Immigration Enforcement and Its Effects on Latino Lives in Two Rural North Carolina Communities

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Abstract

Institutional contexts can either reinforce or retard immigrant incorporation but relatively few studies look at the ways in which institutions shape immigrant-receiving contexts in ways that may *delay* immigrant incorporation. Drawing on original field research—interviews, household surveys and focus groups--conducted among Latino immigrants in North Carolina, this study examines the impact of immigrants' knowledge of enforcement actions carried out by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency and fear of deportation have in shaping their lives, and, in particular, in restricting their daily routines. In doing so, this research furthers the investigation of the importance of local institutional contexts—in this case, state and local immigration enforcement—for immigrant incorporation, and shifts the perspective of this research on the effects of receiving contexts to that of immigrants themselves, rather than solely through the analysis of variation in local and state legislation or policy implementation.

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Introduction

The social science literature on immigrant incorporation is replete with comparisons of language acquisition, socio-economic mobility, electoral participation and naturalization across national origin groups, and between first-, second- and later-generation immigrants. However, these studies tend to be behavioral rather than institutional in nature: that is, they tend not to take into account the institutional contexts to which immigrants arrive, only the characteristics and resources of immigrants themselves. These institutional contexts can either reinforce or retard immigrant incorporation (Alba and Nee 2003) but relatively few studies (see, for example, Bloemraad 2006; Erie 1990; Jones-Correa 1998) look at the ways in which institutions shape immigrant-receiving contexts in ways that may *delay* immigrant incorporation.

In this study we look at the impact of immigrants' knowledge of enforcement actions carried out by the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency and fear of deportation have in shaping their lives, and, in particular, in restricting their daily routines. While studies have looked at devolution of immigration enforcement to states and localities, few have attempted to measure the impact of institutional contexts with evidence based on information provided by immigrants themselves (Fennelly 2006). In the present study we employ data from focus groups and surveys of largely undocumented Latino immigrants to provide evidence for the impact of knowledge of raids and fear of deportation on immigrants' daily activities. These first-hand accounts are supplemented by in-depth interviews with local officials and community leaders.

The Role of the Institutional Contexts in Immigrant Incorporation

The broader question addressed by the research presented here is how are immigrants incorporated into their new countries of residence? This question is not a new one. It has attracted decades of scholarship across a range of disciplines, and has

received new attention with the large movements of people across borders that have continued unabated over the last forty years. However, the focus of the incorporation literature is often the immigrant him or herself, with the assumption that immigrants adjust to their new place of residence as individuals, or as members of groups, utilizing the resources they have at their disposal. The evidence for acculturation in these approaches is behavioral, abstracted from the social or institutional context in which immigrants reside.

This individualist approach to immigrant incorporation neglects the possibility that incorporation might be influenced by the institutional context to which they arrive. However, a number of authors have pointed out that this context can make an enormous difference for incorporation outcomes. Alba and Nee, for instance, argue that '[i]nstitutions structure incentives and specify the rules of legitimate social action within which individuals and organizations compete for control over resources.' These institutions "serve as constraints shaping social and economic exchange at all levels of society" (Alba and Nee 2003: 36). In this view, immigrant incorporation is very much context-bound (see also Bloemraad 2006).

For Alba and Nee, however, context is national, rather than local. "The striking feature of the institutional environment of advanced industrial societies such as the United States," they write,

> is not so much the variability of localities and regions, but the extent to which there is homogeneity in the enforcement of laws and regulations of the federal government…. .Variations in local institutional contexts may limit the effectiveness of monitoring and enforcement, but they do not occasion different federal rules (Alba and Nee 2003: 53).

A similar focus on the national context for immigrant incorporation informs much of the research in this area. Nonetheless, researchers are increasingly pointing to instances in which the contexts of immigrant reception, and in particular enforcement efforts

targeting immigrants, vary substantially at the sub-state level as well. Some studies focus on the difference made by local institutional arrangements on immigrant incorporation (Ireland 1994), others on the role of local political parties in immigrant incorporation (Erie 1990; Jones-Correa 1998). There is growing attention as well to state and local variation in immigration enforcement (Adams and Newton 2008; Filindra 2008; Filindra and Tichenor 2008; Laglagaran et al. 2008; National Council of State Legislatures 2007 and 2008; Ramakrishnan and Wong 2007; Spiro 2002; and Su 2009).

This paper contributes to the literature in two key ways: First, it furthers the investigation of the importance of local institutional contexts—in this case, state and local immigration enforcement—for immigrant incorporation. Second, it shifts the perspective of this research on the effects of receiving contexts to that of immigrants themselves, rather than solely through the analysis of variation in local and state legislation or policy implementation.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement Practices

Beginning in the 1990s, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was charged with bolstering its policing of the US border, and to develop an increased capacity to arrest and deport undocumented aliens already in the United States. These efforts accelerated after 2003, when in response to the 9/11, the newly constituted Department of Homeland Security expanded its immigration enforcement capabilities inside the U.S. via Immigration and Custom Enforcement, the successor agency to the INS. In 2005, for instance, the Department of Homeland Security announced the Secure Border Initiative (SBI), a plan to secure American borders and decrease unauthorized migration. The first phase of SBI expanded personnel and the use of technology on the border, as had other initiatives before it, and restructured the system for the detention and removal of unauthorized immigrants already in the country (DHS 2005: 1). The second phase of the SBI concentrated additional attention on immigration enforcement in the interior of the country. On April 20, 2006 ICE issued a press release stating that the primary objective of its new interior enforcement strategy was "to reverse the

tolerance of illegal employment and illegal immigration in the United States" (DHS 2006). Among the ICE programs highlighted in the press release were the identification and removal of immigration violators and building worksite enforcement and compliance programs to deter the employment of undocumented aliens by employers (DHS 2006).

Between the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) and the early 2000s, when worksite enforcement began to increase, investigations focused principally on administrative employer sanctions. One dramatic example of DHS's increased emphasis on "worksite enforcement" were the arrests carried out on April 19, 2006 when ICE agents apprehended nearly 1,200 unauthorized workers at IFCO (an international logistics service provider) worksites. These arrests were part of a broader pattern of workplace raids and arrests by 'fugitive operations teams.'

[Figure 1 about here]

According to DHS data, workplace arrests increased steadily from fiscal year 2002 through fiscal year 2008, from 510 in 2002 to 6,287 (see Figure 1). As these figures indicate, after 2003 worksite enforcement actions or 'raids' became a dramatically more visible part of ICE enforcement, particularly from the vantage of point of immigrant communities.

Similarly, 'fugitive operations teams,' which were set up throughout the country to track down, detain and deport undocumented aliens who had failed to show up for deportation hearings or had other complications with the law (including criminal records) expanded substantially after 2003, when they were first instituted. Arrests of 'fugitive' undocumented immigrants increased from 1,900 arrests in 2003 to over 34,000 arrests in 2008 (see Figure 2). These 'fugitive operations' arrests, while not as high profile as the ICE workplace raids, affected many more individuals in many more communities.

[Figure 2 about here]

Among the other enforcement initiatives put into effect by DHS in recent years have been 287(g) agreements between ICE and local and state law enforcement agencies leading to the joint identification and apprehension of undocumented immigrants. Section 287(g) originated in the 1996 Immigration and Nationality Act, but expanded significantly after 2006 (ICE 2005). As of 2009 there were 66 active memoranda of understanding between ICE and various local and state law enforcement agencies; of these, only four existed before 2006 (ICE 2009).

ICE Enforcement in North Carolina

Between 2003 and 2008 (the date of our study), over 714 immigrants in North Carolina were arrested as the result of residential 'sweeps' and workplace raids (See Table 1). Some of these were locally targeted, while others were coordinated with simultaneous raids and arrests in multiple sites across the US.

[insert Table 1 about here]

The list of workplace raids presented in Table 1 gives some indication of the range of enforcement actions in North Carolina, which, although they did not directly touch every county in the state, were likely to have received statewide coverage by both Spanish and English language media at the time of their occurrence. By 2008 law enforcement agencies in eight counties or municipalities in North Carolina—Alamance, Cabarrus, Cumberland, Durham, Gaston, Henderson, Mecklenburg and Wake—had signed 287(g) memoranda of understanding with the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency. At least three counties in North Carolina hosted ICE detention centers for apprehended undocumented immigrants.

Person and Chatham Counties

We turn to evidence from two rural North Carolina counties—Chatham and Person, both in central North Carolina—to ascertain, based on evidence drawn from immigrants' own experiences, the impact of immigration enforcement on immigrant incorporation. Chatham and Person are both non-urban counties, under 150,000 in population, with a sizeable African American population (over 10 percent), and employment in manufacturing at or above the national average. The two counties shared these characteristics but differed in the size of their Latino population. In 2007 there were 7,811 Hispanics (foreign and US-born) in Chatham County, representing 13 percent of the population. By comparison, in the same year in Person County, the Hispanic population was 1,091, or 3 percent of the population.

Siler City (pop. 6,966), the largest community in Chatham County, has a particularly large concentration of Latino residents because of the presence of several poultry processing plants. In 2000, 39 percent of Siler City's population was Latino, and by 2007, the proportion was estimated to have grown to over 50 percent of the city's population. In 2007-2008, over half of the students in the Siler City public schools were Hispanic. Roxboro, North Carolina – the largest town in Person County – lies approximately seventy miles to the northeast. In contrast with Siler City, only 4 percent of Roxboro's 8,696 residents were Hispanic in 2000. In 2007-2008, 8 percent of the town's school enrollment was Hispanic.

As of 2008, when the fieldwork was conducted, neither county had experienced large-scale ICE enforcement actions, nor were law enforcement agencies in either county in partnership with ICE through 287(g) agreements. However, Alamance County, whose law enforcement agencies do have a 287(g) agreement with ICE, and has adopted a more punitive approach to undocumented immigrants, borders Chatham County to the north, and lies southwest of Person County.

This paper draws on fieldwork—in-depth interviews, a household survey, and focus groups—conducted in 2008 in Person and Chatham counties. The fieldwork

yielded 56 in-depth interviews with community leaders and appointed and elected officials; a randomized household survey of 409 Latino residents; and conversations conducted in four separate focus groups with Latino residents. The paper discusses the evidence from each of these field methods in turn.

In-Depth Interviews in Person and Chatham Counties

Interviews with community leaders and elected officials in Chatham and Person counties indicated a history of law enforcement intervention, including Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) 'raids' in places of employment and residential neighborhoods. Larger scale raids, organized by state or federal law enforcement, have occurred but are apparently rare. Wendy Morales, who works with the Person County Health Department, related that:

> [In] 2006 they came to a local company, Louisiana Pacific [located in Roxboro, Person County]; it's a wood company. They came there and …they put all the Hispanics or everybody into a room and just said "I want to see your green card" or whatever, and the ones that didn't they just kind of put in a van and shipped off. And I had, at that time, I had I know three or four mothers calling me just crying, [saying] "what do I do?" They had three or four children and they lived off their husband… I think they eventually had to go back. But visibly? That I've seen? I haven't seen any [raids]. [T]he only raid that I've ever heard of here was at Louisiana Pacific.

Likewise, in Chatham County raids, if any, have been infrequent. Elena Dubester, the director of Hispanics in Philanthropy, who has been a key player in Latino civic organizations in the community for many years, indicated that there had not been ICE workplace raids in Chatham County:

> [In] Chatham, thankfully, not much. Meaning … when ICE, Immigration and Customs Enforcement, comes to Chatham [they come] looking for specific people [and] the local law enforcement agencies assist them. So they'll help them find the address or whatever else. But whenever that happens (and it is generally the sheriff's department that is involved, although I am sure sometimes it is Siler City police department too) the sheriff will let us know.

Local police apparently assist ICE in both Chatham and Person counties as the agency searches for particular individuals, but local law enforcement appears to have taken a stance against formalizing any cooperation with ICE through the 287(g) program.

In general, immigration enforcement in the United States has devolved from the federal (national) government to the states and localities since 2003, and a number of North Carolina counties have taken a proactive role in local enforcement of immigration law. However, this has not been the case in Chatham and Person counties. Dubester noted that:

> [W]e have a pledge from Siler City police department, the new chief… not to join with 287(g)…

> The [Chatham County] Human Relations Commission just passed [in 2008] an anti-287(g) resolution that is going to go before the board of commissioners and it is in all likelihood going to pass, which then is going to help protect the sheriff who is also not interested in 287(g)… [W]e weren't sure how much pressure he was going to be under to join. So there's no political support for 287(g) in the county right now. So we're very lucky that way, and part of it is not just luck, but it's a mixture of circumstances: strong organization… and political forces and our building of relationships over the years. Also [the central role of immigrant labor] in this county.

The role of immigrant labor cannot be underestimated as a factor in shaping the context of immigrant reception in the county. Marisol Jimenez, executive director of the advocacy group *El Pueblo*, and a member of the Chatham County Human Rights Commission, noted that

> employers are in this really rock-and-a-hard-place … kind of situation where they need the workers, but it's not like they can come out publicly and say: "Seventy-five percent of our employees are undocumented, [but] we need these people." Because then they are confessing to a crime. So they are not going to come out and say that. They are going to do a lot of back door, "Don't do this in my plant, let me know if you're coming," kind of thing, because they can't admit it.

Gary Phillips, former chair of the Chatham County Commission, noted that when the Siler City police department was still doing traffic checkpoints, the former police chief

> had the grand idea of doing it in front of the poultry plants at shift turn [that is, as shifts were letting out at the plant]. Turn the shift, stop a checkpoint. It didn't last very long. He got a call. It stopped. So not in front of businesses; that would bother their business, so he couldn't do that.

The political economy of Chatham County, in particular, seems to have averted larger-scale ICE raids in the county.

The absence of large-scale immigration raids has not meant, however, that ICE enforcement is non-existent. As noted above, ICE has cooperated with local police agencies to arrest specific individuals. Jimenez, explained that in Chatham County ICE has been

> going door-to-door, and what they're saying is that they have a list of names. What was it called? Operation Fugitive. [ICE] had a list of names of people who either had orders of deportations or criminal charges, but then that gave them the ability to go door-to-door knocking on people's doors looking for people with these pictures. But then [the ICE agents] start questioning the people in the house, and the people don't know their rights, and they're starting to fess up things, and then they're taking entire households. So [ICE agents] show up in a trailer park and all of a sudden thirteen guys are gone.
>
> That's been happening all over North Carolina, including Chatham. And one of the worst ones recently was outside of the Smithfield processing plant. Smithfield worked with ICE to get out of charges for having so many undocumented workers, and so they cooperated with ICE and gave up names, and then all of a sudden ICE showed up at the trailer parks and they took twenty-eight people.

Dubuster confirmed that:

> There have been many raids [by ICE]. …They are coming for individuals, supposedly. They can take anybody they want, but there hasn't been an employment raid; it has been in the homes.

The scale of any immigration enforcement in these two counties has been smaller in scale than the employer raids that have taken place in other counties around the country.

The interviews suggest that the 'targeted' arrests have had cumulative effects. Again, Dubester:

> Chatham has been very lucky this way, where we've had just very targeted raids, but we have already lost at least twenty people, though, in Siler City, to these targeted raids.

Immigration enforcement in Person and Chatham counties also extends beyond the role of ICE. Sheriff Webster of Chatham emphasized that his officers "don't go out and do round-ups as some people think." However, he went on to say that

> We may check people's immigration [status] if they are arrested and [they] may go through a detention facility… Siler City or Pittsboro, the Chiefs of Police, they don't run a detention facility, so they would not do that part. But if they were to arrest somebody, that is the start of the dominoes…. Then [an undocumented immigrant] would be transported to a detention facility [in a another county].

The role of the police in immigration enforcement, while officially limited to checking people's immigration status when they are arrested, reinforces the climate created by ICE raids in the area.

As a result, despite the limited role local police agencies play in immigration enforcement, fear of the police among undocumented immigrants is widespread—perhaps, despite the Sheriff's protestations, not without reason. Pastor Benitez, pastor at *Iglesia Roca Fuerte*, in Pittsboro, Chatham County, which has a largely Latino membership, recounted that

> Today you see things that weren't seen before. Today, if a Hispanic has an accident, even if they were innocent, they would rather leave the scene before the police arrive because they don't have a [drivers'] license. They would rather leave the car and run because, without a license, they think: "If the police come, and I don't have a license, they will deport

> me." In this county now they will deport someone because they do not have a license or papers [*original interview in Spanish]*.

Father Fukes, the pastor as Saint Julia Catholic Church in Siler City, Chatham County, emphasized a theme that was repeated in a number of the interviews, the pressure of "not being able to drive with a license, of not being able to get a legal license… [Immigrants] are afraid of being deported. A lot of it is the fear of being separated from their family and deported." Together these interviews suggest that immigrants fear *everyday* law enforcement above all, and the encroachment of policing into their daily routines of work, commuting and neighborhood life.

The stepping up of legal enforcement of all kinds has had a chilling effect on immigrants' civic lives. In many of the interviews conducted in Chatham, in particular, our interviewees noted that however infrequent, the climate of fear engendered by immigration enforcement has broader pernicious effects. Pastor Benitez, pastor at Iglesia Roca Fuerte, indicated for instance:

> I have lived 17 years here as pastor, and I know this community, this county and the counties around here. And we've never had problems with immigration until now. But now it's common to see ICE in the poultry plants, in Wal-Mart, even in the banks. At a certain point this makes the Hispanic community live in such fear that they don't want to go out any more, they would rather just stay at home.
>
> This is generating stress in the lives of parents, and this stress is being transmitted to their children. You see the children stressed out, fearing that their parents are going to be taken away while they are at their jobs, and they have to face the possibility that they could come home and that their parents won't be there.

Benitez' comments suggest that it is the *fear* of immigration enforcement, as much as the enforcement itself, that shapes the context for social interactions for many immigrants, documented or undocumented. For example, as noted above, the individual arrests ICE conducts are carried out at individuals' homes. Dubester described how

> This is where they knock on your door and you open, stupidly. So our advice [to our undocumented clients] is don't open your door. Which is a big problem because people are not opening their door for *anybody* in uniform. … So we've had clients who call and say "There's an officer at my door, I don't know what they want from me, and this could be *la migra*..."

But, she went on to say,

> [It could be that the person] outside the door is from animal control or an officer wanting something, I don't know what, and then the officers I'm sure are pissed off outside. They can see the person in the window and … she's not opening the door. [But] then once they realize why the person isn't opening the door, they chill out and don't have their angry faces [on] anymore and [they have to] make sure that the client understands that they're not here to take them away.

The in-depth interviews suggest that the immigration enforcement climate has led immigrants, documented and undocumented alike, to mistrust all government officials, particularly those in uniform.

Former [Siler City/Chatham County] councilmember Phillips noted that "people who are themselves in no danger have people they love who are in continual danger," and that this general danger colors the perceptions and actions of everyone in the immigrant community. In the context of immigration enforcement, fear in the immigrant community becomes pervasive, eventually coloring broad aspects of

immigrants' public lives. This finding is confirmed by the survey findings, and is elaborated further in the focus groups interviews with immigrants themselves.

Evidence from the Two County Household Survey

While the in-depth interviews with community leaders and elected officials provide an overview of the context of immigration, the household survey and focus groups provide evidence from immigrants' own perspectives. The Latino household surveys in Chatham and Person Counties yielded 409 in-person interviews with adults in randomly selected households in census tracts with high concentrations of Latinos in the two counties. The household survey interviews, which were approximately forty minutes in length, asked respondents a range of questions about their immigration and labor histories, their family composition, and civic participation.

Our focus here is the extent to which raids and immigration enforcement measures might have generated fear and affected the daily lives of Latino immigrants, particularly their lives in the public sphere. The survey items of central interest are questions that might indicate whether there were any broader civic and social effects felt among Latinos as a result of immigration enforcement, specifically the workplace and home raids being carried out by Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agents (ICE) in the early 2000s.

Table 2 provides a summary of the variables of interest. Note that the adults interviewed in the household survey were overwhelmingly (84 percent) undocumented. This figure varied by county; less than 2 percent of Latino respondents in Person County and 18 percent of Latino respondents in Chatham County were in the country legally. The majority had crossed the US-Mexico border without authorization, although a few had over-stayed legal visas.

[insert Table 2 about here]

For the purposes of this paper, we are interested in Latino residents' concern about arrest or deportation and the response given as a follow up question to knowledge about immigration raids in the community: "Do you go shopping/to school/to work the same as you did before there were raids?" Those who answered the question split almost evenly, with 52 percent saying "yes", and 47 percent indicating "no." About half of the respondents, then, reported a change in their public routines as a result of their knowledge of (whether accurate or not) of immigration raids in the Latino community.

We began with a number of hypotheses regarding the kinds of immigrants who would feel the impact of immigration enforcement more keenly. There are a number of characteristics that might make Latino immigrants more or less likely to curtail or alter their behavior in response to fear of arrest and deportation. The most obvious is legal status. We hypothesized that undocumented immigrants would have higher levels of concern about both immigration raids and the possibility of deportation, and would also be more likely to change their behavior as a result.

We expected that immigrants with children in the United States would be more worried about the possibility of raids and/or deportation and would therefore be more cautious about going out of the house because of concerns about the potential effects of immigration law enforcement on their families, with, for example, the possibility that families might be split apart.

Much of the migrant stream to North Carolina is both younger (under 35) and male; there are two plausible, but contradictory hypotheses regarding the relationship between acculturation, anxiety about raids, and consequent altered patterns of daily life. On the one hand it could be argued that individuals who had lived hear the least—younger individuals and those who had been in the US for less time—would exhibit lower levels of anxiety and changed routines, in part because they had less invested in their lives in the United States. On the other hand, adults who have a higher level of acculturation (as measured by English language proficiency, years of education in the

U.S. or time in the U.S.) might also perceive less risk and less need to change their routines.

Almost all of the immigrants in the study (72 percent) were employed, but there was variation in hours worked. Because many of the well-publicized ICE raids across the country occurred in work places, we theorized that immigrants who spent more time at work might feel more vulnerable. We also anticipated that individuals who reported having been victims of unfair treatment or discrimination in public places might also be less likely to go out in public.

Finally, we hypothesized that individuals living in Chatham County would be more likely to worry about arrest and change their behavior because of the large Latino enclave and poultry processing plants there.

In sum, our hypotheses are:

H1 undocumented immigrants will likely have higher levels of concern about both immigration raids and the possibility of deportation, and will also be more likely to change their behavior as a result.

H2 parents with children in the United States will be less likely to continue their activities and go outside as before, after hearing of ICE raids.

H3a younger respondents and

H3b those in the U.S. for a shorter period of time will be more likely to continue their activities and go outside as before, after hearing of ICE raids.

H4 those with higher levels of acculturation, as measured by English language proficiency, years of education or time in the United States will perceive less risk, and be more likely to continue their activities as before, after hearing of ICE raids

H5 immigrants who work will be less likely to continue their activities and go outside as before, after hearing of ICE raids

H6 immigrants who have experienced discrimination in public places will be less likely to continue their activities and go outside as before, after hearing of ICE raids

H7 parents with children in the United States who are also worried about deportation will be even more likely to change the patterns of their daily lives, and

H8 undocumented migrants who worry about deportation will be even more likely than their peers to change their behavior.

The model results are presented in Table 3. We regressed reports of changed behavior on a number of independent variables. Since the dependent variable is a dummy variable, with 1= "continue to go out as before", and 0= "go out less than before," we fit the model as a logit regression. In this model we include as independent variables controls for gender (1= male), respondent age, years of education in the U.S., hours worked per week, children in the U.S., ability to speak English, undocumented status, perception of discrimination and county.

The model also tests whether some of the variables, included as interactions, are likely to have amplified effects. For instance, survey respondents were asked 'How much are you worried that you will be arrested or deported by ICE?' Sixty-two percent responded that they were worried that they might be deported. We expect that respondents who had children *and* who expressed worry about deportation would be significantly less likely than their peers to continue their activities and go outside as before, after hearing of ICE raids. Likewise we expect interactions between variables for undocumented status and worry about deportation to have similar effects.

[insert Table 3 about here]

As hypothesized, the model results indicate that two of the most vulnerable population groups in the Latino community are more likely to have changed their behavior by going out less in public as the result of knowledge of immigration enforcement actions: those in the country without papers, and those with children in the

United States. The results for 'undocumented status' and the interaction term for undocumented status and 'worried about arrest or deportation' are both significant at $p<.05$. The interaction of 'parents with children in the U.S.' with 'worried about arrest or deportation' is significant at <.01. Note that simply having children in the U.S. is not significant in the model.

Of the acculturation variables, education in the U.S. is significant, indicating that acculturation, at least as reflected through education, is negatively correlated with changes in Latinos' patterns of daily life: immigrants educated in the U.S. are more likely to continue their lives as before, despite having heard about ICE raids. Neither of the other acculturation variables—percent of life spent in the United States or knowledge of English—was significant (and in fact, the direction of the coefficient for knowledge of English suggests the opposite effect). None of the other variables in the model was significant, and so none of the other hypotheses is supported by the evidence, suggesting that other factors—including age, gender and work—are not the key variables to understanding the impact of immigration enforcement on immigrant behavior.

To facilitate interpretation of the logit regression results we calculated the predicted probabilities for the standardized coefficients. Based upon the predicted probabilities for these variables, holding the other variables in the regression equation at their mean, an undocumented immigrant is 38 percent less likely to go out as before than someone with papers. An undocumented migrant worried about arrest or deportation is 32 percent less likely to go out as before than his or her peers. Similarly, the marginal effect for an adult with children who is worried about arrest or deportation is to be 20 percent less likely to go out than someone without children. Clearly for many in the immigrant community in these two counties in North Carolina, recent enforcement actions by ICE have had a dramatic effect on their daily routines and lives.

The survey results portray general levels of worry and altered behavior among Latinos in North Carolina. The focus group conversations with Latinos in the largest

towns in both counties give us a fuller portrait of the impact of the climate of fear created by law enforcement targeting immigrants with first-hand interpretations by Latino adults.

Focus Group Interviews in Person and Chatham Counties

The focus groups with immigrants in Siler City (Chatham County) and Roxboro (Person County) underscored and expanded on many of the comments related by officials and community leaders, and the findings of the household survey. The focus group conversations reinforce the sense that Latinos feel worried, not only about ICE raids, but about the effects of heightened law enforcement more generally, ranging from police stops to the difficulty in acquiring drivers' licenses (and the risks of driving without one).

In both counties Latinos' relations with the general population and with the police appear to have improved over the past several years, but restrictions on drivers' licenses for undocumented immigrants and increased ICE presence has traumatized many Latinos and eroded native-immigrant relations.

Local police are a significant presence in Latino immigrants' lives, and Latino immigrants, particularly those without papers, deal warily with local law enforcement. However, some Latinos in Roxboro, the largest town in Person County, described improved relations with the policies and a decrease in racial profiling over the last several years:

> *Tomás***:** There are changes with the police, too. Before, as soon as the police saw a Latino they pulled him over; you hardly see that anymore.
>
> *Santiago***:** No, you don't see that anymore. When I got here in '89, they just showed up, saw me in the car and asked me for my

> license -- I have three tickets for having no license... now, it has calmed down and they let it go; before, they stopped you
>
> *Paloma***:** The police...don't stop someone anymore just because he's Hispanic. I mean, we're getting to where we have a little more respect now... they know we're here -- that we're not here to do anything wrong, but that we just want to work and have a better life.

On the other hand, the focus group conversation pointed to continuing signs of tension and occasional racial profiling of Latino residents by the police in Roxboro:

> *Moderator***:** And these changes that you're seeing is for -- overall, is it better or worse?
>
> *Esteban***:** I'd say 60/40; 60 percent of the changes are like the government that was here before... I don't know if it's just that they want to enforce the law or if it is [because] "you are Hispanic, we're going to see what we can get on you. We're going to search your car; we're going to lift up your seats."

The sense from the Person County focus groups is that the police are a powerful, perhaps arbitrary, presence shaping their daily lives, particularly around the issue of drivers' licenses.

Siler City, with a near-majority Latino population, is quite different from Roxboro. In Siler City the sheer number of Latinos and the rapid growth of the immigrant population have caused some tensions with native-born townspeople. Furthermore, the size of the Latino population has made the town a focus of immigration enforcement. As in Roxboro, Latinos in Siler City have uneasy relations with local law enforcement agencies. Interestingly, some Latinos in Siler City perceived that with the

large increases in the Hispanic population over the past decade overt racism may have decreased, but the underlying resentment has remained. They attributed this to the loss of power among non-Hispanic whites, as in the following exchange:

> *Moderator***:** Was it easier ten years ago than today?
>
> *Santos***:** Yes.
>
> *Nina***:** But there was more racism, and we had to deal with that. When I came...I was the only Hispanic there...
>
> *Inés***:** I think yes...it was easier in the sense that I was the minority, but now, people see that the town is being populated by Hispanics; before they didn't say anything...now they say that we think that … we're taking over here.

Other Latinos commented on increased scrutiny from authorities.

> *Soledad***:** Before, in almost every job they accepted you with any social security number. They didn't care so much about checking legal status. Now, that's changed. In most jobs, they want [a valid social security number] –-even if it's not your social, it must be a valid one. So, the problem is because [you end up using] someone else's social security number out of necessity...people don't really want to do it because you know that when you do that it's a crime, but necessity forces you, too.

The sense from these interviews is that even as there are more Latinos in these towns in North Carolina they are not necessarily any more accepted as residents or neighbors.

Perhaps because neither Chatham nor Siler City has experienced large workplace raids, the threat of arrests and deportation was somewhat abstract compared with the very real restrictions on obtaining drivers' licenses, and the ways in which these restrictions limited many residents' ability to go to the grocery store or to work or go to the Laundromat or to provide needed transportation to family members.

> *Diego***:** All of this [immigration enforcement] is impacting Hispanics really hard because we can't get a license anymore, or if we buy another car we can't put a license plate on it. We can't do absolutely anything anymore. And a lot of them have a family and they're the only ones who can drive, because sometimes the wife doesn't know how to drive--just the father of the family and then he's the one who somehow has to bring in money to buy food for his family. He has to drive, and then it's a problem; it's a huge problem.
>
> *Carlota***:** He's not the only one here who doesn't have a license.

Restrictions on drivers' licenses and the fear of being discovered are the result of an immigration enforcement climate that has ratcheted up in intensity over the last several years, and that this is affecting people's decisions about where to go, and whether to stay, in North Carolina.

> *Paloma***:** But you know -- I think -- I am really against them taking away someone's license. Because, to start with, it's good to take away the licenses of people who have a DUI -- that they get sometimes -- people who have too many problems with the police [but not people who haven't broken the law]. I mean, they should -- well, they should look at your record**.** For me, it's going to be a big problem not to have a license because I have to give rides to my Mom and Dad when they need it. So I'm going

to go to Texas before mine expires, because in Texas they give licenses.

Noe: Up here I think that things are getting harder because before people could work...and now we have friends who tell us that they're thinking about going to their home country because of the [difficulty getting a] license, and because you can't work if you don't have a valid social security number. So there are people who are also deciding to go back.

Teresa: To tell you the truth, I don't even know what I'm going to do because you have to have insurance and you can't get ...I honestly don't know what I'm going to do... I really need it [otherwise I'm always] looking for people to give me rides to the store, the laundromat, or anything, you just can't. And there are cops all over the place, even if you try to watch for them I don't know – honestly.

In another Siler City focus group Ramon, Juanita and Soledad go on to talk about the ways in which fear diverts peoples plans to stay in the community, to bring in relatives, or to build homes.

Ramón: [We worry] that they are looking for all of us, and now we're all in a state of anxiety, and everyone says "hey, you have to be careful"., I think we all tell each other that, don't we? because nobody wants to have their relatives taken away--the ones who aren't in the country legally.

Juanita: Sometimes people do things because they [may have to] leave tomorrow.

> *Soledad***:** Like save money...Many of us felt very comfortable before-- I mean -- like, many of us bought homes because here we planned to stay, and all of a sudden we are reminded, "Hey, don't be comfortable building things here." People say, "not any more. I'm not going to buy here; I'd better start sending [money] there."
>
> *Ramón***:** Yes...before we had plans, I think, to bring relatives here – but not any more. A lot of people have changed their plans. They say "You'd better wait for me there because maybe I'm going back." Plans have changed for a lot of people. … I know people who don't drive certain places because they're scared that they're going to be pulled over.

The sense of these focus group conversations is that restrictions on immigrants—not only through ICE but through local law enforcement and the tightening of North Carolina's provisions of who is eligible for a drivers' license—are creating a great deal of uncertainty for Latinos, and leading them to re-evaluate their ties to the community.

Participants in the focus groups in Chatham brought up ICE (Immigration Customs Enforcement) enforcement, although the Person County focus groups did not. The focus group interviews with Latinos in Chatham echo the sentiment expressed in the in-depth interviews that, although there have not been large-scale work place raids in Chatham County, smaller scale house arrests have taken a toll. One focus group held with indigenous Guatemalans described their impact:

> *Moderator***:** A question on a different subject-- immigration, we've talked a bit about that—is it tougher now that they're searching for people who don't have papers, or is it the same as before?
>
> *Emilio***:** It is tougher now. *La Migra* [ICE] has even been to houses.

*Melchor***:** They've gone to the houses of people who have applied [for visas] and who have been rejected...but haven't left. They go and find them in their houses... And now, there are people who are in jail.

*Moderator***:** What other thing have you heard?

*Emilio***:** We heard that they went to a house and didn't find the person they were looking for, but they took other people who they weren't looking for. [That was] not long ago; it hasn't been a year yet.

Participants in a different Chatham focus group also described the ways in which ICE agents come to homes seeking one person, but end up arresting others.

*Moderator***:** Have there been Immigration arrests in places here?

*Teresa***:** Well...sometimes when they come looking for the person they're after, they don't find him.

*Juanita***:** Maybe he doesn't live there anymore.

*Teresa***:** Yes, but they ask the people who are there to see their papers, and if they don't have any, well, then they take them away.

*Ramón***:** They take the person away, and sometimes, even if it was just one person, the relatives tell others and everyone thinks that Immigration is [coming].

*Soledad***:** And that's scary.

These conversations confirm that the principal impact of ICE is felt, for many immigrants, not in the workplace, but in the home.

Furthermore, as in the in-depth interviews, it is clear from the focus groups that the *rumors* of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) are in many ways as consequential in their effects as actual ICE raids. In one focus group, a woman noted the fear generated by rumors of ICE presence:

> *Consuelo***:** I live in an apartment and once people told me..."on Saturdays and on Sundays don't go out because *la Migra* is coming"...I told them, "There's no Immigration," and I looked around the streets and that day I went to Wal-Mart and I came back; people were saying that *la Migra* was waiting under the bridge...it scared all of the people in the apartment building.

Another focus group discussed in detail the rumors that were circulating around the closing of one of the Siler City's largest immigrant employers. In May of 2008, shortly after the focus groups were conducted, the Pilgrims Pride poultry processing plant in Siler City closed. With the plant closing the town lost 830 jobs—over 700 of which were to Latino employees. Before the closing, rumors circulated in the Hispanic community.

> *Melchor***:** I heard that they were going to close the chicken plant and that Immigration was going to go there. But, well, since then, I haven't heard anything. I have friends who work there and they say there's a rumor that it is going to be closed, but it is not because Immigration is going to come.

> *Soledad***:** Yes, it was a Monday that many people heard that and didn't go out, didn't come to work. The supervisor says they arrived like at eight, and only the ones who had papers [showed up]. The rest weren't there...There was a rumor going around that the boss didn't want to pay

unemployment and that...they were going to call immigration. But it was just a rumor and nothing happened.

*Consuelo***:** It is definitely going to be closed. Many people say that—an American woman told me today. I went to a meeting, and she said that it was going to be closed like for a couple of months because the plant is too old and they think it might collapse on people when they're working there-- that it is for people's own good ...and that after that it is going to be opened again. Many people are saying that when they are ready to close they are going to call immigration, but that's not true.

*Ramón***:** Recently, there was a story on TV that Immigration had shown up at several chicken plants, and since there's a chicken plant here people here thought that it was coming this way, so everyone was moving.

The discussion in this group illustrates the difficulty that immigrants had, in the context of imperfect information, in separating accurate information (the plant closure) from rumor (the possibility of ICE raids following the plant closing).

Do immigrants' behaviors change in the wake of heightened enforcement? The household survey results suggest that people do adjust their public routines. In the following discussion in a focus group with Guatemalans in Siler City, the residents provide a more nuanced view of how people change their behavior because of fear of arrest and deportation.

*Moderator***:** Do you do anything differently because you're concerned that something else is going to happen?

*Melchor***:** Where I live [the police] do a lot of checking, so I change my route. People are like ants-- there's a check point here so they don't go that way; they turn around.

*Moderator***:** But that isn't *la Migra*, is it?

*Melchor***:** No, but, there are people who misinterpret it. They say it is *la Migra*, sometimes as a joke. But, well, people who don't have papers ...

*Consuelo***:** [S]ome Hispanics scare other Hispanics. [Crosstalk] … Like that Saturday I was telling you about – and they say "Don't go out!" [Crosstalk]

*Melchor***:** It looked like a ghost town.

The ICE raids—real or not—make people take precautions, making changes in the normal patterns of their daily lives.

Other participants in the focus groups discounted the possible threat of immigration enforcement, or had more fatalistic attitudes:

*Moderator***:** And you? Are you doing things different differently? [Everyone in the group said no, and the moderator followed up with questions about fear of ICE arrests]

*Moderator***:** Okay. How worried are you that something can happen with *la Migra*?

*Esperanza***:** Well, it's in God's hands.

*Teresa***:** You have to wait for whatever comes your way.

In contrast, one individual's response was more calculating, based on his perception of the low odds of being caught because of the size of the undocumented population in the United States.

> *Rubén***:** Well, to be honest, I say it is the same, right? Because no one has made me think that *la Migra* will come by because it is my understanding that there are about 12 million undocumented people, you know? Well, I don't think they are coming for me...ever since I came here Immigration has always been around....The truth is… as long as God wants us to, we'll be here.

Overall, the focus groups elaborate on the survey findings: they seem to indicate that for many, though not all, Latino residents in these North Carolina towns, ICE raids (or rumors of them) and the fear of arrest and deportation create considerable unease and fear in the community, change the patterns of people's everyday lives, and motivate at least some residents to consider changing their plans to stay in the United States.

Discussion and Conclusions

The findings from the survey and focus groups with Latino immigrants in two rural North Carolina counties suggest that immigration enforcement—whether as a result of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) actions, local policing, or the general climate of fear created by these enforcement actions—has a negative impact on immigrants' engagement in the public sphere, measured at its most basic level by the willingness of Latino immigrants to leave their homes and venture outside.

The survey evidence indicates that knowledge of raids and fear of deportation has a direct effect on Latino immigrants' willingness to venture out in public, and this, in turn, is likely to have consequences for their engagement in a wide range of civic activities ranging from church going to participation in their children's schooling. Furthermore, the depressing effects of immigration enforcement are felt most keenly by

families with children and the undocumented, among the most vulnerable members of the Latino community. This survey evidence, supplemented by the in-depth interviews and focus group conversations, suggests, however, that a broader array of enforcement actions beyond simply ICE workplace raids negatively affect immigrants' behavior, including ICE 'fugitive' arrests in individuals' homes (which make up the bulk of arrests in Chatham and Person counties), enforcement actions by local police (including traffic stops and drivers' license enforcement) and the role of states in putting up barriers to incorporation such as making drivers' licenses more difficult to acquire.

Together these enforcement actions cast a penumbra over immigrant public life and civic engagement, with effects on individuals well beyond those actually touched directly by these actions. If anything, the findings presented here underestimate the effects of these enforcement actions, since neither Chatham nor Person counties directly experienced large-scale immigration enforcement raids by ICE; the likelihood is the effects of enforcement actions on immigrants is even greater in counties that have undergone these events. The survey indicates that fear itself has a negative consequence on immigrant life, and the interviews indicate that *rumors* of immigration enforcement can have negative effects as real as the enforcement itself.

These findings suggest that greater attention should be paid to the role of receiving contexts in the acculturation and incorporation of immigrants, and that, as some of the recent literature suggests (Bloemraad 2006; Filindra 2008; Ramakrishnan and Wong 2008), the effects of these contexts are likely to vary. The research presented here also suggests that immigrants own experiences in these contexts, and their own interpretations of these experiences, are key to having a full understanding of the impact of enforcement actions and other aspects of receiving contexts on immigrant reception and incorporation into the host society.

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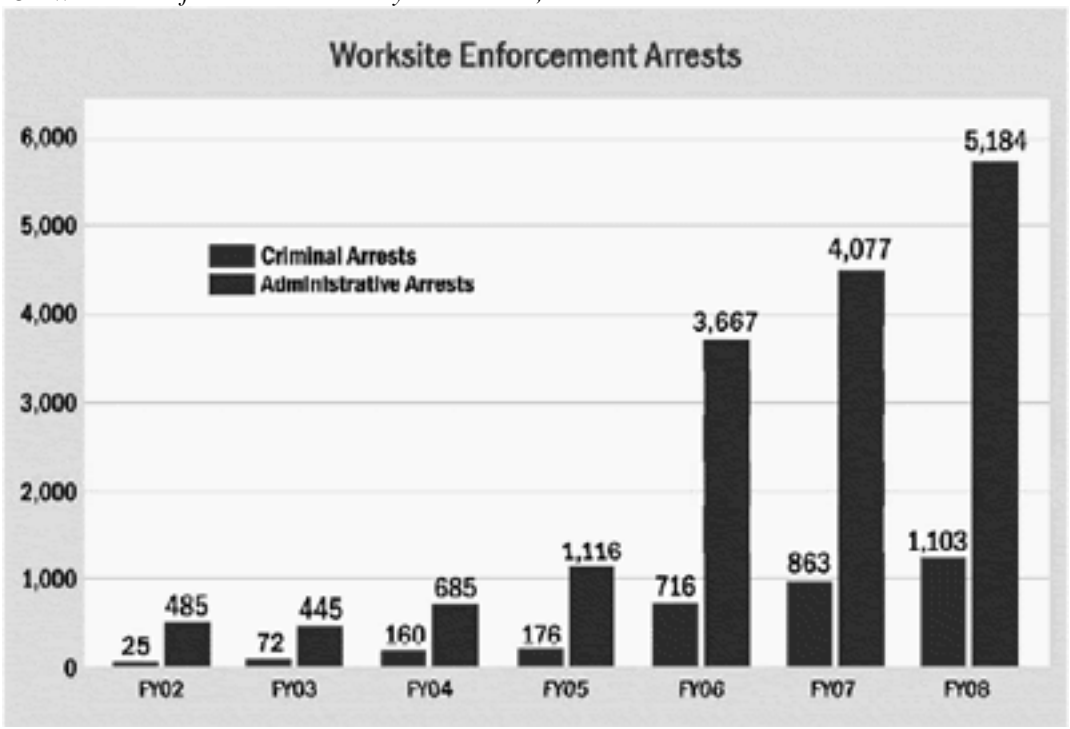
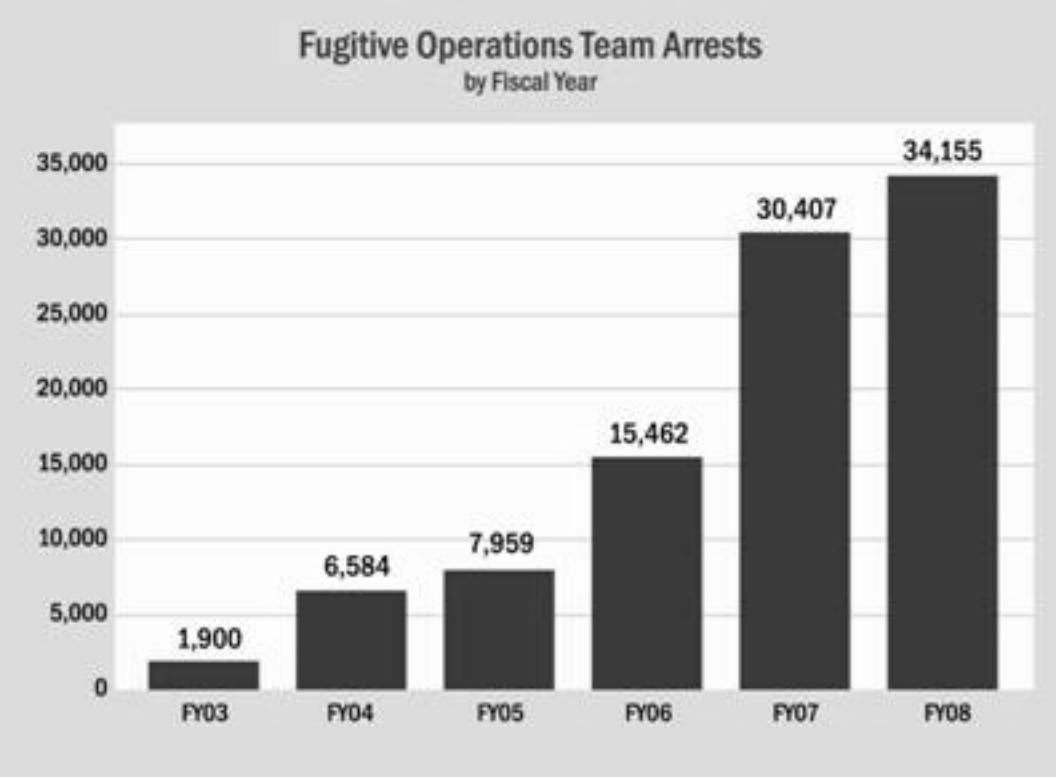
Figure 1
ICE Worksite Enforcement Arrests by Fiscal Year, 2002-2008



Source: U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "Worksite Enforcement Overview" http://www.ice.gov/pi/news/factsheets/worksite.htm

Figure 2
Fugitive Operations Team Arrests by Fiscal Year, 2003-2008



Source: U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, "ICE Fugitive Operations Program, "http://www.ice.gov/pi/news/factsheets/NFOP_FS.htm

Table 1
ICE Workplace Enforcement Actions in North Carolina 2003-2009

Year	Location	Type	Details	Arrests
2003	Charlotte	Residential	Residential sweep	62
2003	National, including 4 counties in North Carolina	Workplace	Wal-Mart	4[1]
2003	Raleigh-Durham International Airport	Workplace	Cleaners and vendors	8
2004	Lincoln	Workplace	RSI, manufacturing	24
2005	Greensboro, Piedmont Triad International Airport	Workplace	Contract workers for an aviation maintenance company	28
2005	Goldsboro, NC	Workplace	Air Force base laborers and carpenters	49
2005	Camp Lejeune, Marine Corps Base, Onslow County, NC	Workplace	Construction sites	39
2005	Fort Bragg, NC	Workplace	Foreign language instructors	3
2005	Durham, NC	Workplace	Manufacturing plant, maintenance and cafeteria services	36
2005	Camp Lejeune Marine Corps Base, Onslow, NC	Workplace	Construction	21
2006	Southport, NC	Day Laborers	Construction	29
2006	National, including Charlotte, NC	Workplace	40 worksites of pallet & crate company (1187 arrests in multiple states)	44
2006	Raleigh, NC	Workplace	Construction sites	7
2006	Fayetteville, NC	Workplace	Mall kiosks	16
2007	Charlotte, NC	Other	ICE "Operation Secure Streets"	60
2007	Raleigh, NC	Other	ICE "Operation Secure Streets"	43
2007	Raleigh, NC	Other	ICE "Operation Secure Streets"	40
2007	Tar Heel, NC	Workplace	Pork processing plant and nearby trailer homes	28
2008	Durham and Wake	Residential	Residential sweep	3
2008	North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia	Residential	Residential sweep	104
2008	Asheville, NC	Workplace	Manufacturing plant & parachute co.	57
2008	Charlotte, NC	Workplace	Restaurant	9
	Total Arrests			**714**

[1] No state-specific data are available for the 2008 Wal-Mart raids. Therefore we have shown only 4 in the four NC counties, the minimum possible for these arrests to be included in ICE data.

Table 2
Summary Statistics

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max
Go out as before	260	0.53	0.50	0	1
Worried about deportation	261	0.62	0.48	0	1
Male	410	0.61	0.48	0	1
Age	400	32.97	9.32	18	64
Percent of life in US	410	0.26	0.16	0	1
Hours worked per week	405	29.67	19.56	0	70
Years of education in the US	410	0.57	2.17	0	17
Perception of discrimination	407	0.28	0.69	0	5
Children in the US	410	0.66	0.47	0	1
Ability to speak English	410	0.10	0.30	0	1
Undocumented status	409	0.84	0.36	0	1
County	410	0.832	0.37	0	1

Table 3
Logit Model: Continue to Go Out Same as Before, Despite Knowing About Raids

	Coefficient	Standard Error	z	P>|z|	95% Confidence Interval	
Male	0.1140	0.4316	0.26	0.792	-0.7320	0.9600
Age	0.0239	0.0197	1.21	0.226	-0.0147	0.0625
Percent of life in US	0.4523	1.4674	0.31	0.758	-2.4238	3.3284
Years of education in the US	0.3638	0.1734	2.1	0.036*	0.0239	0.7036
Hours worked per week	0.0105	0.0097	1.08	0.278	-0.0085	0.0294
Children in the US	0.8930	0.8226	1.09	0.278	-0.7192	2.5053
Ability to speak English	-1.0837	0.7824	-1.39	0.166	-2.6172	0.4498
Undocumented status	-2.0040	0.8894	-2.25	0.024*	-3.7472	-0.2607
Perception of discrimination	0.2230	0.2333	0.96	0.339	-0.2343	0.6802
Children in the US * worried	-0.8541	0.3329	-2.57	0.01**	-1.5065	-0.2016
Undocumented * worried	-1.4511	0.6098	-2.38	0.017*	-2.6464	-0.2559
County	-0.4441	0.5103	-0.87	0.384	-1.4442	0.5560
Constant	2.3344	1.2574	1.86	0.063	-0.1301	4.7989

Number of observations = 254 LR chi2(12) = 142.27
Pseudo R2 = 0.4047 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
* = p <.05 **= p < .01