situations, I asked

officers to describe some positive and negative encounters with immigrants. I also asked some

open-ended follow-up questions. When necessary to clarify my question, I provided officers with

two different potential situations, a routine traffic stop and a potential domestic violence situation

and asked them to describe how they would approach the situation when the people involved

were immigrants. In addition, I conducted ride-a-longs with officers in two police departments to

see first-hand how officers interacted with members of the public.

Officer responses emphasized that they followed procedure and the preferences of

departmental leaders during encounters with immigrants. The officers respond to the challenges

associated with immigrants by following policies and procedures and dealing with the issues the

best way they could within the context of their training and procedures. With minor infractions,

such as traffic stops, the primary challenge is communicating in the absence of a shared

language, and front-line officers indicated they deal with it as best they can. One chief in a

neutral department with no written policy regarding verification of immigration status indicated

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[275] Author's interview with police community outreach officer, Interview 4, March 7, 2013.

that he is concerned that officers may not follow procedures when interacting with undocumented immigrants because officers would see it as time consuming.

> "If anything I am fearful that they avoid some contacts so they don't have to deal with problems associated with illegal aliens. When you get a person who is an illegal and he is driving an unregistered car, doesn't have a license and insurance, they [the officer] know they are committing an hour and half to two hours of their time to this traffic violation. My concern is that they don't look the other way in order to avoid the hassle of processing an illegal immigrant. So my concern is people may not do their job because of the work it may take if you do have that contact."[276]

In their responses, officers indicated that it was important to follow their training and procedures during encounters and that safety was a primary concern. In more serious calls, such as domestic violence calls, officers indicated that it was extremely important to follow protocols. These situations were potentially more volatile, could involve injuries to victims and were potentially more dangerous for officers. In one neutral department that has provided little training to front-line officers to help them more effectively interact with immigrants reported, "we handle the situation the same way. It [language and cultural differences] is just one more thing that we have to kind of take control of. If you think of it as a roadmap, we just take a little detour real quick as we try to figure out what is going on."[277] Officers indicated that in these situations it was often necessary to ignore some cultural preferences, such as the preference for women not to speak directly to male officers, in order to obtain information and address the situation. These calls can be very difficult and officers rely on their standard procedures and techniques in these situations. When responding to calls with a deep cultural norm against a

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[276] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.
[277] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 8, March 19, 2013.

woman speaking to an authority figure or a male to which she is not related, officers report 'muddling through' based on procedures. One, for example, said, "We do what we normally do, such as separate people. Obviously having more officers to help is good because these are often emotionally charged situations where you have several people involved. It is helpful to have a bilingual officer so we can talk to them and compare statements."[278] Officers can also use other cues and procedures to handle the situation. For example, officers look for signs of physical assault since these will allow them to arrest the suspect and remove him (or her) from the home. Even in an unwelcoming department, officers emphasize following procedures and the law. As one officer put it, "in today's world if there is any indication of one party having assaulted the other we are mandated to make an arrest. We don't have a choice."[279] Officers also reported that it is useful to have more than one officer respond to these calls and, when possible, to have at least one female officer. Officers in all types of departments reported that in domestic violence situations they gave greater priority to officer safety and accurate assessment of the situation than to honoring cultural expectations.[280]

Officers commonly suggested that while language barriers were not difficult to overcome when handling routine traffic stops, both officer and driver could become frustrated when they did not share a common language. As an experienced officer in a neutral department with no certified bilingual officers observed, "I look at some of the new officers and a lot of it is experience level. You can tell that some of them [officers] become frustrated with the language barrier. Instead of finding other ways to resolve it they get frustrated first, but then they go ahead

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[278] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013.
[279] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 9, February 20, 2013.
[280] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 8, March 19, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 10, February 20, 2013.

and come around. They [the drivers] get frustrated also, so it is mutual frustration that keeps

elevating until we find a solution."[281]

The police departments in which I conducted interviews did not have 287(g) agreements

with Immigration and Customs Enforcement. The police chiefs of five of the police departments

indicated they did not want to be involved in enforcing federal immigration law while one, not

surprisingly a chief in an unwelcoming department, indicated that if told to by the elected city

council and provided with sufficient funding he would have no issue with doing so.[282] All of the

departments are, to some extent, associated with the Secure Communities program either directly

through their own jail or through the use of another law enforcement agency's jail for holding

prisoners for a longer period of time. Although some front-line employees expressed some

stereotypes towards Hispanic immigrants, none expressed any interest in the legal status of those

they encounter except when the immigrant has committed a serious crime. As a police chief

noted "I don't care about their status. We are pretty close to the border, so I know we have

undocumented immigrants. When they commit a serious crime, rape, armed robbery, those kinds

of things, I am fine with it [ICE placing a hold]. I am glad they are out of my community. If they

stay out of trouble, we have no interest in their status."[283] In cases of serious crimes, officers

regarded verification of immigration status as important and acceptable procedure, particularly at

the point when a suspect was booked into jail. Still, these officers reported that verifying

immigration status was a concern only when someone was unable to provide a form of

identification (for example, a driver's license). Thus, if a person offered an official form of

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[281] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 7, March 19, 2013.
[282] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 15, March 14, 2013.
[283] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 39, June 29, 2011.

identification, most of the officers reported that they would not seek verification of the person's immigration status.

It is striking how much officers in all departments expressed the need to follow the directives of leadership in the department. In many instances front-line officers used words that mirrored the language and priorities of the police chief. For example, one police chief in a welcoming department with a written community policing plan emphasized the importance of community policing in building effective relationships with immigrant communities. As he put it:

> "from a policing standpoint, and it's probably a larger strategy than just around immigrant communities, but it's very important as it relates to immigrant communities, is we do a geographic police neighborhood community policing model. We have officers that are assigned to specific beats that typically encompass more than one neighborhood. They work those beats every day and the officers assigned to a particular beats communicate with each other so they understand what is going on around the clock in those neighborhoods. Part of their work expectations is to be proactive in terms of building relationships within neighborhoods, getting to know neighborhood residents, businesses, churches, schools, community groups and others and then being engaged not only at neighborhood meetings but other various problem solving initiatives within these neighborhoods. Sometimes the officers drive these initiatives and other times they are partnering with the community."[284]

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[284] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 11, February 21, 2013.

In this department I interviewed an officer who reported that she did not really like attending some of the community meetings because residents often focused on minor issues, but she attends and participates since it is a priority of the chief.[285] She also indicated that many of the officers do like to participate in and attend neighborhood meetings. I spoke with two other officers in the department and one reported she liked attending community meetings while the other was ambivalent.[286]

This is also found in neutral and unwelcoming departments. In a neutral police department, the police chief frequently referenced the need to provide good customer service to everyone in the community. He declared, "I am of the attitude that one of the things that has always been emphasized in our community is customer service. [We focus on] who are your customers and how are you delivering your service."[287] This language was echoed by the front-line officer who indicated "basically you do the same for everyone, you know what I mean…You want to treat people the same, provide customer service as much as possible - that is important."[288] Officers in several departments stated that officers who were caught not following the directive and policies of the chief would face sanctions. In an unwelcoming department that has only recently adopted a written community policing plan, the chief explained that he is dedicated to the community policing model and "folks that do not have a good track record of community engagement at least under my regime are not going anywhere and people know that. I mean you are either in or you're not."[289] A front-line officer in that department stated "I don't hear other officers really disagree with the policy [not checking status]. Some may, but they

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[285] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 12, February 21, 2013.
[286] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 13, February 21, 2013; Author's interview with police officer, Interview 14, February 21, 2013.
[287] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.
[288] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 3, March 7, 2013.
[289] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 11, February 21, 2013.

follow policy. I don't know of officers violating the policy to never ask about status. If they did,

it would be addressed. It is not tolerated."[290] Another officer in a welcoming department with a

community policing plan explained that the professional expectation is to follow the

department's policies and "I think we do a real good job here [of following policies]. And I think

if that [not following them] was going on it would be noticed and addressed very quickly."[291]

These interviews suggest that the preferences of the police chief and official policies are a

substantial influence on the actions and attitudes of front-line officers.

Police misconduct towards minorities is well documented.[292] The videotaped beating of

Rodney King by police officers in Los Angeles was an early, but powerful, example of how

videotaping may expose misconduct to public scrutiny. Research shows that photographs and

videos play important roles in courts and hearings.[293] Videos from cameras in police cars, ATMs,

businesses and civilians are widely available and may show crimes from multiple angles and

locations. Videos and photos from civilians and security cameras were instrumental in

identifying the suspected bombers of the Boston Marathon in 2013. Police called on those at the

event to send video images that could be used to piece together the events. Research has largely

focused on how video evidence is interpreted by courts and juries and the decisions by defense

lawyers and prosecutors whether to use videotape and how they choose to interpret it for the

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[290] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 13, February 21, 2013.

[291] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 8, March 19, 2013.

[292] William A. Westley, "Violence and the Police," *American Journal of Sociology* 59, no. 1 (1953): 34–41; Marilynn S. Johnson, *Street Justice: A History of Police Violence in New York City* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003); Black and Reiss, *Police Control of Juveniles*; Skolnick and Fyfe, *Above the Law*; Hahn, Harlan, and Judson L. Jeffries. *Urban America and its police: From the postcolonial era through the turbulent 1960s* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2003).

[293] Jessica Silbey, "Evidence Verite and the Law of Film." *Cardozo Law Review*. 31, no. 4 (2010): 1257-1299; Martin A. Schwartz and Jessica Silbey, Jack Ryan, and Gail Donoghue, "Analysis of Videotape Evidence in Police Misconduct Cases." *Touro Law Review* 25, no. 3 (2012): 807-907.

jury.[294] These studies show that stationary, soundless video from patrol cars and security cameras provide an often limited perspective of events that is open to interpretation by judges and juries. Video-tapes may overwhelm all other evidence including testimony from witnesses and physical documentation because juries assume that video evidence is straightforwardly factual, when the matter is in fact more complex, and they fail to critically analyze the presentation they are shown on the screen.[295]

These studies on official video-tape evidence do not address an emerging development in the documentation landscape: the power of YouTube and the widespread use of cellphone cameras with video capability. Time Magazine called YouTube the "Beast with a Billion Eyes" in an article that focused on the power of the cellphone camera to document police brutality and other professionally embarrassing moments and the ability of YouTube to quickly and cheaply disseminate those images to the world.[296] This new media technology has the potential to turn any person with a camera phone into a citizen journalist.[297]

In half the organizations I studied in-depth, across the welcoming spectrum, police officers reported that cellphone cameras had become a significant influence on their interactions with civilians, including immigrants. Two officers, one chief and one community liaison officer mentioned that video cameras and the media influenced officer behavior. One officer said "Video cameras affect officer interactions. Everyone has a camera phone and as soon as they see police, they start filming."[298] She reported that a female officer in her department was recently

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[294] Ibid.

[295] Silbey, *Evidence Verite and the Law of Film*.

[296] Poniewozik, James. "The Beast With A Billion Eyes," December, 25, 2006. *Time Magazine*.

[297] Ibid; Mary Grace Antony and Ryan J. Thomas, "'This is Citizen Journalism at its Finest': YouTube and the Public Sphere in the Oscar Grant Shooting Incident." *New Media & Society* 12, no. 8 (2010): 1280–1296.

[298] Author's interview with police officer, Interview 13, February 21, 2013.

fired after a video of her was posted on YouTube. The terminated officer was one of several

officers on the scene and a bystander was videotaping the encounter with their cellphone. A

bystander in the crowd was verbally harassing the officer and engaging in what was perceived as

physically threatening behavior. The officer eventually used a racial slur towards the bystander,

and this was captured on video with a cellphone and posted to YouTube. The video became the

subject of considerable publicity, and the officer was fired as a result. The officer who reported

this to me noted that the terminated officer was wrong for using the slur, but stated that the

encounter lasted over 20 minutes and the video showed only a few minutes of the encounter. She

noted that it is increasingly common for officers to experience verbal and physical harassment by

bystanders who are trying to provoke a negative response so they can put the video on

YouTube.[299] The officer reported that police officers must be cognizant of this trend since people

will believe what they see in the video, even if it does not show the entire encounter. In the video

of this incident on YouTube, one of the officers appears to use his smartphone to videotape the

bystanders, perhaps in an effort to capture their actions towards the officers. Likewise, a

community liaison officer in a different department reported the growing influence of video

cameras. He stated, "Our officers are professional and held accountable for how they treat

people. With the video cameras and everything that is always on us, it would be easy to pick out

any issues or any violations."[300] The possibility that this new technology may influence officer

behavior has not been well researched, but these initial comments indicate that all levels of

officers in police departments appear to be aware of the power of video cameras to capture

incidents and YouTube to distribute these images.

Conclusion

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[299] Ibid

[300] Author's interview with police chief, Interview 2, March 7, 2013.

The data presented here illustrate a broad commitment from police chiefs and front-line officers to positive interactions between police and immigrants. Officers encounter challenges during interactions with immigrants, but they have formal and informal procedures and practices that guide their actions. The next chapter presents the results of interviews with library executives and front-line employees and concludes with a discussion of the significance of these observations from police departments and public libraries.

Chapter 5 – The Literacy Depot and 'The Boy': Situational Context and Library Perceptions of Worthiness

"One day shortly after I started here [The Literacy Depot], I was sitting in my office and someone came in and I heard her [a front desk employee] conversing in Spanish. I looked and they [employee and visitor] are hugging each other. Later I said [to the employee], oh did you have a friend come in? She said 'no that was a new client.' She is worth her weight in gold in terms of making them feel welcome!"[301]

Library workers understand the importance of public libraries to immigrants and they create policies and practices designed to welcome them to the library. Employees at twelve of the thirteen libraries interviewed expressed a clear understanding of the library's role in helping immigrants in their community. The one library in which employees did not share this view is in a community with a considerably lower percentage of immigrants who are more affluent than immigrants in the other communities. The workers saw libraries as critical for helping with literacy and language acquisition, providing citizenship classes and providing access to computers.

This chapter examines how the situational context at the front-line affects library employee interactions with immigrants. My analysis is based on in-depth interviews with employees in selected libraries. As in the previous chapter I selected particular libraries for follow-up interviews based on their degree of welcomeness. I conducted interviews in two welcoming libraries, three unwelcoming libraries, and two libraries that fell within the middle on this continuum. Consistent with my observations in the previous chapter, all of these types of

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[301] Author's interview with library literacy manager, Interview 28, February 12, 2013, in a welcoming library system.

libraries, whether welcoming or unwelcoming, face similar challenges in serving immigrants. Officials in all types expressed the same desire to provide equal service to all patrons. Still the degree of welcomeness is reflected in the types of services that are provided and the actions of front-line employees. The formal policies and practices of the organization create an environment that affects front-line interactions with patrons. Welcoming libraries have more materials and programs to offer patrons and provide their employees more training to help them interact with immigrants – increasing interactions.

Providing Services to Immigrants

Libraries provide a wide range of programs and services to immigrants. Table 6 shows the percentage of libraries offering common programs and services to immigrants. Literacy and language acquisition were the most frequently cited assistance for immigrants. Staff in all libraries indicated that they either provide these services on site, work with other organizations to provide them or know where to refer patrons for the service. One worker in a welcoming library reported that "English as a Second Language is the biggest program that we do here, followed by citizenship classes. The other thing we do is GED preparation."[302] In addition to classes, some libraries have online programs and DVDs. As one staffer in a welcoming library reported, "for English as a Second Language we found [a] resource that provided at least twenty to thirty different languages from different African languages, different Asian languages. It's an audio and DVD set that's a variety of different languages not as commonly found."[303] ESL courses are the most commonly requested program from immigrants. Thus, a librarian reported, "we get more people asking for ESL programs than we do for the other programs, like citizenship."[304]

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[302] Ibid.
[303] Author's interview with library director, Interview 31, February 14, 2013.
[304] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 25, March 14, 2013.

One welcoming library system has created a "Literacy Depot" that is entirely focused on literacy and promoting adult education.[305]

Programs Offered for Immigrants
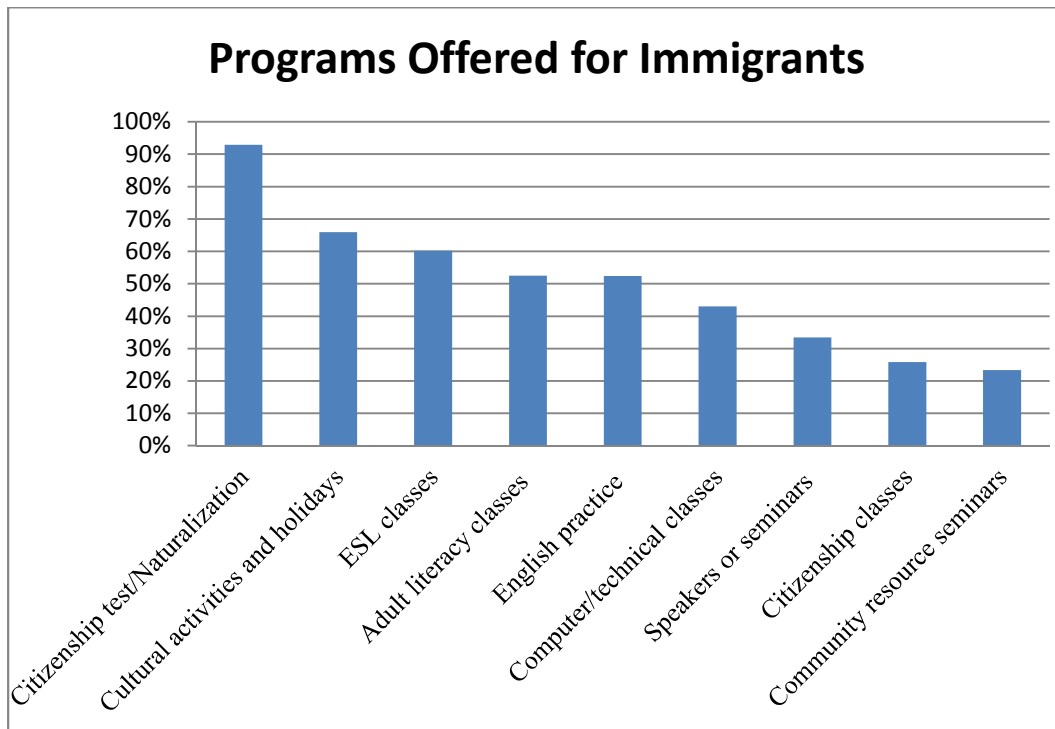
Table 6: Distribution of classes and programs offered by survey respondents.

Immigrants often seek out information and services at public libraries to help them understand and prepare for the naturalization process. As Table 6 illustrates, citizenship test information, including practice tests and USCIS information kits are available at 93% of the libraries surveyed. In contrast, only 26% of libraries had offered or had another organization use their facilities to offer citizenship classes in the last three years. Libraries in many communities will help immigrants prepare for the test either individually or in classes. The ability for library workers to assist patrons is limited, even for welcoming libraries, as one library worker explained "we don't help them with the legal documents; all we do is help them prepare for the

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[305] Author's interview with library director, Interview 27, February 11, 2013.

citizenship test."[306] A librarian in an unwelcoming library reported concern about public backlash against citizenship courses and said that as a consequence the library presents this course as a 'civics course' which is open to anyone in the community, not just immigrants. She reported that this makes the class more inclusive and open to everyone: this includes "people [who] are studying for their citizenship but it is also a handy civics lesson for the general public."[307] This librarian wants to provide services and programming for immigrants, but feels the need to frame, where possible, those programs in broad, inclusive terms in order to avoid criticism from the general public.

Bridging the digital divide—the lack of access to computer resources by people with low incomes--is a goal for many libraries and now most have computers with internet access that patrons can use. As Table 6 illustrates, many libraries provide computer classes to immigrants. Several librarians noted that immigrants often lack basic computer skills and do not have computers or internet access at home. Unwelcoming libraries also provide these services, as one library manager observed "that [computer skills] is not the skill they have and of course whenever they go to apply [for a job] they need to have an email address and they don't always have an email address. [They need help] even going through the process of those little steps of getting an email address."[308] This is seen as a critical issue for immigrants in several communities since job applications often must be submitted online, even for temporary or entry level positions. This librarian also observed, "We are offering things that they don't have at their homes, things that they need. Now every job application has to be submitted online. Like the patron I was just helping, she was told you have to apply online. Sometimes they [the employer]

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[306] Author's interview with library manager - literacy, Interview 28, February 12, 2013.
[307] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 17, February 26, 2013.
[308] Ibid.

even say go to the library [for computer access]."[309] A large welcoming library was able to offer computer classes taught in Spanish to help immigrants. A staffer reported:

> "We just finished a series of computer classes, specifically Spanish language computer classes. We were able to hire a bilingual computer trainer through a grant I got. We just finished the series and I received comment cards from some of the participants and it was a consistent theme of 'thank you for providing that. I will be able to use that in my work and to help me find a job.' So it was very positive. We can take that success and show the people that we received the grant from that it was successful and their money was well spent and it made an impact in the community. Hopefully those people who had a good experience in the program will tell their friends and their family what's in the library, what else there is because the computer was a way to get people in and then the instructor also talked about the resources that we have in Spanish."[310]

Other libraries have an interest in providing in-language computer classes but lack the resources to do so. One front-line worker in an unwelcoming library explained that the library recently offered a computer class but its benefit to non-English speakers is limited since "he [the instructor] doesn't speak Spanish. There has been interest [from Hispanics] in him as far as helping them on the computers but he doesn't speak Spanish so it's kind of hard for them to understand him. I can help them a little bit but I have got other duties. He [English speaking instructor] will sit for two hours and walk them [English speakers] through each thing. They [Spanish speakers] are not able to have that. I help them when I can."[311] Officials in all libraries

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[309] Ibid.
[310] Author's interview with library director, Interview 31, February 14, 2013.
[311] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 30, February 16, 2013.

recognize the importance of this service to immigrants and provide it to the extent they are able to. A lack of bilingual employees who are proficient with computers and who have time to provide in depth assistance is a limitation for many libraries.

Public Library Challenges

Like police officers, library workers encounter challenges when interacting with immigrants, including language barriers, cultural differences, immigrants' lack of trust in government agencies and the lack of understanding of public libraries. The language barrier is the primary challenge. Librarians in all types of libraries reported that immigrants with low English proficiency were often hesitant to approach a library worker for assistance. As one in an unwelcoming library said, "There is a comfort level in a sense of who is at the front desk. If they see me, because I am Hispanic, they will wave for me. They won't ask for anyone else's help, even though they can speak English a little bit. They may understand some English but their comfort level isn't that high so they will wait for me."[312] Librarians reported that bilingual workers were often singled out by immigrants for assistance, and immigrants learned their schedule and would come to the library when they knew someone who spoke their language was working. For example, a bilingual library worker in another unwelcoming library reported that "I had a couple [of patrons] in a district that I worked for who I consistently helped with their iPad. They came in and they always ask for me, 'the boy.' I left [employment in this library] but I actually still talk to the people who work there and they told me that the woman came in and she was asking for me. It's just interesting to see how people become attached to a certain person and I feel like that's a good stepping stone for them."[313] When immigrants needed assistance and a

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[312] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 29, February 16, 2013.
[313] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 19, February 26, 2013.

bilingual employee was not available, other employees indicated that they tried to assist. A mono-lingual librarian in a welcoming library observed that most employees "have a very high comfort level at that, at interacting with different people."[314] She reported that if someone looked like they needed help or was not finding what they needed, the worker would proactively ask if they needed help. In addition, interviewees in all libraries noted that parents often relied on their children to ask questions for the parents. As a librarian in a neutral library noted, "a lot of time they will just bring in a child with him to translate."[315] Thus, a child would approach the reference or circulation desk worker and ask the question for the parent. Another explained, "They are very hesitant. They would rather send their child up than go up themselves."[316]

Library workers seem to be less concerned than police officers about immigrants' cultural differences. Still, some librarians mentioned some cultural tensions. They noted that in some cultures, the men prefer to speak to a man when they need assistance but because most library workers are women it is possible to meet this expectation only when a male employee was available. These library employees in all types of libraries said they were not offended by this preference to speak with male employees and would try to satisfy it if possible. Still, most of those I interviewed did not report that cultural differences affect front-line employees' willingness to interact with or approach immigrants. The interviewees indicated that when a patron preferred to speak to a male employee or the male patron preferred to provide information for his wife, they would accommodate that request. As a librarian in an unwelcoming library explained "we have a number of Middle Eastern cultures come through and they are English

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[314] Author's interview with library director, Interview 31, February 16, 2013.
[315] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 25, March 14, 2013.
[316] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 30, February 16, 2013.

speaking but you can tell the ones that prefer not to deal with women."[317] That library has only one male employee that is funded through a grant, but others who see this issue have multiple male employees who can assist when necessary. Another librarian in a welcoming library explained "I have experienced that myself where a gentleman will come in and you can tell he wants to interact with another male. When we recognize that, we call for help and we will say you know 'so and so can help you with that' and anything else. So we recognize some of those things. We have had experiences with that and so we can work around that."[318] Another in a neutral library stated "There have been many situations where the men will not ask for help from a female library employee. Thank goodness we do have a number of male employees who work for us so we have been able to meet their needs but, its different you know, it's not our norm of how we have to interact."[319]

A second cultural challenge was a preference in some immigrant cultures for library employees to speak with only the male rather than the female in a couple. Even when the woman needs assistance finding materials or information the library worker is expected to communicate through the husband or other male family member. The library workers expressed concern about this arrangement on the grounds that the person needing the information might not get what they needed. As a librarian in an unwelcoming library observed, "I have come across a few situations where a husband would want to be the one making all the transactions and those get difficult sometimes because you want to say something, say she can talk to me too…It's learning to pick up what they want."[320] Another librarian in an unwelcoming library told me about a situation where he had to communicate through the husband and he tried "to handle the situation in a

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[317] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 29, February 16, 2013.
[318] Author's interview with library director, Interview 31, February 14, 2013.
[319] Author's interview with community outreach librarian, Interview 21, February 27, 2013.
[320] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 23, March 13, 2013.

respectful manner because some people can feel like they have been looked down on and that's not what we strive to do. So after communicating with them and trying to get it all done she benefited from it. She understood towards the end what was going on and they told me that actually they are going to come back so, yeah, it's good that we can provide that [culturally sensitive assistance] for them."[321]

Another common issue is immigrants' lack of understanding of what public libraries provide. Interviewees in five of the libraries, unwelcoming, neutral and welcoming, noted that many of the immigrants in their communities came from countries that do not have a similar public library system in their country of origin and, as a result, many immigrants in the local area had little understanding of how a public library functions or social norms governing use of the library. Librarians reported that the lack of familiarity with public libraries is a key challenge.

One library manager observed that many immigrants do not understand what public libraries are and what is available, so the employees have to explain

"all the possibilities because in many countries they don't have a public library or in their country the library is for the elite. We just try to explain everything and they are surprised! Their exposure to public libraries in their home country makes a big difference on how they understand public libraries here. Folks who don't have experience with public libraries, well it's real nice to see when they realize that this is what we do. 'So I can take this stuff out? And I don't have to pay you anything for it? I just have to return it on time?' That can be an issue sometimes; having them understand that they have to return it on time. I think that the library is the heart of the community because everybody comes to the library, the entire society goes out to the library, and it's our opportunity to

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[321] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 19, February 26, 2013.

integrate people."[322]

Immigrants from these countries may not know to look for a library and will need additional support from the librarians to understand how libraries in the United States work. For example, immigrants may not know that libraries are free (except for late fees) to patrons; patrons can access the stacks themselves and that most materials can be borrowed from the library at no charge. A front-line worker stated "I think the biggest struggle is getting them to really understand how the library works. For instance a lot of people think they have to pay for the library card. They either think they have to pay to check out books every time or they think that they don't have to pay anything at all no matter how long they keep the books. I think that when you try to explain that to them there is always kind of like that 'ah-ha' moment: 'oh you don't have to pay for the books!' Just really how the library works and being able to communicate our policies to them so that they can understand it if they don't speak English."[323] Although this issue was widely cited as an issue that can be very difficult for the front-line employees, the underlying tone for the front-line employees is one of pride in the public library system and a sincere desire to help immigrants understand how the system works, how to access it and to ensure they feel welcome at the library. Employees at three of the seven libraries interviewed used the term 'welcome' to indicate how they want immigrants to feel at the library.

An outreach manager described how immigrants' understanding of the library evolved over time. When she first started she said "you felt like they really didn't understand the concept of the library. I can remember one of them asking me one time, I think he was trying to ask me if he can buy the book and I said no, but you can check it out! I am thinking to myself 'how can I

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[322] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 22, March 13, 2013.
[323] Author's interview with library outreach manager, Interview 25, March 14, 2013.

get this across' but I think it got to a point where they figured us out and we kind of figured them out."[324]

Librarians report that immigrants typically are not familiar with the proper behavior in libraries, such as speaking in a lower volume, waiting their turn to check out materials or to use a computer or ask a question. Three librarians mentioned that some immigrants speak too loudly. As one librarian put it, "I think the main one [behavioral issue] is probably volume level, you know how loud, but you know we get people from here that speak too loud. But there are also those who think that they can't talk at all; a lot of Guatemalans do that, they are very quiet people."[325] When asked if immigrants seem offended when told to speak more softly, she replied "I never had a problem with that."[326] Another library manager explained that the library staff sometimes must explain "expectations that we [those born in the U.S.] are used to. We know the proper library behavior but the ones who have come in sometimes they don't know. They are not familiar with the proper library behavior and children are going everywhere, pulling books off of shelves and running around. Some education has to be involved."[327] These issues were more common in communities with larger populations of refugees.

Although those interviewed minimized the impact of these cultural and language difficulties, the overall effect could erode a sense of welcomeness among immigrant groups. In communities or library branches in areas with large populations of refugees or immigrants from countries with these cultural values, female workers could develop a habit of not approaching males who they believe would prefer to speak to a male employee. Female workers may simply not want to offend a male patron or the worker may be uncomfortable with or resent the

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[324] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 26, March 14, 2013.
[325] Author's interview with library director, Interview 27, February 11, 2013..
[326] Ibid.
[327] Ibid.

immigrant due to cultural differences. As the mission of a library is to serve the public and provide information, workers who are committed to this mission may become frustrated if their assistance is continually rejected by a group of patrons. Immigrants could perceive this as unwelcomeness. These perceptions may spread among immigrant groups because immigrants are often in a close-knit community and learn from each other.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that library efforts to be welcoming are also communicated among immigrants and encourage others to visit the library. For instance, an outreach manager reported that she had seen that "word gets around in the community and I kind of started feeling like they became more comfortable coming in and they will maybe bring friends."[328] A front-line worker in an *unwelcoming* library system told me about a 'nanny group' that used the library.[329] This was a group of immigrant women working as nannies in the neighborhood and parents want them to take the children out to play. One nanny brought the kids she worked with to the library and over time a group of nannies would bring the children on the same day. While the children read books and participated in library programs, the nannies would visit with each other. A library manager reported that many immigrants learn about the library through "word of mouth passing from where they are working as a nanny. Or they learn to congregate with the other nannies here sometimes."[330] Although the library has only a small collection of non-English materials and no programming for immigrants, this group still came regularly. But precisely because of the importance of these communication networks, if an immigrant has a bad experience at a library, others in their community may hear about it and not go to the library. Libraries typically have low or no budget for advertising their services in a way

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[328] Author's interview with library director, Interview 25, March 14, 2013.
[329] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 30, February 16, 2013.
[330] Author's interview with library director, Interview 29, February 16, 2013.

that might counter such information. Thus, even a library director in a welcoming library explained that "we are counting on word of mouth from them [immigrant]."[331] If the word of mouth communication about the library is negative, fewer immigrants will use it.

Public libraries are commonly part of a city or county government system, and this, too, may pose problems for some immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, who may not trust government organizations. Surprisingly, even unwelcoming libraries strive to make all patrons, including immigrants, feel welcome and build trust. As a library director explained, "We try to make people as comfortable as possible and we recognize that there could be that fear of you know this is a government organization, how are they going to use this information? We try to make them understand the confidentiality, that it's [their application] here and is not going any place else. I think that librarians are pretty good at connecting with people and we try to put ourselves in their shoes. It's all about services."[332] Dealing with this lack of trust in public organizations is the final common challenge for libraries. The application for a library card requires a significant amount of information from patrons, name and address and often including social security number or other government ID number and alternate contact information. In addition, 58% of the libraries surveyed require a photo ID, such as a driver's license. This information is used to confirm that the individual is who they say they are and live in the service area and allows libraries to pursue individuals who check out materials and not return them.

Fear of providing the information required to obtain a library card can affect immigrant-library relationships in three ways. First, immigrants may decide that they do not want to provide the required information and therefore do not obtain a library card that gives them full access to library services. Interviewees typically indicated that this is not a common issue. One front-line

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[331] Author's interview with library director, Interview 31, February 14, 2013.
[332] Author's interview with library director, Interview 22, March 13, 2013.

worker stated "I have never had anyone change their mind."[333] Second, if libraries require a U.S. government issued ID, undocumented immigrants may not have appropriate identification, such as a driver's license and therefore are not eligible to receive a library card. The employees I spoke with indicated that library policy did not require that the photo ID be issued by the U.S. government. Since many libraries do not have clear, written procedures regarding what types of identification is acceptable this gives front-line employees considerable discretion. As a result, some front-line employees may accept an employer's photo ID card or a consular card issued by a foreign government, but others may not. In one neutral library that has a written policy requiring a photo ID when applying for a library card, I asked one front-line library worker if a consular card from Mexico would be acceptable photo ID, she stated "yes because it has their address on the back."[334] The library's manager was in the room when this comment was made and when I interviewed her later she stated "I don't think that [what photo ID is acceptable] is written anywhere in our policies. In fact that's the first time I heard it today when [she overheard the front-line employee]. So I think it just says photo ID and proof of address. I don't think we specify. I think we give driver's license as an example because that's the most common form of ID, but I think over time our circulation managers have learned there are a lot of different IDs out there."[335] The photo ID policy has substantial impact on the extent to which immigrants can use library services. Of the libraries surveyed, 22% required a U.S. government issued photo ID, while 78% would accept a photo ID from an employer or one issued by a foreign country.

Situational Context and Library Worker Encounters with Immigrants

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[333] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 26, March 14, 2013.
[334] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 26, March 14, 2013.
[335] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 25, March 14, 2013.

Research on public libraries and immigrants focuses on the historical role libraries have played in immigrant integration, who uses libraries, how libraries identify the needs of immigrants, information practices of immigrants, including seeking information and information sharing, use of need-based library services by immigrants and how information services are provided to racial and ethnic and minorities.[336] No research focuses on understanding how front-line employees interact with immigrants and how these interactions are affected by situational factors. Interviews and observations of library leaders and front-line employees provide insight into how the situational factors associated with immigrants affect this interaction.

Library employees noted that immigrants with low English proficiency are often hesitant to approach library employees for assistance and often will have their children ask questions for them. Some library workers would attempt to engage the parent and draw them out by asking questions, smiling and being friendly in an attempt to make them more comfortable, however one bilingual library employee noted that this makes some immigrants uncomfortable or embarrassed although other immigrants appreciate mono-lingual employees approaching them. Even mono-lingual employees in an unwelcoming library will approach immigrants and try to help. As one such librarian stated, "I feel like whenever employees who don't speak Spanish try and make an effort to understand that it is always appreciated. I have spoken to patrons who always appreciate it. They say that they like it when people try to speak in Spanish and help them

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[336] Jones, *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*; Luevano-Molina, *New Immigrants, Neo-Nativism, and the Public Library*; Mary Jo Lynch, "Using Public Libraries: What Makes a Difference?" *American Libraries* 28 no. 10 (1997): p64-66; Anna Listwon and Barbara Sen. "Public Library Services and the Polish community in England: case study." Library Review 58, no. 4 (2009): 290-300; Caidi, Allard and Quirke. "Information practices of immigrants"; Pamela J. McKenzie, "A Model of Information Practices in Accounts of Everyday-life Information Seeking." *Journal of Documentation*, 59, no. 1 (2003): 19-40; Karen E. Fisher, Joan C. Durance and Marian Bouch Hinton, "Information Grounds and the Use of Need-Based Services by Immigrants in Queens, New York: A Context-Based, outcome Evaluation Approach." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 55, no. 8 (2004): 754-766; Jones, *Still Struggling for Equality*; Todd Honma, "Trippin' Over the Color Line: The Invisibility of Race in Library and Information Studies." *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies* 1, no. 2 (2005).

out because they find it helpful. It's not necessarily humbling but it's like a cooperative effort between the two. They [the employee] are trying to make an effort and when they [the immigrant] see that effort being mirrored by the employee it's a more of a pleasant experience."[337] A library director noted that children translate for multiple generations, and noted "we usually have the kids come in and interpreting for the parents or the grandparents."[338]

Library workers indicated that they and their co-workers wanted to help everyone who needed help in the library, immigrants included. Librarians in two unwelcoming libraries indicated that some employees may be hesitant to approach someone they perceived based on clothing or hearing them speak to be an immigrant because the employee would be concerned that they would not be able to effectively help the patron. Even employees in unwelcoming libraries want to provide quality service to immigrants. A bilingual front-line employee in an unwelcoming library reported "I know sometimes some people don't feel like they were able to properly help someone. They take that experience not necessarily in a negative way but as an experience they can improve on."[339] In these situations, library employees report that they may not approach the person or, if someone who spoke with an accent asked them a question, they might refer the person to a librarian that spoke a language other than English. There have been instances in both welcoming and unwelcoming libraries in which a patron who spoke English with an accent was offended because the librarian to which they directed a question referred them to someone else because of their accent. Thus, one employee in an unwelcoming library has seen instances in which a library worker "thought there was a language barrier when actually the patron understood what was going on and they [the immigrant] felt like they [the library

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[337] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 19, February 26, 2013.
[338] Author's interview with library director, Interview 22, March 13, 2013.
[339] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 19, February 26, 2013.

worker] were hammering the point too much. Finally the immigrant was like 'no, I understand what's going on. It's okay you don't have to keep explaining'. The librarian felt like it was slightly embarrassing but there are situations where that happens."[340] Another in a welcoming library reported that employees want to ensure that patrons understand policies and procedures so they may refer the patron to a bilingual employee too quickly. She said:

"They will come and get me, even if they [the patron] have a slightest bit of accent. If they do not understand him very well they will stop and they will call me or they will call Jackie [another bilingual employee] right away. They are like 'they are not understanding' but sometimes they do and the person will say I understand her well. I explain [to the patron] that because of your accent sometimes they are afraid you do not clearly understanding what they are telling you so that's why they want to make sure you get the information correctly. They are just afraid that you are going to miss something and not be informed correctly and you will be fined or something and usually that will settle them down a little bit."[341]

The bilingual employees I spoke with did not believe that other employees did not want to help immigrants but rather believed that employees who do not speak another language were concerned that they would not be able to understand and effectively help the patron find the information they needed. A library manager in a library with a neutral level of welcomeness observed that "I know even with myself, having that openness [to immigrants], I know there is still sometime a level of 'oh my gosh, what am I going to say? Am I going to understand?' You know you sort of panic for a minute, so I am sure there is some of that but you know the staff

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[340] Ibid.
[341] Author's interview with library assistant, Interview 32, February 14, 2013.

that I have been around, the ones that have been around a while, I think they have all just gotten comfortable. I think sometimes a newer employee might be taken back."[342] The potential language barrier could reduce front-line workers' inclination to proactively approach someone who appeared to need assistance. One employee in an unwelcoming library reported "people have different comfort levels when dealing with people who don't speak English. Some people hear an accent and they get scared. They get nervous and they think they will not be able to understand and help the patron. It's not malicious or anything it's just fear."[343]

Due to some employees' concerns that they would not be able to effectively provide the assistance the person needed, some employees might prefer to have bilingual employees assist immigrants. While this concern was expressed in one welcoming library and one neutral library, employees in both unwelcoming libraries indicated that front-line employees may hesitate to proactively approach patrons they believe to be immigrants and may automatically refer that person to a bilingual employee if one is available. Since unwelcoming libraries often have fewer bilingual employees and other in-language resources, mono-lingual employees in unwelcoming departments may be fearful of approaching immigrants due to concern they will not be able to meet their needs. This suggests that the actions of welcoming libraries – training, in-language resources, more bilingual employees – increase front-line employees' comfort in interacting with immigrants, increasing their willingness to proactively approach these patrons.

Employees at three libraries pointed out that it is not easy to identify who is an immigrant since their communities had large populations of Hispanics, many of whom were born in the United States. As one librarian indicated, "we have had a long presence of Latino populations so they are not necessarily immigrants. You can't tell which of these families have been here since

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[342] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 25, March 14, 2013.
[343] Author's interview with library manager, Interview 17, February 26, 2013.

the 1910s and which of the families have arrived more recently. Even some of those that have been here a long time are bilingual."[344] As a result, they tried not to judge patrons' language preference based on what language they were speaking or materials they were using.

My observations of front-line library practices revealed another possible concern: employees often walk from one place in the library to another with purpose, without making eye contact and with facial expressions that were focused. Because of the obvious purposefulness of these employees' actions, immigrants who are unfamiliar with the ways of librarians may view them as unapproachable. Since most of the library managers and employees interviewed have experienced significant budget cuts over the last five years resulting in reduced staff and shortened hours, these types of employee actions may be the result of reduced staff rather than a lack of willingness to help patrons. In none of the seven libraries was I proactively approached by a front-line employee. In most libraries, when employees were assigned to a particular location they were behind a desk or counter which created a physical barrier. This standard set-up also requires that immigrants initiate contact with a library employee, and they may be reluctant to do this. Front-line workers were also frequently observed doing several things at once while at their desk, and this, too, may increase immigrants' unwillingness to approach the worker for assistance.

Library staff tried to educate immigrants who are unfamiliar with the public library system in the United States by addressing questions when patrons ask and letting them know how the library functions and by being proactive and providing tours of the library. Sometimes these tours are jointly organized with other organizations that assist immigrants. Library workers in all types of libraries emphasized that their mission is to provide service and information to

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[344] Author's interview with community outreach librarian, Interview 21, February 27, 2013.

members of the community, regardless of the race, ethnicity, status, language preference and

information needed. Equal service would be provided to whoever came to the library. A librarian

in an unwelcoming library explained "we don't have any policies specific for immigrants. We

are a public institution whose doors are open to all people. We believe in equal access, it doesn't

matter of the language, the income, the disability. Everyone is welcome to come here and that's

how we base our collections, on the needs and demands of the public. Our programs and

practices are based on the needs and demands of our public and our policies then are based on

that and of course we also adhere to the policies of the county as well [regarding diversity and

discrimination]."[345] Library staff emphasized the need to be open and welcoming to all members

of their community, including immigrants. While many libraries purchase books and other

materials for non-English speakers, reach out to immigrants in the community, and have

programming for immigrants, they view these actions as an integral part of their overall mission

and not as something unique or distinct from their core mission. A library director in a

welcoming library emphasized "we want to provide a welcoming environment."[346] Even in an

unwelcoming library a worker reported that they "try to make everybody feel like everybody is

welcome here."[347] A library outreach manager in a welcoming system stated "that language stuff

doesn't scare us. We welcome them in."[348]

Discussion

The literatures on situational context and discretion suggest that front-line workers'

perception of the moral worthiness of the individuals with whom they interact influences the

employee's actions and the outcomes of the interactions. These literatures also show that such

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[345] Author's interview with library director, Interview 22, March 13, 2013.
[346] Author's interview with library director, Interview 31, February 14, 2013.
[347] Author's interview with library director, Interview 22, March 13, 2013.
[348] Author's interview with library manager - literacy, Interview 28, February 12, 2013.

situational factors such as the person's race and his or her actions towards the employee may influence the employee's perceptions of the person's moral worthiness.[349] The majority of immigrants to the United States are racial and ethnic minorities, and so I have been especially interested in exploring whether and how front-line workers assess the moral worthiness of immigrants in their communities. The dominant discourse about immigration focuses on undocumented or illegal immigrants and focuses on the criminal act of entering the country without authorization and the perceived risks this poses to national security, and so there are good reasons to think that immigrants may be viewed as morally unworthy. But I found that both front-line workers and higher-level managers in police departments and libraries typically view immigrants as morally worthy.

My interviews with front-line employees show three key points. First, regardless of the degree of welcomeness, all types of police departments and public libraries struggle with similar challenges when dealing with immigrants, including language barriers, cultural differences and lack of trust and front-line workers have adapted to these challenges. Second, front-line workers' perceptions of immigrants' worthiness do not seem to be associated with the formal level of welcomeness in either police departments or libraries. Finally, in all types of departments and libraries, front-line workers seem not particularly interested in carrying out punitive actions against people they view as basically worthy and hardworking, including documented and undocumented immigrants.

The majority of front-line police officers, regardless of whether they were in welcoming or unwelcoming departments, perceived immigrants as hard-working and interested in providing

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[349] Black, "The Social Organization of Arrest;" Black and Reiss, "Police Control of Juveniles;" Berk and Loseke,""Handling" Family Violence;" Lipsky, *Street-Level Bureaucracy*; Maynard-Moody and Musheno, *Cops, Teachers, Counselors*; Smith and Visher, "Street-Level Justice;" Worden, "Situational and Attitudinal Explanations of Police Behavior;" Walker, Spohn and DeLone, *The Color of Justice.*

for their families. I found some evidence to suggest that police officers view immigrants differently than they view African Americans in their community. In two communities, both with a history of racial tensions and a higher proportion of low-income residents, officers indicated that immigrants were perceived as industrious and willing to take whatever job they could find to provide for their families and be productive while African Americans in those communities were perceived as unwilling to work, as targeting immigrants who carried cash, and as being resentful and hostile towards immigrants. Police officers may perceive immigrants as more worthy than African Americans since immigrants are hardworking and African Americans are not. The tensions between minority groups in these communities may be more significant than tensions between whites and immigrants.

Police officers interviewed for this study in both welcoming and unwelcoming departments viewed the goal of public safety as inherently including protecting immigrants. Providing less protection to immigrants, who were often seen as vulnerable to exploitation or crime, was viewed as negatively affecting the entire community since it would promote or permit crime against this group. Officers consistently viewed protecting everyone in the community, including immigrants, as necessary to fulfill their core mission of ensuring public safety. This held true for officers in both welcoming and unwelcoming departments.

Most officers, regardless of whether they were in a welcoming department, did not view immigration enforcement as a key part of their mission. Illegal immigration was seen primarily as a federal issue that was beyond the purview of the local police department, except in cases in which an undocumented immigrant committed a crime. Only one police chief, and no front-line officers, expressed a desire to enforce federal immigration laws at the local level. The local departments focused on their priority of maintaining public safety in their community and

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viewed enforcing federal immigration laws as outside their jurisdiction and a drain on resources. While some elected officials and members of the public may want and encourage local police departments to enter 287(g) agreements and the Secure Communities program, police officers are reluctant to do so, both from a jurisdictional and resource perspective.

Library workers, too, generally seem to view immigrants as worthy of equal service, and this, too, held true in both libraries that were formally welcoming and those that were not. Immigrants come to the library to learn the language, to help their children and to use computers to apply for jobs. These are seen as morally worthy goals. Immigrants may need more help than the typical library client and may not understand the concept of a public library system, but by coming to the library they are often perceived as willing to learn and to assimilate.

Library workers in both welcoming and unwelcoming libraries emphasized that their mission is to provide information to the residents of their community and view immigrants as part of that community. Immigrants were viewed as community members, friends and neighbors worthy of service, especially service that is part of the library's central mission: promoting literacy and providing access to information.

Librarians may well be the sense-makers of their community. The mission of the public library in the United States is to provide information, promote literacy, protect civil liberties and respond to the community's requests for information. In striving to meet this mission, libraries have adapted to a new environment in which providing computers and internet access is as important as providing books. They are thus adapting to an evolving digital environment. Yet the central mission of protecting civil liberties and promoting equal access is so central and deeply ingrained in the public library system and its workers that they do not even consciously recognize that they are doing so. In filling these needs, library workers show their willingness to

help anyone who enters the library. Professional norms of equal service dominate in both welcoming and unwelcoming libraries, and so librarians can hardly even imagine the possibility of turning immigrants away or not striving to meet their unique information needs.

Does all of this this mean that the variations in agencies' formal welcomeness, which I documented in chapters 2 and 3, do not really matter? No. The normal human impulse is to be good to people who are worthy, and this impulse characterizes front-line workers in all types of police departments and libraries. But the agencies that are formally welcoming provide a much richer infrastructure of support for making this welcomeness meaningful in many kinds of ways. Library workers may view immigrants as worthy members of the community and be willing to assist them, but if the library does not offer materials in the needed language, programs specifically for immigrants, bilingual employees or collateral in other languages, the front-line employee may lack the capacity to fully engage with and assist the patron. Similarly, police officers may view immigrants, even undocumented immigrants, as members of the community deserving of equal protection of the law, but departments with unwelcoming policies and practices may prohibit or interfere with the officer's ability to communicate with immigrants and gain their trust.

These observations are necessarily limited and more research is merited. The in-depth interviews and observations were completed in a small sample of organizations, six police departments and seven public libraries. Observations of police interactions were only completed in two of the six organizations and only for a small number of hours. Observations of police officers with minorities and immigrants were very limited and the conclusions therefore rely heavily on the statements of police officers rather than observations of their actions. With the exception of one police department and one library, only one front-line worker was interviewed

in each organization and so results reflect the opinions of a few workers who were selected by the organizational leaders. It is possible that the workers selected for interviews do not represent the broader opinions of workers. Finally, the people with whom the front-line workers interact were not interviewed. The stories, perceptions and experiences of immigrants may be quite different from those expressed by officers and librarians. A more intensive study involving multiple interviews and ride-a-longs or observations of the interactions with immigrants as well as follow up interviews with immigrants who utilize the public library and interact with police would provide more data to confirm these conclusions.

Conclusion

Existing research on the relationship between situational factors and law enforcement actions focuses on how officers respond to individuals with lower social status, or who are belligerent or under the influence of alcohol or drugs, or who are stopped in disorderly neighborhoods.[350] These studies consistently show that street-level workers exercise discretion in their interactions with clients and that their perceptions of the worthiness of the client affect outcomes. Immigration policy has historically been based on perceptions of the 'worthiness' of immigrants to be part of American society. What these studies neglect is an analysis of how situational factors associated with immigrants – ethnicity, perceptions of status, lack of language skills and cultural differences -- affect interactions between street-level workers and immigrants. This chapter evaluates how the situational context affects the treatment of immigrants by front-line workers. I have argued that front-line workers view immigrants as 'worthy' compared to other minority groups in the community.

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[350] Black, *The Social Organization of Arrest*; Lundman, *Routine Arrest Practices*; Smith and Visher. *Street-Level Justice*.

The findings presented here suggest that front-line workers and leaders of public libraries and city police departments do not respond punitively toward immigrants even though they face substantial challenges when interacting with them.

Chapter 6 - Climate Change, Mexico and Immigration

Global climate change will have far-reaching effects on citizens, society and governments, including acting as a push factor in human decisions to migrate. This increased human migration will affect both sending and receiving countries. Thus, over the coming decades climate change is likely to contribute to increased levels of immigration into the United States and, with it, increased pressure on local administrative agencies to respond to immigrant populations. Climate change is expected to affect migration in three primary ways – internal migration in which citizens relocate within a nation, cross-border migration from one country to another and the relocation of the populations of small island nations whose territory will disappear or become uninhabitable due to rising sea levels. Although environmental issues have historically influenced decisions to migrate, the potential scale of migration due to climate change is unprecedented.[351]

International migration is expensive and requires resources for both travel and for crossing borders.[352] Africa, Asia and Latin America already have been significantly affected and are expected to be especially vulnerable to climate change and climate variability.[353] Since these

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[351] Norman Myers, "Environmental refugees: a growing phenomenon of the 21st century." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences* 357, no. 1420 (2002): 609-613; International Organization for Migration, "Migration, Climate Change and the Environment." IOM Policy Brief. (2009); Derek R. Bell, Environmental refugees: What rights? Which duties? *Res Publica*. 10, no. 2 (2004): 135-152; Norman Myers and Jennifer Kent. "Environmental exodus: an emergent crisis in the global arena." *Climate Institute*, (1995).

[352] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller. T*he Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. (Macmillan, Basingstoke, (1993); Arjan De Haan, "Livelihoods and Poverty: The Role of Migration - a Critical Review of the Migration Literature." *The Journal of Development Studies*. 36, no. 2 (1999): 1-47; Ronald Skeldon, Migration and Poverty, *Asia–Pacific Population Journal*, 17, no. 4 (2002): 67 – 82.

[353] Trenberth, K.E., P.D. Jones, P. Ambenje, R. Bojariu , D. Easterling, A. Klein Tank, D. Parker, F. Rahimzadeh, J.A. Renwick, M. Rusticucci, B. Soden and P. Zhai. "Observations: Surface and Atmospheric Climate Change, in *Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*, eds, Solomon, S., D. Qin, M. Manning, Z. Chen, M. Marquis, K.B. Averyt, M. Tignor and H.L. Miller (Cambridge University Press, 2007): pp. 235–336.

regions have the highest poverty rates, many of those displaced by climate change will lack the resources to migrate overseas.[354] Most will remain, at least initially, within the boundaries of their own countries or will cross the nearest international border.

For the United States, the most likely source of climate change migrants will come from Mexico due to the geographic proximity and established migration networks. The effects of climate change on agriculture in Mexico, especially on smallholders, are expected to drive migration from Mexico to the United States.

This chapter describes and explains the political context of immigration in the United States, the relationship between the two countries and assesses the potential impact of climate change on migration between the U.S. and Mexico. The goals of this chapter are three-fold. First, it explains the migration between the two countries from a historical perspective and in relationship to the prevailing theoretical migration frameworks. The second goal is to understand the projections of climate change-induced migration between the two countries. Finally, using analysis from climate models and research on Mexican agriculture, this chapter seeks to enhance understanding of how agriculture will be affected at the level of small landholders.

Historical Perspective of Mexico-U.S. Migration

Migration from Mexico to the United States dates to the mid-nineteenth century when Mexico lost approximately 40% of its territory to the United States after the Mexican-American War. After the war, many families remained on their land which was now located in the United States, creating family ties on both sides of the border. These familial and social networks have contributed to and facilitated migration back and forth between the two countries since that time. Migration from Mexico to the United States has fluctuated, but political and economic factors in

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[354] World Bank, "World Development Indicators 2012," accessed March 17, 2013
"http://data.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/wdi-regional-highlights2012-web.pdf

Mexico and the United States have made immigration to the United States attractive to many Mexicans. Historically U.S. businesses and government have viewed Mexicans as an ideal workforce, especially for the agricultural sector. The geographic proximity of the two nations made recruiting workers easier and, during economic downturns, facilitated deporting migrant workers.

Economic and agrarian modernization from 1900 – 1910 in Mexico displaced parts of the rural population and many of these campesinos were willing to leave their communities.[355] Political, social and economic instability during the revolutionary era (1910-around 1920) in Mexico coupled with growth in agriculture and new jobs in the industrial and service sectors in the United States attracted displaced campesinos and between 1900– 1930, 730,000 Mexicans migrated to the US.[356]

Increased economic growth during World War II made foreign labor necessary. To address this need, in August 1942 the United States began the Mexican Farm Worker Program or "bracero agreement", a series of laws and diplomatic agreements that made it easier to recruit temporary workers in Mexico. The program ran from 1942–1964 during which time 4.6 million contracts were issued. Since many individuals came multiple times, an estimated 1-2 million individuals participated in the program, most of whom were from regions in Northern and Central Western Mexico.[357] Following the Korean War, a recession prompted the government to deport or force to leave hundreds of thousands of Mexican workers in "Operation Wetback." The Bracero program ended in 1964, reducing the possibility for legal immigration from Mexico to

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[355] Stefan Alscher, "Environmental Factors in Mexican Migration: The Cases of Chiapas and Tlaxcala," in *Environment, Forced Migration and Social Vulnerability*, eds. Tamar Afifi, Jill Jager (Springer, 2010).
[356] Ibid
[357] Philip Martin and Elizabeth Midgley (1994), "Immigration to the United States: Journey to an uncertain destination." (Population Reference Bureau, 1999): 2-45.

the United States, so more migrants shifted to crossing the border without documentation. The U.S. Border Patrol steadily detained more immigrants. In 1965, the Border Patrol detained 110,000 individuals, and that rose steadily to 284,000 in 1969, one million in 1979 and 1.8 million in 1986.[358]

In the 1970s, the economic and demographic situations in Mexico caused increased migration. The country had experienced steady population growth but the economic situation was declining. Mexico's economic model of import substitution industrialization (ISI), a state planned and directed economic model designed to replace foreign imports with domestic production, resulted in saturated labor markets and further marginalized the poorest segments of society. As a result, migrating to the United States became more attractive. A large majority of those detained were of Mexican descent. As the number of undocumented immigrants increased, so did opposition and public concern.

Starting in the mid-1990s, concern about undocumented immigration led to implementation of border security programs. The first border fence was built in 1993 between San Diego and Tijuana, but less than a year later, in January 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into force. NAFTA supports the free movement of capital, services and goods, but borders and fences have been built to contain or shift flows of unwanted migrant workers which have led to an increase in border deaths.[359] NAFTA has impacted migration flows in Mexico. The rural-urban migration flow was once mainly to Mexico City,

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[358] Kitty Calavita, *Inside the State: The Bracero Program, Immigration and the INS* (Routledge, 1992); United States Border Patrol, "Nationwide Illegal Alien Apprehensions Fiscal Years 1925 – 2012" (2013); Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S. –Mexico Divide* (Cornell University Press, 2000); Wayne A. Cornelius, "Death at the border: Efficacy and unintended consequences of US immigration control policy." *Population and Development Review* 27, no. 4 (2001): 661-685.
[359] Andreas, *Border Games*; Cornelius, *Death at the border*.

Guadalajara, and Monterrey. Starting in the 1980s and accelerating after NAFTA, that flow has increasingly shifted to border cities fueled by employment opportunities in export-processing firms.[360] Rural residents are increasingly likely to migrate to border cities rather than urban cities in Mexico. Residents who migrate to border cities are more likely to ultimately emigrate to the U.S. compared to long-term residents of border cities.[361] This pattern suggests at least part of the internal migrant flow from rural areas to border cities may eventually migrate to the United States.

Prior to the 1960s Mexican migrants came primarily from regions in Northern and Central Western Mexico, but the crisis of the ISI model in the 1970s, the agricultural crisis in the 1980s and the peso-shock in the 1990s were nation-wide. With the nationwide economic pressures and existing migration networks, migration became more attractive to large parts of the population and migration is less regionalized. Now migration networks exist between nearly every state of Mexico and the United States.

Immigration from Mexico to the United States has historically varied based on economic, social and political factors in both countries.[362] Since 2001 immigration from Mexico has declined, largely attributed to increased border enforcement, an increase in deportations, a weaker U.S. economy, more dangerous border crossings and lower birthrates and improved

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[360] F. Lozano-Ascencio, B. Roberts, and F.D. Bean, "The Interconnections of Internal and International Migration: The Case of the United States and Mexico," in *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* ed. Ludger Pries (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1999): 138-161.

[361] Elizabeth Fussell, "Sources of Mexico's migration stream: rural, urban, and border migrants to the United States." *Social Forces* 82, no. 3 (2004): 937-967; Lozano-Ascencio, et al, "The Interconnections of Internal and International Migration."

[362] Alscher, *Environmental Factors in Mexican Migration*.

economic conditions in Mexico.[363] Historical trends suggest that the decline is unlikely to continue as the U.S. economy improves.

Migration Theory

Migration theory suggests that the United States will continue to be the primary destination of Mexicans looking to emigrate due to the strong migration networks between the two countries.[364] Migration networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants to each other and to those who have migrated in the past and settled in a destination country. These networks are important because (1) they provide information about the labor market in the receiving community, (2) they increase the likelihood of ethnic goods being available in a location and (3) new immigrants are often assisted by those who have previously migrated.[365] These effects reduce the stress of immigrating and settling in a foreign land. An alternative theoretical explanation for why immigrants often cluster in particular areas is called herd behavior, which implies that individuals go where others have gone because the individual assumes those who have migrated before them have information that they do not.[366] Thus, the immigrant goes where others have gone rather than relying on their own information and preferences. Both migration network theory and herd behavior support the premise that cities with populations of immigrants from Mexico can expect to see future increases in that population if climate changes causes increased migration.

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[363] Passel, et al, "Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero—and Perhaps Less."

[364] J.A. Bustamante, "Some Thoughts on Perceptions and Policies," in *Migration between Mexico and the United States: Mexico—U.S. Binational Migration Study*. Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform (1998); Kaivan Munshi, "Identification of Network Effects: Mexican Migrants in the US Labor Market." *In NEUDC conference, Boston, MA*. 2001; Paul Winters, Alain De Janvry, and Elisabeth Sadoulet, "Family and community networks in Mexico-US migration." *Journal of Human Resources* 36 (2001): 159-184.

[365] Thomas K Bauer, Gil Epstein and Ira Gang, "What are Migration Networks?" *IZA Discussion paper series*, No. 200 (2000).

[366] Thomas K Bauer, Gil Epstein and Ira Gang, "Herd Effects or Migration Networks? The Location Choice of Mexican Immigrants in the US," *IZA Discussion Paper* No 551 (2002); G. S.Epstein and I. N Gang, "The Influence of Others on Migration Plans." *Review of Development Economics*, 10, no. 4 (2006): 652 – 65.

Climate Change & Mexico

Immigration is driven by a combination of five primary factors: economic, political, social, demographic and environmental.[367] Decisions to migrate are rarely the result of one single factor, but rather a combination. My focus is on environmental factors which will *directly* influence migration since individuals in a region affected by drought or flooding may migrate in response and will also *indirectly* influence the other factors as climate change may affect the broader political, economic and social environments. The focus of this chapter's analysis is on climate change's effects on the environment, as environmental issues in Mexico and Central American have been push factors affecting individuals' decisions to migrate and the effect of climate change on agriculture is projected to increase immigration to the United States.[368]

Projected Climate Change Impacts in Mexico

Climate change is projected to affect Mexico in several important ways. These include temperature and precipitation changes, increased climate variability, and increased frequency of extreme events. These changes will affect human health, agriculture, availability of water resources and desertification. Climate change scenarios for Mexico indicate that Mexico will have a generally drier and warmer climate.[369] Projections indicate that approximately 70% of the existing temperate forest in Mexico could be affected.[370] Other studies suggest that 10% of all

[367] R Black, W.N. Adger, N. Arnell, S. Dercon, A. Geddes, D. Thomas, "The Effect of Environmental Change on Human Migration." *Global Environmental Change*, 21 (2011): S3-S11.

[368] Shuaizhang Feng, Alan B. Krueger and Michael Oppenheimer. "Linkages Among Climate Change, Crop Yields and Mexico–US Cross-border Migration." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107, no. 32 (2010): 14257-14262.: 1-6; Lori M. Hunter, Sheena Murray, Fernando Riosmena. "The Environmental Dimensions of Emigration from Rural Mexico." *Working Paper* (2011).

[369] J.L. Pérez, "Variabilidad Climática Regional en México." Diss. Facultad de Ciencias, UNAM, México (1997); Victor M. Mendoza, Elba E. Villanueva and Julian Adem. "Vulnerability of Basins and Watersheds in Mexico to Global Climate Change." *Climatic Research*, 9 (1997): 139–145.; Mauricio R. Bellon, David Hodson and Jon Hellin, "Assessing the Vulnerability of Traditional Maize Seed Systems in Mexico to Climate Change." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108, no. 33 (2011): 13432-13437.

[370] L. Villers, "Vulnerabilidad de los Ecosistemas Forestales." *Country Study Mexico Report* 6 (1995).

vegetation types in northern Mexico could be affected by drier and warmer conditions and these changes would result in an expansion of dry tropical forests and desert shrublands.[371]

El Niño and Extreme Events

The El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO) has a significant effect on precipitation and temperature although the effects are different for each country. El Niño is an area of unusually warm ocean surface water that develops periodically off the western coast of South America and can affect weather across the Pacific Ocean. The Southern Oscillation refers to the variations in the temperature of the surface of the tropical eastern Pacific Ocean and in air surface pressure in the tropical western Pacific. El Niño and the Southern Oscillation are coupled. El Niño, the warm oceanic phase, accompanies high air surface pressure in the western Pacific, while La Niña, the cold phase, accompanies low air surface pressure in the western Pacific.[372] These events typically last a few weeks but can last for much longer periods of time.[373] For Mexico, ENSO typically results in increased precipitation in winter and less in summer.[374] These effects can create favorable conditions for drought and forest fires.[375] Under climate change, more El Niño like events will be experienced.

Precipitation

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[371] C. Gay-García and L.G. Ruiz Suarez. "UNEP Preliminary Inventory of GHG Emissions: Mexico." (UNEP, Geneva, Switzerland, 1996); R.T.Wetherald and S. Manabe. "Cloud Feedback Processes in a General Circulation Model." *Journal of the Atmospheric Sciences*, 45, no. 8 (1988): 1397–1415.; V. Magaña and A. Quintanar, "On the use of a general circulation model to study regional climate," in *Proceedings of the Second UNAM-Cray Supercomputing Conference on Earth Sciences, Mexico City*. (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 39–48.; V. Magaña,J.L. Pérez and C. Conde, "El Niño and its Impacts on Mexico." Ciencias, School of Sciences, UNAM, Mexico (1998).

[372] Trenberth et al., *Climate Change 2007,* 235–336.

[373] James Petersen, Dorothy Sack, Robert E. Gabler. *Fundamentals of Physical Geography*. (Cengage Learning, 2010).

[374] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), *Climate Change 2001: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[375] Ibid.

Climate change is projected to affect precipitation and the availability of water. Shifts in levels of precipitation, desertification and the availability of water resources will affect Mexico.

Generally, climate change scenarios for Mexico project a drier and warmer climate although these changes vary based on region and geography.[376] For example, northwestern Mexico has seen a tendency for more winter precipitation, resulting in increased river water levels, although inter-annual variability has increased.[377] In contrast, parts of southern Mexico and Central America show positive or negative rainfall trends, depending on the orientation of the catchment.[378]

Desertification has negative social, economic, ecological, cultural, and political consequences.[379] Desertification is defined as "land degradation in arid, semi-arid, and dry sub-humid areas resulting from various factors, including climactic variations and human activities."[380] Mexican forest ecosystem and forestry areas are vulnerable to climate change with those in the northern and western regions of Mexico most affected, putting cellulose and paper production at risk.[381] Temperate cold and warm forests would be the most affected zones.[382] This research shows that decreases in precipitation coupled with temperature increases would reduce

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[376] Pérez, *Variabilidad Climática*; Mendoza et al, Vulnerability of basins and watersheds.

[377] Víctor O Magaña and Cecilia Conde. "Climate and Freshwater Resources in Northern Mexico: Sonora, a Case Study." *Environmental Monitoring and Assessment* 61, no. 1 (2000): 167-185.

[378] R. Aparicio, "Meteorological and oceanographic conditions along the southern coastal boundary of the Caribbean Sea, 1951–1986." *Climate Change in the Intra-Americas Sea* (1993): 100-114; Ernesto Jauregu, "Climate Changes in Mexico During the Historical and Instrumented Periods." *Quaternary International* 43 (1997): 7-17.

[379] S. Benedetti, "Los costos de la desertificación,¿ quien los paga." *Boletin informativo, Programa de Acción Nacional Contra la Desertificación, Ministerio de Agricultura, Corporacion Naciónal Forestal*, (1997); Anaya Garduño, M., M. Anaya Garduño, and E. Salazar Sosa. "Cronología de la desertificación en México y lineamientos estratégicos para su prevención y control." 4. Reunion Nacional sobre Sistemas de Captacion de lluvia.. Torreon, Coah. Mexico. 6-9 Oct 1997. (1997).

[380] United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. "Earth Summit, Rio de Janeiro" (Regency Press, 1992).

[381] L. Villers-Ruiz, and I. Trejo-Vázquez. "Climate change on Mexican forests and natural protected areas." *Global Environmental Change* 8, no. 2 (1998): 141–157.

[382] Ibid.

cool temperate and warm temperate life zones but would increase dry and very dry tropical forest zones.[383]

Lower precipitation and higher temperatures could also increase forest fires due to more severe and prolonged droughts.[384] Past forest fires during El Niño events have resulted in significant economic losses.[385]

The availability of water resources will affect residents and agriculture. An estimated 70% of the population in Mexico and Central America are projected to live in regions with low water supplies as early as the first quarter of the 21st century.[386] The projected changes in precipitation and temperature may also have a substantial effect on the pattern and amount of runoff, soil moisture, and evaporation, and on the aridity level of some zones in Mexico.[387] Precipitation will also affect agriculture since approximately 75% of the total water use in Mexico is for agricultural activities.[388]

Human health

The projected effects of climate change are also expected to affect human health. In large cities, especially in polluted cities such as Mexico City, high temperatures and air pollutants, act synergistically to affect human health.[389] In cities such as Mexico City, Mexico, Santiago, Chile and Buenos Aires, Argentina, these conditions increase the formation of secondary pollutants

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[383] Ibid.

[384] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), *Climate Change 2001*.

[385] José Luis Palacio-Prieto, Laura Luna-González, and Lyssania Macias-Morales. "Detección de incendios en México utilizando imágenes AVHRR (temporada 1998)." *Investigaciones Geográficas, Boletín* 38 (1999): 7-14.

[386] Izmailova, A.V. and A.I. Moiseenkov, "Proceeding of the Second International Conference on Climate and Water," Espoo, Finland, 17–20 August 1998, Vol 3.

[387] Mendoza, "Vulnerability of basins and watersheds in Mexico."

[388] O.F. Canziani, "La Problemática Ambiental Urbana." Gestión Municipal de Residuos Urbanos, Instituto de Investigaciones sobre el Medio Ambiente, (Argentina, 1994): 19–50.

[389] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Climate Change 2001.

such as ozone.[390] Climate change may also affect allergies. Higher temperatures may affect the distribution and growth of allergenic plants. Higher temperatures, coupled with lower rainfall, may affect the dispersal of pollen, resulting in higher concentrations of airborne pollen during the peak season.[391] The concentration of algae and weather conditions and levels and dispersion of algae are correlated and are associated with inhalant allergies and other respiratory disorders.[392] Health problems exacerbated by climate change could foster migration from rural areas and small cities to major cities, causing pressures for both local governments and the national government. Migration across national borders is also possible.[393]

Agriculture

Climate change is also projected to affect agriculture. Determining the precise effects of climate change on agriculture is not possible because the relationships between temperature, ultraviolet radiation, sea-level rise, and shifts in pests are complex. Yields in crops such as maize, wheat, barley and grapes are projected to decrease, even when the effect of carbon dioxide (CO_2) fertilization and the implementation of moderate adaptation measures are taken into consideration. Higher temperatures may shorten the crop cycle resulting in decreased crop yields. Higher temperatures will benefit maize yields in higher altitudes and will lower the risk of

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[390] J. Escudero, "Control Ambiental en Grandes Ciudades: Caso de Santiago," in *Seminario Latinoamericano sobre Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo*, Bariloche, Octubre de 1990. IEMA, Buenos Aires, Argentina, (1990): 229–236; K. Katsouyanni, A. Pantazopoulou, G. Touloumi, I. Tselepidaki, K. Moustris, D. Asimakopoulos, G. Poulopoulou, and D. Trichopoulos. "Evidence for interaction between air pollution and high temperature in the causation of excess mortality." *Archives of Environmental Health: An International Journal* 48, no. 4 (1993): 235-242.; Canziani, "La Problemática Ambiental Urbana," 19–50.

[391] Jean Emberlin, "The Effects of Patterns in Climate and Pollen Abundance on Allergy." *Allergy* 49, no. s18 (1994): 15-20.; Irma Rosas, Guadalupe Roy-Ocotla, and Pedro Mosiño. "Meteorological effects on variation of airborne algae in Mexico." *International Journal of Biometeorology* 33, no. 3 (1989): 173-179.

[392] Rosas et al, "Meteorological effects on variation of airborne algae in Mexico."

[393] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Climate Change 2001.

crop damage from frost.[394] Farmers can adopt measures to mitigate the negative impacts, such as by increasing nitrogen fertilization to increase maize yields, but this is not economically feasible for all producers.[395]

Agriculture in Mexico is also expected to be affected by the reduced availability of water.[396] Livestock and pastures are important in many areas of Latin American, including Mexico where pastures occupy more area than cropland.[397] Livestock is typically raised on rangelands, with limited production and storage of hay and other feed making this sector dependent on grass production dependent on rainfall. The ability to raise cattle and other livestock is limited in areas that are subject to long droughts.[398]

These effects will impact agricultural production across Mexico, in different ways. Larger producers will have access to resources to adapt to changes, but these adaptation mechanisms will not be economically feasible for small producers.

Smallholder Mexican Agriculture and Climate Change

Climate change will affect crops differently depending on different crop species' response to increased carbon dioxide, regional changes in precipitation and water resources, the effect of temperature changes on maturity rates and changes in planting dates.[399] Other factors

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[394] T. Morales and V. Magaña. " Unexpected Frosts in Central Mexico During Summer," in *Proceedings of the 10th Symposium on Global Change Studies*, 10–15 January, 1999, Dallas, TX, Preprint Volume, (1999): 262-263..

[395] Conde, Cecilia, Diana Liverman, Margarita Flores, Rosa Ferrer, Raquel Araújo, Edith Betancourt, Gloria Villarreal, and Carlos Gay. "Vulnerability of Rainfed Maize Crops in Mexico to Climate Change." *Climate Research* 9 (1997): 17-23.

[396] M.D. Mundo and P. Martínez-Austria. "Cambio Climático: Posibles Consecuencias y Algunas Sugerencias para Disminuir su Efecto en México, Enero–Abril 1993." (1993): 14–28; Cecilia Conde, Diana Liverman, and V. Magaña. "Climate Variability and Transboundary Freshwater Resources in North America: US-Mexico Border Case Study." *Borrador final. Reporte preparado para la Commission on Environmental Cooperation*, Montreal, Canadá (1997).

[397] Walter E. Baethgen, "Vulnerability of the Agricultural Sector of Latin America to Climate Change." *Climate Research* 9, no. 1-2 (2003): 1–7.

[398] Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), Climate Change 2001.

[399] Herb W.Cutforth, Sean M. McGinn, Kevin E. McPhee, and Perry R. Miller. "Adaptation of Pulse Crops to the Changing Climate of the Northern Great Plains." *Agronomy Journal*. 99, no. 6 (2007): 1684-1699.

may also affect yields, including soil fertility and changes in weed, insect and disease distributions.

Agricultural production in Mexico is composed of two sectors: commercial agriculture and smallholder/subsistence agriculture. Climate change will affect commercial and subsistence crops differently and both will affect migration. Farms using commercial seeds and irrigation will be better positioned to adapt to environmental changes driven by climate change. When assessing the impact of climate change on agriculture, countries using modern, high yield varieties will be less affected than those relying on landraces, which are local varieties that have adapted to the local environment in which they are found rather than having been deliberately bred. Commercial production will be more adaptable since those producers will have access to irrigation, improved commercial seeds and more favorable government policies. Commercial seeds modified through research and breeding may reduce the negative effects of climate change on large, commercial producers of crops, but farmers that rely on landraces may see significant differences in yields.

Smallholder producers who often grow crops to provide for their families and as a source of income will be less adaptable. These farmers have less access to irrigation and use saved seeds that are not commercial varieties.[400] The wide variety of saved seeds represents greater genetic diversity at the community level, but ensuring access to the seeds is challenging.[401] Maize is grown throughout Mexico and is important as human food and as food for livestock as well as both a commercial crop and subsistence crop. In much of the world, as in Mexico, production of

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[400] Bellon, et al, "Assessing the vulnerability of traditional maize seed systems in Mexico to climate change."
[401] Dyer, George A., and J. Edward Taylor. "A Crop Population Perspective on Maize Seed Systems in Mexico." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 105, no. 2 (2008): 470-475.

maize is dominated by landraces rather than commercial seeds.[402] In 2000, 8 million hectares of

maize were planted in Mexico, yet less than one quarter of those were planted with commercial

varieties; the rest were planted with farmer-saved seeds.[403]

In Mexico, the response of maize to climate change will vary. Small farming in the

highlands (>1800 m) is dominated by landraces which could have difficulty responding well to

warmer conditions.[404] Plants from highland landraces had low productivity when planted in the

midland environment. This is problematic since the future climate in the highlands may resemble

the current midland environment. The landraces found in the highlands do not show the plasticity

necessary to sustain productivity in warmer climates.[405] Highland races of maize that have been

crossed with teosinte (Zea mays subspecies mexicana, a species of grass related to maize), show

strong local adaptation that may make them more vulnerable to climate change.[406]

The greatest loss of genetic diversity may occur in the highlands since farmers will

discard unsuitable seed populations if they are unable to evolve quickly. There are approximately

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[402] C. J. M. Almekinders, N. P. Louwaars and G. H. de Bruijn. "Local seed systems and their importance for an improved seed supply in developing countries." *Euphytica* 78, no. 3 (1994): 207-216.

[403] P. Aquino, F. Carrion, R. Calvo and D. Flores. "Selected maize statistics," in *CIMMYT 1999-2000 World Maize Facts and Trends Meeting World Maize Needs: Technological Opportunities and Priorities for the Public Sector* ed. Pingali, P.L. (CIMMYT, 2001).

[404] Kristin L. Mercer and Hugo R. Perales. "Evolutionary Response of Landraces to Climate Change in Centers of Crop Diversity." *Evolutionary Applications* 3, no. 5-6 (2010): 480-493; S.B. Brush and Hugo R. Perales. "A Maize Landscape: Ethnicity and Agro-bio-diversity in Chiapas Mexico." *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment* 121, no. 3 (2007): 211-221; Hugo R. Perales, S.B. Brush, and C.O. Qualset. "Landraces of Maize in Central Mexico: an Altitudinal Transect." *Economic Botany* 57, no. 1 (2003): 7-20.

[405] Kristin Mercer, Ángel Martínez-Vásquez, and Hugo R. Perales. "Asymmetrical Local Adaptation of Maize Landraces Along an Altitudinal Gradient." *Evolutionary Applications* 1, no. 3 (2008): 489-500.

[406] van Heerwaarden, Joost, John Doebley, William H. Briggs, Jeffrey C. Glaubitz, Major M. Goodman, Jose de Jesus Sanchez Gonzalez, and Jeffrey Ross-Ibarra, "Genetic signals of origin, spread, and introgression in a large sample of maize landraces." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108, no. 3 (2011): 1088-1092; Yves Vigouroux, Jeffrey C. Glaubitz, Yoshihiro Matsuoka, Major M. Goodman, Jesús Sánchez, and John Doebley. "Population structure and genetic diversity of New World maize races assessed by DNA microsatellites." *American Journal of Botany* 95, no. 10 (2008): 1240-1253.

20 races of maize in the highlands[407] and research does not show whether some or all of these races would have problems responding to warmer conditions.[408] Some highland seed races could see introgression of new genes from midland landrace populations, potentially reducing the loss of some highland races. Farmers in the highlands could benefit from the introduction of landrace populations currently grown at lower altitudes to higher latitudes. A novel combination of environmental factors may require a blend of characteristics not currently found.[409]

Projections of Climate Change Induced Migration

Climate change will likely cause decreased agricultural production for small farmers who may respond by immigrating to the United States due to proximity and long established migration networks between the two countries. Decisions to migrate are complex and are often affected by multiple factors; few researchers have attempted to systematically quantify the effects of climate change on migration. Although it is widely accepted that climate change will increase migration, global estimates of the effects of climate change on migration are broad and contested. Estimating *specific* effects of climate change, such as crop yields, in a smaller geographic area is more reliable.

Research has shown a relationship between climate change, crop yields and emigration from Mexico to the United States.[410] Understanding farmers' livelihood options and limitations in their capacity to adapt is important in understanding rural vulnerabilities to climate change in Mexico. Environmental factors shape household coping capacity since they impact agricultural

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[407] J. J. Sanchez, M. M. Goodman and C. W. Stuber. "Isozymatic and Morphological Diversity in the Races of Maize of Mexico." *Economic Botany* 54, no. 1 (2000): 43-59.

[408] Edwin John Wellhausen, L. M. Roberts, X. Hernandez, and Paul C. Mangelsdorf. "Races of Maize in Mexico. Their origin, characteristics and distribution." Bussey Institution, Harvard University. (1952).

[409] J. W. Williams and S. T. Jackson, Novel Climates, No-analog Communities, and Ecological Surprises. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* 5, no. 9 (2007): 475–482.

[410] Feng et al, "Linkages among Climate Change, Crop Yields and Mexico-US cross-border Migration."

yields.[411] When faced with economic challenges, farmers often rely on off-farm employment and migration to diversify income.[412] Emigration rates from Mexican communities are higher for those affected by natural disasters more frequently and those with higher levels of poverty.[413] Declines in crop yields are a push factor and contribute to increased immigration to the United States.

Decreases in crop yields due to climate change are projected to affect Mexico.[414] Using these projections, Feng and his colleagues projected the emigration rate of adult Mexicans (age 15 – 65 years) due to expected changes in crop yields.[415] The authors determined that Mexico can expect to see reductions in crop yields as a result of climate change, but the magnitude of those reductions depends on whether the fertilization effect of CO_2 is included and whether active agricultural adaptation measures are taken.[416] They estimated that a 10% reduction in crop yields which would lead an additional 2% of the population to emigrate.[417] Based on their

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[411] Amy L. Luers, David B. Lobell, Leonard S. Sklar, C. Lee Addams and Pamela A. Matson, "A Method for Quantifying Vulnerability, Applied to the Agricultural System of the Yaqui Valley, Mexico." *Global Environmental Change*. 13 (2003): 266-67.

[412] Sergio O. Saldaña-Zorrilla and Krister Sandberg. "Impact of Climate-related Disasters on Human Migration in Mexico: a Spatial Model." *Climatic Change*. 96, no. 1-2 (2009): 97-118.; Feng et al, "Linkages among Climate Change, Crop Yields and Mexico-US cross-border Migration."

[413] Michelle Leighton Schwartz and Jessica Notini, *Desertification and migration: Mexico and the United States*. San Francisco: US Commission on Immigration Reform, 1994.

[414] Cynthia Rosenzweig and Martin L. Parry, "Potential Iimpact of Climate Change on World Food Supply." *Nature* 367, no. 6459 (1994): 133-138; Cynthia Rosenzweig and Ana Iglesias. Implications of climate change for international agriculture: Crop modeling study. US Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Policy, Planning, and Evaluation, Climate Change Division, Adaptation Branch, 1994; William R. Cline, "Global Warming and Agriculture: Impact Estimates by Country." Peterson Institute for International Economics, Washington, DC, (2007).

[415] Feng et al, "Linkages among Climate Change, Crop Yields and Mexico-US cross-border Migration."

[416] The authors assumed a stabilization of atmospheric carbon dioxide (CO_2) concentration of 555 ppm which under the relatively conservative B1 scenario of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change Special Report on Emission Scenarios, corresponds approximately to the year 2080 and represents global mean temperature increase of 1 °C to 3 °C above recent temperatures. Three climate forecasts from different General Circulation Models (GCMs), including those of the Goddard Institute for Space Studies, the Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory (GFDL), and the United Kingdom Meteorological Office (UKMO) were utilized.

[417] Feng et al, "Linkages among Climate Change, Crop Yields and Mexico-US cross-border Migration." The authors estimated the semi-elasticity of emigration with respect to crop yields using data from all Mexican states from 1995 to 2000 and 2000 to 2005.

models, lower crop yields due to climate change will result in an increase in emigration from 1.4 to 6.7 million adult Mexicans by 2080, which is equivalent to 2 – 10% of the current adult Mexican population.

While the research of Feng and his colleagues is insightful, it is limited in four ways. First, it assumes a stable socio-economic situation and does not take into account declining fertility rates and improving economic opportunities in Mexico. Second, policy changes such as increased availability of loans to small farmers in Mexico could reduce the effect of shocks and reduce emigration. Third, the study assumes a linear relationship between emigration and declines in crop yields, but if the relationship is nonlinear the impact of crop yield decreases on emigration would likely *underestimate* the impact of climate change on migration. Finally, the focus is on crop yields and does not include a variety of other environmental factors that could affect emigration.[418]

Although the Mexico-U.S. migration situation is unique in some ways, the work of Feng and his co-authors suggests that the United States may face increased immigration pressures from other current immigrant sending countries that experience decreases in crop yields due to climate change.

Implications of Climate Change-Induced Migration

Many of the countries most at risk of climate change are in Asia, Africa and Latin America and have a lower capacity to adapt to the effects of climate change than the United States and other developed countries.[419] The immigrants from these areas are largely non-white

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[418] Ibid

[419] M.L. Parry, O.F. Canziani, J.P. Palutikof, P.J. van der Linden and C.E. Hanson (eds). 2007 Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007 (Cambridge University Press, 2007)

and they are from a wide array of religious groups other than mainstream Christianity.[420] Race and religion are important factors in the debate about immigration since public opposition to immigrants has often focused on ascriptive characteristics of race, ethnicity and religion.[421] Immigrants are often seen as changing the basic characteristic of the country since they are racial and ethnic minorities and fewer are Christian. Undocumented immigrants are portrayed as unworthy since they violated the law to enter the country and are characterized as failing to assimilate by learning English.[422] Others believe that Muslims, including Muslim immigrants, are attempting to impose Sharia law in the United States. In response, thirteen states have passed or introduced legislation banning Sharia law in the United States.[423]

These punitive responses to immigration are consistent with prominent theories of law and society that argue the law typically best serves the powerful and contribute to the continued subordination of the weak, marginalized, and poor. Immigrants, particularly undocumented immigrants, are especially marginalized and lacking in power and social status. In policing in particular, for example, "minority-threat" theory posits that as minority populations increase, local majorities are likely to press their police agencies into acting punitively toward minority groups. [424]

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[420] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics."

[421] Smith, Rogers M. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal and Harts: The Multiple Traditions in America." *The American Political Science Review* 87 (1993): 549-566.; Smith, *Civic Ideals*; Klinkner and Smith, *The Unsteady March*; Eisenach, Eldon. "Liberal Citizenship and American National Identity." *Studies in the American Political Development*. 13, no. 1 (1999): 198-215.; Morone, *Hellfire Nation*; David J. Tichenor, *Dividing Lines: the Politics of Immigration Control in America*. (Princeton University Press, 2002).

[422] Chavez, *The Latino Threat.*

[423] National Conference of State Legislatures, "Will Islamic law ever be a part of the US legal system?,"

[424] Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*.

Research on the effect of climate change on human migration has typically been broadly focused at the global level and has largely ignored the implications for individual countries.[425] Understanding the potential volume of immigrants from one country to a neighboring country is important in assessing the potential political and legal responses from the receiving nation and raises the possibility that, working together, the two nations can implement policies and programs to help those affected mitigate and adapt to the effects of climate change. Working together at the regional level, countries may be able to enact policies that reduce the need for transnational immigration. Migration across the U.S. – Mexico border is increasingly dangerous, so cooperative policies that help those who want to stay on their land to do so may be advantageous from a political perspective as well as a humanitarian one.

Discussion

Climate change research shows that smallholder agriculture in Mexico will be negatively affected by long-term changes in climate as well as extreme events. This chapter examined the dynamic between politics, climate change, agriculture and migration between Mexico and the United States. I have argued that given the historical patterns of migration between Mexico and the United States as well as the economic demands for immigrant labor, smallholders in Mexico may continue to adapt to these changes by migrating to the United States.

Modest cooperative policy changes between the two nations could reduce migration.

One of these policy options is to expand agricultural assistance for small landholders in Mexico. Since NAFTA was signed, the federal government of Mexico has shifted its agricultural policies to emphasizing and supporting commercial agriculture. Loans and subsidies for

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[425] An exception is Feng et al, "Linkages among Climate Change, Crop Yields and Mexico-US cross-border Migration."

smallholders have been significantly reduced or eliminated. Assistance is typically available only to farmers who plant commercial seeds which often do not meet the needs of smallholders who do not sell to large agricultural markets.[426] Expanding loans and other assistance to support smallholders increases their ability to withstand environmental shocks. In addition, when farmers have successful crops they are more likely to invest extra income in education for their children who as adults are more likely to find employment in Mexico, reducing their need to migrate.[427]

Another policy reform that may help would be to expand landrace seed networks. Small farmers in many parts of the world will be affected by changing climates and will need new seeds. Facilitating the dialogue and exchange of seeds within Mexico and between small farmers in other countries can have global benefits. Indigenous groups and residents of small communities in Mexico often do not trust government and may be unwilling to work with federal authorities.[428] Likewise, indigenous groups in the United States and many other countries have similar trust issues with national and state governments. Seeds may have more than just economic significance. Landraces often have historical, cultural, and spiritual significance to local farmers and indigenous groups with deep ties to their land. These groups may be reluctant to share seeds due to fears of government interference or control or the commercialization and exploitation of their seed stocks. Identifying a suitable organizational structure to facilitate this will be challenging, but the United States could assist by providing grants to appropriate organizations. Non-governmental organizations that operate successfully with these groups or

[426] Hallie Eakin, "Institutional Change, Climate Risk, and Rural Vulnerability: Cases from Central Mexico." *World Development* 33, no. 11 (2005): 1923–1938.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Stephen D. Morris and Joseph L. Klesner. "Corruption and Trust: Theoretical Considerations and Evidence from Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies*, 20, no. 10 (2010): 1-28.

tribal/indigenous organizations in the United States might be well-suited to engage with similar groups in Mexico and Central America.

In the U.S. obtaining public and political support for modest financial assistance for these initiatives may be politically feasible since undocumented immigration is a high conflict policy issue in the United States and decreasing migration flows at the southern border is appealing to many elected officials and residents. These proposed policies may be politically feasible for two reasons, their relatively low cost and potential appeal to both conservatives and liberals.

The cost of these programs could be kept relatively low for the United States by leveraging existing foreign aid. In 2010 Mexico was the eighth largest recipient of foreign aid from the United States at $757 million with the money used for development assistance, economic support, child survival and health programs, and combating drug trafficking.[429] The federal government could earmark portions of this aid for agricultural programs or pressure the Mexican government to use it for this purpose. This would result in no increase in foreign aid. Although conservatives generally dislike foreign aid, this assistance could be framed in a politically acceptable way.[430] Aid to countries such as Egypt or Pakistan is seen by many as aiding those who hate the United States and providing little benefit to the United States. Aid to Mexico could be framed as helping our neighbor and benefiting the United States.

Crossing from Mexico to the United States has become much more dangerous in the last 10 – 15 years, with estimates of thousands of migrants dying in the desert.[431] Reducing the need to migrate due to environmental issues and promoting policies that allow those who want to

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[429] Marian Leonardo Lawson, Susan B. Epstein and Tamara J. Resler. "State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs: FY2011 Budget and Appropriations," April 22, 2011. Congressional Research Office.

[430] CNN. "CNN Poll: Democrats & GOP at odds over top international issues," November 22, 2011, accessed http://i2.cdn.turner.com/cnn/2011/images/11/22/rel19c.pdf.

[431] Cornelius, *Death at the border.*

remain on their lands in Mexico to do so would be politically appealing to many in the United States. Policy changes in Mexico would also mitigate the effects of climate change on smallholder agriculture. Reducing these deaths would appeal to liberal residents of the United States.

Conclusion

Existing research on immigration and climate change focuses on the global aspect of these two issues. This research shows that climate change is occurring and environmental issues contribute to human migration. What this research largely neglects is an analysis of the possible magnitude of climate change induced migration from Mexico to the United States. This chapter describes the relationship between climate change, migration and agriculture. I argue that climate change will decrease crop yields for small landholders which will increase migration from Mexico to the United States due to proximity and the existing migration networks, unless policy changes are implemented.

The information presented here suggests that climate change will decrease maize yields, especially in the highlands, which will increase human migration. Seed networks could help smallholders obtain seeds that are suited to the new environmental conditions. An organized collection, tracking and distribution of landraces could provide smallholders with suitable seeds reducing pressures to migrate due to crop failures.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

On June 13, 2013, 11 year old Sebastien de la Cruz stepped onto the floor of the AT&T Center in San Antonio, Texas and sang the National Anthem before Game 3 of the NBA Finals. His performance was noted by many on Twitter, not because of his voice, but because of his ethnicity. A selection of tweets includes:

"This kid is Mexican, why is he singing the national anthem." #yournotamerican #gohome" from Ben Koeck.

"Can't believe they had the nerve to have a beaner sing the national anthem of AMERICA" from The Great White.

"Miami=cute white girl sings national anthem. San Antonio= gets a little Mexican to sing it ... I thought this was America!!!" from Zac doc.

"Who let this illegal alien sing our national anthem?" from Matt Cyrus.

"There is a mini Mexican singing our national anthem" from Shelby H Watford.

"Why was the kid singing the national anthem wearing a mariachi band outfit? We ain't Mexican" from Thomas DeStafano.

"Who dat lil #Wetback sangin the national anthem at the #Heat game" from TH Tha DJ.

"And they got a Mexican signing our national anthem" from David Bowen.[432]

The Tweets were made by males and females and whites and blacks, and they reflect popular perceptions that Hispanics are 'illegal,' that people of Mexican descent are 'un-American,' and the national anthem is 'ours,' not 'theirs.' To be sure, other tweets and

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[432] Notes Magazine, "Public Shaming: Racist Basketball Fans PISSED a Mexican-American Boy Dared to Sing Their National Anthem," June 11, 2013, "http://www.notesmagazine.org/post/52816405048/public-shaming-racist-basketball-fans-pissed-a

institutional leaders reacted swiftly and affirmed Sebastian's fundamental right to equality in a pluralistic America. Thus, reaction against these Tweets was swift, with many others on Twitter responding positively and criticizing those who were posting negative comments. In response to the criticism, Sebastien posted on his own Twitter account: "Please do not pay attention to the negative people. I am an American living the American Dream. This is part of the American life."[433] What is perhaps most striking about Sebastien's post is his acceptance of bigotry as part of American life.

The response from elites was more positive. The Spurs invited Sebastien back to sing the national anthem before Game 4, where he was introduced by the mayor of San Antonio and his wife, and the head coaches of both teams shook his hand at the end of the anthem.

But no one could erase those initial damaging tweets. They illustrate a powerful undercurrent in American popular culture. As the usually terse Spurs Head Coach, Gregg Popovich, was moved to observe,

> "Well, I would like to say that I would be shocked or surprised by the comments. But given the fact that there's still a significant element of bigotry and racism in our nation, I'm not surprised. It still plagues us, obviously. And what I was surprised by was how proud these idiots were of their ignorance, by printing their names next to their comments. He's [Sebastien] a class act. Way more mature than most his age, and as much

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[433] Sarah Petersen. "NBA fans attack 11-year-old's national anthem with racist tweets." Deseret News, June 13, 2013, http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865581621/Racist-NBA-fans-attack-11-year-olds-national-anthem.html; Sarah Petersen, "Sebastian de la Cruz performs national anthem again at NBA Finals, receives positive response." Deseret News, June 14, 2013, "http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865581677/Sebastian-de-la-Cruz-performs-national-anthem-again-at-NBA-Finals-receives-many-positive-responses.html.

as those comments by the idiots saddens you about your country, he makes you feel that the future could be very bright."[434]

Daniel Levinson defined ethnocentrism as "prejudice, broadly conceived,"[435] and Donald Kinder and Cynthia Kam's recent book *Us against Them* demonstrates that ethnocentrism is alive and well in the United States.[436] In fact, Kinder and Kam show that ethnocentrism is a widely held attitude and is likely to remain widespread for the foreseeable future. In the current context, Hispanics are especially the target of this broad prejudice: differences are emphasized to reinforce the idea that 'they' are different. Hispanics are assumed to be different, illegal, unworthy or unable to part of 'us.'

Given how widespread are ethnocentric attitudes, it is striking how much local governmental agencies have adopted policies not of ethnocentrism but of welcomeness to immigrants. The purpose of my research has been to describe the full range of policies and practices of local agencies towards immigrants and to analyze the factors that affect their development. This concluding chapter will recap my most important observations and draw some broader implications. By presenting the full range of policies and practices towards immigrants, my research presents a more positive view of local agency practices and policies towards immigrants than is common in previous studies. Still, many localities remain remarkably unwelcoming toward immigrants.

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[434] Bresnahan, Mike. "Spurs Coach Gregg Popovich lashes out at 'bigotry and racism,'" Los Angeles Times, June 13, 2013, accessed 'http://www.latimes.com/sports/sportsnow/la-sp-sn-popovich-defends-national-anthem-singer-20130613,0,5903539.story
[435] Levinson, *An Approach to the Theory and Measurement of Ethnocentric Ideology*, p 19.
[436] Kinder and Kam, *Us Against Them*.

Local policies and practices towards immigrants vary profoundly in the United States. Immigration law is increasingly enforced at the local level through a "multilayered jurisdictional patchwork" in which agencies with overlapping jurisdiction enforce immigration law in different ways.[437] Some cities have adopted "sanctuary" policies that prohibit their officials and employees from enforcing federal laws. Others have signed federal 287(g) agreements in which they fully and proactively engage in enforcement. Research has largely focused on punitive actions towards immigrants.[438]

The thesis of my dissertation is that a surprising number of agencies have adopted policies and practices that welcome immigrants and help them become integrated into the local community. How widespread are these welcoming policies? Why have cities adopted them?

I used four theoretical frames to analyze the data. The first, minority-threat theory, suggests that social control measures directed against racial minorities intensify as their population increases.[439] According to this theoretical framework, the dominant group in a community will pressure public agencies to respond punitively towards immigrants as the proportion of immigrants in the community increases.

The second framework is neo-institutionalism which suggests norms and ideas are constituted at the level of the organizational field as much as at the local level. Institutions operate in an environment that consists of other institutions, the institutional environment, and through institutional isomorphism organizations tend to become similar to one another in

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[437] Varsanyi et al, *A Multilayered Jurisdictional Patchwork.*

[438] Lewis and Ramakrishnan, "Police Practices in Immigrant-Destination Cities"; Varsanyi, et al, "A multilayered jurisdictional patchwork"; Lewis, et al, *"*Why Do (Some) City Police Departments Enforce Federal Immigration Law?"

[439] Blalock, *Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations*.

common environments, such as policing.[440] Initially, organizational innovations are typically adopted for rational reasons, but over time, the changes come to viewed as a source of institutional legitimacy since they are the 'right' way to do things in that specific environment. This approach also suggests that agency policies and practices vary from symbolic to substantive. Since the legal environment and laws are often ambiguous, managers often adopt mechanisms that meet both the environmental demands and managerial interests.[441]

The third framework suggests that local administrators are aware of and sensitive to the economic situation in and needs of their community.[442] They know who the important economic players are and the economic situation of their community. Thus, according to this literature local administrators consider economic factors when developing policies and practices.

A fourth theoretical framework, situational imperatives, is used to understand how front-line employees act toward presumed immigrants. This framework suggests that the characteristics of the situation, including the suspect, victim and location may greatly shape how officers act.[443] Front-line workers' actions toward members of the public are influenced especially by the assumed moral worthiness of the person in question.[444] Thus, this stream of literature suggests that front-line workers would act helpfully toward people who the worker perceives to be worthy and punitively toward people who seem to be morally suspect.

My data show that many agencies have *consciously* and *deliberately* developed policies and practices that are intended to develop positive relationships between the agency and immigrants, encourage immigrants' use of the agency and help immigrants integrate into the

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[440] DiMaggio and Powell, *The Iron Cage Revisited*.
[441] Edelman, Abraham and Erlanger, "Professional Construction of Law."
[442] Peterson, *City Limits*.
[443] Berk and Loseke, "Handling of Family Violence"; Smith and Visher, "Street-Level Justice"; Worden, "Situational and Attitudinal Explanations of Police Behavior*."*
[444] Maynard-Moody and Musheno. *Cops, Teachers, Counselors*

community. As expected from neo-institutional theory, these welcoming policies and practices range from symbolic to substantive.[445] With just one possible exception, the percent of bilingual officers, they are also intentional. Agencies in communities with a large bilingual population may be able to hire bilingual employees without specific recruitment efforts or incentives. The other policies and practices represent *intentional* efforts on the part of the agency: training must be developed and presented, employees must be sent to meetings and flyers and pamphlets must be translated. These public agencies operate within increasingly sharp resource constraints. Their allocation of budgetary resources to training, translation services, publications, programs, and so on represent deliberate decisions to direct scarce resources toward welcomeness.

Allocating scarce resources for welcomeness is all the more striking because it is clear that political pressures in many places favor less welcomeness or even punitiveness toward immigrants. As my analyses show, the greater percentage of whites in the local population, the less welcoming are local agencies. Likewise, in states that have adopted Arizona-style immigration-enforcement laws, local agencies are less welcoming.

Professional norms of equal service counter these political pressures and encourage agencies to adopt more welcoming policies. Professional librarians and professional police leaders share a commitment to equal service of all in the community regardless of community members' race, ethnicity, or immigration status. The precise nature of these norms differs in keeping with the different missions and responsibilities of the police and libraries, but the shared commitment to equal service is essential.

These professional groups' shared commitment to welcomeness is all the more striking given that their agencies' political context is quite different. Public safety, the province of the

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[445] Edelman and Peterson, "Symbols and Substance in Organizational Response to Civil Rights Law"; Epp, *Making Rights Real.*

police, is a high profile issue, with the public perceiving crime as a significant concern.[446] The police can be under considerable political pressure to address perceived threats to order and safety. As noted in earlier chapters, merely the growing presence of racial minorities in a locality is sometimes enough to trigger whites' concerns about crime. Still, much that the police actually do is not easily seen by the public. Members of the white public may be unaware of the steps taken by many police departments to improve relationships with immigrants: the hiring of bilingual officers, pay differentials to reward these officers, and training of officers and collaboration with community groups on issues of concern to immigrants. Libraries operate in a different political environment. Their mission is considerably less high-profile and less subject to political pressure. At the same time, though, the steps they take to serve immigrants may be more visible: in-language posters, reading materials, speakers and the like all may be seen by virtually anybody walking into the library. The police budget is virtually sacrosanct: few elected officials are willing to reduce it. By contrast, although public libraries typically have broad public support, their mission and role in the community may be perceived as less critical. Elected officials may feel they can reduce funding for libraries with little backlash from the voting public.

In both libraries and police departments, professional norms are strongly committed to welcomeness to immigrants. For police departments, community policing has emerged as the dominant professional model and it emphasizes key professional norms that favor equal treatment of all in the community. Three key aspects of community policing -- community

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[446] Dennis T. Lowry, Tarn Ching Josephine Nio and Dennis W. Leitner. "Setting the Public Fear Agenda: A Longitudinal Analysis of Network TV Crime Reporting, Public Perceptions of Crime, and FBI Crime Statistics." *Journal of Communication* 53, no. 1 (2003): 61–73.

engagement, organizational change and a problem-solving orientation -- provide a foundation for welcoming policies and practices in police departments.

Effective community engagement requires the department and police officers to discover and respond to priorities and to involve residents in problem-solving. In order to identify community priorities, police must engage the community and the individuals in it by attending neighborhood meetings, talking to residents, building rapport with minorities and working to build capacity within the community. The police must have positive relationships with those in the community. For communities with a significant population of immigrants, community engagement requires interaction, communication and trust between police and immigrants. The dimensions of welcomeness discussed in previous chapters are methods police can use to enhance community engagement and are natural outgrowths of community policing.

Welcoming police departments need to reach out to immigrant groups in the community since those groups may be afraid to proactively engage with law enforcement. Building rapport with immigrants requires respectful and fair treatment that punitive policies regarding status verification could undermine. Communication is more effective when bilingual officers are available and flyers and information is available in other languages. The welcoming actions of some of the departments presented in this research illustrate an effort to engage with and build rapport with immigrants that go beyond public safety. Police departments host 'trunk or treat' events at Halloween and help sponsor tutoring programs which are designed to build rapport with immigrants and strengthen the community.

The organizational changes often seen with community policing can improve welcomeness at the level of both the department and the individual officer. Decentralized authority can give frontline officers the discretion to engage with immigrants in ways that help

build trust. As described at the beginning of chapter one, frontline officers in many communities

are empowered to give guidance and advice in lieu of punitive tickets in order to help immigrants

who are learning the customs and ways of society. Geographically-based patrols give officers an

opportunity to learn about and interact with immigrants in the community. 'They' may seem

different when viewed up close and over time. Avoiding eye contact may come to be viewed not

as suspicious behavior, but a sign of respect and deference. Multiple generations living in a

house may come to be seen as a sign of family loyalty not as cheap or overcrowding.

Problem-solving requires local knowledge, partnerships and a broader mandate than

arresting criminals. Solving problems requires understanding what those problems are and

obtaining buy-in from the community on how to address them. Welcoming departments often

have broad partnerships with other organizations that work with immigrants. These partnerships

may result in strange bedfellows where police are partnering with local churches and mosques,

nuns at Catholic Charities, schools, Parks and Recreation Departments and local soccer clubs to

address the needs of the immigrants in the community. The emphasis of police in welcoming

departments is not on direct, punitive law enforcement, but on developing capacity in immigrant

communities. For some, this entails working with leaders in the immigrant communities and in

others it is found in meeting the needs of immigrant children to ensure they have a healthy, safe

start and learn how to be full members of the broader community.

Community policing has resulted in a police force that is far more diverse than those of

the past.[447] Minority police officers have changed the relationship between the police and the

communities it serves, bring in distinct skills and abilities and has affected the dynamics of the

organization. Welcoming police departments often recruit and hire bilingual officers and officers

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[447] Sklansky, "Not Your Father's Police Department.

from racial, ethnic and religious minorities. A police chief in a West Coast police department reported to me that his department had hired their first Sikh officer and had made exceptions to the uniform codes to allow him to wear his traditional headwear.[448] Departments committed to community policing value this kind of diversity.

Likewise, the dominant professional model for libraries emphasizes equal service to all library patrons, a commitment to civil liberties and privacy and separation between their own personal convictions and beliefs and their professional duties and these provide a foundation for welcoming policies and practices in libraries.[449]

Librarians' professional norms drive policies and practices towards immigrants in welcoming libraries. The commitment to equality of access has directly led to more in-language resources including books and other materials as well as signs, webpages, flyers and assistance from employees. It also leads to practices that facilitate access to the library identification cards that are necessary for borrowing privileges.

The concept of equality of access has evolved, but has been a fundamental principle of the ALA since its inception. This evolution can be seen through the actions of the ALA and the libraries it represents. In the first half of the 1900s, libraries provided in-language materials and built branch libraries in immigrant neighborhoods to provide access to materials. In the 1950s programs expanded and emphasized helping immigrants integrate into society and become full members of the community. The ALA made desegregation and equal access a requirement for membership in the organization in the 1960s; separate was no longer equal. The ALA created caucuses to represent the views and needs of various ethnic and racial minorities within the organization in the 1970s and in the 1980s emphasized that all librarians should serve and assist

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[448] Author's interview with police chief, Interview" 12, February 21, 2013.
[449] American Library Association, "Libraries: An American Value."

minority patrons and the need to give minority patrons a voice in the programs being created for them. In the 1990s to today, libraries have emphasized the impact and importance of globalization and technological advances and have played an important role in bridging the digital divide for disadvantaged groups.

What constitutes equality has changed over time, but the core value was always part of the profession. Led by the ALA, public libraries have consistently re-evaluated the equality of their services and programs and made adjustments to more fully meet that value.

The second important professional norm is a commitment to civil liberties and privacy. The ALA and its members have viewed access to information and the right to express an opinion as central to the functioning of a democracy. Although exceptions have occurred, this commitment has held true even during periods of political opposition, such as during the Red Scare of the 1950s and in response to the provisions of the Patriot Act of 2001. An assistant library director I spoke with explained a situation in which a young Somali refugee was skyping with a person in Africa who was visibly holding a gun.[450] Another library patron called the police and when the police officer appeared, the immigrant expressed shock and ran for the door before the officer could talk to her. The Deputy Director clarified twice that no one from the library had called the police since the girl had the right to use the internet service at the library as she saw fit. The norm of protecting the rights of individuals to access information and to express an opinion is viewed as protecting democracy itself and has served as a powerful professional norm.

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[450] Author's interview with Library Deputy Director, Interview 36, June 21, 2011.

Another key professional norm is the expectation that librarians will keep their individual beliefs separate from their professional duties.[451] Librarians may personally support strict immigration policies and English only policies, but their profession expects them to provide equal service regardless of their personal opinion. This norm creates an environment in which librarians provide equal service and materials and programming in other languages. Separating their personal convictions from their professional duties may also improve immigrant-employee interactions in situations that are culturally sensitive. As noted in previous chapters, female employees encounter situations in which patrons only want to speak to a male employee. While many Americans would find this difficult to deal with, librarians have a professional obligation to separate their personal convictions from their professional duties.

Libraries have faced political and public pressures to eliminate or reduce materials and programs for immigrants, but have widely resisted these pressures even during periods of intense opposition to immigration. The ALA and individual libraries have continually tried to meet the needs of minorities and protect civil rights and civil liberties through policies and practices. These welcoming policies and practices stem from a commitment to these professional norms.

As outlined in chapter three, the programs, attitudes and priorities of public libraries have evolved over time. In order to meet the needs of the community, libraries changed their approach and adopted new professional norms to meet their mission.[452] Unlike policing, which experienced a fundamental shift in the professional model, public libraries have had the same

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[451] Article VII of the ALA's Code of Ethics adopted in 2008 states "We distinguish between our personal convictions and professional duties and do not allow our personal beliefs to interfere with fair representation of the aims of our institutions or the provision of access to their information resources." American Library Association, "Code of Ethics of the American Library Association."

[452] Jones, *Still Struggling for Equality*.

basic model for 130 years. As John Rohr observed, "foundings are normative."[453] Public libraries had a clear founding with the creation of the ALA in 1876 and the proliferation free public lending libraries open to all in the 1880s. From the inception, public libraries have been based on the professional norms of equal access, protection of privacy and civil liberties and neutral professional librarians. Libraries have evolved how they met those norms over time, but at their core, the founding established the professional model and associated norms and libraries have followed them ever since. The founding was indeed normative.

As Chapters 4 and 5 showed, these professional commitments directly shape the actions of front-line employees. My data suggest that frontline employees who interact with immigrants follow the official preferences and policies of the organization. Front-line employees in all types of departments and libraries often view immigrants as worthy, but the degree of welcomeness of the policies and practices creates the environment and provide the infrastructure for engaging with immigrants in positive and meaningful – welcoming – ways. Street-level workers are both constrained and supported by official policies and practices. Thus, library workers in unwelcoming libraries may lack the training, resources and confidence to proactively assist immigrants and police officers in unwelcoming departments may not have sufficient access to bilingual officers, training on how to effectively interact with immigrants, may be required to check immigration status or may not be able to develop trust with immigrants due to fears about the department's policies or participation in Secure Communities or 287(g) agreements. While front-line workers exercise considerable discretion, ignoring official policies and practices or deliberately acting contrary to them, many may not be willing to become a 'government guerilla.'

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[453] John A. Rohr. *To Run a Constitution*, University of Kansas Press, 1986.

Police officers expressed the need to treat residents equally and follow their training. In addition, some officers reported that they are constantly aware that those they are interacting with as well as bystanders would record their actions. The threat of surveillance served as a constraint on their actions since the recordings could quickly become public.

Police officers in all types of departments expressed commitment to equal protection and to carrying out the policies of the department. Even in unwelcoming departments front-line officers indicate they follow the same procedures and treat immigrants in a positive way. Front-line officers focus on their interactions with individuals. This suggests that the degree of welcomeness of the department may directly influence behavior at the front-line when it *requires* or *encourages* officers to respond in a particular manner, whether supporting punitive actions or prohibiting them.

The potential influence of political factors is also observed in the interviews. The only police chief that indicated he believed the public would support more punitive action against immigrants was in an unwelcoming department, although a chief and front-line officer in the other unwelcoming department indicated the public in their community would not support more punitive action. A key difference between these two communities is their history of immigration. The community that would not support punitive action is in a liberal, West Coast state with a long history as an immigration destination state. In contrast, the community that would support more punitive action is in a southern, new destination state that has Arizona SB 1070 style legislation. As seen in chapter 2, and again here, political factors do matter.

Librarians also adhere to policies and professional norms. I found that in the absence of explicit policies regarding proper photo identification, front-line employees generally interpret the requirement broadly even for immigrants and accept a wide range of identification cards.

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This suggests that lower level library employees are committed to the professional norm of equal access to library services, but it also shows that front-line workers who do not have a strong understanding of professional norms could exercise discretion in a punitive way. Even unwelcoming libraries provide some level of service to immigrants, but the interviews suggest that librarians in unwelcoming libraries may be more hesitant to approach and interact with immigrants or non-native English speakers. These libraries may have fewer resources for immigrants, and this may make mono-lingual employees more fearful of not being able to meet their needs and, in response, they respond by not proactively approaching immigrants and being quick, perhaps too quick, to refer that person to a bilingual employee if one is available.

From the interviews, I also found that immigrants, even undocumented immigrants, are widely perceived as worthy and respectful. Historically, it has been common for Americans to view immigrants as "worthy" only if they are white and Christian. Immigrants who did not fit this mold were regarded as unworthy and were denied full membership in society. Front-line employees typically judge clients based on middle-class values, such as thrift and work ethic. Front-line employees who perceive a client as worthy treat them differently. These interactions with public agencies affect how immigrants view their place in society and their relationship with the government. Immigrants were frequently described as hard-working, a positive middle-class trait. Police often described immigrants as quiet, deferential and reluctant to make eye contact which can be interpreted as respectful of the officer and his authority. Librarians, who value literacy and education, often talked about immigrants' interest in programs and materials.

Some of the observations reported here merit further research. My interviews with front-line personnel were limited by time, and additional interviews and observations would be necessary to confirm that these personnel generally adhere to their superiors' and agencies'

stated commitment to welcomeness. Likewise, additional interviews in "unwelcoming" agencies would be helpful to clarify how these agencies' policies are carried out in practice. Additionally, my research does not include the perspectives of immigrants. While agencies may implement policies and practices that are intended to welcoming, immigrants may have different perspectives on these actions and interpret their interactions with front-line employees and agency policies in unexpected ways. Interviews with immigrants would enhance our understanding of how these policies are viewed by their ostensible beneficiaries.

Broader implications

This analysis has three broad implications. The first is that the widespread publicity regarding punitive enforcement of immigration law by local officials is incomplete and often incorrect. The media and political story has largely focused on high profile enforcement and the effects of these enforcement actions against immigrants. The emphasis on the punitive actions of law enforcement officials, such as Sheriff Joe Arpaio in Maricopa County, Arizona and Terry Johnson in Alamance County, North Carolina, may leave the impression with the general public and especially immigrants that these policies and practices are standard for law enforcement. Undoubtedly some local agencies act in these punitive ways. Law enforcement officials interviewed for this study all indicated that it is difficult to build trust with immigrant communities. The focus on punitive actions may decrease the effectiveness of welcoming policies and practices at the local level since the generalized perception of local government agencies, especially police, is one as hostile to immigrants. Increased awareness of the broader range of policies and practices may improve the relationship between immigrants and welcoming agencies.

Second, professional norms may counteract a widespread attitude of ethnocentrism among members of the public. As Donald Kinder and Cynthia Kam's book *Us Against Them* demonstrates, ethnocentrism is a powerful force in American culture.[454] People who hold ethnocentric attitudes view their group's way of doing things as superior to others. Kinder and Kam show that this is a deeply held psychological predisposition that creates in-groups and out-groups and divides 'us' against 'them.' But they also show that some Americans are considerably more ethnocentric than others. Ethnocentrism has two components, in-group loyalty and out-group denigration. People with high in-group loyalty are more likely to oppose immigration.[455] When those groups are composed of whites or blacks, ethnocentrism predisposes people to react with suspicion, contempt, or condescension towards those who are different, and immigrants are often different in terms of language, dress and customs.[456] Kinder and Kam demonstrate that suspicion of immigrants and opposition to immigration are among the key effects of ethnocentric attitudes.

A significant implication of my study is that professional norms of inclusiveness and equal treatment may overcome the otherwise powerful effects of ethnocentrism on attitudes toward immigrants. The police departments of today look and act remarkably different than those of the 1950s; community policing, civilian oversight, legalized accountability to civil rights and liberties, and a commitment to diversity are standard in many departments. Pressure from the civil rights movement and local rights activists encouraged police departments to adopt formal commitments to equality of treatment and administrative policies to give effect to these

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[454]Kinder and Kam, *Us Against Them*; Cindy D. Kam and Donald R. Kinder, "Ethnocentrism as a Short-Term Force in the 2008 American Presidential Election." *American Journal of Political Science* 56, no. 2 (2012): 326-340.
[455] Kinder and Kam, *Us Against Them*.
[456] Ibid; Kam and Kinder, "Ethnocentrism as a Short-Term Force in the 2008 American Presidential Election."

commitments.[457] As a result, police departments are more diverse with regard to race, gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation. This diversity affects police departments in several ways. Minority, female and gay and lesbian officers may have distinct abilities, may affect the relationship between the police and the community and affect the internal dynamics of the department. Minority officers may understand the problems and behaviors of those they interact with better than white officers.

Having minority officers may improve relationships with the community. Departments that more closely reflect the racial, ethnic and gender composition of the community may be more respected by that community. Recruiting, retaining and promoting diverse officers may improve the credibility of the entire force. The growing number of women and minorities on the force has changed the internal dynamics of police departments. Interactions between a minority, female or gay or lesbian officer can change the attitudes and behavior of other officers. A previously monolithic police culture committed to defending police solidarity increasingly has given way to a culture of commitment to serve the diverse elements of contemporary local communities.

These changes have created an environment in which welcoming policies and practices can develop and be supported at the front-line. A diverse police force looks, acts and speaks more like the members of the community. Bilingual officers and officers that share the racial, ethnic and religious characteristics of the immigrants in the community can improve police-resident relationships. Having foreign born officers, bilingual officers and officers of different ethnicities can expose other officers to the culture and perspectives of immigrants. As officers learn more about immigrants, they may be more effective at building relationships and

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[457] Epp, *Making Rights Real*.

interacting effectively with them. Two national Latino police organizations exist and both are dedicated to increasing the number of Latino police officers and improve community-police relations by serving as positive liaisons with the community, engaging in public education and helping law enforcement officers understand the concerns of the Latino community.

A third implication of this study is that climate change is likely to increase the level of migration from Mexico over the long term and this will bring intense pressures to bear on many local agencies. The effects of climate change and the effects of punitive policies and practices towards immigrants are often slow, under the radar and are overshadowed by sensational events. The work of Rob Nixon (2012) shows that slows violence "is a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all. Violence is customarily conceived as an event or action that is immediate in time, explosive and spectacular in space, an erupting into instant sensational visibility. We need, I believe, to engage a different kind of violence, a violence that is neither spectacular nor instantaneous, but rather incremental and accretive, and its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales." [458] The greenhouse gases that are causing climate change were emitted primarily by the affluent, developed countries, especially the United States, but the effects are disproportionately felt by the undeveloped world who contributed little to the problem.[459]

Slow violence is also seen in current U.S. immigration policies such as Secure Communities which tears apart families, often leaving single parents to raise children or putting

[458] Rob Nixon. 2012. Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
[459] IPCC, 2007: Summary for Policymakers. In: Climate Change 2007: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [Solomon, S., D. Qin, M. Manning, Z. Chen, M. Marquis, K.B. Averyt, M.Tignor and H.L. Miller (eds.)]. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom and New York, NY, USA.

children in foster care.[460] The potential effects of these policies may not be seen in the short term, but the long term effects on children, families and communities may not be apparent for years. This is a form of slow violence that is not fair, just and equitable.

How agencies respond to increased migration due to climate change is likely to vary, but there are reasons to hope that greater immigration paradoxically may foster greater welcomeness by these agencies. My statistical analyses consistently showed local agencies respond with more welcomeness as the percentage of the foreign born population from non-white regions increases. This welcoming response to increased immigration may reflect two rather different underlying dynamics. One, as explored above, is the normative commitment of administrative professionals to equality of service. As nonwhite immigrants grow as a proportion of a local community, professionals with these normative commitments strive to develop ways to reach out and serve these new members of the community.

Paradoxically, the research on ethnocentrism also helps to explain why localities with large proportions of recent immigrants may be more welcoming of immigrants than others. When a group still has a strong connection to their previous national identity, they are less likely to respond negatively to other immigrants and are more supportive of immigration.[461] Hispanics who show in-group loyalty are more likely to be supportive of immigration and immigrant-friendly policies such as support for bilingual elementary education and providing immediate access to social services to immigrants.[462] The work of Kinder and Kam suggests that in states with a large Hispanic population or a large population of recent immigrants may maintain a

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[460] Waslin, The Secure Communities Program.
[461] Kinder and Kam, *Us Against Them*.
[462] Ibid.

connection to the national identity of origin.[463] In these contexts in-group loyalty will result in more support for welcoming immigration policies. These contexts, as I have shown, contribute to an institutional environment where local organizations will be more likely to develop welcoming policies and practices.

In contrast, when immigrants settle in what are called "new destination" locations that do not have substantial populations of immigrants, the local in-group majorities may have considerable influence on local agencies. Where those in-groups have strong ethnocentric beliefs, the policies and practices of local agencies may be less welcoming.

Climate Change, Migration from Mexico and Potential Policy Changes

Climate change may increase immigration from Mexico to the United States. Ethnocentrism suggests many individuals in the United States will be hostile towards these immigrants, although my research shows that many local public agencies will respond with welcomeness. Still, the governments of Mexico and the United States have policy options that could reduce the impact of climate change on small farmers and, potentially, reduce their need to migrate. Policy changes in Mexico would also mitigate the effects of climate change on smallholder agriculture.

Since NAFTA was signed, the federal government of Mexico has shifted its agricultural policies to emphasizing and supporting commercial agriculture. Loans and subsidies for smallholders have been significantly reduced or eliminated. Assistance is typically available only to farmers who plant commercial seeds which often do not meet the needs of smallholders who do not sell to large agricultural markets. Expanding loans and other assistance to support smallholders increases their ability to withstand environmental shocks. In addition, when farmers

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[463] Ibid.

have successful crops they are more likely to invest extra income in education for their children. As adults they are more likely to find employment in Mexico, reducing their need to migrate.

Expanding landrace seed networks will be important in ensuring farmers have access to seeds suited to their changed environment. Small farmers in many parts of the world will be affected by changing climates and will need new seeds. Facilitating the dialogue and exchange of seeds within Mexico and between small farmers in other countries can have global benefits.

Choosing an organization to collect and manage seeds may be difficult. Indigenous groups and small landowners in Mexico often do not trust government and may be unwilling to work with federal authorities.[464] This lack of trust may make them hesitant to share seeds with a government agency. Likewise, indigenous groups in the United States and many other countries have similar lack of trust in national and state governments and may be unwilling to share seeds with a government agency. Seeds may have more than just economic significance. Landraces often have historical, cultural, and spiritual significance to local farmers and indigenous groups with deep ties to their land. These groups may be reluctant to share seeds due to fears of government interference or control or the commercialization and exploitation of their seed stocks. Identifying a suitable organizational structure to facilitate this will be challenging, but the United States could assist by providing grants to appropriate organizations. Non-governmental organizations that operate successfully with these groups or tribal/indigenous organizations in the United States might be well-suited to engage with similar groups in Mexico and Central America.

The cost to the United States government of offering subsidies to support landrace seed networks in Mexico would be miniscule. The effect on lessening pressure to migrate to the

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[464] Stephen D. Morris and Joseph L. Klesner, "Corruption and Trust: Theoretical Considerations and Evidence from Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies 20, no. 10 (2010)*: 1-28.

United States would be considerable. From a cost-benefit perspective there is every reason to support these subsidies.

Concluding thoughts

I began this dissertation greatly troubled by the political discourse over immigration. But, as a former library assistant, I also began it with the sense that local professionals might have a strong commitment to welcoming and helping immigrants. What I didn't know was whether this commitment to welcomeness was widely shared or mattered at all in practice.

I end this dissertation firmly believing that many local agency professionals share a commitment to welcomeness. It is not shared equally by all local agencies. There are some Joe Arpaios. But there are also many police chiefs and librarians who are working very hard to build trust with new immigrants to their communities. These professionals have creatively developed a wide array of administrative tools to welcome immigrants into their communities. Even if often hidden or obscure, these administrative practices matter. They may matter even more in the coming era of mass immigration caused by climate change.

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Appendix A: Interviews

Interview	Position	State	Date	Population	% Foreign-born Population	Classification
1	County Sheriff	Kansas	June 22, 2011	33,848	25%	Rural County
2	Police Chief	Iowa	March 7, 2013	39,463	7%	Medium metro
3	Police Patrol Officer	Iowa	March 7, 2013	39,463	7%	Medium metro
4	Community Outreach Officer	Iowa	March 7, 2013	39,463	7%	Medium metro
5	Police Chief	Texas	February 8, 2013	118,296	9%	Large central metro
6	Police Patrol Officer	Texas	February 11, 2013	118,296	9%	Large central metro
7	Police Chief	Kansas	March 19, 2013	62,209	7%	Large fringe metro
8	Police Patrol Officer	Kansas	March 19, 2013	62,209	7%	Large fringe metro
9	Police Chief	California	February 20, 2013	37,234	21%	Large central metro
10	Police Patrol Officer	California	February 20, 2013	37,234	21%	Large central metro
11	Police Chief	California	February 21, 2013	103,701	32%	Small metro
12	Police Patrol Officer 1	California	February 21, 2013	103,701	32%	Small metro
13	Police Patrol Officer 2	California	February 21, 2013	103,701	32%	Small metro
14	Police Patrol Officer 3	California	February 21, 2013	103,701	32%	Small metro
15	Police Chief	Georgia	March 14, 2013	15,945	10%	large fringe metro
16	Director of Library	Colorado	February 26, 2013	430,066	15%	Large fringe metro
17	Library Manager	Colorado	February 26, 2013	430,066	15%	Large fringe metro
18	Children's Librarian	Colorado	February 26, 2013	430,066	15%	Large fringe metro
19	Library Assistant	Colorado	February 26, 2013	430,066	15%	Large fringe metro
20	Director of	Colorado	February 27,	248,620	9%	Small metro

	Library			2013		
21	Community Outreach Librarian	Colorado	February 27, 2013	248,620	9%	Small metro
22	Library Director	Georgia	March 13, 2013	703,670	15%	Large fringe metro
23	Library Assistant	Georgia	March 13, 2013	703,670	15%	Large fringe metro
24	Library Assistant	Georgia	March 13, 2013	703,670	15%	Large fringe metro
25	Library Manager	Georgia	March 14, 2013	209,696	9%	Large fringe metro
26	Library Assistant	Georgia	March 14, 2013	209,696	9%	Large fringe metro
27	Library Director	Texas	February 11, 2013	242,309	9%	Large central metro
28	Library Manager - Literacy	Texas	February 12, 2013	242,309	9%	Large central metro
29	Library Manager	Texas	February 16, 2013	16,855	11%	Large central metro
30	Library Assistant	Texas	February 16, 2013	16,855	11%	Large central metro
31	Library Director	Texas	February 14, 2013	393,022	10%	Large fringe metro
32	Library Assistant	Texas	February 14, 2013	393,022	10%	Large fringe metro
33	Police Chief	Texas	June 28, 2011	842,592	19%	Large central metro
34	Captain	Kansas	June 21, 2011	26,658	20%	Small metro
35	Deputy Library Director	Kansas	June 21, 2011	36,776	20%	Small metro
36	Bilingual Coordinator	Kansas	June 22, 2011	33,848	25%	Small metro
37	Library Director	Kansas	July 20, 2011	498,365	8%	Large fringe metro
38	Library Director	North Carolina	July 25, 2011	49,040	11%	Small metro
39	Police Chief	Texas	June 29, 2011	12,698	3.5%	Small metro
40	Library Director	North Carolina	September 2, 2011			Large fringe metro
41	Assistant Library Director	Texas	June 29, 2011	842,592	19%	Large central metro

Appendix B: Police Survey Instrument

Q1.1 Survey on Local Law Enforcement and Immigrants

Welcome! Thank you for taking time to participate in this survey. Taking part in this survey is your opportunity to provide valuable feedback on how police departments develop policies and interact with foreign-born residents of their community. This research will help law enforcement agencies and scholars to better understand how law enforcement agencies and individual police officers develop policies and interact with immigrants. The survey will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. I encourage you to participate and will greatly appreciate you doing so. Keep in mind that your participation is voluntary and your feedback to the researcher will be kept confidential. It is possible, however, with internet communications, that through intent or accident someone other than the intended recipient may see your response.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact Linda Williams at (785) 864-9101 or email lwilliam@ku.edu.

Completion of the survey indicates your willingness to participate in this project and that you are at least age eighteen. If you would like additional information concerning this study before or after it is completed, please feel free to contact us by phone or mail. If you have any additional questions about your rights as a research participant, you may call (785) 864-7429, write the Human Subjects Committee Lawrence Campus (HSCL), University of Kansas, 2385 Irving Hill Road, Lawrence, Kansas 66045-7563, or email irb@ku.edu.

I indicate my agreement to participate in this research by completing this survey.

Yes (1)
No (0)

Q2.1 Section I – Materials & Website This section asks for information about educational materials and the departmental website.

Does the Police Department provide printed materials (brochures, pamphlets, booklets, etc.) to the public?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q2.2)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q2.3)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q2.3)

Q2.2 Does the Police Department provide printed materials in a language other than English?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q2.3 Does the organization have a website?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q2.4)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q3.1)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q3.1)

Q2.4 Is any of the content or functionality of the website available in a language other than English either through webpages in a language other than English or through a translation option or link on the website?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Not Sure (-99)

Section II – Partnerships - In this section I want to learn about how much the Police Department works with other agencies or groups to provide services to immigrants. For example, departments and other agencies sometimes exchange information, co-sponsor events or programs, participate in events sponsored by other organizations and even work together to create or implement policies and programs.   In the past year, about how often has the Police Department collaborated with the following agencies or groups on assisting immigrants?

	Never (1)	Less than once a month (2)	Once a Month (3)	2-3 Times a Month (4)	Once a Week (5)	2-3 Times a Week (6)	Daily (7)	Not Sure (-99)
Other city or county law enforcement agencies (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
State law enforcement agencies (18)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Federal law enforcement agencies (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Neighborhood Associations (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Apartment Complexes (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Chamber of Commerce (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Community development corporations (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Elected city/county officials (7)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Public health	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

department (8)								
Universities or community colleges (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Public school districts (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Religious or faith-based organization/church (11)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Private businesses (12)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Public libraries (13)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ethnic or cultural organizations (14)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Government social service agencies (15)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Refugee and resettlement organizations (16)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Other organization (17)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q3.2 Thinking of the agencies or groups the Police Department collaborates with regarding assisting immigrants, please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Other agencies or groups see the key issues very differently from the police department	○	○	○	○	○	○

(1) The interactions are helpful for discussing how to assist immigrants (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
The interactions have improved the Department's capacity to meet the needs of immigrants (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
The interactions have helped the Department to better understand the needs of immigrants. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q3.3 In the last five years, have any command-level officers participated in discussions or meetings with police professional associations about how to address the needs or crimes of immigrants?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q4.1 During the 12-month period ending May 31, 2012, did your department operate one or more jails?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q4.2)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q4.4)
○ Not sure (-99) (Skip to Q4.4)

Q4.2 Section III – Participation in ICE programs   The Secure Communities Program of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) is a joint local-federal program on federal immigration-law enforcement. When arrestees are booked into participating state or local jails their fingerprints are electronically transmitted to the FBI and the US Immigration and Customs

Enforcement. ICE checks the fingerprints against immigration databases and determines if the person is in the country unlawfully or removable due to criminal convictions. ICE states that they will take enforcement action against individuals who pose the most significant threat to public safety.   Does your jail participate in the Secure Communities program?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q4.3)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q4.4)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q4.4)

Q4.3 Based on your experience with the Secure Communities program, please answer the following:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Participation has improved the department's relationship with immigrant communities (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Participation has harmed the Department's relationship with immigrant communities (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Participation in the program has made the community safer (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Participation in the program has made the community less safe (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q4.4 Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) allows state and local law enforcement agencies to enter into a partnership, the 287(g) program in which the local entity is given delegated authority for immigration enforcement within their jurisdiction. Does your department partner with the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in the 287(g) program?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q4.5)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q5.1)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q5.1)

Q4.5 Approximately what percentage of the department's sworn officers has been trained to participate in the 287(g) program?

❍ Choose best option (11)
❍ 0% (22)
❍ 1% - 10% (1)
❍ 11%-20% (2)
❍ 21%-30% (3)
❍ 31%-40% (4)
❍ 41%-50% (5)
❍ 51%-60% (6)
❍ 61%-70% (7)
❍ 71%-80% (8)
❍ 81%-90% (9)
❍ 91%-100% (10)

Q4.6 Based on your experience with the 287(g) program, please answer the following:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Participation has improved the department's relationship with immigrant communities (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Participation in the program has harmed the department's relationship with immigrant communities	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

(2)						
Participation in the program has made the community safer (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Participation in the program has made the community less safe (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q5.1 Section IV – Personnel - This section asks for information about sworn officers with general arrest powers as well as training and policies. Please enter the number of authorized, full-time paid department employees as of May 31, 2012 and the number of employees that are certified bilingual.

	Number of employees (1)	Number of certified bilingual employees (2)
Sworn officers with general arrest powers (11)		
Officers with limited or no arrest powers (e.g. jail or court officers) (1)		
Non-sworn officers (2)		

Q5.2 Does the Department employ a Community Liaison Officer?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q5.3 Is there a Federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agent embedded in your department?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q5.4 When making hiring decisions for sworn officers, do bilingual candidates receive extra points in the hiring process?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q5.5 Do sworn officers who are bilingual receive a pay differential or additional compensation?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q5.6 Does your Department have a designated officer who serves as a liaison with immigrant communities or immigrant leaders?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q5.7)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q5.8)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q5.8)

Q5.7 What is the title of the officer who serves as a liaison with the immigrant communities or immigrant leaders?

Q5.8 Have sworn officers received training or guidance to work with immigrants?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q5.9)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q6.1)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q6.1)

Q5.9 Approximately what percentage of sworn officers have received training or education in the following topics specifically to assist them in interacting with immigrants?

	Not applicable (11)	0% (12)	1%-10% (1)	11%-20% (2)	21%-30% (3)	31%-40% (4)	41%-50% (5)	51%-60% (6)	61%-70% (7)	71%-80% (8)	81%-90% (9)	91%-100% (10)
Language skills (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Cultural skills/awareness (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Diversity/sensitivity training (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Immigration law (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Immigration status verification procedures (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Other (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q6.1 Section V – Policies   This section asks for information about department policies.   Many cities and counties have passed laws related to undocumented immigrants. Has the city's elected governing body passed laws or ordinances regarding undocumented immigrants?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q6.2)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q6.3)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q6.3)

Q6.2 How would you characterize the local laws or ordinances regarding undocumented immigrants?

❑ The laws and ordinances are designed to restrict or expel undocumented immigrants in our community. (1)
❑ The laws and ordinances are designed to protect undocumented immigrants in our community. (2)
❑ Other (7) _____
❑ No Opinion (-99)

Q6.3 Does the Police Department have a written policy or procedural directives regarding when officers should verify immigration status?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q6.4)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q6.7)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q6.7)

Q6.4 Which statement(s) describe the Department's written policy or procedural directives (Check all that apply):

❑ Immigration status is never verified (1)
❑ Immigration status is verified whenever the officer has any lawful contact with a person and the officer has a reasonable suspicion that the person is an alien who is unlawfully present in the United States. (8)
❑ Immigration status is only verified once someone has been arrested and booked into jail (2)
❑ Other (7) _____

Q6.5 Has the Department instituted procedures to verify whether officers follow the Department's policies or procedural directives regarding verifying immigration status?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q6.6 Please describe the procedures used to verify whether officers follow the Department's policies regarding verifying immigration status.

Q6.7 When asking for identification in situations that do not specifically require a driver's license, does your office accept consular identification cards or other foreign IDs as forms of identification?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q6.8 Based on your knowledge of the actions and opinions of the sworn officers in your department, do you think most officers would typically check immigration status or request proof of citizenship or legal presence in the country when a person is:

	Yes (1)	No (0)	No Opinion (-99)
arrested for a violent crime (1)	○	○	○
booked into jail (2)	○	○	○
detained for a parole violation or failure to appear in court (3)	○	○	○
arrested for domestic violence (4)	○	○	○
arrested for a nonviolent crime and assuming the person has no previous record (5)	○	○	○
interviewed as a possible victim of human trafficking (6)	○	○	○
stopped for a traffic violation (7)	○	○	○
interviewed as a crime victim, complainant or witness (8)	○	○	○

Q6.9 Thinking of the Department's current policies and practices regarding immigrants, how much influence did the following groups or people have in shaping these policies and practices?

	No influence (1)	Little influence (2)	Moderate influence (3)	High influence (4)	No opinion (-99)
Police Chief (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Community Liaison Officer (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Other command personnel (3)	○	○	○	○	○

The recommendations of police professional associations, like the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) or the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) (4)	○	○	○	○	○
The example of other law enforcement agencies (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Local prosecutor or district attorney (7)	○	○	○	○	○
City Commission/City Council (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Police fraternal organizations (9)	○	○	○	○	○
Community groups, other than immigrant groups (10)	○	○	○	○	○
Immigrant groups (11)	○	○	○	○	○
Public opinion (12)	○	○	○	○	○
Business leaders or private businesses (13)	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.1 Section VI - Other   Police Departments operate in a political environment in which budgets are limited. The public and elected officials often hold strong opinions about immigrants and immigration enforcement. Police Chiefs make tough decisions in this difficult environment while balancing the priorities and needs of their department, residents and elected officials. Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that gaining the trust of immigrants is a high priority.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.2 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that gaining the trust of undocumented immigrants is a high priority.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.3 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that it is relatively easy to determine who is in this country without authorization.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's	○	○	○	○	○	○

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	leadership team (2)					

Q7.4 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that victimization of immigrants is a serious problem.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.5 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that the Police Department should treat all who live in the community equally regardless of their immigration status or language preference.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.6 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that undocumented immigrants in this community have caused an increase in the crime rate.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn	○	○	○	○	○	○

officers (1)						
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.7 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that immigration enforcement is the responsibility of the federal government

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.8 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that the issues associated with undocumented immigrants in this community are a drain on law enforcement resources.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.9 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that in general, immigrants in this community have caused an increase in the crime rate.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.10 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that immigrants benefit this community economically.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.11 Thinking about the average sworn officers and the department's leadership team, how much would each group agree that assisting ICE to identify and deport those who enter the country unlawfully should be a high priority.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Average sworn officers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Department's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.12 Thinking about the community you serve, how would you characterize the number of immigrants in the community.

○ Extremely low (1)
○ Low (2)
○ Neither high nor low (3)
○ High (4)
○ Extremely high (5)
○ No opinion (-99)

Q7.13 Thinking about local public opinion in the past 3 years, please rate how controversial the issue of immigration has been:

○ Not at all controversial (1)
○ Somewhat controversial (2)
○ Very controversial (3)
○ Extremely controversial (4)

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O No opinion (-99)

Q7.14 Thinking about how different groups feel about the Department's enforcement of immigration law, please indicate each group's level of agreement with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree or disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Local elected officials would like the department to increase enforcement of immigration law (1)	O	O	O	O	O	O
Local public opinion would like the department to increase enforcement of immigration law (2)	O	O	O	O	O	O
If there is a group that wants the Department to increase enforcement of immigration law, it is mainly a small, fringe group (3)	O	O	O	O	O	O
Many of the sworn officers would like	O	O	O	O	O	O

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree or disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
the department to increase enforcement of immigration law (4)						

Q7.15 How likely are immigrants in your jurisdiction to report crimes to the police, as compared with the general population?

- ○ Do not know (1)
- ○ Much less likely (2)
- ○ Somewhat less likely (3)
- ○ Just as likely (4)
- ○ Somewhat more likely (5)
- ○ Much more likely (6)
- ○ Not Sure (-99)

Q7.16 Thinking about immigration in your community, please answer the following questions:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree or disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
The immigrant population has increased significantly over the last ten years. (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Immigrants have changed the racial and ethnic make-up of the community. (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Immigrants have caused an increase in crime in	○	○	○	○	○	○

the community (3)					
Immigrants are very important as employees in the local economy (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q8.1 Section VII – Community Outreach - This section asks for information about the department's community outreach efforts. As of May 31, 2012, did your agency have a community policing plan?

○ Yes, formally written (1) (Skip to Q8.2)
○ Yes, not formally written (2) (Skip to Q8.2)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q8.8)
○ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q8.8)

Q8.2 For how many years has the department employed community policing practices?

Q8.3 At this time, is community policing practiced

○ throughout your jurisdiction or (1)
○ limited to specific neighborhoods (2)

Q8.4 Within your department, have community policing practices been implemented:

○ Department wide (1) (Skip to Q8.6)
○ Only in specific sections or divisions (2) (Skip to Q8.5)

Q8.5 If implemented only in specific sections or divisions, please list them.

Q8.6 During the last 12-month period ending May 31, 2012, what proportion of agency personnel received at least eight hours of community policing training (problem solving, SARA, community partnerships, etc.)?   Mark one choice per line. If your department did not conduct training for a particular type of employee, please mark 'none'. If you department did not have a particular type of employee for the specified time period, please mark 'NA'.

	All (1)	Half or more (2)	Less than half (3)	None (4)	NA (5)
New officer recruits (1)	○	○	○	○	○
In-service sworn personnel (2)	○	○	○	○	○

Q8.7 During the 12-month period ending May 31, 2012, which of the following did your agency do? Mark all that apply.

❑ Actively encouraged patrol officers to engage in SARA-type problem-solving projects on their beats (1)
❑ Assigned detectives to cases based on geographic areas/beats (2)
❑ Conducted a citizen police academy (3)
❑ Formed problem-solving partnerships with community groups, public agencies, or others through specialized contracts or written agreements. (4)
❑ Gave patrol officers responsibility for specific geographic areas/beats (5)
❑ Included collaborative problem-solving projects in the evaluation criteria of patrol officers (6)
❑ Trained citizens in community policing (e.g. community mobilization, problem solving) (7)
❑ Upgraded technology to support community policing activities (8)
❑ Maintained an agency mission statement that included a community policing component (9)
❑ Partnered with citizen groups and included their feedback in the development of neighborhood or community policing strategies (10)
❑ None of the above (12)

Q8.8 During the 12-month period ending May 31, 2012, has the Department conducted or sponsored a survey of citizens on crime, fear of crime, or satisfaction with police services?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q8.9)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q8.10)
○ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q8.10)

Q8.9 In what language(s) was the survey available? Mark all that apply

❑ English (1)
❑ Spanish (2)
❑ Other (3) _____
❑ Click to write Choice 4 (4)

Q8.10 During the 12-month period ending May 31, 2012, which of the following did your agency do? Mark all that apply.

	Yes (1)	No (2)	NA (3)
Partnered with immigrant leaders and/or groups and included their feedback in the development of neighborhood or community policing strategies (1)	○	○	○
Recruited immigrant leaders or immigrants to participate in citizen police academies (2)	○	○	○

Assigned patrol officers to specific geographic areas/beats in which immigrants live (3)	○	○	○
Formed problem-solving partnerships with immigrant leaders or immigrant groups, through specialized contracts or written agreements. (4)	○	○	○
Trained immigrants in community policing (5)	○	○	○

Q8.11 Thinking about the Department's actions and community relations efforts, in the last three years how frequently has the department engaged in the following activities?

	Never (1)	Very rarely (1–2 times in a three year period) (2)	Rarely (1–2 times per year) (3)	Occasionally (3–6 times per year) (4)	Frequently (6-11 times per year) (5)	Very frequently (1 or more times per month) (6)	Not Sure (-99)
Used non-English media, such as radio stations, newspapers or television stations (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Attended or participated in meetings or 'meet and greets' with immigrants in the community (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Talked with immigrant community leaders about community issues or needs (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q8.12 How would you characterize:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Maintaining good	○	○	○	○	○	○

relations with immigrants in is a high priority (1)						
The Department has been successful in building trust with immigrants in the community (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Have effective relationships with immigrants in the community is a high priority for the Department (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q8.13 Thinking about the different immigrant communities targeted for outreach, how receptive are these immigrant communities to the Department's outreach efforts?

○ Very unreceptive (1)
○ Unreceptive (2)
○ Neither unreceptive or receptive (3)
○ Receptive (4)
○ Very receptive (5)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q8.14 In the past three years, has an employee of the Department done any of the following as part of their official duties:

Participated in community events that reach out to immigrants (1)	○	○	○

| Attended professional seminars or forums to learn about new services or programs for immigrants (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Visited with staff at refugee centers or other agencies that serve immigrants (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q9.1 Section VIII – Background - This section asks for basic information about you and your organization. How much is the department's budget, excluding corrections, for the current fiscal year?

Q9.2 Section VIII – Background - This section asks for basic information about you and your organization.   What is your official title?

❍ Chief of Police (1)
❍ Assistant Chief of Police (2)
❍ Interim Chief of Police (3)
❍ Public Information Officer (4)
❍ Other (5) _____

Q9.3 What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, mark the previous grade or highest degree received.

❍ High school graduate - high school diploma or equivalent (1)
❍ Some college credit, but no degree (2)
❍ Associate degree (3)
❍ Bachelor's degree (4)
❍ Master's degree (for example: MA, MS, MPA) (5)
❍ Law Degree (JD) (6)
❍ Doctorate degree (7)
❍ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q9.4 Have you received training at the FBI's National Academy or the FBI's National Executive Institute?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Decline to answer (-99)

Q9.5 About how many years have you worked in law enforcement?

Q9.6 About how many years have you worked with this Department?

Q9.7 Which of the following statement(s) describe the job classification of the police chief position? Mark all that apply.

❑ elected by the public (1)
❑ hired directly by the city manager (2)
❑ hired by the city council/city commission (3)

❑ hired by the mayor (4)
❑ approved by the city manager (5)
❑ approved by the city council/city commission (6

Q9.8 Please specify your sex

❍ Male (1)
❍ Female (2)
❍ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q9.9 Please specify your race. (Select all that apply)

❑ American Indian or Alaska Native (1)
❑ Asian (2)
❑ Black or African American (3)
❑ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (4)
❑ White (5)
❑ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q9.10 Please specify your ethnicity

❍ Hispanic or Latino (1)
❍ Not Hispanic or Latino (2)
❍ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q9.11 Are you or your organization a member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)
❍ Not sure (-99)

Q9.12 Are you or your organization a member of the state police association?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Not sure (-99)

Q9.13 If you have any other comments or insights into providing services to immigrants in your community, please share them.

Q9.14 Thank you for taking time to complete this survey. Pressing the button below to proceed to the next screen will submit this survey.   I plan to conduct interviews with some of the people who participated in this study. If you would be willing to be interviewed, please provide the following: Name of person completing this survey

Q9.15 Phone Number

Q9.16 Email Address

Appendix C: Library Survey Instrument

Q1.1 Survey on Libraries and Immigrants

Welcome!

Thank you for taking time to participate in this survey. Taking part in this survey is your opportunity to provide valuable feedback on how libraries provide services to foreign born patrons and the role libraries play in community efforts to provide services to these residents. This research will help librarians and scholars to better understand the influence of libraries on helping immigrants become part of American society. The survey will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. I encourage you to participate and will greatly appreciate you doing so. Keep in mind that your participation is voluntary and your feedback to the researcher will be kept confidential. It is possible, however, with internet communications, that through intent or accident someone other than the intended recipient may see your response.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact Linda Williams at (785) 864-9101 or email lwilliam@ku.edu.

Completion of the survey indicates your willingness to participate in this project and that you are at least age eighteen. If you would like additional information concerning this study before or after it is completed, please feel free to contact us by phone or mail. If you have any additional questions about your rights as a research participant, you may call (785) 864-7429, write the Human Subjects Committee Lawrence Campus (HSCL), University of Kansas, 2385 Irving Hill Road, Lawrence, Kansas 66045-7563, or email irb@ku.edu.

I indicate my agreement to participate in this research by completing this survey.

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)

Q2.1 Section I – Collections: Materials and Programming - This section asks for information about library materials.   Does the library system own materials in languages other than English? Materials may include books, periodicals, newspapers, and music and video resources.

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q2.2)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q2.3)
❍ Not sure (-99) (Skip to Q2.3)

Q2.2 Approximately what percentage of your collection is in languages other than English?

Q2.3 Does the Library provide printed materials, such as brochures, pamphlets, bookmarks, program calendars or newsletters, to patrons?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q2.4)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q2.5)
○ Not sure (-99) (Skip to Q2.5)

Q2.4 Does the library provide printed materials, such as brochures, pamphlets, bookmarks, program calendars or newsletters, in a language other than English?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q2.5 Does the library have materials and/or resources to assist patrons with the citizenship test or naturalization process?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q2.6 Does the library have a bookmobile or book van?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q2.7)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q2.8)
○ Not sure (-99) (Skip to Q2.8)

Q2.7 Are non-English materials available on the bookmobile or book van?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q2.8 Thinking about the largest immigrant communities in your service area, does the library have materials in the language of the majority of these communities?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (2)
○ Not Sure (3)

Q2.9 Thinking about the largest immigrant communities in your service area, please rate the priority of building collections in the native languages of these immigrant?

○ Extremely low (1)
○ Low (2)
○ Neither high nor low (3)
○ High (4)

○ Extremely high (5)
○ Not sure (-99)

Q2.10 Does the library has signs inside the library in any language other than English?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q2.11 Many libraries are building their ebook collections, either by themselves or with partner libraries. Is the library currently working to build the ebook collection available to your patrons?

○ Yes (1) (skip to Q2.12)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q3.1)
○ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q3.1)

Q2.12 How important is building the non-English ebook collection to your library?

○ Not at all important (1)
○ Somewhat unimportant (2)
○ Neither important or unimportant (3)
○ Somewhat important (4)
○ Very important (5)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q3.1 Section II – Programs and Events - This section asks for information about library programs and events.   In the past three years, have library facilities been used, either by the library or another organization, to provide:

	Yes (1)	No (0)	Not Sure (-99)
Citizenship classes (1)	○	○	○
English as a second language (ESL) classes (2)	○	○	○
Adult literacy classes for immigrants (3)	○	○	○
Any cultural activities and holiday events (4)	○	○	○
Cultural activities and holiday events related to immigrant groups (i.e. ethnic festivals, Diwali celebrations,	○	○	○

etc.) (12)			
English conversation practice sessions (5)	○	○	○
Computer/technical classes for immigrants (6)	○	○	○
Speakers or seminars on issues of importance to immigrants (e.g. voter education, immigration lawyers, etc.) (7)	○	○	○
Seminars on community resources for immigrants (8)	○	○	○
Book club meetings for books written in English (9)	○	○	○
Book club meetings for books written in a language other than English (11)	○	○	○
Children's programs, such as storytimes (13)	○	○	○
Children's programs, such as storytimes, in a language other than English (10)	○	○	○

Q4.1 Section III – Information Services: Website - This section asks for information about the library's website.   Does the organization have a website?

❍ Yes (1) (Skip to Q4.2)
❍ No (0) (Skip to Q5.1)
❍ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q5.1)

Q4.2 Is any of the content or functionality of the website available in a language other than English either through webpages in a language other than English or through a translation option or link on the website?

❍ Yes (1)

❍ No (0)

❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q4.3 Does the website have a web page listing resources or events for immigrants?

❍ Yes (1)

❍ No (0)

❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q4.4 Can patrons access online language learning programs, such as "Mango Language" via the library's website?

❍ Yes (1)

❍ No (0)

❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q4.5 Does the website have links to the websites of other agencies and organizations that provide services to immigrants?

❍ Yes (1)

❍ No (0)

❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q5.1 Section IV – Community Outreach – This section focuses on the Library's recent outreach efforts to immigrant communities.   In the past three years, has an employee of the library system done any of the following as part of their official duties:

	Yes (1)	No (0)	Not Sure (-99)
Participated in community events that reach out to immigrants (1)	❍	❍	❍
Attended adult and continuing education forums to learn about new services and programs for immigrants (2)	❍	❍	❍
Visited with staff at refugee centers or other agencies that serve immigrants (3)	❍	❍	❍

Q5.2 In the past three years, has the library

	Yes (1)	No (0)	Not Sure (-99)
Tried to recruit immigrants to serve on the library board (1)	○	○	○
Held library tours for immigrants (2)	○	○	○
Hosted a public lecture or event on issues of interest to immigrants (3)	○	○	○
Participated in local events hosted by another organization to publicize the library's services for immigrants (4)	○	○	○
Promoted library services and materials through other organizations that assist immigrants (5)	○	○	○
Included feedback from immigrant leaders and/or immigrant groups in the development of library policies or programs or the acquisition of materials (6)	○	○	○
Formed problem-solving partnerships with immigrant leaders or immigrant groups (8)	○	○	○
Formed problem-solving partnerships with immigrant leaders or immigrant groups, through	○	○	○

| specialized contracts or written agreements. (10) | | | |
| Provided classes on using library resources for immigrants (9) | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q5.3 Thinking about the Library's community outreach efforts, in the last three years how frequently has the library engaged in the following activities?

	Never (1)	Very rarely (1-2 times in a three year period) (2)	Rarely (1–2 times per year) (3)	Occasionally (3–6 times per year) (4)	Frequently (6-11 times per year) (5)	Very frequently (1 or more times per month) (6)	Not Sure (-99)
Used non-English media such as radio stations or newspapers (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Attended or participated in meetings with immigrants in the community (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Talked with immigrant leaders and/or immigrant groups about their	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

issues or needs (3)								

Q5.4 During the 12-month period ending May 31, 2012, has the Library conducted or sponsored a survey of citizens on library services, programs or needs?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q5.5)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q5.6)
○ Not applicable (-99) (Skip to Q5.6)

Q5.5 In what language(s) was the survey available? Mark all that apply

❑ English (1)
❑ Spanish (2)
❑ Other (3) _____
❑ Not Sure (-99)

Q5.6 Thinking about the different immigrant communities targeted for outreach, in general how receptive are these immigrant communities to the Library's outreach efforts

○ Very unreceptive (1)
○ Unreceptive (2)
○ Neither unreceptive or receptive (3)
○ Receptive (4)
○ Very receptive (5)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q6.1 Section V – Partnerships - In this section I want to learn about how much the library works with other agencies or groups to provide services to immigrants. For example, libraries and other agencies sometimes exchange information, co-sponsor events or programs, participate in events sponsored by other organizations and even work together to create or implement policies and programs. In the past year, about how often has the library collaborated with the following agencies or groups on how to provide services to immigrants?

	Never (1)	Less than Once a Month (2)	Once a Month (3)	2-3 Times a Month (4)	Once a Week (5)	2-3 Times a Week (6)	Daily (7)	Not Sure (-99)
Libraries outside the system (10)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Chamber of	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Commerce (2)							
Neighborhood associations (15)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Community development corporation (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Local elected officials (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Public health department (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Universities or community colleges (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Public school districts (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Religious or faith-based organization/church (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Private businesses (9)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
City/county law enforcement department (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Ethnic or cultural organizations (11)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Government social service agencies (12)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Refugee and resettlement organizations (13)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Other organization (Please specify) (14)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q6.2 Thinking of the agencies or groups the Library collaborates with regarding services to immigrants, please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)

			(3)			
Other agencies or groups see the key issues very differently from the Library (1)	O	O	O	O	O	O
The interactions are helpful for discussing how to assist immigrants (2)	O	O	O	O	O	O
The interactions have improved the Library's capacity to meet the needs of immigrants (3)	O	O	O	O	O	O
The interactions have helped the Library to better understand the needs of immigrants (4)	O	O	O	O	O	O

Q6.3 In the last five years, have any library employees participated in discussions or meetings with library professional associations about how to address the needs of immigrants?

O Yes (1)

○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q7.2 Section VI – Staff - This section asks for information about library staff, training and policies.   Thinking about positions funded in the library's current budget (whether those positions are filled or not), approximately how many full-time equivalent employees does the library have in each of the following categories:

	Number of Employees (1)
Librarians with Master's degrees from programs of library and information studies accredited by the American Library Association. (1)	
Employees holding the title of librarian. (2)	
All other paid employees. (3)	
Total full-time equivalent employees (4)	

Q7.3   Approximately what percentage of employees are bilingual?

○ 0% (1)
○ 1%-10% (2)
○ 11%-20% (3)
○ 21%-30% (4)
○ 31%-40% (5)
○ 41%-50% (6)
○ 51%-60% (11)
○ 61%-70% (7)
○ 71%-80% (8)
○ 81%-90% (9)
○ 91%-100% (10)

Q7.4 When making hiring decisions, do bilingual candidates receive extra points in the hiring process?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q7.5 Do bilingual employees receive a pay differential or other additional compensation?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q7.6 Have employees received training or guidance to work with immigrants?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q7.7)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q7.8)
○ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q7.8)

Q7.7 Approximately what percentage of library employees have received training or education in the following topics specifically to assist them in interacting with immigrants?

	0% (1)	1% - 10% (2)	11% - 20% (3)	21% - 30% (4)	31% - 40% (5)	41% - 50% (6)	51% - 60% (7)	61% - 70% (8)	71% - 80% (9)	81% - 90% (10)	91% - 100% (11)
Language skills (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cultural skills/awareness (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Diversity/sensitivity training (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Information about programs or materials (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Other (5)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q7.8 Does the Library have a designated employee who serves as a liaison with immigrant communities or immigrant leaders?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q7.9)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q8.1)
○ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q8.1)

Q7.9 What is the title of the employee who serves as a liaison with the immigrant communities or immigrant leaders?

Q7.10 Does the Library have a designated employee who oversees or is in charge of the purchase of materials and the programming for immigrants?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q7.11)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q8.1)
○ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q8.1)

Q7.11 What is the title of the employee who oversees or is in charge of the purchase of materials and the programming for immigrants?

Q8.1 Section VII – Finances - This section asks for information about the library's budget, funding and finances for the current fiscal year.   Approximately, what is the total annual budget for materials and programming in the current fiscal year?

Q8.2   Does the Library specifically budget for materials and programs for immigrants?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (0)
❍ Not Sure (-99)

Q8.3 Approximately what percentage of the materials acquisition and programming budget is spent on materials for immigrants?

❍ 0% (1)
❍ 1%-3% (2)
❍ 4%-6% (3)
❍ 6%-9% (4)
❍ 10%-25% (5)
❍ More than 25% (6)

Q8.4 Thinking about the following groups, how would you characterize their view of the amount of money the library spends annually to provide materials, programming and equipment for immigrants?

	Way too little (1)	Too little (2)	About right (3)	Too much (4)	Way too much (5)	No opinion (-99)
Library's leadership team (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Average library employee (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Library Board (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q9.1 Section VIII – Patrons - This section asks for non-confidential information on library patrons   How likely are immigrants in your community to use the library, as compared with the general population?

❍ Extremely low (1)
❍ Low (2)
❍ Neither high nor low (3)

○ High (4)
○ Extremely high (5)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q9.2 Does the library require a photo ID to obtain a library card or library privileges?

○ Yes (1) (Skip to Q9.3)
○ No (0) (Skip to Q9.4)
○ Not Sure (-99) (Skip to Q9.4)

Q9.3 Which of the following form(s) of photo ID would the library accept from a new patron?

	Yes (1)	No (0)	Not Sure (-99)
Valid driver's license, passport, green card or other U.S. government issued ID (1)	○	○	○
Business/company issued photo ID (government issued or business/company) (2)	○	○	○
Photo ID issued by a government outside of the United States (3)	○	○	○

Q9.4 Thinking about the community you serve, how would you characterize the number of immigrants in the community:

○ Extremely Low (1)
○ Low (2)
○ Neither high nor low (3)
○ High (4)
○ Extremely high (5)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q9.5 Thinking about immigration in your community, please answer the following questions:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
The	○	○	○	○	○	○

immigrant population has increased significantly over the last ten years. (1)						
Immigrants have changed the racial and ethnic make-up of the community. (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Immigrants have caused increased conflict in the community (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Immigrants are very important as employees in the local economy (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q9.6 Thinking about local public opinion in the past 3 years, please rate how controversial the issue of immigration has been:

- ○ Not at all controversial (1)
- ○ Somewhat controversial (2)
- ○ Very controversial (3)
- ○ Extremely controversial (4)
- ○ No opinion (-99)

Q10.1 Section IX – Other   Please assess the Library's leadership team's level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Providing services and materials to immigrants is central to the library's mission (6)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Libraries have an important role in helping immigrants become part of the community (8)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Purchasing non-English materials is a high priority for the library (7)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.2 In general, how would you characterize the following groups' support for the Library?

	Extremely low (1)	Low (2)	Neither high nor low (3)	High (4)	Extremely high (5)	No opinion (-99)
The library board (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Public opinion (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Local elected officials (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.3 Thinking of the Library's current policies, programming and materials for immigrants, how much influence did the following groups or people have shaping these policies and practices?

	No influence (1)	Little influence (2)	Moderate influence (3)	High influence (4)	No opinion (-99)
Library Board (1)	○	○	○	○	○
The recommendations of library professional associations, such as the American Library Association (8)	○	○	○	○	○
The example of other libraries (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Local elected officials (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Community groups, other than immigrant groups (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Immigrant groups (7)	○	○	○	○	○
Public opinion (2)	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.4 How would you characterize the following groups' support for the Library's purchasing of non-English materials and providing services for immigrants?

	Extremely low (1)	Low (2)	Neither high nor low (3)	High (4)	Extremely high (5)	No opinion (-99)
The library board (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Public opinion (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Local elected officials (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
The average library employee (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.5 Has the local elected governing body passed regulations against, or stopped funding for, materials or programming for immigrants?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q10.6 Has the Library Board eliminated or reduced funding for or otherwise restricted the purchase of materials or programming for immigrants?

○ Yes (1)
○ No (0)
○ Not Sure (-99)

Q10.7 Thinking about how different groups feel about the Library's providing materials and programming for immigrants, please indicate each group's level of agreement with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)	No opinion (-99)
Local elected officials would like the Library to decrease materials and	○	○	○	○	○	○

programming for immigrants. (1)						
Local public opinion would like the Library to decrease materials and programming for immigrants. (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Many of the front-line library workers would like the Library to decrease materials and programming for immigrants. (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○
If there is a group that wants the library to stop providing materials and programs for immigrants, it is mainly a small, fringe group. (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.8 Libraries operate in a political environment in which budgets are limited. Leaders make tough decisions in this difficult environment while balancing priorities and needs. Based on your professional experience and thinking about the average library employee, the Library's

leadership team and the Library Board, how much would each group agree with the following statements?   The Library is spending too much on materials and services for immigrants.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Average library employee (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library Board (4)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.9 Public libraries should have materials and programming that reflect the diverse languages of the community they serve.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Average library employee (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library Board (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.10 Public libraries can best serve immigrants by providing materials and programming in English to help them learn the language.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Average library employee (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library's leadership	○	○	○	○	○	○

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
team (2)						
Library Board (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.11 The library should provide materials and programming to all who live in the community regardless of their immigration status.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Average library employee (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library Board (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.12 Immigrants benefit this community economically

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Average library employee (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library Board (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.13 Assisting and providing services to immigrants is inherent in the core mission and function of public libraries.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Average library employee (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library Board (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.14 The library should provide materials and/or programing to immigrants in their native language.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)	No Opinion (-99)
Average library employee (1)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library's leadership team (2)	○	○	○	○	○	○
Library Board (3)	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q10.15 In general, library staff members are not comfortable assisting immigrants.

○ Strongly disagree (1)
○ Disagree (2)
○ Neither agree nor disagree (3)
○ Agree (4)
○ Strongly agree (5)
○ No Opinion (-99)

Q10.16 The average library staff member actively seeks to assist patrons who are immigrants.

○ Strongly disagree (1)
○ Disagree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (2)
○ Agree (4)
○ Strongly agree (5)
○ No Opinion (-99)

Q11.1 Section X – Background - This section asks for basic information about you and your organization.   What is your official title?

○ Executive Director (1)
○ Director (2)
○ Assistant Director (6)
○ Head Librarian (5)
○ Librarian (3)
○ Assistant Librarian (4)
○ Other ()

Q11.2 What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? If currently enrolled, mark the previous grade or highest degree received.

○ High school graduate - high school diploma or the equivalent (1)
○ Some college credit, but not a degree (2)
○ Associate degree (3)
○ Bachelor's degree (4)
○ Master's degree (5)
○ Doctorate degree (7)
○ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q11.3 About how many years have you worked in the library field?

Q11.4 About how many years have you worked with this library system?

Q11.5 Please specify your sex

○ Male (1)
○ Female (0)
○ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q11.6 Please specify your race (select all that apply)

❑ American Indian or Alaska Native (1)
❑ Asian (2)
❑ Black or African American (3)
❑ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (4)

❏ White (5)
❏ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q11.7 Please specify your ethnicity

○ Hispanic or Latino (1)
○ Not Hispanic or Latino (0)
○ Prefer not to answer (-99)

Q11.8 If you have any other comments or insights into providing services to immigrants in your community, please share them.

Q11.9 Thank you for taking time to complete this survey. Pressing the button below to proceed to the next screen will submit this survey.   I plan to conduct interviews with some of those who participated in this study. If you would be willing to be interviewed, please provide the following: Name of person completing this survey

Q11.10 Phone Number

Q11.11 Email Address

Appendix D – Interview Protocols
Police Departments

Police Chief

- Tell me how the department reaches out to immigrants and immigrant leaders in the community?
- Tell me about how the department works with other agencies on issues and concerns of immigrants?
- Tell me about how professional associations, like the IACP, affected the department's policies towards immigrants?
- What are some of the challenges when interacting with immigrants?
- What types of calls/interactions are most difficult for officers when interacting with immigrants?

Front-line Officer

- Tell me about the challenges officers face when interacting with immigrants?
- How do you handle these challenges?
- What situations are most difficult for frontline officers when they are interacting with immigrants?
- What is the department's philosophy to interacting with immigrant communities?
- From your perspective, how do you think immigrants perceive the department?
- How do the characteristics of the situation affect how police officers interact with immigrants?
- Tell me about an interaction with an immigrant that went well?
- Tell me about an interaction with an immigrant did not go so well?

Public Libraries

Library Executive

- Tell me about the library's programs and materials for immigrants?
- How do the library professional associations affect the library's policies and practices towards immigrants?
- How do the mission and values of the American Library Association, such as the Library Bill of Rights, influence the library's policies and practices towards immigrants?
- Tell me about the challenges library employees encounter when interacting with immigrants?
- What feedback have you received from immigrants?
- What type of feedback have you received from the library board and general public regarding in language materials?
- Tell me about the other agencies and organizations you work with to assist immigrants.

Front-line employee

- Tell me about the challenges library employees encounter when interacting with immigrants?
- Tell me about the feedback you have received from immigrants?
- Tell me about the feedback you have received from the library board and general public regarding in language materials?
- How comfortable are immigrants in going to the library, asking for assistance and participating in programs?
- Tell me about an interaction with an immigrant that went well?
- Tell me about an interaction with an immigrant did not go so well?
- What is the library's philosophy and policies towards immigrants?