

STRANGER OR NEIGHBOR?
EXPLAINING LOCAL IMMIGRANT POLICYMAKING IN WASHINGTON, DC AND MADRID

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By

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ABSTRACT

Though immigration policies are determined federally, it is local communities that are faced with the concrete consequences of immigrant residents and are forced to come up with solutions to the policy problems and opportunities. Though federal government may be responsible for *immigration* policy and for protecting state borders, *immigrant* policy is largely left to subnational units to develop and implement. The process of local government response and creation of local immigrant policy is under-theorized in the academic literature. This project helps to fill that gap by developing a theory about the process of immigrant policymaking at the local level through a comparative study of two metropolitan immigrant gateways: Washington, DC and Madrid. The case study analysis shows that the history of immigrant policymaking is crucial to understanding variation in communities coping with changing immigration dynamics. The argument emphasizes the path dependent processes that follow from key decisions made by individual local leaders at critical junctures in the demographic development of communities. Decisions made early on have lasting effects that shape the development of immigrant policy and explain the durability of inclusionary or exclusionary commitments in the face of changing demographics. As immigrant numbers increase or characteristics of immigration evolve, institutional and ideational commitments made at an earlier stage of the demographic development are already locked in and serve as the basis for dealing with new flows and

dynamics. In the absence of a policy paradigm, no strong commitments are made and response is inconsistent across agencies and more reactive to changing demographic and political pressures. The cases include two highly inclusionary examples, Montgomery County in suburban Maryland and the region of Madrid, and one exclusionary case, Prince William County in suburban Virginia. This project advances existing theories of bureaucratic incorporation that examine how local communities in the United States cope with new immigrant residents, by adding a historical institutionalist perspective and extending to a transatlantic comparison. It collects original qualitative data through archival and interview research, developing a nuanced understanding of local immigration dynamics that is grounded in the key role of local-level authorities in immigrant policymaking.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

While debates continue endlessly in Washington and other national capitals on the appropriate design of federal immigration law, migrants and natives experience the real-life consequences of rising immigration every day in ordinary local communities. Interaction between long-time residents and newcomers takes place everywhere, at the grocery store, the work place, in schools, and in shared public spaces like parks or street corners, producing an endless array of possible conflicts as well as possibilities for cooperation. Immigration challenges local communities, particularly those that do not have significant history or experience in receiving individuals from other countries, cultures, and religious traditions. Immigration provides benefits and vitality to communities whose growth is often fueled by new residents' cultural and economic contributions, but demographic changes, sometimes dramatic, also pose policy challenges, related to cultural difference, language barriers, and resource strain. Though immigration policies are determined federally, it is local communities that are faced with the concrete consequences of immigrant residents and are forced to come up with policy solutions, often without significant support from higher government levels. Though federal government may be responsible for *immigration* policy and for protecting state borders, *immigrant* policy is left to subnational units to develop and implement. Immigrant policies vary widely, not only across countries but also between local communities. The variation also takes place over time, as local communities evolve and develop their immigrant policies.

With the widening dispersion of immigrants to new localities beyond the traditional immigrant gateways - to new regions of the United States, to the suburbs and rural communities, as well as to new receiving countries - more and more local communities are being confronted with immigration pressures. These “new destinations” are developing a wide array of policy responses, for which we often do not have a good theoretical explanation. This project seeks to contribute to that gap in the literature by taking a comparative perspective focused on the local level and examining change over time within communities dealing with new immigrant residents. The arrival of immigrants in local communities touches on the most basic issues of membership – who is a member of our community, and who should be excluded? Are new immigrant residents greeted as strangers, or as neighbors? And beyond those theoretical questions, practical policy questions confront the community and its policy leaders – what does the local community owe to new residents, and what are the appropriate policy tools to cope with demographic change?

The process of local immigrant policymaking is under-theorized in the academic literature, and this project seeks to help fill that gap by developing a theory about the process of immigrant policymaking at the local level. By using comparative case studies, I develop an argument grounded in the empirical reality of the key role of local-level authorities in immigrant policymaking and move forward our understanding of local-level processes of immigrant incorporation. The argument takes a historically sensitive view of local immigrant policymaking that emphasizes the path dependent processes that follow from key decisions made by individual officials at critical junctures in the demographic development of communities. Local government officials and community members are shaped by the ideas, or what I will refer to,

borrowing from Peter Hall (1993), as *policy paradigms*, as well as the concrete institutions established by local leaders at such critical junctures.

This is an approach based in the concept of historical institutionalism, which emphasizes the importance of institutions and the staying power of decisions made at crucial moments. This theory contributes to the literature on bureaucratic incorporation developed by several prominent American immigration scholars (Jones-Correa 2005; Marrow 2009; Ramakrishnan and Lewis 2005) by taking seriously the role of decisions made by leaders at the local level and theorizing about the institutional framework in which and mechanisms by which local government officials engage in so-called “incorporating” efforts. The existing literature undercuts the importance of commitments made early on in policy developments and instead treats immigrant policymaking as a largely ad hoc process. My case study analysis shows that the history of immigrant policymaking is crucial to understanding variation in communities coping with changing immigration dynamics. Decisions made early on have lasting effects that shape the development of immigrant policy and explain the durability of inclusive or exclusionary commitments in the face of changing demographics. As immigrant numbers increase or characteristics of immigration evolve, institutional and ideational commitments made at an earlier stage of the demographic development are already locked in and serve as the basis for dealing with new flows and dynamics. In the absence of a policy paradigm, no strong commitments are made and response is less consistent and more reactive to changing demographic and political pressures. This argument provides a rich contribution by explaining longitudinal change within local communities and developing a process theory that is thus far lacking in the literature. It sheds

light on the puzzle of why immigrant diversification goes smoothly in some communities but not in others.

This dissertation brings the concept of policy paradigms into the study of immigrant policymaking, highlighting the importance of ideational trajectories established at paradigm-setting moments for local immigrant policy developments. It uses local case studies in which the policy paradigm varies by 1) a presence or absence, 2) the extent to which it is inclusionary or exclusionary, and 3) the nature of the conception of immigrant diversity management – either based on an immigrant integration concept or on a model of racial and ethnic group difference. The immigrant integration paradigm views immigrant residents as a distinctive group that requires a tailored government response, while the ethnic-racial group paradigm views immigrant residents primarily as members of pre-existing ethnic groups that are to advocate for their group interests. The framing and perception of immigrants contrasts between the two paradigms, and suggests different policy tools of immigrant policymaking. This corresponds roughly to a European versus an Anglo-Saxon approach to immigrant diversity (Noiriel 1994).

This project treats immigrant policy as a coherent concept, and thus largely overlooks distinctions between policies directed at different subgroups of the foreign-born. The foreign-born in any receiving society comprise a diverse group of individuals, who vary along class and education lines, racial lines, national origin, visa type and status (especially refugees and asylees versus labor migrants, who can be permanent or temporary), and of course legal status. The study addresses these distinctions as they become relevant to the analysis, but for the sake of inclusiveness and consistency with public discourse and the public's conception of "immigration" or "immigrants" as a coherent phenomenon, this project uses "immigrants" and

“immigrant policy” as overarching concepts. The terms “immigrants” or “foreign-born” are used throughout the dissertation, as is common in European literature referring to “migrants” or “immigrants” as a definable group.

The next large theoretical issue to address is the case selection, which is quite unusual in comparing localities in the United States to Spain, a new immigrant receiver in southern Europe. The cases were chosen based on the identification of two emerging immigrant gateways: Washington, DC and Madrid. The two metro regions were chosen in order to explore in detail the process of local immigrant policymaking at a feasible scale for in-depth case study. Madrid and Washington, DC are two capital city regions that have experienced some immigration pressure for decades but have both received new concentrations of immigrants over the last ten to twenty years. Because of the contrast in immigrant settlement patterns, suburban jurisdictions were chosen in the DC case but the focus was on the central city in the Madrid case. There is great variety in terms of policy paradigm and policy outcome patterns in the Washington metro region; and for purposes of capturing variation in this project, one well-known inclusionary case – Montgomery County, Maryland - as well as one exclusionary case – Prince William County, Virginia - were chosen for in-depth study. The Madrid case focused on the central city as well as the regional government level.

Choosing the appropriate level of analysis when we seek to understand “the local,” especially in an international comparative context, is complex. The final decision to focus on county-level dynamics in the US emerged from the actual policy dynamics taking place in current day developments. The county was the relevant unit in passing a pro-enforcement ordinance in Prince William in 2007, and the county was the unit that developed wide-ranging

pro-immigrant measures in Montgomery County over the last thirty years. Though both of these counties also have independent municipalities within their borders (Manassas and Manassas Park in Prince William, and Rockville, Gaithersburg, and others in Montgomery), the study focused on activities at the county level, which were deemed the most important. Municipal-level initiatives have remained on the margins of the analysis, though they are mentioned when relevant in the case chapters. The choice of the two counties in the DC metro area was designed in order to capture variety in policy paradigm and immigrant policy response, and choose important cases with large immigrant populations.

The choice to focus on two levels of analysis in the Madrid metro case was essential in order to understand immigrant policy developments, given the overlap between city and regional services and the lack of distinction that immigrant-serving respondents made between the governmental units. The city of Madrid was the first municipality in the region to develop integration programs, and it has the largest population of immigrants by the far in the metro region. Therefore, it was appropriately chosen for in-depth analysis.¹ The regional level of government, the Autonomous Community of Madrid or “CAM,” has a primary role in immigrant policymaking, exemplified by the creation of a Department of Immigration at the CAM level in 2005, following a decade of policymaking and institution building.

The choice of the US and Spain also requires some explanation. Transatlantic comparisons face many challenges due to the differences in immigration history and race relations, scale, and other limitations. The US case is undoubtedly complicated to compare

¹ Other smaller suburban municipalities in the metropolitan region have also developed immigrant policy responses, and interviews were conducted in several cities in order to understand that context. See Appendix for details. Given the similarity between programs in those cities and Madrid, and the overarching authority of the regional authority, it was decided to focus on Madrid city developments.

because of its unique tradition of being the immigration country *par excellence*; most academic comparisons have been limited to comparing it only to the other settler states of Canada and Australia. As immigration scholarship matures and there is more cross-pollination between the US and Europe, however, there has been a rising push to compare the United States to other countries, even on immigration issues. Mollenkopf and Hochschild explicitly encourage such comparative work in their recent edited volume on this topic (Mollenkopf and Hochschild 2009b), as do other scholars (Boeri et al. 2002; Chebel d'Appollonia and Reich 2008). There are several examples in the academic literature (Crepaz 2008; Ellermann 2009; Fetzer 2000; Joppke 1999), though southern Europe has not yet figured in these projects. Spain, a classic immigrant-*sending* country, has only recently become a major immigrant receiver but has quickly turned into one of Europe's top immigrant destinations. Academics outside of Spain have only recently begun to include it in comparative analyses and case studies on immigration and integration (Calavita 2005; Cornelius et al. 2004; Watts 2002). I argue that new-destination dynamics are highly relevant in this new immigration society, and the use of these two case countries has the potential to add depth to both the US- and Spain-focused accounts. This project offers a cross-national comparison of local-level immigrant policymaking that has been for the most part absent in the immigration and integration literature. Comparing to the traditional immigrant receiving United States is an unusual but fruitful step toward developing an understanding of local immigrant policymaking with maximum applicability and scope.

This project uses three in-depth *local* case studies to understand the process of immigrant policy response. My study is focused on comparing subnational units within the two case countries rather than comparing the two countries. It is important to note that there is significant

local variation within both the United States and Spain, though noticeably *more* in the former. The US local selection reflects that variety, including both unusually inclusionary Montgomery County and exclusionary Prince William County. Although there is less extreme variation in Spain, Madrid's case is still known to be one of the more proactive on immigrant integration – it is often grouped with Barcelona as the two most developed immigrant integration responses in the country (Corcoran 2006; Fauser 2008; Gil Araujo 2006; Morales et al. 2009; Morén-Alegret 2001; Rodríguez Álvarez 2010). The outcomes of immigrant policymaking in Madrid should not be viewed as necessarily *typical* of the Spanish local response, nor should outcomes in Montgomery County or Prince William County be viewed as *typical* of the US local response. The focus of this project is on understanding the process and evolution of immigrant policymaking in local cases, rather than comparing the US to Spain in general. Although it sheds light on cross-sectional variation, the primary focus of the project is on understanding change over time within local cases and developing a process model of local immigrant policymaking.

This project not only provides a new comparative perspective and theoretical development to the bureaucratic incorporation literature, it collects original information and primary source data on two key immigrant metro areas. The data come from a wide range of contemporary and archive sources. Information was used to reconstruct the contemporary history of local immigrant policymaking in each locality from the start of immigrant inflow: beginning in the early 1980s in Montgomery County, the early 1990s in Madrid, and the late 1980s in Prince William County. I conducted semi-structured interviews with approximately forty individuals in each metro region in various jurisdictions, totaling seventy-six interviews ranging from thirty minutes to two hours each. These interviews included unelected and elected

officials in county, local, and regional government; community members; and workers in non-profit organizations that cater to immigrant needs. Respondents included front-line staff such as social workers and lawyers who interact face-to-face with needy immigrants, as well as higher level administrative officials. This provided a wide range of perspectives on the demographic transformations and policy responses that the communities had experienced. I also used local and national newspaper accounts, printed materials and information available to the public, as well as materials provided to me by my respondents and archived government documents to identify programs and trace developments. Considerable archival research supplemented the retrospective views offered by the interviews.

This project makes several contributions to the academic and policy literature. First, it highlights the importance of the local and its role in immigrant policymaking. Given current debates on local and state-level measures in the United States, this is a fundamental policy concern and a key conceptual issue for the study of immigration and integration. Second, it compares traditional settler state United States with a European case. This transatlantic approach is a growing trend in the immigration literature and though it faces many challenges, attempts at this type of comparative work are useful for highlighting key differences and conceptual problems. Third, it collects new data and information about important cases of local policymaking that have not yet been subject to academic analysis, providing potential best practices and lessons for policymakers and also expanding the realm of scholarly knowledge. Fourth, it brings a historical institutionalist perspective that is sensitive to sequence and the stickiness of ideas and institutions to the study of bureaucratic incorporation at the local level.

Given the relatively early stage of this American-based literature, additional refinement and conceptual development are valuable.

Finally, there are important policy lessons in identifying different approaches to immigrant diversity: the Anglo-Saxon rights-based model versus the Continental immigrant integration model. The Anglo-Saxon approach— and its conceptual decoupling of immigration issues from minority rights – leads to strong rights protections but potential movement toward immigrant exclusion or restrictiveness on immigration matters. Though the foreign-born may more quickly become accepted members of society as rights holders in ethnic-racial minority groups, the human rights of immigrants coming from developing nations may not be privileged in the way they would within an integration paradigm. In the United States, recent abuses of the rights of undocumented immigrants and the weakness of their protection as supposedly illegitimate residents, shows the danger of this approach. In contrast, the European immigrant integration model maintains strong protection of immigrant rights and provides many supports, however, it constructs a rigid division between immigrants and natives, preventing the true integration that results from inclusion of immigrants as ordinary rights-holders and members of society. These themes address deep questions about immigrant inclusion and societal transformation in an increasingly diverse world, and highlight potential lessons of transatlantic exchange.

This dissertation begins with a chapter describing the academic literature in which this project is engaged, presents the case selection and methodology, and describes the theoretical framework that guides the qualitative case research. The growing trend of the migration literature to focus on the local level is highlighted, in particular the scholarship on bureaucratic

incorporation, which focuses on government bureaucrats' contemporary role in modifying local government practices to accommodate new immigrant residents' needs. This study adds a historical dimension by being attentive to institutional dynamics that develop over time in local immigrant policymaking trajectories, highlighting the key role of local leaders in establishing policy paradigms that structure local immigrant policymaking efforts.

The subsequent chapter lays out a background and history of immigration and integration policy in the US and Spain; this background explains why we see far greater subnational immigrant policy variation within the US than in Spain. In Spain, where immigration has only been a major demographic presence for the last ten or fifteen years, communities are actively seeking to adapt to the new diversity. Though federal practices investing in formal immigrant integration have developed in recent years, the actual innovation and implementation takes place at the local and regional levels. In the United States, in contrast, immigrant integration has not been a formal government role, though there is an increasing trend to address the issue in recent years. The movement to the subnational level to address immigrant pressures, through both exclusionary and inclusionary measures, has dominated recent policy developments.

The three case chapters provide rich accounts of the development of immigrant policies in the local cases, exploring two strongly inclusionary cases with contrasting immigrant diversity paradigms, as well as a non-paradigm exclusionary case. The Montgomery County case comes first, and describes the leadership of a local county executive in the mid-1980s in establishing the county's inclusionary, ethnic-racial policy paradigm that structures immigrant policymaking through the present day. Montgomery County has established a wide range of inclusionary policy measures based primarily in an ethnic-racial framing of immigrant needs, following the

trajectory established in the mid-1980s. The framing of immigration in racial terms – though extremely inclusionary and supportive of immigrant and minority rights – ends up permitting the county to take a more restrictive stance on immigration enforcement in the most recent period when enforcement has become highly politicized both regionally and nationally.

This contrasts with the similarly inclusionary policy paradigm in Madrid, which views immigrants through an immigrant integration lens rather than an ethnic-racial group perspective. The immigrant integration policy paradigm established in the mid-1990s under the leadership of several local innovators has continued to structure immigrant policy efforts as immigration dynamics have changed and demographics have evolved dramatically. The immigrant integration paradigm includes three key components: 1) distinct immigrant services and specially trained personnel, 2) an international view of immigrants with a link to international development dynamics, and 3) the core concepts of interculturalism and “*convivencia*.” The coherence of the immigrant integration paradigm has remained solid even as demographic pressures have increased.

The Prince William County case chapter offers an exclusionary case, one that had no immigrant policy paradigm and thus was extremely vulnerable to the political and demographic pressures that swayed the county in the mid-2000s to pass a polemical pro-enforcement ordinance in 2007. The analysis shows that there was small-scale ad hoc immigrant policymaking in the absence of an immigrant policy paradigm as bureaucratic incorporators sought to adapt to changing residents needs in the 1990s and 2000s. Bureaucratic innovators played a key role in limiting the impact of the 2007 ordinance, hinting at the possibility for greater inclusiveness in the county’s future policies.

The dissertation concludes with final thoughts on the importance of local-level immigration initiatives and suggestions for future research. The new theory of immigrant policymaking builds on existing academic literature and moves it forward in pursuit of greater understanding of these important local-level dynamics taking place on both sides of the Atlantic.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Why do some local communities confronted with new immigrant residents respond with an accommodating and welcoming response, while others take measures to resist changing demographic realities? The variety of responses to immigration in local communities coping with demographic change has interested not only observers in the United States (Anrig and Wang 2006; Aoki et al. 2009; Hopkins 2010; Ramakrishnan and Wong 2007; Rodríguez 2008; Singer and Price 2008; Walker and Leitner 2009; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005) but also in Europe and beyond (Alexander 2007; Caponio and Borkert 2010; Penninx et al. 2004). It is critical to examine the local level not only because of its impact on immigration politics but also its fundamental importance for ordinary people, whose everyday experiences are shaped by local authorities and the local climate of response. This dissertation answers the core question of how immigrant-oriented policies develop over time within local communities as the demographic and political context changes. I argue that local leaders establish a community's approach to immigrant diversity at a key moment in policy development, after which local government practices tend to reinforce the initial policy approach in a path dependent process. The policy paradigm has an institutional and ideational stickiness that continues to shape and constrain government activities in the face of changing demographic and political pressures. In the absence of a policy paradigm, by contrast, immigrant policy response is not consistent and will be more reactive to demographic and political pressures.

The process of local immigrant policymaking is under-theorized in the academic literature, and this project seeks to help fill that gap by developing an argument about the process of immigrant policymaking at the local level. I am adding to a growing literature focused on the actions of incorporation-minded government officials in “new destinations” in the United States by using the tools and concepts of comparative historical analysis. By using comparative case studies, I develop an argument grounded in the empirical reality of the key role of local-level authorities in immigrant policymaking and move forward our understanding of local-level processes of immigrant incorporation. The argument takes a historically sensitive view of local immigrant policymaking that emphasizes the path dependent processes that follow from key decisions made by individual officials at critical junctures in the demographic development of communities. Local government officials and community members are shaped by the ideas, or what I will refer to, borrowing from Peter Hall (1993), as *policy paradigms*, as well as the concrete institutions established by local leaders at such critical junctures.

This is an approach based in the concept of historical institutionalism, which emphasizes the importance of institutions and the staying power of decisions made at crucial moments. This theory contributes to the literature on bureaucratic incorporation developed by several prominent American immigration scholars (Jones-Correa 2005; Marrow 2009; Ramakrishnan and Lewis 2005) by taking seriously the role of decisions made by leaders at the local level and theorizing about the institutional framework in which and mechanisms by which local government officials engage in so-called “incorporating” efforts. The existing literature undercuts the importance of commitments made early on in policy developments and instead treats immigrant policymaking as a largely ad hoc process. My case study analysis shows that the sequence of immigrant

policymaking is crucial to understanding variation over time within communities coping with changing immigration dynamics. Decisions made early on have lasting effects that shape the development of immigrant policy and explain the durability of inclusionary or exclusionary commitments in the face of changing demographics. As immigrant numbers increase or characteristics of immigration evolve, institutional and ideational commitments made at an earlier stage of the demographic development are already locked in and serve as the basis for dealing with new flows and dynamics. In the absence of a policy paradigm, no strong commitments are made and response is less consistent and more reactive to changing demographic and political pressures. This argument provides a rich contribution by explaining longitudinal change within local communities and developing a process theory that is thus far lacking in the literature.

This dissertation brings the concept of policy paradigms into the study of immigrant policymaking, highlighting the importance of ideational trajectories established at paradigm-setting moments for local immigrant policy developments. It uses local case studies in which the policy paradigm varies by 1) a presence or absence, 2) the extent to which it is inclusionary or exclusionary, and 3) the nature of the conception of immigrant diversity management – either based on an immigrant integration concept or on a model of racial and ethnic group difference. The immigrant integration paradigm views immigrant residents as a distinctive group that requires a tailored government response, while the ethnic-racial group paradigm views immigrant residents as members of pre-existing ethnic groups that are to advocate for their group interests. The case selection includes an exclusionary case that highlights the extreme variation possible in the highly federal United States where immigrant integration is not a formal function

of the federal government. It also uses a relatively under-studied country case, Spain, where rapid demographic change has turned a once emigration country into a major European immigrant receiver. This permits a cross-national comparison of local-level immigrant policymaking that has been for the most part absent in the immigration and integration literature. Comparing to the traditional immigrant receiving United States is an unusual but fruitful step toward developing an understanding of local immigrant policymaking with maximum applicability and scope.

This chapter will proceed with a literature review of the scholarship focused on local-level immigration dynamics, highlighting the concept of bureaucratic incorporation developed by several American scholars. The addition of the tools and methods of comparative historical analysis will then be introduced to set the stage for this author's theory of local immigrant policymaking. The final section will explain the methodology and will describe how the theory will be tested in the remaining chapters of this dissertation project.

Literature Review

Immigration at the Local Level

Immigration and integration are inherently interdisciplinary topics, in which demographic changes interact with social dynamics and political institutions to produce an endless set of policy challenges and research questions. The topics of immigration and immigrant integration have long been marginalized in the field of political science (Bleich 2008; Cornelius and Rosenblum 2005; Hollifield 2007), and so this dissertation builds on an interdisciplinary set of academic views, ranging from political science to sociology, geography, and law. Classic work

on local-level immigrant integration or assimilation in US history is relevant to these issues (Gans 1962; Park 1928; Wirth 1956), but in this project the focus is on local government response to immigrants' arrival in a community in the contemporary context. Building on important foundational comparative work focused on national-level immigration and citizenship policies (Cornelius et al. 2004; Freeman 1995; Hollifield 1992; Joppke 1999), this dissertation contributes to a significant body of work focused on the local level, where changing immigration dynamics are felt most concretely and immigrant policies are actually conceived and implemented. In this I refer to programs and institutions specifically committed to the needs of immigrant residents and the problems surrounding their arrival and integration into the community. I will refer to local government policymaking in reference to this newcomer population as "immigrant policymaking" – in contrast to "*immigration* policymaking" which is the preserve of the federal government and is concerned with regulating the entry and exit of the foreign-born. *Immigrant* policies, sometimes also conceptualized as *integration* policies, include government policies dealing with the conditions under which immigrants reside once present in a country (Geddes 2003). The line between immigrant and immigration policies is not always clear, but the concern of this dissertation will focus primarily on immigrant policies. At the local level, this activity can include information campaigns and access facilitation, language translation, language and job training classes, mediation services, targeted social services, education of government workers and the public, government personnel recruitment practices, and opportunities for immigrant political participation and dialogue. Though *national* immigration, citizenship, and integration policies are key to understanding immigrant integration

and policy response, the local level is the most proximate to the lived experience *and the locus of actual integration and incorporation efforts and even innovation.*

The local-level impacts of immigration have been explored from various disciplinary perspectives. Highlighted in recent American work has been the move of immigrants to “new destinations” - non-traditional immigrant-receiving communities, states, and localities - where the institutional and cultural resources to deal with immigrant diversity are absent and communities are coping in various ways (Anrig and Wang 2006; Godzdiak and Martin 2005; Marrow 2005; Massey 2008; Millard et al. 2004; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005). The identification of new immigrant “gateways” has emphasized the emergence of new metropolitan areas dealing with immigration as a significant demographic phenomenon (Price and Benton-Short 2008; Singer 2004), and this dissertation project is very much aligned with that geographic focus through its selection of two new immigrant-receiving metropolitan gateways: Madrid and Washington, DC. The governments in such new-destination communities are ideal for the study of immigrant policy response because in some sense they are relatively “blank slates” when the demographics begin to change – with minimal experience with immigration and thus no immigrant policy structure. There is a clear starting point for the immigrant policy response, at least in the contemporary period of post-1965 immigration (in the US) and post-1985 immigration (in Spain).²

² It must be acknowledged that these communities may have experienced immigration previously in the distant past, but this earlier experience has long been forgotten and new demographic inflows are definitely viewed as distinct and requiring some sort of policy response. A typical breaking point in US immigration history is the 1965 immigration policy revolution, when immigration quotas were raised and diversified, transforming migrant inflows and producing large groups from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The 1985 date in Spanish immigration history, as I will return to in chapter 3, is the date of the country’s first official immigration policy. It is important to note that another key historical variable in

At the level of politics and policymaking in local communities, the theoretical literature is still quite underdeveloped. Several works in political science have chosen the local level as the unit of analysis to examine processes of immigrant political incorporation in European cities (Bousetta 1997; Dancygier 2010; Garbaye 2005; Ireland 1994, 2004), while others have emphasized the key role of subnational-level dynamics for federal policy levels when it comes to immigration matters (Boushey and Luedtke 2006; Guiraudon 2001; Money 1999). This work makes it clear that the study of immigration and immigrant policy requires analysis at multiple levels of government, not simply at the federal level where immigration policies are determined.

The focus of this project is on the processes taking place at the local level. Several authors have highlighted the variation, both inclusionary and exclusionary at the local level in the United States, by using primarily case study approaches of extreme cases on both ends of the spectrum (de Graauw 2010; Hobbins 2006; Varsanyi 2008, 2010, 2006; Wells 2004). Only a handful have attempted to empirically analyze why different responses emerge in different communities using large-n statistical methods (Hopkins 2010; O'Neil 2010; Ramakrishnan and Wong 2007; Walker and Leitner 2009). Their focus has been on explaining cross-sectional variation, looking for causal variables to account for either accommodating or exclusionary responses. These analyses have identified several key causal variables: 1) the pace of immigrant population increase, primarily of Hispanic migrants, 2) the partisan identity of local communities, as well as, in Hopkins' case, 3) the key role of national media frames on immigration matters. Although these accounts are valuable for their identification of broad

the US context is the local community's experience with African-American populations and the process of desegregation that took place just several decades ago. The desegregation context should be taken into account in understanding communities' management of immigration inflows. I will return to this issue in the case chapters.

causal patterns, they have been somewhat limited by the imprecise proxy measures on which quantitative studies depend. They also do not appreciate complexities of change over time within cases nor do they delve into the mechanisms and institutional settings of local policy responses.

More importantly, their measures of accommodation are very imprecise because of the absence of standardized data on such policies. Although one piece does capture more detail through an original survey approach and offers promising hypotheses (Ramakrishnan and Lewis 2005), most of this work does not operationalize accommodation beyond the simple absence of enforcement-minded legal ordinances, or in Hopkins' case, local public opinion measures on immigration. However, accommodative policy responses at the local level must be understood as a complex set of potential initiatives. Governments have a large potential tool kit to adapt to the needs of immigrant residents. Policy response to immigrants can cover a wide range of activities, from making existing services more welcoming and accessible to immigrants, to creating distinct programs and explicit mechanisms to ease immigrants' integration, to supporting educational campaigns and cultural events. These types of responses are difficult to measure and capture across cases because they are complicated and wide-ranging, and usually not documented in "immigrant integration" terms in policy documents or even discourse. Although accommodative immigrant policies may not be framed as such - particularly in the US context where immigrant integration has long remained a matter for private or community-based organizations - this does not mean that those communities do not have viable local-level immigrant policies that should be conceptualized as such. In fact, local immigrant policies are a key policy issue that requires serious study and analysis, as highlighted by a growing movement

in the US to invest in explicit integration programs, particularly at the local and state level ("A Fresh Start: Renewing Immigrant Integration in Maryland: The Report of the Maryland Council for New Americans" 2009; Mitnik et al. 2008; *Securing the Future: US Immigrant Integration Policy, A Reader* 2007; State Immigration Project: Policy Options for 2009"). Given the policy importance and the limitations of wide-scale measurements, it is even more important to explore cases in detail.

These points highlight the importance of qualitative case study for understanding these dynamics. One example in the political science literature has engaged in this sort of analysis, looking at a range of municipal-level accommodation responses in Canada (Good 2005). The short time dimension and snapshot-in-time nature of the study, however, limit the analysis. Another related piece of scholarship is Michael Alexander's study of several European cities and his identification of different types of municipal policy reactions: non-policy, guest worker, assimilationist, and pluralist. His work is the most ambitious in its cross-national theorizing and its creation of different conceptual types of local policy response, but its generalizing aims sacrifice important distinctions across and within cases, particularly when it comes to change over time within a given community. His theory is weak at explaining transition between policy reaction types – which is of primary importance for problem-solving policymakers. Several smaller-scale case study approaches are impressive in their rich case analysis but limited to the United States (Deufel 2006; Frasure 2005; Marrow 2009).

My project fills an important gap in existing scholarship by offering a cross-national comparative approach in which I offer a theory of immigrant policymaking that explains change in community policy response over time. This builds on existing scholarship on bureaucratic

incorporation, detailed in the next section, but expands the *scope* by including a European case as well as expands the *historical reach* by illustrating the key role of policy paradigms established at particular crucial moments of a local community's policy response. Adding the historical and policy paradigm elements does not refute explanations focusing on the causal force of demographic change, partisanship, or media influence; rather, it contributes to the emerging field by adding to our understanding of the *mechanisms* of policy response and the possibilities for change over time within communities with given characteristics. It introduces new concepts that can potentially be explored in future research in a wider set of cases or even in a large-n format.

Bureaucratic Incorporation

My theory most directly takes on an important set of concept-building scholarship that has emerged in the last several years. A number of US scholars have been looking at local non-elected government bureaucrats and their role in changing policies to adapt to immigrant newcomers – creating a process of “bureaucratic incorporation” that extends rights and services to local immigrant residents in the absence of electoral pressures. This insight defies the classic literature that emphasizes the importance of political struggle and immigrant activism to securing policy advantages in the communities they inhabit. These authors have focused on the importance of the discretion afforded to non-elected bureaucrats to expand their normal service provision to an increasingly immigrant client base, and the influence of professional mission and a client-serving ethic on bureaucrats' actions. This work has identified a key policy dynamic in US localities, but it has not fleshed out the mechanisms by which bureaucrats engage in such

behavior. The process by which localities evolve and develop their immigrant policy structures is not sufficiently understood or explained by these accounts.

Ramakrishnan and Lewis' work has focused on local police officials in California, who have generally been proactive in adapting to immigrant needs at the local level, where everyday service and interaction require police officials to be aware of immigrants' needs and pragmatically adapt to their linguistic and cultural requirements. They find evidence that as "relatively insulated bureaucratic agencies," local police departments take accommodating steps out of a "professionalist ethos" rather than under pressure from higher-up elected officials, who are often unaware of their initiatives. Compared to other parts of local government, police departments are often more aware of the needs of immigrants and more likely to have changed their policies to provide language access and ensure diverse personnel (Lewis and Ramakrishnan 2007).

Michael Jones-Correa has provided a similar analysis of local-level bureaucrats, emphasizing the professional missions and client-serving ethics in the libraries and public school systems of several Washington, DC suburban jurisdictions, and contrasting those "service bureaucracies" to "enforcement bureaucracies" like local zoning authorities. Jones-Correa emphasizes the proactive effort of bureaucrats to adapt to immigrant needs preceding any pressure to do so from elected officials or immigrant lobbying. He highlights the role of a client-serving mission and "these agencies' 'bureaucratic ethos,' the intersection of professional norms with bureaucratic tasks" (Jones-Correa 2005).

The most detailed study building this concept is the work of sociologist Helen Marrow, whose project studies the process of bureaucratic incorporation in several rural and small-town

North Carolina localities coping with Latino immigration (Marrow 2007). The portion of her study published in article form emphasizes, like Jones-Correa, the contrasting responses in different agencies within local government. She explicitly adds to Jones-Correa's account the important component of the *national* institutional and legal context in shaping the views and actions of local bureaucrats in different agencies. She highlights the importance of federal law in protecting, for example, the access of undocumented immigrant children to public education through high school – and the consequent commitment of local public education officials to providing access to all – in contrast to the absence of support for universal access to post-secondary education which is not guaranteed by federal law (Marrow 2009).

This concept of bureaucratic incorporation and the important role of non-elected government officials constitute a useful addition to our understanding of local immigrant policymaking processes. Their empirically grounded findings highlight an important level of analysis – the *local* – and offer new concepts and mechanisms of incorporation. However, these accounts are not effective at explaining variation over time within communities, nor do they express a coherent model of the process by which bureaucrats engage in these behaviors. I argue that their key problem is that they do not acknowledge the importance of key policy decisions at particular critical junctures. I argue that an increased sensitivity to *sequence* as well as a more serious appreciation of local leadership provide additional strength to the concept of bureaucratic incorporation by fleshing out the mechanisms by which immigrant-directed service providers develop and constitute a local government's policy response. This is a theory-building exercise in which I am refining existing understandings of local immigrant policymaking.

The tools and concepts of comparative historical analysis provide a necessary complement to existing models described above. The importance of local *institutional* and *ideational* contexts – policy paradigms established by key leaders at critical juncture moments – shape and influence the trajectory of local immigrant policymaking. My approach integrates the importance of local leadership with the ongoing service-minded bureaucratic initiatives highlighted above; and provides an analysis explaining the process and evolution of policies and programs *over time* within a locality. I argue that although the initiative of local bureaucrats is a key explanatory variable, it is structured by the institutional and ideational context created by policy paradigms in local communities.

Comparative Historical Analysis

Comparative historical analysis is one of the primary tools used in comparative politics. It is based on an approach to social science in which an inductive “dialogue between theory and evidence” is used to develop theoretical gains. In-depth case study comparison is developed alongside theoretical findings in an iterative fashion rather than in a deductive approach where strong theoretical claims are tested uni-directionally against given empirical data. Careful attention is paid to the sequence of events and processes over time as the researcher searches for causal explanations (Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003). This approach does not search for universal laws but rather seeks to develop concepts in a “building-block” approach by investigating new and more detailed cases, testing existing theories, and checking new evidence to constantly push for further theoretical advance (Goldstone 2003). My approach to building on the bureaucratic incorporation literature is situated in this paradigm, as I seek to test the concept

in additional comparative test cases and also expand the detail and historical time horizon of already-studied cases in the DC metro area. The project seeks to further develop the concept of bureaucratic incorporation by joining it to other forms of scholarship in the New Institutional literature that have not yet been applied to immigrant and integration matters. In this way I heed Erik Bleich's call to bring "broad comparative or social scientific concepts" into the subfield of immigration and integration research (Bleich 2008).

Comparative historical analysis is the methodological tool most often used by scholars of the New Institutionalism, who are concerned primarily with the interaction between actors and institutions in determining social and political outcomes. New Institutionalism emphasizes the interaction between individuals and institutions: the importance of institutions to individual actors, the importance of strategic and political struggle over institutions, and the enduring effect of institutions on structuring behavior (Thelen and Steinmo 1992). New Institutionalist scholars have conceptualized several key mechanisms to explain how institutional dynamics work, including critical junctures and path dependence – by which small contingent events that take place at critical moments can shape and constrain ensuing developments and thus have large effects over an extended period of time. As Paul Pierson writes in explanation of the concept of path dependence:

Specific patterns of timing and sequence matter; starting from similar conditions, a wide range of social outcomes may be possible; large consequences may result from relatively 'small' or contingent events; particular courses of action, once introduced, can be virtually impossible to reverse; and consequently, political development is often punctuated by critical moments or junctures that shape the basic contours of social life (Pierson 2000).

This is more than proclaiming that “history matters.” It is a concept that explains how contingent events can have longstanding and significant effects through a process of increasing returns or positive feedback processes, by which earlier events are reinforced by the actions of actors who find themselves in a certain context and thus have certain incentives (strictly rational and interest-maximizing) and influences (endogenous interest formation emanating from earlier events) to reinforce the earlier event. Pierson explains that “institutions and policies may encourage individuals and organizations to invest in specialized skills, deepen relationships with other individuals and organizations, and develop particular political and social identities.” These mechanisms explain how individuals become invested in a given policy and become, therefore, less and less likely to deviate from the trajectory.

This understanding of individual behavior sheds particular light on the development of immigrant policy response, where individual immigrant-serving bureaucrats find themselves invested in a particular approach to diversity management and come to see immigration purely through that lens. Thus, if resources are allocated and organized to advance immigrants’ interest through an ethnic-racial group paradigm, actors will invest in that approach and advocate for immigrants’ rights based on this understanding - thus reinforcing its dominance. This leads to stickiness of initial decisions. Path dependence leads community response to stay on a particular trajectory, with individual government workers finding incentive to reinforce existing patterns. “The costs of exit” rise after one alternative is chosen over another, and actors have an incentive to continue the track begun by the chosen alternative. Alternative actions are possible after a contingent event takes place, but each step down the branch establishes higher and higher costs of exit and a lower likelihood for an alternative path to be taken (Pierson 2000).

In application to immigrant policymaking, New Institutionalism offers a crucial addition to the bureaucratic incorporation literature that has focused on the behavior of individual government bureaucrats and departments but little theorized about the institutional and historical context in which such efforts are taking place. I argue that the institutional commitments established early in a community's policy response end up structuring further policy developments and framing the types of policy tools that actors use to respond to continuing and new immigration-related challenges as time passes. Bureaucrats serving immigrant interests are shaped by the institutional and ideational commitments established at critical junctures in the community's experience, and they pursue their service missions within that context.

Peter Hall's concept of policy paradigms is particularly useful for understanding immigrant policymaking in communities dealing with immigration for the first time – in these settings, where expertise and experience are scarce, individuals are most open to paradigms pioneered by strong individuals who offer a coherent view and stance on changing demographics and the appropriate public response. Peter Hall explains that policymaking is “a process that usually involves three central variables: the overarching goals that guide policy in a particular field, the techniques or policy instruments used to attain those goals, and the precise settings of these instruments.” He points out that policymakers are not purely anomic interest-maximizers and rational learners in determining these three components, but rather they “customarily work within a framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goals of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing.” This framework is what he calls a “policy paradigm” – a coherent set of ideas about how things work and how problems are to be understood and solved, which is

based in an evaluation of which societal interests and which policy alternatives are more legitimate than others (Hall 1993). Even the terminology used within a paradigm ends up constraining and shaping how actors conceive of the problem and possible policy solutions. This focus on the causal force of ideas is echoed in Erik Bleich's concept of ideational "frames," which he uses to contrast French and British conceptions of race and appropriate methods for race discrimination legislation (Bleich 2003). Bleich's focus is on singular paradigms, where they come from, and how they shape policymaking; while Hall is more interested in how paradigms *shift* within a given system.

I argue that the establishment of policy paradigms at critical junctures initiates a path dependent lock-in that structures the context in which bureaucrats go about their service provision and policy development. In the case of local immigrant policymaking, policy paradigms can come in different forms. The immigration issue can be viewed through many lenses: cultural, economic, social, political, international, and so on. Immigrants can be identified as members of a wide range of crosscutting groups defined by national origin, cultural, racial, gender, or other lines. The way the immigration issue is framed in the local context by community leaders constitutes the framework of the policy paradigm of diversity management. In the cases analyzed, there are a variety of paradigms observed that correspond roughly to an Anglo-Saxon versus a continental Europe division on immigrant integration (Noiriel 1994). In the US cases, immigration is approached through a pre-existing understanding of intergroup relations through an ethnic-racial group approach; this places immigrants in the confines of pre-defined ethnic-racial categories and encourages both them and immigrant service providers to negotiate through that framework as members of those groups. In the Spanish case, on the other

hand, immigration is viewed through an immigrant integration paradigm, which views immigrants as a distinct group requiring extra support and specialized skills and information, as fundamentally connected to their countries of origin, and requiring education of and interaction with the native population. This produces a very different set of immigrant policies at the local level.

Local Immigrant Policymaking

I describe in this section my theory of local immigrant policymaking which develops existing understandings of bureaucratic incorporation by situating the behavior of bureaucratic innovators within a local historical context - a context in which key officials make key paradigm-setting decisions that shape and constrain the actions of local actors in a path dependent process. I argue that policy paradigms established at contingent moments have a lasting effect on local-level policy developments through a process of increasing returns by which the institutions used to deal with immigrants take on expanding importance as immigration flows change, and shape the views of local government officials and other actors about the appropriate tools for responding to immigrant diversity in the community. In the absence of a policy paradigm, no strong commitments are made and response is less consistent and more reactive to demographic and political pressures.

In the case of immigrant policymaking, the policy paradigm of diversity management can be either primarily inclusionary or exclusionary, and can be based on a framing of immigrant integration *or* one of ethnic and racial groups. The choice made at the critical juncture by a visionary leader has staying power through both ideational and institutional mechanisms, shaping

the actions and perceptions of other government as well as social actors and reinforcing the paradigm. The nature of the paradigm helps shape how actors deal with changing demographic, political, and social dynamics. Actors in the system see the problems of immigration through the institutional and ideational lenses of these paradigms, shaping their understandings of what the problems and opportunities are, and what the appropriate solutions are. Actors invest in the given institutional and ideational structure, and this paradigm takes on staying power despite exogenous changes such as immigration inflows or occasional shocks to the system. Paradigms established in a certain demographic and economic context take on a stickiness and persist despite changes in demographics and other developments. Thus, commitments made early on tend to shape later policy developments.

My argument clearly emphasizes processes that unfold over time and downplays alternative explanations that would focus on the value of one causal factor or another. Alternative explanations for changing immigrant policymaking would focus either on the values of independent variables at the local level: 1) the partisanship or culture of the ruling government officials or local public (Ramakrishnan and Wong 2007), 2) changing local demographic or economic trends (O'Neil 2010), or 3) the public opinion on existing local immigrant policies, of either native citizens and/or possibly immigrant community members. Another set of factors would be national-level variables such as 4) federal immigration or immigrant policy legislation or other legislation or regulations, 5) changing national demographic or economic trends, or 6) national media trends (Hopkins 2010). The impact of most of these alternative explanations will be addressed in the case study chapters, although media dynamics do not lie within the scope of this project.

Some of these factors contribute to the policy response in the case communities, but others are not helpful in explaining variation. To take up each of these variables briefly here, the partisanship of the ruling government does not seem to be determinative, as it does not vary in any of the communities and instead remains constant during the studied period. The public opinion on local programs should theoretically be important, but to a large extent these programs have remained quite insulated from public pressures and public opinion; instead, federal requirements and funding, and local bureaucratic initiative, have shaped dynamics.

Indeed, federal legislation is a key factor and it plays an important role in local-level dynamics, as will be seen in the case studies. In the largest contours, as will be explained in Chapter Three, Spanish federal legislation on immigrant integration leads to a fairly consistent policy set-up that permits less variation across localities in Spain, in contrast to the US, where there is significant variation across states and localities. My analysis shows that federal programs and laws to protect minority rights or support integration are part of the institutional landscape in which local leaders and bureaucrats function, however the fundamental changes over time are initiated and maintained by leaders *at the local level*. Secondly, federal policy changes may determine the *timing* of some local developments in many cases. For example, the establishment of a new federal-local cooperation on immigration enforcement through the 287(g) program can then lead to local-level discussions about participation; or federal immigration reform can elicits local-level considerations about the impacts. However, they do not necessarily determine what the shape of local response will be. Federal legislation is one of the many factors that contribute to shaping the local context in which local actors make sense of their own challenges and construct policy responses.

Changing national demographics are of concern, but again, they are just part of the structure in which local actors function and perceive their own local issues and challenges. Changing *local* demographics and economic conditions certainly play a part, but what the analysis points out is that these changes do not translate into immigrant policy changes in the ways we would expect. Policy paradigms are established at a critical juncture *preceding* the major immigrant population increase and associated economic boom, and commitments made in a certain context remain sticky even as the context changes. This may produce surprising policy results in evolving demographic and economic contexts. In the absence of a policy paradigm, however, we see that changing demographic and economic dynamics have a bigger effect on immigrant policymaking because there are no established commitments and institutions constraining local actors.

The cases analyzed in this project reflect a variety of paradigms and outcomes, as depicted in Table I below. The cases were chosen based on the identification of two emerging immigrant gateways: Washington, DC and Madrid. The transatlantic comparison, though challenging, is an increasing trend in the immigration and integration literature (Lucassen 2005; Mollenkopf and Hochschild 2009b). There has not been much discussion of “new destination” dynamics in explicit terms in the European context, with some exceptions (Garcia 2007; Morén-Alegret 2002), though it is clear that similar mechanisms are taking place in localities that do not have a long history of immigration, such as the notable new immigration receiver of Spain.

Although the difficulties of comparing immigration dynamics in the United States and Europe are challenging, several authors have explored this issue in deep theoretical detail (Lucassen 2005; Mollenkopf and Hochschild 2009a), and there are several significant precedents

for it in the immigration literature (Crepaz 2008; Ellermann 2009; Fetzer 2000; Joppke 1999; Zolberg and Long 1999). There has not been much discussion of “new destination” dynamics in explicit terms in the European context, with some exceptions (Garcia 2007; Morén-Alegret 2002), though it is clear that similar mechanisms are taking place in particular places that do not have a long history of immigration, such as the notable new immigration receiver of Spain. There have been some small-scale attempts to directly compare the United States’ and Spain’s immigration issues; most have either focused on the border control issue or the experience of specific national-origin groups, and none have concentrated on the local level³ (Gratius 2005; Gratton 2007; Hazán Béjar and Rodríguez Álvarez 2008; Kimball 2007; Kopinak and Soriano Miras 2009; López Sala 2006; Relaño Pastor and Soriano Miras 2006; Watts 2002). Spain as an immigration country has in general been under-studied outside of Spain itself, although several recent prominent journal publications reflect rising interest in Spain’s immigration dynamics (Cook-Martín and Viladrich 2009; Escandell and Ceobanu 2009; González Enríquez 2009). A few comparative monographs including Spain exist in English (Calavita 2005; Triandafyllidou 2001; Watts 2002). A significant Spanish-language literature exists on Spanish immigration dynamics (Izquierdo Escribano 1996; Zapata Barrero 2004), but the case has not yet attracted significant attention from non-Spanish scholars. Spain has only recently become a major immigrant receiver, turning into an important host country only one decade ago and now one of the most important immigration countries in Europe. Studies of Spanish immigration and integration policies in the European context will surely multiply in the coming years as academic scholarship belatedly recognizes this key case.

³ Though there has been a brief anthropological treatment of another Southern European case, with a comparison of Lisbon’s immigrant response to Washington DC’s (Esteves 2008).

The US case is undoubtedly complicated to compare because of its unique tradition of being the most established immigrant country; most academic comparisons have been limited to comparing it only to the other settler states of Canada and Australia. As immigration scholarship matures and there is more cross-pollination between the US and Europe, there has been a rising push to compare the United States to other countries, even on immigration issues. Mollenkopf and Hochschild explicitly encourage such comparative work in their recent edited volume on this topic (Mollenkopf and Hochschild 2009b), as do other scholars (Boeri et al. 2002; Chebel d'Appollonia and Reich 2008).

In the case of this research project, the United States and Spain offer a useful comparison because they have experienced some parallel immigration dynamics that are becoming a very common story in immigration receiving societies: increasing immigration to fill labor needs, chronic problems with undocumented immigration, and a movement to subnational management of immigrant integration issues. Spain, as a new immigration-receiving country experiencing a significant immigration boom in the last decade, offers more in common with the United States' immigration dynamics than a country such as France, Germany, or the UK, where new immigration flows are more limited, and immigration issues quickly become wrapped up in ethnic minority and second-generation dynamics. As the OECD recently reported, Spain had the highest foreign-born inflows of all the European states throughout this decade,⁴ making it one of Europe's most important receivers of new immigrants ("International Migration Database" 2010). Comparing to high immigration-receiving United States makes sense, as it provides an

⁴ Flows based on population registers rather than residence permits.

opportunity to compare responses to first-generation immigrant arrival rather than getting bogged down in questions of “migrant background” populations.

As far as the local case selection, two important immigrant gateway metros were chosen in order to explore in detail the process of local immigrant policymaking at a feasible scale for in-depth case study. Madrid and Washington, DC are two capital city regions that have experienced some immigration pressure for decades but have both received new concentrations of immigrants over the last ten to twenty years. In terms of similarities, the immigrant population is very diverse, comprised of many national origins, in both regions. Both areas have similar population size, approximately six million inhabitants. In both regions, immigrants have filled primarily service sector and construction jobs, not industrial occupations. Although suburbanization of immigrants is more pronounced in the Washington case (only seven percent of metro DC’s foreign-born live in the central city, whereas in the Community of Madrid, over half of the foreign-born reside in the city of Madrid), there is significant movement of immigrants into the Madrid suburbs as well.

Because of the contrast in immigration patterns, suburban jurisdictions were chosen in the DC case but the focus was on the central city in the Madrid case. However, the Madrid regional government level –which encompasses the central city but also many suburban and further outlying jurisdictions – is also investigated in detail because of its primary importance in understanding the Madrid case and its immigrant policymaking structure. The slightly different approach in the Madrid metro case makes sense given the relatively centralized structure of government there in comparison to the DC metro, where multiple states and cities co-exist with no coordination on immigration issues. There is great variety in terms of policy paradigm and

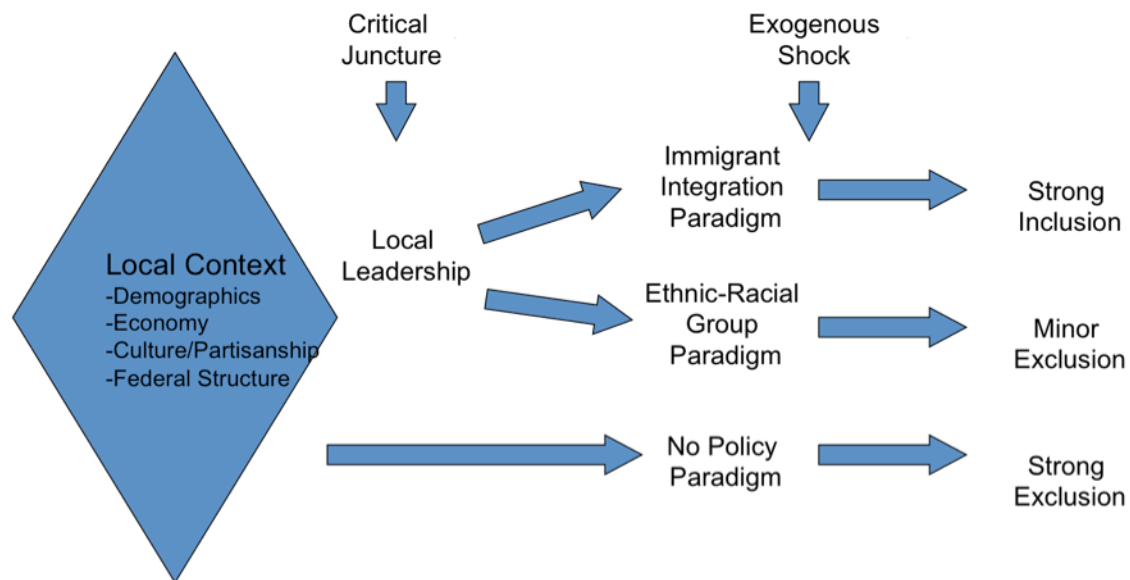
policy outcome patterns in the Washington metro region; and for purposes of this project, one well-known inclusionary case as well as one exclusionary case were chosen.

My study is focused on comparing subnational units within the two case countries, and it is important to note that the outcome of inclusion or exclusion does vary substantially across localities within both Spain and the United States. The US local selection reflects that variety, including both unusually inclusionary Montgomery County, and exclusionary Prince William County. Although there is less extreme variation in Spain, Madrid's case is still known to be one of the more proactive on immigrant integration – often being grouped with Barcelona as the two most developed immigrant integration responses in the country (Corcoran 2006; Fauser 2008; Gil Araujo 2006; Morales et al. 2009; Morén-Alegret 2001; Rodríguez Álvarez 2010). So the outcomes of immigrant policymaking in Madrid should not be viewed as necessarily *typical* of the Spanish local response, nor should outcomes in Montgomery County or Prince William County be viewed as *typical* of the US local response.

The focus of this study, it must be emphasized, is analysis of change over time within these cases. They have not been chosen optimally for cross-sectional comparison to explain inclusion versus exclusion. In terms of the specific localities ultimately selected, it is fair to consider them “most likely” cases for their outcomes on immigrant response, either inclusion or exclusion. These cases are basically over-determined to have inclusionary or exclusionary outcomes; Montgomery County, Maryland is affluent, liberal, with slow demographic change including many high-skilled immigrants, and it sets down an inclusionary trajectory before immigration enforcement became salient at the national political level. It is thus not surprising that it developed an inclusionary set of policy outputs. Prince William County, Virginia, on the other

hand, is politically conservative, with rapid demographic change comprised of lower-skilled Hispanic immigrants, taking action at a moment when immigration enforcement and local devolution was salient at the national level. Thus the exclusionary policy response was not surprising. In this sense these are both "most-likely" cases on the outcome of inclusion and exclusion. Madrid, on the other hand, does not follow expectations. It is politically conservative, experienced extremely dramatic immigrant population growth, with lower skilled and often poor immigrants, and despite those factors it developed an inclusionary set of policy measures. Notwithstanding, these cases are instructive for their experiences of developing immigrant policies in the face of new-destination dynamics. All three are useful for understanding longitudinal change within a community, and the contrast between the three in terms of policy paradigms and policy outputs provide rich evidence for the argument put forward here.

Figure I. Theory of Immigrant Policymaking at the Local Level



In Montgomery County, where a strongly inclusionary policy paradigm was established in the mid-1980s along ethnic-racial lines, significant public efforts to develop immigrant policies followed along these lines. Actors interested in serving or advocating for immigrants had to interact with these minority group-organized institutions in order to forward their own goals – and so the institutions were reinforced. I argue that separating immigration from ethnic group issues permitted the strong rights-focused structure to allow a somewhat exclusionary immigration policy to emerge in 2009. In Madrid, a strongly inclusionary policy paradigm was established in the mid-90s along immigrant integration lines. As demographics have continued to evolve, immigrant policy structures have expanded and stayed within the original concepts of the paradigm despite changes in the immigration flow. The paradigm has remained durable and continues to shape policy developments. In Prince William County, there was never an established policy paradigm, and local officials’ immigrant efforts were small-scale and inconsistent. The absence of an inclusionary commitment left the county open to a strongly exclusionary turn in 2007, though the attempt to establish an exclusionary paradigm was resisted by powerful bureaucratic incorporators. This case is instructive not only for its exclusionary direction but the possibility of tapping into what government officials did in the absence of a locally determined paradigm or official stance toward immigration. See Table I below for a summary.

Table I. Case Selection Types

Case	Paradigm Type	Immigrant Policy Outcome	Recent Developments
Montgomery County, MD	Ethnic-Racial Groups	Institutionalized: Group rights, Anti-discrimination	Slight exclusionary turn in 2009
Madrid	Immigrant Integration	Institutionalized: Specialized immigrant infrastructure, International link, Education and intercultural exchange	Consistent inclusion
Prince William County, VA	None	Small-scale, Ad hoc	Major exclusionary turn in 2007

The policy paradigms in the two inclusionary cases contain an evaluation of the legitimacy of certain interests and certain groups in a context of a “new destination.” Madrid’s immigrant integration paradigm emphasizes the universal problems of social and economic integration that all foreign-born newcomers face. It emphasizes the need to understand what is a novel phenomenon and develop distinct skills and personnel to handle it, develop distinct services for immigrant residents as a general group, emphasize the link between international migration and the developing world, and stress the education of native residents and the importance of intercultural understanding. In this paradigm, immigrants are viewed through an international lens and their arrival poses requirements on the receiving society to adapt to the new cultural and ethnic diversity in its midst. This leads to considerable effort to support

immigrants, but it also sets up a barrier between immigrants and natives and does not treat immigrants as full and ordinary members of society.

On the other hand, Montgomery County's race-based paradigm emphasizes claims-making and representation along ethnic lines rather than highlighting the specificities of *immigrant* challenges. The immigrant policy structure is shaped around the racial groupings given institutional legitimacy in the county and in the larger national context. In this paradigm, immigrants are viewed primarily as members of resident ethnic groups rather than new arrivals from abroad, and they are given the tools to advance their own group interests based along those lines. Some more detail on what I am referring to as the "ethnic-racial group paradigm" is appropriate here. Political mobilization and advocacy along ethnic minority lines has been a fundamental phenomenon in American politics since the civil rights revolution and wider minority rights protections beginning in the late 1960s. Immigrants have become included in the context of minority politics as rights bearers (Fuchs 1990; Graham 2002). Immigrants have pursued their interests through the ethnic minority identities that dominate post-1965 flows – Hispanic and Asian, primarily. Ethnic-racial groups and divisions have become central shapers of interest articulation and expression. This has something to do with federal practices of data collection and the categorization of ethnic minority groups, but there has also been a process of instrumental use of ethnic categories to further group goals (Citrin et al. 2001). This process of "racialization," or placement of individuals in one of several ethno-racial blocs is a key dynamic in American politics (Hollinger 1995; Skrentny 2002). I argue that this dynamic is fundamental to understanding immigrant policymaking in Montgomery County, where immigrant residents have been viewed fundamentally through an ethnic-racial paradigm. This conception of

immigration through an ethnic-racial lens is certainly not unique to Montgomery County, and has probably been the most common approach in most US communities. This dynamic has received study in large US cities (Jones-Correa 2001) and there is some work on interactions between African Americans and new Hispanic newcomers (Marrow 2007), but the link to immigration and local immigrant policymaking in “new destinations” requires development, and this study starts to fill that gap through its conceptualization of a local immigrant policy paradigm based on these categories.

The ethnic-racial paradigm permits a decoupling of immigration enforcement issues from the sophisticated immigrant policies firmly established in county practice. When immigration enforcement becomes a salient local political issue in Montgomery County in 2009, there is ideational *space* for local government to move away from the strongly inclusionary trajectory. The turn toward pro-enforcement rules in 2009 - possible in a paradigm in which immigrants are not primarily viewed as immigrants but rather as members of ethnic-racial minority groups – takes a step away from the trajectory of immigrant inclusion established and reinforced in Montgomery County since the mid-1980s.

In Madrid, there is no room, institutionally or ideationally, for this type of step back. The strongly inclusionary immigrant integration paradigm established by key officials in the late 1990s has remained robust and expanded into an array of immigrant-oriented services and institutions. There have been slight modifications along the way, but the overall trajectory is coherent because of the strong policy paradigm and the increasing returns process that has reinforced government officials’ interests in maintaining institutions and continually shaping their identities and understandings of their roles as providers of immigrant services. Though

their conception of immigrant integration may have evolved somewhat as immigration has become permanent in the last five years, efforts are still clearly following the original integration paradigm. Though the objectives are similar, the paradigm used to understand the challenges of immigration and the appropriate set of policy tools to remedy those challenges, contrasts strongly between the Madrid and Montgomery County cases.

The Prince William County case, where immigration inflows did not become dramatic until 2000 and government response remained limited until the highly publicized politicization of enforcement in 2007, offers a case where no strong policy paradigm existed *until* leaders attempted to establish an exclusionary paradigm in 2007. The study of county government activities in the area of immigrant services in the *absence* of an official government policy, explicit commitment, or dedicated funds, permits the tracing of truly ad hoc efforts at bureaucratic incorporation. The absence of local government commitment to immigrant needs leads to an absence of dedicated programming and a strongly contrasting set of ideas about the legitimacy of immigrant-oriented adaptations to government services. I find that a race-based institutional structure of diversity management that is focused on the white/African-American dichotomy has been delayed in incorporating the new challenges created by Hispanic and Asian inflows. This delay and overall *inaction* has been due to the absence of a strong policy paradigm led by a central leader. The only clear paradigm attempted was the exclusionary stance raised by the Board of County Supervisors in its controversial 2007 ordinance and following discourse – and it failed because of the resistance of county agencies and service providers. It was in fact the resistance from these service providers that led to the scaling down of the ambitions of the

original ordinance proposed by county elected leaders. This incident illustrates the type of highly divisive conflict that can arise over institutional decisions.

The best way to investigate these case studies with an attentive view to developments over time is qualitative analysis. The next section lays out the details of the methodology.

Methodology and Sources

Qualitative case study offers several advantages here: first of all, it permits conceptual validity in its ability to capture a complex range of immigrant-oriented policies. Secondly, in-depth case study permits the testing of new conceptual models, causal relationships, and configurational and complex causal relations. These advantages would be lost in a quantitative approach. The best way to approach historical case study is through process-tracing, a method by which the sequence of events and the causal mechanisms linking events are fleshed out through the analysis of many time periods within a given “case.” This effective creation of multiple cases *over time* within a single case permits testing of hypotheses and avoidance of the degree-of-freedom problem whereby an insufficient number of cases cannot support testing of many variables or hypotheses (George and Bennett 2005). This research project takes this approach and engages in structured focused comparisons of three case studies within two metro areas.

The data come from a wide range of contemporary and archive sources. Information was used to reconstruct the contemporary history of local immigrant policymaking in each locality: beginning in the early 1980s in Montgomery County, the late 1980s in Prince William County, and the early 1990s in Madrid. I conducted semi-structured interviews with approximately forty

individuals in each metro region in various jurisdictions within each, totaling seventy-six interviews ranging from thirty minutes to two hours each. These interviews included unelected and elected officials in county, local, and regional government; community members; and workers in non-profit organizations that cater to immigrant needs. Respondents included front-line staff such as social workers and lawyers who interact face-to-face with needy immigrants, as well as higher level administrative officials. Detailed listings of interviews are included in the appendix. All respondents are quoted and cited anonymously, as per the requirements of the research proposal approved by the Institutional Review Board. In all chapters, in-text citations of individual interviews will be specified by date. I used a combination of purposive and snowball sampling approaches, requesting contacts and suggestions for other respondents from my interviewees and developing the list from there. This method was used in order to pinpoint key respondents who could speak to changes over time within government institutions and in local communities. Although current views were appreciated, the most useful information came from respondents who had been engaged on immigration or social issues for decades and could draw on their institutional knowledge to provide a long-term perspective on local developments. Respondents were also used for identifying key documents to search for in other sources, and some also provided internal documents and correspondence. Interviews were also used as a springboard for some participant observation, including attendance of recreational and educational events held by government and community organizations, and accompaniment of staff at specific events targeted at immigrant integration issues.

I also used local and national newspaper accounts, printed materials and information available to the public as well as materials provided to me by my respondents, and archived

government documents to identify programs and trace developments. The range of information available varied from case to case. In the Madrid case, there was considerable archival material available to the public and also granted to me on a special basis. I accessed archived documents such as annual reports, brochures, and conference materials tracking activities since the early 1990s at the regional government level at the Community of Madrid's Department of Family and Social Services Library, Regional Training and Research Center "Beatriz Galindo." I also was granted access to similar types of materials within the closed archives of the City of Madrid's Department of Social Services, as well as materials collected by the prominent immigrant studies organization Colectivo IOE, the Pontificia Comillas University's Institute of Migration Studies ("*Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones*," where I was a visiting scholar), and the City of Madrid's Migration Research Institute ("*Observatorio de las Migraciones y la Convivencia Intercultural de la ciudad de Madrid*"). This provided me not only government documents but also work by researchers and academics from the early 1990s on. This comprehensive and historical coverage of Madrid immigrant policymaking has not been described previously in any publication, so my original data collection offers new information on what is a significant local case of immigrant policymaking.

In the case of Montgomery County, I used local and national newspaper accounts, current printed materials, and archived documents from the official County Archives. The County government archive documents, to which I was granted limited access, gave me unusual access to internal documents and correspondence that have not been analyzed previously in the context of immigration developments in that county.

In the case of Prince William County, where immigrant policy response has been minimal and very recent, I was more dependent on local and national newspaper records; in this case a thorough survey of the local newspaper, the *Manassas Journal Messenger*, was done based on an index provided by the public library system. Additional information was gathered through documents provided by respondents and those that are publicly available. Because this case has the most recent experience with immigration, a shorter time horizon limited the possibilities somewhat in delving into historical response to immigration and identifying knowledgeable stakeholders. However, this case did have considerable rich secondary accounts because of its visibility in the national immigration debate.

My analysis of each locality's immigrant policy response draws on all of these sources. I apply a consistent theoretical approach to each case in order to test the usefulness of the new concepts and mechanisms that I am developing in this project. The in-depth study allows a comprehensive understanding of local dynamics.

Conclusion

In-depth case analysis is necessary in order to develop the theory of bureaucratic incorporation and refine our understanding of how local communities cope with new immigrant residents. I propose a theory that uses tools of comparative historical analysis to add institutional and historical depth to the ideas of bureaucratic incorporation presented in the academic literature. I offer a conception of immigrant policy paradigms and an explanation of their effects on local policymaking. I argue that local leaders establish a community's approach to immigrant diversity at a critical juncture in policy development, after which local government practices tend

to reinforce the initial policy paradigm in a path dependent process. The policy paradigm has an institutional and ideational stickiness that continues to shape and constrain government activities in the face of changing demographic and political pressures. In the absence of a policy paradigm, by contrast, immigrant policy response is not consistent and will be more reactive to demographic and political pressures. There is evidence that the type of inclusionary paradigm can also lead to different outcomes; that is, when immigration is understood through an ethnic-racial frame, the issue of immigration status and immigration enforcement can more easily be divorced from a community's traditional inclusionary approach to immigrant members. On the other hand, with an integration model, immigrants' visa and residency rights may be more closely linked to other inclusionary immigrant-oriented programs and activities.

All the cases face similar challenges as communities grappling with immigration as a new phenomenon, and each has a different type of response in the face of transformation into a "new destination." The mechanisms and process of immigrant policymaking response that are the main objects of inquiry in this dissertation are relevant to a wide range of other local cases. Although resources and demographics, economy and partisanship will vary in different localities, the process of policymaking that starts with a policy paradigm and produces increasing returns based on that paradigm can be used to understand many localities in western industrialized countries receiving immigration inflows. These cases speak to a fairly universal set of policy challenges in localities. This study offers a universal theory that applies to both settler state and European cases of localities receiving immigrants. It brings together US and European experience to contribute to a growing academic literature focusing on local-level immigration

dynamics as well as practical policymaking debates about successful immigrant integration practices.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

This chapter will provide a brief introduction to the immigration context in the two case study countries, Spain and the United States. These two countries are on opposite ends of the receiving state spectrum: a new immigrant receiver which has had only ten years of mass immigration experience, versus the traditional settler state whose entire history is built on immigration dynamics. Although the focus of this project is on the local level, understanding the national and legislative context is important for setting the stage for the contemporary local-level immigrant policymaking which is the focus of this dissertation. Spain's recent transformation from an emigration to an immigrant-receiving country will be described along with a history of the legal immigration context. Beginning with a focus on filling temporary labor demands, Spain's immigration infrastructure has moved toward immigrant integration measures alongside growing border control and enforcement developments; most importantly for this project, the focus has moved to the regional and local levels as the appropriate site for immigrant policy implementation and innovation. This context provides a relatively consistent integration policy landscape in Spain, though there is still some variation across regions and cities. This will be followed by an overview of US immigration law and recent developments in the immigration landscape focusing on the "new geography" of immigration to new settler communities and the trend at the local and state levels to legislate on immigration matters, for both exclusionary and inclusionary ends. The highly federal system, combined with federal-level restrictions on immigrant rights, leads to a wide range of local immigrant policy outputs in the US.

Spain: Transformation into an Immigration Country

Spain, a typical immigrant-*sending* country, only began to transform into a major immigration *receiver* in the mid-1980s, and it did not become a major European immigrant destination until 2000. Spain did not pass its first immigration law until 1985, at which point immigration was still a minor demographic presence and the legislation focused primarily on enforcement and controls. During the 1990s, Spain passed several rounds of immigration legislation and attempted various solutions for its needs for immigrant labor to fuel economic growth, geographic vulnerability to clandestine immigration, and growing undocumented population. Immigrants only began to be viewed as potentially permanent residents in later rounds of legislation, and were given significant additional social rights at the turn of this century. Initially receiving immigrants mainly from rich European countries as well some Latin American political exiles, Spain's growing economy attracted increasing numbers from North Africa, Latin America, Asia, and more recently Eastern Europe. As immigrant numbers increased and became permanent, immigrant integration became a larger component of immigration policy. Subnational units, as the direct providers of government services and closest to actual immigrant users - regional governments, provinces, and localities - are responsible for most integration initiatives.

Immigration Policy Developments

Spain, less developed than its northern European neighbors, was traditionally a strong immigrant sending country. Emigrants generally moved to North and South America, and increasingly in the 1960s, to foreign labor-recruiting western Europe countries, until the

recession of the mid-1970s when emigration slowed (Kreienbrink 2008). Spain's first "Foreigners Law," the *Ley de Extranjería*, was passed in 1985, after the end of the authoritarian regime of Francisco Franco in 1975 and largely under pressure to conform to European Union requirements as Spain acquired membership in the union (Cornelius 2004). Immigration was not yet a significant demographic influence in Spain, nor had it yet become a political issue domestically (Arango 2000). The 1985 law only considered enforcement and border control issues and did not include an option for permanent residence. Spain only gradually developed border control policies with neighbor Morocco (requiring a visa starting only in 1991, and also beginning to control entry into the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla), and it had lax visa requirements for individuals entering from Latin America (Moreno Fuentes 2005) and other former Spanish colonies. Spain's immigration and immigrant policies in the 1980s and 1990s obviously lagged behind those of other European countries that had been receiving immigrants, regulating flows, and dealing with integration issues, since the 1950s and 1960s.

Arango points out that the first statement by the Spanish government of genuine openness to immigration was a policy guidelines declaration by the Interior Department in 1991 declaring Spain to be an "immigration country" and calling for a general openness to immigrant workers. This marked a reversal of the exclusionary enforcement approach of the 1980s (Arango 2000). As the economy expanded in the 1990 and with it the demand for foreign labor, the government had its first reform of the 1985 law in 1990. The 1990 reform established a quota system to manage flows of temporary laborers, improved border controls, continued the regularization process, sought to coordinate actions among government agencies, and invested in the development of immigrant-sending countries. The quota system ("*contingente*") was not really

implemented until 1993, whereby workers were to be recruited and authorized in their home country according to the provincial labor needs in Spain, and then migrate to Spain to fulfill temporary labor demands. In practice, however, this quota system was not used to issue visas in the sending country but mostly to regularize migrant workers who had already arrived in Spain. Watts notes that the administrative structure was not equipped to handle the needs of employers and migrants, and the unwieldy system of temporary permits continually produced migrants lapsing into illegality at the end of their short-term work permits. This produced a need for the repeated legalization campaigns to regularize the status of undocumented immigrants, the first major one in 1991, followed by another in 1996 (Watts 2002). Other authors have also emphasized the disfunctionality of Spain's system of temporary migration and frequent legalization processes (González Enríquez 2009).

Moving beyond the facilitation of temporary migration, a shift to a greater emphasis on integration began in the mid-1990s, following pressures for legalization from the political left and a royal decree in 1996 that addressed issues of family reunification, unaccompanied minors, and social rights. The Plan on Social Integration of Immigrants was drafted in 1994, and provided a general set of guidelines. This led to the establishment of two important institutions testifying to the permanence of immigration in Spain: the Forum on the Social Integration of Immigrants, which is a consultative institution between government agencies and social actors including immigrant associations, and the Permanent Observatory on Immigration, which is the government's research institute on immigration matters (Arango 2000). These key institutions would later be replicated at the subnational level, as we will see in the case of Madrid.

By 1999, immigration had become a very visible political and social issue, and a matter of major political debate. The push for integration went even further in the 1999 reform of the Foreigners Law, in which the left-wing government protected new rights for immigrants regardless of immigration status, including education, health care, and social services, and also expanded the rights of legal immigrants (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008; Calavita 2005). This reform included a continuous legalization mechanism for undocumented immigrants who could prove two years of residence, a new extraordinary legalization campaign, expanded family reunification rights, work permit renewal for unemployed immigrants, and the right to join unions and strike for legal and illegal immigrants. When the right-wing People's Party (PP) came into power in 2000 under José María Aznar, however, it amended the reform and cut the right to strike for illegal immigrants and increased the required residence time from two to five years for regularization. The PP amendments streamlined the deportation process and also made family reunification more difficult and cut back other social rights for undocumented immigrants, leaving only the rights to health care and public education (Watts 2002). Undocumented immigrants do not have a right to means-tested benefits or housing benefits, but they can access other services, including health care and public education (Corcoran 2006). The PP has taken a hard line on immigration and framed itself in a tough enforcement approach to illegal immigrants (Cornelius 2004). Ironically, alongside this reform, the 2000 legalization campaign was one of the largest yet, following major protests and outreach to eligible migrants. 229,874 migrants were legalized by December 2000, with Latin Americans particularly numerous. In response to social protest to rising deportations, the government continued its legalization process in 2001 and also instituted a specific program for Ecuadorians after a

particularly controversial accident involving the deaths of twelve Ecuadorian workers (Cornelius 2004).

The vulnerability of the many immigrant workers that were fueling Spain's growth was clearly of growing public awareness. In early 2000, local immigration dynamics in Almeria, an agricultural province on the south-eastern coast, rose to national infamy. The town of El Ejido was the site of a widely publicized multi-day riot, where the murder of a Spanish woman by a mentally ill Moroccan man set off three days of anti-Moroccan violence and chaos. Zapata Barrero argues that the events at El Ejido raised immigration to the national political agenda (Zapata Barrero 2003). At the turn of the century, immigration became identified as a major social issue.

Under EU pressure to better control entry into the gateway to "Fortress Europe" that Spain represented, the Spanish government also has invested heavily in cooperation with sending countries to manage flows and restrict illegal entry. In this decade, the government moved to negotiate bilaterally on the return of expatriates, border controls, and cooperation on filling labor needs in order to curb undocumented immigration. Increasing efforts to control clandestine maritime entry from Africa include cooperation with the EU's FRONTEX border protection agency to set up regional coordination, as well as bilateral agreements with sending countries to not only deter entry but also facilitate repatriation upon capture. Illegal entries via the sea routes did decrease in response to this enforcement boost, though alternative routes were found, and the

situation is dangerous for the many immigrants who turn to human traffickers to secure entry into Spain and other southern European countries (Baldwin-Edwards 2004).⁵

Although continuing vigilant measures at protecting external borders, the new left-wing government in 2004 put more emphasis on integration than control, easing family reunification, putting more focus on permanent immigration routes, but also cracking down on employment of undocumented immigrants (Kreienbrink 2008). Another large-scale legalization was carried out in 2005, this time relying on the employers rather than the individual migrants to submit applications. Eligibility for legalization was contingent on holding a job contract. This “normalization” process was accompanied by the creation of permanent legalization mechanisms of “*arraigo social*” and “*arraigo laboral*,” which permit undocumented immigrants with sufficient “rooting” in Spanish society to regularize their status (Rodríguez Álvarez 2010). Investment in integration began seriously in 2005, with a large fund dedicated to financing the activities of localities and autonomous communities (Kreienbrink 2008).

Immigrant Flows

Alongside these legal developments, the immigration flows into Spain changed and evolved considerably. Early immigrants were primarily wealthy Western European retirees, as well as some exiles coming from Argentina and other troubled Latin American nations in the 1980s and 1990s. Immigration to fill labor demand increased in the 1990s, comprised largely of Moroccans. Inflows increased dramatically in 1999 and continued to grow throughout the first

⁵ New concerns about managing maritime entry into Southern European countries are being raised at the time of the writing of this chapter in spring 2011, with the fleeing of many from political instability in Tunisia and Libya, and pressure to process incoming arrivals on islands off the coast of Italy such as Lampedusa (Donadia and Daley 2011).

half of this century. This increase reflected a shift to largely Latin American arrivals. Although media accounts focused on the illegal entry of African immigrants - the clandestine transport of West African and North African on dangerous rafts ("*pateras*") via several ocean routes - most undocumented immigrants actually came into Spain by plane and overstayed their visas. Until the early part of this decade, Latin Americans and other citizens from previous Spanish colonies were permitted to enter Spain with only a tourist visa. This provided an easy entry into a booming economy hungry for cheap labor, and Latin Americans easily found work with their Spanish language knowledge and relative cultural proximity to the Spanish public. The largest increase came from Ecuador when that country experienced an economic crisis in 2000, and emigrants could enter easily and expect to benefit from one of Spain's legalization campaigns (Jokisch and Pribilsky 2002). The visa waiver for Ecuadorians was not terminated until 2003 (Bertoli et al. 2010). Large numbers also came from Colombia, as well as Bolivia, Argentina, and other Latin American countries, especially concentrating in the Madrid region. The visa waivers were progressively terminated for all the Latin American sending countries, 2001 for Colombians and 2008 for Bolivians (González Enríquez 2009). There are relatively smaller numbers from Asia, including mostly Chinese, as well as Pakistanis, Filipinos, and others. In this decade, Eastern Europeans from Romania and Bulgaria have increasingly come to find work, taking advantage of their admission into the European Union and the mobility that affords. Romanians are now the largest group of foreign-born in Spain, out-numbering Ecuadorians and Moroccans. Although with the economic crisis beginning in 2008 immigration has finally slowed, Spain is still one of Europe's main immigration destinations, currently with the highest inflows among all OECD countries except the United States - Spain received almost 700,000

immigrants in 2008, down from a peak of 921,000 in 2007 - and with a foreign stock of about fourteen percent of the population ("International Migration Database" 2010).

Subnational Dynamics: Autonomous Communities and Federal Support

Given the extremely low immigrant numbers just fifteen years ago, this high immigrant presence is truly remarkable and represents dramatic demographic and social change, particularly in the regions and cities where immigrants have concentrated. The pressures of demographic change have been strongest in the regions of Spain where immigrants could easily find work and build on immigrant networks: primarily Catalonia, Madrid, and the southern coast where agricultural and construction industries required steady labor. These regions – at the autonomous community, province, and municipal levels - have been faced with significant costs to adapt to the demographic changes (as well as benefiting from the labor source to supply economic development). Subnational units, by virtue of the separation of tasks in governments, are responsible for many of the functions where a response to immigrant residents would be most needed: healthcare, education, social services, work, and housing (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008). Autonomous communities are responsible for providing their residents public education, social services, health care, and other government services that have been impacted most severely by immigrant increase (Joumard and Giorno 2005). As Agrela and Dietz observe, “the state holds exclusive jurisdiction over nationality, immigration, emigration, and asylum law...However, it is the local administrations that de facto are dealing with immigrants.” They also note, “regional and local governments are forced to shoulder the core financial and infrastructural burdens that

result from the central state's migration control measures, even though these governments have no policy-making authority over these measures” (Agrela 2006).

With their responsibility to serve residents and de facto responsibility for “immigrant policy,” subnational units follow an opposite logic to the federal government that is concerned with immigration control and flows or “immigration policy.” This produces a national government concern over enforcement and illegality, and a relative relaxation about immigration status at the subnational level – what some even call a “de facto regularization” at the subnational level through provision of services to undocumented residents (Tamayo Sáez and Carrillo Barroso 2002). This is similar to what Tsuda refers to as “local citizenship,” which “refers to the granting, by local governments and organizations, of basic sociopolitical rights and services to immigrants as legitimate members of these local communities.” Tsuda points out the importance of local initiatives in integrating immigrants in new countries of immigration such as Spain, where federal immigration policies have lagged behind developments and the locus of adaptation has been at the local level (Tsuda 2006). Local citizenship rights are important but should not be overstated; the federal state and its immigration enforcers, the Civil Guard, do pursue undocumented immigrants, and detention and deportation are realities that weigh heavily on the prospects of migrants in Spain.

Immigration enforcement does remain a purely federal matter, despite the impacts at the local level. The other large policy area, of *immigrant* policy, is mainly left to autonomous communities and localities to implement. Many autonomous communities have followed the model set by the federal level by explicitly investing in immigrant integration and establishing distinct institutions and personnel to support immigrant needs and educate the native public.

This includes writing official integration plans, setting up research organizations, establishing consultative organisms, and investing in a wide range of immigrant integration programs (Gil Araujo 2006). The plans generally do not regard legal immigration status as a prerequisite for receiving services. All the plans address integration in the areas of education, housing, labor and training, health, social services, and “awareness-raising” or education of natives (Martínez de Lizarrondo Artola 2006). These plans have not developed in isolation from each other, with communities looking to other regions, as well as the federal state and other European communities, for successful models and best practices of immigrant policymaking. They all have in common a distinct set of programs and funding streams dedicated specifically to immigrant integration.

The federal government has in fact strongly encouraged the autonomous communities to take on immigrant integration in recent years, eager to devolve responsibility for immigrant issues down to the subnational units (Guiraudon 2001). Even though critical of integration programming, Calavita acknowledges that Spain does invest significant funds in integration (Calavita 2005). Beginning with the 2000 General Program for the Regulation and Coordination of the Foreign Population and Immigration (GRECO), the central government explicitly highlighted the role of the autonomous communities in the function of immigrant integration and government programming (Calavita 2005; Rodríguez Álvarez 2010). The federal government began to explicitly fund regional integration initiatives in 2005, with 120 million euros budgeted in 2005, increasing to 200 million euros in 2007 (Kreienbrink 2008). This activity was rolled into the 2007-2010 federal Integration Plan (“*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010*” or PEI). The integration objectives include programs in a wide area

of domains: reception, education, employment, housing, health, social services, children and youth, equal treatment, women, participation, awareness raising, and co-development/migration and development. The total budget for all activities amounted to 467 million euros in 2007, planned to rise to 537 million in 2010 ("Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration 2007-2010: Executive Summary" 2007).

A large portion of the integration programming consists of Support Funds to go to autonomous communities based on the size of their immigrant populations ("*Fondo de Apoyo a la Acogida e Integración de Inmigrantes*"). These funds began quite small, and rose to a budget of 200 million euros in 2009 though the economic crisis has reduced them since.⁶ Top receiving regions in 2009 were Madrid (with 41,123,375 euros), Catalonia (with 43,269,913 euros), followed by Valencia (22,023,419 euros) and Andalucia (22,364,252 euros) in the coastal region (*Fondo de apoyo a la Acogida e Integración de Inmigrantes* 2009). These figures included funds for reception programs as well as educational supports for immigrant students in the public schools. These funds provide some funding for *all* autonomous communities proportionate to their demographic realities, however experts point out that different regions have taken different approaches to immigrant policymaking (Agrela 2006; Corcoran 2006; Gil Araujo 2006; Morales et al. 2009). The provision of centralized funding and policy aims, however, does provide a strong self-reinforcing structure in which regional and local actors make their policy decisions. The explicit federal funding of immigrant integration initiatives has supported the efforts taking

⁶ In the wake of the economic crisis, this funding was cut in February 2009, down to 100 million 2010, and 70 million in 2011; though other federal reimbursements to immigrant-heavy regions have been established that make up for some of this shortfall (Collett 2011).

place at the regional and local levels, reinforcing the integration paradigms that have shaped policymaking for years, in some early-mover cases such as Barcelona and Madrid.

Supranational dynamics at the level of the European Union also play into this explicit attention to and funding of integration efforts at the subnational level. Despite some EU agreement on basic immigration issues, specifically on control measures, there is little European consensus on integration programming – thus, integration policies are determined primarily at the national, or subnational, level. The European Commission, however, provides some funding for integration efforts. It distributes funds to the member states through the European Integration Fund (EIF), following the previous Integration of Third Country Nationals (INTI) program. EIF's 1 billion dollars (over a seven-year period) funds integration initiatives in the member states. As a recent report notes, other relevant EU integration funds include the European Social Funds (92.3 billion dollars) and PROGRESS (772.4 million dollars), which work for social cohesion. EU integration funds are distributed to both nation-states and some directly to localities (Collett 2011).

Some consensus has emerged at the EU level that the subnational level is the appropriate arena for integration efforts. There are a number of EU-funded projects that promote the sharing of best practices between European Cities, such as Cities for Local Integration Policies (CLIP) or Integrating Cities I and II. The latter focused on the urban level as the primary focus for integration efforts, and led to the Milan Declaration in 2007. Though declarations conclude that the subnational level is the appropriate one for integration efforts, funds continue to flow through the nation-states primarily (Borkert and Caponio 2010).

Subnational Dynamics: Localities

In addition to the autonomous communities, localities have an even more direct interaction with residents. As Fernández wrote in 2000, “it is precisely the local units (and the regional authorities less so) that, day to day, have to face the requests and needs that the new residents present”⁷ (Fernández 2001). They often share responsibility with the autonomous communities in providing, for example, public education and health care services (Newton 1997), as well as social services. Municipal organizations such as the Federation of Municipalities and Provinces (“*La Federación Española de Municipios y Provincias*” or “FEMP”) have identified immigration and integration demands as a key challenge facing municipalities, who are left to manage new residents whose entrance they have no control over (“*La situación de los ayuntamientos en España, sus carencias económicas y problemas de gestión: Diagnóstico y propuestas en una perspectiva europea*” 2006; *Los Municipios y la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes: Análisis y Propuestas de Actuación* 1995). This reality is very much understood on the ground; as I was told by a municipal official in Madrid:

The municipality: in principle it does not have authority on immigration matters, at least there are no regulations in its legal rules, but it has authority in the area of social assistance and social services, and through this route, let’s say, it has assumed authority as well in the integration of immigrants; understanding that the authority in social services can include, without any problem, this scope of work with immigrants. And therefore, all the municipalities, [especially the large ones, now have integration policies]” (Interview June 23, 2009; translated from Spanish by the author)

Many municipalities have shown initiative on the issue of immigrant integration, with more municipalities devoting resources to immigrant needs and also passing their own

⁷ Translated from Spanish by the author.

integration plans in recent years (de Lucas Martín et al. 2008). The autonomous communities filter down the federal support funds to localities – in fact, half of the funds each autonomous community receives goes down to municipal activities (Corcoran 2006) – and the federal guidelines apply, but there is still room for localities to be more or less active on immigrant policy and the shape of response does vary (Agrela 2006; Gil Araujo 2006; Morales et al. 2009). However, within the federal structure of support, localities do have an incentive to act on their immigration issues, and to follow the basic outlines established by the federal authorities and institutions. Following this model, more and more municipalities are developing their own local immigration plans, dedicated immigration services units, and providing targeted services for immigrants’ needs. They have a forum to share their best practices on government-sponsored networks such as *Integralocal*, a federal website managed by the Spanish Ministry of Labor and Immigration (*Integralocal: Portal para entidades locales sobre integración de inmigrantes*). Locally run initiatives are clearly a core strategy of Spanish immigrant integration policy.

In addition to service provision and integration programming, localities’ registration function has brought them directly into the integration process, with residency registration in the local town hall potentially providing functional membership and rights to undocumented immigrants in particular. The responsibility of localities to register local residents (“*empadronamiento*”) has turned out to have a key immigration function, as *empadronamiento* became a requirement not only for regularization (to provide proof of residence); but after reforms in 2000, for access to social services, health care, education, and other public services, for documented and undocumented immigrants as well as the native born (Corella 2004; Tamayo Sáez and Carrillo Barroso 2002). The requirement to register in the local town hall has brought

many undocumented immigrants into public accounting, though the numbers are not absolutely accurate given the continued fear of registration, administrative irregularities and local discretion (Calavita 2005), and the frequent changing of residence and subsequent inaccuracies of local rolls (Corcoran 2006). *Empadronamiento* is the key for immigrants to pursue legalization, as well, as it provides proof of residence. In addition to registration of immigrants, local authorities are responsible for assisting in the legalization and reunification processes, notably by writing individuals' evaluations for applications for legalization by *arraigo social* ("social rooting") and for family reunification. These responsibilities require additional resources and expertise.⁸ For these procedures, the local government authorities are required to investigate each individual applicant's situation and write a report to submit to the central authority for evaluation. These reports include information on the individual's migration story, housing situation, employment and/or training, social networks and activities. With their close access to immigrants, localities are used by the federal government to largely implement the registration requirements for legalization. The 2005 legalization process was largely decentralized to the municipalities (Agranoff 2007; Corcoran 2006), and localities continue to work everyday on the legalization process through their registration and social work functions.

Minimal Variation

The lines between federal immigration policy and immigrant policy at the local and regional levels are quite blurry, with local units implementing the legalization process, and

⁸ Permanent residence is not required for requests for family reunification. All immigrants who have been legally resident for one year and have authorization for one additional year have the right to apply for family reunification (Corcoran 2006)

regional and local units directly creating and managing integration efforts in part funded by federal sources. In Spain, provincial authorities even have a role in setting the immigrant flows – they provide a list of industries that require immigrant labor, thus contributing directly to immigration policy decisions and regulation. It is clear that devolution to subnational units is a key dynamic in understanding Spanish immigration and integration dynamics, as we will see is also the case in the other case country, the United States, among a growing number of countries (Guiraudon 2001).

In contrast to the United States, however, Spain's local immigrant policy making takes place in a federal context of explicit prioritizing and funding of immigrant integration. This leads to more consistency in terms of orientation of local immigrant policy. In Spain's legal context, it is also impossible to see the type of exclusionary ordinances and anti-immigrant rhetoric we have seen in the United States in the last five years and beyond (see below). Though the specifics might vary across regions and localities, the strong protection of rights ensured by federal immigration legislation, registration provisions, and welfare benefits, leads to a level of consistency in local immigrant policymaking across Spain. In a country where immigration is still such a new phenomenon and significant portions of the public may hold xenophobic or racist views, there is conflict and flare-ups in individual localities, with elected leaders who express anti-immigrant views; this was shown recently by the spread of burka bans in Catalonia in the summer of 2010, or the move to deny undocumented immigrants the right to *empadronamiento* in Madrid suburb Torrejón de Ardoz in January 2010. These cases of resistance are important and instructive, but their existence does not negate the overall immigrant integration orientation, particularly imposed through federal financing and federal integration

plans and institutions in the last decade. Strong federal rights protections and other structural features prevent the great variety of inclusionary and exclusionary practices we observe in the United States.

The United States: Traditional Immigration Country with New Geography

The United States is a classic immigration country whose history has been fundamentally shaped by the arrival of different waves of newcomers. Though there have been periods of exclusion and nativism whose echoes we hear in today's debates (Fuchs 1990; Higham 1955; Martin 2011), it is the prototypical immigrant "settler society" with the largest immigrant inflows among all the OECD countries, and an emphasis on permanent immigration and high naturalization rates. Temporary immigration is also a significant part of the immigration landscape, as well as continuous concern over a large undocumented immigrant population that has grown steadily since the last legalization in 1986, and is now estimated to be around 11.2 million people (Passel and Cohn 2011). Immigration debates in the last few decades have focused, alongside debates on appropriate visa numbers and characteristics, on the issue of the undocumented immigrant population. Currently planned federal reform has been stalled by disagreements on comprehensive reform strategies and plans for some type of legalization process. Immigration policy discussions normally focus on immigration policies in terms of enforcement strategies and quotas rather than the issue of immigrant integration as a formal area of government intervention, though Americanization efforts have historical roots and there is some movement to invest in immigrant integration, with major innovations taking place at the state and local level. The US approach to immigrant integration contrasts to European policies,

with a more laissez-faire philosophy and reliance on civil society to do the work of immigrant integration. Some explicit immigrant integration programs, especially focused on civic integration and naturalization, have become fashionable in recent years, but the provision of immigrant-specific services is primarily one taken up by civil society and local and state government authorities.

Immigration Policy Developments

Immigration policy developments will not be described in great detail, but the major outlines are summarized here. There was a general absence of centralized immigration enforcement through the 1800s, with northern European flows dominant. Settlement in cities and rural areas produced a variegated picture of immigrant experience and politics throughout the country, as large inflows fueled economic growth and development. The flows accelerated with the industrial revolution in the 1880s, with a shift to southern and eastern European immigrants during the “Golden Door” era of 1880 to 1917. Though there was a slight dip in the 1890s recession, inflows were still strong at the turn of the century. Concern over immigrants’ successful assimilation, particularly in the concentrated urban context, was promoted by the Progressive movement, which relied on a number of civil society organizations such as settlement houses, the YMCA, and even public schools, to support Americanization classes – citizenship and language lessons. A growing movement to restrict admissions began to develop in the late 1800s, as a widening range of qualitative restrictions was placed on inflows. Beginning with the 1875 legislation that eventually turned into the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, more and more groups were excluded from admission in successive years, including

prostitutes, convicts (1875), those deemed vulnerable to become a “public charge” (1882), all temporary arrivals (1885), and then a wider range of those with illnesses, felons, etc. (1891). Ellis Island was created in 1892 to screen for such requirements and exclude undesirable entrants. Literacy as a requirement for entry was established in 1917 (Martin 2011).

Following the conclusions of the Dillingham Commission, which focused on the deficiencies and assimilation difficulties of the expanding racially-defined groups from southern and eastern Europe as well as Asia, the growing set of *qualitative* limitations was finally joined by major *quantitative* restrictions in the pivotal Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 (Martin 2011). This act sharply restricted immigration flows and explicitly favored northern European migrants by limiting annual country quotas to be only two percent of the number of immigrants from that country present in the US in 1890 (a date which preceded the increase in southern and eastern European immigration). Then followed a significant halt in immigration and sharp decrease of entries. Immigrant inflows were minimal during the entire period from 1924 till the mid-1960s, with a couple of exceptions. Some efforts to fill temporary labor demands were implemented to bring in workers from Mexico in the *bracero* program; and, in the postwar period, refugees based on Cold War political agendas were permitted entry, mostly from the Soviet Union.

In the context of the civil rights movement and revolutionary discussions about equality and representation, this immigration policy was reversed with the 1965 Hart Cellar amendments. This established the preference system that, in modified form, still structures permanent admissions, with its dual focus on admissions based on skill and family reunification. The qualitative and quantitative restrictions were removed, leading to a major increase in

immigration flows and, in the 1970s, an ethnic diversification as flows from Latin America and Asia increased (Martin 2011). This was an absolutely critical moment in US immigration history, and has led to the extremely ethnically diverse society we have today.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986 emerged after a lengthy debate and significant compromises between business interests, immigrant advocates, and immigration restrictionists in Congress (Martin 2003). The result was the pairing of stricter border enforcement and employer sanctions which sought to punish businesses who employed undocumented immigrants, with a broad legalization process that provided a track to citizenship for those immigrants who had been present in the United States since 1982, as well as an equally large legalization program for seasonal agricultural workers (SAW). Three million people were eventually legalized under the provisions. The immigration reform included some recognition of the impact on states of the newly legalized population, and provided for explicit funding of 4 billion dollars in State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants (SLIAG) to support states' capacity to absorb the newly legalized for their impact on welfare, education, and health care (Garvey 2007).

The 1980 Refugee Act was also a key legislative development, establishing a formal annual flow of 50,000 refugees, redefining refugee status to move beyond the ideologically-based Cold War era framing, and establishing explicit federal funding for domestic refugee resettlement to be managed by personnel at the Departments of State and the Department of Health and Human Services, where a new Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) was created. The legislation also established a formal process for asylum application, for those applying for status after arrival in the United States (Martin 2011). The refugee resettlement system is the

closest thing to an explicit integration program that the federal government supports, with its financial support and settlement assistance to new arrivals and investment in their language learning (Gelatt and Fix 2007).

The Immigration Act of 1990 addressed legal immigration and further refined the system of permanent and temporary visas. It established the current preference system for permanent immigrants and raised the annual caps; the new system included unrestricted visas for immigrant relatives of citizens, caps for four different family preference visas and five different employment based preference visas, and a new diversity visa which is given out based on an annual lottery system to permit 55,000 annual entrants from under-represented source countries. The legislation also established a limited H1-B program for high-skilled temporary workers. Though the H1-B numbers were capped low, the provisions were permitted entrants to have “dual intent”: they could plan to either stay and apply for legal permanent residency, or leave the country at the end of their visa duration. The 1990 act also created temporary protected status (TPS) – temporary asylum status, in essence – to individuals already in the United States whose source countries were in an “extraordinary or temporary” period of conflict, environmental disaster, or other short-term dangerous status that prevented their return.

During the 1990s, increasing attention turned to the growing undocumented immigrant population. Following a spate of “English-as-official-language” initiatives in the 1980s (Citrin et al. 1990), high-immigrant-concentration-California moved the state-level focus forward in 1994 with Proposition 187, or the “Save our State” Initiative (Smith and Tarallo 1995). The proposition sought to exclude undocumented immigrants from state services and facilitate their capture; it would require law enforcement to cooperation with immigration enforcement

authorities and would bar undocumented immigrants from public services including emergency medical care and public primary and secondary education. Though the ballot initiative was passed successfully, it was later ruled unconstitutional by a federal court. This was one of the earliest signs of conflict between state- and local-level immigrant pressures and federal immigration policies and (non)enforcement. California, with the largest immigrant population in the country, was, and continues to be, a particularly heady site of this conflict.

The federal immigration reform that finally passed in 1996 reflected this growing exclusionary turn against undocumented immigrants. The reform in 1996 was actually comprised of three separate laws: the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. The welfare reform established restrictions on the eligibility of legal immigrants for federal means-tested public assistance and broadened the restrictions on public benefits for undocumented immigrants. It restricted all legal immigrants who had been present in the US for less than five years from accessing public means-tested benefits,⁹ leaving it up to the states whether they would put up the extra funds to continue to provide services to this newly excluded group (Kretsedemas 2004; Zimmerman and Tumlin 1999). All the states but one decided to provide TANF and Medicaid to aliens who were already present at the time of PRWORA. PRWORA also made it more difficult to be eligible for federal benefits by linking eligibility to the income of the immigrant's sponsor even after the five years had passed ("deeming"). Some of the provisions were later retracted to

⁹ The benefits included Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), food stamps, Medicaid, and State Children's Health Insurance Program (SCHIP).

avoid hurting disadvantaged populations such as immigrant children and elderly who had been present at the time of the law's passage (Kerwin 2007). Besides access to services, the legislation also imposed much harsher rules for deportation or the newly termed "removal." It weakened due process rights of legal permanent residents by expanding the definition of crimes that would be grounds for removal, and this "one strike and you're out" change was applied retroactively. There was also no more room for discretion on the part of immigration judges, and minimal appeals possibilities for removal decisions. Following the enforcement and control angle as well as the growing focus on the state level, the reform also laid down the basis for several modes of cooperation between immigration enforcement authorities and local and state police, including the delegation of immigration authority to local police departments in 287(g) agreements, which we see implemented after 9/11 (Kretsedemas 2008).

Subnational Dynamics: Integration and States

The 1996 reforms did put more recognition and pressure on states to provide for their immigrant populations. The federal government provides very minimal explicit funds for subnational units to support the costs of immigrant residents. Julia Gelatt and Michael Fix attempt a comprehensive inventory in a recent volume on the topic of immigrant integration in the US. They identify "several federal programs [that] do form a patchwork system of immigrant integration services, including educational services targeted at immigrant children and families; health and education services targeted to migrant workers; and job training, health, and other services for refugees and asylees." In addition to the refugee resettlement system, this patchwork includes specific programs for migrant worker families and their children, support for

bilingual education and English Language Learner (ELL) needs in the public schools (particularly No Child Left Behind), minimal funding for adult courses in English as a Second Language (ESL), reimbursement for states' hospitalization and incarceration of undocumented immigrants, and other welfare services from which immigrants might benefit. They note that this funding amounted to only 2.6 billion dollars in fiscal year 2004, a total they characterize as "modest at best" and nowhere close to reimbursing the actual cost of immigrant impact on the states. They emphasize that "immigrant integration in the United States is approached in a laissez faire fashion, especially at the federal level, as most integration work falls to state and local governments or to nongovernmental social service groups" (Gelatt and Fix 2007). And as Deborah Garvey observes, also in that volume, these federally funded "impact policies" do not address settlement and actual *integration* of non-refugee foreign-born. Instead, "citizenship preparation, civic engagement, and 'newcomer' orientation programs that foster immigrant settlement, political engagement, knowledge of American social institutions, and social integration tend to be funded by state and local governments on an ad hoc basis and provided by local nonprofit agencies." She suggests that federal investment in integration programs should be seriously considered (Garvey 2007). We will see below that a few states have taken on an explicit integration mindset and programming, but this is still rare in a country where immigrant integration is not generally viewed as a government function but one rather left to civil society and the natural progression of inclusion of foreigners through a relatively open naturalization policy - and, importantly, *ius soli* citizenship rights for the children of immigrants who are born in US territory. In the absence of federal integration policies and with an exclusionary welfare system that draws sharp distinctions between citizens and non-citizens (Kerwin 2007), the local

pressures of immigration have not been significantly buffered by federal efforts, and have been managed and dealt with directly in specific communities, states, and localities. There is a wide range of immigrant policymaking taking place at these subnational levels.

Since the 1996 federal immigration reform and the continued failures of new federal reform, the last few years have seen a real shift in focus to the state level (*National Conference of State Legislatures, Immigrant Policy Project*). This is understandable because of not only the inability of the federal government to pass a new immigration bill – efforts to pass immigration reform during the Bush administration were significant but ultimately unsuccessful - but also the growing presence of immigrants in a larger number of states and localities and the arrival of immigration at the doorsteps of more and more Americans. The “changing geography” (Massey 2008) of immigration *within* the United States in the last decades has produced a number of states and localities that are dealing with new immigration in so-called “new destinations” that do not have a long history of immigrant reception like the traditional immigrant-receivers of California, Florida, or New York (Anrig and Wang 2006; Godzdiak and Martin 2005; Horton 1995; Marrow 2005; Millard et al. 2004; Singer 2004; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005). In the last two decades, immigrants have increasingly moved to communities in the Southeast and West that have not historically hosted immigrants and have primarily white/African-American demographic diversity (Marrow 2007). The fastest rates of immigrant population growth over the last two decades were all in states in the Southeast and the West, with North Carolina at the top, followed by Georgia, Arkansas, Nevada, and Tennessee. All of these states had an increase

in the foreign-born population between 350 and 500 percent between 1990 and 2009¹⁰ (*2009 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State* 2011).

This new geography, along with continued delay on passing new federal immigration reform, has helped to produce a wide range of state and local-level interventions into immigration policy in the last decade (Varsanyi 2010). Though Arizona's 2010 SB 1070 law is the most recent and publicized among them, the trend among states has been to increasingly legislate on immigration issues over the last several years, as monitored by the National Conference of State Legislatures. In 2010, over 350 laws and resolutions were enacted or adopted – this among 1,400 *introduced* – and this in almost all fifty states. This is up from only 39 enacted bills in 2005 (only 300 introduced), a figure which doubled in 2006, tripled in 2007 and has continued to stay high, though with increasing movement to consider health, education, and trafficking issues ("Immigrant-Related State Laws Focus on Integration; State legislatures enacted 222 laws, adopted 131 resolutions in 48 states" 2010). Many bills have been on the enforcement side of the debate, for example, restricting undocumented immigrants' access to driver's licenses, or imposing employment verification processes on employers. Many states have also passed progressive or inclusive measures such as university tuition support for undocumented immigrants, work against human trafficking, or prohibition of the use of the federal work authorization system E-Verify¹¹ ("State Immigration Project: Policy Options for

¹⁰ Rates for 1990 to 2009 were calculated using the American Community Survey information reported by the Migration Policy Institute.

¹¹ E-Verify, previously the Basic Pilot Program, is a federal database that employers can use to verify the legal immigration status of potential employees; this is intended as a more rigorous check than depending on physical identity documents and reported social security numbers. Some advocates are skeptical of the reliability of E-Verify and fear that it will identify many "false positives" and punish employees needlessly.

2009; Rodríguez 2008).

On the explicit integration side, several states have even established immigrant integration efforts focused on civic integration and naturalization of immigrant residents, Illinois, New Jersey, and Massachusetts among them (Murguía and Muñoz 2007; *Rising to the Immigrant Integration Challenge: What States are Doing - and Can Do*" 2009; Rodríguez 2008). These efforts have been due to strong leadership at the state level in a relatively small number of states. As Murguía and Muñoz observe, "Efforts to expand the number and quality of programs to teach English language and literacy to adults are also limited to a few lonely voices in the wilderness. The notable exceptions are innovative state-level ESL and naturalization initiatives in Illinois and New York, the product of savvy and effective advocacy campaigns by immigrant coalitions" (Murguía and Muñoz 2007). These examples reflect a small but growing body of American immigration and social advocates who are explicitly taking up the integration concept as a needed area for investment and policy work ("*A Fresh Start: Renewing Immigrant Integration in Maryland: The Report of the Maryland Council for New Americans*" 2009; *A Plan for Today, A Plan for Tomorrow: Building a Stronger Washington through Immigrant Integration*" 2009; Bush and Putnam 2010; Leighton et al. 2008; *Massachusetts New Americans Agenda*" 2009; Mitnik et al. 2008; *Securing the Future: US Immigrant Integration Policy, A Reader* 2007; *State Immigration Project: Policy Options for 2009*" 2009). State-level immigration and immigrant policy is therefore a highly varied picture, with both exclusionary and inclusionary initiatives being debated and implemented.

Subnational Dynamics: Localities

In addition to the state level, this “immigration policy activism”(Varsanyi 2010) is also taking place at the local level. On the enforcement side of the debate, and in the wake of failed federal immigration reform in 2006 and 2007, a number of localities passed ordinances targeting undocumented immigrants by limiting access to employment, housing, and social services. These “Illegal Immigration Relief Acts,” (IIRAs) drawing inspiration from California’s 1990s Save our State Initiative and bolstered by national organizations seeking immigration restrictions, were passed in localities coping with relatively new immigration inflows like Hazleton, PA, Farmers Branch, TX, and Prince William County, VA. One hundred and thirty-three cities have passed or considered IIRAs, seeking to punish landlords who rent to undocumented tenants and employers who hire undocumented employees, bring local police into immigration enforcement, or enforce English-only laws (Varsanyi 2010). Most of these ordinances have been challenged in court, and legal debates have proliferated about the legality of such immigration federalism (Broder 2007; Kobach 2008; Martinez 2011; Rodríguez et al. 2007; Rodríguez 2008).

The local level has also seen activism in the other direction, however. The Fair Immigration Reform Movement reported that eighty localities had considered pro-immigrant measures as of July 2007 (Fisher Williamson 2009). Some counties and cities like San Francisco, New Haven, and Takoma Park have engaged in extremely progressive initiatives specifically aiding undocumented immigrants - by providing municipal identity cards; accepting Mexican *matriculas consulares* as official identification documents; or “sanctuary polices” forbidding government actors from inquiring about immigration status or working with

immigration enforcement authorities (Cantor 2010; de Graauw 2010; Ridgley 2008; Rodríguez 2008; Varsanyi 2008, 2006; Wells 2004) – sanctuary resolutions have been passed in sixty-four cities (Varsanyi 2010). Beyond passing ordinances, there are many other ways localities can address the immigration issue, for example through specific enforcement of zoning laws (Esbenshade 2007), through a focus on loitering and day labor centers, as well as inclusionary practices like targeted social service programs, training programs, and improved language access (Mitnik et al. 2008), or creation of liaison offices to represent immigrant or minority interests in local government (Gambetta and Gedrimaite 2010). The range of local responses has been extremely varied, and the variety of local-level immigrant-oriented initiatives is difficult to measure and not well understood. As Rodríguez points out, “Existing scholarship on state and local regulation tends, understandably, to focus on the outcomes of local political processes, where populist and sometimes nativist reactions to immigration find their most vivid expression. But much less attention has been paid to what state and local officials, working through administrative processes and other mechanisms of governance, have produced” (Rodríguez 2008). This dissertation project is seeking to fill that gap, as was explained in the previous chapter.

On the local police enforcement issue, the possibility for local and state intervention actually traces back to the most recent federal immigration reform bill in 1996, the Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). This law raised the possibility of including local and state police in the process of immigration enforcement. After 9/11 and movement by then Attorney General John Ashcroft to pursue this policy, individual local police units began to sign agreements with the Department of Homeland Security in so-called 287(g)

agreements (referring to the section of the 1996 law authorizing such arrangements), as well as other programs through ICE ACCESS (Agreements of Cooperation in Communities to Enhance Safety and Security). Some localities have chosen to pursue this role as a “force multiplier” (Kobach 2006), while most communities have not (Varsanyi 2010). ICE currently has seventy-one 287(g) partnerships with localities and states in twenty-five states (*Fact Sheet: Delegation of Immigration Authority Section 287(g) Immigration and Nationality Act* 2010). Debate on this program abounds (Capps et al. 2011; *Immigration Enforcement: Better Controls Needed over Program Authorizing State and Local Enforcement of Federal Immigration Laws* 2009) and there are many critics of this primarily for the effect on successful community policing, the loss of trust between local police and immigrants, as well as the strain on local police resources and threat of racial profiling (*Forcing our Blues into Grey Areas: Local Police and Federal Immigration Enforcement; A Legal Guide for Advocates* 2008).

Wide Variation

In the absence of federal integration programming and with strong cutbacks in the 1996 reforms, it has been left to subnational units to cope with changing immigration demographics, and this has become a reality for more and more communities in the 1990s as they have become “new destinations” in the southeast and western regions of the country. Debate and policy discussions continue concerning the successful integration of immigrants in more traditional immigrant-receiving communities, as well as the best ways to deal with control and enforcement issues in border states. All of these varied experiences, in the absence of strong federal immigrant policy guidelines, produces a highly varied picture of immigrant policymaking in the

United States, with examples of proactive inclusion as well as strident exclusion, denial and non-policy, and everything in between. Local reactions range from legislative measures that send a strong message about a community's immigration climate – sanctuary policy or illegal immigrant crackdown – to a wide range of everyday practices, specific programming, and other measures that is best conceptualized as immigrant policymaking.

CHAPTER FOUR

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND: IMMIGRANT INCLUSION THROUGH AN ETHNIC-RACIAL PARADIGM

Overview

In the fall of 2007 when Prince William County in northern Virginia was considering a harsh anti-illegal immigrant ordinance, Montgomery County, Maryland seemed to be a world away. With an entire outreach office that had existed for over twenty years specifically advancing minority interests, county funding for day labor centers, a large-scale ESOL program for foreign-born residents, and explicit promotion of immigration as a recipe for economic growth, this Maryland county had an extremely proactive immigrant policy framework. Observing the growing tensions in northern Virginia, Montgomery County Executive Leggett observed, “I think part of it is enlightened leadership... In Maryland, we've dealt with this question of diversity much longer with our Hispanic community, in many venues over the past. I think we have a history and a legacy of leadership and accomplishment” (LoBianco 2007). This “legacy” of diversity and *identity* of being a welcoming community to immigrants is an important clue to understanding how Montgomery County has responded to immigrant diversity. The perception of a legacy is the consequence of an inclusionary policy paradigm that has become fully institutionalized through investment over time in institutions and practices, eventually shaping how actors identify themselves and the county. This analysis will explain Montgomery County’s immigrant policymaking trajectory and argue it emerged from an inclusionary paradigm based in a view of immigrants through an ethnic-racial group frame. The institutionalization of this approach has taken place since the leadership taken by a community

leader in the mid-1980s, when immigrants were first becoming a major demographic presence in the suburban county.

Montgomery County has had a welcoming approach to immigration and a steady trajectory of expanding programs and services geared for the needs of specific minority groups ever since a key elected leader established that trajectory at a key moment in the population growth. At that critical juncture in the mid-1980s, then County Executive Charles Gilchrist established a strongly inclusionary immigrant policy paradigm for Montgomery County. He took a strong stance that immigration was a positive phenomenon and that it should be embraced. The policy paradigm he established to cope with immigrant diversity was a model based on racial and ethnic minority groupings rather than a concept of immigrant integration. The *inclusionary, ethnic-racial group* paradigm set by this individual and the institutions he established at this key moment shaped following developments and shaped the institutional context in which county employees expanded the county's immigrant policies and served an increasingly diverse resident base. The paradigm determined by Gilchrist in the mid-1980s was stable despite increasing immigration and incidents of conflict in the 1990s and earlier in this decade. This chapter will describe this growth, as well as point out the recent drift from the trajectory represented by the enforcement policy change made by the county in 2009. This backtrack from inclusion was possible *because* of the overarching paradigm's ethnic-racial advocacy focus. In fact, because the paradigm was *not* set firmly as focused on immigrant groups but rather ethnic minority groups, this permitted the possibility of backtrack when immigration enforcement became a political issue in 2009.

It is in this context of a strong inclusionary paradigm that county government has carried out its business and developed its immigrant policy response. The initiative of individual bureaucrats in particularly affected agencies has been an important part of the immigrant policymaking structure, as theories of bureaucratic incorporation would predict; however, the institutional context, shaped by an inclusionary policy paradigm, must be appreciated to understand the efforts of individual agencies and bureaucrats. It is within a context of an inclusionary paradigm – through strong, centralized leadership - that bureaucrats have pursued their goals, using what authority and discretion they have to develop innovative ways to provide services to foreign-born residents with their distinct needs.

Today county workers proudly describe Montgomery County government as extremely responsive and sensitive to the needs of immigrant residents, and a leader in the state and even the country, with leaders even aspiring “to be the [*country*’s] model multicultural community” (Interview January 15, 2010). In recent regional discussions on potential immigrant integration programming, Montgomery County has been used as a model and as a source of best practices in the state of Maryland and the metro region, for its aggressive tailoring of county programs for immigrant needs, particularly on the language access issue – the facilitation of access to county services in multiple languages for a multilingual resident base (Interview January 15, 2010). It has been seen as having a very friendly political system with active outreach to minorities and strong bilingual services, with specific institutions like the Office of Community Partnerships, the Latino Health Initiative, legislation protecting domestic workers, day laborer centers, and support for immigrant-serving nonprofits (Cantor 2010; de Leon et al. 2009). Other studies have

also praised its positive policy initiatives regarding immigrant residents (Jones-Correa 2005; Singer and Price 2008).

Many policy analysts praise Montgomery County's policies – and they are indeed praiseworthy compared to many local communities in the region, some of which have had strident pro-enforcement immigrant policies debated and implemented. However, there has been little critical analysis of where Montgomery County's current policies came from. A longer-term view that deals with historical developments and the institutional context moves us beyond analyses crediting the county's programming to its liberal political identity or affluence. It takes a more analytical view that can be applied to other cases as well – focusing on the institutional context in which a local community establishes a *tradition* of inclusion – institutionalized practices and attitudes that have expanded and solidified over the years. This institutionalization tends to keep policy on the same trajectory through a process of increasing returns. Gilchrist's establishment of a paradigm that treats immigrant diversity through an ethnic-racial lens has indeed been institutionalized and become dominant as “how things work” in Montgomery County.

The contrast of an ethnic-racial paradigm compared to an integration paradigm is the main difference between the Montgomery County case and the Madrid case that will be discussed in the next chapter. Both communities have had a trajectory based on local leadership establishing an inclusionary immigrant policy paradigm early in demographic developments. The paradigm continues to shape policy developments as demographics change. Madrid's paradigm is based on understanding immigration through an immigrant integration lens, while

Montgomery County's paradigm is based on a vision of immigration through an ethnic-racial lens.

This case highlights the importance of the policy paradigm – resulting from decisions made by local leaders at key turning points in the development of a local community - and how that paradigm becomes reinforced in a process of increasing returns as actors become invested in the related institutions and ideas. This does not test directly *why* Montgomery County is inclusionary. In fact, it must be noted that in many ways Montgomery County is not a tough test case and is in fact a most-likely case for inclusion; it is affluent, liberal, with slow demographic change including many high-skilled immigrants, and it sets down an inclusionary trajectory before immigration enforcement became salient at the national political level. It is thus not surprising that it developed an inclusionary set of policy outputs. On the other hand, one might expect that with growing immigrant numbers or growing conflicts (such as the day laborer debate in the early 1990s), there would be a cut-back in immigrant policy measures. But instead, we see the embedding of institutions and attitudes about immigrant diversity. Montgomery County has charted its own inclusionary path in the metropolitan area, where some other localities have reacted to similar dynamics by either denying or “deflecting” (Light 2006) immigrants from their jurisdictions. This *variety* of responses sheds doubt on accounts that focus on the explanatory value of federal legislative context or national demographic trends and debates. Dynamics of local leadership help explain the wide range of local-level policy response that is evident in the Washington, DC metropolitan area.

This chapter will introduce the case of Montgomery County and its immigrant diversity and then trace the development of immigrant policymaking from the 1980s to present. This

chapter will highlight how the key decision made by elected official Charles Gilchrist at a critical juncture in the mid-1980s shaped developments within different county agencies in the following decades. Increasing institutionalization of the racial minority model and the steady growth of programs aimed at the specific needs of minority groups followed. Some drift from the inclusionary trajectory took place with the 2009 decision to bring local police into immigration enforcement processes. I argue that this drift was permissible because of the nature of the immigrant policy frame established by Gilchrist, which was focused on ethnic-racial groups rather than immigrant integration. Montgomery County's extensive immigrant policy framework is still based solidly in the ethnic-racial paradigm, though an alternative framing of "integration" has begun to enter discourse and practice in recent years.

Sources

My analysis of the development of immigrant policies in Montgomery County is based on qualitative case study research and sources. I conducted semi-structured interviews with twenty-two officials and community advocates in the county and nearby Washington, DC. These interviews primarily included unelected officials in county government in offices with some role in serving ethnic minority residents. The agencies included the County Executive Office, the Office of Community Partnerships, the Department of Recreation and the Gilchrist Center, the Department of Health and Human Services, the public libraries, and the public school system.¹² Most of the county workers had been working in government for a significant amount of time, some as long as twenty or thirty years, so they had a particularly rich understanding of

¹² Interviews in the city of Washington, DC were conducted in the Office on Latino Affairs, the Office on Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs, the Office of Human Rights, and the Department of Health.

the changes in policy over time. I also interviewed several elected officials and community activists in order to develop a more nuanced understanding of county policy developments. I used a combination of purposive and snowball sampling approaches, requesting contacts and suggestions for other respondents from my interviewees. See Appendix for a list of all interviews.

I also used local and national newspaper accounts, printed materials and information available to the public, materials provided to me by my respondents, and government archive documents to identify programs and trace developments since the early 1980s. The County government archive documents, to which I was granted special access, gave me unusual access to internal documents and correspondence that have not been analyzed previously in the context of immigration developments.

Previous academic work on Montgomery County and its immigrant initiatives have focused on current-day developments and have not taken the step to trace developments back to the 1980s (Cantor 2010; Jones-Correa 2005; Singer and Price 2008). These accounts which emphasize the liberal partisan identity of the county and the key role of government bureaucrats in expanding immigrant services do not take into account the longer historical trajectory of immigrant policy developments and thus overlook the importance of the critical moment in the mid-1980s when the county's immigrant policy paradigm was established. A historical analysis is crucial in order to understand current-day developments and the potential for future change in Montgomery County as well as in other local communities dealing with immigration challenges.

Introduction to Montgomery County

Montgomery County is an affluent Maryland county bordering Washington, DC which developed in the post World War II era as a bedroom community of the nation's capital. It significantly developed and urbanized in the 1950s and 1960s, with an expanding population calling for a more complex county government and the conversion from a county manager to a council and county executive structure in 1970. With that development came a rising foreign-born population as well, becoming larger in the early 1980s and increasing steadily to today's thirty percent foreign-born. Montgomery County currently has almost one million residents and is the most important immigration-receiving county in the state of Maryland with 40 percent of the state's foreign-born. It has attracted many high-skilled immigrants for its high tech industry and the presence of such important research institutions as the National Institutes of Health and other nearby federal government and international organizations. It also has a large population of lower-educated and lower-earning foreign-born, producing a complicated immigration picture. The County has developed longstanding and significant programs and institutions to express and respond to immigrant interests, and it is known in the region for being a welcoming place for immigrant newcomers (de Leon et al. 2009; Singer and Price 2008).

Among Montgomery County's 930,813 residents in 2007, 276,576, or 30 percent, were foreign-born. Forty-seven percent of those were naturalized US citizens and 42 percent arrived in the US before 1990, reflecting a generally highly settled and established immigrant population. There is, however, great diversity within that group. The county's foreign-born are quite divided across ethnic lines, with 37 percent born in Asia, 36 percent born in Latin America, 14 percent born in Africa, and 12 percent born in Europe. The largest single national-origin

group is Salvadorians, who constitute 13 percent of the foreign-born ("Montgomery County MD at a Glance" 2007) and 26 percent of Latinos. The Latino group is highly fragmented along national-origin lines. 2000 Census data showed Salvadorians making up 19 percent of the county's Latinos, followed by Mexicans at 8.9 percent and Puerto Ricans at 5.3 percent. Overall, Central Americans made up 29.4 percent of county Latinos, and South Americans 16.7 percent ("2000 US Census: The Hispanic Community of Montgomery County, Maryland" 2004). Indians are the largest Asian group, making up 7 percent of the county's total foreign born. Chinese are just behind at 6 percent of the county's foreign born, followed by Koreans with 5 percent, Vietnamese with 5 percent, and Filipinos with 4 percent. Ethiopians are the largest African group but still only constitute 3 percent of the county's foreign born. Note that there is also a large African-American population in the county, making up 16.3 percent of the county's residents ("Montgomery County MD at a Glance" 2007). Paralleling rising immigrant flows, the county African-American population also increased significantly in the 1990s, rising 43 percent over that decade ("2000 US Census: The Black or African American Community of Montgomery County, Maryland" 2004). The county's ethnic and demographic makeup, therefore, is extremely diverse and shows no dominant group in numerical terms.

Table 2. Top Immigrant Groups in Montgomery County, Maryland, 2007

Region	Country of Birth	Number Resident	Percent of Foreign-Born Population
Latin America		99,579	36.0%
	El Salvador	35,595	12.9%
	Peru	8,517	3.1%
	Guatemala	7,815	2.8%
	Colombia	6,314	2.3%
	Brazil	4,503	1.6%
Asia/Pacific		103,532	37.4%
	India	18,233	6.6%
	China	17,808	6.4%
	Korea	12,848	4.6%
	Vietnam	11,633	4.2%
	Philippines	9,726	3.5%
	Taiwan	6,835	2.5%
	Iran	5,400	2.0%
Africa		37,868	13.7%
	Ethiopia	7,993	2.9%
Europe		32,492	11.7%
	United Kingdom	4,899	1.8%
	Russia	4,429	1.6%
North America		3,105	1.1%
	Canada	3,105	1.1%
TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN		276,576	100.0%
Source: Montgomery County Planning Department, using American Community Survey 2007 estimates.			

In terms of the pace of growth, immigrant inflows did not hit the county as suddenly and dramatically as some other outer suburban counties in the DC metro area, such as Prince William County, VA. Immigrant growth has been significant but quite gradual over the last three decades in Montgomery County, with somewhat faster growth in the 1980s. The percent foreign-born rose from 12.1 percent in 1980, to 18.6 percent in 1990, to 26.7 percent in 2000, to 29.3 percent in 2006 (Singer et al. 2009).¹³ In this period, the overall county population increased in tandem with economic growth and development.

The county's demographic profile, with gradual immigrant growth and a relatively highly-educated and affluent immigrant stock, predisposes it to be a relatively welcoming community to immigrant diversity, in contrast to many other jurisdictions where immigrant inflow has been rapid and composed primarily of low-skilled Hispanics, many of them single males (Hopkins 2010; Ramakrishnan and Wong 2007). Comparisons of local response and immigrant policymaking in Montgomery County versus Prince William County must take into account the difference in the characteristics of the immigrant population and the speed of the demographic change. It is not fair to expect Prince William County to respond in ten years with the extent of immigrant policy programs that have been developing in Montgomery County for over thirty years. Nor does Prince William County benefit from what are rich community resources in Montgomery County (de Leon et al. 2009), where the longer-settled foreign-born have had time to organize, become civically engaged, and develop strong networks and organizations. Pure cross-sectional comparison is not appropriate because of the great differences between these two counties' experiences, and immigrant policy developments must

¹³ Singer's data come from 1980 data from printed Census volumes, 1990 data from Geolytics Census CD, 2000 and 2006 data from American FactFinder.

be compared carefully, with great sensitivity to these differences.

However, the development of immigrant policy response is shaped by the same institutional dynamics in all local communities, and the presence of an inclusionary policy paradigm in Montgomery County – and the impact on immigrant policy response – can be fruitfully analyzed in comparison to the *absence* of a policy paradigm in Prince William County. Analysis of Montgomery County’s immigrant policymaking shows that local leadership and establishment of an inclusionary policy paradigm has had a strong influence on policy developments. We will see that establishment of a strong paradigm early on in county demographic developments was well institutionalized and continued to shape immigrant policy as the context has changed, during times of conflict and rising immigrant pressures. However, recent backtrack on immigration status and enforcement has shown the possibility of drift from a strongly inclusionary trajectory.

Critical Juncture

As immigration began to be increasingly visible in the 1980s in a county that had been primarily white and African-American, Montgomery County leadership could have taken either an inclusionary or exclusionary stance on immigrant diversity and its potential opportunities or risks. The critical point came in the mid-1980s, when Charles Gilchrist was the elected County Executive. Charles Gilchrist set Montgomery County on an inclusionary trajectory when he took the initiative to identify the county as a welcoming and diverse place, through explicit *discourse* as well as the establishment of key *institutions* that have remained durable till today. He established a policy paradigm of inclusion that was based on the framing of immigration and

diversity through recognition of specific ethnic-racial minority groups. This paradigm of inclusion based in ethnic-racial minority groups has been durable and further institutionalized as time has passed, and county bureaucrats have built on that key decision and further developed an inclusionary and ethnic-based set of institutions that are the primary instruments of its immigrant policy response.

Though it is hard to imagine today, with almost a *third* of its population being foreign-born, Montgomery County was once an immigrant “new destination,” with minimal experience in receiving immigrants. When immigrant diversity first began to emerge as a significant phenomenon there, local actors were taken by surprise by the demographic developments in their community. One county bureaucrat described the change emerging in the 1980s, and notes that “people were emerging” and coming to him in a way he had not encountered before (Interview January 15, 2010). Another official described the change hitting in 1983, explaining how the first newcomers were Cubans, followed by Central Americans, and complemented by Asians by the end of the 1980s (Interview March 19, 2009). One frontline worker recalled her time working in the public libraries in the 1980s, when Latino residents were “coming out of the woodwork” to seek her assistance as a fellow Spanish speaker (Interview March 24, 2010). As is common in “new destinations,” there is a perception that this was a drastic time of fundamental *change* – a “sea change” in population, as described by one respondent (Interview March 19, 2010). There were some early efforts on the part of county government to respond to newcomer needs in the late 1970s, but these efforts were minimal at first.¹⁴ There was no explicit,

¹⁴ A Refugee Services Program financed by federal funds existed in the County Department of Social Services beginning in 1976 ("Refugee Services Program"), as well as an Assistance Program for Resettling Cubans which was contracted out to an established Hispanic community group, La Comunidad

coordinated effort to acknowledge the demographic change until Gilchrist established the inclusionary immigrant policy paradigm during his time as County Executive.

In the face of this demographic change, Charles Gilchrist, elected in 1978 and County Executive until 1986, made key initiatives in the mid-1980s to, first of all, recognize immigration as an important phenomenon that called for a policy response, and secondly, welcome the emerging immigrant population. He set a strongly inclusionary tone in response to the rising diversity, taking Montgomery County down the path to its well-known status today as a diverse and welcoming community. He established key institutions that remain durable through the present day. He created the ethnic liaison system in the County Executive Office, appointing the first African-American and Latino liaisons to his office. The liaisons were to serve as the official bridges between minority residents and the County Executive. Gilchrist also established the annual Ethnic Heritage Festival and the Ethnic Affairs Commission. These institutions were symbolically important in identifying Montgomery County as a welcoming and diverse community, where immigrant and ethnic diversity was something to be celebrated.

The celebration of ethnic diversity was most obvious in the creation of the annual Ethnic Heritage Festival, the first of which was held in 1984 under Gilchrist's initiative. As the festival's annual report describes,

The Ethnic Heritage Festival was Mr. Gilchrist's idea inspired by the State's 350th Anniversary celebration, to celebrate the diversity of cultures in Montgomery County, to share backgrounds and to become friends. This has been achieved with positive effect and through Mr. Gilchrist's untiring support. It should be an

de Maryland, or the Spanish Speaking Community of Maryland, which ran the assistance program from 1980 to 1983 (Perche Rivas 1983). Other early county efforts included a survey and study of the Hispanic community commissioned in 1978 by the County Office of Community Development, funded by the Community Development Block Grant Program ("Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Population: Montgomery County, MD" 1979).

ongoing event of fellowship in the County ("Ethnic Heritage Festival Final Report" 1986).

The Ethnic Heritage Festival organizers saw their activities as extremely innovative and a productive response to the potentially challenging demographic and cultural changes their county had undergone. The annual report from 1987 details:

Two hundred years ago, Montgomery County was a wilderness with less than 18,000 residents. Today, Montgomery County is almost completely urban with over 650,000 residents. More people living closer together with their own attitudes, different languages and customs could mean friction. Here in Montgomery County, we have not to build walls between neighbors, but to make a circle and draw them in. The Festival is such a circle bringing residents together and creating a better understanding among residents.

The purpose of the Festival has always been to bring county residents together to share our different ethnic backgrounds and to celebrate our common heritage as residents of Montgomery County, Maryland, and America ("Ethnic Heritage Festival Final Report" 1987).

Organizers also highlighted the importance of the Ethnic Heritage Festival as a bulwark against possible conflict and as an instrument for community harmony. They acknowledged that new immigration had the potential to cause social tensions:

Unfortunately, there can also be no doubt, that there is still suspicion and mistrust among some County residents about the continued immigration into the County. The Festival is but an important first step in the rebuilding of a new sense of community amidst this diversity. It deserves our support ("Ethnic Heritage Festival Final Report" 1988).

The Ethnic Affairs Commission was created to organize the annual festival and also be a central source in bringing together diverse residents to address the challenges of diversity in the County. This complemented an already rich tradition of commissions and community engagement in county government policymaking (Interview April 12, 2010). Gilchrist announced the creation of the Commission in an editorial in the local newspaper in 1985. His

editorial noted the language needs of newcomers, praised the contributions of cultural richness they were bringing to the county, and encouraged residents to welcome and celebrate the growing diversity. He described immigration as a positive phenomenon that would make the county stronger: “If we can help to welcome differences rather than fear them, we can all benefit from the change it makes in our lives. Celebrating the richness of these different cultural backgrounds adds to the strength of our county” (Gilchrist 1985). This editorial was a clear expression of the County Executive’s prioritization of immigrant diversity as a salient issue (Interview March 29, 2010), and it had symbolic importance in sending a clear message that the county government would be treating immigrant diversity as something fundamentally desirable and enriching. Gilchrist’s embrace of immigrant diversity and positive framing of the demographic changes taking place set the county down a trajectory of inclusionary immigrant policymaking, and one based on a vision of immigration as composed of members of multiple ethnic-racial groups rather than an immigrant monolith. This paradigm understood immigrants through ethnic-racial groups rather than through an integration mindset.

The Ethnic Affairs Commission was explicitly designed around the representation of ethnic differences. Internal correspondence from the tenure of the following County Executive, Sidney Kramer, reveals that explicit attention was given to the ethnic background of different members of the Commission – which groups they belonged to seemed to have been a consideration. A letter on the topic of nominating new candidates for the 1989 vacancies on the Commission from the director of the Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs is revealing. He listed existing and potential members by “ethnic background” with country details as well: including “Black (Caribbean),” “Asian (Indian),” “Asian (Chinese),” “Jewish-American,”

“Hispanic (Mexican),” “Hispanic (Cuban),” or white as in “Czechoslovak” or “Greek.”

Occupation sector and education level were also noted in broad terms (Manduley 1989b). The inventory of ethnic background indicates that the leadership was concerned about diversity in terms of these categories – ethnic and national.

The ethnic liaison system was similarly and more clearly based on a conception of diversity through ethnic-racial minority groupings. Gilchrist’s creation of a Hispanic liaison and an African-American liaison to represent each sub-community’s interests in his own office set a strong model for the county government’s understanding of diversity, immigrant and otherwise, for decades to come. His liaison system was further institutionalized under following County Executives. The Hispanic and African-American liaisons were expanded through the creation of a formal Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs in 1986, and the liaison system was expanded to include representation from additional ethnic groups. Gilchrist’s establishment of the ethnic liaisons was the critical starting point for this county institution, whose current incarnation is called the Office of Community Partnerships and boasts representation of six different ethnic/national groups: African American, African, Caribbean, Asian Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, and Latin American (*Montgomery County Office of Community Partnerships*).

My respondents stressed Charles Gilchrist’s leadership in setting an inclusive tone in a diversifying Montgomery County in the mid-1980s. One respondent who was a key county manager when these changes were taking place argued that the county’s success with immigration all came down to the leadership of Charles Gilchrist; he claimed that “one elected official made a remarkable difference.” He described Gilchrist as ahead of his time in terms of recognizing the demographic changes taking place in the County and remarked that he “had the

vision to recognize it was of substance,” as opposed to other people who “had blinders on” about the demographic change. According to him, Gilchrist “set a public tone of celebration and appreciation for diversity,” and he traced the ensuing development of county services and the absence of serious conflict or hate crimes to Gilchrist’s leadership (Interview March 29, 2010).

Gilchrist’s creation of the position of Latino and African-American liaisons, in addition to the establishment of the Ethnic Heritage Festival and the Ethnic Affairs Commission, have all persisted as durable institutions in County government. His contribution and commitment to celebrating diversity were even memorialized by the naming of the county’s first immigrant services center in his honor, the Gilchrist Center for Cultural Diversity (*Montgomery County Gilchrist Center for Cultural Diversity*).

Growing Institutionalization: Inclusionary Direction and Ethnic-Racial Frame

This key decision and institutionalization of *inclusion defined in an ethnic-racial group frame* shaped the institutional and ideational landscape for following county executives and county workers. County Executives after Gilchrist have similarly provided a supportive environment for immigrant-friendly policies, from Sidney Kramer (1986-1990), to Neal Potter (1990-1994), to Doug Duncan (1994-2006), to today’s Ike Leggett (2006-present). Each of these County Executives has been viewed as extremely receptive to immigrants and has fostered the image of Montgomery County as a diverse and welcoming community. With matured institutions and rising diversity, initial immigrant policymaking efforts have gathered momentum and expanded in a process of accumulating returns. Today county workers, and the County

Executive, can legitimately speak of a long history and *legacy* of inclusion – a legacy that began with Gilchrist’s leadership.

The inclusionary and ethnic-racial group-based paradigm established by Gilchrist shaped immigrant policymaking in the years following the critical juncture. Three key aspects are highlighted here: the institutionalization of the ethnic liaison system and its focus on ethnic group-based advocacy, the development of the county’s now formal language access policy, and the influence of the model set by the African-American community on ethnic advocacy patterns. The inclusionary paradigm remained strong despite public controversy over day labor in the early to mid-1990s. I discuss each of these issues in the sections that follow.

Liaison System and Efforts

The institution showing the most direct path from the critical juncture is clearly the evolution of Gilchrist’s system of ethnic liaisons. Expanding from Gilchrist’s two liaisons, County Executive Sidney Kramer established the Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs in 1986 at the start of his term. This indicated a growing institutionalization of the liaison system begun by Gilchrist, as well as expansion with the addition of an Asian liaison by Kramer. The addition of the third ethnic group to the team continued the ethnic-racial group approach, following the “ethno-racial pentagon” of US politics (Hollinger 1995).

The ethnic liaison office exists today within the current County Executive’s office, though its name has changed with each consecutive administration; it was the Office of Community Outreach under Doug Duncan, and today it is the Office of Community Partnerships. Over the late 1980s through the 1990s, this office was recognized as the central

bridge for representing immigrant and minority interests to the County Executive, and the liaisons were called on by concerned community members and government officials in other agencies to serve as experts and advisors on adapting to the County's changing demographics. The liaisons were basically understood to be mediators between the various immigrant/ethnic communities and county government. They were also considered the "experts" on immigration for other county actors during this early time of demographic change. This formal representation of minority group interests in the top county office was and continues to be unusual in Maryland and the metro region.¹⁵ The liaisons were there to smooth relations and facilitate communication between county government and minority residents. Although each liaison was primarily responsible for reaching out to and representing the interests of his/her assigned group, the role included dealing with immigrant and ethnic diversity in general. For example, one of the Latino liaisons once dealt with an incident in which members of the Cameroonian community contacted him and expressed their discontent over a police shooting of a community member. The liaison reached out to the police department and defused the potentially explosive conflict (Interview June 24, 2010). This story is illustrative of the key role this office had in bridging a wide range of conflicts between the government and different immigrant residents, not strictly along the assigned ethnic lines.

The liaisons primarily worked, however, along the ethnic lines that defined their roles and the offices they inhabited. They proactively organized community interests to be heard in the public forum following the lines of ethnic differentiation determined between ethnic-racial

¹⁵ The city of Washington, DC has an even more elaborate system, however, with separate offices and staff for each ethnic group, notably the Mayor's Office on Latino Affairs and the Mayor's Office on Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs.

groups. The liaisons in the Office, for example, co-sponsored the first Latino Community Forum in 1988 and the first Asian Community Forum in 1989. These were key community events inviting community organizations and leaders for an opportunity for public discussion to provide input on the needs of the changing resident base (Interview April 1, 2010) (Armao 1989; First Hispanic Community Forum of Montgomery County: Hispanics in Action I" 1990; Manduley and Tran 1989). Events such as the community forums encouraged community members to envision their own identities and interests through the prism of ethnic-racial minority groups, and to focus on which groups they belonged to. Empowering local residents along their ethnic group lines encouraged them to communicate their interests and form networks of support. Though this practice was not intended to emphasize differences or sow discord, it no doubt reinforced the group categories identified as legitimate.

At the local level in Montgomery County, these ethnic groupings became a fundamental way to make sense of immigrant diversity. The ethnic liaison system was clearly well established and had recognition value in other county agencies. In a sign of their legitimacy and high profile, the liaisons were viewed by other county government workers as official representatives of and communicators for their respective ethnic minority groups. There is evidence that the liaisons were called on by bureaucrats in other county agencies to not only communicate the needs of the immigrant community but also take a key operative role. For example, the Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs oversaw ad hoc measures to adapt to language needs in the 1980s, such as the first Spanish translation of the Inmates Manual used at the local jail in 1989 (Interview April 1, 2010). A letter from the director of the Office of

Minority and Multicultural Affairs dated April 24, 1989 described this effort, catalyzed by practical communication concerns:

Attached is the Spanish version of the 'Inmates Manual' at the Detention Center, Seven Locks. This was a project undertaken by our office into the Corrections Department. Due to the growing number of Spanish-speaking inmates it was felt necessary to have this done (Manduley 1989a).

Another key set of exchanges took place between the Latino liaison and the Upcounty Government Center, which was an outpost for the county government services in the northern part of the county, where immigrants were present but not as numerous until the late 1990s. Correspondence between the Upcounty Government Center and the Hispanic liaison in the Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs showed exactly the type of exchange intended: the liaison's reaching out for information on "language minorities" and their needs in the Upcounty center (Dorsey 1989), and a response from the services center asking the liaison for help in coordinating a concerted effort to tailor a program for particular Hispanic needs in the region. One letter requested the Latino liaison's attendance at a strategy meeting because of the liaison's particular perspective and role as representative of Latino residents:

I would like you to join us at this meeting. It is my understanding that more outreach is needed to the Spanish-speaking community Upcounty and that as the Hispanic Affairs Liaison, you may have some ideas to share (Poteat 1991).

This indicates a clear perception that the Latino liaison could serve as an effective bridge to existing Latino community organizations and resources, as well as serve as a useful communicator between that community and county government officials.

After those discussions with the Latino liaison's input, the Upcounty office ended up partnering with a Hispanic community organization to provide Spanish-language services at the

center. It issued a Request for Proposals (RFP) for “Human Services to Hispanic Persons and Families” in which the county sought “proposals for management and operation of a project providing services to Hispanic low-income individuals and families aiding in their settlement through Montgomery county” including assistance with housing, child care, legal services, referral to other organizations, and “support in the Americanization process” (Request for Proposal: Human Services to Hispanic Persons and Families, Department of Family Resources RFP #05951 1990). This RFP was at first granted to the Spanish Speaking Community of Maryland, which provided weekly services at the Upcounty Center (Perche Rivas 1990); and later the program was expanded to twice a week and later granted to another Latino organization, CASA de Maryland (Press Release: Expanded Services Available to County's Hispanic Community 1993). The Spanish Speaking Community of Maryland in fact signed a number of agreements with the county in the 1980s to provide services specifically for the Hispanic community: the Hispanic Elderly Assistance Program, the Hispanic Elderly Transportation Program, the Hispanic Employment Program, the Hispanic Human Services Program, a needs assessment study of Hispanics in Montgomery County, as well as the Cuban Assistance Program and a job bank program (Perche Rivas 1990).

This pattern of creating immigrant policies and programming through a Hispanic lens – reaching out to Hispanic organizations to implement programs, tailoring programs specifically for Hispanic residents rather than for the foreign-born or immigrants in general – reflected a solid perception of immigration through the ethnic-racial group paradigm. Immigrants were to be helped through the ethnic-racial groups to which they belonged, not as “immigrants” per se. Patterns of county funding for specific ethnic-group-oriented projects encouraged a model of

Hispanics helping other Hispanics. On a practical level this approach made perfect sense: Hispanic organizations had the language and cultural knowledge that was scarce among government personnel, and they already had the contact with and trust of the target community.¹⁶ Using Hispanic organizations to target Hispanic residents was an efficient and practical strategy, which also happened to reinforce the paradigm based on ethnic groupings. The ethnic liaisons played a key role in this county selection of ethnic organizations – they could serve as a bridge to identify and recommend specific organizations, as well as inform the organizations and community about county government needs (Interview April 1, 2010).

The connection between the ethnic liaisons and immigration was also explicitly recognized. The Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs – again, composed entirely of ethnic liaisons for specific ethnic-racial groups – was viewed as the primary institution devoted to immigration and immigrant concerns in the county. This role was obvious during the discussions in the mid-1980s about the federal immigration reform that was taking place. A county task force conducted in 1988 to study the impact of the 1986 IRCA reform on county services highlighted the key role of the Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs as the central source of immigration expertise and experience in the county:

The Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs should be responsible for the monitoring of the implementation of the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The staff has the capabilities and experiences relevant to immigration issues ("Report on Immigration and Reform Control Act of 1986" 1988).

The ethnic liaison system expanded over time, taking on institutional weight. By 1990, the Office of Minority and Multicultural Affairs had a Director, three liaison officers, a full-time

¹⁶ See Frasure and Jones-Correa's discussion of the reciprocal advantages produced through partnerships between local government and non-profit organizations serving immigrant populations (Frasure and Jones-Correa 2010)

office manager, and two secretarial assistants ("Ethnic Heritage Festival Final Report" 1990). Under County Executive Doug Duncan (1994-2006), each liaison was also joined by an advisory committee composed of community members representing each ethnic group. The advisory groups meet regularly and serve as a bridge between the County Executive's office and the county ethnic community. The community members who make up these advisory committees provide additional support for the ethnic-racial group system, relying on the existing mechanisms to further their group interests. In the current administration, the now Office of Community Partnerships added even more liaisons and advisory boards to reflect the truly diverse characteristics of the county, with the creation of groups for African and Caribbean foreign-born, recognition of the Middle Eastern community, as well as recognition of the faith community as a community actor¹⁷ (*Montgomery County Office of Community Partnerships*).

There has been a steady institutionalization and formalization of the ethnic liaison system established by Gilchrist since the mid-1980s. Although the ethnic liaisons were responsible for coping with immigration and settlement difficulties in general, their roles and activities ultimately reinforced a pattern of funding and organization based on ethnic-racial groups. Although they were concerned with integration issues, their work was framed in an ethnic advocacy frame – with a steady expansion of legitimate ethnic groups and expansion of activities over the years. As the institutions have matured, they have become self-reinforcing.

¹⁷ Though there was discussion about adding a liaison and advisory board for the Faith Community, in the end a compromise was made to add the Faith Community as a second responsibility of the African American liaison (Interview January 15, 2010).

Language Access

The ethnic-racial framing exemplified by the liaison system, with its clear institutions of ethnic representatives and interest groups, also influenced other efforts at immigrant policymaking in county government. Language access - the recognition of language barriers to newcomers' use of county services, and innovative solutions to these language challenges – has been a key component of Montgomery County's immigrant policy response. Language access efforts began with ad hoc measures to improve access to services and recruit bilingual personnel in the 1980s, and they have moved toward increasingly centralized requirements and programs, leading up to today's formal County Language Access Plan. The ethnic-racial group paradigm and its identification of minority groups requiring protection from discrimination also shapes the language access efforts. Even the terminology reflects this, particularly in the early days when newcomers were referred to as “language minorities” and – viewed through a minority group lens (Skrentny 2002) – thus placed in the same paradigm of ethnic-racial groups requiring protection. In a larger sense, the entire current treatment of the language access issue is framed in terms of rights under federal anti-discrimination laws - laws that were originally created to protect racial minorities and have been extended to cover the rights of “language minorities” as protection against discrimination based on national origin (Graham 2002). The language access issue thus intersects with the ethnic-racial group framing, not only in its terminology but also its legal architecture over the last decade. The development of the county's language access program shows the influence of Gilchrist's inclusionary and ethnic-based framing as well as exterior influences from federal government practices that give further justification for the paradigm.

Early efforts to improve language access began in the mid-1980s, when county authorities first realized the extent of the demographic changes that had taken place and what that meant for county service provision. The arrival of immigrant residents posed concrete service delivery issues for county agencies, who were initially ill-equipped to deal with the language and cultural challenges posed by newcomers. The few bilingual personnel on staff were pressured to cope with a rising tide of limited English speakers. As participants at the Hispanic Forum observed in 1989, “The problem of language may be obvious; nevertheless, it is devastating. There are very few Spanish speakers among the service providers, and those who are there, in addition to huge case loads, are often called upon to help other personnel with translation or interpretation” (“First Hispanic Community Forum of Montgomery County: Hispanics in Action I” 1990).

As an innovative “bureaucratic incorporator,” one individual worker in the public library system was an important early pioneer on the issue, showing the importance of individual leadership among county bureaucrats in pushing along county developments. Within the supportive environment of the Potter administration, this motivated Hispanic staff member in the library system took on the language issue and pushed for County awareness and investment in the development of bilingual staff. As a direct result, the county government began to take close account of the language ability of staff members and provide a salary differential to those with bilingual skills in 1986 (Interview April 1, 2010) (“Report of the Interagency Quality Action Team on Services to Residents with Limited English Proficiency” 1994). Certified bilingual staff members are today a key component of the county’s language access plan (“Annual Report on Limited English Proficiency (LEP) Policy Implementation: Fiscal Year 2010 (July 1, 2009 –

June 30, 2010)" 2010). At a time when awareness was low, this individual took a wide series of initiatives to reach out to Latino residents, putting together, for example, the first directory of Spanish-speaking County staff members. She also began a radio and then television program to reach out to Hispanic residents and inform them about county services and other orientation information: her program "*Que Pasa*" won her an award for community service. This individual's efforts to change county practices relied heavily on her personal drive and leadership, but it is important to note that she was supported by then County Executive Neal Potter, and a generally supportive institutional and ideational context (Interview April 1, 2010). Later Hispanic leaders built on her work, one calling her work in organizing the first Latino Forum "foundational" (Interview June 24, 2010). Her work would not have attained the standing it received without the support of then County Executive and the overall inclusionary paradigm in the county.

As time passed, the county developed a more centralized response to language access needs. A 1994 County-organized taskforce engaged in a survey of all county agencies, inquiring about their language access efforts and continuing challenges. The report found some serious gaps, but also praised different agencies' efforts at responding to newcomer needs. The report in general was very positive about Montgomery County's language access efforts, describing the County as "the local pioneer community within the Washington-Metropolitan area...serving as a model for neighboring jurisdictions such as Fairfax, Arlington and Prince George's County, that are beginning to encounter issues of service delivery in multilingual and multicultural arenas" ("Report of the Interagency Quality Action Team on Services to Residents with Limited English Proficiency" 1994). Alongside other measures to ensure document translation and interpretation

services, the report focused on the diversity of the county personnel and their linguistic capabilities – a legacy of the pioneering work described above. The report urged more recruitment of multilingual staff and an updated set of affirmative action goals to reflect the new 1990 census figures. In a direct application of the ethnic-racial paradigm, the report actually used the Affirmative Action program – primarily focused on racial diversity – to frame this issue, even suggesting the “[inclusion of] language minorities as a distinct category in the Affirmative Action designations if determined to be legally possible” (“Report of the Interagency Quality Action Team on Services to Residents with Limited English Proficiency” 1994). This framing of language access as a matter of discrimination against minority groups made a clear connection between immigrant challenges of language and ethnic minority groups’ vulnerability to discrimination.

Progressing from the agency-by-agency measures documented by the taskforce, Montgomery County has developed a full-fledged formal language policy with centralized management and implementation. Showing a steady progression from the early ad hoc language access measures, a formal County Executive-level initiative took up the issue eight years ago, with the adoption in 2003 of the Limited English Proficiency (“LEP”) Policy, which required all department heads to address the language access issue. After an internal evaluation in 2008 found that improvements needed to be made to raise the accountability of county departments, raise awareness in the community about the language access program, as well as improve cost-effectiveness, the County Executive addressed a letter to all county staff in March 2009 encouraging them to take up the language access issue on more serious terms. Following the recommendations of the LEP Leadership Team, which consisted of county managers and staff

with language access experiences, the County Executive issued a formal Executive Order in March 2010 ("Annual Report on Limited English Proficiency (LEP) Policy Implementation: Fiscal Year 2010 (July 1, 2009 – June 30, 2010)"). The Executive Order *mandated* that departments include language access goals in their work plans and provide measures of progress in an enforceable manner with regular evaluations and accountability mechanisms for department heads (Interview June 24, 2010) ("Executive Order 046-10 Access to Government Services for Individuals with Limited English Proficiency"). LEP training is provided for all frontline workers, there is a language line available at all county service front desks by which telephone interpretation can be provided in over fifty languages, three partner firms can be called on by different agencies for document translation, strict attention is paid to ensuring the quality of certified bilingual employees (who are paid a salary differential), and there is a volunteer interpreter bank which is also available for use by the county's non-profit organizations.

The language access issue also evolved at the federal government level in this period, though Montgomery County has definitely been a particular leader on the issue. The formalization of the county's language access policy followed federal regulation changes: a 2000 Presidential Executive Order and 2002 Department of Justice Civil Rights Division guideline update required agencies to take "reasonable steps" toward facilitating "meaningful access" for LEPs. Although these federal requirements are relevant in all the country's localities of a certain size, most have not implemented formal language access plans, and it is still unusual for a community to have a formal language access policy that is implemented in its agencies (Mulé 2010). Montgomery County is extremely unusual in its real investment and commitment to the issue. Its leadership on language access was consistently emphasized by my respondents as a

key component of the county's immigrant policy response (Interviews January 8; March 19; April 8; June 24, 2010). This formal policy is responding to a significant policy need: Montgomery County's population has a high rate of limited English proficiency, with 14.2 percent of residents designated LEP in 2006 – up from 8.6 percent in 1990 ("International Immigration: The Impact on Maryland Communities" 2008). In a county as large as Montgomery County, this means over 140,000 individuals requiring special accommodation.

It is important to note that the issue of language access, federally, has been framed in terms of anti-discrimination law and the protection of minority rights. Legal requirements to provide “meaningful access” rely on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1967, whose Section 601 states that no person shall “on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, denied the benefits, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.” As a recent report by the Maryland State Legislature points out, “National origin has been interpreted to include discrimination on the basis of language” ("International Immigration: The Impact on Maryland Communities" 2008). In addition to federal guidelines, the state of Maryland also passed a law in 2002 (SB 265/Chapter 141) requiring state agencies to provide equal access to services to LEP individuals and translate vital documents if three percent or more of a language group was LEP ("International Immigration: The Impact on Maryland Communities" 2008). Language access has thus been developed federally and at the state level through the lens of anti-discrimination and the protection of minority groups.

These developments at the federal and state level must naturally be considered in explaining the timing of Montgomery County's own progress on formalizing language access

program. Indeed, Montgomery County's 2010 Executive Order explicitly referenced the federal and state legal framework:

Federal and state laws, regulations and policies, including Federal civil rights laws and U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) guidelines, require local governments to provide meaningful access to their services for LEP individuals by providing language assistance...("Executive Order 046-10 Access to Government Services for Individuals with Limited English Proficiency" 2010)

The need for accessible services is mandated by civil rights protections originally intended for ethnic-racial groups that have been extended to cover national origin groups and the foreign-born. This enhances a rights-based discourse and one focused on ethnic groupings rather than one explicitly focused on immigrant integration. Language access is thus not simply a practical matter to facilitate communication, but also a matter of *rights* held by newcomers and the obligation of service providers to respect those rights. The couching of language access in terms of rights protection of minority groups rather than immigrant integration has reinforced the ethnic-based diversity paradigm dominant in Montgomery County's immigrant policymaking. The inclusionary paradigm shaping local developments has been strengthened by developments at the federal and state levels, and legal requirements have pushed local community leaders to take on the issue.

Modeling the African-American Community

As the longer-settled minority group, and the one with early activism and access to county government, the African-American community has served as a model to some extent for the newcomer groups seeking to find their place and secure benefits in the county. Some respondents highlighted the advocacy and community leadership of the African-American

community as a model for newer ethnic groups. There is evidence that the newcomer groups recognized the usefulness of the African-American minority frame and group organization based on ethnic lines, and sought to emulate it – this obviously drew on national-level dynamics (Graham 2002), but there is also evidence of specific modeling taking place at the *county level*. The Hispanic Forum in 1988 quoted Edgar González of the Hispanic Organization of Parents and Educators (HOPE), who spoke admiringly of African Americans and how they fought for and demanded help – clearly calling for Hispanics to follow their example:

As a group, we have to realize what has happened to other groups. Why have they improved so much, while we are holding steady? They are organized and they have placed pressure on the system. They have been working with the school system and they have applied pressure on the Council, on the school board, on the principals, on the administrators in the system. They are organized. They are an aggressive group. Hispanics are not organized ("First Hispanic Community Forum of Montgomery County: Hispanics in Action I" 1990).

By the late 1980s, Hispanic advocates were already well attuned to the strengths of the ethnic advocacy model in Montgomery County. Another aspect of the 1988 Hispanic Forum discussion was about the representation of Hispanics in county employment, and the possibilities of using Affirmative Action provisions to increase numbers. The forum report noted that Hispanics made up only three percent of county staff despite making up eight percent of the population at that point. The discussion at the forum about the need for Latinos to take advantage of the county's Affirmative Action Plan and have its standards updated to reflect their strong demographic presence ("First Hispanic Community Forum of Montgomery County: Hispanics in Action I" 1990) showed an explicit recognition on the part of Hispanic advocates that Affirmative Action and anti-discrimination provisions could benefit their group interests. The Hispanic community was very aware of those institutional mechanisms originally targeted at African-American

disadvantage, and their potential for improving their own position. The ethnic-racial group framing of immigrant policymaking reinforced this view, providing institutional and ideational incentives to immigrant actors and their supporters to recognize ethnic group lines and advocate along those lines.

The African-American model was drawn on but also *competed with* in county social services, whose primary users did increasingly come largely from ethnic minority groups. In one interview, a longtime social services worker noted the tension between competing African-American and Latino interests, but also described how the minority model first applied to African Americans filtered over to the promotion of Latino interests. He described how when he joined county staff, the Minority Health Services program was focused on health disparities between whites and African Americans, and he saw this program multiply to address health disparities in other “ethnic groupings”:

There was a big I would say research push and also an ethnic push, an ethnic political push, to do more in the African-American community around health. That mindset also filtered over to the Latino community, that’s saying ‘well we’ve got problems too, we’ve got health disparities’ (Interview June 24, 2010).

Latinos thus expressly saw an effective use of the ethnic-racial frame to further health care concerns for African-American residents, and they specifically applied the same approach to their own community and its health care and education deficits. Through discussions between Latino citizens and organizations, the Latino community decided that Latinos could unite around the health care issue, following the successful footsteps of the African-American Health Initiative. Out of this the Latino Health Initiative emerged. The Latino Health Initiative is today one of the most touted of the county’s immigrant policy programs – and the Asian

American Health Initiative has in turn followed in its footsteps in the last several years (Interview January 8; April 12; June 24, 2010). At the start of the discussions about a potential Latino-focused health initiative, the African-American model was clearly the inspiration and inspired the advocates, who were asking themselves, “We have seen what is possible in other ethnic communities, the African-American community, can this be done?” (Interview June 24, 2010).

In the area of health, there was also *competition* between ethnic groups as perceived by the Latino non-profit health providers. One respondent described a frank discussion he convened in which the *competition* between ethnic groups was foremost on the minds of community health advocates. Clearly there was the sense that each group was competing with the others for county resources:

The accusation was that minorities in Montgomery County were battling for their own turf, and there were separate, uh, different contingencies and so those that battled the hardest, one got the ear of the political representatives at the county, state, and federal level...it was more of a jostling, who can get the ear, who can get the funding, who can get the policy, who can get the support needed for those individual pieces of the community? (Interview June 24, 2010)

African Americans and their advocacy have a long history in the county, and they had already established strong networks before immigrant diversity became a reality. The advocacy and strong organization of the African-American community were highlighted by several government officials (Interview April 12, 2010). One particularly emphasized how the African-American group did dominate the minority role, numerically and politically, in Montgomery County, referring to them as not only “a very substantial force” but even “king” in Montgomery County in terms of their influence in county government. He described not only the strength of

community organizations but also the preponderance of African-American employees in the County government staff (Interview January 15, 2010). Another official working on promoting diversity in the county workforce expressed frustration about the barriers to diversifying the workforce to reflect Montgomery County's true ethnic diversity, pointing to the slowness of personnel change and the low turn-over rates as barriers to increasing the presence of Latinos and Asians in the county work force (Interview June 24, 2010). African-American personnel diversity seems to be "crowding out" other ethnic diversity in the workforce, because of the earlier prioritization of African-American diversity in hiring practices – and the stickiness of those decisions in the face of slow turnover.

Interethnic relations are a complicated phenomenon on which this analysis does not focus, but here we see that the African-American model has served as somewhat of a model for immigrant and minority groups. Though Hispanic and Asian groups can learn from the African-American advocacy model, there are also some competition effects between groups in securing benefits and resources. A county policy paradigm based on ethnic-racial groupings encouraged Latinos and Asians to advocate and organize along those lines – taking advantage of rights discourse and institutions highlighting ethnic advocacy.

Inclusionary Frame Persistent in Spite of Conflict: Day Labor

The inclusionary paradigm was fully institutionalized by the early 1990s, when it was put to its first tough test in a controversial public debate about the appropriate response to day laborers. Indeed, the first open conflict over the County's changing demographic profile emerged in the early 1990s surrounding the issue of loitering by day laborers (Interviews

February 10, 2009; April 12, 2010). The particular site of conflict was near the border with Prince George's County on Piney Branch Road in a 7-11 parking lot. This was a site for mainly Hispanic day laborers to gather each day in order to find short-term jobs from potential employers visiting the nearby paint store. As early as 1990, the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) estimated there were 150 men gathering each day, making it the largest such site in the state (Sanchez 1990). Nearby businesses and residents were unhappy with the loitering and behavior of the workers, and the County stepped in after soliciting input and help from community members (Interviews April 1; April 12, 2010). The County government took a practical approach, supporting the creation of a formal day laborer center to organize these activities – to remove them from public view in an appropriate building, and provide management and support of the informal hiring process. The county provided a donated trailer in October 1991 to house the workers, and then bought an actual building in August 1993 with 300,000 dollars in federal block grants. Prince George's County also contributed 100,000 dollars in federal grants to prepare the house. Montgomery County provided a grant to CASA de Maryland, a local Latino organization, to run the worker center, and provide a structure for the daily employment as well as education and training services.

Conflict arose when a local editorial was published in late 1993 criticizing the county's financial and personnel support for the worker center, which was seen to unfairly benefit undocumented immigrants. Some local residents protested by calling for the end of County support and also asking INS to pursue the workers who used the labor site. County leadership defended the policy against this outcry, insisting that the worker center was a practical response to the loitering problem. As then County Executive Neal Potter was quoted, "This is the only

way we can get a handle on the situation out there. We are providing some assistance for the workers, and we are trying to get them away from the parking lot” (Aguilar 1994). Then Director of Health and Human Services wrote an editorial in response in the local *Montgomery Journal*, defending the county’s policy and describing Neal Potter’s leadership in coming up with a solution agreeable to the community (Short 1994). Despite conflict and some citizen opposition to the establishment of the day labor center, the county did take quite an unusual step in supporting a formal day laborer center when this was still a rare phenomenon in the metro area. This shows persistence of the *inclusionary* frame established by Gilchrist and built upon by succeeding County Executives and county bureaucrat officials.

Day labor continues to be a major policy issue in the county and in the metro region, through present day. Montgomery County has continued its supportive approach, in contrast to other metro-area jurisdictions where day labor has been an explosive political issue in recent years. Following the first day laborer center, the County continued to fund additional centers, and there are currently three, all run by CASA. In 2006, the County appropriated 563,000 dollars to support three day laborer centers (Barr 2006b). One center opened in Wheaton in September 2005, and the most recent opened up in 2007 just outside of Gaithersburg in Rockville. County Executive Ike Leggett showed leadership in his active intervention to make sure the Gaithersburg location was opened, following three years of disagreement and debate about its opening. The County Council had approved the money for the Gaithersburg center in 2005, and the City of Gaithersburg had agreed to open a center; but then Gaithersburg retreated after community protest, which included activism by a newly created Help Save Maryland chapter in Montgomery County. This emergence of a loud pro-enforcement advocacy group in

Montgomery County was taking place around the same time as other debates on day labor in the DC metro area - notably the controversy in Herndon, Virginia, where the city's funding of a day labor center produced community opposition and electoral backlash. Local Montgomery County anti-center advocates clearly modeled themselves after activists in Virginia ("Concerned Citizen Groups Multiply" 2007).

The Montgomery County case stood in sharp contrast to the outcome in Herndon, however, where the day laborer center was closed after political protest. In Montgomery County, County Executive Leggett defused the situation of protest in Gaithersburg, and negotiated for opening up a trailer just outside the Gaithersburg city limits (Barr 2006a; Hendrix 2007). This incident highlighted the contrast between Montgomery County and other metro-area counties, which were clearly dealing with the same federal context and some similar demographic dynamics. While northern Virginia jurisdictions folded in to pro-enforcement concerns, Montgomery County maintained its inclusionary immigrant policy of support for day laborer centers, following the trajectory of the longstanding policy paradigm. This contrast provides some indication that local-level factors and local leadership are fundamentally determinative of policy response, though federal level political discussions doubtlessly play a role in local dynamics.

Reliance on Latino advocacy organization CASA was also an important part of the county's approach. CASA has been a key partner for the county's immigrant policymaking, initially filling service gaps by providing support to the undocumented in the absence of county services to that population (Interview April 1, 2010) (Torres 1994), and expanding to participate in much of Montgomery County's immigrant policy programming. CASA, an organization that

emerged in the mid-1980s in response to the Central American influx to the DC region, has grown to become a nationally recognized immigrant rights organization and continues to be an important partner for Montgomery County government. This includes various modes of support for the Latino community, as well as continued management of day laborer centers. CASA was fundamental to the fight for the County's passage of the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights in 2008, which ensured that domestic workers such as nannies and housekeepers had the right to have a written contract with their employers as well as certain working and living conditions including at least twenty hours off a week and separate living space. As most of these domestic workers are indeed foreign-born women, this protective measure should be highlighted as a sign of particular county sensitivity to immigrant needs. Passage of the bill followed years of lobbying by CASA and other immigrant organizations in the County (Cantor 2010).

This detail about the day laborer debate illustrates the strength of the inclusive frame and the welcoming nature of the County's immigrant-oriented policies - this in spite of pressures that have been experienced in other metro communities, where the government response was very different because of the absence of an inclusionary paradigm. While other area jurisdictions were either ignoring their day laborer issues or explicitly terminating management efforts in the mid-2000s, Montgomery County has been a leader in the region in reaching out and dealing with these issues in practical terms and avoiding a backlash against undocumented immigrants.

This changes in the next section, as the County has begun to drift from its strict inclusion approach.

A Step Back from an Inclusionary Trajectory

In 2009, the County took a step characterized as backwards by many immigrant advocates, deciding to institute a policy change in how the local police department interacts with federal immigration enforcement authorities. The County Executive established a new policy by which contact would be made with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to check the identity of all offenders of violent crime and handgun offenses; this would potentially identify undocumented immigrants that DHS could opt to pursue for immigration violations. Though the policy could have been far more extreme and certainly does not follow the model set by neighboring Frederick County or Prince William County, VA with stronger 287(g) programs - which directly deputize county police as immigration enforcement agents - the policy is still a step away from the County's strongly inclusionary, pro-immigrant trajectory. The County could have chosen to follow the examples of neighboring counties like Prince George's, Arlington, or the city of Washington, DC to explicitly avoid crossing the "bright line" between local police and federal immigration enforcement (Bill 18795 - Secure Communities Act of 2010) and refuse all collaboration with DHS. Instead, the County actively chose to take that step, despite strong lobbying and opposition from some major parts of the community - as well as support from others, including a new chapter of Help Save Maryland and other residents worried about the effects of undocumented immigrants in their community.

The policy change was catalyzed by a particularly shocking violent incident: the cold-blooded murder of a 14-year-old high school student on a public bus by two Central American gang members in November of 2008. Both of the aggressors had been arrested or stopped by police previously, but their undocumented immigration status had not been flagged. After this

incident as well as another murder of an elderly woman, the County Chief of Police Manger proposed an alteration of the County's approach to immigration. After consultation with the community and heavy lobbying from both pro- and anti-enforcement forces, the County Executive put out a policy change that increased county police cooperation with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). After lobbying from immigrant advocates, Leggett did narrow the policy so that it had a specific list of violent offenses that would be eligible, and it mandated that officers not check between native and foreign-born but rather forward *all* names on to ICE. But the resulting measured policy was still upsetting to many Latino and immigrant advocates in the county (Interviews April 1, 2009; January 8; January 15, 2010).

This was described by local media as a significant shift for Leggett, who, along with Montgomery County's previous county executives, have been known for their welcoming pro-immigrant attitude (MacDonald 2009; Morse and Miroff 2009). Indeed, only two years earlier at a town hall meeting to discuss the day laborer center and the issue of undocumented migrants, Leggett had famously cried out, "Shut up and listen for a moment! We are not in the business of enforcing immigration issues" (Londono and Brulliard 2007). This strong stance does not align with the new enforcement policy which blurs the lines between immigration enforcement and criminal enforcement, at least according to community advocates and representatives of the immigrant community.

The Latino advocate community definitely perceived the enforcement policy change as a break from the past. They warned that any type of move to get police involved in immigration enforcement would send the wrong message to Latino residents, for all the reasons that advocates decry Secure Communities, 287(g), and other DHS programs to facilitate cooperation

with police forces ("Forcing our Blues into Grey Areas: Local Police and Federal Immigration Enforcement; A Legal Guide for Advocates" 2008). The Latino advocacy community took a very strong stance against the enforcement policy change, despite Leggett's attempts to be even-handed. Although the ultimate policy decision was quite limited, the debate was controversial. A key respondent characterized the policy change as the first time Montgomery County had been called "anti-immigrant." Although she described the policy change as extremely balanced and sophisticated, she emphasized the discontent of the Latino community in particular and their strong opposition and lobbying against the policy change as it was being discussed. She said the Latino community was "disappointed" in the County Executive's decision, which they deemed to be hostile to the immigrant community, and they were very concerned about the message the policy would send to immigrant residents. She highlighted the conflict and emotion surrounding the issue, emphasizing the strong opposition the Latino community had to this policy change (Interview January 8, 2010). Indeed, the 2007 Statement from the Latin American Advisory Committee had made its position on the enforcement issue extremely clear. The members clearly perceived any enforcement policy as a component of Montgomery County's immigrant policymaking, and a contradictory element to the welcoming attitude promoted by the County Executive:

LAAC lauds the public statements of the County Executive in articulating support for immigration remedies in the County that are geared to helping immigrants reside in the County as full members of its communities. Nevertheless, it is the firm position of the LAAC members that the County Executive reaffirm and continue policies for all immigrants in the County to provide required services to every resident in the County, and that County government not be an instrument of the federal effort to identify, capture, detain and/or deport unauthorized immigrants residing in the County ("Statement of the Montgomery County Latin

American Advisory Committee Regarding Immigration Issues in the County" 2007).

Beyond the stance of the Latino community, the policy change discussion clearly aroused strong emotions and opinions on both sides of the debate. Though many of the arguments were based on the usual "law and order" versus humanitarian views, what is interesting in Montgomery County's discussion was an evocation of a tradition or legacy of inclusion in the county. Opponents of the policy change perceived that the enforcement policy change represented a statement on the values of the county and its welcoming or exclusionary status. They referred warmly to the history of welcome and the values of inclusion that had characterized the county's immigrant policies for many years – the very trajectory of inclusionary immigrant policymaking this study has analyzed. The constant references to tradition and precedent are an expression of the institutionalization of the inclusionary paradigm.

A sampling of constituent mail addressed to the County Council and the County Executive at the time of the enforcement policy change discussions is illustrative of the negotiation over the identity of Montgomery County. This correspondence shows a county identity in opposition to the exclusionary jurisdictions in the metro region. One constituent, addressing the Council and County Executive in a letter dated January 29, 2009, wrote in passionate terms:

Goaded by extremist, anti-immigrant groups, local governments such as Frederick County and Prince William County (in Virginia) have adopted measures that have achieved little more than vilifying immigrants in those communities. The recently committed, horribly regrettable murders in Montgomery County are being used by such outside groups to demand similar measures from our County government. In this climate, even a 'baby step' in that direction will be touted as proof of validity of their claim that immigrants are criminals....Montgomery County

should not become like Prince William County in Virginia. This policy is a giant step in that direction and I oppose it.

Another message dated February 9, 2009 evoked a similar strong conception of the county in opposition to other jurisdiction. Its author thinks of Montgomery County as fundamentally *different* from other counties that had passed pro-enforcement measures:

I never thought that Montgomery County, of all places, would consider accepting the immigrant bashing mentality that has taken over other County and local governments in our region and elsewhere. Please don't let it happen here. I know that, personally, this is not your way of doing things.

On the other hand, there was also significant constituent mail expressing strong *support* for the policy change, and even requests for more aggressive measures to crack down on undocumented immigrant residents. It is possible that in the absence of federal immigration reform and growth of local backlash in the region, the public mood has generally shifted to take a more hostile approach to undocumented immigration and enforcement. As one official told me in reference to the public support for local police enforcement, he sees a shift has taken place: the public is "not averse to the police doing things that we wouldn't have thought of before...it's definitely a change" (Interview April 1, 2009). This recent entrance of Montgomery County into the immigrant enforcement realm breaks from the trajectory of highly inclusionary efforts described above, but on the other hand, local immigration enforcement is an increasingly national trend with the expansion of ICE's Secure Communities initiative and other programs to enhance immigration enforcement capabilities. There have been far more extreme measures taken in other metro-area jurisdictions, such as the signing of 287(g) agreements in many counties and cities. So, Montgomery County's initiative should be understood as an exclusionary step, but relatively minor relative to other jurisdictions.

Although one might argue that the county's immigrant and ethnic minority programming should be distinguished from its take on immigration *enforcement* and the rights of undocumented immigrants, the advocates certainly argue that they are all part of Montgomery County's response to immigration – all components of its immigrant policy response, in other terms - and that Montgomery County's traditionally inclusive approach to immigrants has shifted away from its traditional model with this immigration enforcement change. When I was conducting interviews with county officials on immigrant policy issues, many of them brought up the enforcement issue and the policy change as relevant to the discussion (Interviews March 26; April 1, 2009; January 8, 2010). This indicates that the actors implicated certainly see a strong connection between all of these elements of the county's immigrant policy framework, and this enforcement policy change should not be viewed as isolated from the county's other immigrant-oriented measures.

Though the county's practices are still very limited in the enforcement realm, it is still important that the perception of community actors was that the enforcement policy change was a *departure* from a consistently inclusionary trajectory. The opponents of the enforcement policy change saw a strong tradition of inclusiveness and immigrant welcome in Montgomery County – the outcome of an institutionalized policy paradigm with many years of development. Although similar expressions of support and opposition may be present in similar sorts of discussions in other jurisdictions, the invocation of a historically institutionalized commitment to immigrant diversity and inclusion are *not* evoked in other debates. This notion of a “legacy of welcome” is a key part of Montgomery County's widely touted progressive immigrant policy response. The perception of a legacy is the consequence of an inclusionary paradigm that has become fully

institutionalized through investment over time in institutions and practices, eventually shaping how actors identify themselves and the county.

The enforcement policy change made in 2009, though a minimal step into the immigration enforcement realm, was controversial because of the very fact that the county has such a long history of consistently inclusive policymaking. Why did the backtrack take place? The entry of county police into immigration enforcement terrain is part of a national trend, and Montgomery County was influenced, like any other community, by the discourse and practices taking place in other localities. The murders that precipitated the public outcry were also a catalytic factor. The issue of immigration enforcement was treated separately from Montgomery County's policies accommodating immigrants and promoting their integration. In the ethnic-racial paradigm, the issue of immigration itself becomes separated from that of the experience of ethnic minority groups that may include foreign-born residents. In that context, the matter of immigration enforcement can be divorced conceptually from the types of immigrant-friendly policies the county has developed. In an immigrant integration paradigm, where foreign-born residents are viewed as a bloc and as constituting a unique set of challenges as *immigrants*, there is more connection made between immigration enforcement issues and service/support issues - as we will see in the Madrid case, in which social service providers participate directly in, for example, legalization or immigration status regularization processes. In Montgomery County, in contrast, immigration enforcement was easy to block off as a matter of criminal enforcement and public safety, with a decoupling of the ethnic group rights from immigration matters. The ethnic-racial policy paradigm, viewing immigrants as members of ethnic groups rather than as

immigrants with particular rights vulnerabilities, allowed the county to take an exclusionary step despite its legacy of inclusionary immigrant policymaking.

Ambivalence on Immigrant Integration Role and Continued Negotiation

Montgomery County has developed a range of immigrant policy programs, most targeted at members of ethnic minority groups. These programs are rarely understood as part of an “immigrant integration” paradigm, however. Instead, they are understood in terms of the inclusive ethnic-racial minority-based paradigm established by Gilchrist and reinforced by federal funding and legislation that do not explicitly fund immigration integration but do provide resources for English language training, extra support for the disadvantaged, and the provision of services in multiple languages (Joppke 1999).

Given federal practices and a traditional US inattention to integration programs, it is rare for local communities to use the term “immigrant integration” or classify services specifically as serving immigrants. When I pressed the issue on an outreach worker in the health and human services department, he replied:

We don't label anything specifically, maybe because we don't want to create a stigma or a feeling, or we don't want the public to say 'oh, those are only services for the immigrants,' or things like that, we don't have it like that. We just say that all of our services are open to everybody, and they need to come and see if they qualify...we explain that there are eligibility requirements depending on the funding services...But we don't label that these ones are for immigrants, and these ones are not for immigrants. So we really don't have a label.

He then went on to point out a reluctance to “label” services specifically for immigrants:

There has [sic] always been resources from different services agencies and churches [providing assistance to the most needy], all of those are mainly services that primarily serve immigrants. We don't name them, you know, these are the

services for immigrants. A lot of those resources were developed with immigrants in mind, and still they serve a lot of immigrants. Because also the immigrant population is one of the most neediest [sic]....

So we don't say 'this is clothing for the immigrants', we just say this is clothing for the poor, and it just so happens many of them are immigrants" (Interview June 24, 2010).

He went on to show me a copy of the resource guides that the social service staff uses when referring clients to assistance resources. These are resources to help support the neediest of residents, and though the desk guide does not use the term "immigrants" or "integration," it is obvious that a sensitivity to immigrant and language needs has been fully absorbed into the service provision. The desk guide happens to note, for example, for each community resource, which languages are supported there.

He highlighted several programs that are targeted at ethnic minority groups or even all low-income individuals, whose users are largely immigrants. The County's universal health insurance program for the poor, Montgomery Cares, has been providing low-income residents access to low- and no-cost health care since 2007, and many of its users are immigrants (Interview June 24, 2010). The program brochure highlights this user base: the brochure itself is bilingual in Spanish and English, and it clearly indicates that clients must be nineteen or older, have a low income, and live in Montgomery County; the brochure specifically notes that "you do not have to be a U.S. citizen" to access the health services. In other health areas, the county also offers specific support for expectant mothers in its prenatal program, many of whose users are undocumented Latinas (Interview January 8, 2010); and it also provides health care services for low-income children, many of whom are immigrants or children of immigrants, in the Care for Kids programs (Interview June 24, 2010).

The Latino Health Initiative is another key example of a program primarily benefiting immigrant users, and one often mentioned by my respondents as a strong example of County response to immigrant needs (Interviews January 8; April 12; June 24, 2010). The Latino Health Initiative, mentioned earlier, began over a decade ago to address minority health disparities. It began in 2000 as an initiative between the County Executive, County Council, and Latino community leaders, and the now robust program includes various health initiatives concentrated on specific health issues like asthma or cancer, and outreach to the Latino community to educate them and inform them about health issues and health care resources. Part of this initiative is the nurse training and reaccreditation “Program for Foreign-Trained Health Professionals,” which facilitates the training and licensing of nurses trained in other countries and who require support for transferring their credentials and securing employment in the US. In this sense it is extremely sensitive to immigrant integration issues; the transferability of medical licenses and other educational credentials is often cited as one of the key barriers to immigrant integration in the US and elsewhere (Batalova and Fix 2008), and this program is clearly dealing with that issue head-on and innovating in creative ways to promote immigrant integration (“A Fresh Start: Renewing Immigrant Integration in Maryland: The Report of the Maryland Council for New Americans” 2009). The Latino Health Initiative also primarily understands its key target audience to be immigrant newcomers, who are the most in need of health education; as the 2006 annual report indicates, the program is for “Latinos in Montgomery County, many of whom are low-income, primarily Spanish-speaking, and recent immigrants” (“Annual Report FY2006: July 1, 2005 - June 30, 2006”). A more recent Asian American Health Initiative has followed in 2005 following the Latino model – clearly following the ethnic-racial group model and taking

advantage of the success of previous health initiatives in the Latino and the African-American communities. These health initiatives are excellent examples of programs that would be understood as immigrant integration programs in a European context but in the US their categorization as ethnic minority programs glosses over their direct impact on foreign-born beneficiaries and immigrant integration.

The Latino and Asian Health Initiatives are examples of the persistence of the ethnic-racial group paradigm and the absence of an “immigrant integration” discourse that exists on the other side of the Atlantic. In the very recent past, however explicit talk of “immigrant integration” and the concept of “New Americans” have become more popular, as mentioned in Chapter Three. Now there are a handful of states explicitly establishing Offices of New Americans or creating New Americans initiatives to explicitly take up the issue of immigrant integration – though so far these discussions have focused largely on political integration and the naturalization of immigrants. Montgomery County and Maryland have followed this trend. Maryland’s Governor recently called for a task force on the issue, and Montgomery County’s staff was actually instrumental in chairing and writing the report because of the County’s importance for immigration in the state (Interview January 15, 2010). Reflecting how much of a leader Montgomery County is in this domain, the Chairs of the Maryland Council for New Americans were in fact County Executive Ike Leggett and former County Council Member Thomas Perez (“A Fresh Start: Renewing Immigrant Integration in Maryland: The Report of the Maryland Council for New Americans” 2009). Montgomery County was also recently chosen to share its integration programming knowledge with a representative from Stuttgart in Germany through a transatlantic exchange funded by a Washington foundation. Montgomery County is

clearly the leader in Maryland in terms of innovative immigrant policymaking, and has a relatively sophisticated understanding of immigrant needs and integration issues, participating in information exchange and best practice discussions with other jurisdictions.

Along with this trend, the Office of Community Partnerships' Latino liaison - who was one of the writers of the New Americans report – has also been granted responsibility for “New Americans’ Issues” above and beyond her assignment to the Latino community. She is being encouraged to develop this line of programming and think seriously about what the county should be doing to advance immigrant integration (Interviews January 8; January 15, 2010). This could be interpreted as a sign that a different paradigm is emerging – an integration paradigm viewing immigrants as a distinct group rather than making sense of immigrant diversity in purely ethnic group terms. On the other hand, my respondents were skeptical about where the state-level “New Americans” initiative would actually lead, emphasizing a lack of action following up the report (Interviews November 20, 2009; January 8, 2010). The ethnic-racial-based liaison system is so well institutionalized, and it is supported so strongly by prevailing national trends of ethnic advocacy, the new integration approach will surely have some trouble taking root.

There is also another important exception to the ethnic group paradigm. Montgomery County's opening of the Gilchrist Center for Cultural Diversity in 2001 is an unusually integration-oriented institution that did not follow the ethnic group paradigm I have emphasized in my analysis. The Gilchrist Center, named after the County Executive who established the inclusive immigrant policy of the county, is located in Wheaton and serves as a public space where people can come together to learn about other cultures, take English or other language

classes, take other training classes, have community organization meetings, and receive referrals for county agencies and community resources. The creation of the Gilchrist Center is another strong example of an empowered individual bureaucrat who took advantage of a supportive County Executive and resource structure to push forward her vision of expanded support for immigrants. The Center was largely due to the initiative of one government employee, a child of immigrants and leader in the Chinese community who used her position in government in order to facilitate the creation of an immigrant center (Interview November 20, 2009) (Subramanya 1999). She felt that the county needed to fill a service gap for the large foreign-born population, then constituting over twenty percent of residents, to help provide them orientation and assistance navigating county resources. She prioritized the integration function of the center, highlighting how different immigrant groups needed to interact in order to avoid intergroup tensions and biases and thus be “acculturated” into American society. Duncan was extremely enthusiastic about her idea and actually wanted to expand it to be a larger system of centers (Interview June 24, 2010). As he was quoted at the time, "There is a vast growing ethnic population in the county...We wanted to make sure we were responding to their needs" (Subramanya 1999). The Gilchrist Center breaks away from the ethnic group mode that I have emphasized in this analysis, as it takes seriously the universal problems that all immigrants face and does not see the issue through the prism of ethnic groupings. The Gilchrist Center is, as a matter of happenstance, funded through and located in the county’s Recreation Department (Interviews November 20, 2009; June 24, 2010), however, and the relationship with the Office of Community Partnerships has not been very tight. In fact, increased coordination with and expansion of the Gilchrist Center was identified as an objective for the New Americans liaison in

the Office of Community Partnerships (Interviews November 20, 2009; January 8, 2010). This institutional division between the most obvious integration institution – a physical space for orientation for all newcomers in Montgomery County - and the ethnic liaison system in the County Executive Office highlights the lack of coordination and the competing paradigms, one based in immigrant integration and the other on ethnic advocacy. This division has evolved considerably in the last year, with direct management of the Gilchrist Center by the New Americans liaison from the Office of Community Partnerships, increased coordination, and, most recently, the formal budgetary movement of the Gilchrist Center from the Recreation Department into the Office of Community Partnerships. This illustrates a growing coordination and expansion of the integration paradigm (Personal correspondence May 27, 2011).

The County's support for English language instruction is also more of an immigrant integration-focused initiative. A program initially run out of Montgomery College, Montgomery Coalition for Adult Language Literacy (MCAEL), is supported by an annual 800,000 dollars of county funds, which are then subcontracted out to various language education providers to respond to the ESOL needs of the county's newcomers (Interviews March 26, 2009; January 8, 2010). This effort began in 2002 when the County Council commissioned a study of ESOL needs, and from that emerged recommendations to invest in ESOL instruction under the auspices of workforce development. The Coalition formed in 2005 as part of Montgomery College, and became an independent organization in 2006 (*Montgomery Coalition for Adult English Literacy*). This investment in ESOL is a clear contribution to immigrant integration and yet nowhere on the organization's website does the term "integration" appear.

There are also signs that actors are not completely satisfied with the ethnic liaison and advisory committee model, with some seeking to unify the groups to pursue their common interests as foreign-born and their descendents. Under the current County Executive, the director of the Office of Community Partnership has emphasized the uniting of the different groups on issues of common concern. In June 2005 he announced the creation of the Multicultural Leadership Council, which brings together all six advisory committees and ethnic groupings that compose the Office of Community Partnerships. The current leadership is intent on bringing groups together to advocate together for common goals and interests, but it is clear that the ethnic group model is well institutionalized and invested actors are reluctant to give up the institutionalized system in which they have participated for decades. There has been resistance to this evolution, with those groups with a longstanding presence not eager to give up “space at the table” to benefit newcomer groups (Interview January 15, 2010). This reflects the embedding of the ethnic-racial model – individuals have an interest in perpetuating that system, not moving into a new approach where they might lose the advances they have made during their many years of advocacy.

Montgomery County is unusual in developing several initiatives that do take immigrant integration seriously and provide services for immigrants in general, particularly the Gilchrist Center and the MCAEL English language program. The ethnic-racial-group-based paradigm is not exhaustive and does not encompass every single initiative taken on immigration in the County, nor is it static and unchanging. However, the maturity of the ethnic advocacy institutions will tend to lead the county effort down its given trajectory, and resist fundamental reorganization. This chapter has illustrated how the direction of Montgomery County’s

immigrant policymaking can change and evolve; and pressures from other levels of government, surrounding jurisdictions, immigration enforcement debates and other issues will continue to shape its dynamics. The institutional weight of the now long-standing paradigm, however, is key in making sense of immigrant policy developments.

Conclusion and Prospects for the Future

Although an immigrant integration paradigm might possibly displace the ethnic-based model, it is more likely that small changes will expand the understanding of immigrant policymaking but that it will remain fundamentally structured along ethnic lines. Twenty-five years of institutionalization of the ethnic liaison system has had significant effects not only on other county programs and county employees but also on the identities and interests of immigrant advocates and organizations. A process of institutionalization that has privileged ethnic groups and rights protection will most likely continue.

An inclusionary trajectory which has permitted a range of bureaucratic incorporation efforts on the parts of individual bureaucrats and departments is best understood with a long-term perspective including the important foundation established by leader Charles Gilchrist in the 1980s. His establishment of a strongly inclusionary, ethnic-racial group-based approach to immigration in the county has persisted and shaped efforts to deal with immigration challenges. His establishment of a policy paradigm shaped not only concrete institutions that would later expand and solidify, but also the ideational framing of immigration in the county and the sense of what are appropriate policy tools to address immigrant challenges. The institutionalization of his ethnic liaison system which has become today's Office of Community Partnerships draws the

clearest link from the critical juncture, but this analysis has also highlighted how the ethnic-racial group frame has been used and also structured the development of the language access policy, as well as perspectives of newcomer groups on effective organizing strategies based on the effective model set by African-American advocacy patterns. The County has slowly developed an institutionalized approach of inclusion and welcome, which resisted conflicts over day labor in the early 1990s, and continued to invest explicitly in outreach to and support for ethnic minorities. Montgomery County is also unusual in its significant steps toward explicit integration programming, through the Gilchrist Center, a large ESOL program, as well as a program on assisting foreign accreditation transition.

The primary approach to immigrant policymaking is through the ethnic-racial frame, however, which permitted the issue of immigration enforcement as related to criminal arrests by county police to drift in an exclusionary direction in 2009. The policy change in terms of police practices has taken a step back from the inclusionary trajectory, at least as considered by county actors who perceive a *legacy* and *identity* of welcome in the county – the result of an institutionalized policy paradigm of inclusion. Though advocates might fear that this policy change reflects a fundamental break with tradition, the county's significant investment in immigrant needs – through tailored programming, liaison systems, a formal language access program, day laborer centers, and other efforts – has not changed. The path dependent process that began at the critical juncture in the mid-1980s has created an institutional landscape and a set of roles and identities – within and outside of government – that cannot easily be undone. This analysis has highlighted the interaction between individual bureaucratic incorporators and elected officials, and the institutional settings in which they are situated and which they

simultaneously contribute to creating and developing. New Institutionalism's emphasis on the dynamic interplay between individuals and institutions is a most useful lens for understanding the development of immigrant policymaking, exemplified by this case of an exceptionally inclusionary suburban jurisdiction in metropolitan Washington, DC. This case permits a useful comparison to an inclusionary case with a different type of understanding of immigrant policymaking – the Madrid case – which will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

MADRID: IMMIGRANT INCLUSION THROUGH AN INTEGRATION PARADIGM

Overview

At a 1995 conference on immigration's impact on social service delivery in the Madrid area, the primary role of local reception dynamics and the disconnect with national immigration policies underlay the entire discussion. Localities cope with both burdens and possibilities in their process of adapting to new immigrant residents, and leadership at the local level determines immigrant policy response. The quote below from the conference highlights the ultimate role of the local community in setting an inclusionary or exclusionary tone towards immigrant residents:

In the field of immigration and integration, States have their own responsibilities and certain solutions depend exclusively on a national policy; however, States, or more concretely, the Central Administration, does not have the capacity to adapt to all the situations that immigration produces on a concrete local level. The expansion and development of resources and mechanisms that permit integration correspond, logically, to the local authorities. The city is proximity, it is the place of daily life in which, under certain circumstances, all the groups in the population can live in a climate of serenity or of tension (Social Services for a Multicultural Society 1995).

This chapter shows that beginning with a foundation in the mid-1990s, Madrid has established an immigrant policy paradigm based on “serenity” or togetherness in diversity, with a well institutionalized policy paradigm of inclusion based in immigrant integration terms. The institutionalization of this inclusionary paradigm preceding the major immigration inflows at the turn of the century helped insulate Madrid from the pressures of exclusion that normally accompany demographic shocks.

This chapter describes a case in which very rapid demographic change was met and even preceded by significant explicit immigrant policy programming. Experiencing an extremely dramatic rise in immigration at the turn of the century, Madrid became an ethnically diverse society at a very rapid pace. Public authorities developed a large set of immigrant policies following the policy paradigm established by key actors in the mid-1990s, when immigration was still a minor demographic phenomenon but was first taken up as a public policy concern by municipal and regional government actors. A paradigm of inclusion through an immigrant integration lens was established then with key ideational and institutional elements that have persisted with a changing demographic context and federal funding structure. Madrid's immigrant policies have been thoroughly formed by an immigrant integration paradigm based on 1) distinct immigrant services and specially trained personnel, 2) an international view of immigrants with a link to international development dynamics, and 3) the core concepts of interculturalism and "*convivencia*."¹⁸ Interculturalism is an alternative to multiculturalism, and it denotes an appreciation of ethnic diversity but a stronger aversion to separation or "ghettoization" of separate cultural/ethnic groups.¹⁹ The term "interculturalism" is often used in policy discussions in Madrid to denote the healthy management of diversity – it can refer to both the diversity itself and the policy response, similar to the way "multiculturalism" is used. *Convivencia* takes multiculturalism even further and emphasizes harmonious interactions and interpersonal exchange – it is defined as "living in harmony with others" which requires an

¹⁸ This chapter will occasionally use Spanish words that cannot be translated effectively into English. Note that all quotations from interviews and documents are translated by the author from Spanish for the remainder of this chapter.

¹⁹ "Multiculturalism," the model supposedly chosen by what are viewed as the negative country examples of the United Kingdom and Germany, was derided by almost all of my respondents as encouraging separation and division.

interaction between people and “[construction of] something together” (“Guía de Convivencia Intercultural de la ciudad de Madrid” 2005).

This integration paradigm contrasts to the ethnic-racial paradigm described in the previous chapter, in which a strongly led inclusionary paradigm was present but the understanding of immigration and immigrant policy was very different. In Montgomery County, immigrant policy has been approached through an ethnic-racial paradigm, by which immigrant residents are not viewed as a bloc but rather as members of existing ethnic-racial groups that have the means to advocate for their own interests. In Madrid, in contrast, immigrants have been viewed as a block to a much greater extent – the challenge of immigration is seen as a distinct concept, and one that calls for distinct responses that acknowledge immigrants as newcomers who require special assistance. The integration paradigm is fairly universal in Europe, where the policy discussions on immigration incorporation have been based on an understanding of immigrants as a distinct bloc rather than a collection of ethnic-racial groups (Noiriel 1994). Immigrant integration is a matter of public concern at the state, local, and supranational levels.

This chapter shows that in the face of drastic demographic change at the turn of the century, the city of Madrid had already developed expertise and institutions specialized in the immigration issue that facilitated the transition to a highly diverse city. The policy paradigm established in the mid-1990s by Carlos Gímenez and other municipal leaders guided Madrid’s immigrant policy developments as immigrant numbers surged and their efforts were finally given larger budgets and significant institutional standing. Although there were and there continues to be problems with integration, racism, and xenophobia, I argue that Madrid’s relative success with managing its dramatic demographic change was due in part to the institutional and

ideational commitments established at the critical juncture in the mid-1990s and already well institutionalized by the late 1990s.

One might view Madrid as a most-likely case for *exclusion* because of its extremely dramatic immigrant population growth in 2000 and the first years of the decade. One might also expect the right-wing PP government in control in Madrid to steer policies in an exclusionary direction. However, there are also some important mitigating factors for exclusion, such as the primarily Latin American character of the large surge of immigrants – a “preferable” population due to common language, culture, and religion with native Spaniards (Izquierdo Escribano et al. 2003). Increasing federal support for immigrant integration also plays a role; it helps shape Madrid’s activities, but this study reveals that Madrid began its immigrant policymaking and established its policy paradigm long before the federal government began to invest in immigrant integration. Madrid’s efforts were reinforced and supported by the increase in federal funds in 2005, but the outlines of programming were already well established due to a long-term institutionalization of a policy paradigm established in the mid-1990s. Explanatory factors such as these are discussed as they interact with the policy paradigm model that provides the primary explanation for the evolution of immigrant policy in Madrid.

This policy paradigm was established at a critical juncture in the mid-1990s and has continued to shape today’s extensive resources dedicated to immigrant policies. This chapter will proceed with a brief description of the field research and sources, then move on to describe the critical juncture in the mid-1990s when Madrid authorities established their inclusionary and integration-oriented approach to immigrant policy in the local context. The chapter will explain the three key components of the paradigm and its policy manifestations. The analysis will track

developments from the mid-1990s through present day, highlighting the continued influence of the paradigm in shaping programs and institutions as they developed and changed with demographic developments. The most recent changes reveal a new phase of immigrant policy at both regional and municipal levels, still following the paradigm established in the mid-1990s.

Sources

I conducted semi-structured interviews with thirty-eight individuals in the Madrid metropolitan area from April through July of 2009. A detailed listing of all interviews can be found in the appendix. These interviews included officials in regional and city government (primarily Madrid, but also several high-immigration suburban cities including Móstoles, Getafe, Parla, and Alcalá de Henares) who work specifically on immigrant population issues, as well as workers in immigrant-serving non-profit organizations and academics. Government staff interviews included elected officials at the district level (“*consejales*”), bureaucrats in social service departments at the city and district levels, researchers and bureaucrats in city immigrant services, workers at the regional immigrant centers (CEPIs and CASIs), and other municipal staff. Perspectives thus ranged from elected officials with little immigration experience to on-the-ground immigrant service providers and immigration experts. Several key respondents who directly managed Madrid’s municipal city services for immigrants were particularly useful, not only in granting me multiple interviews but also providing me access to non-public archival materials. All but two of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, and I have translated all quotations into English for this chapter. During the period of field work, I was also able to engage in some participant observation: accompanying a group of outdoor educators for an

organized recreational event in suburban Getafe, participating in a formal discussion of Spanish and US immigration policies with local immigrant associations, attending several classes at the regional government's immigration education academy (EPIC), and attending other immigration events. These activities, as well as everyday conversations with Spanish and immigrant residents, gave me a rich understanding of the immigrant policy atmosphere in Madrid.

In order to complement the retrospective information gathered in the interviews, I also drew on documentary evidence in order to capture events and information from the past two decades. I used local and national newspaper accounts, printed materials and information available to the public, materials provided to me by my respondents, and, in particular, archived government documents to identify programs and trace policy developments since the beginning of the 1990s to present day. There was considerable archival policy material available to the public and also granted to me on a special basis. I accessed archived documents such as annual reports, brochures, and conference materials tracking activities since the early 1990s at the regional government level at the Community of Madrid's Department of Family and Social Services Library, Regional Training and Research Center "Beatriz Galindo." I also was granted access to similar types of materials within the closed archives of the City of Madrid's Department of Social Services, as well as materials collected by the prominent immigration studies organization Colectivo IOE, the Pontificia Comillas University's Institute of Migration Studies ("*Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones*," where I was a visiting scholar"), and the City of Madrid's Migration Research Institute ("*Observatorio de las Migraciones y la Convivencia Intercultural de la ciudad de Madrid*"). This provided me not only government documents but also work by researchers and academics from the early 1990s

on. This comprehensive and historical coverage of Madrid immigrant policy has not been described previously in any publication, so my original data collection offers new information on what is a significant local case of immigrant policy.

Introduction to Madrid

Describing Madrid's response to immigration is complicated because there are at least two relevant government levels in its unusual administrative situation: the "autonomous community" ("*comunidad autónoma*") the Community of Madrid (CAM), and the municipal government of the city of Madrid (as well as other municipal governments in the region, which will only be briefly mentioned in this chapter). The quasi-federal Spanish state is divided into a system of regional "autonomous communities," most of which include multiple provinces, another governmental unit. The CAM is unusual in that it includes only one province. The CAM thus includes 1) the capital city, 2) a suburban metropolitan core of about forty additional municipalities, and 3) a range of smaller, non-metropolitan localities bringing the total to 179 municipalities in the CAM. The largest and most important municipality by far is the city of Madrid, which contains over half of the CAM's residents. The metropolitan area contains over ninety percent of the CAM's population of 6.3 million people. I will use the terms "Madrid" and "CAM" interchangeably throughout this discussion in reference to the geographic space - although municipal *government* and CAM *government* will be delineated. In practice there has been immigrant policymaking at both levels, rarely smoothly coordinated. It appears that users generally do not make clear distinctions between CAM- and city-provided immigrant resources,

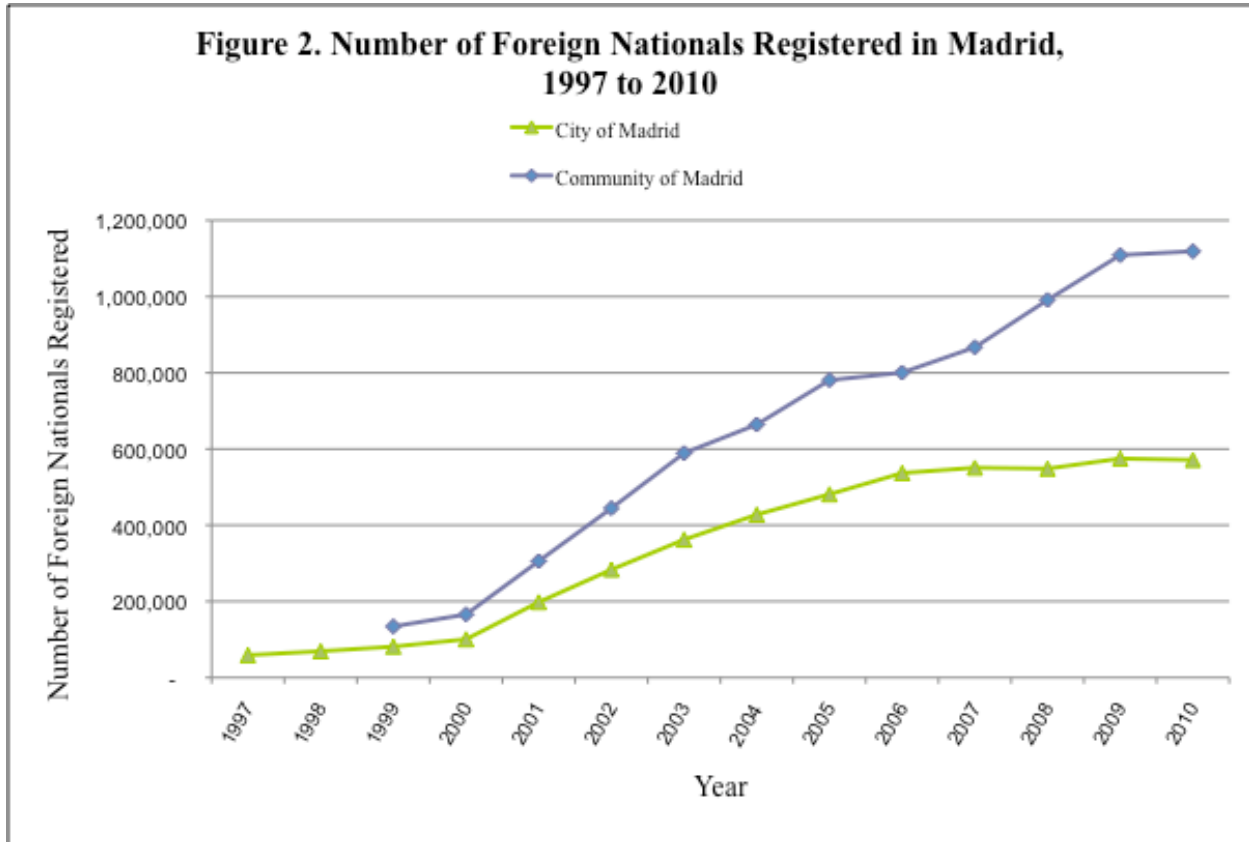
and both levels have been guided by the same policy paradigm, so developments will be discussed in tandem in this chapter.

Madrid has been a key destination for immigrants in Spain, serving as a gateway particularly for those arriving from Latin America, but also hosting a diverse range of other groups including North Africans, Sub-Saharan Africans, and most recently a very large group of Eastern Europeans. Although Madrid long had a small population of Western European residents and some Latin American refugees from Argentina and Chile, the immigrant population multiplied and transformed over the last fifteen years with the significant economic growth and concomitant demand for immigrant labor to fill service and construction jobs. The percent of the CAM's population that has a foreign nationality increased from less than 2 percent in the early 1990s, to 2.6 percent in 1999, to 5.7 percent in 2001 ("Plan de Integración 2009-2012 de la Comunidad de Madrid"), to *17 percent* in 2010. This constitutes 1.1 million foreign nationals enrolled at local population registries ("*el padrón*") in the CAM.²⁰ As can be seen in Figure 1, the immigrant populations of the CAM and the city of Madrid have increased dramatically over the last two decades, with the rate of growth increasing particularly in 2000 to 2001. This figure also shows that in the two years since the economic crisis, the increase in immigration has dwindled and the immigrant population has slowed its dramatic growth.

Just over 50 percent of the CAM's immigrants live in the capital city of Madrid, dispersed unevenly though present in all of the city's twenty-one districts. There is also a significant presence of immigrants in many of Madrid's suburbs, particularly in the southern and

²⁰ This number includes much of though not all of the *undocumented* immigrant population as well, the members of which have an incentive to register in order to access public services and benefits. All residents are required to register in the local town hall, and since 2000, undocumented immigrants have been permitted to and required to in order to access social benefits and services.

eastern edges of the metropolitan area. Around 90 percent of the CAM's immigrants live in either the city of Madrid or in a metropolitan suburb ("Informe de la Población Extranjera Empadronada en la Comunidad de Madrid Junio 2010").



Source: City of Madrid data from "Memoria de Actividades Ejercicio 2008," 2010 data from CAM "Informe de la Población Extranjera Empadronada en la Comunidad de Madrid Junio 2010"; CAM data from "Plan de Integración 2009-2012 de la Comunidad de Madrid," 2010 data from "Informe de la Población Extranjera Empadronada en la Comunidad de Madrid Junio 2010."

Note: CAM numbers are as of January of each year, while the City of Madrid numbers are as of December.

The CAM's immigrant population is extremely diverse with several notably large groups (see Table 1): twenty percent of these 1.1 million foreign-born are Romanian, while eleven percent are from Ecuador, followed by eight percent from Morocco ("Informe de la Población Extranjera Empadronada en la Comunidad de Madrid Junio 2010"). This distribution has

evolved considerably over the last fifteen years. In 1999, Moroccans were the most numerous group, followed by Dominicans. But in 2000 a large influx of Latin Americans, particularly from Ecuador, but also from Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru, transformed Madrid's immigrant context and multiplied the size of the immigrant population. In 2001, Ecuadorians and Colombians were the first and third largest groups, respectively, in the CAM's foreign-born stock. Eastern Europeans, particularly from Romania and Bulgaria, have become the largest group in the last several years, taking advantage of the admission of their countries into the European Union to seek opportunity in Madrid. Romanians became the CAM's largest immigrant group in 2007, following steady but rapid growth in their numbers since 2002 ("Informe Demográfico de la Población Extranjera en la Comunidad de Madrid" 2007).

Table 3. Top Immigrant Groups in the Community of Madrid, 2010

Nationality	Number Registered in <i>Padrón</i>	Percent of Foreign National Population
Romania	218,184	19.6%
Ecuador	124,491	11.2%
Morocco	91,980	8.2%
Colombia	71,624	6.4%
Peru	62,645	5.6%
Bolivia	51,314	4.6%
China	44,673	4.0%
Dominican Republic	35,391	3.2%
Bulgaria	33,799	3.0%
Paraguay	31,277	2.8%
Poland	28,623	2.6%
Italy	27,961	2.5%
TOTAL FOREIGN NATIONALS	1,116,284	100.0%
Source: "Informe de la Población Extranjera Empadronada en la Comunidad de Madrid Junio 2010."		

The largely Latin American background of Madrid's biggest immigration surge is certainly important to understanding the relatively low level of opposition that immigrants met in their new adopted home. Latin Americans share a common language with Spaniards – normally the largest integration barrier for incoming migrants – as well as religious and cultural characteristics. The relatively “unproblematic” nature of the Latin American immigrants in contrast to North African or Sub-Saharan African immigrants is important to understanding reception dynamics (Gratius 2005; Izquierdo Escribano et al. 2003). This analysis will focus, however, on the development of immigrant policy in Madrid, whose base was shaped strongly in the mid-1990s through a strong framework established by local leaders. This institutional and

ideological commitment took place long before the Latin American increase in 1999, and I argue that the commitments made in the mid-1990s actually shaped the public reaction in the later period. My analysis will show that the paradigm was established long before the Latin American surge.

Madrid has developed an extensive set of immigrant policy measures to promote immigrant integration and peaceful coexistence. Earliest government efforts to support immigrant integration began in the early 1990s, primarily through grants to community-based organizations to provide services to vulnerable immigrant users, as well as several projects to defuse specific conflicts and coordinate efforts between municipal, CAM, and community resources. Both the city and CAM governments established the trajectory for their future immigrant policymaking in the mid-1990s, creating key institutions and an inclusionary immigrant integration policy paradigm. Over time, as immigration increased and *national* integration programs were developed, Madrid's constellation of immigrant policy tools multiplied and gained in institutional standing and importance. As immigration has become a more established phenomenon with longer-term residents, Madrid has adapted its integration programs, maintaining a strongly inclusive trajectory that is primarily treating immigration management through an immigrant integration lens that has now been updated to accommodate settled immigrant residents.

Critical Juncture

A series of events in the mid-1990s made immigration a salient policy issue before the large population boom that transformed the city just five years later in 2000. A strong policy

paradigm was established by key innovators in this earlier period when immigrants only constituted between one and two percent of the population but their presence was beginning to be noticed by service providers. The paradigm has persisted in shaping immigrant policy developments ever since, up to today's context of seventeen-percent foreign-born population. The inclusive immigrant integration paradigm established by strong advocates within and outside of government shaped the creation of early institutions and funding practices. This shaped the views of government professionals and service providers about what the role of government is in managing immigrant diversity, and what their own roles are in managing immigration. This paradigm was shaped largely by the efforts of a notable innovator and advocate for immigrants, Professor Carlos G3menez of the Autonomous University, as well as several key bureaucrats in the city government who designed the city's initial immigrant policies. In the absence of immigration programming and with significant institutional and budgetary leeway, these municipal bureaucrats had the freedom to shape the policy response and lay down a strong basis for an inclusionary policy trajectory within the city government. They worked extensively with Carlos G3menez in these early days of policy elaboration, together constituting the core group of leaders. CAM-level efforts were also taking place and being influenced by the paradigm, mainly guided by G3menez. The pioneering work of these individuals established the trajectory for Madrid's current extensive array of immigrant policy instruments and services at the city and CAM levels.

Carlos G3menez, who tellingly identified the critical juncture in 1992 in a detailed article making recommendations for Madrid's immigration response, has continued to be fundamentally involved in Madrid's municipal and CAM integration policy. As one of the first identified

experts on the phenomenon of immigration when it was being recognized as a salient social and policy issue in the early 1990s, he had privileged access to shape the views of government officials and even establish several government-funded programs that existed for many years. He has left a clear stamp on Madrid's immigrant policy. Gímenez himself recognized the importance of the policy decisions made in the mid-1990s. He wrote in one of his early pieces, "In 1992 we are arriving at a crucial moment where we must define whether we are going to follow a path to integration or to marginalization." In this article and in the landmark 1992 report he coordinated on CAM immigration dynamics (Gímenez Romero 1992b), he laid out a comprehensive agenda for immigrant policy for the city and region, listing a set of eighty policy recommendations to guide authorities. These covered topics from providing tailored social services to immigrants, engaging in research on migration dynamics, to focusing on education of native Spaniards and encouraging solidarity and peaceful co-existence (Gímenez Romero 1992a). This "laundry list" approach to immigrant integration has remained durable in Madrid's immigrant policy, with each municipal and CAM integration plan presenting a long list of numerous elements and programs, all seeking to provide a comprehensive response to immigrant challenges. This chapter will make clear that many of the types of policy measures Gímenez proposed in 1992 were indeed realized in the following decades, with major policy changes at both the municipal and CAM levels. The policy paradigm that he established in the mid-1990s has had a lasting effect on the direction of immigrant policymaking in the CAM.

It is widely agreed that Gímenez played a fundamental role in Madrid's immigration response. One study written in the 1990s on the CAM's early immigrant policy already emphasized Gímenez's influence, pointing out that many of his policy suggestions were enacted

by CAM authorities and quoting multiple policy officials citing his key role (Rivas Nina 1997). In my own fieldwork, several key respondents informed me directly about Gímenez’s important role in the early to mid-1990s and his continued direct involvement in city and CAM services in the late 1990s and into the 2000s. Three different key municipal immigrant policymakers engaged on these issues in the 1990s described Gimenez as extremely visible and helpful in the city’s attempt to develop an immigration response (Interviews July 2; July 21; July 22, 2009). His advocacy for creation of a formal training institute to create an intercultural mediation service, and his later administration of this (CAM-run) school and later the (municipal-run) intercultural mediator service, is the most visible way he shaped one of the most important tools in Madrid’s immigrant policymaking. But I would argue that his philosophical approach to integration - his emphasis on the novelty of the phenomenon and the need for trained and specialized personnel, the Third World lens, and the emphasis on educating native Spaniards to foster intercultural interaction – all three elements of this immigrant integration paradigm have shaped Madrid’s immigrant policymaking, and all three were already primary at the stage of his earliest recommendations on the topic, in 1992.

The policy paradigm at this critical juncture established not only basic ideas about diversity management but also created key institutions that would later expand with rising immigrant numbers and budgets. An *inclusionary immigrant policy paradigm* was established at that point in the mid-1990s, shaped fundamentally by a view of diversity management through an *immigrant integration* lens. The integration paradigm comprises three key components: 1) recognition of immigration as a fundamentally new phenomenon that poses new challenges to local government and requires specialized information, training, and services, 2) a view of

immigrants through an international lens, linking them to their sending countries and thus to international development dynamics, and 3) emphasis on the need to educate native Spaniards and stress intercultural exchange and *convivencia*. The three elements are constituent parts of a cohesive immigrant integration paradigm that was and remains dominant in shaping municipal and CAM policy responses to immigration. These three elements emerged from the leadership of the key innovators. Gimenez's ideas and philosophical approach to immigrant policy have thoroughly shaped the constellation of immigrant policy tools that both the CAM and the city of Madrid have developed over the last fifteen years. Multiple sets of formal integration plans and an extensive set of service-providing institutions strongly evoke the immigrant integration paradigm established in the mid-1990s.

The critical juncture arose in the early 1990s, when immigrant numbers were very low (below 2 percent of the population), but several conflicts and short-term crises related to immigrant residents caught public and government attention. One notable incident took place in late 1990, when a large group of West African refugees sought shelter in a famous public square the Plaza de España. Their unfortunate circumstances, along with growing concern over the living conditions of many Moroccan migrants in shantytown conditions, in addition to a rash of violent incidents against and deaths of migrants, lifted immigration into the public debate in the early 1990s. It was in this context that the CAM government sought to address the immigration issue for the first time (Rivas Nina 1997).

Earliest efforts to tackle immigration concerns reflected the complete absence of knowledge about the emerging phenomenon and, foremost, the need to collect information. Some of the earliest initiatives by the government were to commission expert research reports on

the immigration situation in Madrid. As early as 1990, a General Assembly Resolution 328/90 called for “[realization] of a rigorous and immediate study on the incidence of immigration in Madrid, and its effects on social marginalization” (“Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 159, II Legislatura” 1990). This was followed by the sponsorship by the CAM Department of Social Integration²¹ of a large-scale research project coordinated by none other than Carlos Gimenez. This was the first large-scale research on immigration in the CAM, and it was done with the help of researchers from his university and from the well-known immigration research institute Colectivo IOE. This study was conducted in 1990 and 1991, and produced in 1992 a two-volume study entitled “Foreign Immigrants in Madrid.” This study was in part devoted to providing a detailed analysis of a number of key ethnic groupings, with sections on the Portuguese, Latin Americans, Filipinos, North Africans, and other Africans. The report also included sections on demographic trends, discussion of the legal context, a media analysis, and a report by one of the most important immigrant-serving Catholic benevolent associations.

I argue that this study, widely credited as shaping public response, was of primary importance for establishing the policy paradigm that would be embedded in the following years. The study itself was a manifestation of the CAM government’s first formal acknowledgement of the immigration phenomenon. It established the basic elements of the immigrant integration paradigm: emphasizing the need for government to adapt to the needs of immigrants, viewing immigrants and immigrant policy largely through the lens of “Third World” destinations and emphasizing the need to avoid social marginalization of foreign newcomers, and establishing the

²¹ The CAM Department of Social Integration was the unit responsible for social services in the early 1990s and it was renamed the Department of Health and Social Services in 1998, and then the Department of Social Services in 1999. Note that the Spanish term “integration” had no connection to immigrant integration but was rather used to refer generally to normalization of disadvantaged social groups.

intercultural and *convivencia* model as the fundamental foundation of diversity management.

Foreshadowing the importance of the work itself, Gímenez wrote in the introduction to the report that “The principal conclusion of the study is as simple as it is challenging: the phenomenon of foreign immigration in the CAM finds itself in a crucial moment or stage” which “will possibly finish when – in the face of the social importance and growing repercussions of the phenomenon – a general immigration policy, including a social policy of immigration, is elaborated.” The introduction went on to say that the administration could choose a route to integration or to social marginalization (Gímenez Romero 1992b). This was a telling prediction of the extensive integration policies that would emerge at both the CAM and municipal levels a few years later, and the proud attitude of today’s immigrant services providers as having chosen the inclusive integration route to coping with the region’s demographic changes.

Decisions made at this critical juncture – notably the inclusive stance towards immigration – put Madrid on an inclusionary trajectory in terms of immigrant policy. Many of Gímenez’s recommendations were implemented by CAM and municipal authorities in the following years. His emphasis on the need for immigrant interlocutors and the need to have trained personnel for the new immigration phenomenon led directly to the creation of the intercultural mediator service, which grew to be one of the city’s largest immigrant services projects. As his 1992 article emphasized, it was important to help “the immigrants [serve] as protagonists” in the policy response. He described in the report how he had proposed the creation of a training institute for intercultural mediators, a school that would create immigrant and native leaders and mediators to educate newcomers who would be knowledgeable about immigration law, social benefits, taxes, neighborhood issues, recreational activities, and

associations (Gímenez Romero 1992a). This became EMSI, the CAM's intercultural mediator training institute, and in complementary fashion, SEMSI, the city's mediation service. Gímenez also made other proposals for specific immigrant-serving institutions, like a municipal immigrant information and services office, investment in research on immigration, training for government workers, support for immigrant associations and community organizations, and other initiatives. Many of these ideas came into being in the eventual funded framework of Madrid's immigrant policy.

His focus on the needs of migrants coming from the developing world certainly was evident in the landmark 1992 report, with a strong link made institutionally between immigration and international development, as well as a continued emphasis on viewing immigrants through an international lens. The separation of the report by national origin group, all groups coming from developing countries or regions, was a fundamental part of the framing of "immigrants" and the concept of immigration in the Spanish context. Higher-educated, affluent foreign residents from other European countries and wealthy South American countries such as Argentina or Chile were conspicuously *not* included in the group of immigrants perceived as requiring an integration policy response – although Gímenez noted explicitly that these groups were significant and that over *half* of Madrid's foreign-born in 1989 (at least those with residence permits) came from "the First World."²² This gets to a larger point about Spanish society and its view of the immigration phenomenon, a demographic dynamic that is relatively new in the country's history. As many of my interviews revealed, Spaniards use the term

²² Madrid's First World foreign-born came from Europe, Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Gímenez notes that this changed with the 1990 legalization process, which made Third World immigrants the majority of the foreign-born in Madrid (page 47).

“immigrants” not simply to refer to the foreign-born, but rather it is more commonly used to denote individuals from developing countries, those who might prove an integration challenge due to cultural differences, language, or educational level. It is a term that implies significant class connotations. One of my interviews in one of the wealthiest districts in Madrid explicitly revealed this concept of immigrants and immigrant integration, linking “immigrants” directly with low incomes, undocumented status, and a need for integration support:

This is a district that has a high [economic] level. We have some neighborhoods with many immigrants. Our percent immigrant is fifteen percent, but there are also Americans, Europeans, because we have many embassies here. Therefore, not all are South American immigrants, or Romanians, the type that I think you are interested in...Because an immigrant who works in an embassy is not an immigrant, or an executive who works in an enterprise...here in Serrano Street, that is not an immigrant. He has a work permit and he has a certain income level...there is no integration problem there...(Interview April 30, 2009)

The conceptual link between immigration and the developing world was further solidified by the institutional linkage described in the following sections, by which local-level immigration initiatives were linked tightly to international development programs.

Thirdly, the emphasis on a bi-directional integration process – with the need to educate native Spaniards about the immigration phenomenon – would be an enduring characteristic of Madrid’s policy response, and it was clearly present in these early documents. It is important to note that Gímenez went so far as to recommend that *half* of all immigrant policy efforts and resources should go toward informing and educating native Spaniards. He detailed that this education must include information about the causes of immigration, information about the actual immigration numbers, discussions of the contributions of immigrants both economically and culturally, as well as information about the source countries and their cultural richness. He

also stressed the importance of intercultural events in which people would share their cultural traditions and come together in a spirit of tolerance and diversity (Gimenez Romero 1992a). This emphasis on the role of education, awareness, and *interaction* continues to be dominant in both municipal and CAM programming, with significant investment into educational and awareness-raising (“*sensibilización*”) campaigns and possibilities for intercultural exchange. The Madrid immigrant policy model and immigrant service providers’ worldviews are completely dominated by this concept of interculturalism, and the importance of interaction between immigrant groups and with the native population.

Immigration as a New Challenge: Integration Institutions

Personnel Development and Information Diffusion

The first key aspect of the immigrant integration paradigm is the treatment of immigration as a fundamentally *new* phenomenon that requires a tailored response from public authorities to address the specific needs of new immigrants and the gaps in public services and public competence. This implies several policy tools: the collecting of information, the training of personnel devoted to immigrant issues, and the creation of new institutions dedicated specifically to the topic of immigration at the local level. In this paradigm immigrants are treated *qua* immigrants, not as members of ethnic minority groups but rather as visitors from foreign countries who pose a fundamentally *new* set of challenges for local authorities used to dealing with Spanish natives. As Gimenez noted in 1992, neither the CAM nor the city had yet “developed an organized or systematic project” regarding immigration as a social phenomenon, despite a minimal immigrant presence since the 1980s (Gimenez Romero 1992b). It was in the

absence of planned immigrant policy and institutions dedicated to immigrants that Gímenez offered his formative suggestions. His influence on the creation of these first institutions ensured his continued influence as time passed.

Training personnel to deal specifically with the immigration phenomenon has been one of the backbones of the immigrant policy response in Madrid. As Gímenez emphasized in his 1992 report, there was a need to train individuals from the immigrant community to serve as bridges to the local government administration in order to raise awareness about immigrants' particular needs and challenges. Shortly after the report was issued, Gímenez secured funding from the CAM for a formal institute to train individuals on the topic of immigration. This education and training effort would cultivate a community of immigrants who could serve as viable interlocutors for the administration and also serve as a bridge between the immigrant community and public authorities. In 1995 Gímenez launched through his institute at the Autonomous University of Madrid, and contracted by the CAM Social Integration Department, the School for Social Mediators for Immigration (*"Escuela de Mediadores Sociales para la Inmigración"* or EMSI). EMSI began in 1995 with two sets of coursework, training twenty-four Spanish students and forty-eight foreign students on the fundamentals of immigration dynamics, immigration law, social work, and work assistance. The fundamental objectives of EMSI were to create an "intercultural space" for interaction, to train individuals, and to empower immigrants as civic actors ("Memoria de la Consejería de Integración Social" 1996).

EMSI was a critical early component of the CAM's immigrant policymaking. Although the contract was transferred away from the Autonomous University to the Red Cross in 1997, EMSI expanded its programming and continued to train individuals as cultural mediators until

just the last few years, when the institution was renamed the School for Professionals in Immigration and Cooperation (“*La Escuela de Profesionales de Inmigración y Cooperación*” or EPIC) and reoriented towards the continuing education of immigration professionals. EMSI trained many individuals with the specific skills and knowledge valued by Gímenez and others for coping with the new challenges posed by the changing demographics. The perceived need to train individuals to become full-time experts in immigrant reception and service – the creation of a new *category* of service providers – is testament to the government’s understanding of immigration as something *new* that required new skills and competencies.

Closely linked to EMSI was the city of Madrid’s Intercultural Mediator Service (“*Servicio de Mediación Social Intercultural*” or SEMSI), which began in 1997 to provide immigrant expertise to the city’s social services offices, which were dealing with a growing immigrant client base but did not have the cultural or linguistic competence to cope. SEMSI was designed to place specifically trained individuals, many of an immigrant background themselves, in municipal social service offices. The program had several objectives: providing essential bridging roles between immigrants and local government providers, informing immigrants about government services, providing language translation, and generally bringing a sensitivity to and awareness of immigrant issues to city service-providers. During this time of great change, the municipal authorities were looking for informed ways to adapt. As a former official told me, Madrid was “totally unprepared” for the immigration phenomenon, and the government staff required training to be able to deal with the immigrant residents coming in for services. He credited EMSI and SEMSI for filling that need (Interview July 22, 2009). As a government report described the founding of SEMSI:

In those times [when SEMSI was founded], it was evident that the way to approach the new situation would have to begin with a deep understanding of the previous circumstances as a necessary prior step in order to be able to design and put in place programs or interventions adequate for encouraging integration. In this way the professionals in Social Services, especially the social workers – as the first gatekeepers that these groups would usually approach for information, advice, and help – would be able to count on the necessary support in order to deal with the new problems that were coming to them, in particular communication with users with distinct cultural baggage ("El Servicio de Mediación Social Intercultural SEMSI 1997-2002: Una experiencia de mediación comunitaria en el ámbito de las migraciones y la convivencia intercultural" 2002).

Carlos Gímenez and his immigration institute at the Autonomous University actually ran the SEMSI service through a contract with the municipal government, beginning with ten mediators in five high-immigration districts in 1997 ("Programa de Atención a la Inmigración e Interculturalidad" 2002), growing to twelve mediators in seven districts in 1999 ("Guidelines for Caring for the Immigrant Population" 1999), covering all of the city's twenty-one districts with twenty-seven mediators by 2000 and increasing to thirty mediators in 2002 ("Memoria de los Servicios Sociales Municipales" 2002). SEMSI grew progressively over the years, eventually employing fifty mediators. It began with a budget of only 43,000 dollars²³ ("Memoria Annual 1998: Línea de la Solidaridad"), which increased already to 279,270 dollars in the following year; doubled to 589,778 dollars in 2000; and then doubled again to 1 million dollars in 2001. The 1.1 million dollars for SEMSI in 2002 in the municipal immigration service budget constituted *half* of that service's 2002 budget, making it its most major program ("Memoria de los Servicios Sociales Municipales" 2002). The SEMSI service provided a key set of actors to facilitate the demographic transition of Madrid over the growth period between the late 90s and

²³ All amounts recorded in Spanish pesetas or euros have been converted to and are reported in US dollars in this chapter.

into the 2000s. Through 2008, SEMSI was being funded and serving the city's twenty-one districts, with an annual budget by 2008 of 3.1 million dollars supporting over fifty mediators. By 2008, however, alongside the expansion of a wide range of other municipal programs, SEMSI only constituted about fifteen percent of the city immigration services budget. I will return in a later section to the very recent history of the SEMSI program, which was terminated in 2009 and replaced with another grassroots mediation-style program.

At the CAM level, the earliest immigrant policy initiatives also focused on training and education. The Department of Social Services took on a primary role in diffusing information about immigration to local-area government and community providers, as well as conducting original research on the local immigration scene and creating a consultative forum (the latter two institutions replicating models established at the national level). The CAM established an Immigration Research Institute ("*Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración*") in 1996, and the Regional Forum for Immigration in 1998. It also created the more important CAM Regional Office for Immigration (OFRIM) in 1997. OFRIM, contracted out to the Red Cross, was established to serve as a *resource guide* and *information source* for immigrant-serving organizations and other government offices coping with immigrant-related issues. It had an initial budget of 258,000 dollars ("Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 121, IV Legislatura" 1997). In the first three years, it fielded between three and four thousand requests for information annually ("Memoria de la Consejería de Integración Social" 1997; Memoria de la Consejería de Sanidad y Servicios Sociales" 1998; Memoria de la Consejería de Servicios Sociales" 1999); and this increased dramatically to thirteen thousand requests in 2000, when OFRIM established a telephone Information Line timed to coincide with the extraordinary

legalization process of 2000 which produced a barrage of information requests. OFRIM also put out monthly information bulletins and took over the research institute role ("Memoria de la Consejería de Servicios Sociales" 2000).

OFRIM was the organization most often cited as the CAM institution devoted to immigration before the creation of the Department of Immigration and Cooperation in 2005 (Interviews May 22; July 21, 2009), though one respondent carefully contrasted OFRIM's planning role with the municipal office's "on-the-ground" activities during the same period (Interview July 21, 2009). OFRIM primarily served as an information source to provide updated legal and demographic information in the years of immigration increase and legislative upheaval from the late 1990s into the 2000s. OFRIM's limited role revealed the CAM's cautious approach to immigration – in not providing direct services, but focusing more on providing information and educating providers to ease Madrid into the new reality. The creation of OFRIM – and the contracting of the Red Cross to run it, acknowledging the CAM's incapacity – highlighted the CAM authorities' understanding of immigration as fundamentally *new* to service providers, who needed a central information source to equip them to deal with the new immigration reality.

Another important facet of this dynamic of public authorities learning how to cope with immigration was the active participation by municipal authorities in international networks that brought together leaders from different high-immigration European cities to share experiences and best practices. This participation in networks with older immigration countries reflected a desire by Madrid's officials to educate themselves about what other cities were doing in regard to immigrant populations, so as to learn from the successes and failures of their approaches to

immigrant policymaking. In the mid-1990s, the city of Madrid participated in the European Union's LIA Network, which brought together leaders from twenty European cities, supported by the European Commission ("Memoria de los Servicios Sociales Municipales" 1999). One of the municipal workers who actually participated in these activities reported to me that they got the idea for intercultural mediators through the LIA network, although there seems to be disagreement about whether the idea was initiated by them or by Carlos Gímenez (Interview July 21, 2009). LIA funds were used to support some of the early municipal initiatives, specifically an early project focused on the Centro district of the city ("Memoria de los Servicios Sociales Municipales" 1999). Participation in such European networks encouraged Madrid's immigration policy innovators to view Madrid's immigration situation through the prism of other European cities' experience with immigrant integration. This activity expressed the municipal authorities' understanding of their own inexperience in dealing with what was a new phenomenon – and thus the need to seek out other cities' lessons and learn from those countries with a longer experiences with immigration.

The inclusionary integration paradigm established in the mid-1990s effectively established some key institutions and personnel that survived for many years and had a fundamental role in changing Madrid's public services to adapt to the immigration phenomenon. The training of particular individuals in immigration expertise and intercultural mediation skills was one of the key manifestations of Madrid's integration paradigm, which emphasized the need for information, education, and specialized personnel to deal with the fundamentally *new* phenomenon of immigration in a formerly homogeneous city.

International Lens: Connection to International Development

In addition to the creation of a number of formal institutions dedicated to transitioning public services into the new immigration reality, another key element of the immigrant integration paradigm is the link between international development and immigration, and the international lens through which immigrants are viewed. Immigrants in Madrid were viewed through a lens that linked their presence in the receiving society directly to their sending countries, and to conditions in those sending countries that most likely precipitated the migration. In this way immigrants were viewed as newcomers from disadvantaged foreign locations, outsiders who did not fit neatly into established groups but rather needed to be understood for their distinct needs. They are not members of existing ethnic groups; they are outsiders. This link was particularly evident in the institutional setup at the municipal level, where immigrant services funding actually came initially from international development funds. The connection between immigration and international development is fully cohesive at both CAM and city levels, as can be seen most obviously in the creation of the Immigration and Cooperation Department in the CAM in 2005.²⁴ Note that “Cooperation” is the Spanish term used to signify *international development assistance*, so this department was specifically designed to link the CAM’s immigration concerns to international development efforts in the developing world.

The perception that immigrants were to be viewed not only as new residents in the Madrid community but also as coming from a particular *place* – whose characteristics might be

²⁴ This Department was folded into the conglomerate Department of Labor, Women, and Immigration in early 2010, but the Regional Agency for Immigration and Cooperation is in tact, with its research initiatives, immigrant centers (CEPIs and CASIs), and funding agreements with municipalities.

somehow related to their emigration – was quite dominant in policy and policy documents. The key bureaucrats involved in immigration issues in the municipal Social Services department clearly viewed immigration and international development as two sides of the same coin, describing immigration as an inevitable result of global inequalities and the absence of international development (Buñuel Heras and Gil 2000). This type of language, linking poverty in developing countries to the arrival of immigrants in Spain, was evident throughout policy documents on immigration policy in Madrid.

The linkage between immigration and international development was fortified by a key institutional feature early on in Madrid's migration evolution. In the mid-1990s, before there was a formal immigration services section within the Social Services Department or any immigrant policies at all, several employees within the municipal *International Cooperation Department* were deeply engaged in dealing with the immigrant population and related issues growing in Madrid. They belonged to the Department of International Cooperation but they were the *only* municipal authorities explicitly taking up the immigrant issue in the early 1990s. This small group of individuals were those who were engaged in EU best practices discussions described above. They were the first municipal lead on immigration, who organized the city's first ever integration effort in response to a neighborhood conflict over the Dominican presence in the Aravaca neighborhood (Buñuel Heras and Gil 2000), as well as funding immigrant integration efforts being carried out by community organizations in Madrid.

In fact, through the International Cooperation Department and budget, the city invested significantly in programs dedicated to Madrid's immigrant residents beginning in 1995 (Fernández 2001), laying down the basis for continued investment into immigrant issues and

conceptually linking local immigration dynamics to international development issues. The government of Madrid officially decided in 1995 to commit .7 percent of its annual budget to development projects, as described in the quote below from the 1995 annual report of the International Cooperation Department. Within that department, a decision was made to commit a significant portion of that development budget to the needs of Third World migrants *resident in Madrid*. The connection between immigration and development was made explicitly by Madrid mayor José Alvarez del Manzano y López del Hierro in the 1995 annual report:

Solidarity with the developing world, *as well as the immigrant population in our city*, is a rising challenge that we need to face. The City of Madrid has responded by dedicating .7 percent of its budget to international development projects *and to projects for the immigrant population in Madrid*, through the annual edict provided by the Regulations for these grants, agreed upon 24 February 1995. From this date on, the City is financing projects proposed by non-governmental organizations, headquartered in Madrid, focused on improving educational and health infrastructure and encouraging the professional training and capacity-building and social promotion of the most disadvantaged populations, and, in general, encouraging sustainable development in the implicated regions, trying to ensure that the beneficiaries feel involved and participate directly in the execution of projects. In 1995, the City of Madrid spent 1,383,923,014 pesetas [or 10.5 million dollars] for 90 projects conducted by 64 NGOs [emphasis added] ("Memoria Annual 1995: Línea de la Solidaridad").

In the International Cooperation Department reports, Madrid was treated as just another site of international development investment. The presence of developing world emigrants in Madrid was referred to as the “Fourth World” (as opposed to First and Third World, the receiving and sending societies); and “Madrid” was listed explicitly as one of the target regions of projects in the 1995 Report, the list also including Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, and Equatorial Guinea. Madrid continued to be the *second-most prioritized region* for the remainder of the years that the Cooperation Department funded immigration projects - until

the Immigration Services staff took over the budget in 2004. (Though the Madrid funds only made up about fifteen percent of the total NGO grants, with the largest portion still going to development projects in Latin America.) The budget for NGO-run immigration projects increased from 616,650 dollars in 1995, to 1.7 million in 1996, to 2 million in 1997, up to 2.3 million in 2000, and stayed between 2.2 and 2.6 million dollars from 2000 to 2003 ("Memoria Annual 1995: Línea de la Solidaridad; Memoria Annual 1996: Línea de la Solidaridad; Memoria Annual 1997: Línea de la Solidaridad; Memoria Annual 2000: Línea de la Solidaridad; Memoria Annual 2001: Línea de la Solidaridad; Memoria Annual 2002: Línea de la Solidaridad; Memoria Annual 2003: Línea de la Solidaridad"). These grants went mostly to Spanish NGOs that were related to the Catholic Church, providing charity and support for new immigrants in the community. Some immigrant associations also received funds, but as relative newcomers, they were definitely less important receivers of these municipal grants (Interview July 2, 2009). Funded projects included basic shelter provision and assistance with housing, to orientation for newcomers to the legal and social environment, to specific integration programs to provide job training and job placement assistance, as well as programs targeted at women's and children's needs.

Later International Cooperation Department reports continued to emphasize the link between Madrid's immigration inflows and the choice of development programs to fund in the Third World. As immigration inflows changed dramatically at the end of the 1990s, with the massive increase in Latin American arrivals, there was specific reflection of this in the government reports. For example, in 2001 the introduction to the annual report noted that additional projects were funded specifically in Ecuador and Colombia, which happened to be the

major sending countries at that time ("Memoria Annual 2001: Línea de la Solidaridad"). This connection was made explicit in the 2002 report, in which the director of Work and Citizen Services wrote in the introduction, "In this budget, for the first time, we have given priority to projects in Ecuador, Colombia, Morocco, the Dominican Republic and Peru, establishing the necessary correlation between migrant flows into the city of Madrid and a stronger commitment to development in these countries" ("Memoria Annual 2002: Línea de la Solidaridad" 2002).

The use of international development funds for projects benefiting Madrid was partly incidental, with local actors simply eager to benefit from the large international-development-dedicated funding stream. Actors were undoubtedly eager to get a piece of the pie by diverting some of the international funds to immigration issues. Municipal bureaucrats in the Social Services Department were pleased to take advantage of the international development money, and a key director of that period told me that "this was an ideal moment" where "there was so much money" that they had a unique opportunity to deal with the immigration issue in their own city (Interview July 2, 2010). Another leader in the Social Services department shared the same view, describing:

We benefited a lot from the money that existed already in the Cooperation Program...we justified it in the following way...we said that this cooperation program, which had a defined and quite a large budget, we said that, we had this money, and since the *immigrant* population we were receiving was coming from the same countries in which we were working on development, after all both programs were united. Therefore, what we did was benefit from, it was seventeen percent of the municipal cooperation program budget, to serve those individuals who were in Madrid. Because, we started with the basis that these people were coming from the same countries – and this is true – that we were working on in the development program (Interview June 23, 2009).

This institutional practice, however, had the consequence of shaping actors' conceptions of the immigration issue itself. This link between international development and immigration dynamics in Madrid reflected and then reinforced the paradigm through which policy actors viewed and continue to view the immigrant residents. An essentially international lens shaped how actors *viewed* immigrants - very much in relationship to their sending countries, many of which were former Spanish colonies with less developed economies - thus encouraging a sense of solidarity and warm reception. This is distinct from the ethnic minority lens seen in the US local cases, where new immigrants are placed into ethnic group categories already applicable to previous residents; immigrants in the US are thus viewed as members of existing minority groups with established status and access to resources. The Madrid view, in contrast, emphasized the immigrants' continued links to their home country and particularly the distinct cultural and economic "baggage" that they brought into their new Spanish home. As described in the previous section, immigrants were treated as a distinct group with *new* needs for support and assistance in becoming members of Spanish society. Conceptualizing immigration through an international development lens provided a clear frame for policymakers through which immigrant needs could be understood and treated.

Bi-Directional Integration: Education and Interculturalism

This invocation of solidarity and the link to the developing world is connected to the third important characteristic of the immigrant integration paradigm – that is, the emphasis on a bi-directional integration and adaptation not only on the part of incoming migrants but also on the part of the *receiving society*. This is linked clearly to the first element discussed above, of the

novelty of the immigration phenomenon and the need for host institutions to adapt. From early on, Madrid's policy stressed the education of native Spaniards about the immigration phenomenon and the fostering of peaceful coexistence or *convivencia*. *Convivencia* is defined as "living in harmony with others" which requires an interaction between people and "[construction of] something together." This goes beyond mere "coexistence" to imply a flourishing of different groups and a context of tolerance and diversity. As one city document defines it, "In order to have a situation of *Convivencia*, it is necessary to learn together, have tolerance between people, common rules for the functioning of the shared space, share duties and rights, and regulate possible conflicts" ("Guía de Convivencia Intercultural de la ciudad de Madrid" 2005). The concept of *Convivencia* implies interaction and peaceful tolerance of cultural diversity, going far beyond assimilation and calling on natives to change and adapt alongside newcomers' efforts to integrate. The term and the concept have become dominant rhetorically in Madrid to conceptualize native-immigrant relations. It is an ideal that many local authorities argue they have actually reached through their progressive policies, although I emphasize here the importance of the conceptual frame and the *value* placed on this understanding of diversity management. The important issue here is that Madrid's authorities have prioritized and explicitly funded programs and initiatives to foster cross-cultural interaction and cultivate tolerance. This connects to the conception of the *novelty* of the immigration phenomenon and the well-founded assumption that the public was not equipped to understand ethnic diversity and immigrant cultures. The content of these initiatives included efforts to educate native Spaniards about immigrant residents, as well as educate immigrants about Spaniards and about other immigrant groups, often through cultural exchange events.

Education has been a critical component of local immigrant policymaking. In addition to the funding of local NGOs in Madrid catering to immigrants' needs, the municipal International Cooperation budget was also used to fund various awareness-raising and educational efforts to inform Madrid's native residents about the foreign-born living among them. One of the most important programs was an educational program to sensitize Madrid's school children about the situation in the developing world and encourage solidarity and appreciation of diversity and interculturalism. This project began in 1997, through a partnership with NGOs INTERMOM and FERE. In the first year, 400 schools and 80,000 students were involved in this effort to "reflect and learn values of *convivencia*, solidarity between people, and respect of difference" ("Memoria Annual 1997: Línea de la Solidaridad"). The educational program grew over the years to eventually train thousands of students and teachers about the values of cultural diversity and an appreciation of the plight of the city's immigrants. Municipal funding was significant, averaging around 300,000 dollars annually from 1998 to 2003.

In addition to the INTERMOM program, an emphasis on intercultural events, interaction between people usually in the context of cultural events, was always a focus of Madrid's immigrant policy. From the beginning, EMSI conducted intercultural events such as dialogues, film discussions, sharing of traditional foods, etc. Significant attention has been paid to funding projects that foster intercultural understanding and encouraging interaction in the neighborhoods. The intercultural mediator program discussed above also reflects this commitment. This emphasis is still very much present, and intercultural events are constantly being organized in CAM and city forums.

Expansion of the Paradigm: Increased Funds Fortify the Integration Paradigm

As immigrant numbers increased in Madrid beginning in 2000 and there was the largest legalization campaign yet, the institutions established in the mid-1990s were expanded and institutionalized. The framing of what were appropriate immigrant policy tools had already been set by the innovators in the early period, through the integration paradigm. As immigrant numbers rose at the turn of the century, more funding was dedicated to the efforts for immigrant policies, and early institutions were expanded to deal with the new demographic demands. The early creations were expanded as immigrant service efforts were institutionalized at higher bureaucratic levels and at higher funding levels at both the city and CAM levels. At both levels, specific personnel and funds were dedicated to immigrant integration and they were given their own independent budgets. Following Spanish trends, both the city and the CAM put out integration and immigration *plans*, documents that laid out the range of policy tools and programs that were created. The CAM's first plan came out in 2000 through the Social Services Department, and the notable institutional innovation was the creation of specific immigrant service centers called Centers for Immigrant Social Attention ("*Centros de Atención Social al Inmigrante*" or CASIs). The CAM created an immigration office at the level of a "General Direction," only one bureaucratic level down from "Department" (or "*Consejería*") in 2001, and a full-fledged *Department* of Immigration and Cooperation in 2005. This was the first of its kind in all of Spain. The city of Madrid also created an immigration administrative unit "General Direction" in 2004, and wrote its first Integration Plan that year. The Plan led to the creation of a wide range of immigrant programming, the most important elements of which will be described

below. This growing institutionalization at both CAM and municipal levels will be detailed in this section.

All of these institutional developments built on the policy paradigm established in the mid-1990s and the initial institutional commitments detailed above. As immigrant numbers increased at the turn of the century, both municipal and CAM authorities committed to more funding for specific immigrant services and expanded existing services based on the inclusionary integration paradigm already embedded in immigrant professional and bureaucratic circles. The new institutions created were not built in a policy vacuum but rather were building on a paradigm that had already been directing public efforts for five years or more, since the mid-1990s. Although some of these policy innovations were indeed new, they did not depart from the trajectory set in the mid-1990s and were indebted to the early institutional and ideational commitments established at the critical juncture by Gímenez and others. Early leadership, particularly at the municipal level, was magnified and expanded but not completely changed – key leaders who had been working on the issues in the earliest stages continued on and led the expansion of services. As more funds were made available, more services were offered but still followed the same basic lines of action and the immigrant integration policy paradigm. This illustrates the stickiness of institutional commitments made earlier on in the demographic development.

At the municipal level, there was a gradual formalization of efforts that had been going on in the International Cooperation Department, and the creation of specific immigrant services. The city of Madrid did not establish a specific immigrant services unit (the “*Sección de Atención a la Inmigración*”) until 1999, and this unit did not receive its own budget until 2000. As

immigration numbers skyrocketed in the early 2000s and local social services began to receive more and more immigrant clients, this unit's budget was increased, quintupled according to a key respondent (Interview June 23, 2009). The grants for NGO projects became independent from the Cooperation Department in 2004, when Immigration was given higher institutional status and the "General Direction of Immigration and Development Cooperation" was created by the new mayor of Madrid, Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón (Interviews May 26; June 23; July 22, 2009). Tomás Vera, the former director of the CAM's new General Direction of Immigration, was named director of this new municipal office, and this began a very active and ambitious period of policy development in the area of immigrant policy. The immigrant services budget increased from 3 million to 11 million euros between 2003 and 2007 (Interview July 22, 2009), and staff size increased from five to fifteen (Interview June 23, 2009). Under the new director, the General Direction of Immigration and Development Cooperation developed Madrid's first official integration Plan – though it is expressly called the *Plan de Convivencia*, specifically to avoid the term "integration" and its association with "assimilation" and forced change (Interview July 22, 2009). This Plan includes a long list of thirty-five ambitious policy initiatives, ranging from the creation of an active research center devoted to studying Madrid immigration dynamics (the "*Observatorio*"), a training program to update Madrid's local services and personnel, resources to support orientation of and translation services for arriving immigrants, specific housing and other integration services for newly arriving immigrants, education and cultural events to encourage an appreciation of diversity, the creation of political participation opportunities for non-citizens (the "*Mesas de Diálogo*" and "*Foro de Madrid*"), conflict resolution and mediation services, anti-racism initiatives, as well as activities to support job placement, and coordination

and support for district-level activities and national/regional-level coordination ("I Plan Madrid de Convivencia Social Intercultural (2004-2008)"). The new direction has recently published a second version of the Plan, for the period 2009-2012. Many of the same initiatives have been maintained, although one of the major policy changes has been the termination of the long-standing mediation service or SEMSI, and its replacement with a different service.

The expansion of the municipal immigrant services budget obviously corresponded directly with the increase in immigrant numbers in the 2000s. As policymakers saw the dramatic demographic change taking place in their city and the increase in the number of immigrants listed in local population registries, they had no choice but to respond. What facilitated the transition to expanded immigrant services, however, was the foundation established by the early innovators and the leadership established in the earlier period. The activities going on since the late 1990s - the intercultural mediator program, the grants to NGO projects, the training for municipal workers and sensitization campaigns - this laid down a solid base for the expanded offerings of the 2004 plan. In the face of drastic demographic change at the turn of the century, the city of Madrid already had developed expertise and institutions specialized in the immigration issue that facilitated the transition to a highly diverse city. The policy paradigm established by Carlos Gímenez and other municipal leaders guided Madrid's immigrant policy developments as immigrant numbers surged and their efforts were finally given larger budgets and significant institutional standing. Although there were and there continues to be problems with integration, racism, and xenophobia, I argue that Madrid's relative success with managing its dramatic demographic change was due in part to the institutional and ideational commitments

established at the critical juncture in the mid-1990s and already well institutionalized by the late 1990s.

At the CAM level, specific immigrant-devoted institutions and resources developed slowly in the late 1990s and concentrated in the Department of Social Services, but overall they were quite minimal in comparison to the city of Madrid's hands-on work. Three key respondents reported to me that the CAM's activities were minimal until 2000, when the first regional Immigration Plan was written (Interviews July 21; July 22; July 24, 2009). A CAM-level General Direction of Immigration and Cooperation was not created until 2001, under CAM President Gallardón's initiative, and this was directed by Tomás Vera ("Entrevista con Pilar Martínez, Consejera de Servicios Sociales de la Comunidad de Madrid" 2001). Before the creation of the CAM General Direction of Immigration, immigration was at a low bureaucratic level with only one dedicated staff member (Interview July 22, 2009).

The CAM took a step forward in programming in 2000, with its first Immigration Plan. The Plan was in the works for several years, beginning with a conference in June 1996 to receive input from societal actors; but it was not written and published until 2000, by the Social Services Department. The Regional Plan recapped many of the programs that had been supported in the late 1990s, but also established some new initiatives such as the Immigrant Service Centers or CASIs, that became very important in later years as the program expanded. The Plan projected there would be sixteen CASIs by 2004, *specialized* social services centers to which individual immigrants would need to be referred through the local *general* social services centers ("Plan Regional Para la Inmigración, 2001-2003"). Eventually there were nineteen CASIs, providing essential supplementary support for immigrants' needs with a range of staff with specialized

skills – legal, psychological, social work, housing – that the basic social services centers could not furnish (Interview June 30, 2009). All the CASIs were subcontracted out to be run directly by NGOs under the supervision of the CAM ("Plan Regional Para la Inmigración, 2001-2003"). The CASIs were to serve all immigrants, documented and undocumented alike, which was a “pioneering” effort at the time of their creation (Interview May 22, 2009). In addition to the CASIs, the 2001 Plan also listed a range of projects for specific at-risk groups like immigrant women, single mothers, unaccompanied minors, and so on.

The development of the CASIs was a major expansion of CAM efforts, with the first creation of specifically designated *spaces* for immigrants to find help. This followed the paradigm of *separate* and specialized services for immigrants, this group of people seen to have distinct and new *needs*. The CASI system fundamentally treated immigrants as a distinct group worthy of separate services – though CAM officials would likely point out that immigrants were still to go through general social services *first*, and only if they presented additional needs were they referred to a CASI.²⁵

The growing CAM efforts were capped by the ultimate institutional creation: a distinct Department (“*Consejería*”) of Immigration and Cooperation was created in 2005. It put out its own integration plan, the first one for the 2006-2008 period, and a second for 2009-2012. This institution replicated the commitment to the integration paradigm that had shaped immigrant policymaking for a decade. It embodied the conceptual link described above between immigration and international development. The quotation below crystallizes the strong

²⁵ Respondents were generally reluctant to admit that separate facilities and spaces exist for immigrants only, since the ideal is to integrate them into services for the general public. Division of immigrants from natives exemplified their critique of “multiculturalism” in contrast to their ideal of “interculturalism.”

conceptual and institutional link made between immigration and international development dynamics in Madrid immigrant policymaking.

The programs in development are linked to those on immigration. The countries receiving Madrid's development assistance are countries that send immigrants. The CAM considers it indispensable that there be a coordinated approach to both policies. The Regional Agency for Immigration and Development will be the key administrative instrument to develop immigrant integration policies and fight against poverty in the CAM ("Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 133, VII Legislatura" 2005).

The Department also placed great importance on educating Spaniards and encouraging understanding about where immigrants were coming from. This reflected a commitment to a bidirectional integration model – in which both the host society and incoming immigrants must adapt in order to accommodate change. The Department declared this explicitly in 2006 in response to a request from the Assembly of Madrid:

[The 2006-2008 Integration Plan] considers integration as a bi-directional process that implicates the immigrant population as well as the native population. The role of the latter is essential if we want a real and effective integration. The Madrid society knows that the benefits that the immigrant population generates are enormous. However, sensitizing all [residents] through positive messages on such benefits is a fundamental project, it is this process, principally to foster *convivencia* and to avoid possible racist or intolerant reactions ("Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 185, VII Legislatura" 2006).

Key among the new activities of the new Department were plans for a second type of “immigrant space”: the Participation and Integration Centers (“*Centros de Participación e Integración*” or CEPIS), which are essentially public community spaces where Madrid's foreign and native residents can interact. There are currently eighteen CEPIS, mostly in the city of Madrid but with a few in nearby suburbs. They offer training courses, internet access, recreational activities, legal assistance and information, all under the aegis of the CAM. Like the

CASIs, they are all contracted out and run by NGOs, but the signage and documentation do not emphasize that fact; instead, they make it clear these are spaces of CAM authority. They are supposed to be open to all residents of Madrid. As the sign indicates at the entrance of one of the Spanish-Ecuadorian centers, “Our services and courses are directed to all people, regardless of nationality.” However, each CEPI is named after a particular sending country or region; so there is a Hispanic-Ecuadorian CEPI, a Hispanic-Bulgarian CEPI, a Hispanic-Moroccan CEPI, and so on for most of the major sending countries and regions.²⁶ The CEPIs are currently the most visible “star program” of the CAM immigrant policy structure. The CEPIs do align with the elements of the integration paradigm, providing a separate space for immigrants and thus reinforcing the notion that immigrants have distinct needs that require distinct services from those that ordinary residents obtain. The division between national-origin groups – rather than their being organized as generic “immigrant centers” – highlights the international view of immigrants and the ascription of strong national identities and assumptions of continued connection to origin societies and cultures. In addition, the framing of CEPIs as spaces of interaction and the emphasis on cultural programming illustrates the *convivencia* element of the paradigm.

The other, far more important institutional change in 2005 – particularly for the long-autonomous municipal immigration program - was the creation of agreements between the CAM and every major immigrant-receiving municipality to formally transfer funds dedicated to

²⁶ It is interesting to note that there is no Hispanic-Chinese CEPI even though the Chinese are one of the largest immigrant groups and very visible as merchants in central Madrid. Several service providers told me that the Chinese do not tend to seek out public services (Interviews May 27; June 22; July 6, 2009), and most respondents described the Chinese as different from all other origin groups – “mysterious” and elusive (Interviews May 21; May 27; June 22; July 6, 2009).

immigrant integration on an annual basis. The Department²⁷ signs these funding contracts (“*convenios*”) with about fifty municipalities in the Community of Madrid. The contracts are renewed annually, and the CAM now finances the majority of the different cities’ immigrant-oriented programs, including the city of Madrid’s many projects. In general the CAM finances sixty or seventy percent of the municipalities’ integration efforts, with the remainder being put up by the municipalities themselves. This structure and the creation of the CAM Department puts a bright line around “immigrant initiatives” and encourages the creation of more services and programming specifically designated for immigrant clients or specifically to deal with immigration as a distinct social issue. Although there is much lip service made to “normalizing” immigrants’ access to standard social and city services, the truth is that a plethora of specifically designated “immigrant integration” resources, programs, and spaces *exist* and are funded by public authorities under that banner.

These programs are also fortifying the commitment to interculturalism. A recent city of Madrid document describing the content of activities funded by the CAM Department in 2008 clearly reveals this commitment to interculturalism. For example, one million of the city of Madrid’s thirteen-million-euro immigrant services budget in 2008 consisted of grants to NGO’s working for “intercultural social *convivencia*.” This constituted *two-thirds* of that budget’s NGO grant projects – the other third were described as job assistance projects. In its reporting requirements for the municipalities with which it signs funding agreements, the CAM highlights nine domains of activity that municipalities must address in their immigrant activities and in their budgets. These include: integration through culture and sports; integration through knowledge of

²⁷ Since 2010, the Department of Labor, Women and Immigration.

the Spanish language and culture; integration through work; sensitization and knowledge of “the migration reality” and the fight against racism and xenophobia; participation in the CEPs; and integration through reception and social services for the most disadvantaged. This is a clear indication that mere economic integration and linguistic assimilation are not the only goals and tools used for immigrant policy. This list of priorities shows a clear emphasis on intercultural exchange, cultural knowledge, and participation by both Spaniards and immigrants.

This funding channel highlights the importance of *federal* policy change on immigrant integration at the local level, as the CAM’s contribution is actually money that is distributed originally from the Spanish state’s Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. The federal Support Fund for Settlement and Integration of Immigrants (“*Fondo de Apoyo a la Acogida e Integración de Inmigración*” or simply “*Fondos del Acogida*”) was part of Spain’s most recent integration plan (“*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010*” or PEGI), though some funds have been available since 2004. The total in 2004 was only 7.6 million euros, but as of 2008, 200 million euros were distributed by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. These funds are allocated to the autonomous communities based on the size of their immigrant populations. As the Assembly of Madrid reported in 2005, the CAM received 28 million euros in 2006, over half of which, or 15.7 million euros, would be doled out to the CAM’s municipalities and 12 million of which would go for public education costs (“Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 119, VII Legislatura” 2005). As one respondent explained, half of the Support Funds go to municipal initiatives, forty percent go to the education system, and ten percent go to the CAM Department of Immigration and Cooperation’s own projects (Interview July 22, 2009).

This change in federal integration priorities, and the concomitant decentralization and focus on distribution to the autonomous community level, helps explain where the funding came from for the establishment of the new Department of Immigration and Cooperation in 2005. The budget for the newly created CAM Department of Immigration and Cooperation was made up in part with the money from the Support Funds, but the CAM also contributed significant funds independently. The total budget for the Regional Agency for Immigration and Cooperation, which constituted essentially the CAM Department, was 62 million euros in 2006, going up to 75 million euros in 2007, and 79 million in 2008 ("Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 125, VII Legislatura" 2005; Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 180, VII Legislatura" 2006; Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 73, VII Legislatura" 2008). These are significant funds, certainly in comparison to previous CAM immigration funding as described in this chapter.²⁸

The story at the municipal level was also one of budget increase along with increased institutionalization in the mid-2000s. The budget for the municipal General Direction of Immigration went up from 3 million euros in 2003 to 11 million euros in 2007 (Interview July 22, 2009), and up to over 13 million euros in 2008. Seventy percent of the city of Madrid's immigrant services budget comes from the CAM, filtering down the Support Funds from the state. In the 2008 budget, this was 9.3 million euros, supplementing 4 million euros of the city's own funds for a total budget of 13.3 million euros. Other localities in the CAM also received significant funds from the CAM Department of Immigration and Cooperation, but due to their

²⁸ The decrease in national integration funding since the economic crisis described in the historical chapter has no doubt had some effect on Madrid's funding levels, but the analysis here ends in the spring of 2009 when the fieldwork was conducted.

smaller immigrant population sizes, the annual totals are lower than the city of Madrid's: Alcalá de Henares received 800,000 euros (Interview June 24, 2009), Móstoles received 500,000 euros (Interview July 8, 2009). The CAM funds are obviously absolutely central to the municipal programming. The funding offers more opportunities to localities already working on immigrant services, such as Móstoles (Interview July 8, 2009), and has likely encouraged more towns to develop immigrant oriented programming in order to take advantage of the funding streams. Part of Alcalá de Henares' funds, for example, is going toward writing that city's first local integration plan (Interview June 24, 2009). Here we see a dominant model –of express integration programs and formalization in a written Plan - multiplying through the CAM and financed by the central CAM source. Through the contract system, the CAM has a concrete tool to encourage more municipalities to follow its priorities and policy paradigm. As described above, municipalities are asked to address particular integration concerns when they design their immigrant programming. The centralized funding structure thus encourages, in the long term, a more consistent approach to immigrant policymaking across towns in the CAM.

An additional key point about the growth of the integration paradigm is the way immigrant service providers seem to conceptualize their own city's immigrant policy response. Interculturalism is very much an embedded concept in immigrant service circles. This term was used over and over again, and respondents often discussed it in reference to *multiculturalism*. Many of my respondents brought up, in particular, the “failed model of multiculturalism” that had guided immigrant policy response in France, Germany, and England. Madrid's immigrant policymakers and practitioners consistently described the multicultural model as divisive and encouraging the creation of ethnically isolated “ghettos.” They proudly insisted that Madrid's

policymakers had learned from these failed experiences and approached immigrant diversity in a different way, through an *intercultural* lens that encourages interaction and tolerance rather than division (Interviews May 26; May 27; June 4; June 23; July 22, 2009). The city's commitment to the *convivencia* concept is also clear in the city's 2005 *Convivencia* brochure, which notes, with some bravado:

The most important [thing] is the fostering of *convivencia*, promoting social relations, increasing social cohesion and facilitating mutual acceptance between citizens and those who have just joined our city. The government of the city takes on these goals. We aspire for Madrid to be an intercultural space with which all citizens can identify, independent of their origins, nationality or culture" ("Guía de Convivencia Intercultural de la ciudad de Madrid" 2005).

City and CAM immigrant service professionals are quite united in their view of Madrid's policies as extremely progressive and accommodating. They have a very strong self-image of being an accepting city, a tolerant city that has adapted smoothly to the challenges of foreign immigration. In particular those behind what was the first municipal immigration plan written in 2004 and described above, see themselves and are viewed as extremely innovative and progressive in regards to foreign diversity (Interviews June 2; June 22; June 29; July 6; July 22; July 24, 2009). They take great pride in the fact that Madrid has coped effectively with the novel phenomenon of immigration by creating specialized personnel and services. In this sense, this is a similar dynamic to Montgomery County's immigrant services professionals, who share a strong *identity* of inclusion and perceive a successful legacy of welcome in the county. During the time of my fieldwork Madrid's immigration professionals were, however, cautious about the potential for public outcry in the wake of the economic crisis (which has indeed proved to be problematic). But they were pleased to discuss the innovations in immigrant integration that had

been pioneered in their community. The idea of living together and encouraging tolerance of diversity and respect for other cultures is dominant at the level of written and oral discourse, and it also takes up a significant portion of immigrant-oriented programming. The immigrant integration paradigm has effectively shaped both immigrant policy tools and immigrant policymakers' views of their own roles.

Integration Paradigm Persists as Immigration Settles In

In the last two years, there has been a shift in Madrid's immigrant policies, perceived by many of my respondents as a reduction of resources into the immigrant integration concerns that were previously privileged. This is true at both the municipal and CAM levels, which have both made changes in the recent past to their most well known programs. In this I refer principally, at the municipal level, to the 2009 termination of the intercultural mediator program (SEMSI). At the CAM level, there was a major decision to shift resources away from the more basic integration resources in the CASIs with the closure of the most of the CASIs and the opening of additional CEPIS. These changes could be interpreted as a step away from the city's and region's commitments to immigrant integration, but it is hard to make that conclusion given the financial and economic constraints since the economic crisis. I would argue that Madrid's policies have not taken a major shift, but rather that the new activities assume a later phase of integration and a different set of priorities for integrating an immigrant population now viewed as more settled and less in need of basic emergency reception services.²⁹

²⁹ This may or may not be well matched to the needs of current immigrant residents especially in the context of economic crisis, but the analysis here is about the institutional and ideational underpinnings of the policy changes, not the normative wisdom or problem-solving value of the changes.

The CAM's transition from CASIs to CEPIs is the most obvious example of this trend toward a perceived later phase of integration. The transition away from CASIs is an important change in CAM policymaking, and one that was widely referenced by my respondents during my fieldwork. The transition to CEPIs began two years ago, and it was initiated after an outside evaluation concluded that fewer CASIs were needed to fill the needs of immigrant residents ("Boletín Oficial de la Asamblea de Madrid, no. 73, VII Legislatura" 2008). Recall that CASIs were a fundamental innovation of the CAM's first Integration Plan, and that there were nineteen CASIs at the peak (Interview June 30, 2009), providing comprehensive services to immigrants in particular risk whose needs were not adequately covered at the city's social service centers. In contrast, the CAM plan as of 2009 was to have a total of only *six* CASIs - four in the city and two in the suburbs (Interview June 4, 2009).

The decision to redirect funds away from the CASIs and toward the CEPIs, resulting in a current five CASIs and eighteen CEPIs, reflects a shift in the public authorities' perception of immigrants' *needs*. CEPIs are designed to be spaces of intercultural interaction and a place for immigrants to participate in city life, but they are not primarily service providers for the most vulnerable. Although more traditional services like legal assistance and job training are being provided there, the focus is more on recreational activities and participation. These are projects that assume a somewhat integrated immigrant who does not require CASI-like basic emergency needs like shelter or psychological treatment. A current worker in one of the neglected CASIs had the view that the CAM was using this shift as a public relations ploy; leaders wanted to paint a positive image of immigration by focusing on the CEPIs, to express to the public that immigration had "evolved" into less of a crisis situation (Interview June 30, 2009). Others also

had the view that CEPs are oriented at “immigrant with a higher integration level” (Interview May 28, 2009). Other respondents thought that the CEPs were a political ploy to curry the favor of immigrants, who would soon be getting voting rights (Interviews June 2; July 22, 2009). Given the timing of my field research and the painful consequences of the economic crisis for the immigrant community, I heard many respondents complaining about the closure of the CASIs and the need for emergency assistance for immigrants who were suffering from unemployment (Interviews May 28; June 30, 2009). The remaining CASIs were also over-burdened, unable to fill the growing needs of an increasingly unemployed immigrant population (Interview June 30, 2009).

Many were suspicious of the value of the CEPs themselves (Interviews May 21; June 2; June 29; July 6; July 8; July 17; July 22, 2009), which were described by many as “*casas regionales*,” following the model of the community centers set up by Spaniards migrating from other Spanish regions to Madrid in the 1960s and 70s. These regional cultural houses allowed people from far-flung regions to maintain ties with their own communities and share their distinctive cultural practices. The fact that the CEPs are each given a name of a distinct immigration group, although formally they are supposed to be open to anyone who walks in the door, gives the strong impression that each one is meant for interactions just within the named origin group. This seems to directly contradict the rhetoric of the CAM’s intercultural integration plan. The director of the CEPs agreed that this seemed contradictory and that she would prefer that the CEPs were not separated by national origin group, but that the decision was political and not within her authority (June 4, 2009). Another CAM worker insisted, however, that “the basis [for the CEPs] is pluralism, *not* multiculturalism, which leads to

ghettos” (Interview May 22, 2009). The CEPIs do seem to be a bit of an anomaly for the intercultural model, and it seems that that CAM authorities are not sure how to justify that.

On the one hand, the ethnically-divided CEPIs break the intercultural model and emphasis on all groups coming together, keys that have characterized Madrid’s immigrant policymaking. I would argue that the level of opposition to the CEPIs, however, and in particular the opposition to their organization along national origin lines, actually reflects the solid embedding of the intercultural commitment in Madrid. The multicultural model that separates immigrants into national-origin groups, contrary to the trajectory of the policy paradigm in Madrid, strikes a discordant note through the CEPIs. This explains why almost *none* of my respondents seemed to support the model. There were many references to the CEPIs leading to “ghettoization” and division into specific national-origin groups (Interview May 21, 2009). The fact that so much opposition exists to the CEPI multicultural model is a testament to the strength of the integration policy paradigm and the commitments to intercultural interaction that have been promoted for twenty years in Madrid.

It is counterintuitive that the CAM has organized CEPIs along these lines, and the argument that they are appeasing potential immigrant voters does seem to have some merit as a partial explanation for their existence. Immigrants are soon to become a potent voting force at the local level, particularly those from Latin America (Interview May 13, 2009). This is in part because of a number of reciprocity agreements the federal government is signing with several foreign countries to permit their nationals to vote in local elections; so far negotiations have focused on Latin American sending countries such as Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Argentina, but eventually fifteen countries will be included. As my respondents told me, this would

increase the local voting registers considerably, and promises to be a major issue in the next round of municipal elections in 2011. This voting issue – and note that Romanians, as EU citizens, have the right to vote in local elections – is also affected by the differing naturalization rules for Latin Americans (and several other privileged colonial groups: Sephardic Jews, Andorrans, Filipinos, Portuguese, and Equatorial Guineans), who only have to prove two years of legal residence rather than the standard *ten* years in order to naturalize. The voting power of local immigrant residents may be one reason the CAM is seeking to provide tailored services that directly appeal to specific origin groups; several of my respondents expressed this view (Interviews May 26; June 2, 2009).

The other analytical point is the shift in integration *phase*: from emergency-phase CASIs to settlement-phase CEPs. This indeed seems to be part of a larger trend as CAM and city immigrant policies and institutions mature; there is less emphasis on newly arrived emergency needs like food and shelter, and more on longer-term integration supports for a more permanent resident base. This is not a new paradigm but rather reflects a maturing of the initial policy paradigm and the expansion of its initial objectives to a more permanent resident base.

At the municipal level, there have also been important changes to the immigrant policy setup in the last year, with a shift reflecting the same conceptual shift to more permanent integration concerns. The issue most on my respondents' minds was the termination of SEMSI in early 2009.³⁰ SEMSI, the service providing intercultural mediators to all municipal social service centers, began in 1997 and had grown to include over fifty trained individuals in 2009. The organizers were shocked by the city's decision to terminate the program in 2009 and replace

³⁰ The conversion of the CAM's EMSI school which trained intercultural mediators, into the more continuing-education-oriented EPIC, goes along with this development as well.

it with a more on-the-ground, lower-skilled set of outdoor educators who would work in the city's public spaces to educate immigrant users and mediate conflicts.³¹

Managing municipal officials explained to me that SEMSI was no longer needed, that it had fulfilled its mission in infusing district-level social services offices and personnel with a sensitivity to and awareness of immigrant needs. A current manager also provided additional insight that they chose to end the program because the mediator service had grown dysfunctional, with too much control from Gímenez and a mediator staff that was asking for civil servant privileges without having taken the civil service exam. The need to have on-the-ground neighborhood conflict mediation was viewed as paramount, with the intercultural mediator staff not filling that need (Interview July 21, 2009). Directors said that what the city needs now is staff not in government offices but rather out in the streets at the neighborhood level, dealing with the public spaces where immigrants are interacting without enough education about the appropriate use of such public space. Thus the creation of the new program of outdoor educators (*"dynamizadores de espacios publicos"*), who are intended to work outside in public parks, sports fields, and squares to educate immigrants about the use of such spaces to defuse conflicts.³² It is absolutely clear that public parks and squares are a potent domain for conflict over the changing demographics. The issue of public parks and sports fields is one that came up many times in the field interviews. Many of the respondents mentioned the use of public spaces by Latin Americans on the weekends, and their inappropriate activities there including food preparation, selling of food, hair-cutting (which seemed to arouse particular scorn), public

³¹ The directors were also unhappy to lose the contract for running the municipal immigration research institute. The contract was granted to a new outsider firm (Interviews June 2; June 29, 2009).

³² Note that the suburban city of Getafe is also investing in outdoor educators, focused on facilitating immigrants' use of public squares (Interview June 17, 2009), as are other municipalities.

drinking, and lack of respect for the cleanliness and maintenance of the public space (Interviews April 30; May 28; June 3; June 4; June 22; July 2; July 21, 2009). Government attention to facilitating the use of public space might therefore be appropriate.

On the other hand, ending the intercultural mediator program was a drastic turnaround for a long-standing municipal program that had existed for twelve years. The rationale is not clear, given that different respondents expressed contradictory views. It is quite clear that the *stated* justification, however, is playing on this same dynamic of integration needs having evolved to a new phase - and thus the obsolescence of the need for intercultural mediation services. As two former employees describe it, the new program assumes that “integration is complete” and there is no longer a need for intercultural mediators (Interview June 29, 2009). Among other respondents, I heard some complaints about the ending of a functional program (Interview June 22, 2009), but others did agree that there was no longer a need for the intercultural mediators because they had made their own personnel changes that obviated the need for them, especially in the area of the drafting of legalization reports for individual applications for *arraigo* legalization.³³ The city of Madrid has also developed a wider set of targeted programs that certainly reduce the need for the intercultural mediators, such as the establishment of four Municipal Information and Orientation Offices (“*Oficinas Municipales de Información y*

³³ *Arraigo* legalization or legalization by “rooting,” is a permanent legalization mechanism that has been available since 2004, and it allows undocumented migrants to legalize their status if they have been resident for three years and can prove that they are working and are well integrated. Local town halls are responsible for completing the reports on candidates’ integration level. City social workers are tasked with visiting applicants’ homes and writing the reports that describe their living conditions, language level, social environment, and so on. The writing of these reports has been a major administrative burden on local authorities, and the city’s intercultural mediators took up some of the burden for the first few years of the regulation, but now some places have dedicated specific personnel to writing those reports (Interviews July 6; July 8, 2009).

Orientación para la Integración de la Población Inmigrante”) throughout the city. These are specific offices that provide all immigrant newcomers with information and orientation, as well as provide Spanish language training and other services. The abundance of these types of resources, as well as the now large-scale modifications to standard municipal services such as the provision of multilingual interpretation and translated documents, provides some justification for the claim that the intercultural mediator program was a transitional program that fulfilled its mission and now had been replaced by a wider range of personnel (immigration lawyers and social workers) and services (translation and interpretation) to adapt to immigrant needs.

Certainly the termination of SEMSI, which ran for twelve years and had developed a certain standing in Madrid’s short immigration history, is notable. The focus on public spaces does seem to fill a necessary need, given the frequency this issue comes up in public discourse. But it seemed that these issues over public space were definitely not *new* in 2009 when the outdoor educator program was created; in fact, it was discussed as early as 2000 in an article by the municipal immigration services leaders (Buñuel Heras and Gil 2000). So the timing is curious, and it may be that the program was ended more because of disagreements with the director rather than based on a measured policy decision that mediators were no longer needed. Those ousted also point out that cost cutting may have played a part; the new outdoor educator program is less expensive because it does not require the same specialized skill set, and the educators are not paid as well.

Another aspect of the evolution of immigrant integration efforts is the work on civic integration that the city is seeking to foster by providing opportunities for foreign-born residents to represent their interests in district-level bodies called the Dialogue Tables (“*Mesas de Diálogo*

y *Convivencia*”). The Tables allow all residents, documented and undocumented, to run for election to be formal representatives to monthly meetings that discuss district-level problems. Many run as representatives of immigrant associations, or simply as individuals. This is intended to be a forum for immigrant concerns to be heard, and then communicated to higher-level city officials in regular plenary meetings of the Madrid Forum (“*Foro Madrid*”). Although there are complaints about the system not being well run (Interviews June 4; June 22; July 6, 2009), it has only been in existence for a short period of time and is still in the process of institutionalization. For the purposes of this analysis, the program is important in its privileging of immigrants’ civic participation. It shows that the city of Madrid is investing in organizing immigrants as active participants and members of society, and finding ways for them to participate in civic life. This obviously reflects an evolution from initial emergency programming towards a later phase of integration, in which immigrants are viewed as permanent members of the community with a right to express their interests to public authorities through direct representation. Again, they are still being kept in “the immigrant box,” separate from ordinary citizen mechanisms, since the Dialogue Tables are intended primarily to discuss issues specifically affecting immigrants and intercultural co-existence in the districts. The Tables are part of the larger trend at city and CAM levels to move into higher-level integration programming for a more settled immigrant population.

Conclusion and Prospects for the Future

The immigrant integration policy paradigm established in the mid-1990s in Madrid has remained durable as immigration has increased drastically and policy changes have taken place

to support integration initiatives from the federal level. Madrid's immigrant policy, at both the CAM and the city level, has been shaped fundamentally by this immigrant integration paradigm established at the critical juncture by local leaders in the mid-1990s. The paradigm privileges separate services for immigrants, highlights the link to international development, and emphasizes the interculturalism and *convivencia* model. These elements of the integration paradigm were shaped in the early stages of immigrant policymaking and have remained durable as immigration dynamics have changed. Although in the last several years the CAM and city services have made some changes in their orientation and have shifted to adapt to a more permanent immigrant population, the integration paradigm is still the dominant model structuring policy decisions and understandings of immigration and integration in the local community. This contrasts with the ethnic minority policy paradigm evident in the US cases, where immigrants are viewed as members of existing ethnic minority groups rather than posing fundamentally new policy challenges and requiring extensive specialized services. The city of Madrid and the CAM have taken a clearly *inclusionary* stance toward foreign immigration, emphasizing their contributions to the community, fostering peaceful coexistence, and providing necessary supports rather than taking an openly exclusionary stance. As explained in Chapter Three, this inclusionary stance and the production of extensive integration policies are in part country-wide phenomenon and consistent throughout Spain due to institutional and political dynamics.

This chapter has described a progressive increase of funds and institutions dedicated to immigrants and to fostering co-existence in an increasingly diverse Madrid. Developments took place at the both autonomous community and municipal levels, mostly with little coordination.

Although Madrid still holds a substantial pot of resources and has clearly made immigrant policies a priority at both city and CAM levels, there are major issues of coordination and information that were quite obvious throughout my field interviews. Even immigrant service providers, those who should be most aware of the array of public resources, were often not well informed about what resources were available and who ran what. Some respondents who were responsible for helping immigrants had never heard of basic programs like the CEPs, or did not have a good understanding of what services were available there or in other institutions. There is also an ongoing coordination problem between the CAM and the city of Madrid, and even outright competition. There is poor communication between the CAM and the city on immigrant services – “zero communication” according to one key source (Interview June 4, 2009) – and the budgetary links have fueled resentment on the part of the city administrators, who do not want to take orders from the CAM but are largely dependent on the CAM for (seventy percent of) their budget. Although the CAM structure certainly provides the basis for a more coordinated and cohesive response to immigration than, for example, metropolitan Washington DC with no overseeing body, there is in fact variation and still coordination problems. It is likely that a more cohesive policy response will emerge as the system of Support Funds ages, and the cities receiving money from the CAM for immigrant services become institutionalized in this practice. There will still be the problem of the early movers on immigration, however, such as the city of Madrid, and some suburban cities like Getafe and Móstoles – cities that were actively making changes and developing resources in the 1990s to deal with rising immigrant resident numbers, before the CAM had taken up immigration as a policy priority and begun to coordinate the

municipal responses. These cities have developed immigration expertise and resent being directed by the CAM.

The immigrant integration paradigm is likely to remain strong and continue to shape the local response to immigrant residents, even as economics and demographics change and authorities struggle to adapt to new realities. Recent news has highlighted a decrease in the immigrant population in Spain, with many individuals choosing to return to their countries of origin as they face economic deprivation in a country suffering from the highest unemployment rate in all of Europe. The economic crisis has certainly placed new pressure on not only immigrants and natives and their attempts to make a livelihood, but also the peaceful relations between immigrants and natives. News articles abound about a rising tide of xenophobia and resentment towards immigrants and their use of public services in a strapped economy. This rising tide of resentment is certainly of concern, but the tradition of inclusion that Madrid's public authorities have institutionalized over the last twenty years will likely continue on its trajectory. Institutional and ideational commitments made in the mid-1990s have persisted in shaping Madrid's immigrant policy structure, and with growing institutionalization, Madrid is unlikely to veer drastically off course.

CHAPTER SIX

PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY, VIRGINIA: NO IMMIGRANT POLICY PARADIGM, VULNERABLE TO EXCLUSION

Overview

Prince William County, Virginia is widely understood as a less immigrant-friendly, or even exclusionary, community within the Washington, DC metro region as compared to the suburbs of Montgomery County or neighboring Fairfax County. It became controversial for its strong exclusionary ordinance passed in 2007 by its Board of County Supervisors, which sought to restrict county services from undocumented immigrants and signed up the county police for a 287(g) agreement with ICE. Prince William County experienced a tremendous surge in its immigrant population, largely Hispanic, in the first half of the 2000s, though some immigrant presence was evident since the early 1980s. This study finds that there were some small-scale initiatives to adapt to the needs of immigrants by bureaucratic incorporation-minded individuals, however there was no clear county leadership on the immigration topic. Immigration issues stayed on the margins of public debate and there was no effective voice advocating for immigrant policies; so there was no particular leadership whether exclusionary *or* inclusionary to take serious steps to recognize the new immigrant reality. There was no critical juncture when leadership established a consistent approach to immigration. No policy paradigm was established in Prince William County as it was in the other case studies, and public efforts to respond to the immigration phenomenon were purely ad hoc and had no guiding leadership or principle, although there were small pockets of innovation within select agencies with strong leaders.

The absence of a county-wide institutional and ideational commitment to provide a policy response to immigration permitted the County to be vulnerable to political and economic dynamics that pushed it in an extremely exclusionary direction in the mid-2000s. In response to dramatic immigrant population increase and a declining economy, politicians seized on the illegal immigration issue and a strong pro-enforcement advocacy presence to forward polemical anti-illegal immigration measures, capped by the 2007 ordinance. In the absence of a strong inclusionary policy paradigm, the initiative was successful, though somewhat tempered in the process of discussion by unelected bureaucrats through their positions of administrative control. I argue that these bureaucratic brakes stopped the Board of County Supervisors from creating a more exclusionary policy, and prevented an exclusionary immigrant policy paradigm from being established.

This case shows that in the absence of a policy paradigm of inclusion, immigrant policymaking remains small-scale. However, there is future potential for an inclusionary trajectory to be established, even in Prince William County, with the correct leadership and especially given the absence of a strongly institutionalized *exclusionary* paradigm. Even in a county widely viewed as exclusionary, there is promise for a strong immigrant policy framework building on the strength of bureaucratic incorporators and federal anti-discrimination requirements. There would need to be a policy paradigm established by a local leader, however, – with institutional and ideational features – to create any significant commitment that would be institutionalized. The prediction of this policy change would contradict accounts predicting consistent exclusion based on the partisanship of the public – this is a conservative Republican county – as well as demographic growth – rapid Hispanic growth took place here. In fact, Prince

William County is actually a most-likely case for exclusion, with very rapid Hispanic population growth, conservative politics, and a controversial national political environment surrounding undocumented immigration coinciding with the moment of local demographic transformation. The federal structure that permits activities such as 287(g) obviously plays into county decision making, as well, but it is important to note that Prince William County was one of the first in the region to take ICE up on its offer, and it is still one of only several hundred jurisdictions in the country with a 287(g) agreement. Exclusion seems to be the dominant story line here, however the following in-depth case study illustrates that bureaucratic incorporation factors are important even in this extreme case. There were cases of small-scale bureaucratic incorporation taking place in some government agencies in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and bureaucrats played a fundamental role in limiting the contours of the 2007 ordinance. Institutional dynamics of commitment to the protection of minority groups even take place in this case, in select pockets of public services.

This chapter will proceed with a brief introduction to the county and its demographic transformation. It will then discuss the decentralized, ad hoc immigrant policy response that took place through the 1990s into the early 2000s and highlight two particular pockets of leadership in the public education and police departments. The role of the ethnic-minority lens on framing the discrimination issue will be highlighted as a critical aspect of Prince William County's delay in developing significant immigrant policy tools. The chapter will conclude with a brief account of the exclusionary ordinance passed in 2007 and the role of bureaucratic incorporators in limiting its effects, and some reflections on potential future developments.

Sources

I conducted interviews between July and October 2010 with seventeen individuals working either in county government or non-profit organizations. Government agencies included the Human Rights Commission, the Community Services Board, the Department of Human Resources, the police department, the public libraries, and the public school system. Additional materials were provided by respondents and also found on county government websites. Additionally, the local newspaper, the *Journal Messenger* (later renamed the *Manassas Journal Messenger*) was scoured for information regarding public and private initiatives to respond to immigration pressures, using an index provided by the public county library system. Newspaper articles from the late 1980s through the time of the 2007 ordinance were included, as were newspaper articles from *The Washington Post*.

Given the much smaller institutional commitment to immigrant needs and the shorter history of immigration in the county, printed records and knowledgeable respondents were more difficult to locate than in the other two cases. On the other hand, there is more secondary literature on the county and its immigrant response, given its high profile in the debate surrounding 287(g) and local immigration ordinances (Capps et al. 2011; Esbenshade et al. 2010; Guterbock et al. 2010; Martinez 2011; Singer et al. 2009). These accounts provided useful data and analysis.

Introduction to Prince William County

Prince William County is a wealthy outer suburb of Washington, DC that experienced a dramatic increase in its foreign-born population in the first half of this decade. The county had

been largely rural until the postwar period as it became a growing suburb, with growth accelerating in the 1960s and on. The population was largely white and African-American until the 1990s. The form of government evolved from a pure Board of County Supervisors to a County Executive form of government in 1972 – in which the existing Board of County Supervisors would appoint a County Executive who would control all county operations. In 1975, the cities of Manassas and Manassas Park became independent municipalities, although they are both physically located within the geographic space of Prince William County (Brown 1994).³⁴

Following steady growth, the County expanded drastically in the early part of this decade as homebuyers sought refuge from metro DC's housing market bubble and moved to Prince William for its relatively affordable housing prices. Both native- and foreign-born residents contributed to the jump in population. Between 2000 and 2007, the County's population increased 28.3 percent; two-thirds of this increase was made up of the foreign-born (Guterbock et al. 2010). Flexible labor sources were required for the accompanying construction boom, and many immigrants came to fill that labor demand as well as growing needs in the service and sales sectors. Their numbers increased dramatically in the first half of this decade. A recent analysis by a team at the Brookings Institution used demographic data to highlight Prince William County's particularly dramatic demographic transformation between 2000 and 2006. The analysis shows that that the County had one of the fastest-growing Hispanic populations in the *country* (ranking eleventh among all counties), and a relatively low-educated and limited English-proficient Hispanic population in comparison to other metro-area counties. The percent

³⁴ This chapter focuses on efforts at the county government level, although occasionally initiatives in the municipal Manassas or Manassas Park jurisdictions will be mentioned.

foreign-born in Prince William County rose from 4.0 percent in 1980, to 6.2 percent in 1990, to 11.5 percent in 2000, and quickly to 21.9 percent only six years later in 2006 (Singer et al. 2009). The current percentage of the population that is foreign-born is 20.2 percent, just under half of which are naturalized citizens ("The Prince William Report" 2010). The foreign-born ratio is even higher in the municipal jurisdictions of Manassas and Manassas Park. The increase in foreign-born residents from 2000 to 2006 is notable and reflects the fastest immigrant growth in the region, as Singer et al. emphasize (Singer et al. 2009).

In general the county got much more ethnically and racially diverse as the population expanded and the county turned into an increasingly populous suburb of Washington, DC. There was an increase in the significant African-American population during this period as well, though with slower growth: their portion of the County population increased from 7.9 percent in 1960 to 11.4 percent in 1990, to 18.8 percent in 2000 (Guterbock et al. 2010), and up to 20.4 percent in 2010 ("The Prince William Report" 2010). (Though note that the later African-American figures likely include some African foreign-born, since this figure is based on census racial categories that do not distinguish between the two.) The Hispanic population, which includes many foreign-born but also includes native-born Hispanics, grew the most rapidly in recent years: rising from 4.5 percent of the county population in 1990 to 9.7 percent in 2000, *doubling* to 18.7 percent in 2010. The Asian population similarly rose from 3.0 percent in 1990, to 3.7 percent in 2000, doubling to 7.2 percent in 2010 ("The Prince William Report" 2010).

The foreign-born population, a total of 78,000 individuals in 2006, is composed mostly of Latin American immigrants. Latin Americans made up only 28 percent of the foreign-born in 1990, but that increased to 54 percent as of 2006. Asian and European immigrant numbers also

increased in that period, but their proportions decreased: Asians moved from 41 to 31 percent of the foreign-born between 1990 and 2006; and Europeans moved from 14 to 5 percent. Africans doubled their proportion, from being 5 percent of the foreign-born in 1990 to being 10 percent in 2006 (Singer et al. 2009). By 2010, these trends had continued: Latin Americans make up 51 percent of the foreign born, while Asians declined to 27.2 percent, Africans increased to 13.9 percent, and Europeans actually increased to 7.0 percent ("The Prince William Report" 2010). Among the Latin Americans, Salvadorians are the largest group, though many different origin countries are represented.

Although the Prince William County immigrant population is quite diverse, the public discontent that came along with increasing diversity and a slowing economy has focused primarily on Hispanic immigrants, whose presence might be more salient because of their relatively large numbers, their shared language (and accompanying media and commerce resources), their concentration in particular industries such as construction, their cultural practices, or simply the dominance of the Hispanic issue in the *national* debate on immigration control. The rapid increase in the Hispanic immigrant population in this decade aroused public concern over such issues as their visibility at day laborer sites and other public spaces, overcrowding and noise in residential areas, increased traffic and strain on county resources, and increase of LEP students in the public schools. This concern became politically organized in a local movement of pro-immigration-enforcement activists in this decade and crested in 2007 in the context of immigration enforcement debates at the national level and in neighboring communities like Herndon and Loudoun County. In addition to Herndon's funding of an organized day laborer center (and an accompanying public backlash) in 2005, discussions of

local police enforcement of immigration law in the region and also at the state level, there was an initiative at the Manassas City level in 2005 seeking to deal with the overcrowding issue by imposing a stricter definition of “family” to restrict the sharing of residences (Caldwell 2006). Although that measure was rescinded, it was an indication of the growing discontent and tension surrounding the immigration issue. Pressure from activists successfully convinced the Board of County Supervisors to take a step on immigration enforcement in mid-2007, when Supervisor John Stirrup proposed an ordinance that would restrict undocumented immigrants from accessing county services and also enlist the county police force in the apprehension of undocumented immigrants. The acrimonious debate received significant media attention, and it became a potent campaigning issue for County Board Chairman Corey Stewart as well as the other County Supervisors.

Although the original extent of the measure was significantly reduced in response to administrative, legal, and budgetary concerns expressed by county administration officials, a final enforcement measure was still passed in April 2008, sending a strong exclusionary message to the county’s and the metro-area’s immigrants and minorities. Although it is difficult to prove conclusively, since the ordinance fell at the same time as the economic downturn and foreclosure crisis, it has been shown that Hispanics felt a strong sense of rejection and danger in the county, and many actually relocated to other metro-area counties with a more inclusionary attitude such as Fairfax or Montgomery Counties. This chill, leading to the relocation of some Hispanic residents to other counties in the region - the “Prince William effect” as described by a recent study (Capps et al. 2011) - has been widely observed (Guterbock et al. 2010; Mahabir 2008; Miroff 2007c; Revisiting Prince William's Immigration Policy" 2009).

This study has focused not on the passing of the ordinance itself, since other works have fully analyzed that issue (Esbenshade et al. 2010; Singer et al. 2009), but rather the period preceding the politicization of immigration and the longer-term development of an immigrant policy response in Prince William County. Audrey Singer has argued that Prince William County, as a typical “new destination” community with a short history of receiving immigrants, was particularly “ill-prepared” to deal with the demographic influx (Singer et al. 2009). This means that the county government was not prepared to deal with the needs of new residents, and did not have the local community organization resources from which other localities benefited to help communicate and cope with immigrant resident needs. My study takes a closer look at the history of county government response to immigrant needs and seeks to determine to what extent immigrant policymaking had been taking place before the ordinance and enforcement turn was taken in 2007. The study finds that no policy paradigm of inclusion *or* exclusion was established by county leadership, leaving a vacuum in which individual agencies were forced to cope on their own with changing resident needs. There were some pockets of proactive immigrant policy response in several agencies, and small-scale ad hoc efforts to take up the demographic issue, but overall the county did not develop a significant immigrant policy. The absence of a strong commitment to an inclusionary approach to immigration stunted the development of immigrant policy measures, and left the county open to passing what was a very exclusionary initiative in 2007.

Ad Hoc Immigrant Policymaking

This case stands in stark contrast to the others in the analysis in its *absence* of the establishment of a strong immigrant policy paradigm. Although there were small-scale, ad hoc efforts to respond to the needs of immigrant residents throughout the 1990s and increasing in this decade, there was no significant institutional commitment made nor any particular ideational message sent by county leaders. This absence of recognition and commitment to immigrant needs was a very obvious contrast that respondents clearly identified in their own observations of county practice (Interviews July 28; August 3; October 8, 2010). This does not mean that all parts of county government were completely in denial of immigrant needs; there is evidence that there was some low-level adaptation taking place that resembles the type of “bureaucratic incorporation” processes identified by authors in other new-destination communities. As has been shown to be true in other localities coping with immigration for the first time (Jones-Correa 2005; Lewis and Ramakrishnan 2007), the police department and the public education system seem to have been the most proactive county institutions in their approach to changing demographics. The following sections will describe the range of immigrant policies that could be identified through interview and archival evidence. The sites of immigrant policymaking were more difficult to identify in this case because there simply do not exist particular county institutions devoted to the needs of immigrants, as exist in Montgomery County, neighboring Fairfax County, Washington, DC, and some other Washington metro jurisdictions. The only formal institutions identified as addressing the immigrant issue specifically, we will see, are based solidly in the ethnic-racial minority lens and have privileged African-American interests rather than Hispanic and other immigrant groups. Hispanic and other immigrant interests have

not been given the attention in Prince William County compared to other equally diverse jurisdictions in the region. In the absence of a clear policy paradigm and with relatively weak pro-immigrant political forces and advocates, there has been no serious institutionalization of specific immigrant-oriented policies.

Low-Level Commitments

Prince William County has engaged in limited formal immigrant policymaking and has not developed anything resembling the types of outreach and targeted services that exist in neighboring counties with longer immigration histories, such as Fairfax County or Montgomery County. There is some evidence, however, that there has been some limited policy response in county services to adapt to the needs of immigrant residents. The small size and weak visibility of these efforts, at least judging by the absence of knowledge about them in the immigrant-serving community, should be emphasized. However, it is important to note that there were at least some efforts in county (as well as municipal) government to adapt to the needs of the changing resident base in the 1990s and early in this decade. There were occasional short-lived formal efforts such as task forces to address the needs of specific immigrant groups, as well as ad hoc efforts to improve foreign language capacity and educate front-line workers about the needs of newcomers seeking county services.

Speaking to current stakeholders, one gets the impression that immigration was entirely off the public radar until the 2007 ordinance, despite evidence that there were small pockets of adaptation taking place. Respondents consistently describe the recent demographic change as *sudden* and coming from nowhere, taking the county by surprise and leaving service providers

unprepared and ill-equipped in terms of necessary linguistic and cultural knowledge – a typical new-destination narrative. One respondent used a strong metaphor to describe the rising tide: “No one anticipated this tsunami of Hispanics” (Interview July 28, 2010), while another used a different meteorological metaphor: “a tidal wave” of immigrant children in the schools (Interview July 26, 2010). Another described the change in equally extreme terms: “It was pretty much over night” (Interview August 15, 2010). A social service provider also described the realization that their Spanish-speaking users needed support as an “oh my gosh moment”: “wait a minute, we need documents in Spanish” (Interview July 23, 2010). This was a very *reactive* response to changing demographics in this decade (Interview July 28, 2010).

Despite these narratives, the demographic reality is that immigrants were certainly present in the county since the early 1980s, though in smaller numbers. The first significant community was a group of Indochinese refugees whose resettlement in the county in the early 1980s led to the creation of a county Indochinese Task Force. Asians were the major immigrant ethnicity until the early 1990s, when Central American and other Hispanic immigrants began to settle in the county (Interview July 21, 2010). The County was at least aware of the Hispanic population as of 1992, when one newspaper report actually described what it deemed to be a significant influx of Hispanics “pouring into the area around 1988 to take advantage of the building boom” (Wolcott 1993). There were early tensions in the Georgetown South neighborhood in Manassas, where Hispanic laborers congregated (Hall 1989).

Although there was no strong advocacy for Hispanic needs yet, there was some limited awareness and investment by local government at that point. Newspaper reports mentioned a sum of 15,000 dollars being set aside by the county to address Hispanic concerns (as well as

5,000 dollars from the City of Manassas) for the Hispanic Task Force, a group of local activists (Achelpohl 1992) that was established around 1990 (Achelpohl 1993a). Task Force Chair Mark Voss, who called for the hiring of bilingual employees in county agencies as well as the education and support of new immigrant residents, described the Task Force as being an effective *transition tool* for the changing County. Note again this was in the early 1990s, fifteen years before the ordinance debate.

‘The city and the Hispanic community feel more comfortable with each other than they did four years ago. The community didn’t know what to think when they first came. We formed the task force to identify their needs and now the city consciously considers how it represents all minorities on its boards and in other areas’ (Wolcott 1993).

This seemed to be a relatively formal step into immigrant policymaking in the county, however, the Hispanic Task Force was not a durable institution, and it did not approach the institutional standing of the ethnic liaison system established in Montgomery County and described in Chapter Four. There was no formal institutionalization or commitment of county resources to the concerns of immigrants: no formal outreach, no centralized language access plan, and delayed focus on diversified recruitment. The only explicit county institutions that were dedicated to immigrant needs were based on the ethnic-racial minority paradigm, where immigrant needs were addressed only in the context of ethnic- racial groups, discrimination, and inter-racial conflict. In the mid-1990s, these race-based organizations included the Human Rights Commission and the County School Board’s Multicultural Committee, where Hispanic Task Force Chairman Hank Azais moved on in 1993 (Achelpohl 1993b); those were the most visible institutional representatives of immigrant residents in the mid-1990s. I will return to the

role of the Human Rights Commission, a body established in 1992 to redress issues of racial and other discrimination, as well as the Multicultural Committee in the public school system.

There was another short-lived Hispanic initiative with government imprimatur a decade later, when the first Latino Issues Forum was held in 2002, and the Hispanic Outreach Leadership and Action (HOLA) group was created. HOLA was intended to communicate Hispanic needs to the community, and it consisted of fifteen individuals including then County Board Chairman Sean Connaughton (Hunsicker 2004). HOLA was cited by my respondents as an important player in immigrant policy development, however it appears to no longer exist (Interviews July 20; July 21; October 8, 2010), leaving an absence of significant Hispanic voices in county policy decisions. The absence of strong advocacy for Hispanic needs and the weak civil society structure providing support for immigrants in the county has been observed by analysts (Brick et al. 2010; de Leon et al. 2009; Revisiting Prince William's Immigration Policy" 2009), and this has certainly contributed to the weakness of county government response.

Outside of the short-lived Latino efforts, there were a range of low-level initiatives throughout the 1990s that resemble the truly ad hoc, individual-oriented “bureaucratic incorporation” practices observed in the academic literature in other community cases (Jones-Correa 2005; Marrow 2009). Respondents emphasized the language barrier as the most important gap in services (Interviews July 21; July 28; October 8, 2010), although some did highlight the importance of cultural competence training and knowledge about origin country cultures (Interview October 8, 2010). Spanish language skill to cope with communication difficulties with residents was essential, and there were disorganized efforts to address this gap. There was no county-wide initiative or policy to seek out bilingual staff or train workers in

Spanish, nor were specific resources committed to translation or interpretation resources. What we see instead is proactive initiatives on the part of individual bureaucrats who saw a need for additional resources and stepped up to fill that gap. Local newspaper articles described a number of individual government workers who had Spanish language skills who were much in demand in the increasingly diverse county: attracting Hispanic users in large numbers, and in some cases offering to share their language knowledge with colleagues. In 1994, a General District Court information clerk, for example, offered a “crash course in the basics of Spanish” for law enforcement and judicial workers (Wolcott 1994). Individual organizations saw the need to adapt to changing resident needs, taking small steps such as translating fire safety information materials into Spanish (Minnigh 1999).

By 2002, when Hispanic inflows had considerably increased, there seemed to be some more investment in language skills, but the efforts were still not very ambitious. In 2002, the county budget included over 150,000 dollars to provide “survival Spanish” for county employees as part of its employee training and development budget. That budget request also included a request for a full-time Spanish interpreter in the Department of Social Services – who would translate documents and help teach Spanish to key staff like receptionists so that they would know very basic terms in Spanish to be able to put clients at ease. As Director of Social Services Rick Perez described the need, “Some of the people coming in feel intimidated or ignored at the front desk” (Cannon 2001a). There was still no formal language access plan, however. This was nowhere close to an active recruitment of bilingual employees, nor an extensive language training of existing employees.

As late as 2004, newspaper articles still reported on over-burdened officials who were the rarely found Spanish speakers in county offices, such as Deputy Commissioner of the Revenue Lillian Deamaya. The tax office reported that fully twenty percent of people coming to City Hall would seek out Deamaya because they knew about her Spanish ability. County workers in that office reported to want additional Spanish training but did not have the resources to seek out the necessary coursework (Krieger 2004). Clearly language ability to serve the diversifying population was and continues to be a gap in county service provision.

A language differential for employees is currently paid by the county to bilingual workers – a stipend of 1,500 dollars – but the Equal Employment Opportunity Office had very minimal information to share about that stipend or any efforts to recruit bilingual staff (Interview October 12, 2010). It also appears that the stipend is not implemented consistently county wide, since the public library system, a key reception site for immigrant newcomers, reported not to pay any additional stipend for foreign language speakers (Interview October 8, 2010).

The Community Services Board, which provides mental health, substance abuse, and intellectual disability services to low-income residents, was a key example of an agency struggling to cope with a changing client base but lacking any resources or support to respond. Leaders there recognized that they had a significant service barrier with the foreign languages being represented by new clients. The communication barrier in these cases had tremendously dangerous consequences since it prevented the professionals on staff from being able to evaluate whether individuals required urgent help or even posed a danger to themselves or others. Despite efforts to recruit Spanish speakers, the staff struggled to deal with changing needs. They also recognized that language was not the only problem, but also cultural competence and

knowledge, a director recalling that: “it became obvious that we were not as sophisticated as we needed to be about the understanding of the different cultures,” such as the differences between different traditions among Hispanic immigrants. In the absence of financial support, the staff organized its own educational events, drawing on the resources of its own personnel who individually belonged to different ethnic groups and could share their personal knowledge with their colleagues. In this way, the agency’s members learned about the great cultural differences between different Hispanic groups, and other topics helpful to their service of the public (Interview October 14, 2010). This is an example of creative bureaucratic incorporators in the absence of financial support or county leadership on recognizing the diversity of residents and the need to train county workers.

The public library system also took some initiative on reaching out to immigrant users, taking seriously its role as “the public face of government” and a true public space for all residents. After noticing that outreach efforts in the late 1990s had attracted many Hispanic users, the library secured some short-term funding to actively reach out to Spanish-speaking residents. It created the *Viva Van* project, which was a promotional vehicle that went to high-concentration Hispanic neighborhoods, distributing materials on social services and loaning out library materials. The project ended however, after three years, when the project money ran out. Current efforts are hampered by budgetary constraints, with minimal investment in outreach and in purchase of foreign language materials (Interview October 8, 2010).

Civil society initiatives took up some of the slack that county government left, but efforts were still quite limited. The local Red Cross targeted Hispanics already in 1994, for example, by offering a babysitting class in Spanish (White 1994), and first aid and lifesaving class in Spanish

in later years (Barlow 2000). Another notable innovation was the work of a particular individual who worked as a Spanish interpreter in the court system. She took it on herself in 1991 to create a weekly Spanish-language television program geared at informing local Hispanic residents about county and legal issues – to share information about home and fire safety, how to file taxes, how to access services, as well as discuss important community issues such as alcoholism or domestic violence. This television show, “*Panorama Latino*,” ran until 1994, at which point the director could no longer handle the financial burden. She re-launched the program in 2001, and interestingly, received support from not only private sources but also the Prince William County Police Department. Prince William Police Chief Charlie Deane was quoted as saying the show was an extension of the public education role of the police department, highlighting the unusually proactive role of the county police which will be discussed below (Cannon 2001b).

Another example of civil society support was the provision of free health care services by a local hospital through volunteer medical staffing of mobile health clinics. These mobile clinics geared at providing health care for the uninsured began serving low-income clients in 1998 and by necessity began to serve a largely immigrant population. By 2004, *half* of the free clinic’s clients were native Spanish speakers, and the need for language resources was obvious. The clinic paid for a language interpretation telephone line that they reported to use daily, and several health providers were bilingual. There was still a lot of reliance on clients bringing in their own family members to serve as interpreters and translators, however (Streng 2004a). It is in the context of minimal public health resources and minimal subsidized health care that a relatively new health clinic was opened recently: Greater Prince William Health Care, established in 2008, is a private health clinic supported heavily by community, foundation, and government supports,

and offers subsidized integrated health care to low-income individuals, a large portion of whom are “New Americans” and require additional language and cultural support.

Despite all these small-scale efforts to cope with changing demographics and adapt to the needs of new residents, there was no concerted County effort, provision of language interpretation or translation services, or language access plan. All efforts have come from individual bureaucrats, departments, and civil society groups. The next section discusses those exceptional county departments that have been the most proactive and assertive on developing immigrant policies: the public school system and the police department.

Proactive Pockets: The Public School System and Police Department

Although there was no paradigm of inclusion established either through immigrant-oriented institutions or strong ideational statements, there are examples of fairly significant bureaucratic incorporation actions taking place in two key domains in Prince William County government: the public school system and the police department. These two areas were repeatedly cited by respondents as exceptional to the trend of denial in the county (Interviews July 20; July 21; July 26; August 3; August 15; October 14, 2010). These domains in general have been identified in the academic literature as particularly likely for this type of incorporating behavior and proactive action, as Marrow and Jones-Correa highlight on public K-12 education (Jones-Correa 2005; Marrow 2009) and Lewis and Ramakrishnan on police departments (Lewis and Ramakrishnan 2007). It is key to note that these accounts of bureaucratic incorporation prove to be replicated and supported *even in* Prince William County, a community that has come to be defined as extremely exclusionary and whose residents even perceive it as conservative and

unwilling to adapt. These examples show the possibility of independent bureaucratic incorporation processes taking place in the *absence* of a predominant inclusionary policy paradigm. This provides some hope that even communities lagging behind on immigrant policymaking can potentially develop the types of programs that earlier movers have already created. Though it is my argument that permanent formal institutions and considerable investment proportionate to the immigrant presence will not be dedicated until there is leadership on the immigrant diversity issue and a policy paradigm is established. It is important to note, however, some exceptions to the trend in Prince William County, where individual agencies *with strong leadership* did push forward on the immigrant diversity question.

The public school system is an important exception to the trend in Prince William County of not developing a significant immigrant policy. The public schools have been undoubtedly affected by the change in linguistic and cultural background of the students that has come along with immigrant increase, and leadership reports that they have effectively developed resources to deal with immigrant children and parents. There are strong federal legal protections of the right to attend public school for all children, documented and undocumented, as well as strong measures to support English Language Learners (ELL). The efforts to cope with changing student needs – from the recruitment of ESOL teachers, multilingual outreach to immigrant parents, and creation of additional staff and an office to process ELL students – have benefited in large part from the federal legal structure that protects immigrant children as members of minority groups. The legal framework requiring active support of language learners and ethnic minorities has provided a strong justification for local public school leaders concerned about providing for immigrant children. Although local politics might favor a more exclusionary

approach and resist the granting of resources, federal legal requirements require a certain level of support. And this applies, importantly, to both documented and undocumented immigrant children, all of whom are guaranteed access to public school education under the landmark court decision *Plyler v. Doe* (Interview July 21, 2010).

It was reported to me that the Board of County Supervisors never put up much resistance to investing resources in supporting immigrant students in the public schools – that the political struggles about tensions surrounding illegal immigration never had any consequence for public school funding efforts:

“The politics were what they are, and it didn’t matter.”

“The school system was always able to find the financial resources to provide for what we needed to do to meet our educational and legal responsibilities to the students.”

“The county government would question the amount of money providing services to these students, but there was never anything more formal done to prevent any of our progress” (Interview July 21, 2010).

The public schools were some of the first public responders to demographic changes, remarking the earliest demographic diversity in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Earliest efforts to deal with English language-learners in the public schools date back to 1979, long before immigration had gotten much public response. Efforts to recruit ESOL teachers began in earnest in that period (Interview July 21, 2010). The number of ELL students quadrupled between 1994 and 1999, still amounting to only 2.5 percent of the students in the county schools as of 1999. Already at that point, the public school system was actively dealing with the need and responding to the demographic change. School bureaucrats whose responsibility was to serve all students expressed a flexible and open approach. As the ESL Director indicated on her

prioritizing of the hiring of ESL teachers and reaching out to immigrant parents in that period, she expressed a typical service-provision lens: “‘It’s very important to address all of the students’ needs. As we continue to see the different cultures grown in our area, we will adjust our program’” (Bhagwandin 1999; O’Hanlon 1998).

From that point in 1999 on, the number of ELL students in the public schools continued to climb, and dramatically. ELL students’ numbers continued to rise, from only 1,700 in 1999, to 5,500 in 2002, to 11,800 in 2006, and up to 14,000 in 2009. This constituted an annual 18 to 20 percent increase each year from 2003 to 2007, far outpacing the increase in ordinary student enrollment (Stewart 2007). The ELL population in many schools rose to thirty percent of student enrollment, and in seventeen elementary schools it increased to over 40 percent – in some cases even more than 60 percent of the schools’ students (Guterbock et al. 2010). The number of registered ELL students has stopped increasing since 2007, staying approximately constant in 2008 and 2009. The current ELL school population includes ninety-three languages, with the largest portion, 78 percent, speaking Spanish. After initial setup of the budgetary structure, which allocates funds based on the number of ELL students enrolled, there was no significant political conflict or pushback from the County on the programmatic needs expressed by the public schools administrators. Some work was required to justify a new central registration intake center that was created about five years ago, but that budget request met minimal resistance (Interview July 21, 2010).

The long-standing commitment to ESOL and ELL students, beginning in the late 1970s, was well established by the time of the demographic surge in this decade. The institutionalized commitment, bolstered by federal legal requirements, ensured that rising resource requirements

were fulfilled without significant pushback. Even in Prince William County, therefore, the institutional dynamics identified in the other cases have relevance for understanding policy response. The public school system's measures to deal with the language needs of newcomer students seems to have remained relatively insulated from political pressures – though it is important that the reverse is not entirely true: school administrators were very concerned about the chill resulting from the 2007 ordinance passed by the Board. After the original ordinance was passed in July 2007, the Superintendent put out a mass telephone message to all parents reassuring them that enforcement measures would not affect students and that students should come back to school in the fall despite fears about immigration status (Stewart 2007). This highlights the tension between the exclusion pursued by elected officials and the practical service- and rights-based approach of school officials.

In addition to ESOL activities, under Superintendent Edward Kelly's leadership, the public school system also established a team specifically committed to multicultural learning and education in the early 1990s. This small office was led by a strong leader, Larry Bell, and effectively provided training for the public school teachers in a number of summer institutes focused on various ethnic groups, such as one on Hispanics in 1996 (Weaver 1996), as well as Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and multicultural education and values. The objective was to bring a multicultural perspective to teachers who had been used to a very homogenous student base and were not equipped to deal effectively with growing diversity. The focus of the program was to instill multicultural values and defuse racial conflict rather than explicitly take up the immigration issue as the ESOL program did most directly. The program was very effective under Bell's leadership, but when he left to begin his own speaking

and consulting career, the office's efforts petered out (Interviews July 26; August 3, 2010).

Although the multicultural education department may have exerted a positive impact, the fact that a change in leadership would effectively wipe out the program indicates how poorly institutionalized the values were and how anomalous the effort was in Prince William County's public sector. It is also interesting to note how this multicultural program contrasts to the others discussed in the chapter on Madrid. The focus on ethnic-racial groups rather than immigration highlights the difference between the multicultural education programs promoted, for example, in Madrid, and the American-style programs that view immigrant groups through an ethnic-racial lens and focuses on defusing intergroup tensions. The ethnic-racial paradigm and the conception of diversity in terms of racial groups were obviously quite dominant in shaping whichever policy reactions ever developed in Prince William County, a topic that I will return to in the next section.

The other key exception to the rule in Prince William County has been the police department, whose strong community-serving mission to protect the public has led to a more proactive approach to changing demographics. Chief Charlie Deane has taken significant initiative on reaching out to the immigrant Hispanic community in his dedication to strong community relations and education (Interviews July 26; July 28; August 15; October 14, 2010.) Indeed, the newspaper article search revealed that fire and police departments were some of the earliest movers on recognizing the need for bilingual skills in their own personnel, who were interacting daily in emergency situations with an increasingly non- or limited-English-speaking public. For example, the Manassas Police Department made an effort to recruit Spanish-speaking officers, reporting in 2000 that ten of the eighty sworn officers were fluent in Spanish

(Doherty 2000). There was also report of the “first-ever Spanish speaking skills program” for six members of the Yorkshire Volunteer Fire Department in 2004, sponsored by the Prince William Department of Fire and Rescue (Scarton 2004). The Dumfries Police Department also sought out additional Spanish education in 2004 in following county practices, providing emergency Spanish classes for eight of its officers (Streng 2004b).

At the county level, the police department has developed some major immigrant policy initiatives. The department has explicitly engaged the immigrant community and attempted to change practices in response to the changing needs of residents, though no formal staff positions are dedicated to the issue. The police department teaches “emergency Spanish” in the police academy so that all officers have some knowledge of basic Spanish. It also translates many of its brochures into Spanish and elects to pay for a language interpretation line in order to communicate with non-English speakers; and there is no county-provided line like the ones provided in Montgomery County and Madrid, so many agencies, such as the Community Services Board, do *not* use such a resource (Interview October 14, 2010). The police department has made some notable efforts to include the increasingly Hispanic resident base in its operations; Chief Deane even attempted to create a Spanish Language Citizen Police Academy, but apparently there were not enough viable volunteers from the community to implement the program. The department has made an effort to recruit bilingual officers, though as of 2010 they reported that only thirty-one of their sworn police officers and seven other staff members were receiving the Spanish stipend for their Spanish proficiency (a stipend which began to be paid in 2006) – this out of a total of 5,600 employees in the police department (Interview October 8, 2010). This is quite a low percentage, and explains the frustration that the county leaders have

experienced in seeking to recruit Spanish speakers to their ranks (Interview October 8; October 14, 2010).

In terms of reaching out to the community, the police department has not established formal positions such as an official Latino liaison (as exists in Montgomery County's police department, for example), however the Chief has sought out relationships with the Hispanic community in order to educate residents as well as foster trust and understanding. At one point preceding the ordinance scandal, in 2005 and 2006, the police department had noticed an increase in street robberies in the county. Many of these crimes, however, were going unreported. The chief victims of these robberies were young Hispanic men who were being assaulted and robbed on the street as they returned home with cash in their pockets from their day laborer jobs. Many victims were not reporting these crimes because of a fear of the police and likely concern about their own immigration status being discovered. The Chief reached out to the different Latin American consulates in order to access and educate the Hispanic community; he organized a meeting in which he encouraged the consulates to pass on a message to their communities about the importance of reporting crime (Interview October 8, 2010). The police department seems to value community relations, acknowledging the view that whatever residents' legal status, language background, or culture may be, open and trusting relationships with the entire community is key for the police to be able to provide safety and security for all county residents (Interview October 8, 2010).

In fact, Chief Charlie Deane was reluctant to sign onto a 287(g) agreement and take on the role of immigration enforcement. He was concerned not only about the resource burden that would take officers away from other policing duties, but also about the potentially deleterious

effects on community trust and the relationship with the immigrant community (Guterbock et al. 2010). During early discussions in 2006, Deane opposed taking on immigration efforts, and was quoted as saying that “we have our hands full dealing with local policing matters. We do call on [ICE] when serious criminals have immigration status issues, but the issue of immigration...is beyond our capabilities” (Gilbert 2006b). The Police Chief cooperated with the Board of County Supervisors, however, when he was asked, in late 2006 and by the passing of the July 2007 ordinance, to study the policy option of his police force engaging in ICE 287(g) training and immigration enforcement duties. Deane was extremely involved in consulting on the implications of changing police policies, and he provided rich testimony to the Board of County Supervisors in their discussions in mid-2007. Deane was concerned about the consequences such a policy would have on the standing of the police and the potential damaging effects on relations with Hispanics and other immigrants. He was particularly worried about complaints of racial profiling and potential lawsuits against the police force, and thus demanded that video cameras be provided for all squad cars, so that there would be video recordings of all encounters in order to counter potential discrimination claims. The cost of the police cameras - 3.1 million dollars – as well as the other financial and other burdens were so high that the Board actually changed the wording and extent of the ordinance (Guterbock et al. 2010; Martinez 2011; Singer et al. 2009). The lesser ordinance limited the people who would be questioned to not all those encountered but only those *arrested*. In the course of the discussion, Deane also asked for an external study and evaluation of the program, to study the effects of the policy on crime and on public perceptions of the police; this was contracted to a team of researchers at the University of Virginia (Guterbock et al. 2010). Deane also required an investment in public education and

community outreach about the policy, which obviously presented a potential danger for the concerned Hispanic and immigrant community (Miroff 2007c). Deane and his staff made a significant effort to educate the community about the ordinance, holding over three hundred presentations with community groups, media, congregations and others to discuss the policy. A recent study on 287(g) programs around the country highlighted Prince William County for its notable outreach efforts (Capps et al. 2011), as did the official University of Virginia evaluation (Guterbock et al. 2010).

The police department has been more proactive than other client-serving agencies in reaching out to immigrants, however it is clear that efforts could certainly be expanded. Perhaps it is too early to judge the county agencies' willingness to adapt, given that the immigration is more recent in this county than in others. It is possible that immigrant policies will continue to expand as time passes and agencies have more time to organize a response. However, an obstacle to more serious adaptation to immigrant needs at the county level lies in the absence of strong immigrant advocates – within and outside of government - and a persistent framing of ethnic issues through the racial minority lens with its focus on African-American interests rather than Hispanic interests. The next section will explain this dynamic.

African-American Dominance: Crowding Out Immigrants

The issue of immigrant policy response is fundamentally shaped by the conception of diversity that is dominant in Prince William County, and that is a conception based on the ethnic-racial lens and dominated by concerns of African-American discrimination. Institutions in the county committed to preventing racial and ethnic discrimination are dominated by the real

concerns of African Americans in a community that historically was racially segregated as part of the American South. Several county institutions exist to protect the rights of ethnic minorities, and the new dominance of Hispanics in this minority role has yet to register in the practices and leadership of these institutions. That is, these institutions are responding mainly to concerns of African-American discrimination and are not particularly sensitive to the needs of the now dominant Hispanic minority. It is possible these institutions require more time to adapt to the changing demographics, and perhaps once the leadership becomes more ethnically diverse, practices will change. However, it is clear that currently, these institutions are dominated by concerns for African-American equality and are less in tune with the needs of the county's large Hispanic population.

The key institution in this realm is the Human Rights Commission. In seeking to identify the institutions in Prince William County government that deal with the needs of immigrants, I was referred consistently to this somewhat ill-fitting organization. The Human Rights Commission is a body with its own permanent staff and an annual budget of around 400,000 dollars whose role is to eliminate "discrimination on the bases of race, color, sex, national origin, religion, age, or disability, in employment, housing, public accommodation, education, and credit." It pursues this objective by providing public education and information, but its most prominent task is to investigate claims of discrimination in the county, operations for which it maintains a permanent staff. The Human Rights Commission's annual reports show that most of the claims it investigates are based on race, and almost entirely in the employment domain. Religion and national origin are the two least commonly cited bases of discrimination claims ("Annual Report" various years). Although the Commission is ideationally and institutionally

committed to preventing discrimination against all county residents, including immigrant residents, it is clear that its focus is racial discrimination against African Americans (Interview July 20, 2010). The Commission has a minimal role in affecting county policies towards immigrants, and leadership has a rudimentary understanding of immigrant services and needs (Interviews July 20; August 15, 2010).

The Commission did take on the immigration issue head-on, however, at the time of the ordinance debate in 2007. In its anti-discrimination role, the Commission took an active stance against the ordinance by organizing a series of public meetings with stakeholders and advocates to discuss the ordinance in more detail. That effort produced a long report that the Commission submitted to the Board of County Supervisors, recommending against the ordinance and using strong language to condemn the Board's efforts to crack down on illegal immigration, invoking extreme images such as the Ku Klux Klan and warning that the ordinance would poison the county's reputation (Walker 2007c). The report notes in extreme terms:

Over the past three months, Prince William County has been fractured in ways not seen since the 1950s. Massive protest marches, attempted fire bombings, the Klan resurgent, attacks on free speech, and a minority group living in fear, make it seem more like 1957 than 2007 ("Subcommittee Report Reviewing the BOCS Resolution on Immigration" 2007)

There was open conflict between the Commission and Board of County Supervisors Chairman Corey Stewart, who officially warned the Human Rights Commission and its Chairman that they could be dismissed at the Board's discretion and that they were over-stepping their role through their activities on the ordinance (Interview July 26, 2010). As Stewart was quoted at the time, "the point of the Human Rights Commission is not to second guess what the board has already

done. Their mission is to advise the board going forward as we implement the resolution”” (Walker 2007a).

The Human Rights Commission’s participation in the ordinance scandal does indicate that it has the potential to step actively into immigration issues and immigrant policymaking questions, however it is notable that the tone and language of the report it produced reflects a profound lack of sophistication about the immigration issue. It contrasts strongly to longer immigrant-receiving Montgomery County, where specific immigrant integration programs have been developed and the level of discourse about immigration is at an entirely different conceptual level (Silvestre 2010). I was struck by the lack of sophistication with which immigration was discussed in the Human Rights Commission’s report, in which US immigration history was described in elementary terms and the tone was quite polemical in its focus against the ordinance - with no discussion whatsoever of the type of active measures county government should be pursuing in adapting to changing demographics. This does not take away from the passion and advocacy of the document, which was seeking to push back against an exclusionary ordinance and protect the rights of Hispanic and other immigrants in the County. It is striking, however, how the level of the discourse contrasts between those professionals whose role it is to advocate for ethnic minorities’ interests in Prince William County, versus those in Montgomery County.

This lack of deep knowledge or attention was echoed in my interactions with the other institutional equivalents protecting the rights of racial and other minorities in the County: the Equal Opportunity direction in county Human Resources. The amount of attention and level of sophistication surrounding the needs of immigrants and multilingual personnel needs was quite

low; there is no official diversity plan, there are no evaluations done of meeting diversity targets, data on personnel diversity are guarded and not made public (Interview October 12, 2010). This contrasts starkly with Montgomery County, where a complex vision of diversity is espoused *and institutionalized*. The contrast in attitudes about the value of diversity, at least rhetorically, was very obvious.

These institutions advocating for anti-discrimination and equality do have the potential to take on the immigrant issue with seriousness, and it is possible and I would suggest, even *likely*, that they will eventually, as the new immigrant diversity becomes permanent and long-standing. However, the institutions as they exist do not currently have a strong dedication to immigrant policymaking. It is likely that, with time, they will adapt to the longer standing demographic realities and expand their activities to embrace and forward the needs of immigrant residents. The absence of a strong county-wide *exclusionary* policy paradigm on diversity management permits them the ideological space to do that, and federal legal requirements also will push them toward that objective – as they have in the public school system. However, we see a lag in the institutions’ responsiveness to demographic developments because of the lack of a policy paradigm, the lack of leadership in Prince William County, to create an inclusionary approach to immigrant policy. The unusual examples of outreach and immigrant policymaking described in the preceding section have all resulted from strong leaders in distinct agencies. Without a strong policy paradigm, these disjointed efforts will continue with no over-arching dedication and not at particularly high levels.

So, despite the active bureaucratic incorporation efforts taking place in small pockets within county agencies, there is no guiding inclusionary *or* exclusionary policy paradigm

shaping Prince William County immigrant policymaking. The absence of a paradigm – combined with the lagging-behind of whatever anti-discrimination institutions exist – combined with a strong pro-enforcement advocacy network to produce the 2007 ordinance that has given the county an exclusionary reputation in the region. The absence of strong institutions advocating for immigrant interests – within county government as in civil society – left the county vulnerable to taking an extreme exclusionary step in passing the ordinance. The next section will describe in brief what took place with the exclusionary ordinance, and the developments that have followed.

Lapse into Exclusion in the Absence of a Policy Paradigm

In the context of a growing Hispanic population, a national debate focused on undocumented immigration, and a growing movement for local-level activism on immigration enforcement, Prince William County became one of the localities that passed an anti-illegal immigration ordinance in 2007. In this act, it followed the footsteps of other notable localities such as Hazleton, PA or Farmers Branch, TX, where localities also passed exclusionary ordinances in 2006 focused on discouraging illegal immigration by seeking to restrict their housing options, employment possibilities, and their interactions with local police forces and service providers. The Prince William County ordinance contributed to an already acrimonious debate about illegal immigration in metropolitan Washington, DC and the appropriate role of localities in federal immigration enforcement. As the recent comprehensive evaluation of the county's police policy pointed out, despite the risk of generalizing too broadly from what the report considers the relatively successful case of Prince William County's venture into

immigration enforcement:

One implication of Prince William's experience is inescapable: it is indeed possible for a local government to have an impact on its experience with illegal immigration, despite the national scope of the problem and the primacy of the Federal government in dealing with the issue (Guterbock et al. 2010).

The development of the ordinance in Prince William County was deeply entwined with discussions about what the federal government, in the absence of effective enforcement, *owed* localities that were dealing with the costs of undocumented immigration, particularly the costs of detention in local prisons. These discussions and the ordinance itself were used strategically by elected officials to drum up voter support in an election year, and efforts were buoyed by a strong pro-enforcement activist network that effectively lobbied the Board of County Supervisors. It took place in a context where other nearby jurisdictions were also taking up the immigration issue, and where pressure to "do something" about the visible strains of changing demographics (residential overcrowding, day laborers) were great and seized on by effective advocates.

The regional context showed a number of area jurisdictions taking up the illegal immigration issue in the year preceding Prince William County's ordinance. In December 2005, the city of Manassas passed an ordinance in order to curb the overcrowding of large numbers of Hispanic immigrants in single-family homes; it did this by narrowly defining the family to only nuclear family members. Though the ordinance was rescinded shortly after its passage in response to protests, it reflected a growing salience and activism surrounding the immigration issue (Caldwell 2006). The other highly publicized neighboring debate took place in nearby Herndon, Virginia, where the local authorities funded a formal day laborer center, managed by a

non-profit organization, in 2005. Popular resentment about the funding of the center forced the local council to retract the funding, and it also led to the turnover of several elected officials in the election that took place soon after the day laborer debate (Hobbins 2006). In that context, Prince William's leadership had little political incentive to consider a proposal for its own day laborer center by one of its own supervisors, Hilda Barg, in 2005 (Walker 2004). The measure was quickly passed over, and as then County Executive Craig Gerhart explained:

It got no reception at all, the board received the report, they didn't want a presentation, and the political instincts of the board were already attuned to the fact that this was not an issue that they would be successful with—if they were willing to accommodate day laborers. Then [things] got quiet until [the immigration enforcement issue] resurfaced in the fall and winter of 2007 (Guterbock et al. 2010).

The needs of the growing Hispanic community were certainly present on the public agenda in 2005 and 2006, however. In November 2005 a report produced by the Prince William United Way and Prince William Area Coalition for Human Services (a public county institution) highlighted the needs of Hispanic residents and identified many service gaps in the County, particularly in child care and language access. This report was taken seriously by the Mayor of Manassas Park, Frank Jones, who heard the results at the first Hispanic Needs Assessment Forum, and followed up with additional forums for service providers in the city and the county (Gilbert 2006a). However, this discussion on the needs of Hispanic residents was also easily manipulated by pro-enforcement forces; in response to the United Way report, conservative Manassas Councilman Jack Miller highlighted the *costs* of undocumented immigration in the area, saying:

'I feel that if the organizations compiling the report are going to be funded by public money, they should address the biggest question on the taxpayers' mind, which is how

much of the area Hispanic population is illegal. I believe if we're going to have laws they should be enforced, and we should know what percentage of the population is here illegally' (Seal 2005).

In this period, Jack Miller and other local officials in this period were taking steps to protest the costs of undocumented immigration in their jurisdictions, sending official letters to the Governor of Virginia asking for a state of 'immigrant emergency' to be declared, or insisting on other remedies (Parrish 2005). There were even "official language" policies broached, with Culpeper County, VA passing an Official English resolution in 2007 and joining the other jurisdictions in demanding redress from the state (Miroff 2007b). And in Prince William County government itself, Supervisor Wally Covington requested that county officials conduct a study of what the cost of undocumented immigration was in the county, and then addressed a letter to the US Senate requesting reimbursement for the 3 million dollars calculated (mostly for housing undocumented aliens in the county jail) (Dwyer 2007). This was part of a regional trend of pro-enforcement elected officials working on illegal immigration as a political and policy issue. These local politicians were eager to seize on the immigration issue to focus on the enforcement angle rather than the immigrant policymaking or integration angle that service providers were advocating in the United Way study.

This was, again, taking place in a context in which federal immigration reform was being hotly debated – federal comprehensive immigration reform was being discussed in Congress - and the failure of federal enforcement (and high numbers of undocumented immigrants) were the dominant story line. In this period, the state of Virginia was considering state-level measures to require police forces to engage in some enforcement activity, and jurisdictions neighboring Prince William County were considering 287(g) agreements as well. Although Prince William

County was the first in the region to do so, Herndon, VA signed its 287(g) agreement in 2007 (Guterbock et al. 2010), as did Loudon County, and Frederick County in Maryland. (And the Cities of Manassas and Manassas Park followed Prince William County's example in 2008). In contrast, traditionally inclusionary Arlington County (an inner suburb of Washington, DC) objected strongly to measures and repudiated such initiatives that made immigrants feel less welcome.³⁵ Northern Virginia's Fairfax County and the City of Alexandria have also been generally viewed as anti-enforcement (de Leon et al. 2009).

A widely cited reason for the success of Prince William County's ordinance passage was the activism by the local organization Help Save Manassas, under the leadership of conservative blogger Greg Letiecq. Letiecq effectively rallied supporters of a pro-enforcement position on on-line forums and encouraged them to send email messages to members of the Board of County Supervisors (Park and Byler 2010). By the time of the October 16 hearing, it was reported that his organization had sent 10,000 emails and 1,000 faxes, flooding the Supervisors' inboxes. As County Supervisor John Stirrup said, "[Most of supporters' outreach] was done through e-mails. It proved to be effective, in terms of sheer numbers; [Of opponents' efforts] it seems like it was well orchestrated to turn out that large a crowd" (Miroff and Mack 2007). County Board Chairman Corey Stewart has also specifically credited Help Save Manassas for shaping the ordinance, saying that: "The group played a very large role in the illegal immigration

³⁵ Arlington County passed a resolution on September 18, 2007, reiterating its welcome of immigrants in response to Prince William County's 2007 ordinance (Downey 2007). Arlington County Board member Walter Tejada was quoted as saying, "It's not our task to legislate immigration. Instead, we focus on integrating and assimilating and teach [sic] the new residents how to integrate and assimilate into our community" (Tejada 2010) Arlington has staked a strong anti-enforcement stance, more recently refusing to sign a Secure Communities agreement, another ICE-local cooperation initiative that involves data sharing and has elicited debates and confusion about the ability of local jurisdictions to opt out of the program (Vedantam 2011).

crackdown that the board is pursuing. They played a very helpful role in providing some of the research for the measures that the board took and they were also effective at generating public interest and turnout” (“Concerned Citizen Groups Multiply” 2007).

Help Save Manassas’ lobbying style contrasted with the opposing side’s approach of more traditional protest through physical demonstrations, massive presence and testimony at the decision hearing (Park and Byler 2010), and labor strikes (Hanley 2007b). The opposition was led by advocacy organization Mexicans Without Borders, a quite well-known Hispanic rights organization in Northern Virginia, which was still limited by the absence of any *additional* strong Hispanic rights organizations in the area. Mexicans Without Borders has claimed some success in being a force in the scaling back of the resolution’s original extreme measures (Interview August 3, 2010); as has the Human Rights Commission (Interview August 15, 2010), however a recent evaluation downplayed those efforts and focused instead on the budgetary concerns and constraints particularly as formulated by the Chief of Police (Guterbock et al. 2010). The relatively weak Hispanic advocacy presence in Prince William County surely played a part in the passage of the resolution – a resolution that would never be proposed, and certainly would not be passed, in jurisdictions with stronger immigrant rights advocacy (de Leon et al. 2009).

In response to activism on both sides, the Board of County Supervisors did pass the resolution on July 10, 2007. However, ensuing discussions within county government were dominated by 1) concerns from service agencies on the impracticality and illegality of excluding undocumented immigrants from federal and state-funded services, and 2) warnings from the police chief on the cost of implementing the new enforcement policy. These objections ended up

limiting the original contours of the ordinance and delaying the final resolution. The report submitted by the county government on which services could be affected by the resolution's requirement that county officials, agencies, and personnel verify the immigration status of users, insisted that this would mostly be impractical. The report objected to requests to limit access to public goods such as libraries, parks, and roads; and pointed out that many federal- and state-funded programs are already unavailable to undocumented immigrants. It also noted that some services, notably public education and health care, are constitutionally protected rights for undocumented immigrants. The remaining social services that could be identified constituted an extremely short list – only eight programs - with minimal users and budgets: only 8.4 million dollars in the previous year's budget and 3,374 residents –two-thirds of which went to tax relief for the elderly and disabled (Miroff 2007a; Walker 2007b). As a local journalist noted, a Manassas Councilman observed that “what he called the ‘big ticket items,’ such as education and healthcare, local governments can do next to nothing because of federal mandates” (Hanley 2007a). It is interesting to note that this protection of undocumented immigrant students' rights extended *widely* into the services discussion; one program considered for possible exclusion was designed to help young people avoid drugs and gang activity, and *because one of its objectives was to improve educational performance*, county officials did not recommend that this service be included in the list of those excluding undocumented residents (Walker 2008b). This is quite a far reach for federal protection of the right to attend public schooling, and it reflects the reluctance of county bureaucrats to appease the Board of County Supervisors, and their strong attempt to protect county programs from potential challenge and investigations for discrimination or wrongdoing (Interview October 14, 2010). Knowledgeable county officials

also pointed out that enforcing the new rules could *cost* the county more resources; for example, new restrictions to require legal immigration status in order to procure a business license, proposed in the resolution, would end up costing the county 80,000 dollars to divert staff resources to implement that verification process (Walker 2008a) .

On the police role, the police chief estimated a cost to the county of 26 million dollars over the five years following the resolution, including 3.2 million dollars for security cameras for every squad car in order to ensure against charges of racial profiling and potential law suits. The prohibitive cost of the security cameras in particular was a factor in leading the Board to step back from the ordinance's original language - to check the immigration status of "anyone detained for violating a state law or county ordinance, including a traffic violation, if there is probable cause to believe the person is violating federal immigration law" - to instead, only individuals *arrested* by county police officers (Singer et al. 2009). A later evaluation judged this scaling back to be a significant and even "pivotal" modification of the original ordinance, pressed by the Police Chief's budgetary requirements and the tight budget concerns of the Board of County Supervisors (Guterbock et al. 2010).

The tempering role that county bureaucrats – the service agencies and police department – had in scaling back the original intentions of the ordinance should be emphasized here. Their effective curtailing of the County Supervisors' lofty ambitions reveals a complex power relationship – by which unelected bureaucrats do have the potential, through their possession of practical operational and fiscal knowledge, to temper ideologically extreme measures and bring them back down to reality. The bureaucrats largely expressed concerns over legal conflicts and discrimination, but also logistical concerns about the practicality of excluding residents from

services. In this sense the actors of “bureaucratic incorporation” here offered a *brake* against extreme ideological moves, using their actual operational position to take authority back from their elected leaders. Although they did not have the authority to make the final decision – the Board of County Supervisors did – bureaucrats could strongly influence the results with their monopoly of knowledge and skillful manipulation of fiscal and other concerns. Analysts have pointed out the legal costs of such ordinances, pointing out that the cost of legal battles to defend such measures should make them extremely unattractive to localities (Martinez 2011). This offers some hope for potential improvement in the county’s immigrant policymaking, because there is the potential for leadership at the bureaucratic level to counter the exclusionary trend that has characterized the county’s discourse and politics.

The tempering effect of bureaucrats should be highlighted. Elected political leadership, however, did manage to move Prince William County forward to become the first county in the region to sign a 287(g) agreement and change the way it treats the relationship between county police and immigration enforcement. The ordinance has had significant consequences for the county, with the departure of many Hispanic immigrants and some Hispanic commerce, a drop in Hispanic residents’ satisfaction with county police³⁶ (Guterbock et al. 2010), and certainly a negative image for the county (Martinez 2011). Many of the community members I spoke to focused on the political incentives and political aims of Supervisor Corey Stewart, who has used the illegal immigration issue as his major campaign issue and who, many say, has state-level and national-level ambitions (Interviews July 26; July 28; August 15, 2010). Local elected leaders capitalizing on the immigration enforcement issue have certainly grown over the last several

³⁶ There is still a major gap between Hispanic and white satisfaction with the police in the County, though Hispanic satisfaction levels have come up slightly from their lowest point at the time of the ordinance.

years in US politics. However, I would argue that such a leader would not have the opportunity to turn immigration into an issue in a place where institutionalized and longstanding commitment to immigrant diversity had been shaping practices and beliefs for many years, as was the case in Montgomery County and Madrid. Institutionalized immigrant policy practices produces institutions and ideas that make those types of exclusionary messages unpalatable and unlikely to emerge.

Conclusion and Prospects for the Future

Prince William County lacked an immigrant policy paradigm as immigrant numbers increased somewhat in the 1990s and surged in this decade. Despite expectations that the conservative nature of the county and rapid demographic growth would lead to strong exclusion, there is still evidence of small-scale adaptation taking place in isolated government agencies to adapt to changing demographics, as well as some relatively major immigrant policymaking in the public education and police departments. These are examples of true bureaucratic incorporation, where bureaucrats have taken the initiative to develop immigrant-oriented programming and modifications to services in the absence of leadership from a centralized or elected level. Lacking an immigrant policy paradigm with its attendant institutionalized organizations and ideas committed to adapting to immigrant needs, political, demographic, and economic forces were free to move the county toward an extremely restrictive ordinance in 2007, bestowing it a reputation for immigrant exclusion.

The signs of adaptation taking place in some parts of county services, and notably the brakes that county bureaucrats were able to put on the exclusionary ordinance through their

knowledge of federal anti-discrimination law, shows that bureaucratic incorporation can be determinative in the face of political grandstanding and exclusionary impulses. If there were leadership to establish an immigrant policy paradigm in Prince William County, an institutionalized immigrant policy structure would emerge. The conservative nature of the county, the delay in responding to immigrant needs, and even the political pressure to push immigrants out, would be trumped by a local initiative to change policy practice. Local leadership to develop inclusionary policies benefit greatly from federal anti-discrimination law, though still, local leadership is necessary to make changes. In a decade or more, once the immigration has become more settled and there is more diversity in the elected and unelected county positions, it is likely that there will be more and more policy adaptation taking place in the county. Some respondents expressed a strong view that Prince William would remain exclusionary because of its conservative ideology, because of its traditions of fiscal conservatism (Interview July 28, 2010); as one respondent told me in reference to Prince William's *lack* of immigrant policies: "It's not Alexandria, it's not Arlington, this is Virginia" (Interview August 3, 2010). I think that is too pessimistic a view, and Prince William County – with the appropriate leadership and continued federal legal requirements that are pushing localities to protect the rights of ethnic minorities and the foreign-born – can develop a relatively strong immigrant policy program. This new destination has the potential to adapt to its new demographic reality, with some delay.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This project has conducted an in-depth examination of the process of local immigrant policy response in “new destination” communities. The study has highlighted the institutional commitments and ideational understandings that guide immigrant policymaking by local government authorities. How immigration is understood and conceptualized shapes which policy tools are used to respond to new demands and challenges. By collecting and analyzing qualitative evidence tracking the development of immigrant policy response in three local communities – two Washington, DC suburbs, Montgomery County, Maryland and Prince William County, Virginia; and central Madrid – I have identified the importance of key local leaders in establishing the ways in which government responds to immigrant residents.

Local leaders establish a policy paradigm that frames immigration in a particular view – either through ethnic-racial groupings or through immigrant integration. Once a commitment is made, subsequent policy decisions tend to follow the trajectory set by the policy paradigm in a path-dependent process of increasing returns. In the absence of a policy paradigm, a community is more vulnerable to demographic and political shocks that can push it toward exclusionary measures. There is evidence that the type of inclusionary paradigm can also lead to different outcomes; that is, when immigration is understood through an ethnic-racial frame, the issue of immigration status and immigration enforcement can more easily be divorced from a community’s traditional inclusionary approach to immigrant members. On the other hand, with

an integration model, immigrants' visa and residency rights may be more closely linked to other inclusionary immigrant-oriented programs and activities.

This study has contributed to a growing academic literature seeking to make sense of local community response to new immigrant residents, adding an appreciation of the institutional environment and the role of key local leaders in setting communities down a policy trajectory by establishing institutions and pioneering ideas about how to cope with changing demographics. The transatlantic comparison highlights not only the contrasting approaches to immigrant integration we see broadly between the United States and Europe, but also the possibilities for local variation, both inclusion and exclusion. This concluding chapter will summarize the chapters, consider some of the wider theoretical and policy implications of the argument and findings, as well as discuss future avenues for research in what is certain to be a growing field in political and social science.

Summary

This dissertation began with a chapter introducing the relevant academic literature, describing the case selection and methodology, and presenting the theoretical framework. The growing trend of the migration literature to focus on the local level was highlighted, in particular the scholarship on bureaucratic incorporation, which focuses on government bureaucrats' contemporary role in modifying local government practices to accommodate new immigrant residents' needs. This study adds a historical dimension by being attentive to institutional dynamics that develop over time in local immigrant policymaking trajectories, highlighting the

key role of local leaders in establishing policy paradigms that structure local immigrant policymaking efforts.

The subsequent chapter laid out a background and history of immigration and integration policy in the US and Spain; this background explained why we see far greater subnational immigrant policy variation within the US than in Spain. In Spain, where immigration has only been a major demographic presence for the last ten or fifteen years, communities are actively seeking to adapt to the new diversity. Though federal practices investing in formal immigrant integration have developed in recent years, the actual innovation and implementation takes place at the local and regional levels. In the United States, in contrast, immigrant integration has not been a formal government role, though there is an increasing trend to address the issue in recent years. The movement to the subnational level to address immigrant pressures, through both exclusionary and inclusionary measures, has dominated recent policy developments.

The three case chapters provided rich accounts of the development of immigrant policies in the local cases, exploring two strongly inclusionary cases with contrasting immigrant diversity paradigms, as well as a non-paradigm exclusionary case. The Montgomery County case came first, and described the leadership of a local county executive in the mid-1980s in establishing the county's inclusionary, ethnic-racial policy paradigm that structures immigrant policymaking through the present day. Montgomery County has established a wide range of inclusionary policy measures based primarily in an ethnic-racial framing of immigrant needs, following the trajectory established in the mid-1980s. The framing of immigration in racial terms – though extremely inclusionary and supportive of immigrant and minority rights – ends up permitting the

county to take a more restrictive stance on immigration enforcement in the most recent period when enforcement became highly politicized both regionally and nationally.

This contrasts with a similarly inclusionary policy paradigm in Madrid, which treats immigrants through an immigrant integration paradigm rather than an ethnic-racial group perspective. The immigrant integration policy paradigm established in the mid-1990s under the leadership of several local innovators has continued to structure immigrant policy efforts as immigration dynamics have changed and demographics have evolved dramatically. The immigrant integration paradigm includes three key components: 1) distinct immigrant services and specially trained personnel, 2) an international view of immigrants with a link to international development dynamics, and 3) the core concepts of interculturalism and “*convivencia*.” The coherence of the immigrant integration paradigm remained solid even as demographic pressures increased.

The Prince William county case chapter offered an exclusionary case, one that had no immigrant policy paradigm and thus was vulnerable to the political and demographic pressures that swayed the county in the mid-2000s to pass a polemical pro-enforcement ordinance in 2007. The analysis showed that there was small-scale ad hoc immigrant policymaking in the absence of an immigrant policy paradigm as bureaucratic incorporators sought to adapt to changing residents needs in the 1990s and 2000s. Bureaucratic innovators played a key role in limiting the reach of the 2007 ordinance, hinting at the possibility for greater inclusiveness in the county’s future policies.

Subnational Dynamics

Although *immigration* policy – restrictions on entry and exit – are established at the federal or national level, the subnational level is critical in understanding the political and social dynamics of immigration and demographic change. Recent developments in the United States highlight this starkly, with more and more attention at the state level in the last several years in the wake of failed federal immigration reform initiatives. The United States Congress has been debating comprehensive immigration reform for years, coming close to passing a law in 2006, again in 2007, and since then stalled over debates about legalization, border control, and visa quotas. In that void, states have rushed in to address immigration-related concerns, particularly the status of undocumented immigrants and their rights to live, work, and study in receiving communities. State legislatures have increasingly legislated on immigration matters in the last several years, as chronicled by the National Conference of State Legislatures (*National Conference of State Legislatures, Immigrant Policy Project*). This legislative turn has coincided with a recognition of the widening dispersion of major immigrant populations since the 1990s to “new destinations,” states and localities that are not typical immigrant gateways. The most recent developments in both Arizona and Utah have vividly illustrated the rising push of states to take over part of the immigration enforcement function, in somewhat contrasting approaches: Arizona’s 2010 SB 1070 seeks to criminalize undocumented status, whereas Utah’s 2011 bills aim to not only criminalize undocumented status but also develop a state-level guest worker plan that would temporarily legalize undocumented residents.

These latest initiatives are an indication of a rising tide of variation in policies across states, experimentation that produces a “patchwork of policies” rather than providing a consistent

legal framework for immigrants across the country³⁷ (Zimmerman and Tumlin 1999). This devolution of immigration issues to the state level has been discussed widely from a legal perspective, with many opposing the patchwork approach (Wishnie 2001) and others praising the potential for pioneering efforts that could then be replicated (Kobach 2008). The rise of the importance of the subnational level has also been highlighted in the European context by scholars pointing out how national governments are devolving unpopular or difficult immigration tasks to subnational units (Guiraudon 2001; Lahav and Guiraudon 2006), as well as highlighting the subnational level for integration policies (Caponio and Borkert 2010; *From Immigration to Integration: Local Solutions to a Global Challenge* 2006). If subnational units are increasingly the most important site for immigrant and immigration policymaking, it is critical that we develop theory and conduct studies of these dynamics.

This study's emphasis on institutional trajectories of immigrant policy response can help us make sense of the variation we see across states within the United States. Many of the most inclusionary programs are found in the traditional immigrant receiving states – California, New Jersey, Illinois, New York – where policymakers have, over time, developed institutions and commitments to inclusionary immigrant policies. These institutions have taken on staying power and will not likely be reversed. This is in contrast to new receiving states like Utah, Georgia, and North Carolina, which are developing immigrant and immigration measures in response to

³⁷ This “patchwork” phenomenon was discussed in the wake of the 1996 immigration and welfare reforms, after which states were left to decide which federal benefits gaps they would choose to fill for their recent immigrant residents. In current debates extending to enforcement actions by state authorities, this patchwork has become starker.

rising immigrant numbers in a paradigm vacuum. This study would predict that these cases are the most likely to lapse into exclusion.

Of course, the potential for exclusion is never eliminated, even in more traditional immigration locations. Indeed, border states like Arizona would not be described as “new destinations;” they have had long-term immigrant and Hispanic populations since their very creation. However, Arizona’s recent exclusionary measures have been focused on border control issues and the issue of enforcing immigration law – a “law-and-order” approach (Esbenshade et al. 2010). This example of a state that is deeply defined by ethnic diversity and interchange with neighboring Mexico – and taking a stand on these strong enforcement measures – illustrates how primary the issues of border control and enforcement have become in the immigration debate. This also illustrates how the issues of *immigration* policy – measures controlling entry and exit – clearly overlap with *immigrant* policy – measures regulating immigrants’ experiences as residents. Strong enforcement measures that have been included in some state and local initiatives to, for example, enlist local police in enforcing immigration law, punish landlords for renting to undocumented immigrants, and require employers to verify the immigration status of potential employees, enter a realm somewhere between immigration and immigrant policy. These actions are challenging the traditional federal monopoly on immigration control, but also acknowledge the de facto enforcement roles that subnational units have already taken on.

Membership and Exclusion

The overlap of immigration and immigrant policies and questions about the rights given to non-citizens, whether documented or undocumented, address another larger debate in the

immigration literature about so-called “postnational citizenship.” Authors such as Yasemin Soysal and David Jacobson argue that international human rights law and liberal commitments have made national citizenship schemes less important, as non-citizens are assured rights through these alternative structures (Soysal 1994; Jacobson 1996). This theoretical approach is modified by other scholars who identify the local level rather than the national level as key in attributing rights to all residents: “local citizenship” as identified by Tsuda in his recent edited volume (Tsuda 2006). This second approach sees membership and rights being provided to all local residents, regardless of citizenship and potentially immigration status. This dissertation certainly has relevance for these theoretical discussions, emphasizing the importance of local government policies in determining the access of foreign residents to services and programs. There is great potential for rights granted by localities, in contradiction of official federal immigration structures and laws. This is most clearly illustrated by extreme inclusionary cases, like San Francisco’s or New Haven’s municipal identity cards (de Graauw 2010; Rodríguez 2008), or sanctuary policies passed by cities such as Cambridge, Massachusetts or Takoma Park, Maryland.

On the other hand, the authority accorded local governments also permits local decision-making to yield exclusionary results and “local de-membership,” whereby local governments choose to explicitly *exclude* particular residents, normally undocumented immigrants, whom they consider illegitimate residents. This possibility was most famously illustrated by Hazleton, Pennsylvania, or this study’s Prince William County. This is the alternative policy response afforded by a federal structure that permits localities wide latitude. Many have pointed out, however, that these exclusionary possibilities have been limited by federal rights requirements

and legal protections; and thus expensive legal battles deter local communities from taking these type of measures (Martinez 2011). This primary role for legal challenge is clearly a manifestation of a “post-national” dynamic, whereby non-citizen rights do have the potential to be formally protected through liberal institutions and commitments.

This dissertation has found that the local cases examined in detail certainly showed evidence of federal legislation constraining local exclusionary action. Even in the Prince William County ordinance, the final version was modified so as to avoid discrimination claims, in both the access to services and the police enforcement provisions. Federal anti-discrimination law and a paradigm focused on ethnic-racial group rights helped shape immigrant policy response in both the US cases. Localities are certainly constrained by the federal structure in which they do their problem solving, most importantly federal immigration law that ultimately controls the rights of foreigners to be resident and seek employment. This project has shown how the dynamic between local leadership and federal government is complex, with both levels taking advantage of the relationship but also being constrained by it.

Transatlantic Lessons

Thus far the discussion has focused largely on the American context, appropriate given the recent policy importance of immigration and the role of subnational units in immigration debates in the United States. However, the contribution of a transatlantic analysis as offered by this dissertation leads us to examine larger questions about models of inclusion and immigrant integration by looking beyond the United States context to other immigration-receiving societies. There is growing interest in both the academic and policy worlds to exchange ideas between

North America and Europe on topics of immigration and integration (Chebel d'Appollonia and Reich 2008; Mollenkopf and Hochschild 2009a; Zolberg and Long 1999; *Transatlantic Council on Migration* 2011; *Transatlantic Trends Immigration Survey* 2009). A transatlantic comparison is useful in highlighting the commonalities and contrasts between approaches to immigrant integration, and the role considered appropriate for government authorities in the integration process.

This study, though focused on specific local cases that are not necessarily typical of all localities in either the US or Europe, does arrive at a basic contrast between Anglo-Saxon and Continental approaches to immigration and diversity. In the United States, with its particular race relations history and politics as well as a history grounded in immigration, immigrant integration is not an explicit government role and yet many integration-like programs are implemented under the guise of equality across racial and ethnic groups. In Europe, in contrast, immigrants are not something basic to the culture and are instead viewed as individuals to be integrated rather than ordinary members of society. Anti-racism and anti-discrimination are also a part of the discourse and policies surrounding diversity in Europe (Bleich 2003), but the primary approach is still through the integration paradigm.

This dissertation illustrates this transatlantic contrast by looking at two extremely inclusionary cases on both sides of the Atlantic. Though the two inclusionary cases examined both have developed specific institutions and personnel committed to immigrant needs and services, the Madrid case has explicit immigrant integration measures while Montgomery County's have remained largely in ethnic-racial group-based measures (with some exceptions, see the last section of Chapter Four). Despite this contrast, however, in both cases there is

considerable reluctance to label particular services “for immigrants only.” In both cases, there is a professed interest in “integrating” immigrants into ordinary service provision rather than dividing them from the native population. In practice, however, Madrid has obviously developed a range of particular *spaces* and *services* that explicitly target immigrants.³⁸ In Montgomery County, a wide range of supports and accommodations have been made, but not expressly in the name of “immigrant integration” but rather inclusion of minorities or ordinary service provision to the less advantaged. In both cases, it seems that service providers want to avoid “segregated” services so as to avoid the public perception that immigrants are using up social services and public funds that should be going to natives instead.

The contrast in integration and race relations approaches has been discussed by several authorities in comparing the Anglo-Saxon to the Continental European approach (Bleich 2003; Noiriel 1994). There is skepticism on each side to considerations of the alternative approach, with Europeans generally reluctant to identify race as a valid category of group difference. Opposition to the appropriateness of identifying race and racial categories as legitimate categories has most famously been the case in France (Horowitz and Noiriel 1992), but Spain similarly does not collect race measures on its national census.³⁹ There is suspicion that identifying racial categories would “reify” those categories and provide the wrong approach to understanding group difference, or commonality (Brubaker 2004). On the other hand, the

³⁸ Though the city has also made strides in improving language access in its general services – reception in town halls, documents, and a general telephone line for municipal inquiries.

³⁹ During my fieldwork in Madrid in 2009, I attended a discussion at the CAM Immigration Institute (EPIC) on the collection of racial categories, and the immigrant service providers in the room were united in their opposition to the collection of racial statistics.

counter argument is that in *not* identifying minorities that may in fact be experiencing race-based discrimination, those disadvantages will not be captured or appreciated. The civil rights revolution in the United States, and the anti-discrimination provisions that followed, have enshrined racial categories as something identifiable (though best evaluated by the individual in question); these categories are considered entirely legitimate in political and social discourse and organization.

Race is not embraced as a valid category in many European countries, though I would argue that similar concepts are used. The identification of a category “migrant background” in some European countries, such as Germany, is not exactly a racial category but it approximates the concept of membership to a minority group, based in some sort of physical and genetic ascription. This is echoed in the Spanish case with discussion of “the second generation” of immigrants (Aparicio 2007). These constructs do ascribe some sort of identity and lasting membership, something physically different and inherited, to the otherness of foreigners in majority Caucasian societies. The obvious question to ask is, when do these people stop being considered of “migrant background”? How many generations does it take? In the United States, second-generation immigrants are US citizens and thus no longer “immigrants.” The term “immigrant” is not used for anyone past the first generation, however racial categories that in part coincide with immigrant background are understood to be permanent.⁴⁰ In the new immigration-receiving countries in Europe, in contrast, “migrants” and those of “migrant background” are not just those members of the first generation, but extend also to children who

⁴⁰ However, racial group membership is largely self-reported, which permits permeable and changeable self-evaluation (Foner 2004).

grow up in Europe or who are even born there. This conceptual and terminological construction establishes group differences that may perpetuate generations of inequality. This major difference between the United States and Europe is obviously linked to the contrasting citizenship policies which confer full membership, with the United States' *ius soli* scheme contrasting with most European policies.⁴¹

This project suggests that the Anglo-Saxon approach – and its conceptual decoupling of *immigration* issues from ethnic minority rights – leads to strong group rights protections but potential movement toward immigrant exclusion or restrictiveness on immigration matters. Though the foreign-born may more quickly become accepted members of society as rights holders in ethnic-racial minority groups, the human rights of immigrants coming from developing nations may not be privileged in the way they would within an integration paradigm. In the United States, recent abuses of the rights of undocumented immigrants and the weakness of their protection as supposedly illegitimate residents, shows the danger of this approach. In contrast, the European immigrant integration model maintains strong protection of human rights and provides many supports, however, it constructs a rigid division between immigrants and natives, preventing the true integration that results from inclusion of immigrants as ordinary rights-holders and members of society. These themes address deep questions about immigrant inclusion and societal transformation in an increasingly diverse world, and highlight potential lessons of transatlantic exchange.

⁴¹ *Ius soli* confers citizenship by birth on the national soil, while *ius sanguinis* confers citizenship through blood ties. In practice, many Europe countries have complicated schemes combining elements of both, but none are as liberal as the United States on granting citizenship to all born on US soil. For an extensive discussion of European citizenship policies, see Howard's recent book (Howard 2009).

Future Research

Immigration scholarship has certainly taken notice of the importance of the local level, but far more conceptual development needs to take place in order to better understand these dynamics. Doing this in a large-scale, comparative design presents many measurement and conceptual challenges. This dissertation was primarily a theory building enterprise, using close qualitative analysis to inductively develop new theoretical constructions to complement a budding literature on local-level immigration dynamics. This project has added a historical institutionalist perspective to scholarship on bureaucratic incorporation processes taking place in communities, offering some sense of the mechanisms by which an incorporation approach is created and institutionalized. The conclusions found in this study are tentative based on the small sample size, and more certainty could be achieved if tested on a greater number of cases. Future research would ideally expand to additional local cases within the United States and Spain, as well as include more countries.

One major theoretical objective that would facilitate wider testing would be to conceptualize a quantitative measure for immigrant policy response. As discussed in the literature review, quantitative analyses have relied thus far either on presence or absence of anti-immigrant ordinances, or perhaps public opinion measures on immigration (Hopkins 2010; O'Neil 2010; Ramakrishnan and Wong 2007; Walker and Leitner 2009). These are not ideal measures for capturing the full range of local government response to immigrant residents, which is why qualitative analysis was necessary in this study to capture that outcome. However, future studies could work toward capturing local immigrant response in a quantitative approach. Such analyses could then look at a larger number of cases, identify general trends, as well as develop

models to predict the shape of local government response and explicitly test the impact of different independent variables. Future work should examine indexes that exist for national-level measures, such as the MIPEX, implemented by the Migration Policy Group and British Council, which quantifies *national* integration policies across Europe as well as North America. Potentially some measures of budgetary commitments to language access, or personnel diversity, or some other measures, could somehow capture a local government's immigrant policy response. Measures of policy should evaluate both the philosophy or paradigm of immigrant policymaking, as well as the *level* of commitment, ideally with longitudinal measures to measure change over time.

Another fruitful alternative would be to conduct a large-scale survey of local policymakers, querying on budget numbers and policies on immigrant populations.⁴² A survey of local government authorities should be careful to include both "new destinations" and more traditional immigrant gateways in order to determine whether there is a significant difference between them. The language of the survey questionnaires would require careful editing, as I found in the process of my semi-structured interviews that American government personnel do not often have a clear understanding of immigrant integration or immigrant policymaking; they simply do not think of their work in those terms. They would often speak of immigration and enforcement measures when queried, so the survey wording would have to guide them to specific immigrant policy measures such as language access measures, outreach to minority

⁴² See a study limited to California as an excellent example of such research (Ramakrishnan and Lewis 2005).

groups, social services that largely benefit immigrants, and so on. This lesson illustrates the importance of qualitative research as a first step toward developing a wider large-n approach.

The measures of policy response should seek to capture the complexity of local government response and the possibilities for the co-existence of both inclusionary and exclusionary measures. Or perhaps inclusion and exclusion are not appropriate terms to be using at all, and an alternative set of concepts should be used to understand policy responses. It is clear that local response should not be categorized in black and white terms, as inclusionary or exclusionary, without significant caveats. This was shown quite clearly with the analysis of Prince William County in this study, classified as exclusionary by many analysts but actually the site of some fairly significant bureaucratic incorporation measures.

Building on the Prince William County case, there is potential for another line of research focused on the Illegal Immigration Relief Acts and open anti-immigrant discourse in the United States in the last several years. Do these populist expressions detract from the solidity of the United States' traditional openness and welcome of immigrants, or are they in fact typical of history's periodic bouts of populist backlash (Higham 1955; Martin 2011)? Do these anti-immigrant ordinances pose a real danger to the United States' traditional welcome to immigrants? It is possible that these types of ordinances should not be understood as exclusionary "immigrant policy" but rather symbolic or rhetorical devices to express hostility and resentment; they may send a message rather than really change a community's policy towards immigrant residents. This is not to detract from the real impacts some of the ordinances have had on ordinary people's lives and livelihoods, but it is important to consider these

ordinances in the context of a complicated reception picture. There is some evidence for this conclusion from the Prince William County findings.

More comparative work should build on the insight that race and ethnicity are fundamental to shaping immigrant integration programming in the United States. The study of immigrant integration in the United States should pay close attention to the ethnic-racial paradigm and how anti-discrimination law and institutions provide immigrant integration outputs and outcomes. The traditional axiom that the US government does not *do* immigrant integration (except for refugee resettlement) is not correct; functional equivalents of European-style immigrant integration initiatives are certainly present in the US, and perhaps are more effective here, though under the guise of ethnic-racial anti-discrimination and rights protection. Recent policy discussions about explicit investment in immigrant integration – usually focused on support of naturalization, English language learning, and foreign degree recognition – should recognize this dimension of ethnic-racial equality policies and consider the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches.

Conclusion

Immigrant integration is a fundamental social, economic, and political issue for societies worldwide. Policymakers and academic researchers should think critically about effective models and potential lessons learned from the traditional immigration countries and the new immigrant receiving countries. Though immigration policy is traditionally controlled at the federal level, the local level is fundamental for immigrants' and natives' experience of immigrant diversity and reception. It is at the local level where immigrant policies are implemented and

often conceived. This project has shown that the role of local leadership is key to shaping policy and outcomes for communities seeking to adapt to changing demographics. Decisions made early on have lasting effects that shape the development of immigrant policy and explain the durability of inclusionary or exclusionary commitments in the face of changing demographics. As immigrant numbers increase or characteristics of immigration evolve, institutional and ideational commitments made at an earlier stage of the demographic development serve as the basis for dealing with new flows and dynamics. In the absence of a policy paradigm, no strong commitments are made and response is less consistent and more reactive to changing demographic and political pressures.

This project addresses key policy issues as well as important theoretical debates about membership and exclusion in contemporary society. It has relevance for the growing patchwork of state and local immigrant policies we see debated in contemporary US politics and helps us understand the range of exclusionary and inclusionary measures being considered. The transatlantic comparison highlights how fundamental race and ethnic politics are to shaping immigrant integration experiences in the US, and puts the European struggle with immigrant integration in a wider perspective. Routes to both inclusion and exclusion are possible, depending on the initiative of local leaders empowered to shape policy responses to changing demographics in their communities.

APPENDIX

LIST OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

Montgomery County

1. Montgomery County activist (February 10, 2009)
2. Montgomery County non-profit organization (March 11, 2009)
3. Montgomery County activist (March 15, 2009)
4. Montgomery County government staff (March 26, 2009)
5. Montgomery County government elected official (March 26, 2009)
6. Montgomery County government elected official (April 1, 2009)
7. Montgomery County government staff I (November 20, 2009)
8. Montgomery County government staff II (November 20, 2009)
9. Montgomery County government staff (January 8, 2010)
10. Montgomery County government staff (January 15, 2010)
11. Washington, DC government staff (March 15, 2010)
12. Montgomery County government staff (March 19, 2010)
13. Montgomery County government staff (March 24 and April 1, 2010)
14. Washington, DC government staff I (March 29, 2010)
15. Washington, DC government staff II (March 29, 2010)
16. Washington, DC government staff (April 8, 2010)
17. Montgomery County government staff (April 12, 2010)
18. Montgomery County government staff I (June 24, 2010)
19. Montgomery County government staff II (June 24, 2010)
20. Montgomery County government staff III (June 24, 2010)
21. Montgomery County government staff (July 7, 2010)
22. Montgomery County government staff (July 12, 2010)

Madrid

1. Local Madrid/District level official (April 30, 2009)
2. Local Madrid staff (May 6, 2009)
3. CAM Department of Immigration and Cooperation official (May 13, 2009)
4. Academic (May 18, 2009)
5. Non-profit organization (May 20, 2009)
6. Non-profit organization/CAM subcontractor (May 21, 2009)
7. CAM Department of Immigration and Cooperation staff I (May 22, 2009)
8. CAM Department of Immigration and Cooperation staff II (May 22, 2009)
9. Local Madrid official (May 26 and July 22, 2009)
10. Non-profit organization/CAM subcontractor (May 27, 2009)
11. Non-profit organization I (May 28, 2009)
12. Non-profit organization II (May 28, 2009)
13. Academic I (June 2, 2009)
14. Academic II (June 2, 2009)
15. Non-profit organization/CAM subcontractor (June 3, 2009)
16. Local Madrid/District level official (June 3, 2009)
17. CAM Department of Immigration and Cooperation staff (June 4, 2009)
18. Local Madrid/District level staff (June 4, 2009)
19. Local Getafe staff (June 17, 2009)
20. Local Madrid/District level social worker I (June 22, 2009)
21. Local Madrid/District level social worker II (June 22, 2009)
22. Local Madrid official (June 23, 2009)
23. Local Madrid staff (June 23, July 21, and July 27, 2009)
24. Local Alcalá de Henares official (June 24, 2009)
25. Local Móstoles official (June 25, 2009)
26. Former Local Madrid staff I (June 29, 2009)
27. Former Local Madrid staff II (June 29, 2009)

28. Móstoles Non-profit organization/CAM subcontractor (June 30, 2009)
29. Local Madrid staff (July 2, 2009)
30. Local Parla staff (July 3, 2009)
31. Local Madrid/District level social worker (July 6, 2009)
32. Local Madrid/District level official (July 6, 2009)
33. Local Móstoles social worker (July 8, 2009)
34. Local Móstoles staff (July 8, 2009)
35. Non-profit organization I (July 14, 2009)
36. Non-profit organization II (July 14, 2009)
37. Non-profit organization social worker (July 17, 2009)
38. Non-profit organization/Local subcontractor (July 24, 2009)

Prince William County

1. Fairfax County non-profit organization I (July 1, 2010)
2. Fairfax County non-profit organization II (July 1, 2010)
3. Prince William County government staff (July 20, 2010)
4. Prince William County government staff (July 21, 2010)
5. Prince William County non-profit organization I (July 23, 2010)
6. Prince William County non-profit organization II (July 23, 2010)
7. Prince William County non-profit organization (July 26, 2010)
8. Prince William County elected official (July 28, 2010)
9. Prince William County non-profit organization I (August 3, 2010)
10. Prince William County non-profit organization II (August 3, 2010)
11. Prince William County government staff (August 15, 2010)
12. Prince William County non-profit organization (September 8, 2010)
13. Prince William County government staff I (October 8, 2010)
14. Prince William County government staff II (October 8, 2010)
15. Prince William County government staff (October 12, 2010)
16. Prince William County government staff I (October 14, 2010)
17. Prince William County government staff II (October 14, 2010)

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