Understanding how Section 287(g) is reverberating through the immigrant economy and how this might create potential constraints for the businesses that rely on immigrant workers and consumers.

Case Study of Mebane city in Alamance County, North Carolina

BY

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I. INTRODUCTION

Sunday Morning, I had finally scheduled an interview with the Manager of Mexico\(^1\) Mexican Restaurant. He had told me to meet him at the restaurant at 10:30 a.m. because they do not open until 11:30 and therefore we would have enough time to have the interview. This restaurant is very popular in Mebane and their staff is usually really busy, so I could not miss this appointment. A close by destination to Mexico Restaurant is the Buckhorn Flea Market known as La Pulga. This Flea market is very popular among Hispanics, not only because many of the sellers are Hispanics themselves, but also because of the low prices. The merchandise ranges from clothes, to car accessories. La Pulga also has a wide selection of fruits and vegetables, so I figured that being on my way to the interview, I might as well go a bit earlier and stop by the Flea Market and get some fresh produce for the week (prices are lower compared to supermarkets in both Orange and Alamance Counties, making it appealing to Hispanics). As I took the exit towards the flea market, the line of cars was really long and I thought to myself that maybe it wasn’t a good idea to shop on a day that the market was so full and that I should rather go do the interview and come back afterwards. To my surprise, the reason for the long and slow line was not only the number of people going to the flea market, but also the result of a check point set up by the law enforcement of Alamance County. As I looked at the other drivers passing by, I could see how worried the Hispanics were and how upset the Non-Hispanics were due to the big delay. As the line moved very slowly, I went over all my documents in my head making sure that I had my driver’s

\(^1\) Not the real name of restaurant
license and registration with me. When my turn came, a police officer asked for my documents, which I showed while asking him the reason for the checkpoint. He answered matter-of-factly that it was routine check. When the officer was done looking at my driver's license and registration he asked for my proof of insurance and this is when the problems begun. In my proof of insurance, my name appears as Willan Mendoza Torrico while my driver's license and registration say Willan Sergio Mendoza Torrico (which includes my middle name). The officer told me that my names did not match and before I could explain to him that the only thing missing was my middle name, he went ahead and asked me for my papers that showed that I was legally in this country. I told him that I did not carry them with me (too dangerous if I lost them) but that I had my student ID from UNC Chapel Hill. After looking at my ID for a few seconds he told me that my names did not match there either (it is written there as only Willan Mendoza) so he went to his car and made me wait for about 10 minutes. He returned and asked me again if I was really a student, and I told him that I was indeed. When he asked me what I was studying all I could think about was the 45 minutes that I had spent at the check point, the suspicious looks from the officer when looking at my documents, the question about why my name showed differently, but most importantly I thought about how late I was for my interview. So I replied, I'm studying the connection between racial profiling and Section 287(g).

The Latino population in the state of North Carolina has been growing rapidly since the early 70s and has gone from less than 50,000 up to almost half a million
It is not difficult to see their influence in everyday activities across North Carolina, from restaurants and convenience stores to Latino advocacy organizations and the Spanish language that you can hear on the street at any time. In spite of this increase in immigration to North Carolina, as mentioned by researcher Lisa Hanley (Hanley Lisa, 2008) the efforts to create a middle ground, allowing migrants to adapt to the host country’s norms and values while maintaining their culture and traditions have been losing out to an increasingly dominant mentality of “play the game by our rules or leave”³. The problem with this mentality is that host communities are not as static and migrants are not as passive as we might want to assume, and that societies respond to forces constantly buffeting them. In other words, societies are dynamic and mutable (Hanley Lisa, 2008). At the same time, migrants are actors rather than objects on which the host communities impose their will; these migrants with their presence and behavior, make demands on their host community and promote changes. As a result, migrants and communities are constantly evolving and changing, showing a strong interdependent relationship.

Sometimes this relationship is a positive one, where a positive exchange between migrants and the host community can be seen. For example, the catholic church of Saint Tomas More in Chapel Hill, NC offers a Sunday mass in Spanish. Every Sunday at 13:30 the Hispanic community, especially those who do not have good knowledge of English, gather at the church to listen to mass in their native tongue. It is not uncommon to see some Non-Hispanics who like to listen to the service in Spanish,
either because they want to practice the language or simply because they like to interact with the Hispanic community. The picture of a Non-Hispanic priest, often with a thick English accent, addressing a large audience of Hispanic Catholics in their own language shows how strong of a relationship there is from the host community to the migrants.\textsuperscript{4} Another example of a positive relationship, but this time from the migrants to the host community is basketball season in Chapel Hill. The town of Chapel Hill is very proud of the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill’s basketball team, and it is not surprising on game night to see all restaurants and bars showing the Tar Heels play. Students wearing UNC colors, public transportation buses with signs saying Go Heels! and traffic jams close to the Basketball arena, is a common sight for locals. What one might find interesting and surprising is to walk into a Mexican \textit{tienda} on game night. As soon as one walks in, the loud music in Spanish and the sight of traditional Hispanic foods are plain to see. However, as one walks further into the store and looks at the TV, it is not a Mexican soap opera or a soccer match that is on, but instead it is the UNC game. The Hispanics inside cheer and suffer with the team, as any local would do, with the only exception that they do it in Spanish.

Still, at times the relationship between the host community and the immigrants is not positive. One example of this is the growing adoption of anti-immigration policies at the local or state level, exemplified by the Illegal Immigration Relief Act in Hazelton, PA which is aimed to hold landlords and employers responsible if they did

\textsuperscript{4} Saint Thomas More church has gone beyond the mass in Spanish and since 2006 the Faith Development program integrated its program with the Hispanic community, established bilingual family retreats for sacramental preparation, began translating all letters and documents into Spanish, and established regular meetings with Hispanic parents to convey information and to hear their concerns. More, C. C. (n.d.). \textit{History of the Catholic Community of Saint Thomas More}. Retrieved February 15, 2009, from Catholic Community of Saint Thomas More: http://church.st-thomasmore.org/history
business with illegal aliens. These policies are an example of what immigration scholar Ivan Lights calls defection strategies (Light, 2006). Deflection strategies are those that are intended to displace immigrants, documented or not, from a host community.

This paper examines one such potential deflection strategy, Section 287(g) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (Office of Public Affairs, 2006). In 1996, the US Congress amended the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) to include section 287(g), authorizing the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to enter into agreements with local law enforcement agencies, thereby deputizing officers to act as immigration officers in the course of their daily activities. These individual agreements are commonly known as Memoranda of Agreement or MOAs. In the wake of 9/11, Section 287(g) has emerged as a state and local channel for enforcing immigration policy (Florida Department of Law Enforcement entered into the first agreement in 2002).

North Carolina has been a leading state in the local adoption of 289(g). It is estimated that over sixty law enforcement agencies have entered into such agreements, with eight MOAs currently in North Carolina (Weissman, 2009). The eight active MOAs in the North Carolina are in Alamance, Cabarrus, Gaston, Mecklenburg, Wake, Cumberland, and Henderson Counties. In addition, the Durham Policy Department has recently signed a 287(g) agreement.

For North Carolina, 287(g) has been studied extensively from a legal perspective and as a means to determine whether or not the policy is being used
appropriately as a mechanism for rooting out criminal activities or simply as a de facto deportation strategy (Weissman, 2009). Little research however has been done on the economic impacts of this policy for the state. This is important because there can be unintended consequences that could undermine the positive economic impact of the Hispanic Community in North Carolina. This research therefore tries to understand how Section 287(g) is reverberating through the immigrant economy and how this might create potential constraints for the businesses that rely on immigrant workers and consumers.

This study focuses on the City of Mebane in Alamance County, North Carolina. I have chosen Alamance County because the aggressive allocation of police resources which can have serious implications for the larger community and because of clear racial profiling and baseless stereotyping made by the County Sheriff (Collins, 2007). Alamance County, although operating with a smaller population and fewer enforcement resources than some other 298(g) counties in North Carolina, has already deported over four hundred individuals during the first nine months of the program5 (Weissman, 2009). It is widely believed that Section 287(g) is being used as a tool for intimidation and isolation of foreign nationals and Hispanic residents in Alamance County and not necessarily as a tool to aid law enforcement6.

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5 See Page 32.
6 This quotation has been taken from Professor’s Weissman report, Page 31 footnote 50:
FIRE Coalition Interview with Sheriff Terry Johnson, conducted by FIRE Coalition National Director, Jeff Lewis, Dec. 2007 available at [http://www.truveo.com/FIRE-Coalition-Interviews-Sheriff-Terry-Johnson-1/id/2953567179](http://www.truveo.com/FIRE-Coalition-Interviews-Sheriff-Terry-Johnson-1/id/2953567179); Sheriff Johnson of Alamance county readily acknowledges identification and mass deportation, or purging, of undocumented residents as the primary motivator for its passage. Upon being asked on an interview with the FIRE coalition on how he got involved in 287(g) sheriff Johnson responded:
In Alamance County, I have also chosen the City of Mebane because it has a fast growing and relatively large Latino population. I have also chosen Mebane because it promotes itself as still having the small town, family friendly environment and is currently in a major upswing, both residentially and commercially. Major business chains are regularly moving to the city, yet there is not a big presence of manufacturing or construction companies. This means that while many areas of North Carolina have suffered from the closure of factories, Mebane has only been minimally affected. This is important to be able to parse out the effects of the recent economic crisis that has affected the manufacturing and construction sectors in the country. It is easier to see the economic impact of Section 287(g) over and above the general economic malaise in a relative small location rather than a large one. I have also taken into consideration that for a case study where interviews would be needed, a smaller city will allow me to identify and contact possible subjects faster than a large one. Finally, the proximity of Mebane city to my University allows me to make as many trips as necessary to identify subjects and later interview people, rather than limit my number of visits due to distance constraints.

This research uses mostly qualitative research methods and relies heavily on in-depth interviews with immigrant business owners and residents. From a business perspective, I focus on establishments that rely on immigrant workers and consumers,

“I have been Sheriff of Alamance County for four and a half years now...and being a resident of Alamance County, I’ve seen a massive change in the population the County which is automatically overburdening the taxpayers. And I began to notice...that a large amount of our population...was in fact foreign born, illegal, criminal immigrants who had come to settle in Alamance County...and that our services that we were...supposed to be providing to our-taxpaying citizens were being cut short simply because we had to be responding to a lot of criminal, illegal immigrants here in Alamance County.”
especially those that are residents of Mebane. Each business establishment has a Hispanic owner or manager and is located in Mebane. The business also serves both Hispanics and Non-Hispanics clients, has Hispanics employees and is at least 5 years old. This with the idea of understanding behavior over time, before and after Section 287(g) was implemented in Alamance County. In the case of residents of Mebane, local church organizations and the Buckhorn Flea Market (La Pulga) were used as channels for identifying interview candidates. Residents were interviewed that have lived and worked in Mebane for at least 5 years. The interview questions focus on the effects of Section 287(g) on their everyday life and economic activities.

Even though there is a larger economic environment of crisis\(^7\) that is affecting the Hispanic community, by talking with individual immigrants and the business owners, this research will attempt to parse out economic effects specific to Section 287(g). For example, Section 287g might affect an immigrant’s ability to access work or willingness to drive across town to visit a particular restaurant. These effects are important to recognize as they might undermine the positive economic role\(^8\) that Hispanic immigrants have had in recent years in the state of North Carolina (Kasarda & Jonhson, 2006).


\(^8\) North Carolina’s rapidly growing Hispanic population contributes more than $9 billion to the state’s economy through its purchases and taxes, while the net cost to the state budget (after Hispanic tax contribution) is $61,039,000.
II. LITERATURE REVIEW

To put the present research into a proper context, it is useful to start by defining basic and broad concepts related to the relationship between immigration, citizenship and host communities. It is also relevant to give the definition of Section 287(g) and information of its implementation in Alamance County. Finally a summary of research related to Hispanics in North Carolina and section 287(g) will be presented to show what has been studied so far and where this study fits in that context.

The broad concepts of immigration and therefore citizenship have been in discussion for a long time. This theoretical concept frames the logic under which some of the policies are being written around the globe. Author Peter Schuck (Schuck, 2006) argues that laws in the US are becoming more strictly defined towards immigration and Americans are arguing more passionately about citizenship. In his paper The reevaluation of American Citizenship, he argues that the intensity of these debates reflect the tensions that arise within and among three analytically distinct relational domains, each of which is characterized by a distinctive problematic, wrenching conflict between competing and deeply held values, International Law and Politics, National Politics and Federalism.

The first domain is the one related to International Law and Politics, where the nation defines the scope of its sovereignty by classifying all individuals as either

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9 Page 439 paragraph 3.
insiders or outsiders. By insiders the author means those who the polity brings into its constitutional community by granting them legal rights against it. The American constitutional community includes citizens, legal resident aliens, and in some cases illegal aliens. The second domain National Politics, is where public law classifies the body of insiders into different categories, defining what the policy owes to each of them and what they in turn owe to the policy. The author states that the meaning of citizenship in the national political domain is highly controversial in the Unites States today because it is intimately connected to bitterly divisive questions about the welfare state. The last domain is Federalism, which is defined by the author as the structural division of the American policy into multiple, overlapping sovereignties.

The three domains help Schuck define citizenship as a status whose meaning in any particular society depends entirely on the political commitments and understandings to which its members subscribe. He argues that in the Unites States, many of these commitments and understandings have always been tenuous, contestable, and contested; and some still are.

Author Joseph Carens sees citizenship more as membership to a state. He argues that to say that membership is open to all who wish to join is not to say that there is no distinction between members and nonmembers. Those who choose to cooperate together in the state have special rights and obligations not shared by noncitizens. Therefore, respecting the particular choices and commitments that individuals make flows naturally from the commitment to the idea of equal moral worth but what is not readily compatible with the idea of equal moral worth is the
exclusion of those who want to join. He argues that the current restrictions on immigration in Western democracies- even in the most open ones like Canada and the United States- are not justifiable. Like feudal barriers to mobility, they protect unjust privilege (Carens, 1987). A strong argument that Carens makes for the fear of immigration and open borders is that open borders would threaten the distinctive character of different political communities only because we assume that so many people would move if they could. If the migrants were few, it would not matter. A few migrants could always be absorbed without changing the character of the community.\(^{10}\)

Author Bhikhu Parekh on her paper Minority Practices and Principles of Toleration, sugests that principles of toleration cannot be laid down in advanced, and there are best elicited by means of an open-minded intercommunal dialogue aimed at evolving a reasonable consensus (Parekh, 1996). That because every modern society includes minorities, some of whose values and practices differ from and even offend those of its own. To tolerate them all indiscriminately is both to indcicate moral judgement and to compromise commitment to the society's own value.

The three above mentioned authors explain why immigration laws in the US are being more strictly defined as they define the concept of citizenship. They look at the broad picture and explain people's behavior based on general concepts.

Author Ivan Lights takes a step further and coins a definition, “Deflection” to explain why communities would not want immigrants and he explains that behavior.

\(^{10}\) See page 270 paragraph 4.
Ivan Light defines the concept of deflection as adopting policies that discourage settlement (Light, 2006). He also says that the host communities that have absorbed as many immigrants as they could or, more accurately, as they wish, start deflecting newcomers to other localities. He states that there are many reasons for communities not to want immigrants, for example when their numbers exceed the employment capacity of the economy, or when they add significant costs to the local welfare bill (including prison, education and health). He develops his idea by adding that is not only the illegal immigrant that brings problems to a community but it is also the poor legal immigrant (Light, 2006). He says “the economic burden of immigration on host communities does not only consist of illegal immigrants, even though they are politically the most vulnerable. It also includes legally authorized immigrants who are very poor because they are harder to accommodate than illegal immigrants considering that they have full and unquestionable rights to state welfare benefits”.

With Ivan Light’s definition, it is easier to identify new policies in the US that are clearly “Deflection” policies. Section 287(g) from the Immigrations and Nationality Act is a clear example. I believe that in order to understand the relevance of the impact of Section 287(g) on the Hispanic community and how this research relates to it, is necessary a definition of this law. A summary of what Section 287(g) will be given, based on the fact sheet provided by the office of public affairs of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (Office of Public Affairs, 2006). This summary is grouped in two areas or interest, Section 287(g) as a law enforcement partnership and the definition of Memorandum of Agreement.
Section 287(g) of the Immigration And National Act

Section 287(g) of the Immigration and National Act is defined by the office of public affairs as a “Law enforcement partnership”, because according to them, terrorism and criminal activity are most effectively combated through a multiagency/multi-authority approach that encompasses federal, state and local resources, skills and expertise. They also state on their fact sheet “state and local law enforcement play a critical role in protecting our homeland security because they are often the first responders on the scene when there is an incident or attack against the United States. During the course of daily duties, they will often encounter foreign-born criminals and immigration violators who pose a threat to national security or public safety”.

More specifically the Office of Public Affairs explains that:

“the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA), effective September 30, 1996, added Section 287(g), performance of immigration officer functions by state officers and employees, to the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). This authorizes the secretary of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to enter into agreements with state and local law enforcement agencies, permitting designated officers to perform immigration law enforcement functions, pursuant to a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), provided that the local law enforcement officers receive appropriate training and function under the supervision of sworn U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officers”.

The cross-designation between ICE and state and local patrol officers, detectives, investigators and correctional officers working in conjunction with ICE allows these local and state officers with the necessary resources and latitude to pursue investigations relating to violent crimes, human smuggling, gang/organized crime activity, sexual-related offenses, narcotics smuggling and money laundering; and increased resources and support in more remote geographical locations.
The office of public affairs of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security also defines the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) as a document that defines the scope and limitations of the authority to be designated. It also establishes the supervisory structure for the officers working under the cross-designation and prescribes the agreed upon complaint process governing officer conduct during the life of the MOA. Under the statute, ICE will supervise all cross-designated officers when they exercise their immigration authorities. Once the scope of limitations of the MOA has been reached, the assistant secretary of ICE, and the governor, a senior political entity, or the head of the local agency may sign the MOA, requesting the cross-designation.

There are eight active MOAs in the North Carolina area. Alamance, Cabarrus, Gaston, Mecklenburg, Wake, Cumberland, and Henderson Counties, and the Durham Police Department have signed agreements. Alamance county signed its MOA in October second 2006. As mentioned in the introduction chapter, Alamance county is very aggressive with the implementation of Section 287(g).

Information on Alamance County and Mebane City

Alamance County is a county located in the state of North Carolina. Formed in 1849 from Orange County to the east, Alamance County has been the site of significant historical events, textiles, manufacturing, and agriculture in North Carolina. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the county has a total area of 435 square miles (1,126 km²), of which, 430 square miles (1,114 km²) of it is land and 5 square miles (12 km²) of it (1.10%) is water. Alamance County is often described as a "bedroom" community,
with many residents living in the county and working elsewhere due to low tax rates, although the county is still a major player in the textile and manufacturing industries.

The current county-wide tax rate for Alamance County residents is 57.5 cents per $100 valuation. This does not include tax rates imposed by municipalities or fire districts. As of the census[13] of 2000, there were 130,800 people, 51,584 households, and 35,541 families residing in the county. The population density was 304 people per square mile (117/km²). The racial makeup of the county was 75.61% White, 18.76% Black or African American, 0.35% Native American, 0.90% Asian, 0.02% Pacific Islander, 3.19% from other races, and 1.16% from two or more races. 6.75% of the population were Hispanic or Latino of any race; compared to the average Hispanic population of North Carolina of 4.7% is a large size Hispanic community. The median income for a household in the county was $39,168 (North Carolina's in 2007 was $44,772), and the median income for a family was $46,479. The per capita income for the county was $19,391 compared to $20,307 of the state.

Mebane city is located in Alamance County, with a population in July 2007 of 10,15511. The estimated median household income in 2007 was $41,877 with a 2008 cost of living index in Mebane of 86.9 (less than average, U.S. average is 100). The racial makeup of the city was White Non-Hispanic (75.1%), Black (17.5%), Hispanic (5.2%), other race (2.9%). Glendel Stephenson mayor of Mebane wrote on the official website of the city "The City Council Members and I are pleased to provide you with this

11 This information was gathered from the website: [http://www.city-data.com/city/Mebane-North-Carolina.html](http://www.city-data.com/city/Mebane-North-Carolina.html)
information on our beautiful City. Located in the heart of the North Carolina piedmont, Mebane is a great place to live, work, and raise a family. The citizens of Mebane are proud of their community and welcome visitors and new residents alike.” (Mebane, 2006). No research about the Hispanic Community in Mebane city was found. The only research found about Mebane, is a study written by the Cedar Grove Institute for Sustainable Communities in May 2003 (Communities, 2003) about Mebane city and the African-American community.

**The Hispanic Community in North Carolina**

Alamance is one county that has experienced a significant growth in the Hispanic population in recent years. It is therefore important to also consider some basic information on the Hispanic Community in North Carolina and also research studies conducted in the past that relate the Hispanic Community and the State of North Carolina.

John Kasarda and James Johnson on their study “The Economic Impact of the Hispanic Population on the State of North Carolina” (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006) show how immigrants from Latin America, authorized and unauthorized, are dramatically changing North Carolina’s demographic and economic landscape. Hispanic population contributes, more than $9 billion to the state’s economy through its purchases and taxes, while the net cost to the state budget (after Hispanic tax contributions is $61,039,000 ($102 per Hispanic resident for health care, education and corrections). According to the study if the immigration trends were to continue, the total economic impact of Hispanic spending could increase to $18 billion by 2009.
The demographic impact area of the study was conducted in three main categories: the trend in Hispanic population growth, demographics of Hispanics and the impacts that Hispanics have on North Carolina’s workforce. The trend in Hispanic population growth, also includes information about the concentration of this population in North Carolina, where they come from and the net Hispanic population growth. When looking at the demographics of Hispanics in North Carolina, the study gives emphasis to the comparison of household types and household composition of Hispanics and Non-Hispanic in order to contribute to the finding of the Hispanic enrollment in North Carolina public schools. The study of the impacts that Hispanics have on North Carolina’s workforce, quantifies Hispanic workers in North Carolina by Industry versus Non-Hispanics, identifies the percentage of self-employed Hispanics by industry and finally determines the average personal wage and salary earnings of a Hispanic full-time worker by industry.

The Economic Impact area of the study was conducted to address four key issues: The impact of Hispanic consumer spending on the state and its communities, the net balance of the Hispanic population’s contributions and costs on the state budget, the effect of Hispanic workers on the total economic output and competitiveness of the state and the potential business opportunities North Carolina’s expanding Hispanic presence provides. The conceptual framework used by (Kasarda & Jonhson, 2006) used the analysis of the Contribution and the Cost Side. On the contribution side they focused on Consumer Spending, Payroll and Property Taxes and Industry Competitiveness. Consumer Spending is defined here as the total Hispanic after-tax personal income available for local spending on good and services.
Payroll and Property Taxes is what Hispanics directly contribute to North Carolina’s revenue base through taxes on their earnings and properties. Industry Competitiveness is how Hispanic workers benefit North Carolina Industries by augmenting the labor supply and economic output at competitive wages and salaries. On the cost side, it is estimated the financial impact of Hispanics on three major public costs typically considered in immigrant impact studies: K-12 Education, health-service delivery and correction. Kasarda & Johnson’s study used an input-output model known as IMPLAN.

The North Carolina Institute of Medicine has published another report on Hispanics in North Carolina (Latino Health, 2003). The report states that Hispanics are the fastest growing ethnic group in North Carolina. Between 1990 and 2000, their number grew by almost 400%, giving North Carolina the fastest growing Hispanic population in the country, where Hispanics are approximately 5% of the state's population. The report also states that Hispanics move to North Carolina for employment; they are more likely to be employed than any other population in the state. Hispanics are often employed in the state’s most hazardous industries—agriculture or construction—or in low paying jobs that are less attractive to native North Carolinians. Because of their willingness to work in these industries, some North Carolina businesses actively recruit Hispanics from Mexico and other Central American countries. The Hispanic community is one of tremendous diversity. North Carolina Hispanics come from many different geographic backgrounds. Most Hispanics in the state are of Mexican origin, but many come from Puerto Rico or other Caribbean, Central American, or South American countries.
As with Kasarda and Johnson’s report, the authors of this report also acknowledge the positive contribution of the Hispanic population on the state. But they also recognize some of the challenges, especially as they relate to health care. Most North Carolina Hispanics are recent immigrants: nearly two-thirds are foreign-born. Because many Hispanics are coming directly from Mexico or other foreign countries, they still have language barriers. In addition, persons coming from other countries are accustomed to different health care systems. The rapid growth of this new population has overwhelmed many public agencies, and the underlying issues of lack of insurance coverage, language barriers, different cultural and health care beliefs, and general unfamiliarity with the US health care system have not been adequately addressed.

To be able to make proper recommendations, this report starts by acknowledging guiding principles. Among the most important ones the report states that Hispanics in North Carolina are making a substantial contribution to the economic, social and cultural enrichment of our state; regardless of immigration status, the health and well being of this population should be considered of vital importance to the present and future of North Carolina. And that Care should be compatible with patients’ cultural health beliefs and practices.

The Latino Health Task Force made a total of 33 recommendations to improve the health status of Hispanics and increase access to culturally and linguistically appropriate health, behavioral health, dental, and social services. Task Force members who wrote the report understand that governmental and private funding available to address these needs is limited. Therefore, the Task Force developed 13 priorities that,
if implemented, would have a significant positive impact on the ability of Hispanics to access needed health, behavioral health, dental, and social services which would ultimately lead to improved health status.

The above mentioned reports shows how important the Hispanic Community is in the State of North Carolina, but no information is given with regards of specific locations in the state. Kasarda & Johnson’s study looks at the entire community in an aggregate level and there is no data on how much of the impact is due to large cities like Raleigh or Charlotte, or how much each county contributes to the overall impact. The North Carolina Institute of Medicine’s report also looks at the Hispanic Community as a whole and does not address the particularity of each county or city. This report addresses health issues and not the economic impact of Hispanics.

There is an ongoing research by professor Brian Nienhaus12 (Nienhaus, 2008), which looks at North Carolina and more specifically at Hispanics in Alamance County. Professor Nienhaus’s research also references the economic impact reported by Kasarda & Johnson but focuses on how immigration impacts real state value. His research is based on information from 1990 and 2000 census data from low immigration-growth counties (Onslow and Cumberland) and high immigration-growth counties (Cabarrus, Union and Alamance). There are two important findings he presents on his research; home value increase is higher in high immigration-growth counties compared to low immigration-growth counties and that the tax rate

12 The writing on this research comes from a memorandum that Prof. Nienhaus wrote to Alamance County Board of Commissioners. I contacted professor Nienhaus over email and he was kind enough to send me the printed documents.
(the burden ratio, usually expressed as a percentage, at which a business or person is taxed) is lower in high immigration-growth counties than low immigration-growth counties. High immigration-growth county home value increase was 36 percent greater than low immigration-growth county increase from 1990 to 2000. Tax rate in low immigration-growth counties increased by 9.5 percent and in high immigration-growth counties decreased by 16 percent from 1990 to 2000. He explains that to determine if there was a relationship between immigration and housing values, he compared home values for counties with high immigration during this decade with counties with minimal immigration. He looked at the top and bottom five counties, and kept Onslow and Cumberland Counties in the low-growth group and Cabarrus, Union and Alamance in the high-growth group. The counties he removed were mostly rural. His emphasizes that counties with high immigration growth benefit in the real state market by using Alamance county as an example where during the early part of this decade, about 1,100 homes were sold annually in Alamance County. Sellers therefore earned about $23 million more per year on the sale of their homes than they might have had immigration not occurred. The reason why Alamance was chosen by the author was that through observations he realized that lots of working class neighborhoods in Gibsonville, Burlington and Graham had reasonably healthy homes occupied and mostly well kept and second-tier commercial real estate was similarly impressive. He says “Webb Avenue is an old commercial road connecting Graham to Burlington. I saw very old storefronts occupied, and even new construction squeezing its way into property mix along the road. The health of lower-tier real estate meant that people who owned these properties were able to sell or rent time and use the
capital to move to better properties”. The author states that one reason there was demand for these properties was the wave of immigration to the county during this period. Professor Nienhaus concludes by stating “If locally enforced federal immigration laws cause a reduction in demand for housing in the county, the county should see a greater decline in housing”.

The purpose of this chapter was to acknowledge that the scope of this research is a small piece of a very large picture. The literature provides review of the general and broad concepts of immigration and citizenship. Other authors provided more specific definitions to explain how immigrants interact with their host community. The host communities of Alamance County and Mebane city showed how diverse they are, but at the same time how little research has been done about its relationship with the Hispanic Community. The studies that were looked at in this chapter, showed the positive economic impact of the Hispanic Community in the state of North Carolina at an aggregate level.

This chapter also provides a summary description of Section 287(g) to be able to understand what exactly was designed for. How aggressive its implementation in Alamance County has been\(^{13}\) makes me question how is that going to affect the positive economic impact of Hispanics at a micro level.

\(^{13}\) Discussed in the Introduction Chapter
III. METHODOLOGY

This research study is a qualitative analysis that looks at Mebane city in Alamance County as the case study\(^{14}\), in an attempt to identify potential constraints for businesses that rely on immigrant workers and consumers, more specifically the Hispanic community. For the purpose of the study, Hispanics that live in Mebane and businesses that server the Hispanic population and employ Hispanics were chosen. The criteria used for selecting Hispanics were adults that have been living and working in the city of Mebane for at least 5 years\(^{15}\) regardless of their gender, nationality or legal status in the country. In order to select them, fliers with information about the research were distributed by hand at local churches, downtown and the Buckhorn flea market. The idea of the fliers was to provide information about the research and give the opportunity to possible subjects to decide if they wanted to take part of this research. In the fliers, the email and phone number of the researcher was given for people to freely contact him. Once they were contacted, it was decided whether they met the criteria, and if they did, a meeting at a place convenient to the subjects was selected. Ten(10) Hispanics, who met the criteria, were selected to take

\(^{14}\) Refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group, frequently including the accounts of subjects themselves. A form of qualitative descriptive research, the case study looks intensely at an individual or small participant pool, drawing conclusions only about that participant or group and only in that specific context. Researchers do not focus on the discovery of a universal, generalizable truth, nor do they typically look for cause-effect relationships; instead, emphasis is placed on exploration and description. CSU, W. C. (2009, January). *Case Study: Introduction and Definition*. Retrieved March 7, 2009, from Writing Guides: http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/casestudy/pop2a.cfm

\(^{15}\) The reason for choosing January 2006 is because the MOA signed between Alamance County and the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement was signed in October 2, 2006.
part on this research and no recordings of their identities were kept to ensure privacy for all of them.

The criteria for selecting businesses were to look for businesses from the service industry\textsuperscript{16}, businesses which have been in Mebane for at least 5 years\textsuperscript{17} and hire and also serve Hispanics. By looking at the Alamance County and Mebane City websites, a few businesses were identified as possible subjects. A short telephone conversation was used to get in touch with the owners or managers and inform them about the research and the possibility of their taking part and at the same time making sure that those businesses met the criteria mentioned above. Two businesses from the food industry (Restaurants) agreed to be part of this research and a meeting with their managers/owners was arranged. The two chosen restaurants will be called Mexico and Bolivia for the purpose of keeping the identities confidential on this research.

Such a small sample could not be used to generalize trends common to the entire Hispanic community, and it is not a representative sample to draw conclusion from with regards to the economic impact of section 287(g). While this is a not a random sample, it is still useful because it provides interesting stories from individuals that would not get written otherwise. The advantage of this small sample is that allows me to elaborate on each subject and see how Section 287(g) has affected them on an individual level.

\textsuperscript{16} To be more specific, the food industry was the one selected. The reason for this, was because from the industries with more representation in the county (Construction, Manufacturing, Transportation, etc) the food industry was the easiest one to parse out the economic crisis.

\textsuperscript{17} See footnote 16
IV. GENERAL FINDINGS

The findings of this study provide insights at a micro level on potential constraints to businesses and changes in behavior of the Hispanics that were interviewed. These findings show how Section 287(g) is affecting the Hispanics being interviewed and their relationship with Mebane city. Their stories in this qualitative research put into perspective the consequences of implementing a deflection policy.

From the business owners/managers that were interviewed, some general themes were identified that I have classified in findings related to Customers, Providers and Personnel. One theme related to customers of these businesses indicates that on average Hispanics spend about 300% more than Non-Hispanics, specially on weekends when parties of 6 or more go together to the restaurants. According to both managers, Sunday after church is the most popular time for large parties of Hispanics and Non-Hispanics to go to the restaurants and while a Non-Hispanic party of 6 would spend about $90 (with tips included) a Hispanic party of the same number of people would spend at least $250. Another related theme is the fact that immediately after Section 287(g) was implemented in Alamance County, the percentage of Hispanic customers went down from an average of 30% of the total number of clients in the restaurants to only 5%. When asked if the decrease of Hispanics as clients could have been the result of the overall economic crisis and not Section 287(g), both managers replied that the notorious decrease of Hispanics as

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18 One of the managers told me that the previous Sunday, the restaurant had only billed about $1400 from 11 a.m. that they opened until 3 p.m., (those hours are supposed to the busiest ones because is Bruch time) when a party of 25 Hispanics arrived to celebrate a late Bruch after the baptism of one of the member of the party’s daughter and they spent $1200 in about one and a half hours. This situation is not unusual to the manager.
customers started in October 2006 (date when Alamance signed its MOA with ICE), right after Section 287(g) was implemented, because all the Hispanic Community was aware of that date. The decrease of Hispanic customers was immediate but the number of Non-Hispanics customers remained almost the same, whereas the crisis has hit both Hispanics and Non-Hispanics, with a decrease on all customers of about 20%. To be more specific, the lost on sales due to the economic crisis for these two restaurants was a 20%, but the lost on sales due to Section 287(g) was of 31.25%.

A theme related to providers that both managers mentioned is the drastic increase in food prices. The managers of both restaurants said that their providers come from all over the country, but not from abroad, and that they are always looking for the best price/quality ratio. Given that most of the time they get really good prices because they buy in bulk, the decrease in customers has decreased the amount they order, thus increasing their prices. Once again they were asked if this decrease could be the result of a general economic crisis, not related specifically to Section 287(g). A complex set of circumstances was reported. The owner of Mexico Restaurant said to me “The priciest dishes are the ones that Hispanics like the most, for example Higado Encebollado (liver with onions). With less Hispanic customers, ingredients like liver (which already are expensive) cannot be bought in bulk and their price goes up for us”. I immediately ask him if that was the case, why not remove that dish from the menu and save money. He smiled and said, “That is not an option, because even though Non-Hispanic customers would never order a dish like Liver with Onions, one

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19 The 31.25% is because the number of Hispanic clients decreased 25% and they spend on average 3 times more than Non-Hispanics.
of the reason why Non-Hispanics come here is because not only we have great food and service, but also we are a “traditional” Mexican restaurant with traditional Mexican dishes. If we do not offer these kind of dishes to them we are just another Taco Bell”.

Another reason for price increases in product emerged anecdotally. It was suggested by the manager of Bolivia Restaurant that ingredient suppliers have increased the fee for delivery because they have fewer drivers to send to Alamance County. According to him, when he asked one of his suppliers about the increase in delivering fee, the supplier replied that he had fewer drivers he could send to Alamance County. More specifically, that supplier would not send his Hispanic drivers to areas where Section 287(g) has been implemented, because even though they are legal residents of the US, the check points that are deployed by police enforcement (especially in Alamance County) would make those drivers arrive late to the delivery point and that would mean a fee (discount) to the customer for late delivery. The supplier explained to the manager of Bolivia Restaurant that he is not willing to send a Hispanic driver to be stopped at a checkpoint; the extra logistic work the supplier had to do and the rearranging of drivers was extra costs that Bolivia Restaurant had to take. The manager of Bolivia Restaurant did not mention anything about the race of his providers but from the conversation I infer that they are not Hispanics.

The findings related to personnel are patterns of lateness to work and reduction of number of working hours. Lateness to work as a result of police

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20 This affirmation cannot be checked with delivering companies and it is just the opinion and speculation of a manager of the restaurant that was interviewed.
checkpoints close to their location is a constant concern to the restaurants. The managers of the restaurants put a lot of emphasis on the fact that what makes their restaurants successful and popular is not only the food, but the quality of service, how fast a client’s order is delivered and how well the customer is treated. This service is affected when, due to checkpoints, one or more of the employees arrives late to work (both managers have reported that the employees are from 30 minutes to an hour late). A manager said “My restaurant is designed to give the best customer service if I have 6 waiters and the fastest time in preparing the food if I have 3 cooks. When one person is an hour late, I cannot provide the service that makes us good and clients complain a lot. But I cannot fire an employee because they were late due to a police checkpoint”. The reduced number of working hours, means that before Section 287(g), a good waiter at these two restaurants would work 50 to even 60 hours a week because they made good money in tips. Since Section 287(g) has been implemented in Alamance County, according to the managers, the number of checkpoints close to routes that Hispanics take has increased drastically, making employees arrive late to work and this also has made them not want to go for extra hours but rather just work a 40 hour shift, this was confirmed by a waiter that I interviewed. He said,

“ There are clients who like me and my service, so I always get good tips from them. Those clients come to the restaurant and ask for me and even wait for me if the manager tells them that my shift starts later, that is why I liked working even 60 hours a day. I would go and help on weekends when the restaurant is busier. More hours more tips for me. Since [Section] 287(g) and the checkpoints started, there were days that I arrived 45 minutes late. My clients would sit and wait for me and I would arrive late, you see that is not good for me. If they (clients) are upset the tips are not good. I rather work my 40 hours and not risk being stopped by police”.
From the population that was interviewed (10 residents of Mebane) 3 main themes were identified as relevant: arriving late to work, decreases in driving, and decreases in purchasing of houses and cars. A common theme among residents of Mebane was the fact that since Section 287(g) was implemented, police checkpoints happen more often and the chances that they arrive late to work are greater, as indicated by the waiter in the paragraph above. When asked about police checkpoints affecting all citizens not only Hispanics, they all replied that perhaps that was the case when the checkpoints happened on a weekday. The problem according to them is the police checkpoints happen on a regular basis on Sunday mornings, when Hispanics that work in the restaurant business or the landscaping business have to go to work.

A Hispanic who works on the landscaping business said,

“If Sunday morning you are going to church or driving to visit a relative, arriving late is not that much of a deal, you explain that there was a police checkpoint. That is what Non-Hispanics do on Sundays; most of them don’t work, so to them a delay due to police checkpoints is not such a big deal. Now, I work every Sunday, I get up at 6 and get my equipment ready. I have to cut trees and clean lawns of at least 3 houses during an average Sunday. Imagine how much money I lose if I get stopped at a checkpoint for an hour every Sunday. Well, every Sunday morning there is a checkpoint here (exit 157)”

Another common theme among the Hispanics that were interviewed is the decrease in time they spend driving or, in some cases, the total elimination of driving. All of the people that were interviewed said that they no longer drive for leisure activities (among the activities they mentioned that they no longer perform were: soccer games on Sundays, going to church, going to the mall and visiting relatives). Half of the interviewed Hispanics said that they now only drive to work and do shopping once a month. They have found co-workers (or people who work nearby) to
carpool with when going to work, and neighbors to carpool with when going to the stores. They argued that the reason for carpooling to work is not because doing so they will get stopped less at the checkpoints, but because when late to work due to police checkpoints it is more likely that their bosses will believe them if it is a group arriving late rather than just one person. Of the other half of Hispanics interviewed, two sold their car and they now ride their bicycles to work or sometimes they get rides from friends who are going the same way. The other 3 have either moved closer to a shopping center (so they can walk to do their shopping) or they have moved close enough to their jobs so they can walk to work.

The final theme identified among the Hispanic residents of Mebane, is their loss of interest in acquiring cars or houses\(^2\). Before January 2006 they all claimed to own at least a car and to either own or rent a house for themselves and their families. As mentioned in the paragraph above, many have sold their cars and some more have relocated to houses closer to their jobs. The interesting fact is that before January 2006, none of the Hispanics that were interviewed minded buying or renting houses that were further out (sometimes a one hour commute) if the houses were what the family was looking for in terms of the comfort/affordability ratio. After January 2006, many relocated to trailer homes that did not have the comforts that they wanted, and in some cases they even share a house with a relative or a co-worker, but is close enough to work that they no longer need to drive. Section 287(g) has affected their

\(^2\) Here the challenge was to parse out the general economic crisis and the housing crisis that the entire country started suffering since October 2008. In order to try to capture only consequences due to Section 287(g), only the behavior related to selling or buying houses and cars from January 2005 to January 2007 was taken into consideration for this research. The reason for that is the date in which the MOA was signed in Alamance County, February 2006.
decision when it comes to buying a house or a car. Many feel is not worth it to spend all that money and feel that they are not welcomed. The economic crisis has impacted Hispanics and the money available is limited, Section 287(g) has made their decision to what gets prioritized change.

One goal of this research was to try to identify the emergence of informal markets, similar to those informal markets in van transportation in Southern California\textsuperscript{22} described by professor Ivan Valenzuela (Valenzuela, Schweitzer, & Adriele, 2005). Little to no evidence of such markets was found through the interviews conducted. The only thing identified was a variation of how the market of international calling cards operates. Before the MOA implementation in Alamance County, the locations where a Hispanic would find those international calling cards were places like the flea market and small Mexican tiendas (convenience stores that specialize on selling articles from Hispanic origins or targeted to the Hispanic community). An interesting phenomenon was identified with regards to this business of calling cards; the owners of the Mexican tiendas now deliver those cards to the owners of the restaurants, so they can distribute them to their employees. Both owners/managers mentioned that is common now to see the owner of a Mexican tienda located in Burlington city, drive to the restaurants and leave with the owner a pack of 50 to 80 calling cards for the employees. No extra fee is charged to the

\textsuperscript{22} This research suggests that camionetas (vans) are primarily used by Mexican immigrants with varied socio-economic characteristics who want to travel inter-regionally and transnationally. Patrons praised camioneta (van) service for timesaving, Spanish-speaking drivers, more flexible and “out-of-the-way” stops, the inclusion of Spanish music and television in the vehicle, and door-to-door service. Our ethnographic evidence suggested that the camionetas (vans) operating in Southern California were comfortable and safe. But statistical tests suggest that undocumented patrons in our sample may face price discrimination due to the paucity of travel opportunities that do not require US identification.
employees for this service; the only thing that the owner/manager does is keep count of how many cards the employees take for the person from the Mexican tienda. This is an example of adaptive responses, so that not all economic activity is lost. As Hispanic's behavior changes due to Section 287(g), some new activities and services are emerging, but not to fully off set the larger costs and inconveniences of the program (Section 287g).
V. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Based on the information gathered through interviews with business owners and residents of Mebane, we could state that in both cases, the economy of the Hispanic community in this case study has felt a negative impact due to the implementation of Section 287(g). The statement is made based on the strength of the findings and how verifiable the researcher thinks they are.

The finding that appears to be the strongest link to a negative economic impact is the frequency of the lateness of people to work, related to the increase in police checkpoints, according to comments made by both residents of Mebane and business owners. There is strong evidence from the interviews that police checkpoints seem to target the Hispanic community (due to where and when they are located), affecting economically both residents and businesses by reducing their desire to drive. All subjects interviewed shared experiences in which they were affected, directly or indirectly, by the implementation of Section 287(g) with regards to the driving issue. Residents who work in the service industry (restaurants and landscaping) arrive late to work because of the checkpoints; therefore, their income is affected (specially in the restaurant business where they make most of their income from tips). The owners/managers of the restaurants where employees arrive late see how the quality of their service decreases when they do not have full staff present. Clients of the restaurants (especially on Sundays at brunch hour) complain about the quality of the service, in particular how slow it gets. That is because an employee (or more than
one) is sometimes over an hour late. This lateness is hurting the businesses interviewed because according to their owners/managers, clients do not like places where waiters seem to arrive anytime they want, creating an image of laziness, when this lateness is actually a result of the checkpoints.

A related issue is the decrease in driving by Hispanics in general. As mentioned in the “findings” chapter, since the signature of the MOA in Alamance county, the number of Hispanics who drive has decreased drastically. Some only do the minimum driving possible and some others have given up driving altogether. It was not part of this research to determine whether the subjects were legally in this country, therefore it was not registered if they had drivers licenses to start with. Nevertheless, there is anecdotal evidence that Hispanics who have drivers licenses have reduced their driving to the minimum. This decrease has affected businesses because there are fewer clients. Even though both businesses interviewed serve mainly the Non-Hispanic population (over 75% of their customers are Non-Hispanics), it is the Hispanic customer whose decrease in patronage has the greatest impact since Hispanics spend on average more money (three times more on average).

With such a decrease in driving, the businesses that were interviewed are not the only ones affected. It is my assumption that the reduction of driving by Hispanics is indirectly affecting other related businesses. Gas stations near the restaurants and Hispanic homes are the first businesses that could have felt this decrease. This phenomenon of less driving by the Hispanic community affects also, in a lesser degree, car dealerships and insurance companies.
Researchers who look at the economy, economic impacts and human behavior are using quality of life indicators more frequently. It is also the researcher’s assumption that the quality of living of the Hispanic community as a whole, the ones who are legally and illegally in Mebane, has also been affected. Because there is no public transportation, leisure activities such as going to church or playing sports, has been reduced to the minimum. A Hispanic mother of two (who was interviewed) reported that she feels bad not going to church on Sundays anymore but police checkpoints are too much stress for her and her children, The business owner of Mexico Restaurant said that a few years ago they used to sponsor a under 12 soccer team from the neighborhood. After Section 287(g) was implemented people starting driving less and there was no longer a team to sponsor. He even added that there used to be soccer championships played among restaurants and neighborhoods, those no longer happen.

Finally, there is a national trend that may have significance to the people of Mebane. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the food delivery system at a national level is being affected by Section 287(g). Companies that deliver food to the businesses are reluctant to send their Hispanic truck drivers to places where Section 287(g) has been implemented, because they might get stopped at police checkpoints creating delay in the delivery. At least one Mebane business owner reported his concern about this trend. This is an interesting finding that cannot be analyzed in further detail because is outside the scope of this research. This particular behavior, if true, should be further analyzed by a more in depth study.
Even though the findings in this case study give a good understanding of potential constraints to businesses and the Hispanic community in Mebane, there are other possible explanations that need to be considered. What was identified in the interviews can also be attributed to two things, the general national economic crisis and a perception by the Hispanic community that Section 287(g) is a threat, where actually it is not a threat to legal Hispanics.

The general economic crisis that started at the end of 2008 has affected the entire nation. People of lower income and less education have felt this crisis even more because there are fewer jobs available to them. The mortgage crisis affected sometimes resulting in families losing their homes. Hispanics are very vulnerable to this crisis as well and according to the Pew Hispanic center (Kochhar, Unemployment Rises Sharply Among Latino Immigrants in 2008 , 2009) Hispanics are being affected by unemployment. See figure 1
If Hispanics are being affected by the crisis and unemployment as shown above, it makes sense to find a decrease in consumption. Some people might argue the fact that Hispanics are driving less, going out less and in general spending less money is directly related to the crisis. This might be so, but Section 287(g) plays also a big role as well. During the interviews, I did make sure to address both the economic crisis and Section 287(g), especially with the businesses I talked to. By asking about the changes in clients before and after February 2006 (the signature of the MOA in Alamance County), one addressed Section 287(g) specifically.
The other possible objection to these findings might be the question, *Is Section 287(g) a real threat to legal Hispanics or is the threat just perception?*. Some people might argue that the police force in Alamance County is acting accordingly and that the accusations of racial profiling and targeting the Hispanic community are not real. The argument could be that legal Hispanics in Mebane have nothing to fear and that Section 287(g) is fulfilling its mandate and is only deporting dangerous undocumented criminals. Thus, the so-called threat is only perceived. It could be argued that so many stories in the Hispanic community have gone around about Section 287(g) that mere speculation is being taken as fact. Real or perceived, the threat is affecting the Hispanic community as the interviews show. I would submit that whether real or perceived is not actually the point. The point is the perception of threat is widespread enough to change behaviors. The changes have affected the entire Mebane community, at least on an economic level.
VI. CONCLUSION

Through this case study, I tried to analyze Mebane city and how Section 287(g) is reverberating in the economy of the Hispanic community. I tried to determine the potential constraints for businesses that rely on Hispanic immigrant workers and consumers. It is not the intention of this research to judge whether Section 287(g) is right or wrong, nor to see if it is being applied correctly. Instead, my goal is to identify unintended consequences of the implementation of the policy (Section 287(g)).

The Hispanics interviewed in this research do have the perception of being negatively affected by Section 287(g). Whether real or not, this feeling has affected both the Hispanic residents of Mebane and the businesses that hire and serve this community. If the Hispanic community provides a positive economic impact in North Carolina, as shown in a study conducted by professors Kasarda and Johnson from UNC Chapel Hill (Kasarda & Johnson, 2006), Section 287(g) is reducing this impact.

This research cannot be conclusive enough to generalize for the entire state of North Carolina, but provides enough evidence to suggest areas for further research. For one, a more in depth understanding of these unintended consequences of Section 287(g) is needed. Research that looks at other industries is needed and a quantitative analysis is recommended. A larger scale research is needed to further findings like the one related to food distribution and its connection to Section 287(g). A comparative research that looks at informal markets, in California for example, would help to
understand better the market of calling cards and how it has evolved to meet the needs of the none driving Hispanics of North Carolina.

In spite of the areas in which further research is needed, this research provides meaningful insights. The case study approach has allowed me to collect and present detailed information on Mebane city, allowing me to frequently include accounts of subjects themselves. Their stories provide “a picture” that could have not been obtained by Census data analysis, or statistical models.

Section 287(g) has affected the subjects interviewed negatively, as shown throughout this research, thus their host community has felt that negative economic effect as well. Therefore, deflection policies (such as Section 287(g)) must be appraised thoroughly before they are enacted. Ideally they should be tested on a pilot basis before nation-wide replication and if unanticipated consequences arise, policies must be modified.
Bibliography


