

Is There a Municipal Role in Immigration Policy? Examining Case Studies in Four Cities in the United States To Build A Typology of ‘Immigration Localism’

**A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Architecture and Planning
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Urban Planning**

by

Vicente Arellano

May 2017

Contents

Section	Page
Abstract	4
Statement of Purpose	5
Introduction	6
Background	8
<i>US Immigration Policy History</i>	8
<i>Immigrant Settlement in the US</i>	10
<i>Local Immigration Policy</i>	12
<i>Sanctuary Cities</i>	12
<i>287(g) Cities</i>	14
<i>Previous Studies on Local Immigration Policies</i>	17
<i>The Geography of Immigration Localism</i>	
Methodology	20
Case Study Cities	26
Findings	29
Discussion	39
Bibliography	42
Appendix	46

Figures and Tables

Page

Table 1: Selected federal immigration legislation history	9
Table 2: Established Gateways (Combined Statistical Areas)	10
Table 3: Emerging Gateways (Metropolitan/Combined Statistical Areas)	11
Figure 1: The Geography of Immigration Localism	17
Table 4: Iterative Qualitative Case Study Model	20
Figure 2: Biaxial Categorization	22
Table 5: A Typology of Municipal Responsiveness to Immigrants	22
Figure 3: Author's model for representing municipal policies	23
Table 6: A Checklist of Potential Municipal Unauthorized Immigration Strategies	25
Figure 4: Location of Case Studies with New York for reference	26
Table 7: Political-Foreign Born Matrix	27
Table 8: Demographics of Case Study Cities	27
Figure 5: Location of Case Studies in the Model	29

Abstract

This research seeks to understand the landscape of local immigration policies in the United States and asks, what role do municipalities have in immigration policy? To what extent can municipalities be involved in the cooperation or noncooperation with national immigration laws? Specifically, what kind of municipal actions or inactions are associated with the classification of certain immigration policy responses and is this generalizable? The aim of this thesis is to establish a typology of municipal responses culminating in the production of a static four quadrant – matrix model within which cities can be located. In order to test this model, case studies will be systematically examined for internal validity across samples, and for external validity in the replicability of the exercise. Four US cities will serve as case studies: Detroit (Michigan), San Francisco (California), Hialeah (Florida), and Mesa (Arizona). These municipalities were selected because they have not been previously studied in this regard and because they represent the multi-dimensional nature of factors affecting local immigration policies. This thesis proceeds by (1) exploring the context of immigration policy and settlement in the United States, (2), reviewing the literature on local immigration policies in the US, and (3) examining the characteristics and policies of the case studies. The output consists of a typology of municipal responsiveness on the subject of inclusionary and exclusionary immigration policies and a generalizable model within which other cities can be situated. It is the intention of this work, that a more comprehensive and multi-dimensional approach to municipal policy analysis can create the circumstances for a new evaluation of immigration policy localism in a global governance perspective.

Keywords: Sanctuary cities, 287(g), immigration localism, public urban policy, municipal citizenship, civic membership, exclusionary urbanism, inclusionary urbanism

Statement of Purpose

It is the author's sincere intention that we can begin a dialogue on urban governance by asking and answering questions such as: to what extent can US cities be involved in immigration policies? And how can we begin to categorize and catalogue these responses? By picking up where previous research has left off, the roots and fragments of methods and direction-setting frameworks can be furthered along in an academic baton-pass. This research intends to better examine the concept of municipal inclusion and exclusion, and to that end, contribute to the subject by providing an additional lens. In a time where national and local approaches to immigration are in conflict, the ability to relate and relay a snapshot of ontological municipal immigration policy is of the utmost importance.

Introduction

This research seeks to understand the landscape of local immigration policies in the United States and asks, what role do municipalities have in immigration policy? To what extent can municipalities be involved in the cooperation or noncooperation with national immigration laws? Specifically, what kind of municipal actions or inactions are associated with the classification of certain immigration policy responses and is this generalizable? The interplay between The existence of “immigration localism” (Su, 2013) is unmistakably variegated and nuanced, and to that end, the aim of this thesis is to establish a typology of municipal responses culminating in the production of a static four quadrant – matrix model within which cities can be located. In order to test this model, case studies will be systematically examined for internal validity across samples, and for external validity in the replicability of the exercise. In particular, this research seeks to adapt and combine Walker (2013; 2014; 2015)’s studies of local immigration policies with an adaptation of Good (2006)’s and Breda-Vazquez et al (2010)’s frameworks for governance assessment, Toussaint (2013)’s comparative analysis of municipal immigration policies, and Murtagh (2001)’s biaxial categorization of municipal governance issues through their own agendas. Four US cities will serve as case studies: Detroit (Michigan), San Francisco (California), Hialeah (Florida), and Mesa (Arizona). These municipalities were selected because they have not been previously studied in this regard and because they represent the multi-dimensional nature of factors affecting local immigration policies.

Topic	Immigration Localism
Methodology	Textual analysis: Looking for inclusion-exclusion language and responsiveness
Output	Typology construction, summary of findings
Locations	US: San Francisco (CA), Detroit (MI), Mesa (AZ), Hialeah (FL)

Figure: Overview of Research Framework

This thesis proceeds by (1) exploring the context of immigration policy and settlement in the United States, (2), reviewing the literature on local immigration policies in the US, and (3) examining the characteristics and policies of the locations. The intended output consists of a typology of municipal responsiveness on the subject of immigration and a generalizable model within which other cities can be situated. In addition, through utilization of the typology, the research questions can be answered. It is the intention of this work, that a more comprehensive and multi-dimensional approach to municipal policy analysis can create the circumstances for a new evaluation of immigration policy localism.

Background

The capacity for cities and other local sub-national governance structures to reconfigure their relationship with the State is to redistribute power inside the framework of an extant paradigm — to resist from *within*. While the assertion of jurisdiction is a reclamation of authority (Baptista, 2013), in the area of international migration, the ability of municipalities to play an increased role in policymaking becomes the launching point for this thesis. As the primary places of settlement for transnational migration, metropolitan areas are uniquely compelled to respond to the realities within their boundaries.

Within the context of the United States, assertion of power can be observed through the use of deliberately rejecting Federal immigration laws to shelter residents without documents, or to localize Federal immigration enforcement through the use of municipal resources. Under the administration of President Obama, cities and counties were encouraged to develop plans for integrating local planning and administration efforts with immigration policy as part of the larger global dialogue on refugees and urbanization (White House Domestic Policy Council, 2015), while, in contrast, the results of the 2016 elections present the circumstances for localities to push the limits of their agency. What exists at present, is effectively a patchwork of perspectives and outcomes at the local level.

US Immigration Policy History

While this paper seeks to describe the ways in which local urban administrations have responded to immigration, immigration policy has remained clearly within the

domain of the national government. Immigration policy in the United States can be understood to exist in three timeframes: pre-1965, 1965 to 1999, and post 2000 (Hatton, 2015; Clark et al, 2007). The most salient shift in immigration patterns can be identified as having occurred with the passage of the 1965 Immigration & Nationality Act, as well as the realities of global migration since roughly the year 2000. Prior to 1965, quotas existed that heavily favored people emigrating from Europe and Canada (Hatton, 2015). During the period of 1965 to 2000, immigration policies variously granted amnesty to asylum seekers (Clark et al, 2007) while increasing enforcement against undocumented *economic* refugees (Warren and Warren, 2013). Table 1 presents an overview of selected federal immigration policy history.

Action	Outcomes
1965 Immigration & Nationality Act	Ended quotas that favored immigration from Europe
1965 Refugee Conditional Entrants Act	140,000 refugees admitted through 1979
1980 Refugee Act	1.7 million refugees admitted through 1990
1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act	3.2 million living in US without documents of legality granted amnesty
1990 Immigration Act	Increased amount of immigrants admitted annually from 500,000 to 700,000
1997 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) Section 287(g)	Federal funding and training for local law enforcement that cooperate with federal immigration authorities
2004 H-1B Visa Reform Act	20,000 annual slots added for applicants with graduate degrees
2012 Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)	Applicants arriving before age 16 eligible for work permits and deferred action from deportation; 1.2 million applications (2015) and 3.9 million eligible

Table 1: Selected federal immigration policy history (Adapted from Clark et al, 2007; Kuchins, 2016; Wong, 2012).

Immigrant Settlement in the US

The 2010 US Census counted 314 million people in the United States, with over 41 million (13%) being of foreign origin. Painter and Yu (2008) define and describe the distribution of foreign born residents as being located within “Established Gateways” and “Emerging Gateways”.

Using Census and American Community Survey (ACS) data, Painter and Yu (2008)’s “Established Gateways”, can be seen to have significant total gains between 2000 and 2014, but low percentage gains compared to “Emerging Gateways”. The New York City region continued to be home to the largest concentration of foreign born residents, adding over 600,000 residents of foreign origin, while Chicago’s foreign born growth stagnated during the same period with only 100,000 new residents. Los Angeles and San Francisco draw heavily from Mexico, Central America, and Pacific Rim nations, while Miami draws primarily from the Caribbean region.

Established Gateways	Total Foreign Born Population (2000 Census)	Total Foreign Born Population (ACS Estimates 2012-2014)	Growth Rate (rounded)
New York-Northern New Jersey	5.18 million	5.8 million	12%
Los Angeles	5 million	5.5 million	10%
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose	1.9 million	2.4 million	26%
Miami	1.6 million	2.3 million	44%
Chicago	1.5 million	1.6 million	7%

Table 2: Established Gateways (Combined Statistical Areas); Data: US Census, ACS

“Emerging Gateways” make up the metropolitan and combined statistical areas with large and fast-growing foreign born populations. In particular, the Washington-Baltimore region can be expected to pass Chicago in its total number of foreign born residents within a few years. Atlanta and Las Vegas have seen near-doubling in their foreign-born populations, and Houston gained nearly 400,000 between 2000 and 2014.

Emerging Gateways	Total Foreign Born Population (2000 Census)	Total Foreign Born Population (ACS Estimates 2012-2014)	Growth Rate (rounded)
Washington, DC-Baltimore	0.98 million	1.5 million	53%
Houston	0.89 million	1.3 million	46%
Dallas-Fort Worth	0.78 million	1.1 million	41%
Boston	0.72 million	1.2 million	67%
Phoenix	0.46 million	0.63 million	37%
Philadelphia	0.43 million	0.7 million	62%
Atlanta	0.42 million	0.78 million	86%
Seattle	0.41 million	0.67 million	86%
Las Vegas	0.26 million	0.46 million	77%

Table 3: Emerging Gateways (Combined Statistical Areas except Phoenix-MSA); Data: US Census, ACS

Local Immigration Policy

While immigration policy actions have unmistakably been the product of Federal decision-making, the urban concentration of foreign born residents—authorized or otherwise— has compelled localities to craft a more localized and nuanced response out of a matter of necessity. Understanding the multi-dimensional nature of these local policy responses is prefaced by understanding how they interface with Federal policies. Local responses to immigration generally first consider unauthorized immigration, and are exemplified by the opposing “Sanctuary City” policies and the 287(g) policies.

Sanctuary Cities

Ridgley (2008) catalogues the development of sanctuary city action in the United States from its roots in response to the federal government’s refusal to grant asylum to thousands of people fleeing persecution in El Salvador and Guatemala. The initial response by churches in the Sanctuary Movement during the 1980s and San Francisco’s City of Refuge Ordinance (1985), has grown to the more than 45 cities and several states that have policies in place to discourage municipal employees and police from participating in the enforcement of immigration law (Ridgley, 2008). Municipal governments and local law enforcement agencies have separate but parallel motivations for sanctuary policies. Chen (2016) elucidates the motivations for cooperation or noncooperation with Federal immigration laws by local law enforcement agencies as generally being guided by trust-building between local investigators and undocumented witnesses to crimes. By contrast, “sanctuary cities”—as understood at the municipal level— have arguably sought to construct *civic* membership for

undocumented immigrants located within their jurisdictions (Villazor, 2010). Seen from this vantage point, civic citizenship ordinances acknowledge undocumented immigrants as de facto members of the local community (Villazor, 2010) and therefore federal immigration policy agendas can stand to disrupt the fabric of the quotidian urban condition. In this regard, Villazor (2010) argues that in the case of San Francisco, inclusionary measures (e.g. sanctuary policy, municipal ID cards and other supportive policies), seek to render a person's immigration status immaterial to public interactions and in so doing, to promote the good of all persons within the municipality, strengthen the foundation upon which their collective memberships are based, and act as a complement to the law enforcement objective of allowing undocumented residents to come forward to report crimes and cooperate in investigations without fear of detainment and deportation.

287(g) Cities

In contrast to a municipal citizenship and inclusionary trust-building approach, some municipalities have opted to instead act as force multipliers for federal immigration enforcement actions. Akins (2013), clarifies the basis of the 287(g) program as being rooted in the section of the same name attached in 1996 to the Immigration and Naturalization Act. Further, Akins (2013) describes the program as consisting of three primary models. First, the "jail model," adopted by the majority of 287(g) participants, involves screening individuals for immigration violations only upon booking for another alleged crime. The "task force model," works by enabling officers to screen for immigration status, and detain, when contacting individuals in the field. Finally, the

“hybrid model” involves both of these processes. Ultimately, the program has been considered to be a “a solution in search of a problem” (Coonan, 2013), as numerous studies have concluded that the program largely fails in its stated goal of “removing dangerous criminal aliens from U.S. communities.” (Coonan, 2013), while increasing the overall detainment and deportation rate indiscriminately. In the wake of Hazleton, Pennsylvania’s Illegal Immigration and Relief Act Ordinance and the Tenant Registration Ordinance (2006) and in Arizona municipalities following the Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act (2010), police chiefs emphasized that Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) was effectively dealing with any cases involving criminal aliens in the region and that shifting the burden to local law enforcement agencies would constrain everyday police activities and resources (Gunkel, 2012). In the case of Hazleton’s ordinance, additional responsibilities were placed on city agencies and on property owners and employers, to verify the immigration status of any prospective tenant, employee, or user of public services and facilities. Arizona’s 2010 act further burdened local police forces with actively soliciting immigration status—presumably on the basis of racial profiling.

Previous Studies on Local Immigration Policies in the United States

Walker (2013; 2014; 2015) provides perhaps the most comprehensive studies on the variegated landscape of immigration policies at the local level. Walker (2013) described the range of proposed or implemented immigration policies at the local levels

ranging from “sanctuary” policies to those that exclude undocumented immigrants. Municipalities experiencing rapid growth of their foreign-born population and with a high percentage of owner-occupied housing are more likely to introduce exclusionary policies, whereas municipalities with better educated populations are more likely to adopt inclusionary policies (Walker, 2013). Metropolitan areas may contain contrasting responses to immigration as local conditions and differing community characteristics can lead to inclusionary or exclusionary policies in different municipalities within the same metropolitan area (Walker, 2014). Generally, since 2000, suburban municipalities are the principal destination for new immigrants to the United States, with and without documents (Walker, 2014). In 2010, over half of the foreign-born population was suburbanized and this figure rises to 61% in large metropolitan areas (Farrell, 2014). It is in high-growth smaller municipalities that contentious policies are present in contrast to larger, traditional gateways (e.g. New York City and Los Angeles) where sanctuary policies prevail (Walker, 2013; Walker 2014). Walker (2013; 2015)’s recommendations for further research and approach to ongoing research include incorporating Brenner (1998)’s “scale jumping” to (1) to identify a conflict, (2) identify place-frames that shape conflict, (3) identify key actors in the conflict, and (4) investigate how spatialities influence the positions of the actors in the conflict. Brenner’s scale jumping is useful for framing research that is embedded in the interplay between national legal policy and local political contexts.

In contrast to Walker who approaches the subject as a geographer, Su (2010; 2013) approaches local urban immigration policy from a legal prospective. The existence of “immigration localism”, or the federal-local convergence in immigration policy (Su,

2013) can be increasingly susceptible to challenge from an assertive federal government. However, the legal precedent for the delegation of federal policy to localities does exist, as evidenced in the distribution of power to metropolitan planning organizations for implementing projects under the Housing Act and Federal-Aid Highway Act (Su, 2010). In fact, Su (2010) argues in favor of the proposal that H-1B visas (skilled workers) be allocated according to regional need and administered by local governments.

In the United States, with respect to immigration policy, the rise of the notion of a sanctuary city can be observed as a means in which a locality can exercise noncooperation with Federal immigration policies (Chen, 2016). One could argue that these are a politics of necessity - a *realpolitik* of the *realstadt* - as the sanctuary city often is tied to efforts in civic trust-building and stands in contrast to the efforts of local police forces to enforce immigration laws in localities with many residents without documents (Chen, 2016).

While the role of local urban governments in promoting inclusive immigration policy is largely presented as a complete openness exemplified in sanctuary city policies, there exists aggressive challenges to multiculturalism, often presented through the lens of national security concerns (Gilbert, 2009; Wong, 2012). These exclusive approaches to managing immigration at the local level are often predicated in the delocalization of border control and the re-bordering of state power (Gilbert, 2009), and implemented through the use of local police forces to enforce immigration laws (Wong, 2012). Gilbert (2009) also describes the regulation of land use through municipal

ordinances regulating residential occupancy size limits, defining households, and punishing anyone who assists undocumented residents.

Cities are seen as increasingly essential in tackling some of the world's major challenges, from global environmental issues to economic development and political security (Bulkeley et al, 2016). While power in the United States is seen as distributed to states, counties/equivalents, and municipalities, cities are empowered to perform or at least increase their role outside of traditional jurisdiction with a variety of factors influencing or impacting this activity (Frug and Barron, 2008). It is necessary to frame this research in its context of questions concerning global governance. Perulli (2012) approaches the formation of an "ontology of global-city region" from the perspective of a critique of statehood and a framework acknowledging the urban dimension of transnational migration. Further, it is argued that the contemporary city is more an ideology than an idea and is substantiated by "relational-contracts" such as trans-local and transnational contracts, tension between state centralization, and decentralization through the global urban order (Perulli, 2012). Sanderson et al (2015) developed the "Urban Immigrant Index" as an alternative way to measure the 'globalness' of cities. after observing a strong correlation between foreign direct investment (FDI), the percentage of foreign born persons, and the total number of foreign-born persons in cities. The narrative of this thesis is furthered through the concluding statement in Perulli (2012): A theory of multilevel contracts would show the weakness of the state inherent in new forms of government of commons, new forms of cross-border economic networks, and new forms of global governance (rights, environment, and immigration).

In the United States, the notion of immigration localism presents the opportunity—or struggle—for the reconfiguration of State and City dynamics.

The Geography of Immigration Localism

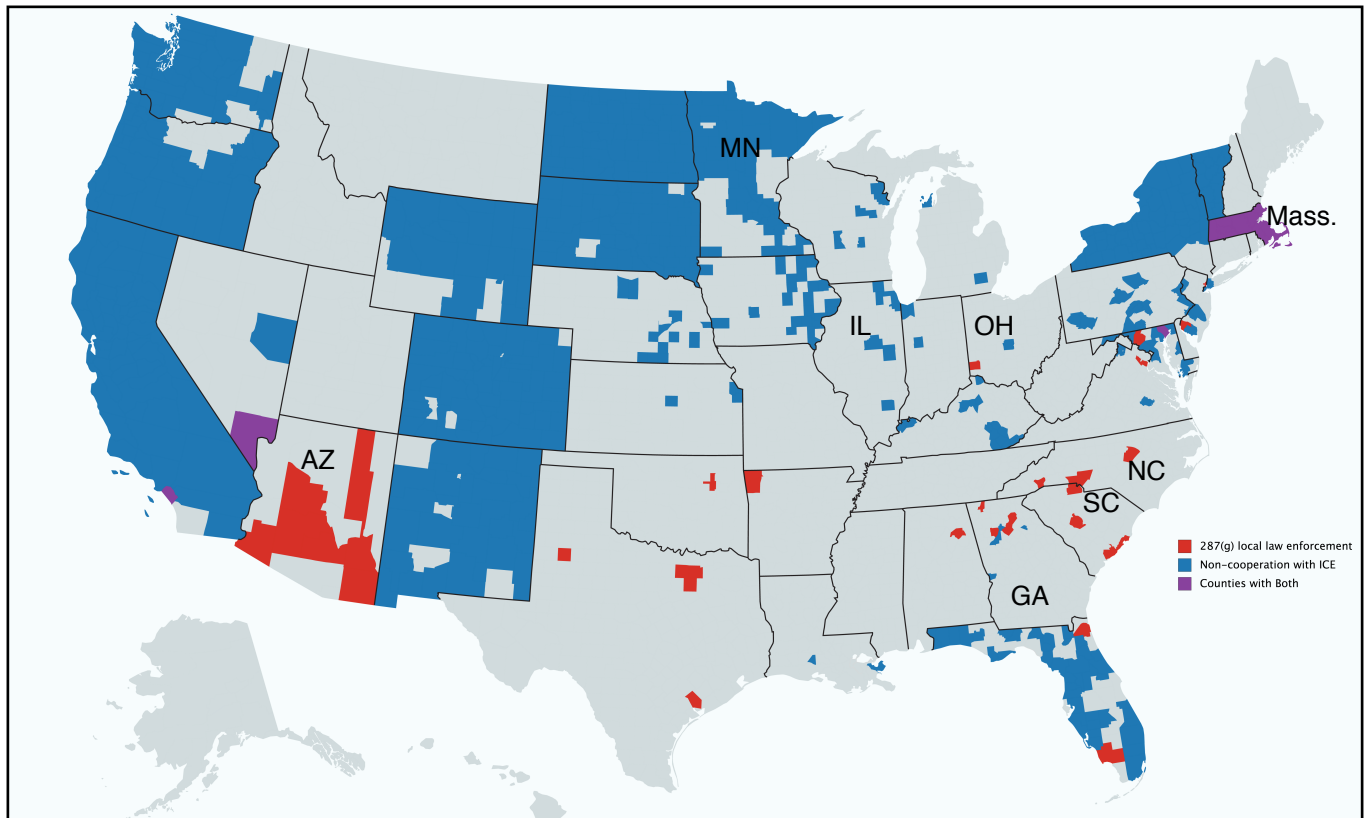


Figure 1: The Geography of Immigration Localism in 2016; Data from ICE 287(g) Factsheet and Immigration Legal Resource Center

As explored in Walker (2013; 2014; 2015), the geographic distribution of proactive cooperative and non-cooperative local law enforcement agencies is mottled and without overwhelmingly obvious patterns. Figure 1 visualizes the local responses to immigration action and inaction based on data from the ICE 287(g) Factsheet and the

Immigration Legal Resource Center. Counties are colored if they include either (1) no official stance by any local law enforcement agencies (grey), (2) some or all local agencies declaring proactive non-cooperation with no response by others within the county (blue), (3) some or all local agencies declaring cooperation with no response by others within the county (red), or (4) some local enforcement agencies cooperating and some not cooperating within the same county, or conflicting stances within the same local jurisdiction (purple). The map illustrates the fact that many localities in the United States choose to by default defer to federal immigration enforcement activities as they arise—symbolized in grey. Very few local law enforcement agencies have entered into 287(g) partnerships—shown in red—though Arizona (AZ) stands out for having numerous instances of local law enforcement prescriptively acting as force multipliers. Predictably, large politically liberal counties feature law enforcement agencies that have declared various levels of non-cooperation with federal immigration enforcement. Curiously, several counties (symbolized in purple), including the entire State of Massachusetts, feature a mix of local law enforcement collaboration and policies declaring noncooperation. In the case of Massachusetts, the state features local non-cooperation policies, while having a state-level agreement with the federal immigration authorities to utilize state jail space to detain unauthorized residents. The patchwork of ostensibly rural or suburban counties featuring 287(g) policies might exemplify Walker (2014)’s conclusion that rapid growth of foreign born residents is a predictor of exclusionary policies. This outcome is attributed to locales in North Carolina (NC), South Carolina (SC), and Georgia (GA), while Kritz et al (2011) corroborate this conclusion, they further articulate that in the case of some emerging gateways and new destinations

(e.g. the Upper Midwest), immigrants have found that areas with large nativity concentrations have provided them with social support. These factors can be attributed to the internationalization growth strategy of places such as Franklin County, Ohio (OH) and Chicago (IL) (Alex-Assensoh, 2004), while municipalities in Minnesota (MN) have long had a larger proportion of immigrants who are refugees than other states (Fennelly and Palasz, 2003) with the policies that reflect this.

Methodology

This research seeks to build a typology of local immigration policies by textual analysis of the comparative case studies and to answer the questions: (1) to what extent is there a municipal role in immigration policy?, (2) what kind of factors are associated with certain immigration policy positions, (3) is this generalizable? and, (4) considering that land use planning is just one component of the urban governance structure, what are the implications of immigration policies for other parts of city governments?

In an attempt to acknowledge that good research design is iterative, the process for this research utilized Dube and Pare (2003) and Iacono et al (2011)'s method of strategically leveraging case studies to systematically advance a conceptual question.

Attributes of Good Practice	The Case Studies
Validity-Research Direction Framework	What are the factors affecting inclusionary and exclusionary municipal policies? (Description)
Clean theoretical slate	A priori constructs to guide the research process (Theory-testing)
Multiple-case design	This study utilizes multiple (four) case design
Internal validity	Cases follow replication logic
Unit of analysis	Multiple levels of analysis (exclusionary vs. inclusionary; responsive vs. unresponsive)
Cross-case comparisons (internal validity)	Pilot cases
External Validity	Replicability

Table 4: Iterative Qualitative Case Study Model (adapted from Dube and Pare (2003) and Iacono et al (2011))

Table 4 displays the framework guiding the case study utilization. Case studies were selected for their fit in the research direction and for their ability to provide a multidimensional perspective. In order to create a consistency across the case studies, the cases were assessed using the same evaluative framework despite the nuanced conditions in each city. Additionally, multiple levels of analysis such as inclusion-exclusion, responsiveness, and priority-importance allowed for multi-dimensional examination. In order to be externally valid, the study is able to be easily replicated with any city. In this research, publicly accessibly digitized information was examined, though in many cases, physical media would need to be procured from municipal archives.

Using Walker (2013; 2014; 2015) and Toussaint (2013)'s methods for looking for evidence of inclusive and exclusive policies, assessing municipal responsiveness through an adaptation of Good (2006)'s and Breda-Vazquez et al (2010)'s frameworks for governance assessment, and Murtagh (2001)'s biaxial categorization of municipal governance issues through their own agendas, each cities' policies toward immigration can thus be thematically mapped along two axes.

Walker (2013; 2014; 2015)'s methods for looking for inclusionary or exclusionary policies consist of analyzing municipal texts, ordinances, and actions for (1) an inclusive imaginary that celebrates and values cultural diversity and an open and constantly emerging community, place, and nation; and (2) an exclusive imaginary that values and appreciates cultural homogeneity and a clear bounding of place, community, and nation. Toussaint (2013) provides a checklist of potential municipal immigration strategies (Table 6) that acts as a supplement toward gauging a municipality's immigration policies.

Good (2006) defines three broad elements of policy to measure the “responsiveness” of municipalities as: (1) formal policy, which would include policy proposed or adopted by locally elected or appointed politicians; (2) policy enforcement, which would include policy enforced by local public servants (i.e., employees working for local government departments and agencies such as police, building inspectors, social workers); and (3) informal or de facto policies or practices in all municipal areas.

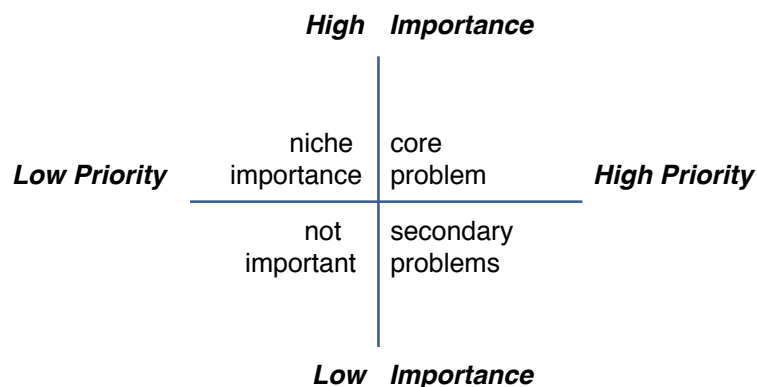


Figure 2: Biaxial Categorization (adapted from Murtagh, 2001)

Appropriate evaluative methodology for assessing local policy integration must include understanding complexity and multi-dimensionality and hence the evaluation method must observe different dimensions of programs and policies (Breda-Vazquez et al, 2010). Additionally, accessibility of information must be taken into account when evaluating a municipality’s policies regarding immigration.

	Responsive	Somewhat Responsive	Unresponsive
Breadth and Depth	Comprehensive	Limited	Highly Limited
Policy and Style	Proactive	Reactive	Inactive / Resistant

Table 5: A Typology of Municipal Responsiveness to Immigrants (from Good, 2006)

What this research thus aims to contribute is to build upon previous models by creating a typology of municipal responses through creating *biaxial* categorizations and culminating in the production of a static four quadrant – matrix model within which cities can be located. The ‘x’ axis will be a spectrum of exclusion-inclusion, while the ‘y’ axis will consider responsiveness as “responsive” and “unresponsive”. Using the methods elucidated in Walker (2013; 2014; 2015), Toussaint (2013), Good (2006) and Breda-Vazquez et al (2010)’s frameworks for governance assessment, and Murtagh (2001), the case studies of San Francisco, Detroit, Hialeah, and Mesa can be located in the matrix.

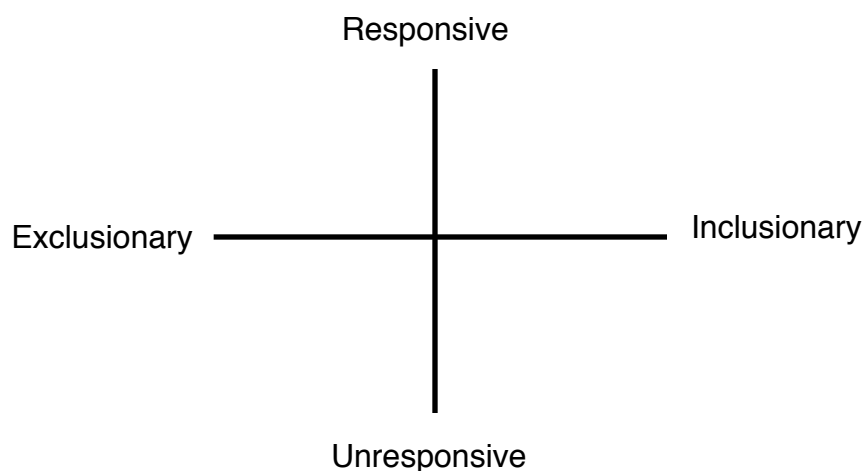


Figure 3: Author’s model for representing municipal policies

A checklist based on the literature considers points for immigration policy variables and is being applied to the four case cities. Data are gleaned from examining each case study city's publicly accessible municipal ordinances, resolutions, council minutes, policy statements, and other documents. Key word search terms included "immigration", "immigrant", "alien", "national", "English", and "foreign". Variables are coded by either receiving a positive or negative based on being inclusionary or exclusionary and on being responsive or unresponsive, tallied, and then allowing case studies to be plotted in the matrix. The following list of factors is used to guide the policy textual analysis for instances of assistance or hinderances to a city's foreign born residents. More detailed descriptions for each factor appear in the appendix.

Factor
Lawmaking
Law enforcement
Legal opinions / options
Finance appropriation
Provision of public benefits
Property policy management
Public works authority
Land use and urban planning
City strategic planning
Community image building
Municipal human resource oversight
Lobbying
Coalition Building
Public relations
Political participation planning
Civic mediation
Ballot box crusades
Protests
Civic membership
Taking no action
Total: 20 Factors

Table 6: A Checklist of Potential Municipal Unauthorized Immigration Strategies (Adapted from Toussaint, 2013)

Case Study Cities

As previously stated, four US cities will serve as case studies: Detroit, San Francisco, Hialeah (Florida), and Mesa (Arizona). These municipalities were selected because they have not been previously studied in this regard and because they the multi-dimensional nature of local immigration policies.



Figure 4 Location of Case Studies with New York for reference

Each case study is a regionally significant city of over 200,000 but under one million total residents, with each city selected for representing an example of a low-foreign-born percentage / liberal city (Detroit), a low-foreign-born percentage/conservative city (Mesa), high foreign-born percentage / liberal city (San Francisco), and a high foreign-born percentage/conservative city (Hialeah). Demographic data is from the US Census and political slant is from The Bay Area Center for Voting Research

(BACVR). The national foreign-born percentage of 13%, is used as the threshold for “high” or “low” foreign born percentage relative to that national figure.

	Low Foreign-Born %	High Foreign-Born %
Liberal	Detroit, MI	San Francisco, CA
Conservative	Mesa, AZ	Hialeah, FL

Table 7: Political-Foreign Born Matrix; Sources - US Census (Foreign-Born), BACVR (Politics)

Considering the relationship between foreign born percentage, political bent, and inclusionary or exclusionary policies, the case studies make excellent locations to begin exploring ‘immigration localism’.

	Total Population (2014)	% Foreign Born
Hialeah, FL	232,311	73.04%
San Francisco, CA	829,072	35.52%
Mesa, AZ	452,091	12.50%
Detroit, MI	695,437	5.18%

Table 8: Demographics of Case Study Cities; Data - US Census Bureau;

In 2012, 89,004 local governments existed in the United States, down from 89,476 in the last census of governments conducted in 2007 (US Census Bureau, 2012). Local governments included 3,031 counties (down from 3,033 in 2007), 19,522 municipalities (up from 19,492 in 2007), 16,364 townships (down from 16,519 in 2007),

37,203 special districts (down from 37,381 in 2007) and 12,884 independent school districts (down from 13,051 in 2007). For the purposes of this research, the 19,522 incorporated municipalities are considered the total universe, and it is believed that the four case studies can represent a multi-dimensional snapshot, with the methodology theoretically being applicable to any municipality in the research universe.

Findings

Using Walker (2013; 2014; 2015) and Toussaint (2013)'s methods for looking for evidence of inclusive and exclusive policies, assessing municipal responsiveness through an adaptation of Good (2006)'s and Breda-Vazquez et al (2010)'s frameworks for governance assessment, and Murtagh (2001)'s biaxial categorization of municipal governance issues through their own agendas, each cities' policies toward immigration can be analyzed, categorized, and located in the model. (Figure 4)

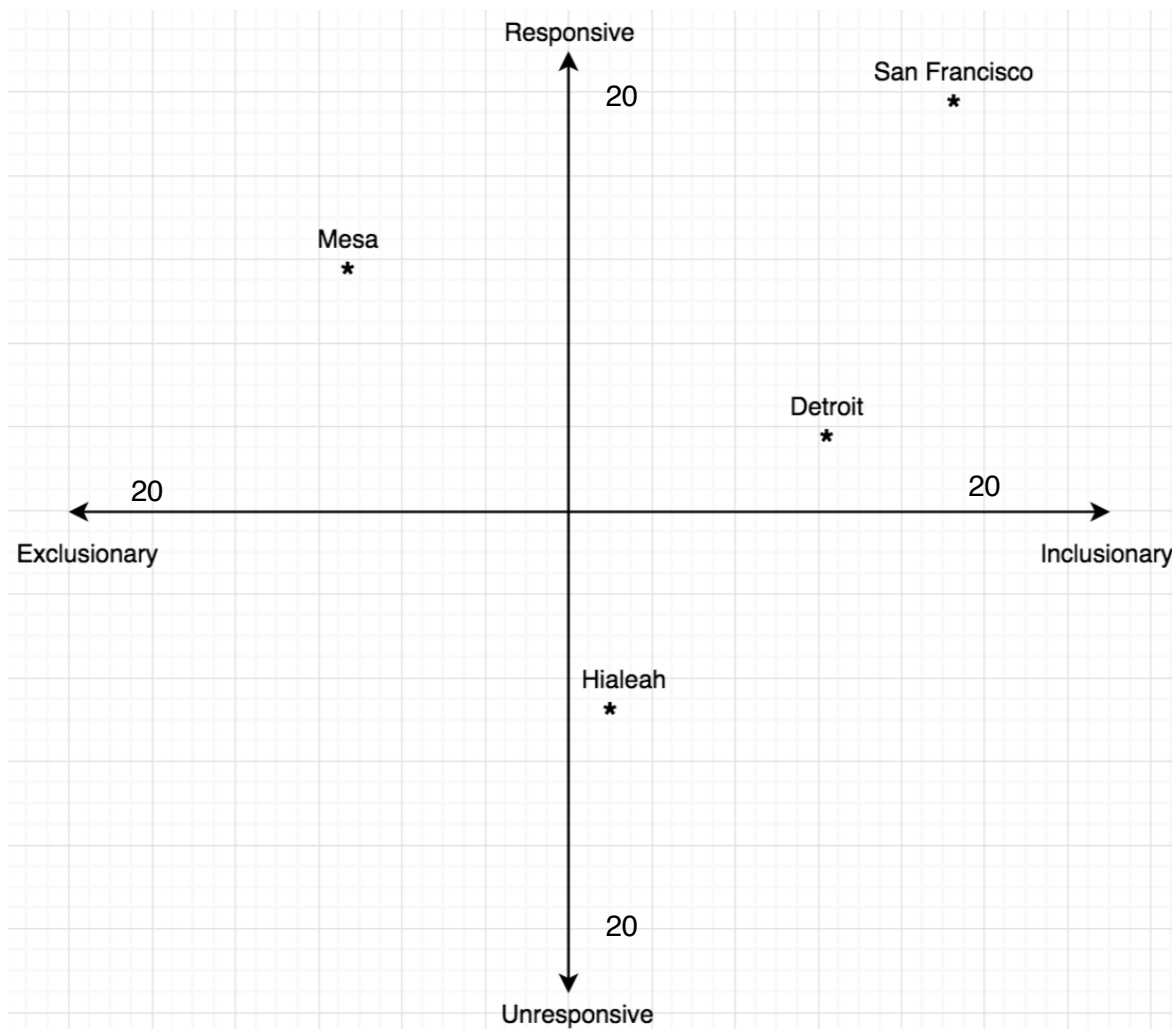


Figure 5: Location of Case Studies in the Model

While this analysis is far from comprehensive, it provides a snapshot of the range of responses at the local policy level to immigration—authorized or otherwise. Each case study city is detailed in the following corresponding sub-sections, and an overview of the implications appears in the “Discussion”. Generally, the construction of the model in the analysis—both the utilization of publicly accessible digitized municipal documents, and the utilization of methods suggested in the literature—has yielded a successful test by which to evaluate cities’ approaches to the topic. This particular form of assessing and displaying the policy approaches is an improvement over previous research due to the combination of various dimensions, the visualization of the information, and the ease of replicability of the analysis.

Broadly, in the case study cities examined, liberal political slant and high-foreign born percentage—as in San Francisco—yielded high-inclusion and high-responsiveness. In Mesa, a conservative but mostly native-born city, exclusionary and responses characterize the municipal actions. In Detroit, political liberalism lead to some inclusionary policy actions, but an overall low percentage of foreign-born residents suggests that very little responsiveness is coupled with this condition. Finally, in Hialeah, political conservatism and a high-foreign born resident percentage is suggestive of a relatively laissez faire approach as a pragmatic compromise.

The four case study cities’ approaches to immigration localism are likely representative of many localities in the US, with subtle variations in inclusion-exclusion or responsiveness scores. Considering the distribution of approaches in Figure 1’s map, most locations in the US simply defer to federal immigration enforcement when the occasion arises.

San Francisco

Predictably, San Francisco scores high on inclusionary policies (18 points) and on municipal responsiveness (19 points). With regard to “Lawmaking”, San Francisco’s Sanctuary City Ordinance moves the city’s location toward the “inclusionary” and “responsive” directions. Further, under “Law Enforcement” , the local law enforcement stance is a non-prioritization of federal immigration laws in everyday police activities. Remarkably, with regard to “Legal Options/ Opinions”, San Francisco has a legal defense fund with nearly one million dollars (\$947,000) earmarked for immigration defense cases. Impressively, San Francisco’s “Finance Appropriation” factor was found to feature over \$4 million to immigration services, legal services, and Sanctuary Outreach education for Budget Year 2015-2016 and 2016-2017. With regard to “Public Benefits”, explicit equitable access to job services, public parks, libraries and schools, police and fire protection, health and emergency services, housing and transportation, water and waste disposal was found in the language of the policy and planning documents reviewed. “Public Works Authority” facilities operation was found to include language directing those agencies to help foreign-born residents by featuring language services access. “Land Use & Planning” features a Chinatown Specific Plan and municipal transit plan that is reflective and responsive to bilingual or EFL riders. The city’s “Strategic Plan Vision” begins with the following: “The residents strive to maintain this tradition, welcoming people from around the world to participate in the promise of a healthy city.” (From Introduction to General Plan). “Community Image Building” features Policy 7.3 calling for the city to “Promote the provision of adequate health and educational services to all geographical districts and cultural groups in the city.” (From

General Plan). Inclusionary and responsive Municipal Human Resource Oversight features are found in the Immigration Rights Commission office — including specific workplace protections. Corporate Policy Control further features municipal litigation power used to benefit immigrants and with regard to Lobbying, city officials persuade legislators position on immigration, as found in Immigration Rights Commission (IRC) statements including on the 45th President Inauguration and Executive Order 13769, the “travel ban”). Mayor Ed Lee moves the Coalition Building scores by being a leader in Cities for Action Coalition—a Sanctuary Cities working group. Regarding “Public Relations”, the Mayor’s Office of Community Investment (MOCI) presented a list of programs that MOCI provides to the immigrant community, and with regard to “Political Participation Planning”, inclusionary responsiveness is exemplified by the degree of foreign-born residents in local public office positions. When coupled with the fact that the IRC facilitates neighborhood meetings, providing “Civic Mediation”, the inclusionary responsiveness of San Francisco further features an initiative to allow Non-Citizen Voting in Board Elections (Measure N), as well as “Civic Membership” in the form of a municipal ID program. Finally, with regard to “Protests”, Villazor (2010) notes that anti- and pro- Sanctuary City demonstrations have occurred, suggesting a responsiveness while inclusionary and exclusionary points cancel each other out. On the priority-importance biaxial categorization, San Francisco unmistakably considers immigration policy to be a “core problem” on the municipal agenda.

Mesa

By contrast, Mesa is responsive (12 points) but exclusionary (10 points). An example of this characterization, is found in City Code 6-15-13 which reads that grounds of denial for business license includes if an applicant “Is not a United States citizen or lawful permanent resident alien or an alien who is authorized to work by the United States Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service.” As a 287(g) police force, Mesa is responsive but exclusionary in matters of law enforcement. Regarding municipal legal opinions, Resolution 9820 establishes the exclusionary Intergovernmental Agreement with the Department of Public Safety for participation in a Gang & Immigration Intelligence Team Enforcement Mission. The Proactive 2012 Audit of City’s Custodial Services for compliance with federal and state immigration laws and regulations by Parks, Recreation, and Commercial Facilities (PRCF) and the City Manager’s Office, is an exclusionary responsive “Finance Appropriation” action. On the subject of public benefits, there is documented Mayoral and City Council support (rather than opposition) on record for AZ SB 1611 (2011) that would bar access to publicly funded education unless proof of citizenship or legal residency. Interestingly, the factors of “Property Policy Management” and “City Strategic Plan Vision” can be examined by looking at the establishment of the Mesa Foreign Trade Zone 221 suggests that Mesa could manage a property to hinder the interests of foreign nationals or that the municipality wants to orient itself toward a larger global supply chain and attract foreign investors. More salient intentions can be found in the “Land Use and Planning” action from the Local Redevelopment Authority of the City of Mesa and the ASU Security and Defense Initiative off-campus Mesa Research Center featuring an explicit focus on

border security and immigration control techniques. Interestingly, the Mesa General Plan (2014) seeks sets an objective that the “City of Mesa needs to cultivate a welcoming and inclusive atmosphere for people of all races, ages, incomes, social groups, etc. and include development options that allow for expression of differing cultures.” (pg. 3-3). Regardless, Resolution 9740, Section 210 and Resolution 10717 2.05 stipulate that any applicants to general employment positions (Mesa government) must present evidence of United States citizenship, or of status as a legally registered alien and Ordinance 5089 establishes causes for debarment to include violation of state or federal immigration statutes. In addition, records show Mayoral and City Council support (rather than opposition) on record for AZ SB 1611 (2011) that would bar access to publicly funded education unless proof of citizenship or legal residency. Further, Council meeting minutes contain numerous instances of City officials explicitly opposing or discussing immigration, border security, and restrictive or exclusionary legislation. The City of Mesa Consolidated HUD Plan FY2010-2014 explicitly prohibits “Aliens” from receiving assistance and, additionally, the text argues that Arizona’s immigration policies have “freed up” lower-end rentals as temporary workers and their families have emigrated from Mesa following a hard stance on unauthorized residents. Civic membership is explicitly exclusionary, as exemplified by the City of Mesa Citizen Participation Plan which implicitly discourages unauthorized persons from participating through explicit reference to Uniform Relocation Act, per 49 CFR 24.208 and through the use of the word “Citizen” rather than “Public” Participation. Regarding documented protest activity in the municipal setting, Council records describe circumstances where the Syrian Support Group and DREAM Act Group demonstration (2012) was restricted

to a “Free Speech Zone” and Mesa Police claimed demonstrators were violating a noise ordinance for using a megaphone. On the priority-importance biaxial categorization, Mesa unmistakably considers immigration policy to be a “core problem” on the municipal agenda.

Hialeah

The nuanced paradox of being politically conservative while being comprised predominately by foreign-born residents (73%), presents unique municipal responses to immigration localism in Hialeah. A net of 2 points for inclusionary approaches are contrasted with 10 in the direction of “unresponsive”. Though Mayor Carlos Hernandez Joins Florida Leaders to Launch Conservative Coalition for Immigration Reform (2016), local law enforcement has no official policy (neither sanctuary nor 287g), and an Immigration Clinic on March 7, 2015 at Hialeah High School was hosted by Mayor Carlos Hernandez, there is either an unresponsiveness to the subject or two documented instances of exclusionary responsiveness. These include Ordinance 08-04 which repeals permits to operate beauty parlors in single- family residences—probably a hindrance to foreign-born residents. Further, Resolution 2017-003, calls for a placard to be placed on the wall of the City Council Chambers proclaiming, “In God We Trust”, potentially to the effect of what Walker (2013; 2014; 2015) articulates as an exclusive imaginary that values and appreciates cultural homogeneity and a clear bounding of place, community, and nation. On the priority-importance biaxial categorization, Hialeah with its largely unresponsive municipal agenda bordering on a laissez-faire approach, can be seen to consider the matter of immigration policy to be “not important’ or possibly of “niche importance”.

Detroit

With 12 points on the inclusionary axis and a net of 4 on the responsive axis, Detroit's location in the model is notably lower than similarly liberal San Francisco. This is likely due to the low percentage of foreign-born residents. With neither a Sanctuary City nor 287(g) approach to local law enforcement, Detroit nevertheless exemplifies inclusionary features at the public municipal policy level. While most of Detroit's model-location is moved by the unresponsiveness on most factors, the City of Detroit Limited English Proficiency (LEP) Plan and the City of Detroit Non-Discrimination Plan include inclusionary language. While the latter plan is guided by the sentence: "The City has an affirmative duty to secure equal protection of the law and equality of opportunity for all persons, including minority populations" (pg 5), in fact foreign-born residents could potentially stand to benefit from municipal policies designed with the city's African American population in mind. The 2015 American Community Survey found that over 80 percent of Detroit residents were of African American ancestry, and when coupled with the widely discussed total population decline since a peak in the mid-Twentieth Century, many of Detroit's inclusionary policies can be seen to either uphold the rights of the African American constituency or to act as part of a strategy to attract and retain new residents from international settings. The Michigan International Talent Solutions (MITS) program is designed to support highly skilled immigrants in Michigan return to their professional field, and the Mayor's Welcome Message and Resolution from Council Member Castañeda-López and Council Member André Spivey Affirming Detroit as a Welcoming City support this conclusion. Similarly to San Francisco, with regard to the notion of civic membership / municipal citizenship, the Detroit ID allows for access to

city services, interactions with the Detroit Police Department and Detroit Public Schools, and the opening of utility accounts and checking or savings account with One Detroit Credit Union. Detroit ID's public interface explicitly states that it is for all city residents including immigrants regardless of immigration status. With regard to "Property Policy Management", the City of Detroit Immigration Task Force goal has the stated goal of working to end ICE detainer contracts. Regarding "Land Use and Planning", the City of Detroit Immigration Task Force has a stated goal of increasing affordable housing for refugees and immigrants, likely as a part of the strategy to attract residents from international locations. This is further supported by the Council Resolution Continuing the City of Detroit Immigration Task Force (2014), the existence of the Office of Immigrant Affairs, and the "Coalition Building" / "Political Participation Planning" exemplified by the Arab American and Caldean Council and the fact that the City of Detroit Immigration Task Force members are from various regions, such as the Caribbean, the Middle East, South and Central America, Africa, Europe, and Asia. On the priority-importance biaxial categorization, Detroit can be seen to consider the matter of immigration policy at the municipal level to be of niche importance.

Discussion

This research broadly started with the question: How involved in immigration policies can cities be? What followed was the realization that while federal law is the ceiling, cities are nevertheless uniquely compelled to respond, resulting in responses at the municipal level— “immigration localism”. Further, the responses can be simplified to a dichotomous categorization of exclusionary or inclusionary policies. Sanctuary cities and ‘force multipliers’ (287-g cities) exemplify the two sides of this binary. Interestingly, one of the most compelling findings is the notion that both sets of policies are driven by local law enforcement either prioritizing and cooperating or taking an approach that lowers the priority of immigration enforcement in a local agency’s work load. In addition to local law enforcement responses, cities can also craft a municipal agenda that includes numerous policies aimed at creating even more of an inclusionary environment, while others can create a more exclusionary environment. At this stage, the question becomes: how can these various responses to immigration localism be conceptually organized? To examine this more nuanced and variegated landscape is an exercise in public policy typology construction. In doing so, municipalities can be conceptualized as having municipal agendas / policies considered to be “responsive” or “non responsive” in addition to municipal agendas / policies that can be considered to be “inclusionary” or “exclusionary”. Further, municipal policy responses can be evaluated using a priority-importance biaxial categorization. Finally, this research arrived at the determination that the model / typology should be tested for internal and external validity. Doing so required the examination of case studies cities with various dimensions of foreign born and political slant and the review of their policies in order to

locate them on a response-inclusion biaxial static four quadrant – matrix model. A fundamental flaw of this research has been the equal weight given to factors when assessing and locating case study cities in the model. Instead of a simple binary, a more robust assessment can utilize a more nuanced coding exercise. In addition to a different coding mechanism, future research opportunities include running correlations with crime rates and sanctuary policies with the assumption that police are likely to want full trust from foreign-born residents (Sanctuary policies) if crime is high, while local police forces are likelier to seek to actively serve as immigration enforcement “force multipliers” if crime rates are lower but have grown perceptively as described in Walker (2013; 2014; 2015)’s studies of local immigration policies.

Conclusions have so far centered on the fact that in actuality, immigration localism is *law enforcement driven* - both exclusionary and inclusionary with city governments either responsive or unresponsive— hence the separate axis. Additionally, while some services are helpful (e.g. city services in languages of constituents), they are largely symbolic as when someone is arrested, processed, and happens to be unauthorized, they are handed over to Federal agents to be deported regardless of a city’s sanctuary policies. In essence, inclusionary cities practice a form of *pragmatic non-cooperation*. This fact makes sanctuary cities likely to themselves be shielded from federal threats (e.g. the withholding of federal funds) since, due to a nexus of law enforcement activity and non-cooperation, withheld grant funds would be withheld from local law enforcement agencies—a politically unlikely outcome. Additionally, an executive order forcing localities to participate in immigration status checks, detainment, and deportation, would likely similarly face judicial scrutiny as it force municipalities to

violate the constitutional rights of residents (e.g. privacy). Unless cities actively shield potential deportees or actively create municipal legal defense funds, immigration localism is largely (1) a trust-building technique for local law enforcement to have communities report crimes and cooperate in investigations, and (2) symbolic declaration of civic membership or municipal citizenship with some corresponding services (e.g. municipal IDs) to make life easier.

The Implications of the Typology

The usefulness of a policy analysis is predicated on the ability to more accurately capture a snapshot of the multidimensional conditions surrounding the impetus for policy adoptions. To that end, the construction of the typology used to categorize the four case studies allows for a generalizable model in which cities' policy responses can be more effectively considered for completeness. The aim of this prototype is to direct the discussion of policy—specifically local immigration policy— design into multi-dimensional space. The approach identified here complements traditional evaluation methods by visualizing inclusion-exclusion in the same model with responsiveness, as well as drawing in agenda item prioritization. Through the plotting exercise, one might be able to determine a range of policy options as well as incorporate additional axes representing further dimensions.

Bibliography

Akins, S. (2013). 287(g): State and local enforcement of immigration law. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 12(2), 227 - 236.

Alex-Assensoh, Y. (2004). Taking the sanctuary to the streets: Religion, race, and community development in Columbus, Ohio. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 594, 79-91.

Bae, J. and Feiock, R. (2013). Forms of government and Climate Change policies in US cities. *Urban Studies*, 50(4), 776-788.

Baptisa, I. (2013). Practices of exception in urban governance: Reconfiguring power inside the state. *Urban Studies*, 50(1), 39-54.

Breda-Vázquez, I., Conceição, and P, Mória, P. (2010). Learning from urban policy diversity and complexity: Evaluation and knowledge sharing in urban policy. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 11(2), 209-239.

Brenner, N. (1998). Between fixity and motion: Accumulation, territorial organization and the historical geography of spatial scales. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16(4), 459-481.

Bulkeley, H., Luque-Ayala, A., McFarlane, C., and MacLeod, G. (2016). Enhancing urban autonomy: Towards a new political project for cities. *Urban Studies*, doi: 10.1177/0042098016663836

Carr, J.B. and Karuppusamy, S. (2009) Beyond ideal types of municipal structure: Adapted Cities in Michigan. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 39(3), 304-321.

Chen, M.H. (2016). Trust in immigration enforcement: State noncooperation and sanctuary cities after Secure Communities. *Chicago-Kent Law Review*, 91(1), 13-58.

Clark, X., Hatton, J., and Williamson, J.G. (2007). Explaining U.S. Immigration, 1971-1998. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 89(2), 359-373.

Coonan, T. (2013). When perception is reality: 287(g)—A solution in search of a problem. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 12: 283–294.

DeSantis, V. S. and Renner, T. (2002). City government structures: An attempt at classification. *State and Local Government Review*, 34(2).

Farrell, C.R. (2014). Immigrant suburbanization and the shifting geographic structure of metropolitan segregation in the United States. *Urban Studies*, 53(1), 57-76.

Fennelly, K., and Palasz, N. (2003). English Language Proficiency of immigrants and refugees in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area. *International Migration*, 41(5), 93-125.

Frug, G. E., and Barron, D. J. (2008). *City bound: How states stifle urban innovation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gilbert, L. (2009). Immigration as local politics: Re-bordering immigration and multiculturalism through deterrence and incapacitation. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(1), 26 - 42.

Good, K. (2006). *Multicultural democracy in the city: Explaining municipal responsiveness to immigrants and ethno-cultural minorities* (Order No. NR22021). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Gunkel, S.E. (2012). Unauthorized migrants and the (il)logic of “crime control”: A human rights perspective on US Federal and local state immigration policies. *Sociology Compass*, 6(1), 26 - 45.

Hatton, T. (2015). United States Immigration Policy: The 1965 Act and its consequences. *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 117(2), 347 - 368.

Hsieh, J. Y. (2014). Testing municipal reinvention on the price of municipal governance between US Mayor-Council and Council-Manager City. *Lex Localis: Journal of Local Self-Government*, 12(2), 289-310.

Iacono, J, C, Brown, A and Holtham, C. (2011). The use of the Case Study Method in Theory Testing: The example of Steel Marketplaces. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 9 (1): 57-65.

Kritz, M., Gurak, D., and Lee, M. (2011). Will they stay? Foreign-born out-migration from new U.S. destinations. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 30(4), 537-567.

Kutchins, O.Y. (2016). Out of the shadows: Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, Deferred Action to Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents, and executive prosecutorial discretion in immigration law. *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly*, 43(3), 705-viii.

Murtagh, B. (2001). The politics and practice of urban policy evaluation. *Community Development Journal*, 36(3), 223 - 233.

Nelson, K. and Svara, J.H. (2010). Adaptation of models versus variations in form: Classifying structures of city government. *Urban Affairs Review*, 45(4), 544-562.

Painter, G. and Yu, Z. (2008). Leaving Gateway Metropolitan Areas in the United States: Immigrants and the Housing Market. *Urban Studies*, 45(5&6), 1163-1191.

Perulli, P. (2012). The ontology of global city-region: A critique of statehood. *GaWC Research Bulletin* 415 (A).

Ridgley, J. (2008) Cities of Refuge: Immigration Enforcement, Police, and the Insurgent Genealogies of Citizenship in U.S. Sanctuary Cities. *Urban Geography*, 29:1, 53-77.

Sanderson, M.R., Derudder, B., Timberlake, M., and Witlox, F. (2015). Are world cities also world immigrant cities? An international, cross-city analysis of global centrality and immigration. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 56(3-4), 173-197.

Su, R. (2010). Immigration as urban policy. *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 38(1), 363-391.

Su, R. (2013). The promise and peril of cities and immigration policy. *Harvard Law & Policy Review*, 7(2), 299-319.

Svara, J. H. (2003). *Two Decades of Continuity and Change in American City Councils*. Washington, D.C.: National League of Cities.

Toussaint, N. (2013). *The metropolitan dimensions of United States immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Portland State University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Villazor, R., C. (2010). Sanctuary cities and local citizenship. *The Fordham Urban Law Journal*, 37(2), 573-598.

Walker, K.E. and Leitner, H. (2013). The variegated landscape of local immigration policies in the United States. *Urban Geography*, 32(2), 156-178.

Walker, K. (2014) Immigration, local policy, and national identity in the suburban United States, *Urban Geography*, 35(4), 508-529.

Walker, K.E. (2015). The spatiality of local immigration policies in the United States. *Journal of Economic and Social Geography*, 106(4), 486-498.

Warren, R., and Warren, J. R. (2013). Unauthorized Immigration to the United States: Annual Estimates and Components of Change, by State, 1990 to 2010 Unauthorized Immigration to the United States: Annual Estimates and Components of Change, by State, 1990 to 2010. *International Migration Review*, 47(2), 296-329

White House Domestic Policy Council (2015). White House Task Force on New Americans: One Year Progress Report. Washington, D.C.

Wong, T.K. (2012). 287(g) and the politics of interior immigration control in the United States: Explaining local cooperation with federal immigration authorities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(5), 737-756.

Data:

San Francisco

- * <http://sfgov.org/oceia/resolutions-reports>
- * San Francisco 2016-2017 budget
- * San Francisco General Plan
- * Mayor's Office of Community Investment (MOCI)
- * Immigrant's Rights Office
- * Cities for Action Coalition

Mesa

- * Mesa City Code
- * ice.gov/factsheets/287g
- * pps.mesaaz.gov/meetingarchive/SearchCCMinutes
- * Mesa General Plan 2014
- * City of Mesa Consolidated HUD Plan FY2010-2014
- * <http://apps.mesaaz.gov/meetingarchive/ccordinances>
- * <http://apps.mesaaz.gov/meetingarchive/ccresolutions>

Detroit

- * City of Detroit Limited English Proficiency (LEP) Plan
- * City of Detroit Non-Discrimination Plan
- * The Michigan International Talent Solutions (MITS) program
- * City of Detroit Immigration Task Force
- * Mayor's Welcome Message
- * Resolution from Council Member Castañeda-López and Council Member André Spivey Affirming Detroit as a Welcoming City
- * detroitmi.gov/Search-Results?Search=immigration

Hialeah

- * http://www.hialeahfl.gov/index.php?option=com_docman&view=list&slug=ordinances&Itemid=515&lang=en
- * http://www.hialeahfl.gov/index.php?option=com_docman&view=list&slug=summary-agendas&Itemid=227&lang=en
- * http://www.hialeahfl.gov/index.php?option=com_docman&view=list&slug=resolutions&Itemid=516&lang=en

Appendix

San Francisco

Item	Inclusionary + on X axis	Exclusionary — on X axis	Responsive + on Y Axis	Unresponsive — on Y Axis	Example
Lawmaking	+1		+ 1		Sanctuary City Ordinance
Law Enforcement	+1		+1		Local law enforcement non-prioritization of federal immigration laws
Legal Options/ Opinions	+1		+1		Legal defense fund (\$947,000)
Finance Appropriation	+1		+1		Budget Year 2015-2016 and 2016-2017 >\$4 million to immigration services, legal services, and Sanctuary Outreach education
Public Benefits	+1		+1		Equitable access to: job services; public parks, libraries and schools; police and fire protection; health and emergency services; housing and transportation; water and waste disposal.
Property Policy Management				— 1	
Public Works Authority	+1		+1		Facilities operation helps foreign-born residents (e.g. language services access)
Land Use & Planning	+1		+1		Chinatown Specific Plan and municipal transit is reflective and responsive to bilingual or EFL riders
City Strategic Plan Vision	+1		+1		"The residents strive to maintain this tradition, welcoming people from around the world to participate in the promise of a healthy city." (From Introduction to General Plan)
Community Image Building	+1		+1		POLICY 7.3 Promote the provision of adequate health and educational services to all geographical districts and cultural groups in the city. (From General Plan)
Municipal Human Resource Oversight	+1		+1		Immigration Rights Commission office —including specific workplace protections
Corporate Policy Control	+1		+1		Municipal litigation power used to benefit immigrants
Lobbying	+1		+1		City officials persuade legislators position on immigration (Immigration Rights Commission statements including on 45th President Inauguration and EO travel ban)
Coalition Building	+1		+1		SF Mayor Ed Lee is a leader in Cities for Action Coalition (Sanctuary Cities group)
Public Relations	+1		+1		Mayor's Office of Community Investment (MOCI) presented a list of programs that MOCI provides to the immigrant community
Political Participation Planning	+1		+1		Foreign-born in local public office positions
Civic Mediation	+1		+1		IRC neighborhood meetings
Ballot Box Crusades	+1		+1		Non-Citizen Voting in Board Elections (Measure N)
Protests	+1	-1	+1		Pro- and anti- Sanctuary City demonstrations (Villazor, 2010)
Civic Membership	+1		+1		Municipal ID program
Taking no action (lassais-faire)					N/A

Mesa

Item	Inclusionary + on X axis	Exclusionary — on X axis	Responsive + on Y Axis	Unresponsive — on Y Axis	Example / Explanation/ Source
Lawmaking		— 1	+1		Mesa City Code 6-15-13: ISSUANCE; GROUNDS FOR DENIAL: (4111) Grounds of denial for business license-“Is not a United States citizen or lawful permanent resident alien or an alien who is authorized to work by the United States Department of Justice Immigration and Naturalization Service.”
Law Enforcement		— 1	+1		287(g) police force source: ice.gov/factsheets/287g
Legal Opinions		— 1	+1		Resolution 9820: Intergovernmental Agreement with the Department of Public Safety for participation in a Gang & Immigration Intelligence Team Enforcement Mission
Finance Appropriation		-1	+1		Proactive 2012 Audit of City's Custodial Services for compliance with federal and state immigration laws and regulations by Parks, Recreation, and Commercial Facilities (PRCF); and the City Manager's Office
Public Benefits		-1		-1	Mayoral and City Council support (rather than oppose) on record for AZ SB 1611 (2011) that would bar access to publicly funded education unless proof of citizenship or legal residency
Property Policy Management		-1	+1		Mesa Foreign Trade Zone 221 suggests that Mesa could manage a property to hinder the interests of foreign nationals*
Public Works Authority				-1	
Land Use & Planning		-1	+1		The Local Redevelopment Authority of the City of Mesa and the ASU Security and Defense Initiative off-campus Mesa Research Center featuring an explicit focus on border security and immigration control techniques
City Strategic Plan Vision	+1		+1		Mesa Foreign Trade Zone 221 suggests that Mesa wants to orient itself toward a larger global supply chain and attract foreign investors*
Community Image Building	+1			-1	From Mesa General Plan 2014: “City of Mesa needs to cultivate a welcoming and inclusive atmosphere for people of all races, ages, incomes, social groups, etc. and include development options that allow for expression of differing cultures.” (pg. 3-3)
Municipal Human Resource Oversight		-1	+1		Resolution 9740, Section 210 and Resolution 10717 2.05:: any applicants to general employment positions (Mesa government) must present evidence of United States citizenship, or of status as a legally registered alien
Corporate Policy Control		-1	+1		Resolution 9740, Section 210 and Resolution 10717 2.05: any applicants to general employment positions (Mesa government) must present evidence of United States citizenship, or of status as a legally registered alien; Ordinance 5089: Causes for Debarment include violation of state or federal immigration statutes
Lobbying		-1		-1	Mayoral and City Council support (rather than oppose) on record for AZ SB 1611 (2011) that would bar access to publicly funded education unless proof of citizenship or legal residency
Coalition Building		-1	+1		287(g) member source: ice.gov/factsheets/287g
Public Relations		-1	+1		Mayoral and City Council support (rather than oppose) on record for AZ SB 1611 (2011) that would bar access to publicly funded education unless proof of citizenship or legal residency; Council Minutes contain numerous instances of City officials explicitly opposing or discussing immigration, border security, and restrictive or exclusionary legislation
Political Participation Planning		-1	+1		City of Mesa Consolidated HUD Plan FY2010-2014 explicitly prohibits “Aliens” from receiving assistance; additionally, text argues that Arizona’s immigration policies have “freed up” lower-end rentals as temporary workers and their families have emigrated from Mesa
Civic Mediation				-1	City of Mesa Citizen Participation Plan implicitly discourages unauthorized persons from participating through explicit reference to Uniform Relocation Act, per 49 CFR 24.208 and through the use of the word “Citizen” rather than “Public”
Ballot Box Crusades		-1	+1		Mayoral and City Council support (rather than oppose) on record for AZ SB 1611 (2011) that would bar access to publicly funded education unless proof of citizenship or legal residency; Council Minutes contain numerous instances of City officials explicitly opposing or discussing immigration, border security, and restrictive or exclusionary legislation
Protests		-1	+1		Syrian Support Group and DREAM Act Group demonstration (2012) was restricted to a “Free Speech Zone” and Mesa Police claimed demonstrators were violating a noise ordinance for using a megaphone
Civic Membership		-1	+1		City of Mesa Citizen Participation Plan implicitly discourages unauthorized persons from participating through explicit reference to Uniform Relocation Act, per 49 CFR 24.208 and through the use of the word “Citizen” rather than “Public” (from City Council Minutes Feb 22, 2012)
Taking no action (lassaiz-faire)					

Detroit

Item	Inclusionary + on X axis	Exclusionary — on X axis	Responsive + on Y Axis	Unresponsive — on Y Axis	Example/Explanation/ Source
Lawmaking	+1		+1		City of Detroit Limited English Proficiency (LEP) Plan; City of Detroit Non-Discrimination Plan: "The City has an affirmative duty to secure equal protection of the law and equality of opportunity for all persons, including minority populations"
Law Enforcement				-1	neither Sanctuary nor 287(g)
Legal Opinions				-1	
Finance Appropriation	+1		+1		The Michigan International Talent Solutions (MITS) program "is a free job search training and coaching program designed to support highly skilled immigrants in Michigan return to their professional field."
Public Benefits	+1		+1		Detroit ID allows for Access city services: interact with the Detroit Police Department and Detroit Public Schools Open utility accounts with DTE and Detroit Water and Sewerage Dept. Open a checking or savings account with One Detroit Credit Union
Property Policy Management	+1		+1		City of Detroit Immigration Task Force goal: "work to end ICE detainer contracts"
Public Works Authority				-1	
Land Use & Planning	+1		+1		City of Detroit Immigration Task Force goal: "Increase affordable housing for refugees and immigrants"
City Strategic Plan Vision	+1		+1		A Resolution Continuing the City of Detroit Immigration Task Force (2014)
Community Image Building	+1		+1		Mayor's Welcome Message; Resolution from Council Member Castañeda-López and Council Member André Spivey Affirming Detroit as a Welcoming City
Municipal Human Resource Oversight				-1	
Corporate Policy Control	+1		+1		Office of Immigrant Affairs
Lobbying				-1	
Coalition Building	+1		+1		Arab American and Caldean Council; City of Detroit Immigration Task Force members (Members are from various regions, such as the Caribbean, the Middle East, South and Central America, Africa, Europe, and Asia).
Public Relations	+1		+1		City of Detroit Immigration Task Force public presentations
Political Participation Planning	+1		+1		Arab American and Caldean Council; City of Detroit Immigration Task Force members (Members are from various regions, such as the Caribbean, the Middle East, South and Central America, Africa, Europe, and Asia).
Civic Mediation				-1	
Ballot Box Crusades				-1	
Protests				-1	
Civic Membership	+1		+1		Detroit ID: for all including "immigrants regardless of immigration status"
Taking no action (l'assais-faire)					
Item					

Hialeah

Item	Inclusionary + on X axis	Exclusionary — on X axis	Responsive + on Y Axis	Unresponsive — on Y Axis	Example/ Explanation/Source
Lawmaking	+1		+1		Mayor Carlos Hernandez Joins Florida Leaders to Launch Conservative Coalition for Immigration Reform (2016)
Law Enforcement				-1	no official policy (neither sanctuary nor 287g)
Legal Opinions and options	+1		+1		Immigration Clinic March 7, 2015 at Hialeah High School hosted by Mayor Carlos Hernandez
Finance Appropriation				-1	
Public Benefits				-1	
Property Policy Management				-1	
Public Works Authority				-1	
Land Use & Planning		-1	+1		Ordinance 08-04: repeals permits to operate beauty parlors in single-family residences
City Strategic Plan Vision				-1	
Community Image Building	+1	-1	+1		Mayor Carlos Hernandez Joins Florida Leaders to Launch Conservative Coalition for Immigration Reform (2016); BUT RESOLUTION NO. 2017-003 (PLACARD TO BE PLACED UPON THE WALL IN COUNCIL CHAMBERS WITH THE WORDS "IN GOD WE TRUST"
Municipal Human Resource Oversight				-1	
Corporate Policy Control				-1	
Lobbying				-1	
Coalition Building				-1	
Public Relations	+1		+1		Mayor Carlos Hernandez Joins Florida Leaders to Launch Conservative Coalition for Immigration Reform (2016)
Political Participation Planning				-1	
Civic Mediation				-1	
Ballot Box Crusades				-1	
Protests				-1	
Civic Membership				-1	
Taking no action (laissez-faire)					

A Checklist of Potential Municipal Unauthorized Immigration Strategies (From Toussaint, 2013)

1. Lawmaking (legal and extralegal). Local government (mayor or city council) might use its legislative authority to formulate new policies pertaining to immigration issues, or amend or rescind existing policies. These policies may be general or specific to a particular government agency or department, and take the form of an executive order, administrative law, statute, code, ordinance, resolution, license, permit, or memorandum.
2. Law enforcement. Municipal authorities might use their regulatory and police powers to actively enforce existing municipal laws that were not originally intended to address immigration-related issues, but have that effect. In practice this may involve charging police, or other municipal employees (e.g., building inspectors and social workers), with enforcement of previously unenforced rules and regulations governing sanitation, health, housing, transportation, and labor standards (Light, 2006). A local government might also choose to turn a “blind eye” to local or even federal law violations. In some cases, municipal employees may be required to enforce federal immigration laws, or a local version of the same.
3. Legal opinions. Local authorities might use legal opinions to support their position on immigration or foreign in-migrants.
4. Finance appropriation. City officials might use their investment powers to directly or indirectly provide monetary grants or in-kind contributions (e.g., facility space) to support immigrants, or withhold public investments from the same.
5. Provision of public benefits. Local government might use its fiscal discretionary power (i.e., power to use public revenues) to either guarantee or deny foreign immigrants equitable access to: job services; public parks, libraries and schools; police and fire protection; health and emergency services; housing and transportation; water and waste disposal.
6. Property policy management. A municipality might use its property clout to purchase, hold, condemn, lease, sell, or manage a property for the purpose of advancing or hindering the interests of foreign nationals.
7. Public works authority. City authorities might use their say-so over the construction and operation of public works (i.e., public facilities like hospitals, schools, libraries, parks) to help or hinder its new foreign-born residents.
8. Land use and urban planning. City bureaucrats might use their expertise to plan for the physical and social development of a city in a way that serves the interests of foreign in-migrants, or hinders these newcomers.
9. City strategic planning. To attract foreign investors or needed laborers, a municipality may develop a blueprint to advance its vision of becoming more internationally-oriented (e.g. Cleveland’s internationalization plan). A local government might also develop a strategy for ridding the city of unwanted foreign in-migrants.

10. Community image building. Local government might chose to use its city branding clout to create a welcoming or unwelcoming settlement environment for foreign in-migrants. In practice this may involve the use of officially or unofficially sanctioned symbols (billboards, flags, or logos), city value statements or mottos, and so on.

11. Municipal human resource oversight. Local officials might use their control over city human resources to establish personnel systems—like selection, promotion, salary standards--that benefit or disadvantage foreign in-migrants.

12. Corporate policy control. Local government might use its contract and litigation power in a manner that either benefits or disadvantages foreign in-migrants.

13. Lobbying. A city official might use his or her lobbying privileges to persuade representatives in the national or state legislature, or courts, to support their policy preferences or position on immigration.

14. Coalition Building. To enhance its capacity to achieve immigration-related policy objectives, a local government might build cooperative alliances with public officials in other cities or states. It might also facilitate the development of publicprivate partnerships, or even partner with federal immigration authorities.

15. Public relations. A city official might use his or her position of prominence as a platform for informing the public about immigrant-related issues and resources, or to shape public opinion in accordance with the city's immigration agenda. In practice this may involve: launching a public education or advocacy campaign, issuing public service announcements, publishing information on the city's website, sending a press release to the media, staging a news conference or signing ceremony, writing and submitting an opinion piece in a local newspaper, distributing a press kit, making a presentation to a civic group, delivering a State of the City address, disseminating research reports that bolster a city's position on immigration, writing a letter to the president of the United States or Congress, or testifying for governmental hearings and regulatory bodies.

16. Political participation planning. City officials might use their political appointment and meeting convening authority to establish mechanisms for incorporating the concerns of foreign in-migrants into government decision making. Or conversely, municipal authorities might refuse to support the public participation of refugees and immigrants. In practice this may involve: appointing foreign-born residents to public commissions, advisory groups and tasks forces (or excluding them from the same); allowing non-citizens to vote in local elections, or not; or holding meetings, public hearings, and workshops to get policy feedback from foreign in-migrants (as opposed to establishing a discussion process that only elicits feedback from natives, or does not provide language access to non-English speakers).

17. Civic mediation. Local government might use its community planning process to diffuse immigration-related civic disputes or facilitate collaborative problem solving. In practice this might involve providing a venue and discussion facilitator. A municipality might also hire an outside professional to design a discussion process, or assign a police officer to act as a liaison between contending community groups.

18. Ballot box crusades. Elected officials might refer to voters a pro- or anti-immigrant measure, or campaign on a pro- or anti-immigration platform.

19. Protests. Municipalities might instigate direct protest actions to call attention to insufficient immigration assistance from the federal government. Halting construction of a federal mandated public housing project for immigrants is an example.

20. Civic membership. City officials might use their jurisdictional authority to decide who is considered a legitimate community member. In practice this may involve issuing municipal identification cards to federally unauthorized city dwellers, or accepting an ID card issued by a foreign government. It might also entail efforts to deflect unwanted refugees and immigrants to other cities, through use of no trespassing laws or other unfriendly ordinances.

21. Taking no action. A municipality might also decide to do nothing when immigration-related issues arise locally. There are a number of plausible reasons for this laissez-faire approach: indifference or ambivalence towards immigration and foreign in-migrants; local government lacks the capacity to act on its policy decisions; or the issue has already been addressed by a higher level of government or by community-based agency.