

**“IF YOU HOLD MY HAND, NO ONE WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE YOU AWAY FROM ME”:
THE HEALTH IMPLICATIONS OF AN IMMIGRATION RAID ON A MIXED-STATUS
LATINO COMMUNITY IN WASHTENAW COUNTY, MICHIGAN**

By

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“...anthropology that doesn't break your heart just isn't worth doing anymore.”

-Ruth Behar, *The Vulnerable Observer*, 1996

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DEDICACIÓN

A Guadalupe

Por compartir sus experiencias conmigo.

Por recibir a mis hijos.

Por mejorar mi vida.

Por mejorar mi país.

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Mia got out of her car seat and stood next to the car. She waited for me, patiently, to get my backpack out so that we could walk inside together. I was distracted and I was taking forever. But she kept waiting. Then she began to cry.

Mia was six, I was in the beginning stages of writing this dissertation, and together with her 3-year-old brother Miguel and my partner Katie, we had just attended the rally for Susana Bernabe-Hernandez, who, along with her 16 year-old-daughter, Sayra, were a week away from their deportations. It was an emotional time for Susana and Sayra, for the advocates working on their case, and for the families, friends, and community members who held signs to protest the separation of an undocumented mother and her 16-year-old undocumented daughter from their U.S. citizen daughter/sister with epilepsy.

A week later, after countless interviews, petitions, and meetings, and about 12 hours before they were scheduled to step on a plane, Susana and Sayra received a stay of removal, giving them more time to be together as a family and fight their case in the U.S. I told Mia the good news as we parked in front of Subway to get dinner prior to her brother's swim lesson. Before she got out of the car, she paused and looked out

the window. She let out a sigh of something more profound than relief. She smiled at me, fighting back tears of, this time, joy. Then she went to eat.

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There are faculty and scientists I count myself as blessed to

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

9/11	September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the U.S.
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
CABLE	Community Advisory Board to Law Enforcement
CBP	Customs and Border Protection
DACA	Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DOJ	Department of Justice
EBV	<i>Encuesta Buenos Vecinos</i>
ENPACT	Enhancing Police and Community Trust
ERO	Enforcement and Removal Operations
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Services
LeCAB	Law Enforcement Citizens' Advisory Board
PEP	Priority Enforcement Program
SRH	Self-rated health
SSI	Semi-structured interview
SWAT	Special Weapons and Tactics

UR	Urgent Responder
WCPH	Washtenaw County Public Health
WCSO	Washtenaw County Sheriff's Office
WIC	Women, Infants, and Children
WICIR	Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights

ABSTRACT

Immigration raids, used with increasing frequency in the United States in 2016, exemplify the reach of immigration law enforcement into the lives of Latino community members. Yet little research characterizes their health implications. Using a mixed methods critical case study design and a conceptual framework of illegality, this study investigates the health implications of a collaborative immigration raid that occurred in Washtenaw County, Michigan, on November 7, 2013. Quantitative data come from the *Encuesta Buenos Vecinos*, a community survey of Latinos in Washtenaw County. Qualitative data come from participant observation with law enforcement and the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred, as well as interviews with 1) individuals directly involved in the raid, 2) members of social networks of individuals directly involved in the raid, and 3) representatives of social service and community organizations in the community in which the raid occurred.

Findings provide strong evidence that immigration raids have negative effects on the well-being of Latinos in mixed-status communities. The social networks of those involved in the raid moderated its negative impacts by providing social and economic support. However, the sociocultural context that included 1) police and immigration enforcement collaboration; 2) policies that restrict access to driver's licenses; and 3) law enforcement that prioritizes drug laws and ignores collateral damage (that is, damage inflicted on unintended targets); contributed to an environment in which individuals

avoided encounters in which their immigration statuses may be disclosed. This avoidance limited the ameliorative impact of social networks and access to needed services.

Implications from these findings suggest that social service organizations need to provide a range of services in accessible locations after immigration raids to support those directly involved, their families, and other community members; and that local police would be more effective in maintaining relationships with Latino communities if they did not enforce immigration law. Policies that support access to legal driver's licenses among undocumented immigrants and end the use of collaborative immigration raids—especially those that target recently arrived mothers and children from Central America—would promote the health of Latinos in mixed-status communities.

Chapter 1

Introduction and Overview

Emerging research suggests that immigration law enforcement practices—or the surveillance, arrests, detainments, and deportations of potential undocumented immigrants— may have deleterious effects on the health of undocumented Latinos and Latinas (henceforth: Latinos) and other members of their mixed-status¹ communities (Capps, Castañeda, Chaudry, & Santos, 2007; Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, & Spitznagel, 2007; Delva et al., 2013; Hacker, Anies, Folb, & Zallman, 2015; Satinsky, Hu, Heller, & Farhang, 2013). Navigating daily life under the perpetual threat of apprehension and deportation may serve as a source of stress and anxiety, taking a toll on physical and mental health and exacerbating pre-existing medical conditions (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007; Hacker, Chu, Arsenault, & Marlin, 2012). Some undocumented immigrants report avoiding contact with medical, police and social services for fear of immigration status disclosure, which could lead to deportation (Asch, Leake, & Gelberg, 1994; Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007; Hacker et al., 2011, 2012; Hardy et al., 2012; Maldonado, Rodriguez, Torres, Flores, & Lovato, 2013).

When constant surveillance transforms public space into an area of heightened risk, undocumented individuals become less likely to walk their children to school, visit parks or the grocery store, or participate in a range of sociocultural events even in their own neighborhoods (Chaudry et al., 2010; Chavez, 2013a; Hardy et al., 2012; Satinsky et al.,

¹ “Mixed-status family” is generally used to refer to a family in which members hold a variety of immigration statuses, generally speaking, with at least one member being undocumented and another being a citizen (see, Fix & Zimmerman, 2001). “Mixed-status communities” are communities containing these families.

2013). When apprehended individuals are deported, economic providers are removed, family roles are rearranged, and children are often left without caregivers (Allen, Cisneros, & Tellez, 2013; Chaudry et al., 2010; Dreby, 2012a; Satinsky et al., 2013).

Emerging work has begun to show that the threat of immigration law enforcement not only affects undocumented Latinos, but members of their families and communities as well, regardless of their citizenships statuses (Blewett, Smaida, Fuentes, & Zuehlke, 2003; Theodore, 2013). Latino citizens may, for example, avoid contact with police or other social institutions for fear that they will be asked about the immigration statuses of their family members (Blewett et al., 2003; Castañeda & Melo, 2014; O’Leary & Sanchez, 2011; Theodore, 2013). Thus, the threat of immigration law enforcement affects not only undocumented Latinos, but also other members of the mixed-status communities to which they belong.

Although immigration law is shaped primarily at the federal level, it is often implemented at the local level, and scholars have increasingly called for a localized, “site-specific” understanding of the effects of immigration law enforcement (Coleman, 2012; Hardy et al., 2012; Willen, 2007). To better understand these on-the-ground effects of immigration laws, some public health work has utilized quasi-experimental studies to consider shifts in health-related behaviors after changes to immigration policy. Findings suggest that policies that require individuals to show evidence of immigration status limit access to resources regardless of immigration status. For example, after the passage of the Alabama Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act (AL HB 56), which required proof of citizenship to receive public benefits, Latinas were less likely to utilize health services at the county level. This included services that were exempt from residency requirements,

such as treatment for sexually transmitted infections (Toomey et al., 2014; White, Blackburn, Manzella, Welty, & Menachemi, 2014a). Similarly, after the passage of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (AZ SB 1070), which allowed police to detain individuals who could not verify their citizenship status, Mexican-origin adolescent mothers were less likely to use public assistance or take their infants to receive medical care (Toomey et al., 2014). SB 1070 also increased fear of immigration enforcement, restricted neighborhood mobility, and decreased trust in law enforcement, with impacts on health (Hardy et al., 2012). These quasi-experimental studies present strong evidence of the immediate repercussions of immigration policy on health.

Among the most important changes in enforcement trends has been a shift from enforcement along the U.S.-Mexico border to enforcement in the interior of the U.S. (Golash-Boza, 2012; Simanski & Sapp, 2012). Interior immigration law enforcement—or enforcement that occurs in areas other than along international borders and is generally conducted by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE; one of three branches of the Department of Homeland Security; detailed explanation forthcoming)—often involves the removal of individuals who have been in the U.S. for years or decades, with families, friends, jobs, and established roles in their communities (Hagan, Castro, & Rodriguez, 2010).

Deportations have increased drastically beginning roughly at the start of President George W. Bush's first presidential term, in the aftermath of September 11th, 2001. This increase continued when President Obama began his presidency in 2008 and peaked in 2013, the most recent year data were reported, with 438,421 deportations (Simanski, 2014). This increase in immigration law enforcement has also included a change in

proportion of “removals” and “returns” among undocumented immigrants. “Returns” occur when a Customs and Border Protection (CBP; one of three branches of the Department of Homeland Security) agent prevents entry into the United States, whereas “removals” involve attending a hearing, or waiving one’s right to do so². Generally speaking, CBP performs return operations, while ICE is largely responsible for removals (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2015). In 2011, the number of removals surpassed the number of returns for the first time since 1941 (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; United States Department of Homeland Security, 2014), insinuating an increased focus on internal immigration enforcement.

Latinos account for approximately 95 percent of apprehensions by DHS (Simanski, 2014). Thus, while deportations affect minority communities of various racial/ethnic backgrounds, the high proportion of Latinos apprehended and deported places an enormously disproportionate burden on mixed-status Latino communities in the U.S. (Magaña-Salgado, 2014).

Immigration home raids are one way in which immigrants in the interior of the U.S. are apprehended for deportation. Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO), the branch of ICE that is responsible for conducting most home raids, began in 2006 with the apprehension of about 15,000 individuals. This nearly doubled in 2007, before increasing about twenty fold to its peak of 322,000 in 2011 (United States Department of Homeland Security, 2014). Typical home raids may involve over twenty ICE agents, often in collaboration with other law enforcement agencies, storming the house of a suspected

² “Removals” are generally colloquially referred to as “deportations.” However, “deportation” can also be used in referencing someone “returned” at the border (i.e., “He was deported by the Border Patrol in Texas”). Also of note, “deportation” does not have any specific legal meaning.

undocumented individual in an attempt to apprehend him³ (Evans, 2009). There are witnesses, often children, and other individuals who “appear” to be undocumented are arrested as well (Mendelson, Strom, & Wishnie, 2009). These raids exemplify many aspects of the current state of immigration law enforcement, including the shift from border enforcement to the apprehension of “criminal aliens” (“Fugitive Operations,” n.d.) in the U.S. interior, collaboration with local law enforcement officials (Khashu, 2009), a disregard for constitutional rights of undocumented immigrants (Chiu, Egyes, Markowitz, & Vasandani, 2009), an ever-expanding limit to the spaces safe from immigration law enforcement, and dehumanizing rhetoric that justifies a wide array of enforcement actions often rooted in racial profiling (i.e., “collateral”) (Chavez, 2013b; Heyman, 2014).

This immigration law enforcement occurs amid other challenges faced by Latinos, such as language barriers, racial/ethnic discrimination, and social support networks already spread thin and marginalized from traditional forms of institutional support (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009; Viruell-Fuentes & Schulz, 2009; Zhang, Hong, Takeuchi, & Mossakowski, 2012). Yet despite the volume of Latinos apprehended in the interior of the U.S.—and the violent methods, such as immigration raids, used to apprehend them— little work has considered the health implications of immigration enforcement practices on the individuals who experience this enforcement and the communities in which they live. The current dissertation addresses this gap. Specifically, I aim to raise awareness and advance understanding of the health implications of immigration law

³ Masculine gender pronouns (“he,” “him”) are traditionally used in English as gender neutral, but research has shown that they are more likely to elicit images of a male figure than a female (Gastil, 1990; Moulton, Robinson, & Elias, 1978). I use “she” as the gender-neutral pronoun in an effort to combat these stereotypes (Silveira, 1980). However, there are exceptions, as seen in the current case. Because immigration law enforcement patterns are highly gendered, there are instances in which the feminine image is non-representative of the phenomena being discussed. For example, because the vast majority of deportees are men, I use masculine pronouns to discuss deportation and apprehension.

enforcement practices on the mixed-status Latino communities in which these enforcement actions occur.

1.1 Research Aims and Conceptual Framework

This dissertation investigates the health effects of immigration home raids on the mixed-status Latino communities in which these raids occurred. To accomplish this, I use a mixed methods critical case study (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015) that considers an immigration home raid that occurred in Washtenaw County, Michigan, on November 7, 2013 (henceforth, “the 11/7 raid”). This critical case study included collaboration between ICE and the Washtenaw County Sherriff’s Office (WCSO) and resulted in the detainment and deportation of multiple Latino community members (Counts, 2013). Three study aims, presented below, guide this dissertation.

Aim 1: To investigate how the 11/7 raid affected social service utilization patterns in the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred;

Aim 2: To consider how the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred shaped the effects of the raid, and consider if and how the raid in turn affected the sociocultural context; and

Aim 3: To investigate how different stakeholders shape, enforce, contribute and react to, and combat immigration enforcement practices.

“Sociocultural context” may refer to, for example, the racial dynamics and gender roles that pervade the communities of the raid and shape interactions therein; cultural perceptions of immigrants and foreigners; inter-organization collaboration; or context of local policing in the Washtenaw County. The term “stakeholders” may refer to, for example, individuals involved in the raid, their families and communities, the organizations that

provide them with services, and the law enforcement agents who enforce immigration law. I utilize a conceptual framework of “illegality”, which describes undocumented status as a juridical status created by the state (De Genova, 2002) with health implications (Heyman, 2001; Willen, 2007). This conceptual shift from undocumented status as a demographic category to a sociopolitical construction creates the space to consider multiple stakeholders in shaping undocumented immigrant health (Holmes, 2007; Willen, 2005) and expands the focus from individuals to the social and familial communities in which they live (De Genova, 2002).

1.2 Potential contributions to Scholarship and Praxis

This critical case study (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015) adds valuably to the scant literature on immigration law enforcement practices and their health effects on mixed-status Latino communities in at least three ways. First, much immigration research generally focuses on communities along the U.S.-Mexico border (Cook, 2011; Hardy et al., 2012; Ordóñez, 2012; Pourat, Wallace, Hadler, & Ponce, 2014; Quesada, Kral, Organista, & Worby, 2014; Slack & Whiteford, 2011; Suarez-Orozco, 1996; Valdez, Padilla, & Valentine, 2013), and limited emerging work considering the influence of immigration law enforcement practices in cities along the U.S.-Canada border, such as Detroit, Michigan, or Niagara Falls, New York (Miller, 2014). This study will thus be among the first to describe and characterize immigration law enforcement and the responses of advocates and community members in a county in the Midwestern U.S.

Second, while a handful of legal scholars have begun to discuss immigration home raids, they do so with a focus on violations of Fourth Amendment rights (Adler, 2006; Evans, 2009; Treadwell, 2011). While some reports and limited research have considered

the health effects of home raids, these raids are frequently considered alongside large scale immigration work raids in which hundreds of people are arrested and detained or deported (Capps et al., 2007; Chaudry et al., 2010; Wessler, 2011). Even seminal work addressing immigration enforcement's effects include very little information on immigration home raids (Golash-Boza, 2012; Kanstroom, 2012). Thus, while advocacy groups and media focused on Latino communities have presented the broad strokes of the impacts of raids, this study will be among the first to focus specifically on the health implications of immigration home raids using public health research methods.

Third, this study will permit a deeper understanding of the range of relationships involved in engaging in, shaping, and resisting immigration enforcement. The mixed methods data are rich and varied, and include a community health survey of 476 Latinos in Washtenaw County; interviews with those directly involved in the raid, their support systems, and representatives of organizations that provide them resources; and a year of fieldwork with advocacy organizations, law enforcement, and the Latino mixed-status community in which the raid occurred. Based on the relationships I formed among stakeholders, in this dissertation I am able to explicate findings and implications in a manner that will be of use to multiple constituents working toward just and equitable immigration enforcement in Latino mixed-status communities.

The raid that is the focus of this dissertation occurred at the end of 2013. In January of 2016, a little more than two years later, the Obama administration began implementing raids throughout the country, allegedly targeting recent arrivals, often mothers and children, from Central America and Mexico (Edwards, 2016; Harris, 2015; Markon & Nakamura, 2015). Thus, immigration home raids, which, as I will show, have damaging and

far-reaching effects on mixed-status Latino communities, are happening *now, today*, and politicians, advocates, and Latino communities are struggling to react. This dissertation, as well as the relationships it engendered, is positioned to speak to politicians of the health implications of the increase in this immigration enforcement tactic. Ultimately, this research could support efforts to eliminate the use of collaborative immigration raids, equip advocacy organizations and mixed-status Latino communities with information to use in organizing and mobilizing efforts, and inform and prepare service providers to respond to immigration raids.

1.3 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into the following chapters. Chapter 2, *Literature Review*, orients the reader to the state of the current research on Latinos and undocumented Latinos, and immigration law enforcement in the United States, with a focus on immigration home raids. The chapter concludes with an exploration of “illegality” (De Genova, 2002) and a description of how this conceptual framework will be used in the dissertation to investigate the relationship between immigration law and the health of Latinos in a mixed-status community.

Chapter 3, *Methods*, reviews the methodological orientation and the research methods used in data collection and analysis. After briefly describing the ways in which the 11/7 raid serves as a critical case study (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015), the chapter reviews data collection and analysis procedures for quantitative and qualitative data and the ways in which a mixed methods approach (Creswell, Klassen, Clark, & Smith, 2011; Steckler, McLeroy, Goodman, Bird, & McCormick, 1992) is used to address the research Aims.

Chapter 4, *Participant Accounts of the 11/7 Raid*, draws primarily from participant interviews to “narrativize” (Das & Kleinman, 2001) the event in order to bring the reader “phenomenologically closer” to the experience (De León, 2016, p. 44).

Chapters 5, *The Relationship between Immigration Enforcement Stress, Self-Rated Health, and Raid Timing*, presents results on the health implications of an immigration raid that occurred midway through a community survey, the *Encuesta Buenos Vecinos* (EBV). Using linear regression following principal factor analysis, I examine the influence of raid timing on self-rated health and the intensity of immigration enforcement stress. This study is the first study of its kind of which I am aware that uses a natural experiment model to consider the effects of an immigration raid.

Chapter 6, “Se rompe la comunidad”: *Immigration Raids and the Fracturing of Mixed-Status Latino Social Networks*, draws on qualitative data and participant observation to detail the health and economic outcomes of the 11/7 raid and consider the ways in which social networks moderated/ameliorated the negative effects of the raid. The findings presented underscore that members of the Latino mixed-status community utilized multiple strategies to reduce encounters in which they felt they would be asked to disclose their immigration statuses. These strategies limited the ameliorative impact of these social networks. EBV data are used to test the conceptual model.

Chapter 7, “Can I see your ID?”: *Identification and Deportability in Mixed-Status Latino Communities*, presents results from participant observation and interview data to explore the mechanism by which immigration status is disclosed in encounters with officers and agency representatives in two parts. First, I consider how encounters with police officers—including those initiated by the individual and those in which one is in the

vicinity of law enforcement activity—become occasions for immigration status disclosure. Second, I illustrate how particular forms of identification when presented by Latinos mark them as deportable to police and agency representatives.

The raid—and the ensuing fieldwork I conducted—occurred during a period of heightened tensions between police officers and communities of color spurred by the filmed killings of unarmed black men by police officers. Thus, in Chapter 8, *Immigration Enforcement in an Era of #BlackLivesMatter*, I argue that the contemporary dynamics of racial policing are an important aspect of the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred. This chapter addresses the questions, how do relationships between law enforcement and black communities inform our understanding of law enforcement and brown communities? Are the arguments used to justify the killings of black men the same as those used to justify the deportations of brown men?

In Chapter 9, *Conclusions and Implications*, a synthesis of the findings and implications of the dissertation are organized and presented in line with study aims. I end by considering the ways in which this dissertation adds to the public health and immigration literature; implications for immigration policy; and overall study conclusions.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Demographics of Latinos in the U.S.

The Latino population is the largest ethnic minority group in the U.S., and estimates suggest that Latinos will comprise more than a quarter of the U.S. population by 2050 (Passel & Cohn, 2008). The Latino population is younger on average than white and Black populations, with nearly 40 percent of the Latino population under age 20 and more than two thirds under age 35 (Rumbaut, 2010). Seventy-eight percent of Latino households are family households (a household consisting of one or more individuals related by birth, marriage, or adoption) compared to 64 percent of white households (Lofquist, Lugaila, O'Connell, & Feliz, 2012). Latinos generally have lower educational attainment and higher likelihoods of unemployment and living below the poverty line than whites (Ramirez & De La Cruz, 2003), and have an uninsured rate of 29%, more than double that of whites at 11% (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2012). These patterns increase the likelihood of poor health outcomes (Adler & Stewart, 2010; Marmot & Wilkinson, 1999; Marmot, 2005). Forty percent of Latinos are foreign-born (Ramirez & De La Cruz, 2003), and among these foreign born individuals is a substantial population of undocumented individuals totaling about 11 million (Passel & Cohn, 2012).

Latinos have mortality rates lower than the general U.S. population despite their lower socioeconomic status, with Latino mortality rates approaching population rates with

subsequent generations (Vega, Rodriguez, & Gruskin, 2009). Numerous factors have been hypothesized to contribute to this paradox, including an under-reporting of Latino deaths, a “salmon bias,” in which Latinos return to their countries of birth when preparing for death, and the healthy migrant effect, in which only the healthiest individuals immigrate to the United States (Franzini, Ribble, & Keddie, 2001). Notably, some studies have suggested that health and mortality rates of later Latino generations approach population norms due in part to an “acculturation” to unhealthy U.S. culture and adoption of poor health behaviors (Horevitz & Organista, 2012). These explanations, however, neglect the influence of structural and contextual factors that may produce and exacerbate social and economic inequalities (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007). Immigration law enforcement, especially when racially motivated (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), may serve as an illustrative example of structural challenges faced by Latino populations that may affect population health regardless of individual behavioral practices. Undocumented Latinos face additional challenges to health, which are detailed below.

2.2 Demographics of Undocumented Latinos

Latinos are estimated to comprise 81% of the 11 million undocumented immigrants in the United States, with 58% of undocumented immigrants coming from Mexico (Passel & Cohn, 2011). The undocumented population is younger on average than the general U.S. population, with less than 10% of the undocumented population over age 40 (Passel, 2005). There are approximately 1.7 million undocumented children in the United States (Passel, 2005), and undocumented immigrant households are more likely to contain children than households of U.S.-born citizens (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Estimates suggest there are about 2.3 million mixed-status families in the U.S. (Passel, 2011). About half of

undocumented immigrant households are composed of couples with children (Passel & Cohn, 2009), and approximately 340,000 (8%) of U.S. births occur to at least one undocumented parent (Passel & Cohn, 2011). The effects of deportation are thus intensified as the individuals removed are frequently linked to children and family members that remain behind.

Roughly half of undocumented immigrants reside in four states: California, Texas, Florida, and New York (Passel & Cohn, 2011). Two of these states, New York and Florida, showed population declines in undocumented immigrants from 2007 to 2010, paralleling the change in settlement patterns among undocumented immigrants to “new destination” states that previously had smaller foreign-born populations (Passel & Cohn, 2011; Passel, 2005). Michigan has seen the percentage of immigrants nearly double from 3.8% in 1990 to 6.1% in 2011 (Immigration Policy Center, 2013) with approximately 150,000 undocumented immigrants in the state (Passel & Cohn, 2011). However, even after this expansion, the percent of foreign born individuals in the state is smaller than the U.S. average of about 13% (Greico et al., 2012). Notably, much media attention highlighted the “surge” of immigrants to cross the border since 2012, with steady increases into 2014 (Park, 2014; Robinson, 2015). This includes a 77% increase in unaccompanied minors during that time period (U.S. Customs and Border Protection, 2014).

Undocumented Latinos face many of the sociocultural and health challenges faced by the Latino population broadly. As a backdrop to the experiences of undocumented Latinos facing the threat of deportation, I briefly discuss four challenges shared by most undocumented Latinos by virtue of their countries of origin and legal statuses: challenges

of surreptitious border crossing, dangerous working conditions, lack of healthcare access, and the stresses of legal surveillance.

2.2.1 Routes of entry and baseline health in the U.S. Routes of entry into the U.S. for undocumented immigrants vary largely by country of birth or emigration. Essentially, one “becomes” undocumented when he or she either 1) overstays the period of legal authorization to be in the country (i.e., staying beyond the terms of a work or student visa), or 2) enters surreptitiously through an international border. Pew Hispanic Center estimates that only 16% of Mexican and 27% of Central American undocumented immigrants overstayed their visas, compared to 91% of all other undocumented immigrants (2006). These experiences—crossing a border versus overstaying a visa—vary drastically in the health challenges involved and the physical and psychological sequelae that result. Crossing a border illegally is a journey filled with risk. Many immigrants die on the journey, and those who succeed often cope with rape, dehydration and other violence that occurred en route (De León, 2016; Falcón, 2001; Perez Foster, 2001). Additionally, large amounts of debt are frequently acquired during the border crossing, as “coyotes” (human smugglers) charge fees to navigate crossers through the border, with the price increasing as border security expands (Gathmann, 2008).

2.2.2 Dangerous work. Unable to work legally, undocumented Latinos often take jobs that entail increased risk, with high rates of work related injury (Mehta, Theodore, Mora, & Wade, 2002; Orrenius & Zavodny, 2009; Walter, Bourgois, & Loinaz, 2004). In a detailed study of undocumented workers in Chicago, Mehta and colleagues (2002) found that one third of the undocumented population surveyed was employed in cleaning, janitorial, hand-packing, assembly, or restaurant jobs, and that the unsafe working

conditions encountered in these professions included a lack of necessary safety equipment or training or work with dangerous machines. Yet only a small percentage of undocumented immigrants contact authorities to report poor working conditions due to fear of deportation (Holmes, 2007; Mehta et al., 2002). When injured, undocumented immigrants may further find it difficult to adequately and continuously treat these work-related injuries due to lack of health care access (discussed in the next section) and hourly pay with no available paid leave (Walter et al., 2004).

2.2.3 Lack of healthcare access and avoidance of services. Undocumented immigrants are categorically excluded from most federally funded public health insurance programs including Medicaid, Medicare, and the Child Health Insurance Program (Gusmano, 2012). Some states, however, use funds to offer insurance coverage to undocumented children (Gusmano, 2012). Other care comes through Federally Qualified Health Centers (FQHCs) and Migrant Health Centers, which receive funding from the Health Resources and Services Administration and utilize sliding fee scales. Even with the implementation of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA), undocumented immigrants are not considered “qualified” for coverage and are restricted from purchasing health insurance through state exchanges (§ 1312(f)(3) (Gusmano, 2012; Jost, 2010). Thus, undocumented immigrants may obtain health insurance coverage by purchasing it out-of-pocket, or when provided through their employers (through work obtained using a false social security number and therefore illegally).

Undocumented immigrants often do not access medical care because of fear of interaction with authorities that may lead to the disclosure of their immigration statuses (Hacker et al., 2011, 2015, 2012). This avoidance has been shown in some studies to result

in delayed care seeking, interrupted medical care and unaddressed needs (Asch et al., 1994; Berk & Schur, 2001; Blewett et al., 2003; Chavez, 2012; Hacker et al., 2015; Maldonado et al., 2013).

2.2.4 Generalized fear of deportation. Nascent research suggests that fear of deportation not only prevents undocumented immigrants from accessing care, but independently contributes to negative psychological and emotional health (Garcia & Keyes, 2012; Hacker et al., 2011; Talavera, Núñez-Mchiri, & Heyman, 2010). In focus groups conducted among foreign-born individuals in Everett, Massachusetts, Hacker and colleagues (2011) describe a fear of a deportation process that is arbitrary, unpredictable, and omnipresent. This fear in turn was related to feelings of anxiety and hopelessness among both documented and undocumented individuals in the sample, some of whom were Latino.

Garcia and Keyes (2012) describe the experiences of undocumented immigrants in North County, California, and find that the perpetual fear of deportation limited individuals willingness to move about their own neighborhoods. For example, when asked to discuss the activities “of most concern in everyday life,” about two-thirds of participants mentioned that “driving a car” and “walking in public,” were sources of concern. To address this anxiety, immigrants avoided public places in which immigration enforcement actions may occur and attempted to blend in when in public space (Garcia & Keyes, 2012). In quantitative work, Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, and Spitznagel (2007) found that Latinos who were worried about deportation were more likely to experience negative health and emotional states. Arbona and colleagues (2010) found similar results among documented and undocumented Mexican and Central American immigrants in Texas, with about a third

of documented and 80% of undocumented Latinos avoiding activities due to fear of deportation. This fear of deportation also predicted increases in extra- and intra-familial acculturation stress.

2.3 Latinos and Undocumented Latinos in Michigan

Michigan is home to about 475,000 Latinos, or about 4.8 % of the state's population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014b). The demographics of Latinos in Michigan roughly mirrors that of Latinos nationwide, with a median age of 25 years, 16 years younger than the median age of Whites. With a median income of \$18,000, Latinos make \$10,000 less than the median for Whites and are more than twice as likely to live in poverty. Similar to national trends, one-fifth of Michigan Latinos are uninsured, with this number rising to nearly 50% when considering only foreign-born Latinos (Pew Research Center, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 2014a). The rate is undoubtedly higher among undocumented Latinos.

Michigan's position on an international border is notable. Immigrant communities in cities such as Detroit that are located within 100 miles of an international border encounter both increased numbers of CBP and ICE agents (descriptions forthcoming) as well as an expansion of immigration law enforcement powers. About 150,000 undocumented immigrants live in Michigan (Passel & Cohn, 2011), and the state has received national attention for a number of policies related to undocumented immigrants. Most notably, after President Obama issued Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), a legal designation that permits young undocumented immigrants that arrived in the United States while young to live and work without the threat of deportation for a two-year period, the Secretary of State's office under Ruth Johnson prohibited DACA-approved youth from acquiring driver's licenses. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a suit on

behalf of OneMichigan, a Detroit-based activist group, claiming that the Department of State violated the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause by discriminating against undocumented youth (American Civil Liberties Union, 2013). The Department of State changed course and allowed DACA-approved individuals to receive driver's licenses (Warikoo, 2013). This ruling followed seven years after the Attorney General denied undocumented immigrants generally the right to driver's licenses.

Many of the health challenges associated with undocumented status both in Michigan and the United States generally stem from patterns in immigration law enforcement and policy. Below, I describe the relevant laws and policy changes that affect undocumented immigrants in the U.S.

2.4 Immigration Law Enforcement in the U.S.

The context of immigration enforcement has changed drastically following the events of September 11, 2001 (henceforth: 9/11), in which 19 individuals hijacked commercial airliners, two of which were flown into the World Trade Center, one of which was flown into the Pentagon, and the last of which crashed in southern Pennsylvania (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 2004). The Homeland Security Act (116 Stat. 2135), passed a year later in 2002, created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), which absorbed the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS).

With this reorganization came a restructuring of the INS into three organizations, ICE, CBP, and the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) as shown in Table 2.1, and who together enforce U.S. immigration laws (Department of Homeland Security, 2013). DHS aims to coordinate a national strategy in order to “ensure a homeland that is safe,

secure, and resilient against terrorism and other hazards.” The individual missions of each DHS component reflect this larger DHS strategy, as ICE aims to “promote homeland security and public safety” (Department of Homeland Security, n.d.-b) while CBP’s mission is to keep “terrorists and their weapons out of the U.S. while facilitating international travel and trade” (Department of Homeland Security, n.d.-a). This transformation highlighted the transition from federal immigration law as labor control to immigration law as a tool of maintaining national security and managing terrorism (De Genova, 2002). On the ground, this has had the effect of conflating criminal and immigration law and increasingly casting immigrants as violent foreign threats (De Genova, 2002; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; Kanstroom, 2012; Stumpf, 2006).

Table 2.1

Reorganization of Immigration and Nationalization Services into the Department of Homeland Security

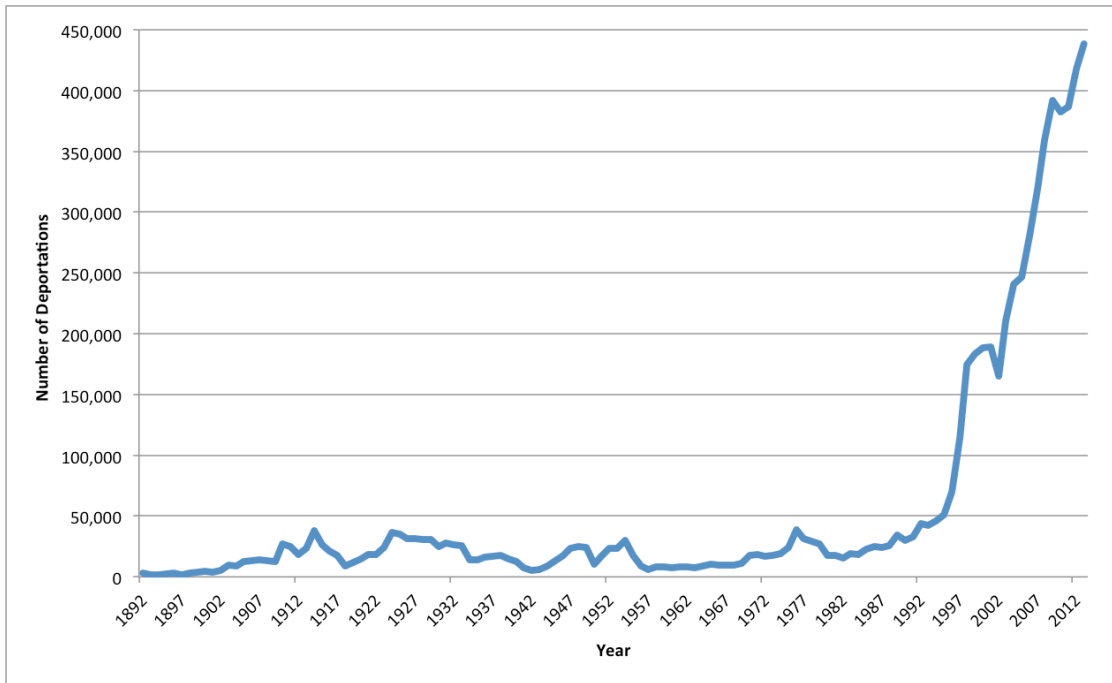
Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) Department	Department of Homeland Security (DHS) Rough Equivalent	Primary function
Services	U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS)	Oversee lawful U.S. immigration
Inspection and Border Protection	U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP)	Enforce immigration laws at international U.S. borders
Investigations, Intelligence, Detention, and Removal	U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)	Enforce U.S. immigration laws, mostly in interior of the U.S.

2.4.1 Immigration enforcement in the U.S. interior. The focus on threat and national security contributed both to increased border militarization efforts and a steep increase in interior enforcement, or the use of policing strategies designed to find “criminal aliens” within U.S. borders (Golash-Boza, 2012). As seen in Table 2.2, there has been a steady increase in deportations⁴, with a few exceptions, since 1982, peaking in 2013 with about 438,000 (Simanski, 2014; United States Department of Homeland Security, 2014). This increase in deportations, that pre-dates 9/11, suggests that anti-immigrant sentiment is not new (Heyman, 2014).

⁴ “Removals” are colloquially referred to as “deportations.” However, “deportation” can also be used in referencing someone “returned” at the border (i.e., “He was deported by the Border Patrol in Texas”). “Deportation” does not have any specific legal meaning.

Table 2.2

Removals (Deportations) from the U.S. from 1892 to 2013



Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Customs and Border Protection (CBP) U.S. Border Patrol (USBP), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Homeland Security Investigations (HSI), and the Office of Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO). Yearbook of Immigration Statistics: 2013. Enforcement Actions, Table 39.

This increase in immigration law enforcement has also included a change in proportion of “removals” and “returns” among undocumented immigrants.

“Returns” occur when a CBP agent prevents the entry of an undocumented immigrant into the United States and “returns” him to his home country. “Removals” involve attending a hearing, or waiving one’s right to do so. Generally speaking, CBP performs return operations, while ICE is largely responsible for removals (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2015). In 2011, the number of removals surpassed the number of returns for the first time since 1941 (Golash-Boza &

Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; United States Department of Homeland Security, 2014), insinuating an increased focus on internal immigration law enforcement.

In communities, however, individuals often do not distinguish between CBP and ICE (i.e., Adler, 2006; Slack, Martinez, Whiteford, & Peiffer, 2013), and many communities experience the presence of both simultaneously. For example, some work has considered the “constitution free zone” in which CBP can search and seize property without a warrant (American Civil Liberties Union, n.d.; Miller, 2014), but communities within 100 miles of including parts of Washtenaw County, Michigan, , among them, *also* face immigration law enforcement by ICE and state and local police.

Interior immigration law enforcement is aided by collaboration between federal immigration agencies and local and state law enforcement agencies described in the next section.

2.4.1.1 Increased collaboration with local law enforcement: 287(g) and Secure Communities. The spike in resources in DHS generally and ICE specifically has increased the presence of immigration enforcement officers in communities in the interior of the U.S. (Golash-Boza, 2012). However, DHS has additionally recruited state and local police officers to serve as “force multipliers” for federal immigration law enforcement (Kobach, 2005) since at least 1996, when the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act added Section 287(g) to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (which formed the basis of immigration law). Section 287(g) allowed state and local law officers to enter into agreements with federal immigration officials (“287(g) agreements”) to carry out federal

immigration law enforcement (Khashu, 2009). The first 287(g) agreement was implemented shortly after 9/11, in 2002, with up to 72 agreements existing in 2011 (Capps, Rosenblum, Rodríguez, & Chishti, 2011; Rosenblum & Kandel, 2011). In practice, 287(g) agreements turned local and state law enforcement agents into federal immigration officials that check DHS databases for immigration status information, interview immigrants about their immigration statuses, issue ICE detainers (in which individuals are held for up to 48 hours for pick up by ICE), place immigration charges, recommend voluntary departure, and transfer arrestees to ICE custody (Capps et al., 2011).

The “Secure Communities” program similarly served as a “force multiplier” that expanded the reach of federal immigration enforcement through collaboration with local law enforcement. Secure Communities was an information sharing program between DHS and the Department of Justice (DOJ) in which the DOJ used biometric data to screen individuals as they are booked into jails (Rosenblum & Kandel, 2011). ICE agents then decided whether to issue a detainer that requires the individual be held for 48 hours following his criminal proceedings to permit ICE to take the individual into custody. Bogado (2014) of the online media site “Colorlines” provides a concise explanation of Secure Communities:

The program—which began in 2008 under President George W. Bush and escalated under by [sic] President Obama—required local jails and prisons to hand over the fingerprints of anyone being processed to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), including people who hadn't yet had their day in

court. If ICE deemed the person a threat it would issue them a so-called detainer, a 48-hour hold in a local jail or prison.

-Bogado (2014)

Critiques of 287(g) and Secure Communities are many. Primarily, arguments have been made that when immigration law is enacted by state and local law enforcement agencies, the sense of trust between police officers and immigrant communities is undermined, stunting the ability of police officers to keep communities safe (Golash-Boza, 2012; Khashu, 2009; Slack et al., 2013). Other critiques include the distraction of police attention, the use of police resources, racist enforcement, and the inability of police departments to opt out of Secure Communities, despite the original goal of enhancing collaboration (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013; Kanstroom, 2012).

One final criticism of Secure Communities is that it has simply removed non-criminal and low-level offenders, not the “dangerous criminals” it aimed to apprehend, for example, this can be seen readily in ICE data on Secure Community apprehensions, in which the majority of arrestees have no criminal history (National Immigration Forum, 2011). As of 2013, all 3,181 jurisdictions nationwide had been “activated” to Secure Communities (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2013), with Washtenaw County, the location of the current study, joining Secure Communities on March 29th, 2011.

2.4.1.2 Priority Enforcement Program. However, Secure Communities was discontinued on November of 2014 in favor of DHS’s Priority Enforcement Program (PEP). In a memo sent out by Jeh Johnson, the Secretary of the Department of

Homeland Security, Johnson discontinued the program due to the criticism and entanglement in litigation and refusal on the parts of governors, mayors, and local and state law enforcement to cooperate (Johnson, 2014b). This memo instructed ICE officers to continue to rely on fingerprint data submitted after an arrest (as was done with Secure Communities), but only to seek the transfer of an arrestee who falls into certain categories of the Priority Enforcement Program (detailed below). Further, if ICE officers wish to detain an individual after he is released by local law enforcement, officers must specify that the person is subject to a final order of removal or other sufficient probable cause. Thus, while the use of fingerprinting data is still in effect, there will theoretically be fewer arrestees detained by ICE following release by local police. The ACLU contends that the differences between Secure Communities, 287(g), and the PEP program are hard to discern, and, without clarification, PEP could be “more of the same under a different name” (American Civil Liberties Union, 2014a, p. 1).

In a second memo sent by Jeh Johnson on November 20th of 2014 (Johnson, 2014a), Johnson provided “department-wide guidance” (p. 1) to promote the prioritization of the removal of “threats to national security, public safety, and border security.” Johnson states, “DHS can and should develop smart enforcement priorities, and ensure that use of its limited resources is devoted to the pursuit of those priorities” (p. 2). PEP details three priorities for immigration enforcement actions, described below.

Priority 1 individuals include those who are deemed “threats to national security, border security, and public safety.” Included in this category, are

immigrants apprehended at the border while trying to enter unlawfully as well as those convicted of “aggravated felonies” as defined in the Immigration and Nationality Act. Notably, The American Immigration Council (2012) has described the misleading phrasing of “aggravated felonies,” many of which are neither felonies nor violent (as “aggravated” would imply). For example, these crimes include filing a forged tax return and failing to appear in court (American Immigration Council, 2012).

Priority 2 includes “misdemeanants and new immigration violators” including “aliens apprehended anywhere in the United States after unlawfully entering or re-entering the United States and who cannot establish to the satisfaction of an immigration officer that they have been physically present in the United States continuously since January 1, 2014.” Priority 3 is composed of “other immigration violations,” which includes individuals who have been issued a final order of removal on or after January 1, 2014.

While the DHS proposes to prioritize criminals who are a dangerous threat to national security, these priorities allow for a broad range of arrests of nonthreatening immigrants with no criminal history other than a recent border crossing. While DHS is aiming to quickly return individuals from the “surge” in 2014, quick movement in bureaucratic years is not the same as quick movement in communities. Many of these new arrivals may have already integrated into families, homes, schools, and communities, and their prioritization for removal can similarly have impact on communities in which they live.

2.4.1.3 Enforcement and Removal Operations. Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) is the branch of ICE responsible for enforcing the removal of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. and ensuring their deportations. In his summary of immigration enforcement actions for 2013, Simanski (2014) describes ERO thusly:

Officers and agents of ICE Enforcement and Removal Operations (ERO) serve as the primary enforcement arm within ICE for the identification, apprehension, and removal of certain aliens from the United States. ERO transports removable aliens, manages aliens in custody or subject in conditions of release, and removes individuals ordered to be removed from the United States (Simanski 2014).

The official ERO webpage on the ICE website describes their mission as guided by three aims, as seen in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3

Aims of Enforcement and Removal Operations

- 1) ERO enforces the nation's immigration laws in a fair and effective manner. It identifies and apprehends removable aliens, detains these individuals when necessary and removes illegal aliens from the United States.
- 2) ERO prioritizes the apprehension, arrest, and removal of convicted criminals, those who pose a threat to national security, fugitives and recent border entrants. Individuals seeking asylum also work with the ERO.
- 3) ERO transports removable aliens from point to point, manages aliens in custody or in an alternative to detention program, provides access to legal resources and representatives of advocacy groups and removes individuals in the United States who have been ordered to be deported.

Source: <https://www.ice.gov/ero>. Accessed May 5th, 2016

ERO activity has increased drastically in the past decade. In 2006, the first year in which data was collected, ERO apprehended about 15,000 individuals. This figure nearly doubled in 2007, before increasing about twenty fold to its peak of 322,000 in 2011 (United States Department of Homeland Security, 2014).

ERO highlights “illegal aliens” and “convicted criminals and those who pose a threat to national security” as the targets of their enforcement. Officers within the ERO are responsible for conducting home raids (L. Gomez, personal communication, April 18th, 2016).

2.4.1.4 Immigration work raids. Arrests in the interior of the U.S. may occur in the form of work raids. In a typical work raid, ICE agents arrive early in the morning in a large number of vehicles, possibly including buses. Workers are assembled in central locations and ICE agents separate them into groups by their presumed legal statuses. Agents request to see documents. Guns may or may not be drawn, but agents are usually armed and wearing body armor. Arrestees are relocated, often by bus, to detention centers for “processing” (Golash-Boza, 2012; Thronson, 2008). Large-scale work raids, which may involve arrests of more than 350 workers (Golash-Boza, 2012), have significantly declined after they attracted wide spread media attention and criticism for human rights violations (Camacho, 2010; Camayd-Freixas, 2008; Capps et al., 2007; Grey, Devlin, & Goldsmith, 2009; Kanstroom, 2012; Kaskade, 2009). Yet media reports⁵ of small scale work raids persist (e.g., Falce, 2014).

⁵ Work raids have made their way into popular media as well. See for example the music video “El Hielo” by the Latin music group “La Santa Cecilia” (Montgomery, 2013).

2.4.1.5 Immigration home raids. Arrests in the interior of the U.S. may also take the form of immigration home raids. A typical home raid often occurs in the pre-dawn hours when occupants of the residence in question are still sleeping. Agents, often with guns drawn and wearing body armor, surround the house, pound on doors and windows, and enter the home after receiving consent—though this is heavily contested (Evans, 2009). Once inside, occupants are placed in a central location to be interrogated. If the targeted individual of the raid is present, she is apprehended and taken to ICE offices for processing. If other individuals present are suspected of being undocumented, they are taken as “collateral” arrests. Documents and other possessions may be requested and are sometimes not returned. Because immigrants rarely live alone, these arrests frequently include witnesses, often children (Adler, 2006; Allen et al., 2013; Bernstein, 2007; Capps et al., 2007; Evans, 2009; Golash-Boza, 2012; Kanstroom, 2012; Mendelson et al., 2009; Sanders et al., 2013; Satinsky et al., 2013; Treadwell, 2011).

Table 2.4 summarizes the existing law reviews, research articles, and reports I identified for which home raids were one of the primary focuses. Taken together, these documents illustrate a pattern of repeated rights violations (Adler, 2006; Evans, 2009; Treadwell, 2011) by ICE agents who are housed within a program that is inefficient at finding and apprehending individuals that pose a legitimate threat to safety (Mendelson et al., 2009), and whose enforcement actions engender negative results on the children of deported or detained parents (Chaudry et al., 2010; Wessler, 2011).

However, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the health effects of home raids specifically from these documents for at least three reasons. First, home raids and work raids are often undifferentiated. This is the case in two of the most frequently cited reports on immigration enforcement raids, *Facing Our Future: Children in the Aftermath of Immigration Enforcement* (Chaudry et al., 2010) and *Shattered Families: The Perilous Intersection of Immigration Enforcement and the Child Welfare System* (Wessler, 2011). Large-scale worksite raids, which may involve the arrest of over 350 workers and targeting of even more, differ substantially from home raids in which multiple agents enter into a residential property.

Notably, the use of immigration home raids has intensified in 2016 (Markon & Nakamura, 2015), despite arguments that such raids are inhumane (Kim & French, 2016). In combination with the enforcement priorities instated by PEP described previously, these raids may, and have, targeted those who have recently arrived from Central America or Mexico, including women and children (Harris, 2015; Markon & Nakamura, 2015). This highlights one of the major concerns that arise from grouping recent arrivals among enforcement priorities: recent arrivals may fall into priority categories solely because of arrival date, not any criminal history or security threat.

Table 2.4

Law Reviews, Research and Reports that Focus on or Highlight Immigration Raids

Study Citation	Study focus and methodology	Primary findings	Descriptions of home raid(s)
Law reviews			
Evans, K. (2009). The ICE storm in U.S. homes: An urgent call for policy change. <i>NYU Review of Law & Social Change</i> , 33, 561–611.	Fourth Amendment (the right of individuals to be safe from unreasonable searches and seizures in their own homes) violations; law review	ICE agents regularly violate the Constitution during home raids	Forced or manipulative entry, collateral arrest, possessions confiscated and not returned, ignored request for warrant, physical injury,
Treadwell, N. (2011). Fugitive operations and the fourth amendment: Representing immigrants arrested in warrantless home raids. <i>North Carolina Law Review</i> , 89, 507–567.	Study presents grounds on which immigrants may suppress evidence that was illegally-acquired by ICE during raids; review of ICE raids from public sources, law review	Home raids violate Fourth Amendment when they take place without consent of household member	Unlawful entry, ICE uses “violent, demeaning, and threatening conduct” to conduct raids including broken down doors drawn guns
Social Science articles			
Adler, R. H. (2006). “But they claimed to be police, not la migrat’”: The interaction of residency status, class, and ethnicity in a (post-PATRIOT Act) New Jersey neighborhood. <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> , 50(1), 48–69. doi:10.1177/0002764206289654	The influence of residency status on migrants of different countries of origin.	Home raids involve violation of 4 th amendment rights by ICE agents when the entry occurs without consent	Yelling, threatening to break door or use tear gas, breaking down front door, threats with firearms, arrests without question of identity, questionable entry (identifying as “police”). Early morning entry
Sanders, L., Martinez, R., Harner, M., Harner, M., Horner, P., & Delva, J. (2013). Grassroots responsiveness to human rights abuse: History of the Washenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights. <i>Social Work</i> , 58(2), 1–9. doi:10.1093/sw/swt004	History of an advocacy organization as model for social work advocacy.	One particular immigrant rights organization emerged in response to punitive immigration practices and human rights abuses (raid)	Pushed to floor at gunpoint, child witnesses, yelling, punched hole in door, property confiscated, collaboration with local authorities

Study Citation	Study focus and methodology	Primary findings	Descriptions of home raid(s)
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Reports

Chaudry, A., Capps, R., Pedroza, J. M., Castañeda, R. M., Santos, R., & Scott, M. (2010). <i>Facing our future: Children in the aftermath of immigration enforcement</i> . doi:10.1037/e726272011-001	Consequences of home and worksite raids on parental arrest, detention, and deportation on children following home and work raids; data collected based on interviews after raids occurred	Parent-child separations following raids pose risk to children safety, economic security, long-term development, and well-being	No specific description of home raids
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Mendelson, M., Strom, S., & Wishnie, M. (2009). <i>Collateral damage: An examination of ICE's Fugitive Operations Program</i> . Washington, D. C.	Conduct and accomplishments of the National Fugitive Operations Program	NFOP budget has climbed rapidly; 73% of arrests by NFOP have no criminal conviction; a quota system lead to a 35% increase in arrests of "collateral"	No specific description of home raids
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Wessler, S. F. (2011). <i>Shattered families: The perilous intersection of immigration enforcement and the child welfare system</i> . New York, NY.	Extent to which children in foster care are able to reunite with detained and deported parents	At least 5,100 children live in the foster care system after their parents were deported, with increased likelihood of this occurring in areas with collaboration between police and immigration officials	No specific description of home raids
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2.4.1.6 Gendered immigration law enforcement. For some time, immigration law has focused on facilitating the arrival of men for production while restricting the migration of women in order to limit their reproduction (and consequential, it is assumed, drain on social resources) (Chavez, 2013b; Ngai, 2004). However, some scholars have suggested that, following the events of 9/11, the construction of the dangerous immigrant has shifted away from women towards a “new danger that is masculine, personified by terrorist men and ‘criminal aliens’” (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013, p. 273).

With this rhetorical shift has come a steep increase in the deportations of Latino men. While DHS no longer publishes statistics on the gender of deportees, studies from countries to which immigrants are deported continue to find that the vast majority of deportees are men (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013). This “gendered racial removal program” (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013) is codified into law via a number of mechanisms, some of which are highlighted here. First, the emphasis on prosecutorial discretion (that is, encouraging individual ICE agents to decide who to arrest, detain, and prosecute) privileges undocumented mothers. Specifically, the “Morton Memo,” a series of directives released by then-ICE director John Morton in 2011, requests that agents consider whether “the person is a primary caretaker of a person with a mental or physical disability, minor, or seriously ill relative” or “whether the person or the person’s spouse is pregnant or nursing” (Morton, 2011, p. 4). Secondly, undocumented men traverse public space more often than undocumented women when, for example, they leave the house to

work, often driving illegally to do so. This in turn creates more opportunities to encounter local police, who then collaborate with immigration enforcement. For example, in an analysis of Secure Community data, Kohli and Chavez (2013) found that 88% of individuals sent to immigration authorities after an encounter with local law enforcement in California are men of color (60% of whom have a U.S. citizen child).

However, despite composing a smaller portion of deportees, Latina women continue to be deported as well (Dreby, 2012a). Those left behind after deportation experience the social, emotional, and economic challenges of a family or community member's abrupt removal. Some research has considered how children adjust after parental deportation, chronicling the changes in family dynamic, economic security, and mental health (Chaudry et al., 2010; Delva et al., 2013; Horner et al., 2014; Zayas, 2015).

Very little work has considered how Latinas experience the deportation of their male husbands or partners. Though focusing on the effect of deportation on children, Dreby (2012a) found that for women whose husbands had been deported, "deportation was also a gendered process in that it resulted not just in single parenthood, but sudden single motherhood" (p. 836). The effects of removing the primary provider caused women to seek out more work and move to less expensive living arrangements, potentially uprooting their children's lives during an emotionally challenging period. The alterations to family dynamics were also impactful. Drawing on interviews with two women, Dreby (2012, p. 837) states: "When temporarily separated from their children because of incarceration in Perla's

case and a trial separation in Gladys's case, both fathers remained in contact with their children. As deportees, neither did." Doering-White et. al. (2014) analyzed the "*testimonios*" of undocumented mothers, some of whom experienced the deportation of their husbands. One key finding included women's tendency to split finances between the U.S. and Mexico in order to prepare for the possibility of their own deportations.

2.5 Relevance of the Dissertation and Need for Further Research

Latinos in the U.S. are a young and growing population (Passel & Cohn, 2008; Rumbaut, 2010) who disproportionately face structural challenges—such as higher rates of poverty and lower levels of education and lack of health insurance (Ramirez & De La Cruz, 2003)—to maintaining health and well-being. Undocumented Latinos face additional challenges to their health, including trauma and loss when crossing the border (Passel & Cohn, 2008; Rumbaut, 2010), work related injuries and risk (Mehta et al., 2002), a lack of healthcare access (Gusmano, 2012), an avoidance of healthcare services (Hacker et al., 2015), and generalized stress of deportation (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007).

The communities in which Latinos live are coming under increased surveillance and scrutiny due to immigration law enforcement programs that collaborate with local law enforcement, such as, beginning in 2015, PEP. Emerging work has shown that surveillance, alongside the blurring of federal and immigration law enforcement agencies, decreases the willingness of undocumented immigrants to access services, call the police, or use public space (Asch et al., 1994; Hacker et al., 2011), with emerging research suggesting that these the effects extend to Latino

citizens (Blewett et al., 2003; Pew Hispanic Center, 2007) and family members as well (Castañeda & Melo, 2014; O’Leary & Sanchez, 2011).

This study focuses on the effects of one immigration home raid—the critical case (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015)—allowing for greater specificity of the health effects of this type of interior immigration enforcement. To date, the most extensive scholarly work devoted to immigration home raids has come from legal scholars (Evans, 2009; Treadwell, 2011) who focus on infringements of Fourth Amendment rights. While this work is extremely valuable in its detailed documentation of how home raids unfold, it stops short of considering the health effects of this particularly violent method of immigration law enforcement and does not draw from first-hand interviews of those involved in the raids themselves. The dissertation addresses this gap, as it focuses on health effects and draws directly on the voices of those involved in an immigration raid.

Further, when reports on raids discuss health, they often do so with a purposeful focus on children (Chaudry et al., 2010; Doering-White et al., 2014; Horner et al., 2014; Wessler, 2011). Certainly the conversations on the health of mixed-status communities benefit from a shift away from discussions of solely those who are undocumented to consider their families as well. However, children, whether citizens or undocumented, benefit from a range of legal protections inaccessible to adults. By considering mixed-status Latino families, this dissertation investigates the health effects amid the possibility of deportation, an enforcement tactic generally not used with children.

Using a conceptual framework of “illegality,” I consider how federal immigration law may shape the social positions of members of mixed-status communities in ways that place them at risks for negative health outcomes. In the next section, I discuss the conceptual framework of “illegality”

2.6. Illegality as a Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework of “illegality” is one way to understand how federal immigration laws affect the lives of undocumented Latinos, with consequences on health and well-being. “Illegality,” henceforth without quotations for ease of use, can best be understood as a juridical status created by the state (De Genova, 2002). As scholars (De Genova, 2002; Heyman, 2001; Willen, 2007) have illustrated, this status in turn creates a precarious social position for undocumented immigrants that becomes “embodied” when health care is avoided, delayed, or interrupted, individuals are confined to their homes for fear of deportation, or a pervasive fear of arrest increases psychological distress (Willen, 2012b). Below I describe two important ways in which this conceptual framework guides the forthcoming analyses.

First, a conceptual framework of illegality creates the space to consider multiple stakeholders in the shaping of undocumented immigrant health. That is, a legal status must be interpreted by the medical practitioners, advocates, politicians, law enforcement officers, and other citizens that interact with the undocumented individual (Willen, 2012b). For example, Willen (2005) discusses the ability of advocates to serve as interlocutors for Israeli migrant workers, while Holmes (2007, 2012) considered the medical professionals that work with undocumented Mexican

native farm workers. In this dissertation, I likewise consider multiple stakeholders who enforce, experience, shape, and react to immigration law. Secondly, Coutin's (1998, 2000) foundational work on illegality focused overtly on Salvadorans' attempts to gain legal permanent residency through advocacy work. I return to Coutin's focus and consider if and how illegality can be manipulated by advocates and members of mixed-status communities in order to mitigate negative health effects.

Third, a conceptual framework of illegality shifts analysis away from a demographic *group* and toward a legally created *status*. This changed emphasis prevents the reification of a population (the "undocumented") that is not culturally or geographically bound, but socially intertwined with individuals of all legal statuses. As De Genova (2002) states, "undocumented migrants... do not comprise an objectively or intrinsically self-delimiting domain for anthropological study....[C]oncretely, there are no hermetically sealed communities of undocumented immigrants " (p. 422); neither should undocumented immigrants constitute a bounded sociocultural group for public health analysis. In this dissertation, I similarly avoid utilizing a sample—undocumented immigrants—that, while functional analytically, ignores the familial and community links of individuals in this category. This conceptual framework of illegality is outlined in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5

Conceptual Outline of Illegality Framework

	Questions that guide analysis	Relevant literature	Examples	Possible relevance to health
	Who interprets this status? How do they act upon it?	Willen 2012a Holmes 2007, 20012 Larchancé 2012 Hacker et al., 2011	Local police officers interpret immigration status in non-immigration encounters. How do they react? What do they choose to question and what do they ignore? What laws—immigration or otherwise—do they enforce? Why?	Use of public space; access to social services; interpersonal discrimination
Illegality as juridically created status (De Genova, 2002)	Can the meaning of the status and treatment of those with it, be altered, manipulated, or reconstituted?	Coutin 1998, 2000	Advocates may attempt to de-stigmatize undocumented individuals, clarify local laws about immigration status, or educate the community about undocumented status. Others may cast undocumented status as criminal or threatening to national security. How is this status—and the meaning it imbues—manipulated? By whom? When and to what end?	Mitigation of negative health effects; possibility for intervention
	What are the familial and community links of those given this status?	De Genova 2002 Chavez 2007	Legal status is one of many statuses and identities that shape individuals' lives. What are others? What are other relationships that extend from these identities?	Effects of gender and familial identities; familial and community linkages and social support; extension of effects of immigration law to social networks

2.7 Research Aims

This study investigates the health implications of an immigration raid that occurred in Washtenaw County, MI, on November 7th of 2013 in a mixed-status Latino community. Three research aims guide the study. These aims are listed below:

Aim 1: To investigate how the 11/7 raid affected social service utilization patterns in the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred;

Aim 2: To consider how the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred shaped the effects of the raid, and consider if and how the raid in turn affected the sociocultural context; and

Aim 3: To investigate how different stakeholders shape, enforce, contribute and react to, and combat immigration law enforcement practices.

Using a conceptual framework of illegality, this critical case study investigates the local, site-specific effects of one immigration raid on the health and well-being of a mixed-status Latino community, and how these effects may be reflected in raids across the country.

Chapter 3

Methods

“One of the things that I’ve been able to convince my administration of is if you guys really want to do community engagement it is not going to happen between 9 and 5 in a grey cubical. It’s just not.”

-Renee, epidemiologist at Washtenaw County Public Health, March 12, 2015

“A mixed methods way of thinking is an orientation toward social inquiry that actively invites us to participate in dialogue about multiple ways of seeing and hearing, multiple ways of making sense of the social world, and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be valued and cherished.”

-Greene, 2008, p. 20

3.1 Methods Overview

This dissertation is a critical case study that uses qualitative and quantitative data and a mixed methods approach to investigate an immigration raid that occurred on November 11th, 2013 in Washtenaw County, Michigan. The following chapter is organized by each method (qualitative followed by quantitative) and by

data collection followed by analysis within each. Case-studies are used “to gain a broader appreciation of an issue or phenomenon” (Crowe et al., 2011, p. 2) that can be used to facilitate understanding of similar phenomena (Baxter & Jack, 2008). “Critical cases” are cases in which the specific case “is itself particularly important and/or similar to other important cases” (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015, p. 75). This particular case study is a “critical” case study in that many elements of the case resemble those from other cases like it (see Table 2.4), including the presence of numerous heavily armored officers who yelled commands and pointed weapons at individuals who were not the targets of the raid, the hour in which the raid occurred, the collateral arrest, and the children as witnesses. In order to understand how the case resembles other cases like it, the data gathered about the case should aim to be “holistic and context sensitive” (Luck, Jackson, & Usher, 2006; Patton, 2002).

Selection of methods in case study approaches is based on the methods’ utility in addressing the research aims and type of data available (Luck et al., 2006; Luck, Jackson, & Usher, 2007). Because little research characterizes the effects of immigration home raids (see Table 2.4), I use qualitative and quantitative data collection to create a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of the 11/7 raid (the critical case), including the individuals involved and the context in which it occurred, while relying on a conceptual framework of illegality (De Genova, 2002; Willen, 2007) to guide data collection and analysis.

3.2 Quantitative data

3.2.1 Quantitative data collection.

3.2.1.1 The Encuesta Buenos Vecinos (EBV). Data from the *Encuesta Buenos Vecinos* (EBV; “Good Neighbor Survey”) are used primarily to address Aim 1 (social service utilization) and Aim 2 (sociocultural context). The EBV was a collaborative study between the University of Michigan School of Public Health, Washtenaw County Public Health (WCPH), and Casa Latina, a community-based organization that supports Latinos in Washtenaw County. The survey included 487 Latinos in Washtenaw County. The EBV was supported by grant funds from the U.S. Housing and Urban Development: Sustainable Communities Project, Michigan Institute for Clinical & Health Research: Community University Research Partnership (Grant No. 2UL1TR000433-06), Michigan Department of Community Health: Health Equity Capacity Building Project, and WCPH. I obtained permission to use the data from the EBV team on September 9, 2014 and received an exemption from regulation from the University of Michigan Institutional Review Board to conduct human subjects research using these data on December 12, 2014.

The survey was born from the need to better understand the social determinants of health that affected the Latino population in Washtenaw County, a population that was inadequately represented in community-wide surveys. The survey aimed to provide a robust baseline measure of health status and social determinants of health among Latinos while increasing the capacity of WCPH, Casa Latina staff, and the University of Michigan School of Public Health to engage in health promoting research and intervention. The survey queried a broad range of topics, including health-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, health behaviors, access to health care, sources of health information, family planning, child health,

social support and conflict, social and neighborhood conditions, immigration issues, and economic opportunities (Ledón, Kruger, & Waller, 2014).

The survey was conducted both online and via face-to-face interviews by trained staff who were trusted members of the communities in which they interviewed. Investigators began by considering the demographic composition of Census Tracts in Washtenaw County with the greatest proportion of Latino residents. During data collection, investigators steered data collection toward underrepresented groups and geographic areas. The resulting sample is considered by WCPH to provide the best and most representative depiction of Latinos in Washtenaw County (Ledón et al., 2014).

Inclusion criteria for the survey included: being at least 18 years of age, a resident of Washtenaw County, and identifying as Latino. The sample was 57.4% women, with a mean age of 36.6 years ($SD = 13.7$ years), had lived in the United States for 15.3 years ($SD = 10.9$ years; range 0 to 69 years) and in Washtenaw County for 9.1 years ($SD = 7.6$ years; range 0 to 60 years). Eighty-four point three percent of the sample was born outside of the U.S., mostly in Mexico (43.7% of the foreign-born) or Central America (28.9% of the foreign-born). Participants had on average 12.0 years of education ($SD = 4.4$ years). About three quarters of participants spoke primarily Spanish in the home (versus English or both), and about half spoke Spanish with their friends.

The survey was conducted from September 2013 to January 2014. The timing of the EBV occurred such that 325 interviews were collected up to November 7th and 151 were collected after. Thus, the current data set provided a unique

opportunity for a natural experiment to test hypotheses related to Aim 1 (social service utilization) and Aim 2 (sociocultural context).

3.2.1.2 Data from participant demographic forms. Interviews were conducted with members of the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred, as described in the coming sections. At the close of each interview, participants were given a short survey to collect basic demographic information. Questions included participant age, gender, and city or country of birth. These forms varied slightly for participants depending on the subsample in which they were placed (descriptions of subsamples forthcoming).

3.2.2 Quantitative data analysis.

3.2.2.1 EBV. Independent variable: *Raid timing.* An independent variable (raid timing) was created based on whether participants completed the EBV before or after the day of the raid (0 = before, 1 = after). Data were excluded from five participants whose surveys were completed on the day of the raid and from a further six participants whose completion date was not known. The sample thus includes 476 individuals, 325 of whom participated before the raid and 151 of whom participated after.

Immigration enforcement stress. Three survey measures were used that were originally intended to capture day-to-day stress related to immigration enforcement in individuals' lives. These three measures include: "My legal status has limited my contact with family and friends," "I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency," and "I fear the consequences of deportation." The first two items were adapted from the acculturative stress scale of the 2012

National Latino and Asian American Study (Tummala-Narra, Alegria, & Chen, 2012). The third item was added by members of the EBV team. Participants responded to each of the above items on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicate more agreement with each item, and thus represent a stronger negative influence of immigration enforcement on participants' day-to-day lives (for example, a higher level of agreement that one's legal status limits contact with family and friends).

Self-rated health (SRH). Participants responded to the question, "Is your health..." / "*Su salud es...*" on a scale from 1 (poor/*mala*), 2 (fair/*regular*), 3 (good/*buena*), 4 (very good/*muy buena*), and 5 (excellent/*excelente*). Self-rated health is a powerful predictor of morbidity and mortality (Idler & Benyamini, 1997; Schnittker & Bacak, 2014), with increasing predictive validity in recent decades (Schnittker & Bacak, 2014). SRH is considered a concise method of capturing a state of "the human body and mind" (Jylha, 2009, p. 307) with use dating back to the 1950s, in a variety of disciplines, and internationally (Jylha, 2009). Jylha (2009) describes SRH as a measure that takes into consideration a vast range of data, including comparison groups, physiological sensations, health experiences and expectations, dispositions, cultural conventions and health behaviors. As Tissue (1972) states, "Thus a good, fair, or poor self-rating is not merely another measure of morale or self-image. Instead, it represents a summary statement about the way in which numerous aspects of health, both subjective and objective, are combined within the perceptual framework" (p. 93). Research has further considered the ways in which SRH is linked to social capital (such as trust among neighbors or

norms of reciprocity) (Kawachi, Kennedy, & Glass, 1999), with less social capital related to lower SRH scores.

Some discussion has considered the validity of SRH in Latino populations. McGee, Liao, Cao, and Cooper (1999) find that a SRH rating of “fair” or “poor” was associated with a twofold increase in the risk of mortality among five different racial/ethnic groups, including Latinos. Finch, Hummer, Reindl, and Vega (2002), considered data from a subsample of 37,000 Latino participants in the National Health Interview Survey collected from 1989 to 1994, and find that the association between SRH and mortality was similar to that reported in previous studies. However, this relationship is moderated by level of “acculturation,” with “poor” SRH less strongly predicting mortality among the less acculturated (in this case, less time in the U.S. and non-U.S. country of origin). Viruell-Fuentes, Morenoff, Williams, and House (2011) consider how language of interview (English versus Spanish) may affect the tendency to rate health as fair or poor, and find that the Spanish translation of “fair” to “*regular*” may bias Spanish speaking ratings toward lower scores.

Standard demographic variables included sex (0 = female), age in years (continuous), and relationship status (0 = not in a relationship) as well as variables that assessed language ability (English communication skills, language spoken with friends, and language spoken with family) and nativity (0 = born outside of the U.S.). Lastly, two variables assessed participant ties to the community where the raid occurred, including years in Washtenaw County and presence of children in the

home (0 = no). Immigration status was not directly assessed because of concerns for the vulnerability of survey participants.

3.2.2 Quantitative data analysis.

3.2.2.1 Data from the EBV. Bivariate analyses were used to compare demographic characteristics before and after the raid (“raid timing;” 0 = before raid; 1 = after). Demographic measures include sex (dichotomous), age (continuous), parental status (dichotomous), marital status (dichotomous), time in the U.S. (continuous), U.S. birth (dichotomous), “language spoken with friends” (categorical), “language spoken with family” (categorical), and data collection method (categorical; online versus in-person) on raid timing. T-tests were used for continuous variables and chi-squared analyses for categorical variables. These tests describe demographic differences in the sample before and after the raid in order to consider whether sample characteristics confounded any results. I hypothesize that these demographic variables will not differ significantly before and after the raid.

Pairwise correlation was used to examine the relationships among the three immigration enforcement stress measures, SRH, sex, nativity, the presence of children in the home, and raid timing. Two linear regression models were used for analysis that included (1) the intensity of immigration enforcement stress, and (2) self-rated health as outcome variables. For the first model that considered immigration enforcement stress, the outcome variable was created using principle axis factoring of the three immigration enforcement stress measures to create a single factor that captured the intensity of immigration enforcement on participants’

day-to-day lives. Both models controlled for age, sex, relationship status, years in Washtenaw County. I proceed with the following three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Raid timing will predict SRH scores such that scores after the raid will be lower (indicating poorer health) than scores before the raid while controlling for age, sex, relationship status, years in Washtenaw County the presence of children in the home, and nativity;

Hypothesis 2: Raid timing will predict intensity of immigration enforcement stress such that immigration enforcement stress scores are higher after the raid than before while controlling for age, sex, relationship status, years in Washtenaw County the presence of children in the home, and nativity;

Hypothesis 3: Raid timing, SRH, and immigration enforcement stress scores will be related such that the relationships between raid timing and SRH will be mediated by the intensity of immigration enforcement stress.

3.2.2.2 Demographic data collected from each participant. Demographic data collected from interview forms were used to present basic summary statistics, such as age and years in Washtenaw County. Because these data were not meant to be statistically representative of any particular sample, they were not used in predictive models but in combination with other data for cultural contextualization (Padilla, 2007).

3.3 Qualitative Data

3.3.1 Qualitative data collection.

3.3.1.1 Narrative interviews with subsample 1. In-depth interviews with three subsamples were used to address study aims. Subsample 1 consisted of

individuals “directly involved” in the November 7th raid, with “directly involved” defined as being physically present at the location of the raid or having contact with law enforcement during the period of the raid that was directly related to the raided property. This subsample included those in the raided apartment, those in the *taller*, or “workshop” that was in the first floor of the raided facility, or those pulled over in their vehicles after leaving the raided property (a detailed description of the raid is presented in Chapter 4). Inclusion criteria included being age 18 or over, living in Washtenaw County at the time of the raid, and being of Latino ethnicity. “Latino” was based on self-identification into this ethnic group or, alternatively, self-identification as “Hispanic” or any of various national origins in Mexico or Central or South America (i.e., “Guatemalan,” “Honduran,” “Mexican-American”) that are considered “Latino” in the U.S. Because this sample was meant to focus on the participants who live and work in the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred and whose lives are thus most intensely affected, individuals who were “directly involved” but were advocates or institutional representatives were not included.

Previous work has shown that theoretical saturation, or the point at which a data set captures the range of responses of potential participants, can be reached with as few as five participants in narrative or phenomenological studies with homogenous samples (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Graham et al., 2014a; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Safman & Sobal, 2004). Subsample 1 (participants directly involved in the raid) was homogenous in ethnicity (i.e., as Latino, with one exception of a white woman, detailed later) and community (Washtenaw County) as well as

experientially, as all were “directly involved” in the 11/7 raid. The use of narrative interviews, described below, further served to narrow the range of responses among potential participants.

Up to three narrative interviews were conducted with individuals in subsample 1. Narratives enhance understanding through intricate contextual retellings of events and sentiments (Lawrence, 1995). A narrative format was chosen for interviews as narratives provide dense and detailed data of an experience (e.g., an immigration home raid) from a participant’s point of view. Narrative interviews are minimally prompted, and participants are encouraged to elaborate and speak at length uninterrupted (Graham, Brown-Jeffy, Aronson, & Stephens, 2011). These interviews were roughly guided by the Narrative Interview Guide shown in the Appendix (Form A1). When more than one interview was conducted with a participant (which was the case with each of three family members who were at the center of the raid; description forthcoming), initial interviews were largely used to build trust and rapport in preparation for more emotional content or specific questions in future interviews (Carney, 2015).

At the close of each initial interview, demographic data were collected using Form A2 (Appendix A). Interviews were conducted in Spanish and English as preferred by the interviewee. When I arranged interviews, I encouraged the participant to choose the location to enhance her own comfort, avoid unnecessary driving (as I was aware that some interviewees did not have driver’s licenses), and avoid public spaces they feared for the presence of law enforcement. Participants in subsample 1 received \$30 per interview to show an appreciation for their time.

Interviews took place at restaurants, at participants' houses, in the office of a community service representative, and at participants' places of work.

3.3.1.2 Recruitment for subsample 1. A critical case sampling strategy (Patton, 2002) was used to prioritize contact with the individuals in subsample 1. Critical case sampling prioritizes contact with the cases that are likely to “yield the most information and have the greatest impact on the development of knowledge (Patton, 2002, p. 236). In total, seven individuals were interviewed who were “directly involved” in the raid, three women, and four men. Santiago was the “target” of the law enforcement that occurred that day in that he was suspected of trafficking drugs out of his *taller*. At the time of the interview⁶, Santiago was a 40-year old Mexican man who had been in the U.S. for 11 years, all of which he had spent in Washtenaw County, and had been deported once before. The three women, Guadalupe (Santiago's sister), Fernanda (Santiago's wife), and Jessica (Santiago's girlfriend at the time) in subsample 1 were all in the apartment when it was raided, as was one man (Santiago's 18 year-old son from a previous marriage). The remaining two men, Arturo and Francisco, were arrested as they drove away from the raided facility. The following chapter provides an in-depth consideration of these individuals and their relationships with others in the study.

Ultimately, family members played a critical role in linking me to individuals directly involved in the raid. This happened in one of two ways. First, only after I had gained the trust of a family member were those closest to the raid willing to speak with me. Melanie, a co-founder of WICIR who I hired to work on this

⁶ Because I did not collect birthdays, I am not able to discern ages at the time of the raid. Thus all ages presented were at the time of the interview, about two years later, unless otherwise noted.

dissertation, was still in contact with Guadalupe (Lupe), and arranged for us to meet at her house. Lupe then invited me to speak with Santiago, Santiagito, and Fernanda, who had been deported or returned to Mexico. Ramiro, also a co-founder of WICIR and hired to work on this dissertation, was aware of where potential participants worked, and introduced me to the owner of the job site. I returned to the auto shop the next week, and spoke with the owner and his workers, and eventually met the boyfriend of another woman at the raid.

I also spoke with the wife of a man who was detained as he was leaving the property when she and I met at a discussion about the EBV data. In our interviews, she relayed to me his hesitancy to speak with me, which was overcome by her insistence that the study purpose was worthwhile for the community. Lastly, I met a participant directly involved in the raid after being introduced to him by his attorney. However, even with the meeting arranged, it was ultimately the man's girlfriend who convinced him to come for the interview, as she later revealed during our interviews and interaction. Thus, family contact was essential in building relationships with subsample 1 participants.

Time in the U.S. for participants in subsample 1 ranged from two months to 21 years, and in Washtenaw County from two months to 19 years. Ages ranged from about 18 to 41 years at the time of the interview. Five of the seven individuals had children. See also Table 3.1, presented after a discussion of subsample 3, which summarizes demographic data for all study participants.

These characteristics provide the most general sense of the participants in subsample 1 in broad strokes. However, this sample is not meant to be

representative of a population and thus summary statistics are not presented. While these data are relevant in understanding the context, it is the relationships of participants to each other and to the mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County that merit the most attention, as it is within these relationships that the impact of the raid are felt. These relationships are described in detail in the next chapter.

3.4.1.3 Semi-structured interviews with subsample 2. Semi-structured interviews (SSIs) were conducted with subsample 2 (members of the social networks of subsample 1). These data were used primarily to address Aim 2 (sociocultural context) and Aim 3 (stakeholder influence). SSIs were appropriate as they covered a range of topics that vary in degree of relatedness to the raid. SSIs used interview guides to ensure similar lines of inquiry across participants in each respective sample (Patton, 2002). As opposed to standardized interviews, semi-structured interviews allow participants to discuss at length subjects with which they have significant knowledge or experience (Patton, 2002).

The SSI guide for participants in subsample 2 is presented in the Appendix (Form A3). These interviews covered five primary domains, including background, neighborhood, the 11/7 raid, experience with immigration enforcement, and service utilization, though interviewees were encouraged to speak at length about any domain or others not considered that were important to them. Questions included, “Tell me about where you grew up and where your family came from,” “Tell me about your neighborhood,” and “How did you find out about the raid?”

Demographic information was collected at the close of each interview using Form A2, as seen in the Appendix. All interviews were conducted in a location of the interviewee's choosing both to enhance their comfort and avoid unnecessary driving. Interviews were conducted in Spanish or English as preferred by the participant. Participants in subsample 2 were paid \$30 to show an appreciation for their time. Interview locations include in a participant's vehicle at his job site, at a participant's house, and the office of a community service representative.

3.3.1.4 Interview recruitment for subsample 2. Participants in subsample 2 were referred by someone in subsample 3, via introduction to others in their network, or met while conducting fieldwork. Three individuals were interviewed in subsample 2. Because individuals in subsample 2 were chosen due to relationships they had with individuals in subsample 1, these relationships are presented in Table 3.1, along with general demographic information.

3.4.1.4 Semi-structured interviews with subsample 3. SSIs were conducted with subsample 3 (representatives of the social service or advocacy organizations with whom participants from subsample 1 were likely to interact; henceforth: organizational representatives). These data were used primarily to address Aim 1 (service utilization) as well as Aim 2 (sociocultural context) and Aim 3 (stakeholder influence). The SSI interview guide for this subsample is shown in the Appendix (Form A4), and focused on four domains: background; interactions with other organizations; contextual factors; and the 11/7 raid. Questions included "Can you describe for me the work that you do?," "Describe for me a "typical" person who uses your services," and "How did you find out about the raid?"

Interviewees were guided through the domains but encouraged to speak at length about what they saw and experienced at the facility in which the raid occurred (if applicable), even if this meant other less time was spent discussing the remaining domains. Demographic information was collected at the close of each interview as seen in Form A2 in the Appendix. Participants in subsample 3 were not compensated.

3.4.1.5 Interview recruitment for subsample 3. Participants in subsample 3 either 1) belonged to organizations whose staff served members of the mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County, or 2) served members of the mixed-status Latino community themselves (e.g., lawyers or physicians). In order to investigate how the raid affected service utilization patterns (Aim 1), recruitment of participants who held their positions at the time of the raid was prioritized over those who held their positions later. Some of individuals may have since moved to other positions within the same organization, moved to different organizations, or moved out of Washtenaw County. Participants in subsample 3 were located through participant observation, references by other participants, and my knowledge, based on years of working with the Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights (WICIR, described in detail in the coming section).

Eleven participants were interviewed in subsample 3. Most (72%) were women, and most (55%) were Latino (including those who had been born in Cuba, Columbia, or Mexico, or U.S. born and self-described as “Latino” in their demographic form). Participants had “worked with an organization that serves the Latino population in Washtenaw County” for between a few months and 30 years. It

is likely that “worked” was defined as paid, internship, and volunteer work, but it was not always clarified. Some participants identified themselves as “community members” as well, referring to the Latino community. Participants in subsample 3 varied in their first-hand experience and knowledge of the raid. Also, some were involved in the mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County in multiple ways, including with the EBV. Others made comments specifically about other members of the sample (or other samples), as they had crossed paths before. Standard characteristics of the subsample 3 are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Select Participant Characteristics for Subsamples 1, 2, and 3

Alias	Subsample	Relationships of note to others in the study	Language of interview	Sex	Age (years at time of interview) ⁷	Country of Birth	Organization or role (subsample 3)	Time in an organization in Washtenaw County that serves Latinos (years)
Santiago	1	Owner of <i>taller</i>	Spanish	M	40	Mexico		
Guadalupe	1	Sister of Santiago	Spanish	W	30	Mexico		
Santiago	1	Son of Santiago	Spanish	M	20	Mexico		
Jessica	1	Girlfriend of Santiago	English	W	20	United States		
Kirk	2	Boyfriend of Jessica at time of interview	English	M	25	United States		
Arturo	1	Husband of Hilda	English	M	30	Mexico		
Hilda	2	Wife of Arturo	Spanish	W	35	Honduras		
Francisco	1	Boyfriend of Frida	Spanish	M	40	Mexico		
Frida	2	Girlfriend of	English	W	30	Country in		

⁷ Participant ages in subsamples 1 and 2 are rounded to nearest 5 years for further anonymity.

Alias	Subsample	Relationships of note to others in the study	Language of interview	Sex	Age (years at time of interview) ⁷	Country of Birth	Organization or role (subsample 3)	Time in an organization in Washtenaw County that serves Latinos (years)
		Francisco				Europe		
Fernanda	1	Wife of Santiago	Spanish	W	20	Mexico		
Graciela	3		English	W	60	Cuba	Casa Latina	23
Catherine	3		English	W	33	United States	Casa Latina	8
Ofelia	3		English	W	30	United States	WICIR	1.5
Elena Maria	3		English	W	24	United States	WICIR	4
Amalia	3		English	W	53	Canada	WICIR, church pastor	"several months"
Eric	3		English	M	30	United States	Lawyer	10
Renee	3		English	W	50	United States	Department of Public Health	30
Fabían	3		Spanish	M	19	Columbia	Sewing Seeds ⁸	5
Karina	3		English	W	51	United States	Lawyer	26
Ivana	3		English	W	52	United States	Latino ministry in Catholic Church	3

⁸ Pseudonym

Alias	Subsample	Relationships of note to others in the study	Language of interview	Sex	Age (years at time of interview) ⁷	Country of Birth	Organization or role (subsample 3)	Time in an organization in Washtenaw County that serves Latinos (years)
Eladio	3		English	M	33	Cuba	Family physician	6

3.4.1.7 Overcoming challenges to recruitment. In this dissertation, I aimed to highlight the voices and experiences of those most affected by immigration law enforcement, specifically the immigration home raid that occurred on November 7th of 2013 in Washtenaw County, MI. Thus, speaking with those in the raided facility was essential. This would, as could be expected, prove exceptionally challenging. There were at least two reasons for the difficulty involved in interviewing those directly involved in the raid: first, and generally speaking, most of those involved in the raid were undocumented, a population with notable challenges to sampling (Bloch, 2007); second, participants who were involved in the raid were legally vulnerable in a very concrete way: if they were in the raid, they were likely undocumented, and if they were in the U.S., they had either returned after deportation, or were not deported for a reason they may or may not have understood, but preferred not to bring to the attention of DHS. Thus, participants had a vested interest in not speaking to anyone with any sort of ties to law enforcement, which, as was detailed in the introduction, is often manifested in a broad avoidance of anyone from any sort of government agency. I am a representative of a state-funded institution, and as such, there was also a vested interest in avoiding me.

This need for strategic invisibility affected to whom I spoke and in which spaces it was acceptable to be seen with me (as an “American,” as an academic, etc.) in ways I will continue to describe throughout this dissertation.

To overcome the above challenges to sampling, I made myself present in the community as frequently as I was able, starting with outings by myself to known

public locations of relevance to the community (e.g., restaurants) and attended as many immigration related meetings as possible in the area of the raid as well as cities and states I visited during the course of fieldwork. Indeed, while the sampling and interviews play a large role in the data analysis and results, as Megan Carney (2015) reflects in her study of food insecurity among Latinas, “Like most anthropologists entering the field, never could I have imagined carrying out this research without integrating the method of participant observation “ (p. 27). I generally agreed to do whatever I was asked by members of the mixed-status Latino community, including advocates, even when these requests took me farther from what I assumed to be data directly related to the raid.

Ultimately, I was able to speak with undocumented members of the mixed-status Latino community with a well-reasoned motivation to avoid me through 1) a long term presence and visibility in activism within the Washtenaw community starting years before this dissertation; 2) the hard work of Melanie, Ramiro, and other advocates and community members who “vouched” for my trustworthiness or the value of the study; 3) a willingness to support community needs in the manner members deemed useful, necessary, or simply helpful regardless of how these needs were related to study aims; 4) a visibility, sometimes with my children, at events and in places that at a minimum made me an acceptable and relatively harmless part of the background; and 5) an online presence in which I continually engaged in discussions of immigration advocacy. Of course, my presence and activity were always interpreted through the prism of my identities and their presentation, which I discuss in detail in Chapter 4.

Attempts were made to interview all participants face-to-face, which occurred in three states, Michigan, California, and Arizona. However, I was not able to do so in some cases. Initially, I planned to travel to Mexico to speak with Santiago (who was deported) and his wife Fernanda (who left to join him). However, both Ramiro and Santiago's relatives discouraged me from visiting the family in their small rural town in Mexico, stating it was too dangerous to travel and citing numerous instances of violence.

Ultimately I chose not to travel to Mexico, and thus the interviews with Santiago and his son, Santiagito, who were deported, and Santiago's wife, Fernanda, who returned to Mexico to be with her husband, were conducted over the phone, often with their U.S. citizen children running around and chatting in the background. These calls were arranged by Guadalupe, Santiago's sister, who was in the building when it was raided (description of the family forthcoming). Phone calls took place either from my office at the University of Michigan or from Guadalupe's home using her cell phone.

3.3.1.8 Participant observation. According to Patton (2002), the purpose of participant observations is to "describe the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in that setting, the people who participated in those activities, and the meanings of what was observed from the perspectives of those observed" (p. 262). He cites five advantages of participant observation. First, the observer is better able to capture the context in which those being observed interact. Second, the observer can be open and inductive by relying on observation in place of prior conceptualizations of the setting. Third, the observer may note observations that

have become routine or seemingly inconsequential to those engaging in the activity but may be of theoretical importance. Fourth, the observer can learn about behaviors and environments about which individuals would be unwilling to speak in interviews. And fifth, the emotional and intellectual connection to the context and to observed individuals may serve as valuable data during the interpretation and analysis stages. Participant observation is used to understand, for example, patterns of etiquette, organizational leadership and hierarchies, social competition and cooperation, cultural patterns that are not easily addressed or about which discussion is forbidden, and how social and physical boundaries are defined (Fetterman, 2010).

Participant observation was used primarily to address Aim 2 (sociocultural environment) and Aim 3 (stakeholders), as well as Aim 1 (social service utilization). Participant observation also played a critical role in sample recruitment, as mentioned previously and as others have attested (Carney, 2015).

Participant observation was guided by the conceptual framework of illegality, as outlined by the Participant Observation Guide in the Appendix (Form A5). In addition to describing the setting—including the participants involved, the activities that occurred, the people that engaged in those activities, and the meaning of those activities based on perspectives of those observed (Patton, 2002)—I focused on portrayals of immigrants, laws, advocates, and other stakeholders; discussions of health; discussions of communities, families, and networks; and discussions of effects of immigration law enforcement. When possible, I collected documents and photographs during participant observation. Notes were taken in a

variety of ways depending on what was culturally appropriate for the space I was observing. Sometimes I used a field note journal, while other times I used a laptop, iPad (slightly smaller and less intrusive than a laptop), or my iPhone to take notes. After observation, when I was not immediately able to write, I recorded audio reflections. No matter the way in which notes were taken, all notes were summarized using Form A5.

I conducted participant observation beginning with IRB approval on January 12, 2015, about a year and two months after the raid, and concluded one year later. While originally approved to conduct about eight months of fieldwork, the extension to one year provided additional time to nurture relationships established during the first months of the study and, critically, permitted fieldwork during the Christmas holiday season, a time in which a largely Catholic community was preparing to celebrate, children were on vacation, and ICE tensions were somewhat reduced. A longer time frame, while perhaps more typical of ethnographic work in anthropology than in public health (Pink & Morgan, 2013), was also closer to traditional ethnographic guidelines that suggest field placement for long enough to observe a “full cycle of activity” (Wolcott, 2001, p. 157). In fact, from January to August of 2015 (the approximate time for which I was originally approved), I had conducted only one interview with a participant in subsample 2 and one interview with a participant in subsample 1. In the three months that followed, I conducted a further ten interviews with subsample 1 and two in subsample 2. Total I conducted about 260 hours of fieldwork at 97 unique instances of participant observation.

Hours interacted during interviews as well as over Facebook and email or in the “digital environment” of community members is not included in this total.

I partnered with the Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights (WICIR) in order to facilitate data collection and engaged with WICIR representatives to guide the study and assist with interpretation of what I observed. WICIR, originally founded in response to a brutal immigration raid in a mobile home complex (Sanders et al., 2013), describes itself as a grassroots, all volunteer organization founded in 2008 whose mission is to “...provide a culturally sensitive and supportive urgent response to raid detainees and their families, educate the targeted and allied communities, impact local government policies to empower and protect immigrant community members, and to work toward humane national immigration reform...” (Sanders et al., 2013, p. 3). WICIR’s four-pronged “Model for Community Responsiveness” includes urgent responses to families in immigration-related crises; community organization, education, and political action (Sanders et al., 2013).

I met the four co-founders of WICIR, Melanie Harner and her mother Margaret Harner, and Ramiro Martinez and his wife Laura Sanders, not long after I first arrived in Michigan in 2006. Ramiro is a formerly-undocumented Mexican man married to a U.S. citizen, Laura Sanders, who works at the UM School of Social Work. Ramiro came to the U.S. over a decade ago and frequently shares his extensive experience migrating to and from Mexico at the School of Social Work and other community events. Melanie Harner, born in Guatemala, was present at the immigration raid in 2008 from which WICIR originated (Sanders et al., 2013). As ICE

agents questioned the “collateral” nearby, the officers approached Melanie, asking her to verify her legal right to be in the country. When she responded fluently in English, the ICE agent stated that she couldn’t be undocumented, as her language skills were too good. I hired Melanie and Ramiro to support the dissertation by assisting with interview recruitment, and because they were each part of the “affected community” in a way in which I, as a U.S. citizen and as the child of a U.S. citizen father and naturalized mother, was not.

WICIR Urgent Responders (URs) carry out a variety of tasks while addressing one of WICIR’s missions. Because Melanie, Ramiro, three individuals in subsample three, and I all served as WICIR UR, and because of the influence this role had on the data I collected, I detail the role below. Generally, a WICIR UR will carry and respond to a WICIR UR phone. The contact number of this phone has been shared at numerous community events and is carried by WICIR members to share as they see fit. When an individual calls the WICIR UR phone, the UR who answers will interview the caller and take notes to detail the case. These notes may include the demographics of the caller and the detainee, the location and details of the arrest, and the needs of the individual and her family, as well as how the UR and WICIR plan to address these needs. The UR, in conversation with other WICIR members, decides on the next course of action. Some cases require referrals to a lawyer or social worker, while others may require the mobilization of multiple URs to, for example, organize care for children of deported parents, interact with Child Protective Services, find funds when a provider is removed, provide counseling or links to counselors, organize trips to court, detention, or prison, or organize anti-

deportation rallies. Other URs (that is, those not answering the UR Phone) also engage in the above activities as needed, and are often contacted whenever an immigration raid occurs in Washtenaw County. By mobilizing URs to witness immigration raids, WICIR is able to gain first-hand information on the behaviors and activities of those present at the raid. UR may later bring these observations to law enforcement or community meetings to discuss next steps. Three URs witnessed the raid as it was concluding and are part of subsample 3.

I served as a WICIR UR for the period of fieldwork, and for a portion of the time I carried the Urgent Responder phone. While serving as an UR, I participated in anti-deportation campaigns, accompanied individuals to traffic court and to register their tethers in the Alternatives to Detention program (see for example, Winograd, 2012), and presented on behalf of WICIR, among many other activities. I realized that among the primary ways in which I was able to provide instrumental support was simply by driving. That is, as a citizen, I have a driver's license. Because of the fingerprinting process involved in programs like Secure Communities, being pulled over can result in deportation. Thus, when I was able to drive someone or deliver something, I generally attempted to do so.

While serving as a WICIR UR exposed me to numerous opportunities for relevant advocacy work and relationships with members of the mixed-status Latino community, I did not always overtly operate as an advocate. Further, although I was always open about the purpose of my research, I was not always seen as a researcher, or when I was, that particular aspect of my identity was met with indifference. I often felt like the only reason someone was talking to me was because

another member of the community, usually a family member or someone with authority over him, had asked him to do so. This was often very clear in the interview consent process, in that participants did not care to listen to the safety procedures I had put in place to protect the data, their identities, their immigration statuses, their locations, etc. If I was there speaking to them, perhaps even in their houses, someone in the community had vouched for me in some way, and my particular role outside of this did not matter.

I began the period of fieldwork by attending any immigration advocacy event I was able, many of which were related either to WICIR or the EBV. I built on years of advocacy in the Washtenaw community as well as with WICIR. From these connections with advocates, I developed relationships with individuals and organizations at events or in spaces of importance and inquired about other events that may be of note. Generally speaking, I made myself available whenever I could and attended any event I was able. Two notable shifts occurred over the year of fieldwork. First, locations shifted from the public sphere to private sphere, moving from academic spaces or offices to community organizations to community members' homes, though this process was far from linear and often all were occurring within the same time frame. Second, while I initially visited locations alone, toward the end of the fieldwork period, most every instance of participant observation was with another individual, whether I was invited, I had invited someone, or we had arranged the meeting together.

In June, I volunteered at the County Clerk's Office in downtown Ann Arbor to support applicants of the Washtenaw ID, a photo identification card available to all

residents of Washtenaw County, including those without social security numbers, with unstable mailing addresses, or with gender presentations that do not match the sex distinctions on their other forms of ID. While I originally considered work with the ID Project to be activity extemporaneous to the dissertation, while at the County Clerk's Office, I noticed numerous individuals with whom I had come in contact with through participant observation and took field notes accordingly.

3.3.1.7 Participant observation with law enforcement. In order to gain insight into how illegality is used "on the ground" by local law enforcement officers, I engaged in participant observation with law enforcement in Washtenaw County in at least two ways. First, I spent as much time as I could with the Washtenaw County Sheriff's Office (WCSO), the law enforcement organization who had collaborated with ICE in the 11/7 raid. This included attending a workshop on community and police relationships, attending meetings of the Community Advisory Board to Law Enforcement (CABLE), which serves as a liaison between the Sheriff and the community and who was deeply intertwined with community negotiations following the raid; and meeting personally with the Sheriff and representatives from his office, often to discuss this project.

Second, I engaged in ride-alongs, or arrangements between an officer and a civilian to spend time in the officer's vehicle, with four police departments in Washtenaw County: the Ann Arbor Police Department (AAPD), the Ypsilanti Police Department (YPD), the Chelsea Police Department (CPD), and Pittsfield Police Department (PPD). While I attempted to arrange ride-alongs with the WCSO (as well as with ICE), I was not able to do so during the period of fieldwork. I was aware that

immigration law enforcement by local officers was a likely statistically rare occurrence, and that during conversations and ride-alongs, I was unlikely to witness immigration law being enforced by these officers. Thus, I was perhaps more engaged conversationally with law enforcement officers than have been other researchers whose main interests lied in observing “what agents do” (Maril, 2004, p. 15).

The WCSO is contracted to provide law enforcement to many geographic areas throughout Washtenaw County which do not have police forces (“Washtenaw County Sheriff’s Office-Police Services,” 2016) (I discuss the WCSO in detail in Chapter 8). Thus, these four police departments, in conjunction with the WCSO, are responsible for enforcing the law for around half of the square mileage of Washtenaw County, as shown in Figure 3.1 below.

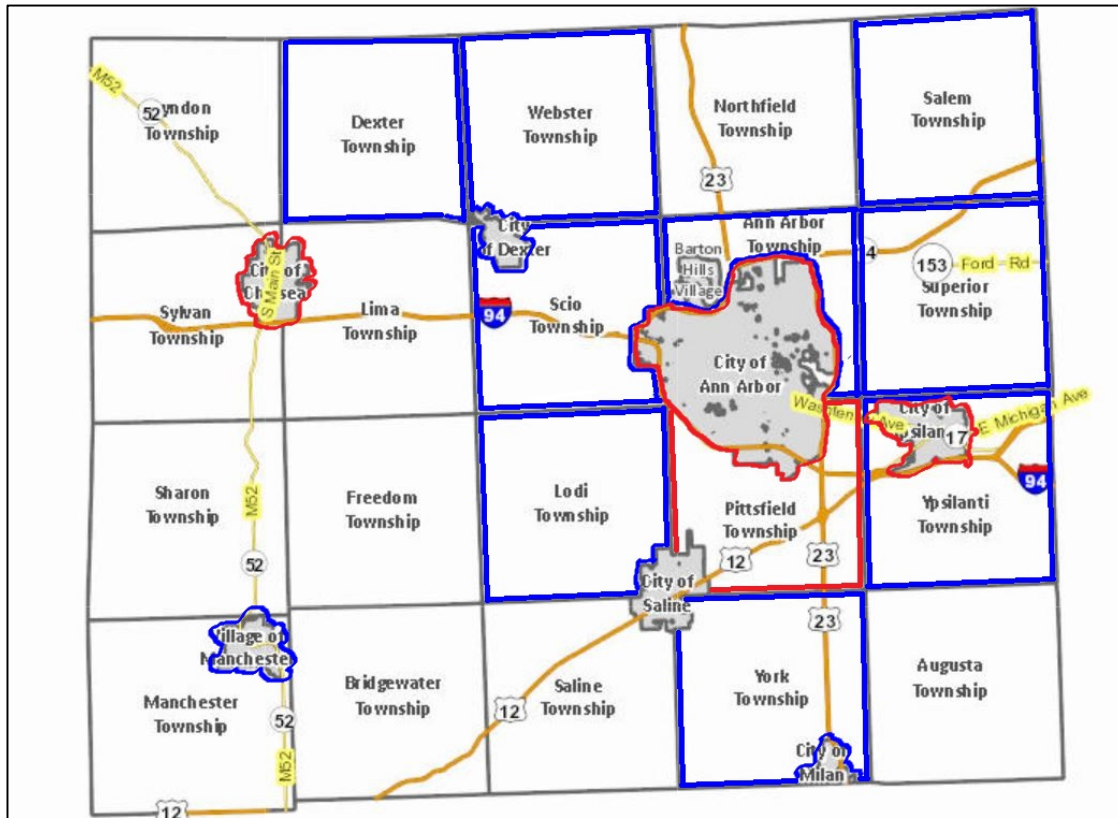


Figure 3.1

Policing in Washtenaw County

BLUE: Townships whose policing services are provided by the WCSO

RED: Police departments in which I engaged in ride-alongs

I highlight and emphasize that, while I engaged in numerous interactions with law enforcement officers for many hours over a variety of settings, this study was not meant to be an ethnography of police culture (Christenson & Crank, 2001). Had this study aimed to specifically consider law enforcement and community relationships, it would likely have included changes in methodology, perhaps by incorporating multiple ride-alongs in the same department or ride-alongs for longer periods of time (Christenson & Crank, 2001). However, my goal was not to investigate a specific law enforcement department or group of departments, but to consider law enforcement generally in the county in which a collaborative immigration raid took place. Thus, I consider these data a rich complement to the instances of participant observation, interviews, and surveys that together create a more holistic picture of the issues of law enforcement that affects a mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County.

Each of the four ride-alongs in which I engaged occurred over a portion of the shift of one officer, though for one ride-along I switched officers about midway through. Ride-alongs lasted an average of 4.4 hours, counting interactions before and after. Three ride-alongs took place at night (from about 10 PM to 2 AM; 7:00 PM to 12:00 AM; and 10:30 to 2:30 AM) and one took place during the day, (from about 1:00 PM to 5:00 PM).

Ride-along policies vary by department, and I often encountered some resistance. At times it was not clear to me what the policy was nor why I was allowed on ride-alongs. The first ride-along in which I engaged was a response to an

invitation by Chief Radi⁹, whom I had met at a community event organized by the WCSO (this event is discussed in detail in Chapter 8). Chief Radi invited me to his department, where I completed the ride-along paperwork, which is normally done before one arrives in order to give officers time to verify the forms. When arranging ride-alongs, I generally had to explain my motives, and was sometimes greeted with a casual suggestion that ride-alongs are only for those interested in policing. I eventually learned that once I mentioned I knew Chief Radi, I was accepted without further question.

When I arrived at police departments, I was greeted by an officer or administrator and introduced to the officer with whom I would be riding, which was decided before I arrived based sometimes on factors unknown to me, but others on officer availability, experience, and in one case, ability to speak articulately of the department and practice of policing. In addition to meeting Chief Radi after his invitation, I was introduced to the Chief of the department one other time. The officer with whom I would ride and I would walk to his or her police car and drive around the surrounding area as I observed what was presented to me as the day-to-day work of an officer. I was shown how to use the dashboard camera, which was attached to a microphone that allowed me to hear all the officers' interactions whether or not the officer was visible to me (for example, when officers went into houses). After an hour or so, officers invited me to step out of the car. Throughout the course of the shift, I was generally able to meet multiple other officers, most men, most white, with important exceptions I note later.

⁹ All officer's names are pseudonyms with the exception of Sheriff Jerry Clayton and Derrick Jackson (discussed in detail in Chapter 8), who gave permission to use their names.

I would spend the first one to two hours conversing politely with the officer before asking if I could take notes, which I did in a small notebook in a dark car. At times, I was able to take notes on my phone and some photographs of the general environment. The delay in note-taking, and the fact that I took notes on paper instead of on my phone, was largely driven by my own hesitance for two reasons: first, I was anxious about reaching into my pocket, and felt safer if the officer was able to see my hands at all times. While no officer with whom I interacted ever gave me a reason to feel in danger, I was aware of other (Black) men my age who had been shot by officers for gestures that were read as threatening as I discuss in detail in Chapter 8 (Moore, Robinson, & Adedoyin, 2016a). Secondly, all officers seemed to have strong opinions on the ubiquity of social media. Generally, officers saw the constant sharing of video footage and media about the killing of Black men as creating a stereotype of all officers as violent or racist when most officers, they believed, were neither. In an initial ride-along, I asked if any ride-alongs had ever been canceled, and the officer said that yes, once a passenger had his ride-along cancelled because he was asking questions that lead the officer to the belief that the individual had an anti-police agenda. While there was no uniform way to describe this type of person (e. g., “blogger,”), the idea of a young-ish “social media user” was very clearly positioned as anti-police, and thus I worried that my age, phone, and advocate presence on Facebook and twitter (which I assumed they had investigated before based on acknowledged investigations of others) would place me in that category.

While most individual ride-alongs generally followed this format, there were notable shifts in what officers presented and how I was treated from the first ride-along in May to the fourth ride-along that occurred in November, six months later. There appeared to be an increase in foresight on the part of the department in choosing the officer who would act as escorts. On the first ride-along, I was placed with two white men. On the second ride-along, I was placed with a white man in his early twenties. In the last two ride-alongs, I was placed with white women. This gesture appeared to be an attempt to show a diverse department (that is, by pairing me with female officers). Also noticeable, however, were the ways in which officers talked about police work shifted from personal reflection at the first ride-along to some type of professional representation of the department that included more formalized responses. I was more comfortable with certain officers than others and understood the range of acceptable questions as time went on. In attempts to clarify if this was indeed the case, I asked a female officer why she had been chosen to host me for the ride-along, to which she implied the Chief wanted someone with well-spoken answers to questions about law enforcement. Specifically, she stated that she was better informed and less “vigilante” than other officers.

Lastly, and as I detail in Chapter 8, my interactions with law enforcement took place coincidentally during a social moment of extreme tension between police departments and communities of color due to the killings of unarmed black men and women by police officers, many of which were highlighted in the media (see for example, Moore et al., 2016a). I felt positioned between the black/white binary, with most officers unsure of how to interpret my racialized presence. That is, I felt as

though I was only allowed “in” because I was viewed as “nonthreatening” (read: socially positioned closer to the majority). That is, while I was an *ethnic* minority, I was *racially* white, light-skinned, highly educated, and had no visible tattoos (which, on Latino bodies, are often read as gang signs, as is seen in Arturo’s interaction with law enforcement in the next chapter).

Lastly, I used the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to request any information generated from the raid and arrests of individuals related to 11/7 raid, including records of police and ICE interaction with any vehicles leaving the property and the names of those involved. FOIA began in 1967 and permits the public to request records from any federal agency. These records are granted to the requester unless they fall under any of nine categories of exemption (foia.gov). I intended to use these records to both triangulate the data with the narratives shared by participants and advocates and consider as data the language and rhetoric used in any records I received. I submitted requests to three departments: the WCSO, ICE, and the Michigan State Police Department. I was assisted in filing these requests by an immigration attorney with whom I was connected by a colleague of my partner. In total, I submitted five FOIA requests, one of which was successful at the WCSO, one of which was incorrect at the Michigan State Police Department, two of which were denied at ICE, and a final request at ICE that required a signature I was not willing to obtain.

3.3.2 Qualitative data analysis

3.3.2.1 Interview analysis. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed in their original language by a trained transcriptionist. Each written

transcript was compared to the audio recording to verify accuracy of the transcription. When transcripts were finalized, they were imported into Nvivo (10.2.2 QSR International) for management, organization and, in order to facilitate qualitative analysis. Interviews were analyzed using constant comparison (Conrad, 1978) in the following manner.

Each interview was accompanied by two documents, a Post-interview Demographic Questionnaire (Appendix, Form A2) and the Participant Observation Guide (Appendix, form A5). Memos, or what Strauss and Corbin (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 197) call “written records of analysis related to the formulation of a theory,” were used to record initial impressions of the data. I reviewed each document while memo-ing the matching interview to ground the analysis in the context (e.g., location, time in the fieldwork period) in which it took place (Cheezum, 2012) and to place myself in the environment in which the data were collected, described by Watkins as becoming “one with the data” (Watkins, 2012).

When memo-ing each interview, I noted emerging themes and patterns in the data (Charmaz, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Memos often included a description of what was observed and questions to consider in further analysis and code development. Examples of text and corresponding memos are shown in Figure 3.2. While memo-ing, I avoided an analysis in an effort to “learn the ‘flow’ of the data” (Watkins & Gioia, 2015).

Figure 3.2

Sample Memos

Text	Memo
<p>[In regards to deportation]: “It doesn’t have anything to do with hurting the economy. There wasn’t anything there that made us unsafe. I mean a couple of families cramming into a space where wasn’t legally zoned for living space, um, sharing their resources to make ends meet, to have something for their children, and to be in a space where, I don’t know what their back grounds are I don’t know if it was unsafe where they came from, I don’t know if it was all about opportunities for themselves or their children but there wasn’t any – there was nothing there that was happening that was hurting our country. The injustice was all the legal, supposedly “legal”, stuff that happened. That was the where all the injustice occurred.”</p>	<p>Here, Amalia compares, like Karina did, the damage of the legal enforcement [the raid] to the damage of the law broken [living in the U.S. as undocumented]. She captures well the disproportionality.</p>
<p>“Um, most recently we had ICE Fugitive Ops stopping parents coming out of Hope elementary school. And just scaring those children to death, not to mention the parents. And the school went into a lock down mode. So we’re talking about [ICE] having the same effect as having a shooter in the school.”</p>	<p>ICE has vastly different effects when present in different spaces. In this case, the comparison to school shooters is contemporarily powerful</p>
<p>[Describing the site of the raid]: “And I didn’t look through the entire place but it had no heat, it had one tiny bathroom, they were using like space heaters for it, the electrical wiring was just very shoddily put up, I mean there was not a livable situation if people you know had any other option I’m sure they wouldn’t have been there. But yeah I think um there was definitely a lot of people living in this one small space, you know. I think it had like maybe one or two like side bedrooms and then like the kitchen and the living area.”</p>	<p>A nonjudgmental assessment of the situation but highlights the critical role that poverty plays in the sociocultural context.</p>

The data analysis process was largely inductive, as the purpose of this dissertation is to present the effects of an immigration raid as experienced by the members of the mixed-status Latino community who were directly involved.

However, there was also a deductive aspect in that the analysis considered previous work on illegality, semi-structured interviews, and previous literature that influence the analysis. This use of both inductive and deducting analysis is common in qualitative coding (see for example, Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2008; Kusow, 2004).

After memo-ing transcripts, codes were created based on similarities of the data they captured (Lebrón, 2015; Lopez et al., 2012). I considered how these codes were interrelated, edited those codes, and organized them hierarchically into codes and subcodes as necessary. A codebook was compiled and codes were defined and given inclusion and exclusion criteria if needed (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). The formal codebook that resulted was hierarchically structured (Guest et al., 2006), similar to a conceptual outline, and thus permitted large volumes of data to be summarized using a manageable number of codes and sub-codes and the interrelationships among them examined. Some codes, such as “raid timeline,” “raid description,” “illegality,” and “health effects” were created deductively to collect targeted information in line with study aims. However, these codes were also allowed to evolve with the data if they were not adequate to capture the phenomena described by participants. This initial coding structure resulted in about ten codes and multiple subcodes. An example of a code entry in a formal codebook is shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2

Example Codebook Entry

CODE: Immigration-related rhetoric

DEFINITION: This code captures dominant narratives used to justify or counter immigration law enforcement

INCLUSION CRITERIA: Includes codes in which immigration rhetoric is wrapped in other types of rhetoric, for example, when participants do not mention immigrants but are discussing Latinos and implying that all are immigrants

EXCLUSION CRITERIA: Does not include references to danger in immigrant home countries, which is captured in the code “Mexico and Central America as dangerous”

SUBCODES:

Illegality and criminality-This subcode captures references to law breaking that subsume identity or other facets of life.

Meritocracy-This subcode captures the belief that one must earn her right to be in the U.S.

Dehumanization-This subcode captures language or behaviors that minimize the humanity of those involved in immigration enforcement

I then coded interview transcripts in their original language using this formalized codebook (Graham et al., 2014b; Lopez et al., 2012). As new concepts emerged in the interviews, I created and used new codes or rearranged the organization of existing codes. Generally, I coded enough of the text to be able to relay the theme of the text with or without the surrounding context. Table 3.3,

below, presents an example of text with matching codes and subcodes. Data that aligned with two or more codes were placed into all appropriate codes, as codes were not mutually exclusive.

Table 3.3

Example of Coded Text

Data chunk	Code	Subcode
Santiago: "Si, y no puedes creerlo...You wouldn't believe this William but I never walked in the street, I never drove without a license, I never was walking around drunk in the street, a bar or a club.... I never was anywhere besides my house and my work. Just there.	Meritocracy	Work and economic value
Amalia: "...one of the toddlers, the older one, she, I don't know she must have been like two or so, she was just walking around kind of like with a shocked face on and just her sister was like hitting her with this doll and she wasn't responding to that, like you could just tell she was in shock	Effects of raid	Effects on children

During analysis, data contained in each code were considered both "horizontally," or situated within the broader interview, and "vertically," or within the full range of data contained in each code across participants (Glaser, 2005; Graham et al., 2014b). More weight was given to data with more text and context, that were more descriptive, or that exemplified other responses in that group (Wernick, Dessel, Kulick, & Graham, 2013).

3.3.2.2 Field note analysis. Field notes were guided by the Participant Observation Guide as seen in the Appendix (Form A5) and were taken during events and interactions as described in 3.3.1.6. The analysis of field notes began by cataloging all data collected for each instance of participant observation. For example, some notes were taken on paper, some on my phone, and some included pictures, documents or audio. No matter the type and amount of data, I summarized and reflected on all instances of participant observation using Form A5 (Appendix). Field notes from events with law enforcement were considered in a separate category described below. For all other field notes and in line with the mixed methods design described in the forthcoming sections, information contained in participant observation notes was used to supplement, triangulate (Thurmond, 2001), and contextualize data when data contained in interviews were sparse.

3.3.2.3 A note on language of presentation. As stated above, interviews were conducted in Spanish or English as chosen by participants. For consistency with the rest of the dissertation, I present participants' quotes using English translations of Spanish text. When Spanish phrases were colloquial, or could be interpreted in a number of ways, I note the original Spanish phrase. Because Spanish words are often used in English sentences to preserve mood and nuances of the interaction (De León, 2015) (e.g., the Spanish word *taller*, or “automobile workshop”), I italicize all Spanish throughout the document for the ease of the reader. Table 3.1 shows the original language of each interview.

3.4 Mixed Methods Approach

Traditionally, mixed methods research draws on the strengths of qualitative and quantitative data collection and their philosophical underpinnings to enhance perspectives and understanding about a research question (Creswell et al., 2011; Steckler et al., 1992). The use of a mixed methods approach in this dissertation is appropriate for at least four reasons. First, this study considers to what extent the 11/7 raid is both unique and generalizable to other raids that occur throughout the country. As Greene (2008) describes, a mixed methods approach is useful in describing both “generality and particularity” of an event (p. 7). By considering the narratives of the raid in the words of participants that experienced it, data collection will be attuned to the particularities of specific individuals in a geographic location and historical time point, while quantitative analysis using EBV data will provide the opportunity to investigate to what extent these findings are echoed more broadly among Latinos in Washtenaw County.

Second, because there is a lack of research that focuses on immigration home raids, predictions and a priori hypotheses are extremely limited. Thus, the investigative nature of qualitative inquiry will permit findings to emerge that may be unexpected based on a priori research. A primary benefit of the mixed methods approach stems from the use of qualitative and quantitative *paradigms* (Crowe et al., 2011), as I draw from the deductive, generalizable, and population oriented traditions of quantitative work and “mix” them with the inductive, discovery-oriented, insider focus of qualitative work (Steckler et al., 1992).

Third, a mixed methods approach to data analysis can be used to center the voices of marginalized populations (Mertens, 2003). Mixed-status Latino

communities experience an “illegalization” that dehumanizes them, while casting their needs, wants, and aspirations as illegitimate or unfounded (Willen, 2012a). I aim to use this dissertation to amplify and highlight the voices and experiences of a politically disenfranchised community whose members’ lives are strongly affected and shaped by immigration law enforcement and anti-immigrant rhetoric. The current study will thus benefit from what Greene (2008) calls “a mixed methods way of thinking,” or

an orientation toward social inquiry that actively invites us to participate in dialogue about multiple ways of seeing and hearing, multiple ways of making sense of the social world, and multiple standpoints on what is important and to be valued and cherished. (p. 20).

And fourth, this use of various kinds of data allows for data triangulation, or consideration of findings from a variety of perspectives. Comparing data from quantitative and qualitative collection (methodological triangulation) enhances the validity of the data (Creswell et al., 2011; Patton, 2002), and provides the opportunity to consider the “magnitude and dimensionality as well as ...contextual stories about lived experiences” (Greene, 2008, p. 7).

3.4.1. Mixed methods design. Watkins and Gioia (2015) describe six types of mixed methods designs: convergent parallel, explanatory sequential, exploratory sequential, embedded, transformative, and multiphase. With some caveats, this dissertation follows the “transformative design,” which uses “a theoretical-based framework to advance the inquiry needs of underrepresented or marginalized populations” (p. 36). This design is essentially an “explanatory sequential design”—

wherein quantitative collection is followed by qualitative data collection – embedded within a social justice framework (Watkins & Gioia, 2015).

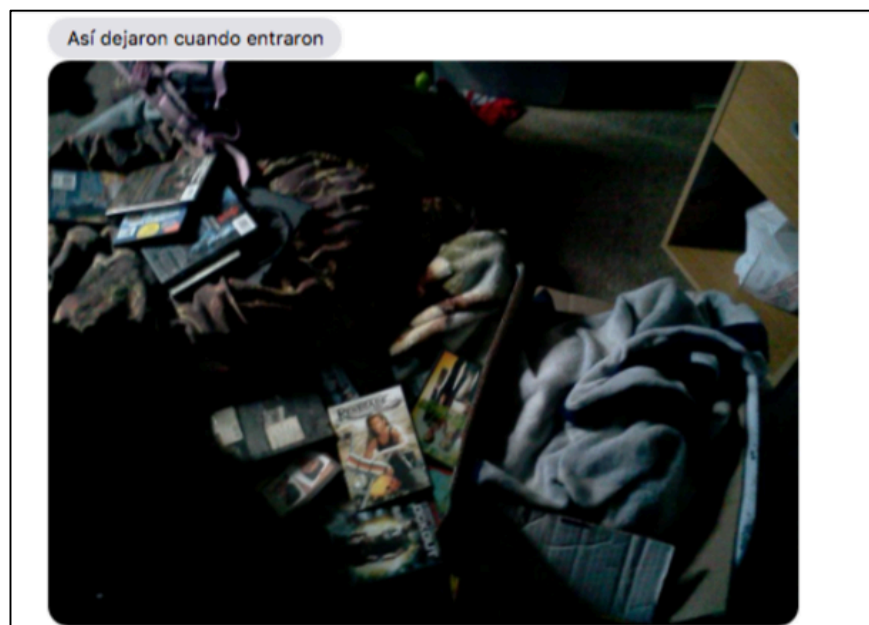
In the current case, there is a need to be more explicit about the data *collection* versus the data *analysis* (and interpretation). The quantitative data from the EBV were collected from October of 2013 to February of 2014 by the EBV team, of which I was not a part at the time. Thus, because I did not design the collection strategy or survey questions, I cannot claim that I used the transformative design on the study overall. However, these quantitative data were influential in qualitative design and sampling, thus the two types of data were in conversation prior to analysis in the following way. I began to analyze EBV data and reflect on findings during the beginning and middle of the fieldwork period. The findings of this analysis (presented in Chapter 5) show the effects of the immigration raid on SRH and immigration enforcement stress. I used these findings, along with the general framework of illegality, to focus attention on aspects of the sociocultural environment that would be challenging to measure, such as law enforcement perceptions of Latino deportability (these findings are largely presented in Chapter 7).

Chapter 4

Participant Accounts of the 11/7 Raid

“...the choke and sting of experience only becomes real—is heard—when it is narrativized.”

-Das and Kleinman, 2001, p. 20



-Figure 4.0

“That’s how they left it when they came in.” Guadalupe, via Text Conversation with Me, May 2016

In his book, *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail* (2016), Jason De León presents a day-by-day account of an attempt to enter into the U.S. without authorization across the U.S.-Mexico border. The resulting narrative is “a composite drawn from hundreds of interviews and conversations with migrants, field observations made in Nogales and the desert, and formal and informal interactions with Border Patrol Agents” (p. 43). He describes that this “pastiche of perspectives, gazes, and variables” is able to “bring the reader phenomenologically closer” to the experience of crossing the border through the desert (p. 44). He concludes, “By focusing the ethnographic lens on the migrant experience, we can start to add a graphic reality to federal policy discourse” (p. 43). By weaving together descriptions of the raid by those who experienced it, I similarly aim to illustrate the “graphic reality” of those who were directly involved in an understudied method of immigration law enforcement. In this way, I further seek to avoid the “medicalization of distress” (Thangadurai & Jacob, 2014) that elides the complexity of the multi-level and interwoven wounds of the raid that deny simple medical classification.

While I was not present at the raid and thus am not able to present an ethnographic retelling, I nonetheless attempt to imitate De León’s (2016) organization and present a composite of an event drawn from the accounts of those present on the day of the raid. I am guided by Humphreys and Watson’s (2009) concept of a “continuum of ethnographic writing” that is based on “minimum to maximum manipulation of research ‘materials’” that ranges from “plain

ethnography” to “fictionalized ethnography” (p. 43). The retelling below most closely resembles an “enhanced ethnography” as it is

An account of events occurring within the investigation of a single case which uses the presentational techniques of the novelist: descriptive scene-setting; use of dialogues; author as a character in the narrative; inclusion of emotional responses by author and subjects; [and] attention to the perspectives and stories of subjects.

(Humphreys & Watson, 2009)(Humphreys & Watson, 2009)(Humphreys & Watson, 2009)(Humphreys & Watson, 2009)(Humphreys & Watson, 2009)Humphreys & Watson, 2009, p. 43

(However I refrain from highlighting myself as a character at this time). I

begin by providing greater detail about the lives and social positions of the individuals involved in the raid in order to humanize the data (Das, Kleinman, Lock, Ramphela, & Reynolds, 2001) and illustrate the range of relationships affected by immigration law enforcement (Dreby, 2012b). I utilize data from 1) participant interviews, 2) a WICIR Press Release and UR records, and 3) information received from FOIA requests. While I retell the story of the raid here, I do not analyze the data until the chapters that follow. All quotations contained in this retelling of the raid come from audio recordings of participant interviews, and thus reflect either participants’ descriptions of what they and others said or general phrases used in standard situations described by a participant (for example, an officer saying “put your hands on your head”).

4.1 Lives

In the previous chapter, I described in broad strokes the demographic characteristics of the three subsamples of the dissertation. Below I elaborate on the individuals in each sample, their relationships among each other, and the geography of the raided facility. All ages and time frames are in reference to the time of the interview, about two years after the raid, unless noted otherwise. Ages are rounded to the nearest 5 years to preserve anonymity. Below, I begin with a description of subsample 1, which includes individuals directly involved in the 11/7 raid.

Santiago, at the time of the interview, was a 40-year-old Mexican man who had lived in the U.S. for a total of 11 years, all of which he spent in Washtenaw County. Santiago initially arrived in the U.S. in 2000. Soon after, he was arrested and deported back to Mexico, but returned illegally to Washtenaw County in 2011. On November 7, 2013, he was renting out a warehouse unit on Michigan Avenue and was running a *taller*—an auto-mechanic shop—out of the first floor. He had converted the second floor to an apartment, even though the facility was not zoned for residence. His sister, Guadalupe, and his wife, Fernanda, lived in their apartment with their five young children, and Santiago was their primary economic provider. ICE suspected Santiago of trafficking drugs from the facility and noted that he had weapons in his possession the first time he was arrested and deported.

Fernanda was a 20-year-old Mexican woman who had lived in Washtenaw County and the U.S. for 2 years. She is married to Santiago, the owner of the *taller*, and together they had two children, who at the time of the raid were about three-months old (Ignacio) and one-year-old (Lena). Both of their children are U.S. citizens, having been born in the U.S.

Guadalupe (often, “Lupe”, the Spanish nickname for “Guadalupe”) was a 30-year-old Mexican woman who arrived in the U.S. after walking through the desert from Mexico to Texas. She had since spent eight years in Washtenaw County. Lupe is the mother of three children, Carlitos, Sofía, and Fatima, who, at the time of the raid, were 4-years-old, 2-years-old, and 1-month old. All of her children are U.S. citizens, having been born in the U.S. Carlito’s father died in a car accident. Fatima and Sofía’s father was deported in August 2013, about three months before the raid, after more than 14 years in the U.S., and while Guadalupe was pregnant with Fatima. After the men in her life were lost to death and deportation, Guadalupe moved in to the apartment above Santiago’s *taller* for financial and emotional stability.

Santiagito was a 20-year-old Mexican man who arrived in the U.S. about 3 months before the raid. He is Santiago’s son from a previous marriage and was dating Jessica, a white U.S. citizen, at the time of the raid.

Jessica was a 20-year-old white U.S. citizen and girlfriend to Santiagito at the time of the raid. Jessica also babysat Guadalupe and Fernanda’s children and was frequently at the apartment and *taller*. Jessica’s mother, Diane, was a friend to Guadalupe and Fernanda, and Jessica’s stepfather owns a mechanic shop very similar to that of Santiago.

Arturo was a 30-year-old Mexican man who had lived in Washtenaw County for 11 of the 14 years he had been in the U.S. His wife, Hilda, volunteered with the EBV study team. Arturo and Hilda together have two young boys, Sebastián and Alejandro, who were ages five and eight at the time of the raid. Arturo volunteers at a local YMCA, where he coaches soccer and volleyball for children with special

needs. He is a manager of a popular restaurant, and has traveled the U.S. to open other branches of the restaurant chain.

Francisco was a 40-year-old Mexican man who had lived in the U.S. for 21 years, 19 of which had been in Washtenaw County. He is in a committed relationship with *Frida*, a woman from Europe, and has three children ages 4, 11, and 12, from a previous marriage. He sees his children regularly though they live with his ex-wife.

All interactions with law enforcement on 11/7 occurred in one of three locations, as seen in Figure 4.1: Location A: on Michigan Avenue as individuals drove away from the raided facility; Location B: in the first floor *taller*; or Location C: in the apartment above the *taller*. The raided facility itself was positioned on the southwest tip of a “U” shaped construction of warehouses with a railroad track and wooded area directly to the south. Thus, when officers parked in front of the facility (Figure 4.1: Location D), participants were trapped between officers and the railroad tracks.

Subsample 2 consists of the families and friends of those in subsample 1. I provide more detail on these participants below. Ages are rounded to the nearest 5 years to preserve anonymity.

Hilda was a 35-year-old Honduran woman who had lived in the U.S. for 15 years and Washtenaw County for 10 years. She is married to Arturo, and together they have two sons, ages eight and five. Hilda witnessed the arrest of her husband by ICE on 11/7 as he was pulled over at Figure 4.1: Location A.

Frida was the 30-year-old girlfriend of Francisco and had lived in the U.S. for nine years and Washtenaw County for seven. She is originally from a country in

Europe, and speaks Spanish and English fluently. Frida came to the U.S. with a student visa and received permanent residency through a marriage that had since ended.

Kirk was a 25-year-old white U.S. citizen who had lived in Washtenaw County all of his life. At the time of the raid, he did not have a relationship with anyone in the sample, though he observed the raid from another auto shop a few blocks away. At the time of interview, he was Jessica's (subsample 1) boyfriend and employed by her stepfather.

The 11/7 raid targeted a single individual for arrest: Santiago. There were various ways in which those in subsamples 1 and 2 were connected to Santiago, and in turn connected to each other. Figure 4.2 highlights the relationships among participants. Because detainment and deportation affect others in one's social network, especially families (Dreby, 2012b), Figure 4.2 also illustrates any children of those directly involved in the raid.

Figure 4.1

Locations of Participants in Subsample 1

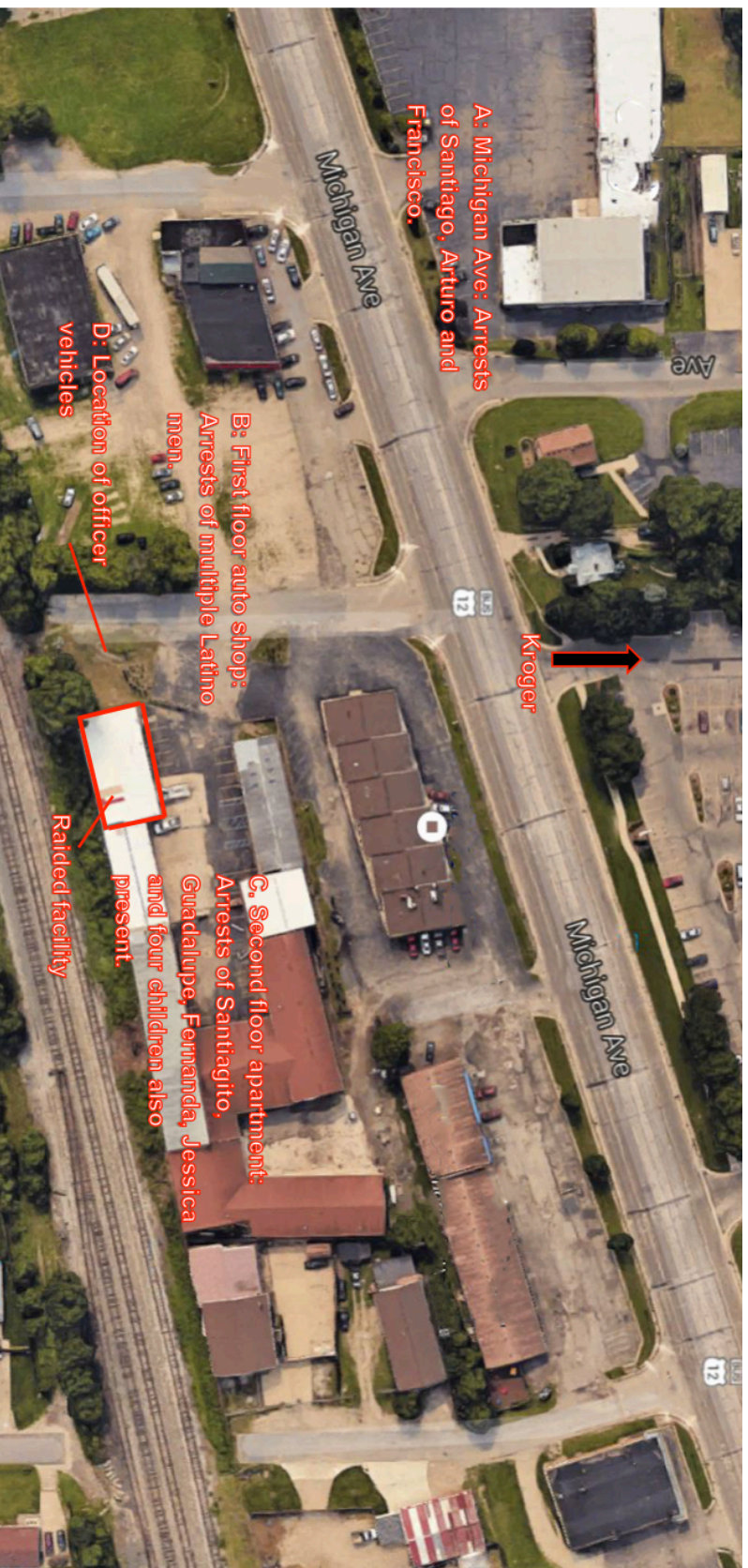
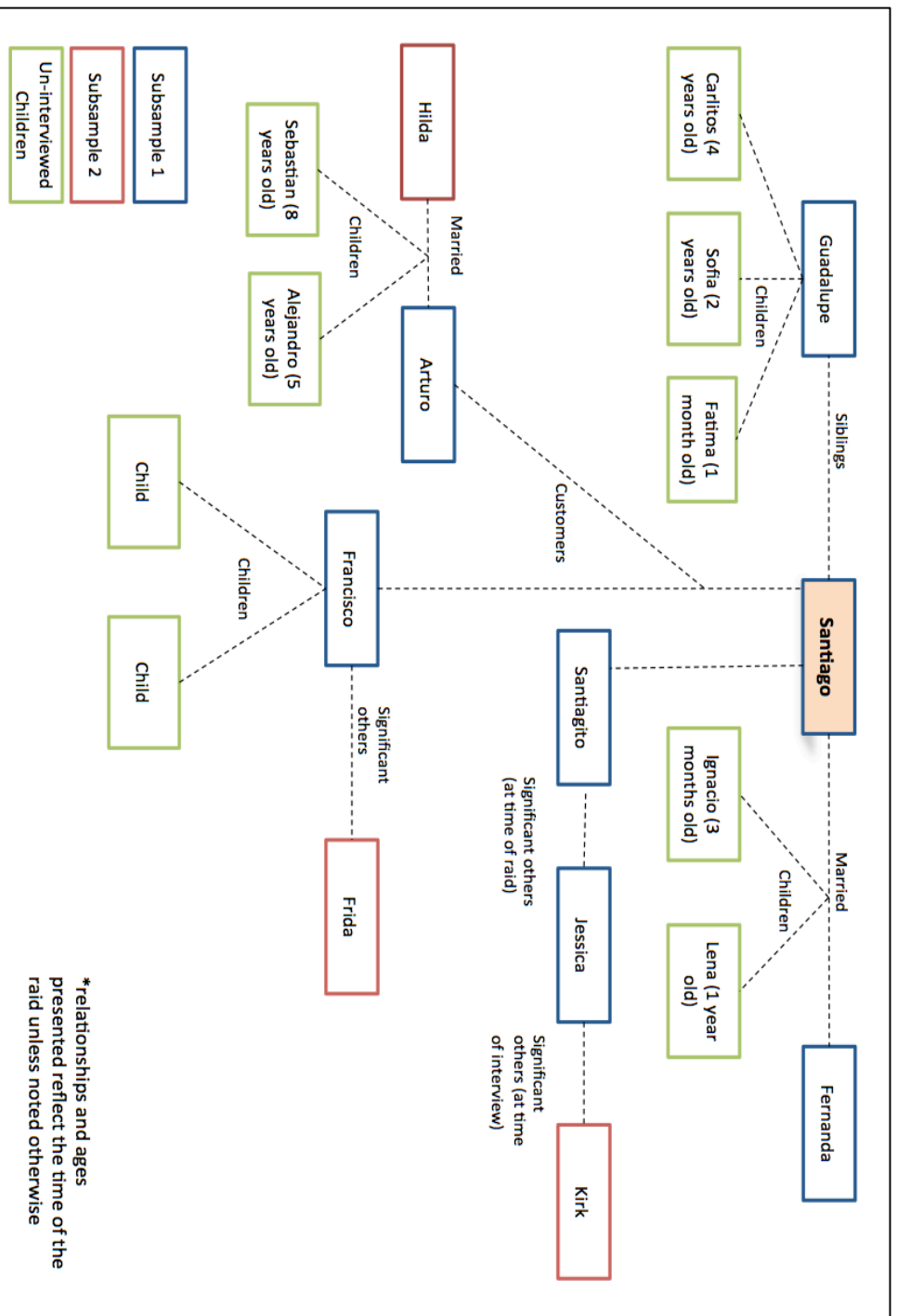


Figure 4.2

Relationships among Participants in Subsamples 1 and 2 to Santiago and Each Other



Subsample 3 consists of individuals who either 1) belonged to organizations whose staff serve members of the mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County, or 2) served members of the mixed-status Latino community themselves (e.g., lawyers or physicians). I prioritized the sampling of individuals who served in their positions at the time of the raid. Further detail on these 11 participants and the organizations they represent is presented below.

Graciela was a 60-year-old woman born in Cuba who served as a Board Member of Casa Latina. She described Casa Latina as “a point of contact for Latino community members to get information, connect to services that exist, get help navigating things that needed to be done, whether it was applying for benefits or finding an attorney or figuring out some situation they just didn’t know how to handle.... We also helped people apply for food stamps or Medicaid for the kids. At that time it was only for kids but after the Affordable Care Act we were also doing applications for the market place and the Medicaid expansion. We were also were involved in [the EBV].” Graciela, who is known by many members of Washtenaw County Latino community, additionally translates documents from Spanish to English and was a lead collaborator for the EBV. Renee (below), who worked with Graciela on the EBV, described her as a “maven” in the Latino community.

Catherine served as Executive Director of Casa Latina at the time of the interview, and had worked with Casa Latina for some time before that. To the description given about Casa Latina by Graciela, Catherine added that Casa Latina had a text message service to communicate with members of the community. This

text service was used during the raid to warn of the presence of immigration enforcement on Michigan Avenue.

Ofelia and *Elena Maria* were interns at WICIR when they were pursuing their Masters in Social Work degrees. Their tasks included addressing immigration related emergencies through the Urgent Responder phone, organizing a teen group for youth with undocumented parents, and generally advocating on behalf of immigrant families. Together with *Amelia* (below), *Ofelia* and *Elena Maria* arrived at the Michigan Avenue property as the raid was unfolding.

Amelia was the pastor of the church that serves as the fiduciary for WICIR and was involved in WICIR advocacy efforts. She arrived at the site of the 11/7 raid with *Ofelia* and *Elena Maria*.

Eric was an immigration attorney who sees mostly Spanish speaking clients, about 50% of whom are Mexican. Most of his cases are defensive cases such as cancelations of removal for those who have been in the U.S. for 10 years and have U.S. children and fear-based claims. *Eric* worked with most of the individuals who were arrested during the 11/7 raid.

Renee was an epidemiologist who worked for a Department of Public Health and was involved with the development of the EBV.

Fabián, at the time of the interview, was only 21 years old, but had a wealth of experience as a community organizer in Latino communities. Born in Colombia, *Fabián* described his role thusly: "In general, I do community work, I consider myself a community leader, and I try to create as many connections as possible between the Latino community and the services offered. At this moment, I work at

Sowing Seeds (a pseudonym)... and my job is to connect that Latino community [to their services].” Sowing Seeds “has three different components. One is improve access to farmer’s markets... using gardening to help communities be together, that’s the second. The third is education about nutrition and good diet.” Fabián helped to develop the EBV and used the data to create the *Acción Buenos Vecinos* Project, which aimed to utilize survey data to advocate for changes in the community.

Karina was an immigration attorney who focuses on civil rights cases, such as racial profiling. Many of her cases are at the national level and she travels frequently to Washington, D.C. Neither of her immigration offices were in Washtenaw County, but I had heard that she had worked with individuals arrested in the 11/7 raid and thus sought her out for an interview. When I asked her about the raid, she stated, “I get clients that’ve drifted in from that raid,” but she did not elaborate.

Ivana served as staff support for Latino Ministry at a Catholic Church in Washtenaw County near the University of Michigan. “Our primary service is to provide the Spanish mass in Washtenaw County...and then we have some faith sharing groups....we have a Spanish speaking small church community that meets and will read the scriptures in Spanish and kinda discuss how it relates to them and the challenges that they live. We also provide funeral services and we provide Spanish preparation for adult confirmation and marriage also....” Ivana noted that much of what they provide occurs in times of crisis: “Financially we’re very limited

there. But we try to support our families as much as we can by providing companionship or pastoral support.”

Eladio was a family physician who works at a clinic a few miles from the raid site. Because he is a Spanish-speaker, he provides care to many of the Latino families that visit the clinic. He serves on the Board of Directors for Casa Latina and supported the development of the EBV.

4.2 The Raid

November 7th, 2013

About 9:00 AM. The children are getting hungry, and there is not enough milk in the fridge for everyone. Guadalupe, the mother of three of the five children who live in the apartment, asks her brother, Santiago to pick up some milk from the grocery store. Santiago agrees. Kroger is just across the street, visible from their property, and he shouldn't be gone for long. They could also use some onions and tomatoes for a stew, Guadalupe tells him. He leaves to get the milk and food.

Santiago walks downstairs and passes the first floor of the warehouse, which serves as the *taller* (English: automobile workshop) that is the family's primary source of income. Santiago is aware that the income generated from this *taller* is essential in keeping his wife, Fernanda, and their two young children afloat financially. Pressure has increased recently, however, as Guadalupe and her children moved in after her husband was deported last month.

Santiago and a friend, Julio, a young man from Guatemala, get in their car to go to the grocery store. They turn right out of the short street in front of their

property and onto Michigan Avenue, the street that would be the site of many other arrests that would happen that day.

As they approach Kroger, an ICE vehicle pulls them over, and agents quickly order Santiago and Julio out of the car. "Put your hands on your head! Put your hands on your head! Or we'll shoot!", the agents shout. "Show us your identification!" Santiago shows the agents his passport. "Are you residents of the United States.?", they ask. "*No, nosotros somos ilegales, no tenemos papeles,*" Santiago responds. They are "illegals." They do not have papers.

Santiago and Julio are arrested and taken to ICE offices. At the time he was arrested, Santiago was unaware that his sister, wife, children, and nieces, would be ordered to the floor as dogs sniffed their belongings and agents threw their papers, clothes, and belongings all over the floor. Nor did he understand why: "But I don't understand why they had to go to the house, attack my son, terrify my wife, the children, arrive throwing gas, knocking down doors, being so aggressive... so many people arrived with guns and everything. I don't know why because we are innocent people, respectful, with no problems. We have never had problems, in the U.S."

Santiago was also unaware of at least two other arrests that would take place that day of three Latino men who would come to the *taller* to pick up their cars.

It was Thursday morning, so Arturo and his wife Hilda do what they do every Thursday morning, and drop their children off at school. Afterwards, they drive in a single car over to the *taller* to pick up their other vehicle, which Santiago had agreed to repair. Arturo and Hilda, both in their early thirties and both undocumented,

arrive at the *taller*, pick up their other car, pay the worker, and drive away in separate cars as planned.

Arturo puts his blinker on to the left, west, toward Ann Arbor where he works, and pulls out on to Michigan Avenue. Hilda leaves in the opposite direction. An SUV from the WCSO flashes its blue and red lights and approaches him, pulling him over to the side of the road. "I can see the Sheriff car, the SUV on the back you know behind, it's just like another day, I turn my [flashers], you know I do what I supposed to do, I take my time but no." The WCSO agent approaches Arturo, but doesn't ask him for his registration. Nor does he ask him for his driver's license. The agent tells Arturo that he needs to speak to him. Arturo says that until he knows why he was pulled over, he is not going to say anything.

"You turned your blinker off too soon," he tells Arturo. Arturo pauses. He *knows* he didn't turn his blinker off too soon. "Well what do you need from me?," he asks the officer. "I don't need anything, but someone else will."

"And I was turning around and next time I know, and that was a matter of seconds, I had four cars surround me, pull me out of the car, and started just asking me a thousand questions and I keep refusing to answer those questions, until finally another just a normal GMC SUV pull over and say, 'you know who I am?' And I'm like 'I don't know.' He's like 'you gotta cooperate, I work for ICE.'"

ICE searches Arturo's car, moving the seats, opening the trunk, banging on the tires. Then they pull off Arturo's shirt to see if he has any tattoos. "We want to know if you are in a gang," the agent tells him.

Arturo responds, in articulate and fluent English that he has perfected after a decade in the U.S. and multiple managerial jobs, that he currently is not, nor has he ever been, part of a gang. The agent accuses Arturo of lying, “I’ve been working this job forever, and I know people who have been here for 20 years who don’t speak as well as you do.” They cuff his wrists and shackle his ankles before taking him to the ICE Office for processing.

Hilda, who drove east on Michigan Avenue instead of west toward Ann Arbor after leaving the *taller*, glances in her rearview mirror as law enforcement agents pull over, surround, shackle, and drive her husband to an unknown location. Hilda picks up her phone and dials Graciela, a board member of a community-based organization that serves Washtenaw County Latinos and with whom Hilda had worked on the *Encuesta Buenos Vecinos*. Graciela does not hesitate: “That’s immigration detaining your husband. Don’t go near him.” Graciela then begins to alert the community.

About 11:00 AM. Elena Maria, a former Urgent Responder with WICIR, picks up her phone to hear Graciela’s voice. Graciela and Maria Elena go way back having worked together on numerous occasions to advocate for increased services for the Latino community in Washtenaw. “There’s immigration all over Washtenaw Avenue,” Graciela tells her. “We gotta figure out what’s going on. Can you go check it out?” Elena Maria begins to text others. She posts on Facebook, “There’s something going on I don’t know where it is but does anyone know any details about what’s going on with this raid on Michigan Avenue?”

About 2:30. The story actually started at least a week before, when, on Halloween, ICE conducted a stake-out on the Michigan Ave property in which they observed Santiago going back and forth between cars and his *taller*. The WCSO record states “[The Agent] observed several cars enter into the complex, Santiago would then retrieve something from inside the truck and then walk back to subject and hand it to them. The vehicle would then leave the area.”

With this information, in conjunction with the arrest of Santiago and testimony of one of the men arrested after driving out of the property, the WCSO prepares a Search Warrant. At 2:30 PM, the warrant is approved. Agents assemble around this time at Station 2, about three and a half miles from the converted apartment on the second floor of Santiago’s *taller*. Here agents likely prepare their ballistic helmets, tactical vests, combat boots, AR15 assault rifles, and sidearms, likely a Glocks.

Santiago was arrested in 2009, after which he was deported. That he is currently in the U.S. means that Santiago had reentered the U.S. illegally, and therefore had committed a felony. An officer reported that when he was originally arrested, he had in his possession three rifles, crossbows, and swords. Because of Santiago’s prior arrest and current accusations of drug sales, the warrant is to be served by the Washtenaw County Metro SWAT Team. WCSO describes the use of the SWAT Team thusly:

Utilization of the Washtenaw Metro SWAT and Washtenaw Crisis Negotiation Team may include anti-sniper tactics, anti-terrorist tactics, barricaded subjects, and apprehension of armed and/or dangerous persons, executions

of search warrants in hazardous situations, crisis situations and hostage rescue operations, dignitary protection, and other situations which may require special training and expertise.

<http://www.ewashtenaw.org/government/sheriff/divisions/police/police-services>

Santiago was arrested around 9:00 in the morning. He was not allowed to make any phone calls that day, lest he alert his wife, sister, children, and nieces that the SWAT Team would be raiding their house in about eight hours.

About 3:30 PM. Francisco, or “Paco” to many of his friends, has a wad of money in his pocket from the 70+ hours he generally works as a dishwasher in a local restaurant. Without a driver’s license, it is hard for him to get a bank account, and because he is undocumented, he hasn’t been able to get a license since the Real ID Act in 2005. Thus, Paco takes the cash, *el sudor de uno*, “one’s sweat” he calls it, to pay Santiago for his work on Paco’s car. Paco leaves work at about 3:00 PM, and goes with a friend to Santiago’s *taller*. When the pair arrives, they find the *taller* closed, the doors locked. Paco and his friend, disappointed that they can’t pick up the car, leave the property and turn on to Michigan Avenue. When they do, just like Arturo, agents surround them.

The agents order them out of the car and, with guns pointed at them, tell them to hand over their weapons. “*Pos no traigo armas,*” Francisco tells the officers. “Drugs?” “*Tampoco.*” “I am not carrying any weapons. I don’t have drugs either.”

“Insurance?” Francisco hands the agent his expired license and insurance registered to Frida, the truck’s owner and Francisco’s girlfriend. He also hands the

agents his wallet, in which he has about \$500. The agent looks at the wallet curiously, and asks Francisco where he has gotten so much cash. "It's more money that you could ever make in your life."

The agents eventually ask Arturo for his immigration papers, and, despite his many requests to make a phone call, he is not allowed to call anyone to come and pick up the car that is now abandoned on the side of the road. Francisco is handcuffed forcefully, and the metal digs into his wrist bones. He asks the agent to loosen the cuffs. "If you talk more, they are going to be even tighter," the agent responds. Francisco and his friend are both taken to the ICE Office.

Thus, between about 8 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon, Santiago and Julio, Arturo, and Francisco, all of whom are Latino, none of whom had weapons or drugs in their possession or in their cars, were taken into custody. Word spreads of anti-Latino enforcement occurring on Michigan Avenue and the surrounding area.

About 4:00 PM. Guadalupe and Fernanda are getting anxious. Many hours have past since Santiago left to get milk, onions, and tomatoes from Kroger, and he still has not returned. Guadalupe's youngest daughter, Fatima, was just born in October of 2016, the same month in which her father was arrested and deported. Guadalupe is perpetually thankful that Santiago has allowed her and Fatima, as well as her two other children Sofía and Carlitos, to live in the warehouse-cum-apartment with Santiago and his wife. Pooling resources is helpful for everyone, and even if the pool keeps getting bigger, Guadalupe knows that they must support Santiagito, Santiago's 18-year-old son from a previous relationship who arrived in the U.S. three months ago.

Without Santiago, Guadalupe and Fernanda know their lives will change considerably and they need to find out if he is OK. Fernanda decides that she needs help from someone who can speak better English and is better able to navigate a few of the U.S. formal institutions that may know where Santiago is. Fernanda calls Diane, the mother of Santiagito's girlfriend. Diane comes over to the apartment and calls the hospital, but Santiago is not there. Eventually, she calls law enforcement, who tells her that Santiago had been arrested and is detained.

It is now about 4:00, so Guadalupe's 4-year-old son, Carlitos, had left school and was at the house of his *madrina*, his godmother. Lupe is hesitant to leave the apartment to pick up Carlitos, and wonders if she too will be arrested as she drives out onto Michigan Avenue. But she wants to be close to her son again, so she leaves the apartment with Roberto, who offers to drive her.

Not long after driving off the property, Guadalupe glances in her review mirror, looking past her two-year-old daughter buckled in the booster seat behind her, and sees the police lights of an approaching vehicle.

Like Santiago, Arturo, and Francisco, Guadalupe and Roberto are pulled over, and agents ask Roberto if he has his immigration papers. He doesn't. Also like Santiago, Arturo, and Francisco, Roberto is quickly handcuffed, put in a vehicle, and taken away.

The agent then turns to Guadalupe. He looks at her, then glances to the back seat. "And you? Is this your daughter?," the agent asks her, gesturing toward Sofia. This would be neither Sofia's nor Lupe's most traumatic encounter with immigration enforcement that day. "Yes, that's my daughter, and I have another in

the house,” Guadalupe tells the agent. The agent leaves, never having asked Guadalupe about her immigration status. Or if she has a driver’s license.

Guadalupe drives back to the apartment without picking up Carlitos.

About 5:00 PM. Elena Maria gets out of work. After posting about the arrests on Facebook, people have been contacting her, directing her to the Kroger that Santiago tried to visit that morning. She drives over and parks in the parking lot of a chicken restaurant across the street. From there, she calls Ofelia, another former Urgent Responder, and another contact calls another WICIR member, a pastor of a local church. Ofelia and Amalia both agree to meet Elena Maria there.

About 6:00 PM. Guadalupe parks the car that she had just driven illegally and climbs the stairs into the apartment, carrying Sofía in her arms. She sits down with Fernanda, and together they try and make sense of the immigration enforcement that is taking more and more men out of their lives. With Guadalupe and Fernanda sit their four U.S. citizen children, Santiagito, and two U.S. citizen adults, Santiagito’s girlfriend Jessica, a white woman under age 18, and Diane, who had helped locate Santiago in ICE custody.

Sergio, another Latino man, arrives at the apartment. Sergio was in one of the cars that had been pulled over earlier in the day, but he was not detained because he was a permanent resident. “They took him. And they are detaining all the men that are leaving from [the *taller*],” he tells the group. Now, there are ten individuals in the apartment. It is unclear how many men are in the *taller* below them.

It’s November, and it’s cold as the sun goes down. The group discusses what they can do, or if this, whatever “this” is, is even over. The SWAT Team gathers

outside their door. “I was talking with my sister-in-law, that’s when the soldiers arrived”.

“The soldiers came in the house. They knocked down doors. They threw gas¹⁰. They had guns. We were two women with small children. My nephew was [20] years old. Yes, it was absolutely terrible, to be honest. The kids terrified, the kids screaming. And well, from there they started handcuffing. We [were ordered/thrown] to the carpet. To the carpet. And from there immigration came in. So many groups of people arrived and since my nephew was a man, they handcuffed him and took him.”

“Open the door!” agents yell from the outside. Then, without gaining consent, agents kick in the door, break the lock, and rush inside. Immediately on the other side of the door stood Fernanda, who holding her three-month-old son Igancio. “Yes, they hit me with the door they broke. So what I did, I didn’t drop the three-month-old baby boy that I had in my arms, and [Guadalupe], they already had her behind me. They were pointing guns at her... [T]hey pushed me and I fell over all the toys. Then that is where they had me, pointing their weapons at me, at [Guadalupe] and at an American [woman] who was under age also.” Fernanda’s fall—either after being

¹⁰ Much discussion revolved around Fernanda’s (and other’s) reports of the SWAT team “*echando gas*” as they raided the *taller*. In fact, her statement that gas had been thrown became an example of how those in the raid exaggerated the violence that actually occurred. It seemed as though at least some of the discrepancy came from issues of translation, as “gas” could be interpreted to mean a liquid, and “*echar*,” which literally translates to “throw,” creates an image of one pouring a liquid gas onto the floor. Of course, it is highly unlikely that SWAT agents literally through gasoline on the floor. Yet the word “*echar*” in Spanish is also used in a variety of colloquial expressions in which there is not literally anything thrown/tossed/projected, and the Spanish word “*gas*”, like the English word, does not necessarily imply a liquid substance. One attorney, as well as a representative from the WCSO, said that the smell of the gas was likely from a “flashbang,” probably following the burning of the incendiary used to trigger it. It was odd to me this explanation—a flashbang over throwing liquid gas—was thought to somehow be more acceptable, especially the documented cases of flashbangs killing those around them (Hankoff, 2015).

hit by the door or after tripping over her children’s toys—may partially account for the bruises on her body that she presented at a community meeting held the following Sunday.

Fatima is lying in a baby rocker as agents enter the room. “[I threw myself on the rug] with the baby girl, and I remember I was filled with *coraje* [translated best as anger, rage, or indignation] because my other daughter was in [a baby rocker] and [the agent] told me to take her out. When I took her out, one of the soldiers threw it.”

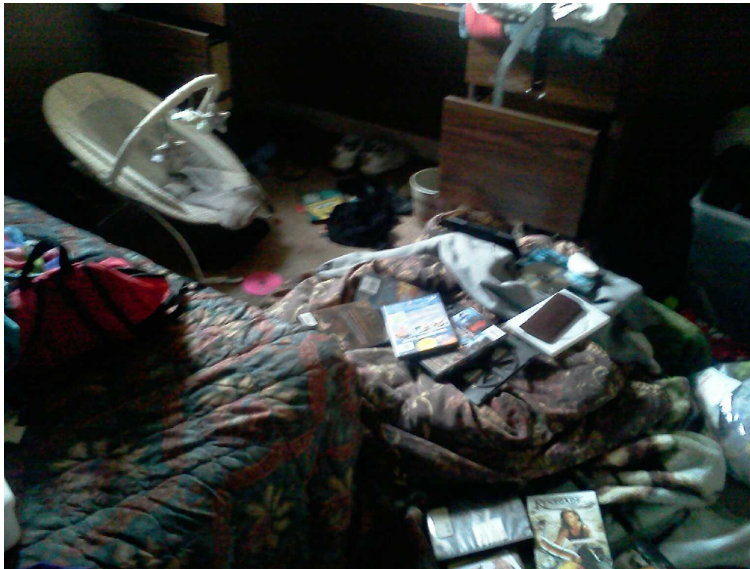


Figure 4.3. State of Guadalupe’s apartment after ICE had Left; Cradle Thrown by Agent

An ICE agent looks at the Fernanda and Guadalupe, “You have to speak English. If you are here you have to speak English. What is your name? What is your A Number because I’m going to look for you later. I’m going to look for you and take your kids.” Another agent tries to bring him back into focus, reminds him of the purpose of the raid, “Stop. Stop. We are not here for the women. We are here for Santiago.” An agent tries to talk to Guadalupe in Spanish, “*No tengan miedo. Solo*

venimos por una persona. Encontramos más. Es mi trabajo llevarlo. No, ustedes pueden quedar aquí. Nosotros nos vamos” / “Don’t be scared. We just came for one person. We found more. It’s my job to take them. You can stay here. We are leaving.”

Agents round everyone up, have them all sit in the living room. The door is broken and the breeze was blowing. While agents are warmed by adrenaline and body armor, Guadalupe is worried about her children: “They told us to go to the living room.... They put us all together but like I told you, the door was open. The cold wind was coming in and our kids didn’t have jackets. And my baby was just a month and a half.”

The “under age American woman” to whom Fernanda refers is Jessica, Santiago’s 16-year-old white U.S. citizen girlfriend. Jessica recalls the moment the SWAT Team arrives as did most everyone else: as an abrupt entrance punctuated dramatically by firearms: “We were all upstairs so they kicked in the front door and they climbed up the stairs on the side...they held guns to everybody’s head and just ordered all of us, we had to get out of the room because we were all in the room sitting down. I was changing the baby and uh yeah we all had to go in and sit on the couch that was in their living room. And uh they were all just yelling at ‘em like, ‘Uh if you are here you need to speak English. Why are you going to come here if you are going to speak your fucking language?’ and shit like that. And I’m like ‘Well why do you have this job if you can’t speak their language?’ And they’re like, ‘If you are going to have an attitude then why don’t you tell them what we are saying?’ And I’m

like, 'I don't speak their language, I help them with their kids and that's it, you done took everybody that spoke my language.'"

But Jessica's sarcasm is not met with tightened handcuffs, as was Francisco's about three hours before, and her English fluency is not seen as involvement in illegal activity, as it was for Arturo about ten hours before, nor greeted with the threat of taking her children, as it was for Guadalupe at that moment. Neither is she stripped and searched for tattoos. And, unlike Santiagito and Sergio in the apartment with them and the four Latino men in the garage below them, all the women are ultimately left in the apartment as agents disperse. As Santiagito is cuffed and taken away a few feet in front of her, Jessica slips her phone number and address in his pocket. Maybe he can call her from the immigration office. Or Mexico.

"You know what, fuck this I'm gonna go like see what's going on back there." From the chicken restaurant across the street Elena Maria, Amelia, and Ofelia watch as cars pile up outside of Santiago's *taller*. Nervously, they walk toward the police activity and begin to take notes. "What's going on here,?" Elena Maria asks an officer. "What do you mean 'what's going on here'? Who are you? Who are you with?" Elena Maria doesn't back down: "I'm a legal observer with WICIR, the immigrant's rights organization, and I need to know what's going on here." The agent pauses, then responds, "Well you can talk to the Sheriff when the Sheriff gets here. We can call the Sheriff for you." Elena Maria gets angry. She had advocated for less collaboration between the Sheriff and ICE, and the WCSO had been extremely receptive, agreeing that blending local and immigration enforcement weakens relationships with the

Latino community. “How could this be a Sherriff raid? We work with the Sheriff and the Sherriff wouldn’t do this?” Elena Maria tells them, trying to keep her cool. “Well this is a Sheriff raid. They called us,” the ICE agent responds. A Sherriff’s agent arrives, “Oh, well, this is a drug raid.”

Elena Maria convinces the officers to let her Ofelia, and Amelia go up to the apartment. On her way, she passes a van, “Then I saw the van and inside the van there were all these men getting put in handcuffs, like all kinds of men.”

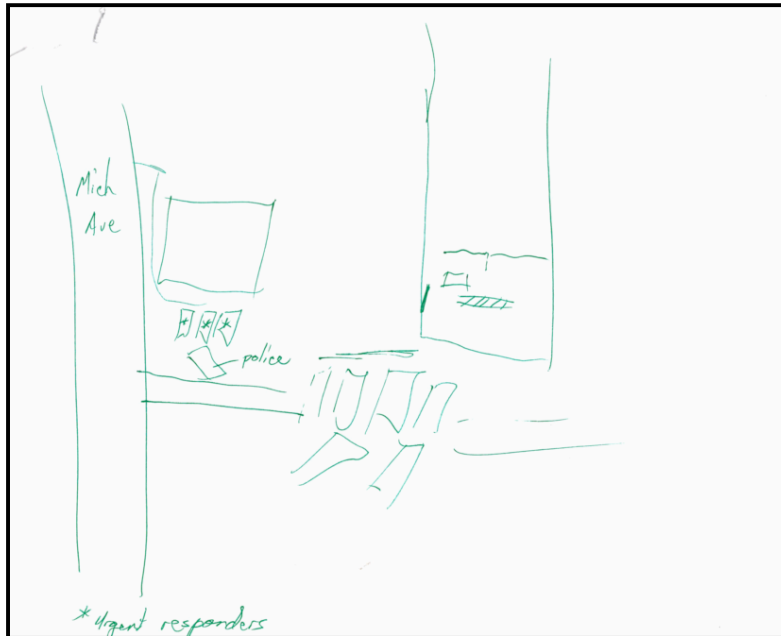


Figure 4.4 Amalia’s Hand-Drawn Map of the Location of Officers and Urgent Responders

Ofelia, also a social work student, notes that Guadalupe and Fernanda are scattered and distracted. She also writes notes, “You could tell that they were you know just really charged by what had happened and their experience and one of the toddlers, the older one, she I don’t know she must have been like two or so she was

just walking around kind of like with a shocked face on and just her sister was like hitting her with this doll and she wasn't responding to that, like you could just tell she was in shock." Drawers are dumped out, papers are scattered, clothes are strewn across the floor, and drug-dog mucus coats their belongings. The two men closest to them – Santiago and his son Santiagito—are now detained. Before the agents left, one of them told Guadalupe and Fernanda that an immigration advocacy group would be there shortly.

The lock to the door is broken, it's getting cold, and Guadalupe still hasn't picked up Carlitos.

WICIR organized an emergency meeting three days later, on November 10th, 2013, which was attended by at least 50 people, including myself. Testimonies reveal that because the locks on the doors were broken by ICE agents, Guadalupe and Fernanda's living space was invaded and their possessions stolen by unknown individuals in their absence.

The WCSO, who participated in the raid, stated that the raid had "nothing to do with immigration," however, no drugs or firearms were found, and WCSO brought no charges against anyone detained in the raid. Santiago was detained for four months before he was deported to Mexico. Julio, the man in the car with Santiago, signed a voluntary departure form and returned to Mexico. Santiagito, who had arrived only two months before the raid, was detained for a month and eight days and deported to Mexico. Arturo was detained for a month and, with the help of a lawyer and given the 10 years he has been in the U.S. without incident, released

with a temporary work permit that he has to renew every year. Francisco was kept in detention for a month before he was also released with a work permit. While Francisco was detained, the truck that was in the *taller* was towed. Unable to pay to have it released as all funds went to legal fees, it was eventually repossessed. It is not clear what happened to the man in the car with Francisco. It is unclear what happened to Roberto, the man in the car with Guadalupe. It is believed that the four men in the *taller* were all deported.

It is not clear how many arrests occurred on Michigan Avenue. WICIR reported that at least eight men were identified and taken into detention by immigration officials, but said that this number is likely closer to 15, some of these coming from arrests on the road (Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights, 2014).

Neither, Guadalupe, Fernanda, nor their five children, had charges brought against them. Guadalupe, in the absence of Santiago, picked up a second job, and now works from 8:00 AM to 4:30 PM six days a week cleaning rooms, and from 5:00 PM to about midnight three of four days a week doing laundry, in the hotel. About fifteen days after Santiago was deported, Fernanda took a bus with her kids to McAllen, Texas, before walking across the border to Reynosa, Mexico. Santiago recalled, “[After I was deported], she stayed about fifteen more days..... No, not very long, because she didn’t even have money to buy milk for the kids.”

4.4 Conclusion

In the current chapter, I presented a detailed retelling of the 11/7 raid using a narrative voice developed primarily through participant interviews. While a

retelling of this length and style is perhaps not typical of public health research, it is beneficial to the dissertation for at least three reasons. First, because this dissertation utilizes a critical case study design, this level of detail allows one to consider the extent to which the case is similar to or different from other cases like it (Patton, 2002; Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015). Secondly, this retelling is able to draw the reader “phenomenologically closer” (De León, 2016, p. 44) to an immigration raid in order to better understand the human experience of this type of immigration law enforcement. Lastly, Kleinman and Kleinman (1991) suggest that “[t]he semiotic iteration of the suffering of lay men and women into the taxonomies of healing professionals is then shown to distort the moral world of patient and community” (p. 275). Thus, this narrativization is used so as to avoid rendering invisible the “moral worlds” those who experienced the raid through the (necessarily) reductive analytic techniques I apply in the coming four chapters.

Chapter 5

The Relationship between Immigration Enforcement Stress, Self-Rated Health, and Raid Timing

“So, as I told you, these raids are something tremendous. It changes your life at that moment, it changes your life after, leaving a psychological impact.”

“Well, what can I tell you? It’s something so ugly that thank God happened some years ago, but I remember it as if it were yesterday. It sticks”

-Hilda, who witnessed her husband’s arrest outside of the Michigan Avenue building

5.1 Review of Relevant Literature

Undocumented immigrants experience a pervasive fear of deportation that impacts their health (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007; Hacker et al., 2011, 2012; Sullivan & Rehm, 2005). Fear of disclosure of one’s immigration status—which could end in deportation—leads to decreases in social service and health care utilization (Blewett et al., 2003; Hacker et al., 2011, 2012; Maldonado et al., 2013; Walter, Bourgois, Loinaz, & Schillinger, 2002). When local police collaborate with federal

immigration law enforcement, trust between communities and law enforcement is undermined, and the likelihood that undocumented immigrants will contact the police decreases, even if they are the victims of crimes (Golash-Boza, 2012; Khashu, 2009; Theodore, 2013). Surveillance of immigration status transforms public space into an area of risk, decreasing the likelihood that undocumented immigrants will walk their children to school, visit the grocery store, go to parks, or participate in other sociocultural activities (Chaudry et al., 2010; Chavez, 2013a; Hardy et al., 2012; Heyman, 2014; Satinsky et al., 2013). Taken together, a growing body of research illustrates that there are both direct and indirect effects of immigration enforcement and policy on the health of undocumented immigrants.

5.1.1 Quasi-experimental studies. Quasi-experimental studies have considered shifts in health-related behaviors after changes to immigration policy. Findings suggest that policies that require individuals to provide evidence of immigration status limit access to resources, regardless of immigration status. After the passage of the Alabama Taxpayer and Citizen Protection Act, for example, which required proof of citizenship to receive public benefits, Latinas were less likely to use health services at the county level. This included services, such as treatments for sexually transmitted infections that were exempt from residency requirements. (White et al., 2014a; White, Yeager, Menachemi, & Scarinci, 2014b). After the passage of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 (SB 1070), which gave police the power to detain individuals who are unable to verify citizenship upon request, Mexican-origin adolescent mothers were less likely to use public assistance and less likely take their infants to receive medical care (Toomey et al., 2014). SB 1070 further increased

fear of immigration enforcement, decreased trust in law enforcement, and restricted neighborhood mobility, with various impacts on health (Hardy et al., 2012). These quasi-experimental studies present strong evidence of the immediate repercussions of immigration policy on health and provide insight into the effects of immigration enforcement on everyday life.

5.1.2 The 11/7 raid as a critical case study. Immigration home raids are an understudied method of immigration law enforcement. These immigration law enforcement activities—sudden, unpredictable, violent, and within private space—exemplify the breadth and depth of the enforcement capacity of ICE. For this reason, home raids are able to serve as case studies (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015; Yin, 2009) of the effects of immigration enforcement on mixed-status Latino communities. A typical home raid occurs in the pre-dawn hours when occupants are sleeping. Agents, with guns drawn and wearing body armor, surround the house, pound on doors, and enter the home after receiving consent, though reports of consent differ (Evans, 2009). Other individuals suspected of being undocumented may be taken as “collateral” arrests, a process rooted in racial profiling (Provine & Doty, 2011). These arrests frequently include witnesses, often children (Adler, 2006; Allen et al., 2013; Bernstein, 2007; Capps et al., 2007; Carrasco & Loewe, 2014; Evans, 2009; Golash-Boza, 2012; Kanstroom, 2012; Mendelson et al., 2009; Sanders et al., 2013; Satinsky et al., 2013; Treadwell, 2011). The current raid shares many of these traits, including the presence of heavily armed officers, the time of day of the raid (in this case, dusk), collaboration with local law enforcement, the presence of childhood

witnesses, and the arrest and deportation of individuals who were not the target of the raid (“collateral”).

Additionally, this raid serves as a “critical” case study among immigration home raids. Remler and Van Ryzin (2015) describe a critical case study as one in which the case is “itself particularly important and/or similar to other important cases” (p. 75). While there is no “typical” immigration home raid, the 11/7 raid differed in notable ways from those described above. First, the raid involved a SWAT unit, who was able to invade the private space in which Guadalupe, Fernanda, and Santiago lived without gaining consent, as would be illegal for ICE to do. Secondly, this raid occurred at a warehouse whose second floor was converted into an apartment, not a traditional residential home. I thus cast this case study as “critical” in that it included an extreme use of force and exemplifies the range of spaces in which “home raids” raids may occur.

Three months before the 11/7 raid, data collection began for the *Encuesta Buenos Vecinos* (EBV; “Good Neighbors Survey”) to investigate the social determinants of health among Latinos in Washtenaw County. The survey data thus provide a unique opportunity for a quasi-experimental investigation (natural experiment) of the effects of an immigration raid that was both an exemplar of other raids but whose heightened level of intensity increased the likelihood of detecting effects in a naturalistic quantitative study. A detailed explanation of the survey methodology and analysis plan were presented in Chapter 3.2. In the current chapter, I describe the results of these analyses. Before I begin, I present the three

primary variables used to capture immigration enforcement stress on participants' everyday lives in Table 5.1 below for ease of reference.

Table 5.1

Immigration Enforcement Stress Measures and Responses

Measure 1	Measure Text
English	My legal status has limited my contact with family and friends
Spanish	Mi estatus legal ha limitado mis contactos con familiares y amigos
Measure 2	Measure Text
English	I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency
Spanish	Me denunciarán a Inmigración si voy a una agencia social o gubernamental.
Measure 3	Measure Text
English	I fear the consequences of deportation.
Spanish	Temo las consecuencias de la deportación
Responses	Response text
English	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neutral / Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly agree
Spanish	1 Muy en desacuerdo 2 En desacuerdo 3 Neutral/ Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo 4 De acuerdo 5 Muy de acuerdo

5.2 Results

5.2.1 Characteristics of the study sample. In Table 5.2, I present characteristics of the full sample as well as stratified by raid timing. Over half (57.4%) of participants were women and the mean participant age was 36.6 years (SD = 13.7 years). About two thirds of participants were in relationships. The mean length of residence in Washtenaw County was 9.1 years (SD = 10.9 years) and mean length of time in the U.S. was 15.3 years (SD = 10.9 years). More than half (54.4%) of participants had children under the age of 18 in the home. The length of time in the U.S. generally, and Washtenaw County specifically, along with the high percentage of individuals with children in the home and in relationships, imply a deep rootedness to Washtenaw County that is increasingly typical in “new destination” cities and towns outside of the U.S. Southwest (Vega, 2015). The mean self-rated health score was 3.6 (SD = 1.1), or between “good” and “very good.”

Participants scored their Spanish-speaking abilities higher than their English-speaking abilities (5.2 versus 3.9 on a scale from 1 “not at all” to 6 “excellent”). Three-quarters of the sample were more likely to speak Spanish than English (or both Spanish and English) with family and about half were more likely to speak Spanish than English or both with friends. The sample was largely foreign born, with 84.3 % born outside of the U.S., mostly in Mexico (36.8 %) or Central America (24.4 %) (not shown).

I present differences in participant characteristics before and after the raid in order to consider to what extent sample changes may affect study findings. The recruitment strategy did not change after the raid. However, there were significant

differences in the sample to note, as those who completed the survey after the raid were younger by about 5.5 years (32.9 years versus 38.4 years, $p < 0.001$), had spent less time in Washtenaw County (9.9 versus 7.5 years; $p < 0.01$), and were less likely to be born abroad (87.2% versus 78.2%; $p = 0.01$). I consider the implications for these differences in the Limitations section of this chapter.

Table 5.2.

Sample Characteristics of EBV Participants, N = 476

Measure	Full sample	Before raid	After Raid	X ² /t value ¹ , p value
N	476	325 (68%)	151 (32%)	
Women, %	57.4	60.0	51.7	2.9, p = 0.09
Age, years (SD)	36.6 (13.7)	38.4	32.9	4.10, p < 0.001
Education, years (SD)	12.0 (4.4)	12.2	11.6	1.37, p = 0.17
Time in US, years (SD)	15.3 (10.9)	15.3	15.3	0.00, p = 1.0
Time in Washtenaw County, years (SD)	9.1 (7.6)	9.9	7.5	3.19, p < 0.01
Self-rated health, mean (SD)	3.6 (1.1)	3.6	3.4	1.9, p = 0.06
Born abroad, %	84.3	87.2	78.2	6.0, p = 0.01
Children in home, %	54.4	55.9	51.4	0.8, p = 0.36
In a relationship, %	62.9	63.3	62.0	0.08, p = 0.78
Language factors, mean (SD)				
How well do you speak Spanish? (1 -not at all to 6-excellent)	5.2 (1.2)	5.2	5.0	1.61, p = 0.12
How well do you speak English? (1 -not at all to 6- excellent)	3.9 (1.7)	4.0	3.7	1.71, p = 0.09
Language spoken with family				1.77, p = 0.41
Spanish, %	75.2	75.8	74.0	
English, %	12.0	10.7	14.7	
Both English and Spanish, %	12.8	13.5	11.3	

Measure	Full sample	Before raid	After Raid	X ² / t value ¹ , p value
Language spoken with friends				2.1, p = 0.35
Spanish, %	52.3	51.7	53.6	
English, %	26.0	24.8	28.5	
Both Spanish and English, %	21.7	23.5	17.9	

¹ T-test used for continuous data;, Chi-square tests used for categorical data

5.2.3 Pairwise correlation analysis. I present the results of pairwise correlational analysis of immigration enforcement measures, self-rated health, demographic factors of note, and raid timing in Table 5.3. Immigration enforcement stress measures (Table 5.1) positively correlated with each other (that is, higher scores in one measure were related to higher scores in the others). All three immigration enforcement stress measures correlated with self-rated health such that higher immigration enforcement scores were related to lower self-rated health scores. Two immigration enforcement stress measures, “My legal status has limited contact with my family and friends” and “I fear the consequences of deportation,” were correlated with raid timing such that each measure was significantly higher after the raid. All three immigration enforcement stress measures were significantly correlated with nativity and the presence of children in the home such that being born abroad and having children in the home were each related to higher immigration enforcement stress scores (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3

Pairwise Correlation Analysis of Immigration Related Health and Demographic Factors and Raid Timing

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. My legal status has limited my contact with family and friends ^a	1						
2. I fear the consequences of deportation ^a	0.74***	1					
3. I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency ^a	0.76***	0.72***	1				
4. Self-rated health ^b	-0.26***	-0.27***	-0.24***	1			
5. Sex (1 = male)	0.04	-0.01	0.06	0.09*	1		
6. Nativity (1 = born in the United States)	-0.32***	-0.29***	-0.26***	0.13**	0.01	1	
7. Children in home (1 = yes)	0.20***	0.20***	0.12*	-0.08	-0.05	-0.26***	1
8. Raid timing (1 = after)	0.11*	0.12**	0.04	-0.09	0.08	0.11*	-0.04

a. 1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree. b. 1 = poor, 5 = excellent. * = $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$

5.2.4 Multivariate models. Principle axis factoring of the three immigration enforcement stress measures resulted in one factor with an Eigenvalue of 2.1, with each item having a factor loading greater than 0.8. I consider the resulting factor to be a measure of the *intensity* of immigration enforcement stress on participants' day-to-day lives. I conducted linear regression analysis of this composite factor while controlling for age, sex, relationship status, years in Washtenaw County, the presence of children in the home, and nativity, and present the results in Table 5.4. Raid timing was significantly associated with the intensity of immigration enforcement stress such that those who completed the survey after the raid reported higher intensity levels of immigration enforcement stress (Table 5.4, Model 1). Similarly, and as seen in correlational models above, the presence of children in the home and being born abroad predicted increased immigration enforcement stress.

I repeated the regression analysis above with self-rated health as the outcome variable while again controlling for age, sex, relationship status, years in Washtenaw County, the presence of children in the home, and nativity. As seen in Table 5.4, Model 2, raid timing was significantly associated with self-rated health such that completing the survey after the raid was related to lower self-rated health scores.

Table 5.4

Regression Analysis of Raid Timing on Intensity of Immigration Enforcement and Self-Rated Health

Model 1: Immigration Enforcement Stress Intensity (n = 429)		
	B (SE)	Significance
Raid timing (1 = after)	0.29 (0.09)	< 0.01
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.22
Sex (1 = male)	0.06 (0.09)	0.47
Relationship status (1 = in a relationship)	-0.16 (0.09)	0.10
Years in Washtenaw County	0.01 (0.01)	0.28
Children in house (1 = yes)	0.25 (0.09)	< 0.01
Nativity (1 = born in the United States)	-0.78 (0.12)	< 0.001
Model 2: Self Rated Health (n = 443)		
	B (SE)	Significance
Raid timing (1 = after)	-0.41 (0.10)	< 0.001
Age	-0.03 (0.00)	<0.001
Sex	0.17 (0.10)	0.07
Relationship status (1 = in a relationship)	0.04 (0.11)	0.69
Years in Washtenaw County	0.01 (0.01)	0.40
Children in house (1 = yes)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.49
Nativity (1 = born in the U.S.)	0.21 (0.14)	0.12

5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 Summary. The current natural experiment demonstrates the impact of an immigration raid on a mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County. These findings begin to answer the dissertation’s overarching question—what are the implications of immigration home raids on health—by considering the relationship between the timing of an immigration raid and self-rated health, a measure known to powerfully and consistently predict morbidity and mortality (Idler & Benyamini, 1997; Schnittker & Bacak, 2014). These findings also begin to investigate Aim 1—changes to social service utilization patterns following the raid—using an immigration enforcement stress measure that asks to what extent a participant agrees with the statement, “I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency.” Findings additionally begin to consider Aim 2—the sociocultural environment—by utilizing a measure of the intensity of immigration enforcement stress, a composite factor composed of three immigration enforcement stress measures (Table 5.1) and considering relationships among outcome measures and demographic factors that are salient in the literature and have been observed in fieldwork, such as gender (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013) and family composition (Chaudry et al., 2010).

Correlational analyses show that self-rated health and immigration enforcement stress measures one (my legal status has limited contact with family and friends) and two (I fear the consequences of deportation) are related to the timing of the 11/7 raid (Table 5.3 Row 8). To summarize the relationship, participants who completed the survey after the raid had lower self-rated health

scores and higher scores on immigration enforcement stress measures than participants who completed the survey before. These findings are echoed and strengthened in regression models, in which raid timing, after controlling for demographic factors of note, predicted lower self-rated health scores and an increased intensity of immigration enforcement stress. These results—which quantitatively illustrate the relationships between an immigration raid, self-rated health, and the intensity of immigration enforcement stress—are the first of their kind based on my review of the literature.

Further, only two other studies of which I am aware based on my review of the literature have considered quantitatively the relationship between self-rated health and immigration enforcement. Cavazos-Rehg, Zayas, and Spitznagel (2007) found in regression models that deportation concern significantly and negatively predicted self-rated health (what the authors called “subjective health status”). Finch and Vega (2003) found that “legal status stress” (a composite variable that included fear of deportation) was related to the likelihood of describing oneself in fair/poor self-rated health (in this case, “how would you rate your overall physical health?”). These findings add valuably to this literature by, for the first time, considering how self-rated health interacts with a specific type of immigration enforcement—an immigration raid (Table 5.4, Model 2).

Three demographic factors—nativity, the presence of children in the home, and gender—were all related in unique ways to immigration enforcement stress. Pairwise correlational analyses show that those born abroad had higher scores for all three immigration enforcement stress measures compared to those born in the

U.S., and those with children in the home had higher scores for two immigration enforcement stress measures compared to those without children in the home (Table 5.3). In regression models, in addition to raid timing, the presence of children in the home and being a woman both predicted increased intensity of immigration enforcement stress (Table 5.4 Model 1).

The influence of the above demographic factors, which have been explored in the literature (Chaudry et al., 2010; Doering-White et al., 2014; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), observed in fieldwork, and, now, supported in the current chapter, are critical in guiding the forthcoming analysis of qualitative data as they directly speak to Aim 2 of this dissertation (sociocultural context). Thus, the patterning of immigration enforcement stressors, demographic factors, and raid timing are explored below. Notably, that the t-tests upon which the following discussions are based do not account for co-occurring factors that influence outcomes, as do linear regression models, and sample sizes are decreased due to stratification. Further, other research has noted the methodological challenges of performing “too many” statistical tests (Lane, 2013), stating that relationships among variables are likely to be found based on chance. Thus, I present these analyses here post-hoc to provide guidance on qualitative analyses to come.

5.3.2. Closing gaps in the literature: Relationship between demographic factors and immigration enforcement stress. Table 5.5 presents results for each immigration enforcement stress measure stratified by nativity, the presence of children in the home, and gender. For those born abroad, participants who completed the survey after the raid scored higher on immigration enforcement

stress measures 1 and 2, implying that foreign-born participants felt increasingly restricted in their abilities to maintain contact with family and friends and fearful of the consequences of deportation following the raid. This finding is perhaps not surprising, as those who are undocumented are by definition foreign-born, and one would expect, for example, the threat of deportation to affect them more profoundly (though not uniquely).

Participants with children in the home who completed the survey after the raid had higher scores on all three immigration enforcement stress measures compared to those who completed the survey before (Table 5.5). The increased scores on the first measure—I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency—begin to illustrate one mechanism by which the effects of the raid could extend beyond those directly involved. In this case, by discouraging parents from visiting social service agencies, the effects of the raid extend to the children who would benefit from social service agency resources. Thus, the effects of the raid appear to mirror those of AZ SB 1070, after the passage of which Mexican-origin adolescent mothers were less likely to use public assistance or take their infants to receive medical care (Toomey et al., 2014). Enriquez (2015) describes this phenomena well: “[I]mmigration laws and policies produce *multigenerational punishment* wherein the legal sanctions intended for undocumented immigrants extend into the lives of U.S. citizens.”

Table 5.5.

Post Hoc Analysis of Raid Timing, Immigration Enforcement Variables, and Demographic Factors

	Before raid Mean item score (n)	After Raid Mean item score (n)	t value ¹ , p value
Measure 1: My legal status has limited contact with my family and friends			
Foreign Born	2.6 (269)	3.2 (114)	-3.89, p < 0.001
Children in the home	2.5 (173)	3.4 (74)	-4.21, p < 0.001
Men	2.4 (128)	3.0 (73)	-2.27, p = 0.02
Women	2.4 (192)	2.7 (75)	-1.11, p = 0.27
Measure 2: I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency			
Foreign Born	2.2 (263)	2.5 (113)	-1.76, p = 0.07
Children in the home	2.1 (167)	2.5 (73)	-2.16, p = 0.03
Men	2.1 (128)	2.3 (73)	-0.91, p = 0.37
Women	2.1 (186)	2.1 (74)	-0.15, p = 0.88
Measure 3: I fear the consequences of deportation			
Foreign Born	2.6 (263)	3.3 (113)	-3.76, p < 0.001
Children in the home	2.6 (167)	3.5 (74)	-3.66, p < 0.001
Men	2.5 (125)	2.7 (73)	-1.07, p = 0.29
Women	2.4 (188)	3.0 (75)	-2.70, p < 0.01

¹ Two-tailed t-test

Gender was associated with immigration enforcement stress measures 1 and 3 (Table 5.5). Specifically, men and women differed on the item “my legal status has limited contact with my family and friends” with men who completed the survey after the raid scoring higher on the item than men who completed the survey before. The lack of significant difference for women is notable as well, and some work

suggests possible explanations for these findings. Undocumented men and women differ in the time they spend in public versus private space. Generally speaking, men are typically more likely to work and drive, while women often spend time in the home caring for family (Carney, 2015; Chaudry et al., 2010; Mehta et al., 2002). Thus, perhaps restricted mobility does not limit women in their contact with family and friends (as implied by the lack of significant findings), as they would be confined to the home, a space in which family is already present. Conversely, perhaps restricted mobility for men confines them to their work site or home, limiting contact with the friends they must drive to visit. I consider the interplay of gender and restricted mobility in the next chapters.

Men and women also differed in scores on immigration enforcement stress measure 3, "I fear the consequences of deportation." Men who completed the survey after the raid did not significantly differ in scores for this measure compared to men who completed the survey before. Among women, those who completed the survey after the raid had significantly higher scores on the measure than women who completed the survey before (Table 5.5). Some research suggests possible reasons why women and men may perceive the effects of deportation, and the severity of those effects, differently. First, it is important to note that the question does not specify *whose* deportation results in negative consequences. It stands to reason that both men and women would reflect on the deportation of men, which is much more likely than the deportation of women (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013). Thus, a man may reflect on his own deportation and consider the fact that a surreptitious return to the U.S. is possible, a task much less risky for men than

women (De León, 2016; Falcón, 2001; Nazario, 2007). By the same token, when women consider deportation, they may reflect on the removal of the breadwinner (generally, the husband or boyfriend) and the subsequent need to care for children without economic assistance. If women are reflecting on the consequences of their own deportation, some work suggests they are intensely fearful of the effects of deportation specifically because their deportations would leave their children without care (Doering-White et al., 2014).

Certainly, these are large extrapolations from a bivariate analysis. They are, however, valuable as part of the growing number of findings here and in the coming chapters that, holistically, point to the effects of a raid that occurred in a mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County. Taken together, these findings add to discussion of the gendered effects of immigration enforcement (Doering-White et al., 2014; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013) and emphasize that consideration of the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred (Aim 2) must include constructions of gender and connectedness to family and community.

5.3.3 Chapter 5 findings through the lens of illegality. It is conceptually critical to note that results from this chapter do not measure immigration enforcement stress *generally*, but consider how this enforcement stress is affected by a particularly violent act of immigration enforcement—an immigration raid. Specifically, these analyses present *increases* in immigration enforcement stress following the 11/7 raid on Michigan Avenue. If we define illegality as the sociopolitical construction that results in one’s deportability (De Genova, 2002; De Genova & Peutz, 2010), these findings suggest that perhaps illegality is more

dynamic, malleable, and manipulable by those in positions of power than the common conception of illegality as a “mode of being-in-the-world” implies (Willen, 2007, p. 8). I argue that what is quantitatively captured here is a sense of increased illegality, a heightened awareness of the fragility of links to the U.S. and the utter triviality of community member claims of belonging.

5.3.4 Strengths and limitations. Despite the numerous strengths of this study, including the use of survey data to, for the first time, investigate the health effects of an immigration raid, there are limitations worth noting. These limitations also provide guidance in the analysis of qualitative data in the next chapter. I detail these limitations below.

5.3.4.1 Changes to the sample composition after the raid. Compared to those who completed the survey before the raid, those who completed the survey after were less likely to be foreign-born, were younger by about 5.5 years, and had lived in Washtenaw County for about 2.4 years less (Table 4.2). I discuss the significance of each of these differences in turn below.

One would expect the intensity of immigration enforcement stress to more strongly (though not exclusively) affect undocumented individuals, who are by definition foreign-born, as well as those with more time in Washtenaw County, as these participants are more likely to have integrated into families and communities in the U.S. (Doering-White et al., 2014; Vega, 2015). Thus, that the sample after the raid is composed of less foreign-born participants who are on average younger than participants in the sample before the raid would theoretically decrease the likelihood of detecting significant effects of immigration enforcement stress

following the raid. However, the intensity of immigration enforcement stress was significantly higher after the raid occurred in both bivariate (Table 5.3) and regression analyses (Table 5.4). Notably, it is entirely possible that fewer undocumented individuals completed the survey—which was organized by two government-funded institutions—after the raid in order to avoid sharing private information. Yet significant differences were still detected.

The sample after the raid was about 4.5 years younger than the sample before (Table 5.3). Self-rated health declines with age (Andersen, Christensen, & Frederiksen, 2007). Thus, the younger sample following the raid would theoretically decrease the likelihood of detecting lower self-rated health scores. However, as above, despite the change in sample composition, regression models show that raid timing negatively predicted self-rated health scores. Thus, the significant relationships between the intensity of immigration enforcement stress, self-rated health, and raid timing despite these changes in the demographic composition of the sample speak to the robustness of study findings.

On the other hand, the smaller proportion of foreign-born individuals who completed the survey after the raid could skew self-rated health findings in the direction of a type II error. Specifically, Viruell-Fuentes, Morenoff, Williams, and House (2011) found that the translation of the English “fair” to the Spanish “regular” may bias Spanish speaking ratings toward lower scores. Thus, it is important to critically consider to what extent the negative relationships between raid timing and self-rated health scores are an artifact of changes to sample composition. That is, if the population that completed the survey after the raid were

more likely to complete the survey in Spanish, the language of the interview could partially explain the lower self-rated health scores.

While nativity, discussed above, is a reasonable proxy measure of survey language, there are other variables that should also be considered. For example, 76% of participants who completed the survey before the raid spoke Spanish with their families, as did 74% of the participants who completed the survey after the raid, a nonsignificant difference (Table 5.2). Similarly, while 52% of participants who completed the survey before the raid spoke Spanish with their friends, 54% of participants who completed the survey after did so as well, a difference that was again nonsignificant. Thus, while a change in the proportion of foreign-born individuals could be read as an increase in Spanish surveys after the raid, the latter two finding contradicts this. In the following chapters I add breadth and depth to the relationship between self-rated health and the 11/7 raid.

5.3.4.2 The relationship between beliefs and actions. Much work has considered the factors that predict health behaviors. The health belief model (Janz & Becker, 1984), for example, is frequently used in public health to explain and predict “the acceptance of health and medical care recommendations” (Janz & Becker, 1984, p. 1). To simplify, the model proposes that likelihood of engaging in an action is predicted by the “difference” between “perceived benefits” and “perceived barriers.” I do not rely on this model in the current study because of the criticism it has garnered for its failure to capture contextual factors that limit individual agency and capacity to act (Balbach, Smith, & Malone, 2006) and the model’s tendency to greatly underestimate the influence of an individual’s social position (Janz & Becker, 1984).

However, the model provides a useful critique of the current findings, as one could argue that *perceptions* of increased immigration enforcement may not necessarily translate into behavior change. To give a specific example using immigration enforcement stress measure two, one could ask if the perception that “I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency” implies that one actually *avoids* social service agencies, or simply visits these agencies with increased fear? The extent to which perceptions of immigration enforcement translate into behavior change –with effects on health—is indeed worth questioning. In the next chapter, I explore how the perception that social service agencies engender deportation risk—shown quantitatively here—is related to behavioral changes that affect health.

5.3.5 General implications. The data suggest that immigration raids are acute events that may have immediate effects on mixed-status communities. These communities, such as that described by the EBV data in the current chapter, are composed of individuals of a variety of immigration statuses, who speak various levels of English and Spanish, and, because many are undocumented, lack access to health insurance. Immigration raids occur within populations that already experience an inequitable need for support services and may thus exacerbate pre-existing health inequities. Health researchers need to broaden their conversations about immigration enforcement and its health implications and investigate the direct effects of immigration enforcement on the individuals who experience it—such as the depression, anxiety, and trauma engendered by one’s arrest, deportation, or witness to a raid—as well as the actions that alienate immigrant and U.S. born Latinos alike. Further, results indicate that having children in the home

and being born outside of the U.S. were associated with higher levels of immigration enforcement stress. Maintaining a healthy community requires access to preventative health services, yet as the data show, fear of accessing these services may increase following immigration enforcement actions. Members of the community who may already be marginalized and vulnerable—foreign-born women with children in the home—may be less likely to seek out these services following immigration home raids. Thus, community health advocates should work diligently to clearly separate social service provisioning from immigration enforcement.

Chapter 6

“Se rompe la comunidad”

Immigration Raids and the Fracturing of Mixed-Status Latino Social Networks

“If I’m not part of [the raid] and my neighbor is, I try to distance myself from him and not speak to him. So it shatters the community. It tears at the wellbeing of the neighborhood and of friendships. Many friendships were fractured because people don’t want to be close to someone who is at risk of being deported, at risk of being arrested.”

-Fabián, Outreach Coordinator at Sewing Seeds¹¹.

“Like if we said to someone that we needed something, they would lend us money or something. But no one wanted to go near there because of the raid... No one, no one, wanted to go near there because they were scared they would get taken.”

-Guadalupe, who was in the raided apartment on November 7, 2013.

6.1. Introduction and Overview

We sat on folding metal chairs under the shade of a tall pine tree in her yard. It was sunny, but not hot, and Hilda would periodically take a break from our interview to negotiate with the customers in her front yard who wanted to purchase clothing and appliances from her garage sale. Next to me sat two bags filled with old clothes from Hilda’s 8- and 5-year-old sons, Sebastián and Alejandro, and, while my

¹¹ Pseudonym

daughter never wore the black and orange water shoes I bought her, my son loved the Finding Nemo pajama shirt, and even wore it when the winter need for warm pajamas had passed.

Hilda's house sat on a moderate size plot of land, with both a front yard and a back yard, and there were a two cars and a camper in her drive way in front of a two-car garage. The lawn was well manicured, with wood chips and gravel placed at strategic intervals to add personality to the front of the house. The nice lawn, however, did nothing to stop Sebastián and Ale from chasing each other around on their bicycles all over the grass, sometimes even bumping into the table where Hilda and I sat, under the pine, discussing the 11/7 raid.

While the raid that occurred on November 7, 2013 allegedly targeted a single undocumented man—Santiago—many others were arrested, detained, and deported or, like Guadalupe and Fernanda, had violent encounters with immigration agents. Yet the outcomes of the raid varied drastically among the individuals and families involved. For some, like Hilda, whose friends, family, and community advocated for Arturo's release from detention, their lives after the raid closely resembled their lives before. For others, like Fernanda, who had no job, nowhere to live, and no available friends or family, little about their lives after the raid was reminiscent of the lives they lived up to November 10th, 2013.

In this chapter, data from participant interviews from all three subsamples are used to describe the effects of the raid. I then consider how aspects of individuals' social networks buffered the damaging effects of the raid. The

ameliorative capacity of these social networks, however, was diminished by behavior changes elicited from the raid. Specifically, individuals developed strategies to limit encounters in which they would be asked to disclose their immigration statuses, with repercussions on social network functionality. These qualitative findings are used to develop a conceptual model that is then tested using quantitative data from the EBV. Taken together, this chapter primarily addresses Aim 1 (social service utilization) by considering if and how participants' social services utilization patterns change following the 11/7 raid. This chapter also addresses Aim 3 (stakeholders) by considering how other members of individual's social networks are affected by the raid or are able to moderate the raid's negative consequences.

6.2 Literature Review

A substantial body of evidence suggests that social relationships, variously defined and conceptualized using the terms social integration, social networks, social support, social ties, and others (Berkman, Glass, Brissette, & Seeman, 2000; Heaney & Israel, 2007), support health (Berkman & Glass, 2000; Heaney & Israel, 2007; Holt-Lunstad, Smith, & Layton, 2010; House, Landis, & Umberson, 1988; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001; Umberson & Montez, 2010). Many researchers have investigated the effects of social relationships on health by focusing on the provision of social support. Social support, or "aid and assistance exchanged through social relationships and interpersonal transactions" (Heaney & Israel, 2007, p. 187), is conceptualized as the functional aspect of relationships that includes the intentional provision of supportive acts that are meant to be helpful (House, 1981).

Social support derived from relationships can be separated into four broad categories: emotional support, instrumental support, informational support, and appraisal support (Heaney & Israel, 2007; House, 1981). As described by Heaney and Israel (2007), emotional support includes “expressions of empathy, trust and caring,” instrumental support includes “tangible aid and services,” informational support includes “advice, suggestions and information,” and appraisal support includes “aid and assistance exchanged through social relationships and interpersonal transactions” (p. 191).

Other researchers have considered the effects of social relationships on health using a social networks approach. As Berkman and Glass (2000) describe, The strength of social network theory rests on the testable assumption that the social structure of the network itself is largely responsible for determining individual behavior and attitudes by shaping the flow of resources which determine access to opportunities and constraints on behavior (p. 140-141).

The authors continue, “the structural arrangement of social institutions shapes the resources available to the individual and hence the person’s behavioral and emotional responses” (p. 141). Key in Berkman and Glass’ (2000) definition of social networks theory is the influence of social networks in providing access to resources and opportunities, which in turn shapes health behaviors.

Other researchers note that social networks are not geographically bound (Wellmen & Berkowitz, 1988), but defined by a number of characteristics that could include network size (number of members), density (the extent to which members

are connected), homogeneity (the extent to which members are similar to each other), frequency of contact (number of exchanges among members), and reciprocity (the extent to which exchanges are reciprocated) (Berkman & Glass, 2000). A social networks theory approach further considers the dynamic interplay between relationships, as well as how relationships can be detrimental to health (Fleishman et al., 2000; Rook, 2015; Viruell-Fuentes & Schulz, 2009).

Some research has considered the interplay between social relationships and health among Latinos, with findings that are at times inconsistent (Mulvaney-Day, Alegría, & Sribney, 2007). In a sample of 3,012 Mexican origin adults, Finch and Vega (2003) examined whether social support mediated the relationships between self-rated physical health and stressful acculturation practices (as measured by three scales that measured language difficulty, legal status stress, and discrimination). The authors find that having more family members and peers in the U.S. and the provision of instrumental support decreases the likelihood of reporting fair/poor health. Mulvaney-Day, Alegría, and Sribney (2007) consider the relationships between social support, social cohesion, and health among U.S. Latinos. Results show that family support, as captured by three variables that assess the respondent's ability to rely on family for the emotional support they need, is positively related to self-rated physical and mental health after controlling for demographic factors of interest.

Other studies have considered *familismo*, or a hypothesized Latino cultural value that “refers to the importance of strong family loyalty, closeness, and getting along with and contributing to the wellbeing of the nuclear family, extended family,

and kinship networks” (Ayón, Marsiglia, & Bermudez-Parsai, 2010, pp. 744–745). These relationships are hypothesized to support newly immigrated Latinos as they adapt and adjust to their arrivals in the U.S. (Rumbaut, 1997; Viruell-Fuentes & Schulz, 2009). However, while some researchers have shown a positive relationship between *familismo* and health, including decreased alcohol use (Gil, Wagner, & Vega, 2000) child maltreatment (Coohey, 2001), depression, internalizing symptoms (Ayón et al., 2010), and dangerous health behaviors (Katiria Perez & Cruess, 2014), others have highlighted the ways in which these relationships may be detrimental to health. For example, family conflict may be related to health risk behaviors, emotional distress, and poorer mental health (McQueen, Getz, & Bray, 2003; Mulvaney-Day et al., 2007; Tschann et al., 2002).

Viruell-Fuentes and Schulz (2009) consider how the intergenerational dynamics and sociopolitical positions of Latinas may influence the relationship between family support and health. Using interviews with first- and second-generation Mexican women in Detroit, Michigan, the authors found that social ties facilitated transnational migration, a finding in line with previous literature (Finch & Vega, 2003; Rumbaut, 1997). However, these ties often proved taxing, and strained relationships among first- and second-generation women. As the authors summarize, “When immigrants’ already limited resources are depleted by supporting others’ migration, tensions around financial and other forms of support are perhaps not surprising. Such tensions can have long-lasting implications for relationships among, and the flow of resources between, network members” (p. 40).

In sum, social networks operate in various ways to protect health, including via the provision of social support and access to individuals and social institutions that affect the flow of resources (Berkman & Glass, 2000). Among Latinos, a social network perspective has highlighted the function of social support, often provided by family, in positively affecting health as well as facilitating migration (Ayón et al., 2010; Ruiz, 2007). Yet other research has illustrated that family conflict and the exchange of resources in resource poor settings may have the opposite effect on health (Finch & Vega, 2003; Viruell-Fuentes & Schulz, 2009). The next sections describe the negative effects of the raid and consider how social networks are able to mitigate the impact of these effects. Members of the social networks of those who were directly affected by the raid are considered “stakeholders” in the raid (as defined in Chapter 1, “stakeholder” refers to individuals involved in the raid, their families and communities, the organizations that provide them with services, and the law enforcement agents who enforce immigration law). Thus these findings directly speak to study Aim 3.

6.3 Effects of the 11/7 Raid

6.3.1 Psychological and physical repercussions. Participants detailed the psychological and physical repercussions of the raid both for those who were in direct contact with SWAT and ICE agents and for those who had to cope with the

detainments and deportation of family members. Hilda described the profundity and expansiveness of the psychological effects of the raid:

So, I'll tell you that these raids are something tremendous. They change your life in the moment, they change your life after, especially psychologically.

-Hilda, August 22, 2015

Fernanda, who was in the apartment when it was raided, began to have nightmares following the raid that lasted at least until the day we spoke in October of 2015, about two years after the raid:

Well, it was something horrible that they did in the house. Truthfully, even now I have nightmares about it. About what they did.

Fernanda was so distraught after the raid that she had talked to a social worker about wanting to kill herself:

Well [the social worker] saw that psychologically it had affected everything about me [inaudible]. This includes that sometimes I wanted to kill myself because I felt so desperate and we were alone, without the help of anyone.

-Fernanda, October 9, 2015.

Fernanda linked her suicidality not only to the mental health repercussions of the raid (“psychologically, it affected everything”), but also on the absence of a supportive social network (“alone, without the help of anyone”), which I explore in detail in the next section.

For Fernanda and Guadalupe, the psychological and emotional repercussions of the raid extended not only from their personal experiences of the traumatic event, but from coping with the sudden disappearance of their family member and

the instrumental economic support he provided. Later in the same interview, Fernanda disclosed:

I was so sad that, well the truth is that I didn't work, and that the one who gave me money, who supported me, my sister-in-law [Guadalupe], and my children was my husband [Santiago].

- Fernanda, October 9, 2015.

For the men who were detained, the inability to provide economically for their families was a significant source of emotional stress. In fact, both Arturo and Santiago felt that being unable to support their families was among the worst repercussions of the raid, as discussion with Santiago illustrated:

William: When you think back to the raid, what moment affected you the most?

Santiago: It's hard, it's so hard because my sister, my nephew and nieces, my wife, my children, all were under my care, as I took care of everything that they needed... What I earned I earned for diapers, milk, food for the house. Everything for my nephew and nieces, my sister, my wife, my children. And since they arrested me, well this is the ugliest part William. It's so difficult, and I would ask myself, 'Now who is going to help them? Who is going to give them what is needed?' Really, because it is just so so ugly to know that your kids, your nephew and nieces, are going through this difficult situation, because I was the only one providing for them.

- December 9, 2015

Arturo similarly shared that he was more worried about Hilda's need to care for their children without his 70 to 80 hours of work a week than he was about his own detention:

[My wife Hilda said] 'Don't worry about it, we are gonna make it happen.' And I was like 'But how? How? How [are you] going to find a job, be a housewife, take care of the home, take care of the bills and my kids?' [She would tell me] 'Don't worry about it.' I'm like, 'No, I do worry about it, 'cause at least here, detained, I'm eating, I sleep, I rest, but you're not, you're outside.' [She would say] 'Don't worry about me.' 'I'm worried about you because I don't know how you manage to pay bills, I don't know how you manage to pretend that everything is okay in front of my kids, even though every night you're just like in tears and crying twenty-four seven, like yes I'm worried.'

-Arturo, September 22, 2015

The psychological and emotional trauma of the raid manifested itself physically in participants' bodies as well. Arturo recounted the significant effect his absence had on Hilda, as well as how these effects persisted after his release:

She get sick, I mean like sick, sick like a dog. Like for the first month [after I was released from detention], she just wasn't the same, like we can't even carry a conversation for more than five minutes before we both start crying.

-Arturo, September 22, 2015

Hilda, Santiago, and Francisco all lost weight either while they were detained or as they coped with family members in detention. Santiago detailed his own sickness and weight loss, which he attributed to his role as a failed economic provider:

William: How much weight did you tell me you lost?

Santiago: I dropped 70 pounds.

William: Oh wow. Because you didn't eat? Because of the nerves? What do you think?

Santiago: Yes, I think it was the nerves. Just thinking and thinking. Because they gave me food, they gave me three meals a day. I think it was the nerves, and I got sick. They had to take me to the doctor like two or three months because, thinking about it all, thinking about how little I had done for my children, everything was lost.

- December 9, 2015

For those who interacted with officers during the raid, bodily injury or harm also stemmed from violent contact with officers and their military weapons. As described in the narrative retelling of the raid in Chapter 4, these injuries included tightened handcuffs and bodily bruises following confrontations with officers. For some, significant physical health changes were attributed to the "gas¹²" that SWAT agents reportedly threw in the room as they entered. For Fernanda, Santiago, and others, throwing gas into the room not only affected them physically, but represented an act of extreme military violence perpetrated by "heartless" agents in a room full of women and children. Fernanda stated that the gas made it challenging

¹² See footnote 9 in Chapter 4

to breath and caused her chest to become tight and had repercussions to her children's health for years after. I detail the ways in which the gas affected Fernanda's children and the relationships between them in the next section.

6.3.1.2 Effects of the raid on children. As shown in Figure 4.2, five of the eight participants in subsample 1 were parents who together had nine children, ranging in age from Guadalupe's daughter Fatima, who was 1-month-old, to Hilda and Arturo's son, Sebastián, who was 8-years-old, at the time of the raid.

Parents spent significant time during interviews detailing the ways in which they perceived the raid to have affected their children. Many described their children as becoming hypervigilant to the presence of law enforcement and extremely reactionary any time they saw law enforcement vehicles or agents nearby. As Arturo shared,

Every time somebody knocked [on] the front door, or they see a police car, even if it's a mile away, that was enough to just freak the hell out... Their reaction was completely like another person because they're afraid, they're insecure, they're angry, just for what they did to me.

-Arturo, September 22, 2015

Fernanda and Santiago both described similar reactions from their daughter, Lena:

Fernanda: And my daughter, well, even now she can't see the police without starting to cry. She thinks that they are going to assault her (*que la van a agredir*), that they are going to attack her.

William: Even there in Mexico? She is scared over there as well when she sees the police cars?

Fernanda: Yes, just the same. She sees them and she is filled with dread/terror (*pavor*). She can't see them. She thinks they will attack her, like when they came to our house and pointed guns at our faces.

-December 9, 2015.

Here, Lena, about three-and-a-half years old at the time of the interview and in Mexico thousands of miles from the site of the raid in Michigan, was terrified that law enforcement officers would brutalize her or her family. Lena's inability to distinguish between ICE officers in the U.S. and police in Mexico highlights the profound homogenization of law enforcement officers from all departments described by both children and adults. As other work has discussed, this homogenization is detrimental to relationships between police and minority communities (Khashu, 2009). That Lena was only about a year old at the time of the raid—yet still reacts to the sight of police—may also emphasize the influence of intergenerational storytelling about immigration enforcement. As Talavera, Núñez-Mchiri, and Heyman (2010) note,

Memory is a key factor that underlies all the fear of arrest and deportation experienced by the undocumented immigrant population. It invokes not only what people remember themselves but also the transmittal of fear from the individual to the family and the rest of the community (p. 183).

Parents noted that children not only reacted with *pavor* when they observed law enforcement officers or vehicles ("*patrullas*"), but were fearful whenever their

parents left the house that they may never see them again. Other work has documented children returning home to empty houses after their parents were detained and deported and ICE or DHS took no responsibility in attending to their needs (Capps et al., 2007)¹³. Guadalupe's son Carlitos, who had, a few months before the raid, watched while an ICE agent pointed a gun at his father, ordered him not to move, and placed him in a vehicle to deport him, told his mother:

[Carlitos] says, 'It scares me when you leave the house, when you drive, because I don't want the police to take you like they took my dad.' He says, 'or like they took my uncle Santiago.'

-Guadalupe, September 25, 2015

Arturo echoed this sentiment:

My kids, both of them, they didn't go to school for the first week I was out [of detention]. They just can't, they're scared that if I drop them to school, they're gonna go back home and I wasn't gonna be there. They sleep with me, one on each side, for the whole two months [after I was released] because they're afraid, they said, 'If you hold my hand no one will be able to take you away from me.'

-Arturo, September 22, 2015

When Arturo, Hilda, Fernanda, and Guadalupe, discussed the effects of the raid on their children, they did so by generally interpreting both how their children's behaviors changed as well as what their children *said*. However,

¹³ Notably, actress Diana Guerrero from the Netflix series, "Orange is the New Black" brought this narrative into the mainstream media in her discussions about the empty house to which she returned at the age of 14 when her parents were deported (Guerrero, 2014).

Fernanda's children, Ignacio and Lena, who were about three-months-old and one-year-old at the time of the raid, and Guadalupe's daughters, Sofía and Fatima, who were 2-years-old and about 1-month-old at the time of the raid, were perhaps too young to verbalize the effects of the raid to their parents. However, between the cold November air blowing past the broken door, the ambient terror in the apartment, and the gas that permeated their apartment, Guadalupe and Fernanda attributed behavior and health changes in their youngest children to the raid as well.

Guadalupe described her daughter's challenges following the raid and some time after:

But the little girl¹⁴ [Sofía], yes she cried. She cried for a long time. She was crying for like three or four months [after the raid]. She tried to sleep but she would cry and cry. She did things that she didn't do before [the raid].

-Guadalupe, September 25th, 2015.

Lena reacted similarly:

My daughter [Lena] would not stop crying and would not stop crying at all.

Everything that they did in my house left her scared (*Le asustó todo eso que hicieron en mi casa*).

-Fernanda, October 9, 2015

¹⁴ Referring to one's children by their genders (e.g., "the girl") or their age ("la chiquita," the little/young one) is not uncommon in Spanish, and this phrasing carries with it more tenderness than the English translation implies.

Both Guadalupe and Fernanda attributed drastic physical health changes and poor health trajectories of their young children to the raid. As Guadalupe shared with me:

Guadalupe: Well the littlest girl [Fatima], I don't know if it was the cold or what else, but physically, her health deteriorated drastically (*su salud también bajó muchísimo*) after.

William: She gets sick a lot/all the time? (*¿Se enferma mucho?*)

Guadalupe: She gets sick. She gets sick a lot/all the time. It doesn't matter if it's heat, cold, whatever. Her throat and her lungs.

-Guadalupe, September 25, 2015

Fernanda later described the way in which the raid fundamentally altered the mother/child relationship between her and Ignacio, who, up to the day of the raid, depended on Fernanda's breast milk as his primary source of sustenance. The story Fernanda shared was not only symbolically powerful, it was also one of the narratives that affected me most deeply given my positionality as a parent of young children as described in Chapter 5. I retell our interactions among the course of two interviews below. Because Spanish phrases used to describe nursing one's child differ significantly from English phrases, both languages are shown.

William: *¿Como reaccionaron sus hijos esa noche después de que pasó la redada?* / How did your kids react that night after the raid occurred?

Fernanda: *Pues la verdad fue muy horrible. Mi niño de tres meses, pues yo le daba pecho y yo con ese susto que [inaudible] bien elevado, verdad? Nunca había ni en mi país había yo pasado eso de allá. Este, se la pasó toda la noche*

sin mamar pecho. / Well the truth was that it was very horrible. My three-month-old [Ignacio], I would try to nurse him, and me, with this fright (*susto*, also translated as shock or scare), [in audible], so elevated right? Never had anything like that happened, not even in my country. He went all night without nursing.

-Fernanda, October 9, 2015

As a doctoral student attuned to issues of cultural anthropology, I sensed immediately that what Fernanda had shared—a child who would no longer breastfeed and a *susto* that somehow affected a maternal/infant bond—were analytically important and symbolically meaningful. Yet as a parent, those words—*se la pasó toda la noche sin mamar pecho*—knocked the wind out of me and left me unable and unwilling to draw out more of this story. I had watched my daughter nurse for two years, my son for two and a half, and had never considered this to be part of their mother’s citizen privilege. That night, as well as for weeks after, I reflected on the significance of this phrase and prepared myself to discuss it again with Fernanda at a later date.

Exactly two months later, Fernanda and I spoke again:

William: *¿Me dijo que ella paró de mamar pecho?* / You told me that she [incorrectly identifying gender of child] stopped nursing?

Fernanda: *Si, le dejé de dar también al, le estaba yo dando al niño, al más chiquito.* Yes, and I stopped giving milk to him also. [Correcting my mistake]: I was nursing my son, the youngest one.

William: *Mhm.*

Fernanda: *Aja, a él ya no le pude dar por el, por el susto se me fue la leche.*

Este, el niño vomitaba toda la leche. / Yes, and I couldn't give him/could no longer produce milk. Because of the shock (susto), the milk just left my body. My son threw up all the milk.

William: *¿Ok, y oh entonces él estaba vomitando la leche, dijo? / Ok, so he was throwing up the milk you said?*

Fernanda: *El niño ya no le hizo bien ya la leche de, del susto, como fue que entró el ICE a la casa, verdad? / I couldn't produce good milk for my son because of the fright (susto). But that's what happens when ICE comes in the house right?*

-Fernanda, December 9, 2015

Fernanda believed that Ignacio was vomiting the breast milk that her body could no longer adequately produce. Her good milk, her life sustaining milk, had simply left her, had left her body (“*se me fue la leche*”), and what remained was milk spoiled by the *susto* Fernanda directly attributed to the ICE raid on her apartment. At this point, Fernanda had relied on a social worker to teach her how to feed Ignacio using formula instead of nursing him.

Over a static-y phone line, with concepts that don't easily translate into English, and as a father who observed his children breastfeeding for more than four years, I was unsure that I had heard everything correctly. I attempted to summarize:

William: *Si. Mhm. Ok, a ver si comprendo bien yo. Entonces pasó la redada y su, su hijito que tenía meses, el paró de mamar pecho y después cambió usted, uh,*

empezó a usar formula, formula. / Ok, let me see if I am following. So the raid happened, and after, your son, who was just months old, stopped nursing, and you started to use formula.

Fernanda: *Si. .../ Yes....*

Fernanda: *Aja, ok ya desde ahí empezaba [inaudible] le quité el pecho porque mi pecho lo, mi formula ya, mi leche verdad ya no servía. / Yes, ok since then [inaudible] I stopped breastfeeding him because, my breast, the milk didn't work anymore.¹⁵*

Fernanda: *Aja, entonces pues ya no le pude dar, a, a mi hijo [niño llorando en el fondo] ya no le pude a continuar a darle de la lactancia por el problema que pasó. / Yes, so I couldn't give him milk anymore [child crying in background].*

I couldn't continue to give him formula because of what happened.

William: *Ok. ¿Y quien está llorando en el fondo allá? ¿Quien está llorando? Es el? / Ok. And who is that crying in the background? Who is that? Is that [Ignacio]?*

Fernanda: *Oh, el, el niño. Lo que pasa que, pasa a veces el pol- así que pasan policías revisando. / Yes, that's him. What happens is like, sometimes the police pass by here looking around.*

William: *Mhm.*

¹⁵ Here, the English translation falls woefully short of capturing the emotional content of Fernanda's words. While "I stopped breastfeeding him" is the correct translation for "*le quité el pecho*," the literal translation perhaps better expresses the active and deeply personal and physical nature of what Fernanda was experiencing: "I took my breast away from him. I took my breast away from him because the milk was no longer any good."

Fernanda: *Se pasan a dar su descanso [inaudible]. Lo ve y se ponen a llorar, ya no pueden ver policías. Ohh, es pavor. Es, es como pánico para ellos, wow.*

/ [The police] pass by on their break. [Ignacio] sees them and he starts to cry. He can no longer see the police. It's just like terror. It's like a panic for them. Wow.

-Fernanda, December 9, 2015

Fernanda had summarized that, after the raid, the breast milk her body produced was intolerable to Ignacio, and she had to switch to formula because he would vomit whenever he tried to breastfeed. She attributed the spoiled milk production to the fright she sustained from the raid, noting that her milk just didn't work anymore ("*no sirve*"). Thus, the effects of a violent, armored, hyper-masculine insertion by force severed the relationship between a woman and her child, altering her body at the cellular level, and souring the milk she used to keep her son alive. While she explained this to me, Ignacio began to cry in the background as he watched the police drive by.

6.3.2 Economic effects. The detainments that followed the raid proved financially costly for those involved, their families, and others in their social networks. The families and social networks of those who were arrested and did not agree to voluntarily depart¹⁶ from the U.S. experienced the most drastic financial demands.

¹⁶ When an undocumented individual is detained, he is often offered the opportunity to "voluntarily depart" from the U.S., also referred to as "signing a voluntary departure." When an individual voluntarily departs from the U.S., he generally does not proceed to a court hearing and nor receive a bar placed on seeking re-entry into the U.S., as there is following a deportation (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d.)

While some of the men arrested in the raid voluntarily departed from the U.S., Arturo and Francisco, who had significant others and U.S. citizen children living in Michigan, did not. Thus, an immigration judge would decide if each would ultimately be deported or allowed to remain in the U.S., and if so, under what stipulations. An immigration judge would also determine whether Arturo and Francisco would await their court dates in detention or would be released on bond¹⁷ and monitored outside of detention. Arturo, who was the sole economic provider for his family, did not want to stay in detention any longer than necessary, and thus decided to pay the bond. His wife, Hilda, lamented that between Arturo's bond and legal fees, she had to find \$10,000 in four days. Francisco, who was arrested as he drove away from Santiago's *taller*, also had to pay thousands of dollars in legal fees, and was still in the process of making payments when I interviewed him about a year and a half after his arrest.

To acquire the money necessary, families and friends had to draw from savings, sell possessions at fractions of their value, or abandon other financial responsibilities altogether. For example, Francisco's car was one of many vehicles in Santiago's *taller* on the day of the raid. In one exchange, Frida described how, in an effort to prepare for the possibility of posting bond for Francisco, she decided to

¹⁷ Generally speaking, an immigration judge may not find it necessary for a detained individual to remain in custody, if, among other factors, the individual is 1) not a flight risk, 2) not a danger to the community, and 3) not a national security concern. In this case, the detained individual will be released on bond that someone out of detention, usually a family member or friend, can deliver the funds to the ICE office. If the individual released on bond attends all court-mandated sessions, attends the removal hearing, and, if deported, leaves the country, the individual who paid the bond will get her funds returned. Those who are not released on bond, or those who do not have the funds to pay the bond, remain in detention until their removal hearings, which may be months after the initial arrest (Gavett, 2011; The Associated Press, 2009).

collect money from community members, and in the process was both unable to continue payments on the car and unable to use it as collateral for loans:

Frida: But um, I was trying to gather money. I didn't know for what, maybe they would let him go maybe they wouldn't. A lot of the people that I called were his friends that they knew about me because we were together but they did not know me personally. [Hypothetically]: So how would you feel like if your girlfriend's friend was calling, 'Hey your girlfriend is in jail but I am trying to get whatever money I can from you.' Some people asked me for the title of his car and I'm, 'well his car is gone.'

William: And the car was gone because it stayed [at the impound] after it was towed or it stayed at the mechanic shop?

Frida: It stayed in the mechanic shop and they called the towing. So that was that. And [Francisco's] kids' mother was behind with the payments so it just got repossessed. And we were trying to gather money to get him out in case he was gonna get a bail. So we just decided either a car or him, so it was him.

-May 8, 2015

Like Francisco's car, the other cars in Santiago's *taller* were similarly impounded. Thus, many of Santiago's customers were likely put in the same difficult position in which Frida found herself, as they also needed to find a large sum of money—that increased every day—to recover the car from the impound or abandon it altogether. Given the financial cost of removing one's car, the fact that many of the owners may have been deported, and the numerous challenges to removing one's car from the impound without a valid driver's license (as discussed

in detail in the next Chapter), I would speculate that other families who were customers of Santiago lost their cars as well. Others whose cars were not impounded sold them at reduced prices to cover immediate needs. Guadalupe sold her car to financially support Fernanda's return trip to Mexico after Santiago had been deported. Arturo shared that other families sold their cars "for like a quarter of the price just so they can collect the money."

During their detainments, participants often tried to communicate with other family members by phone. Fernanda (who was called by her husband Santiago), Frida (who was called by her boyfriend Francisco), and Arturo (who called his wife Hilda) all lamented the enormous financial burden of making phone calls while detained. Other literature focused on incarcerated individuals in Black communities has echoed the damaging effects of the price of prison phone calls on family connectedness (Grinstead, Faigeles, Bancroft, & Zack, 2001; Naser & Visher, 2006). Arturo stated that he spent over \$1,600 in phone calls alone: "...and if you ask me how long do I talk for that month, if I put all the time together, maybe thirty minutes. Cause you speak for two minutes it's already like 70 bucks. Just to get connected you get twenty [dollars], boom, right off the bat."

While the economic losses were no doubt challenging to the individuals and families that experienced them, the economic loss in Santiago's absence was devastating to Lupe and Fernanda, and likely would have been to Santiagito as well had he not been deported, as all depended on Santiago for economic stability. Santiago was the third economic provider Guadalupe had lost in her lifetime, as her first husband (Carlito's father) had died in a car accident, and her second husband

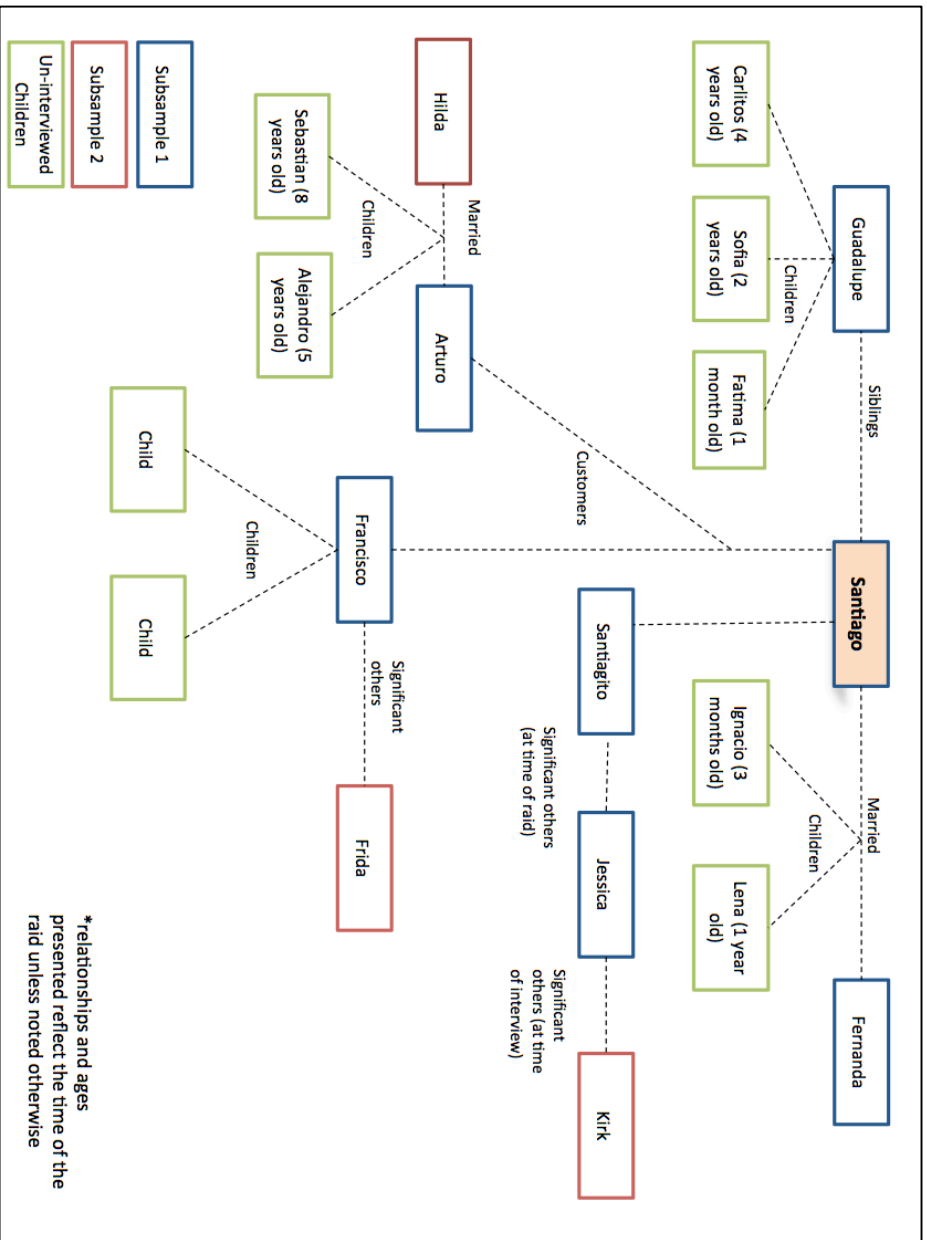
(Fatima and Sofía's father) was deported in September, about two months before the raid. Both women emphasized the challenges of searching for work and childcare, and, once childcare was found, attempting to pay for childcare from jobs that paid low hourly wages.

In sum, in this section, I detail some of the negative outcomes of the raid experienced by members of the Latino mixed-status community in Washtenaw County. These effects included damage to both physical and mental health for adults and children as well as economic effects on those involved in the raid and other community members who supported them. These findings directly speak to the overall goal of this dissertation: to illustrate the health implications of immigration home raids.

6.4 Mitigating the Negative Effects of the Raid.

As alluded to in the opening vignette, the results of the raid varied widely among individuals and families involved. The previous section illustrated a range of health and economic outcomes that resulted from the raid. However, not all individuals involved experienced these outcomes equally. In line with Aim 3 (stakeholders), the next section considers how the social networks of four affected families, each of which had a member present at the raid, were able to ameliorate the negative effects of the raid. For ease of reference, I include Figure 4.2: Relationships among Participants in Subsamples 1 and 2 to Santiago and Each Other, on the next page.

Figure 4.2 Relationships among Participants in Subsamples 1 and 2 to Santiago and Each Other



6.4.1 Arturo, Hilda, Sebastián, and Alejandro. As detailed in the opening vignette, Arturo, Hilda, and their two children, Sebastián and Alejandro, were relatively financially stable, owing largely to Arturo’s seventy- to eighty-hour workweeks and excellent English. In fact, as Arturo climbed the managerial ladder, he traveled throughout the U.S. to open 22 branches of a popular restaurant for his employer¹⁸. When Arturo was arrested and detained, Hilda pieced together the money to pay for his legal fees, borrowing from members of her social network to come up with the large sum in a short period of time. She explained:

The lawyer charged me \$10,000 for [Arturo’s] case and the fine was \$5,000. So then together, \$15,000, no it wasn’t \$10,000, it was \$15,000. And I said, ‘all I have is \$3,000.’ So I started to look everywhere, I borrow money, I sold my car, I sell this and do that, and it turns your world upside down (*dice tu a ponerte de cabeza*) because where can you find so much money?

-Hilda, August 22, 2015

Hilda and Arturo’s social network not only contributed financially, but many individuals were willing to testify before the immigration judge as to Arturo’s contribution to the community. As Arturo described:

I have so much support from co-workers, people that I work with, such [as] my bosses and things like that in the past, that I be able to bring fourteen people. Fourteen! When the whole room was filled up by people that support me—family members, friends, co-workers.... So um, once the judge heard my

¹⁸ Arturo told me that this traveling training team was called the “SWAT Team,” which was, given the circumstances, fairly ironic.

wife's testimony [that I've been such a good father], the second time the judge give me the opportunity to remain in U.S. with the work permit.

-Arturo, September 22, 2015

Likely owing, at least in part, to this show of community support, Arturo was released from detention and was allowed to apply for a work permit and driver's license, which needed to be renewed every year. However, it was months before Arturo received his work permit and license. In the meantime, support provided by other community members allowed him to support his family.

Hilda and Arturo's story emphasizes the influence of social support networks in mitigating the negative effects of the raid. The results of Arturo's arrest, in this case, were perhaps as good as could be expected, as Arturo and Hilda quickly located the necessary funds and mobilized community members to attest to Arturo's value to the community, resulting in his release from detention and permission to work and drive legally.

Arturo and Hilda also described the social services they accessed following the raid that mitigated the psychological impact of Arturo's detainment on their sons Alejandro and Sebastián. As Arturo described:

They [weren't] the same, they're so intimidated by simple stuff. They get terrified [to] see a police car. Because of that we put both of them for three, almost four months, with a psychologist for really extreme special program... Single, as a couple, brothers, and as a group of family.... After the four months, they give us a lot of exercise, a lot of work activities to do, they fill a huge report with like five, six pages, each psychologist for each one of them and

they basically said that if we wouldn't put the time, money and effort to take them to those conferences with the psycholog[ist], they would have some sort of mental problems from the day it happens and they will carry over for the rest of their life.

-Arturo, September 22, 2015

Hilda and Arturo paid for the service through the Washtenaw Health Plan¹⁹, a program that insures low-income residents of Washtenaw County ("Washtenaw Health Plan," 2016). Thus, Hilda and Arturo's social networks—as well as the social resources they accessed for their children—allowed them to mitigate some of the damaging effects of the raid. Their situation contrasts sharply with that of Fernanda, Santiago, and their children, discussed next.

6.4.2 Fernanda, Santiago, Lena and Ignacio. Fernanda was significantly affected by her violent interactions with SWAT and ICE officers on November 7, 2013, and, as described in Chapter 4, was unsure if the day of the raid would be the last day of her life. Between her bodily bruises, difficulty breathing, tightening chest, recurring nightmares, inability to nurse her son, and suffocating need to find employment, Fernanda had even suggested that she no longer wanted to live.

Immediately following the raid, Fernanda and Guadalupe could not stay in the

¹⁹ As I describe in detail in the next chapter, following the REAL ID Act, expired driver's licenses in the hands of Latinos were read by officers as signs of deportability, as it was only those without social security numbers who could not renew their licenses. A similar phenomenon occurred with the Washtenaw Health Plan following the implementation of the Affordable Care Act (ACA). Eladio, a family physician I interviewed in subsample 3, told me that after the passage of the ACA, "Everybody gets transitioned over to Medicaid but most of my Latino patients are still having Washtenaw Health Plan and can't get transitioned over to Medicaid because they're not legal here." Thus, a Latino in possession of the Washtenaw Health Plan can similarly be interpreted to mean that the owner is undocumented and ineligible for health care coverage through the ACA. Latinos in mixed-status communities must decide to what extent receiving services outweighs the risk of being read, correctly or not, as undocumented.

apartment above the *taller*, as SWAT agents had kicked in the door and had made no attempt to repair it. Homeless, Fernanda took Lena and Ignacio to live with one of her friends, with whom she was able to stay for a short period of time before moving from one house to the next.

Unlike Arturo, Fernanda had never worked before, and had little or no savings available. While Fernanda attempted to find work, she felt as though it was impossible to pay for childcare and make enough money to do anything other than break even. Indeed, for Fernanda, finding someone to care for her children, who were constantly ill and one of whom had suddenly and recently stopped nursing, was an overwhelming source of stress enhanced by social isolation:

And, well, I couldn't stay there [in Michigan] because of my kids. Me with the babysitter, I was paying \$300. I would pay her \$300 every week and I would get my kids back sick or with a fever or a temperature anyway (*si no me lo entregaba rosadita, me la entregaba con fiebre, calenture*). And I would say, 'Well me alone in that country just with my sister-in-law [Guadalupe], who will I talk to? No one. Better that I just go to Mexico.

-Fernanda, October 9, 2015

For Fernanda, the raid had engendered a deep cycle of pain and struggle, as it had impacted her and her children emotionally and psychologically and thwarted her ability to nurse Ignacio while leaving them homeless, hungry and poor. She could not find care for her children, whose health, after the raid, had become burdensomely unpredictable, and could not pay for this care because of the removal

of the family's economic provider. And, because most of her social network had been removed, she felt alone, unable to receive the emotional support she needed.

While WICIR was able to contribute to her immediate needs, such as purchasing food and diapers for Ignacio, and Fernanda was able to find a friend with whom to live to avoid being homeless, ultimately, Fernanda decided to take a bus down to McAllen, Texas, and walk across the border to Mexico with Ignacio in her arms to live with her deported husband. As Santiago powerfully summarized, "And bringing them to Mexico was best. Although it may just be rice and beans, at least I could feed them."

6.4.3 Guadalupe, Carlitos, Sofía, and Fatima. Guadalupe and her three children provide a powerful contrast to Fernanda, Santiago, Lena, and Ignacio. Indeed, not only had both women depended largely on Santiago for economic support, but at the moment of the raid, both were caring for children as agents stormed the apartment, yelled at them in English to get on the ground, threw gas in the room, and pointed guns at their faces, and both were left homeless and poor after the raid. While Fernanda was able to find a friend with whom to live, Guadalupe explained to me that this option was not available to her because no one wanted to house a woman with three children. The hotel that WICIR purchased for her thus staved off her homelessness and provided the stability she needed to find employment and childcare:

Well for me, WICIR got me a hotel on the sixth [misidentifying the night of the raid]. Um, my sister-in-law [Fernanda], a woman told her that she could stay with her because she only had two kids so she went with her.... She

started going from place to place, and I didn't really know where she was.

WICIR helped me to get an apartment. And from there I looked for someone to take care of my children so that I could work.... And someone there told me who took care of her kids, so I brought my kids to her too.

-Guadalupe, September 25, 2015

Here, while Guadalupe was not able to go to a friend's house to stay in because she had more children than Fernanda, she was able to receive support from WICIR for a hotel and eventually an apartment. Guadalupe also leveraged the informational support of others in her social network to find a woman to care for her children. Thus, the results of the raid differed drastically for Guadalupe and Fernanda despite the similarities in their lives before. For Guadalupe, a number of assets within her social network likely contributed to her decision to stay in the U.S. For example, Guadalupe was able to find a source of income, childcare and stable housing comparatively quickly, while Fernanda was not.

Notably however, the option to return to their countries of birth also offered differing levels of support to Fernanda and Guadalupe, which likely affected their decisions to remain or not in the U.S. Fernanda returned to Mexico, the country where both she *and* her husband were born and to which her husband was deported. Guadalupe's husband was deported to Guatemala, his country of birth but not Guadalupe's, which was Mexico. Thus, had Guadalupe chosen to return to Mexico, she would not have been returning to the father of her children. If instead she went to Guatemala, she would not have been going to a country with which she had any familiarity. Further, her husband was already in a new relationship, and

thus unlikely to contribute to Guadalupe and his daughters whether they returned to Guatemala or not. Thus, the choice to stay in the U.S., for Guadalupe, and to return to Mexico, for Fernanda, further elucidates the importance of supportive social networks in their lives: while Fernanda did not have the social network to support her in the U.S., she followed her support system back to Mexico. Contrastingly, while Guadalupe had at least a minimal support system in the U.S., she did not have one of note in Mexico nor Guatemala, and chose to remain in Michigan.

6.4.4 Francisco and Frida. Francisco spent 25 days in detention before he, like Arturo, was released. As Francisco and Frida explain it, Francisco had been in the U.S. for 21 years and had no criminal record, and thus he was eligible to be released from detention on bond shortly after his initial arrest if he was willing to share his home address. However, Francisco feared for the safety of his family members, and refused to share his address with ICE. As Frida described:

They were going to let him go on bail [functionally the same as “bond”] if he knew an address where he was staying, but he did not want to give out any names nor anything so he just preferred being there [in detention] until his next court. On his next court, his bail was set to I think fifteen hundred dollars, but none of the family members had papers, or his sister was actually in the process of getting her papers and she did not want to post the bail, so I just went ahead and did it.²⁰

²⁰ While it seemed as though Frida believed that Francisco’s undocumented family members were purposefully *avoiding* the ICE office in which they would have to pay Arturo’s bond, the reality is that one must be a citizen or have a visa to pay an immigration bond. This does not change the point Frida was making, however: she was in the position to interact with certain institutions because she had a visa, while much of Francisco’s social network did not.

-Frida, May 8, 2015

Frida described Francisco's relatives as purposefully avoiding interactions with the ICE office (where bail for release from detention is paid) and thus "went ahead and did it" herself. I inquired why she was not fearful of visiting the ICE office, as much of Francisco's social network seemed to be:

William: And you weren't scared because of your immigration status?

Frida: No, I mean I'm a green card holder so they can –

William: [Interrupting]: You were at that time too?

Frida: Yeah yeah I still am. They can take it away at any time but I don't feel like I did anything wrong, nor they [those in detention] did anything wrong. And if I can help somebody I will, no matter what. I didn't think I was endangering myself by anything, the worst thing they could ask me is okay here's my paper work, [and I'd say] 'here's this.'

-May 8, 2015

Frida words emphasize that the legal statuses of the members of one's social network can shape the type of social support they are able and willing to provide. While Frida casted her decision to help those who were detained as her own personal bravery, she was also aware that the stakes were far lower for her as a visa holder than they would be for those who were undocumented. With this legal insulation from deportation, Frida further reached out to other undocumented families affected by the raid to provide instrumental support as well:

All the people that I know and [who] do not have papers, they were pretty much hiding. They would not get out of the house. I know a few people I went, I helped, I took groceries and all. They just – they were scared.

Frida, May 8, 2015

As did Arturo and Hilda, Frida and Francisco successfully solicited money from their social networks. The 21 years in which Francisco had lived and worked in the U.S.—and the individuals he met specifically through work—contrasted sharply with Fernanda’s limited social network both in size and availability of disposable income.

Francisco qualified for a cancelation of removal for nonpermanent residents, a form of immigration relief available to undocumented individuals in removal proceedings that allows them to remain in the U.S (Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952: Act 240A). To qualify for a cancelation of removal, 1) the individual must have maintained a continual presence in the U.S. for ten years, 2) the individual cannot have not been convicted of certain crimes, and 3) removal of the individual would result in “exceptional and extremely unusual hardship” to U.S. citizen spouse, parent, or children. Thus, it is likely that the show of support from Francisco’s social network was influential to receiving a cancelation of removal. Francisco was eventually released from detention, and, later, received his driver’s license and work permit.

Francisco and Frida’s situation was thus aided by funds solicited from their social network, a source of income, and Frida’s ability—thanks to her status as a permanent resident—to navigate the immigration court system on Francisco’s

behalf. Notably, Francisco and Arturo both highlighted a period of vulnerability after they were released from detention and before they had received their work permits and driver's licenses in which they were dependent on the support of their social networks to generate income.

6.4 Strategies to Avoid Deportation: Limiting the Ameliorative Effects of Social Networks

The effects of the raid were not limited to those who were directly involved in the event. Instead, members of the Latino mixed-status community engaged in a number of strategies to reduce encounters with anyone who would question their immigration statuses. Below, I detail three of these strategies and consider this qualitative data in light of measures from the EBV.

6.4.1 Avoidance of public space and confinement to one's home.

Members of the mixed-status Latino community became increasingly wary of encounters with officials in which they or those with them would be asked to prove their immigration statuses. For most, this included a hyperawareness of the possible presence of law enforcement, and heightened emotional reactivity any time they saw an officer or patrol car. As Guadalupe shared,

For me, even now, when I see the police I get nervous, I become alert, I get scared, moreso if I have one of my kids with me because, I don't know, I'm terrified that they will take me away from my kids or something. It's terrible. (*Es fuerte*).

-Guadalupe, September 25, 2015

Hilda similarly described the perpetual hyperawareness to the presence of law enforcement officers:

Well, we always walk glancing back over our shoulders, making sure there is not a police car (*andamos volteando a ver que no está una patrulla alrededor*). You can imagine the fear we feel that there would be a police car behind us. Lord God. It's the worst thing that could happen to you. You can't be peaceful again (*Ósea no vienes tranquilo*), that's for sure.

- Hilda, August 22, 2015

Notably, Guadalupe uses the word "*policía*" or "the police," and Hilda, like many others, uses the word "*patrulla*," probably best translated as "patrol car," to describe the law enforcement agents they fear. Similar to nearly every interviewee and nearly everyone with whom I spoke during the period of fieldwork, Lupe and Hilda did not distinguish between immigration and local police enforcement, let alone between the various local police departments—such as the WCSO, YPD, AAPD, CPD, and PPD—with which they may interact on any given day. This homogenization of all law enforcement officers as agents of immigration enforcement is damaging to police and community relations (Khashu, 2009).

Multiple participants from all subsamples testified to the immediate fear of traversing public space experienced by members of the community following the raid. The resulting confinement to one's home thus decreased access both to individuals' social networks and health sustaining services. Capps, Castañeda, Chaudry, and Santos (2007) found similar results following large-scale work raids, which they described in the report "Paying the Price: The Impact of Immigration

Raids on America's Children": "Families continued hiding and feared arrest if they ventured outside, increasing social isolation over time" (Capps et al., 2007, p. 4).

This isolation not only diminished access to other individuals, but also to other health protecting aspects of one's social network. Graciela, a former staff member at Casa Latina and collaborator on the EBV who I interviewed in subsample 3, described well the health and financial impacts of confinement and isolation:

There were people that did not go to work for several days after that. They did not leave their house and if you don't go to work you don't make money and then you can't pay your rent or buy food. But there were lots of people that I know that stayed home for at least four days because they were afraid to leave their house because they thought immigration would be down the street waiting for them. And not just in [the city where the raid occurred], all the way over here on [the location of the interview, about 15 miles away from the raid site], there were people that weren't leaving their house. So it's like the news spread like wildfire, like instantly. So yeah, I mean, so these people besides the terror and the fear, not leaving the house.

-Graciela, February 4, 2015

Fabián, a young Colombian man who I interviewed in subsample 3 and served as the outreach coordinator at Sewing Seeds, connected confinement to one's home to missed work opportunities and poor dietary and exercise outcomes, specifically in the Latino community:

You saw many Latinos that wanted to leave their houses, they had to leave their houses to work, but if they could avoid it, they did.... And concerning the

work that I do in the farmer's markets, I know that there were many problems at that time in that people could not access places where there was healthy food, where you could exercise. They couldn't go to a park out of fear, because you had to be vigilant if someone would detain you.

- Fabián, March 8, 2015

As Graciela and Fabián described, avoidance of public space and confinement to one's home limited access to the emotional support of individuals in one's social network, the health preserving resources of social and community organizations, and the public space in which one could engage in exercise and recreation (e.g., parks).

Quantitative analyses shown in Chapter 5 support aspects of this qualitative finding. As seen in Table 5.3, pairwise correlational analyses show that immigration enforcement stress item 1 (My legal status has limited contact with family and friends) was significantly related to the raid timing, such that participants who completed the survey after the raid agreed more with the item than participants who completed the survey before. In post-hoc analysis (Table 5.5), t-tests show that this relationship remains for the subset of the population who was foreign born and for those with children in the home, two demographic categories into which Fernanda, Guadalupe, Santiago, Arturo, Hilda, and others fall.

6.4.2 Avoidance of social services. This fear of status disclosure extended beyond law enforcement officers to representatives of social and community service organizations, as individuals feared that representatives of those social service organizations would inquire about their immigration statuses, with immigration

related repercussions. Graciela, speaking specifically of Fernanda, Guadalupe, and their U.S. citizen children, shared:

But those women and children were like homeless, their partner [Santiago], who was the bread winner, is gone and so they are like, unless the community takes them in and helps them, there is really nothing for them, nothing. The kids can get food stamps but the mother is probably terrified. Do you think she is going to go out to DHS [likely Department of Human Services, not Department of Homeland Security] and apply for food stamps? She's probably afraid the minute she walks in there, they'll call immigration. And that's true for a lot of people, even though they could get some benefits they don't go because 'A,' there is nobody who speaks Spanish there and 'B,' they are afraid that if they walk into any kind of institution, official office, that's their ticket back to their home country. And so there are a lot of services they just won't access, they won't even think about it. It's just sort of like, that's for everyone else not for me. And that's a shame, cause the kids, kids are born here, they have a right to eat. But if the parent doesn't go apply then, and it's all fear, there's fear underneath everything there is just fear. It's just like this river of fear underneath the whole, everything.

-Graciela, February 4, 2015

A conversation I had with Guadalupe during our third interview echoed what Graciela described, and provided further examples of both the behavior changes that resulted from fear of deportation as well as strategies to access services amid the "river of fear" that haunted undocumented community members.

While Guadalupe and I sat at her kitchen table drinking Dunkin Donuts coffee, I asked her if she was scared when she accessed social or community services:

William: Do you feel this same fear when you, for example, go to the clinic or a government office, something like that?

Guadalupe: No, no.

William: Why not?

Guadalupe: I don't know. Maybe it's because in clinics and such I have received that help [before the raid]. Well, in my mind it's the police. The police are the ones who took away the father of my daughters, the ones who took away my brother. They are the ones who took away my family, who, if they detained me, would separate me from my kids.

-Guadalupe, December 9, 2015

Here, Guadalupe firmly distinguished between the police and the social service providers who she trusted based on previous interactions. She emphasized that she would indeed continue to use social services because her fear of being asked to report her immigration status came from encounters with the *police*, not social service agency representatives.

This was contrary to what had been shown in the EBV data, to what I was hypothesizing based on the fieldwork and interviews I had conducted prior to this interaction, and to findings generally shown in the literature (Capps et al., 2007; Hacker et al., 2011, 2012). I wondered if the fact that Lupe continued to access services after the raid had to do with *which* services they were. Specifically, if she

were accessing the same services after the raid as before, this would speak to the importance of developing trustful relationships between social service organizations and their clients so that clients may access these services during emergencies. I attempted to clarify which social services Lupe accessed before the raid, and if they were these same services she accessed after:

William: And do you use services in Washtenaw County?

Guadalupe: Yes, I have the Washtenaw Health Plan [the insurance program for low-income residents of Washtenaw County, described in previous sections].

William: And you had this before the raid too?

Guadalupe: Yes, I had it before, yes.

William: Ok. So after the raid you use the same services [as you did before]?

Guadalupe: Yes, I asked, when I had to renew, because they ask for identification but the only identification I had was my Washtenaw ID and my kids' insurance cards. I asked when I went to [renew my Washtenaw Health Plan insurance], because of what happened [the raid], if there would be any problems. Because they had my name and all that, But they told me no, I shouldn't worry. Nothing will happen.

William: Yes. So you have confidence in/trust the woman or man that discussed this with you?

Guadalupe: Well, well yes, because I thought that they know more about this than I do. She told me that all the information was confidential and that if I wanted anyone to know something I had to sign first to authorize it.

-Guadalupe, December 9, 2015

Thus, Lupe confirmed that those who feared deportation would avoid *some* social service, but probably not *all*. Specifically, Lupe stated that she trusted the social service representatives that she had already known prior to the raid to know more about regulations related to immigration status than she did. I appreciated Lupe's willingness to explicate her responses for me, and assumed that this was the end of the discussion. However, shortly after she stated the above, she refined her answer illustratively, nearly contradicting earlier statements:

Guadalupe: The truth is that in that moment, when they told me [that my name would remain confidential], I thought it was a lie and I was scared. I had [Diane's (Jessica's mother and a white U.S. citizen)] address so that my bills could go there. I didn't want to give my address, where I was, nothing.

-Guadalupe, December 9, 2015

As detailed in Chapter 4, Jessica's mother, Diane, assisted Guadalupe and Fernanda in locating Santiago in detention after he had been detained in the early morning of November 7, 2013. Here, Guadalupe expressed that she was indeed fearful of sharing her information, even with an organization with which she had formerly interacted. She therefore leveraged the resources of her (citizen, white) social network members to avoid interacting with formal institutions herself. Guadalupe continued, emphasizing the points that both she and Graciela had made:

William: So, immediately after the raid, you didn't want to share your address? Not with the Washtenaw Health Plan, not with anyone?

Guadalupe: No, nothing like that [I wanted to share this information] with no one. Including food stamps for the kids. I didn't want to renew anything because I was so scared of everything.

-Guadalupe, December 9, 2015

In the above section, participants described a second strategy used to decrease the number of possible encounters in which one would be asked to disclose her immigration status: avoidance of social and community service organizations. The resources provided by these organizations, while critical in staving off homelessness, hunger, and poverty, were nonetheless avoided in the aftermath of the raid.

Analysis of EBV data immigration enforcement stress item 2 (I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency) provides further evidence in support of this finding. A pairwise correlational analysis (Table 5.3) shows a significant relationships between this item and raid timing, such that participants who completed the survey after the raid agreed more with the item than participants who completed the survey before. In post-hoc analysis show in Table 5.5, t-tests reveal that this relationship remains for the subset of the population with children in the home, echoing Guadalupe's experience above.

6.4.3 Avoidance of "marked" locations and community members.

Participants discussed one final strategy used to decrease encounters in which individuals felt their immigration statuses would be questioned. In a handful of interviews, participants discussed the ways in which both the geographic vicinity of the raid, as well as those involved, became "marked" by the immigration

enforcement that had taken place. Fearful that future enforcement efforts would target these same individuals or occur near the original location of the raid, some individuals distanced themselves from those involved and the location in which the raid occurred. Hilda, describing those involved in the raid, shared with me:

But that day was terrible, this day, forget it. There were many families who were “marked” by that day (*Pero ese día era terrible, ese día, olvídete, y fue muchas familias que quedaron marcadas por ese día*). Many. And many who were, unfortunately, deported.

- Hilda, August 22, 2015

Hilda notes that it was “that day” that “marked” the individuals involved, but also valuably illustrated *who* was marked by contrasting the marked individuals with those who were deported. That is, if you were part of the raid and still in Michigan, you remained a target of deportation.

Guadalupe described how this stigma also extended from the location of the raid, which limited the willingness of her social network to bring her the resources they formerly had:

Guadalupe: And well, if I were to tell someone that we needed something, to lend us money, something like that, no one wanted to get anywhere near there because of the raid.

William: No one wanted to get near ...?

Guadalupe: My brother’s [Santiago’s] house.

William: You mean to help you?

Guadalupe: Yes, no one, no one wanted to because they were scared that [immigration] would take them. Only a friend of my brother, who had papers here. He went to the house, he took us money. The same with WICIR. They helped us because when the owner [of the property] kicked us out, he kicked us out with nothing. Nothing.

-Guadalupe, September 25, 2015

Guadalupe described how those on whom she formerly depended no longer approached the space in which the raid occurred, fearful that more immigration enforcement would take place. As was the case with Diane, Jessica's mother and a U.S. citizen and Frida, who had a visa, Santiago's friend, with the legal protection granted by his visa, was the only one Lupe noted who approached her immediately after the raid. Notably, WICIR was able to prevent Lupe from being homeless following the raid likely because Lupe was not required to approach representatives herself, but instead had WICIR representatives go to her.

Fabián similarly used the word "marcada" to describe the families that were in the vicinity of the raid as well as the location itself:

In the end, this family was marked (*familia quedaba marcada*). So many families ended up leaving that area because [the family in the raid] was pointed at and seen in a certain way because of what happened with the raid.

Fabián illustrated the strength of the stigma that marked Santiago and his family and caused other families to flee the area so as not to be associated with them. He continued:

And there was so much gossip. People were talking about families that were marked (*hubo familias que eran marcadas*) as drug dealers, or they would label them other things that were not true.

Other individuals feared that, if these “drug dealers” were to again be targeted for deportation, they would be detained as collateral, as were Santiago, Arturo, and Francisco. This fear created dissociation among family and community members that Fabián described in detail:

If I’m not a part of this and my neighbor is, I try to distance myself and not talk to them. So it fractures the community, it damages the well being of the neighborhood, of friendships (*se rompe la comunidad, se rompe el bien estar de las neighborhood o de los amistades*). Many friendships were ended because no one wanted to be near someone who was at risk of being deported, of being arrested. After this, everyone was very hurt because instead of finding support in friends, in neighbors, in families, in classmates, they found rejection, bullying, and attempts to distance themselves from them. So I think this affects you deeply in everything, mental health, the community, relationships between parents and kids.

-Fabián, March 8, 2015

As Fabián described, the stigmatization of the family(ies) involved in the raid severed a variety of relationships, isolating many from the social networks whose support was critical at that particular moment. Fabián also illustratively connected this stigma to the language used by DHS in their targeting of immigrants, calling them fearful of becoming seen as “drug dealers.” This stigma was applied regardless

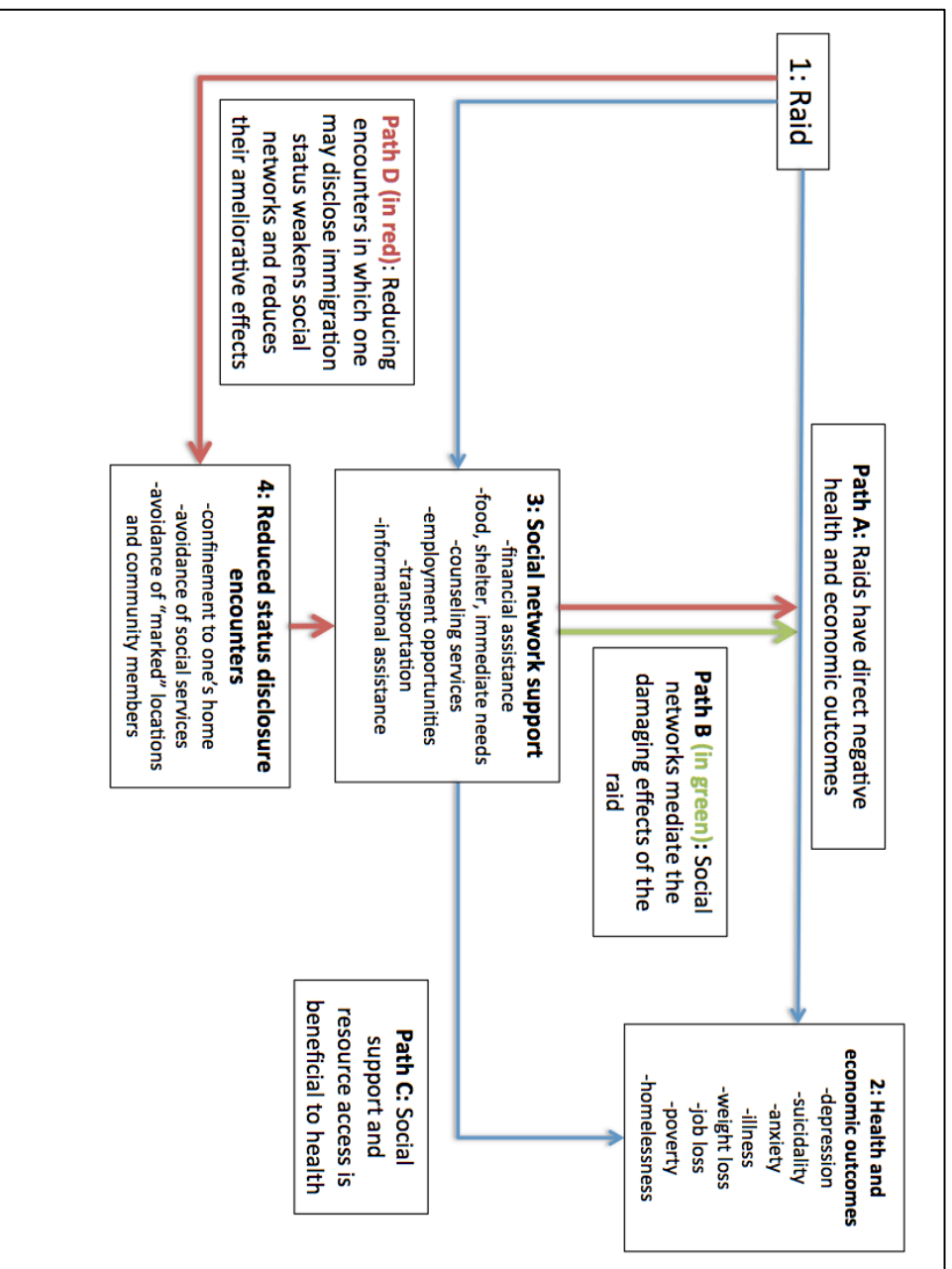
of the fact that drugs were not found on Santiago's property nor in possession of anyone who had been arrested that day.

6.5 Immigration Raids and Social Networks: A Conceptual Model and Quantitative Investigation

The above sections detailed the damaging health and economic effects of the raid and considered how four families were able to mitigate these effects by drawing on support from their social networks. Three strategies were described that were used to decrease encounters in which individuals felt they would be asked to disclose their immigration statuses. These strategies limited the ameliorative impact of these social networks and were reflected in analyses of EBV data. Below, a conceptual model is developed based on the above factors and is then tested quantitatively using data from the EBV.

Figure 6.1

Conceptual Model of Social Network Moderation of the Negative Effects of the Raid



As seen in Figure 6.1, the 11/7 raid (Box 1) had direct negative effects on individuals' wellbeing (Box 2), as illustrated by Path A. These effects included both health outcomes, such as depression, suicidality, anxiety, illness, hunger, and weight loss, as well as economic outcomes, such as job loss, poverty, and homelessness. As established in previous research (Berkman & Glass, 2000; Cohen & Wills, 1985), social network support and resource access has direct positive effects on health. This relationship is illustrated in Path C.

As the four family case analyses presented, aspects of individual's social networks moderated the negative effects of the 11/7 raid, as shown in Path B in green. This support included the provision of financial resources, food, shelter, and other immediate needs, counseling services, employment opportunities, transportation, and information about childcare. However, following the raid, individuals engaged in three strategies to reduce encounters in which they felt they would be asked to disclose their immigration statuses (confinement to one's home, avoidance of social and community services, and avoidance of the "marked" locations of and individuals involved in the raid). In this way, the raid decreased the ameliorative impact of individuals' social networks. This relationship is illustrated in Path D in red.

In Chapter 5, factor analysis was used to create a measure that captured the intensity of immigration enforcement stress. This measure was composed of three items from the EBV, as listed below:

Item 1: My legal status has limited my contact with family and friends;

Item 2: I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency; and

Item 3: I fear the consequences of deportation.

Qualitative analyses presented in this chapter suggest that, following the raid, individuals engaged in three strategies to avoid encounters in which they felt they would be asked to disclose their immigration statuses, which limited the ameliorative impacts of their social networks (Path D in the conceptual model). As shown in Table 6.1, many aspects of this pathway map on conceptually to the EBV items above. I thus consider the intensity of immigration enforcement stress measure to be a useful quantitative proxy for Path D.

Table 6.1

Relationships between Qualitative Findings and Items in Immigration Enforcement Stress Intensity Measure

Qualitative finding of strategies to avoid encounters in which immigration status may be disclosed	Immigration enforcement stress item most closely related
Strategy 1: Avoidance of public space and confinement to home	Item 1, item 3
Strategy 2: Avoidance of social service resources	Item 2
Strategy 3: Avoidance of “marked” locations and individuals	Item 1, item 3

Given the above relationships, the two previous analytic models described in Chapter 5 can be merged into a single theoretically driven analysis that considers the path from the raid to self-rated health via restricted social support mechanisms due to the intensity of immigration enforcement stress. While other paths in the

model should be tested as well, the analysis here focuses on Path D as this path most directly speaks to study Aims 1 and 3. Specifically, I hypothesize that the relationships between raid timing and self-rated health is moderated by the intensity of immigration enforcement stress, a measure composed of variables that may loosely capture the constriction of social network access found qualitatively.

To test this hypothesis, I use a regression model that considers in four steps the influence of demographic factors (step 1), raid timing (step 2), the intensity of immigration enforcement stress (step 3), and the interaction of raid timing and the intensity of immigration enforcement stress (step 4) on self-rated health. Or:

Self-rated health =

$$\beta_0 + \beta_{\text{covariates}} + \beta_{\text{raid timing}} + \beta_{\text{immigration enforcement stress intensity}} + \beta_{\text{raid timing} \times \text{immigration enforcement stress intensity}}$$

To maintain uniformity throughout the four steps of the analysis, participants with missing variables are excluded.

As seen in Table 6.2, analyses show that raid timing and the intensity of immigration enforcement stress are significantly and negatively related to self-rated health (Block 3). That is, both measures independently predicted lower self-rated health scores even after controlling for demographic variables of note. In Block 3, the addition of the intensity of immigration enforcement stress increased the adjusted R² from 13 percent to 19 percent, suggesting that, while the immigration raid explains and predicts decreases in self-rated health scores, a unique portion of this explanatory value can be attributed to the intensity of immigration enforcement stress.

In Block 4, when the interaction between raid timing and the intensity of immigration enforcement stress was entered into the analysis, the interaction was significant. This finding implies that the effects of the intensity of immigration enforcement stress were exacerbated following the raid.

Returning to the conceptual model, this quantitative analysis lends credence to the qualitative findings that show that the raid limits the ameliorative influence of social networks via increased immigration enforcement stress intensity (Path D). Put another way, immigration enforcement stress mattered to self-rated health; after the raid, it mattered more.

Table 6.2

*Step-wise Regression Model of Relationship between Raid Timing, Intensity of Immigration Enforcement Stress and Self-Rated**Health*

	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3	Block 4
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
Age	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***	-0.03***
Sex (1 = male)	0.13	0.16	0.18	0.18
Relationship status (1 = in a relationship)	0.09	0.09	0.04	0.05
Years in Washtenaw County	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Children in home (1 = yes)	-0.10	-0.11	-0.03	-0.01
Nativity (1 = born in U.S.)	0.17	0.20	-0.04	-0.08
Raid timing (1 = after)		-0.42***	-0.33***	-0.31***
Immigration enforcement stress intensity			-0.31***	-0.24***
Raid timing x immigration enforcement stress				-0.22*
F statistic	F(6, 422) = 8.73***	F(7, 421) = 10.05***	F(8, 420) = 13.56***	F(9, 419) = 12.59***
Adjusted R ²	0.10	0.13	0.19	0.20
N	429	429	429	429

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

6.6 Conclusion

6.6.1 Summary. The current chapter considers the negative effects of the raid as well as the capacity of individuals' social networks to moderate these effects. These findings primarily address Aim 1 (social service utilization) by considering if and how participants' social services utilization patterns changed following the 11/7 raid, and Aim 3 (stakeholders) by considering how members of individual's social networks are affected by the raid or are able to moderate those effects. This study is the first of which I am aware to use quantitative data to consider the health impacts of a raid, and thus, given the inclusion of qualitative data, this chapter is also the first of its kind to engage in a mixed methods approach. This approach allowed for the development of a quantitative test of a qualitatively grounded conceptual model that further suggests the interaction of immigration enforcement and social network support.

6.6.2 Chapter 6 findings through the lens of illegality. Researchers have begun to consider the ways in which the immigration statuses of individuals impact the family units to which they belong (Delva et al., 2013; Gonzales, 2011; Rodriguez, 2016). In a recent review of illegality in mixed-status families, Rodriguez (2016) describes:

[C]itizens in mixed-status families may be forced to “live in the shadows” while their familial mobility is curbed out of fear of immigration enforcement policing. On the other hand, undocumented family member subjectivities may be impacted by their relationships to citizens and the possible

emotional, social, or legal opportunities such a relationship may provide (p. 713).

Findings from this chapter echo the effects of illegality found in this review, as, for example, the behaviors of Latino citizens and visa-holders were altered when they stepped in to support the undocumented community members whose mobility was constrained by fear of deportation. This chapter thus valuably echoes previous theoretical advances to illegality, including the extension away from “hermetically sealed communities of undocumented immigrants” (De Genova, 2002, p. 422) to mixed-status families, but also begins to augment the usefulness of the frame by suggesting that the “spill over” of illegality (Rodriguez, 2016, p. 713) affects mixed-status communities.

6.6.3 Strengths and limitations. Despite the innovation of this study, including the use of both qualitative and quantitative data to investigate the impact of an immigration raid, there are limitations worth noting (limitations related to EBV data generally were described in 5.3.4). First, the intensity of immigration enforcement stress variable was used to capture Path D in the conceptual model (Figure 6.1). More specifically, the measure composed of three items (“My legal status has limited my contact with family and friends,” “I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency,” and “I fear the consequences of deportation”) was used to capture a pathway that I propose plays a large role in lowering perceptions of health of Latinos throughout Washtenaw County. While these three variables map on conceptually to qualitative findings, there may be other measures worth exploring that add both nuance and specificity to the

relationships between raids, social networks, and health. While I justified the relationships between this variable and this pathway in the conceptual model in a number of ways, future studies could aim to drill down on this pathway and consider, for example, which types of social support or resource restriction were most impactful.

Second, while the qualitative evidence strongly supports the conceptual model developed in this chapter, only one pathway was directly tested with data from the EBV. Future studies could aim to test the remaining pathways in the model.

Third, as is the nature of qualitative data, other findings emerged unexpectedly²¹, that would have benefited from a thorough analysis and structured line of questioning. For example, cars seemed to play a large role in the social and economic lives of members of the mixed-status Latino community in Washtenaw County, as numerous participants mentioned the importance of cars and car ownership in their communities. To list a few examples, Arturo and Francisco were arrested because they attempted to pick up their cars from Santiago's *taller*. Other cars were left in Santiago's *taller* and later impounded, forcing owners to choose between the cars and other costs of living. Frida mentioned that community members had wanted to use her car as collateral for a loan. Arturo mentioned that his inability to drive his car after he was released from detention forced him to rely on other community members to drive him to and from work. Many mentioned the contradictory necessity and inherent risk of driving a vehicle without a license.

²¹ Or at least, some findings that emerged were unexpected to *me*. Other members of the Latino mixed-status community would have been able to describe at length that which I found surprising, which again highlights the privilege of my social position as a citizen and an individual who has never experienced a raid himself.

Indeed, the nature of vehicles as symbols of economic success, as instrumental support controlled by the few with driver's licenses, or as tools to traverse social space quickly when one fears racial profiling, appeared in numerous interviews, though I was not able to develop the theme here.

Similarly, a handful of times, both in the current study and others in which I have taken part (Doering-White et al., 2014), some women shared stories about women miscarrying or nearly miscarrying due to immigration related stress. These experiences were often shared third hand, and I was unable to decipher if I was hearing about an event that happens frequently or an event that happened once but was well known throughout the community. However, it was clear, especially in tandem with Fernanda's narrative about her inability to breastfeed Ignacio, that women believed that immigration enforcement uniquely affected their abilities to safely give birth to and raise healthy infants. In line with research considering the gendered effects of deportation (Belliveau, 2011; Doering-White et al., 2014; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), future work should consider the unique impact of immigration enforcement on women's bodies and infants' healthy development.

Lastly, results were not presented evenly across the three subsamples. For example, not all participants in subsample 3 (representatives of community and social service organizations) were mentioned in the current or preceding chapters, while every participant in subsample 1 (those directly impacted) and subsample 2 (members of the social networks of subsample 1) were mentioned and quoted extensively. There were some reasons for this, including a prioritization of the voices of those directly involved in the raid and the leveraging of narratives (Das &

Kleinman, 2001) enabled by the frequent interactions I had with participants in subsamples 1 and 2. However, future iterations of this study could attempt to represent all three subsamples evenly, or interview participants like those in subsample 3 repeatedly to uncover the variations in social service utilization patterns, such as those alluded to by Arturo and Hilda, who increased their utilization after the raid.

6.6.4 Implications for research. This chapter adds valuably to the emerging research that considers the health impacts of immigration enforcement generally, and immigration raids specifically. Many findings in the current chapter echo those of other researchers. Such findings include the avoidance of social services by those who fear deportation (Hacker et al., 2011; Hardy et al., 2012), a constant stress over the possibility of deportation that has mental health consequences (Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007; Hacker et al., 2012), confinement to one's home (Chaudry et al., 2010; Chavez, 2013a; Hardy et al., 2012; Satinsky et al., 2013), and details concerning the mechanics of immigration raids (Evans, 2009; Mendelson et al., 2009). Yet with one exception (Hacker et al., 2011), no work of which I am aware after a review of the literature has explicitly attempted to link these findings conceptually.

A conceptual model developed by Hacker and colleagues (2011) considered the ways in which fear of racial profiling and deportation affected the health of immigrants (documented and undocumented) in Everett, MA. While this conceptual model valuably links many of the findings listed above to health, data from the current chapter augment this model in at least three ways. First, Hacker and colleagues' (2011) model considers anti-immigrant climates generally, implying an

immigration enforcement climate that is relatively constant. The reality, however, is that immigration enforcement climates change drastically and often, moving in time with political fluctuations and public sentiment toward immigrants. The conceptual model in this chapter thus suggests that immigration enforcement can exacerbate the effects of anti-immigrant climates, leading to constricted social networks and poorer health. Again: immigration enforcement climate matters, but after a raid, it matters more.

Secondly, Hacker and colleagues' (2011) conceptual model was developed from interviews and focus groups that largely focused on how individuals addressed their own health needs, with the exception of occasional concerns about one's children. The current analysis, by drawing on data specifically from family and fellow community members of those detained as well as the social service and community organization representatives who support them, specifically considers community-wide effects of the raid. While other work has discussed individuals' fears of leaving their children without care should they be deported (Chaudry et al., 2010; Delva et al., 2013; Zayas & Bradlee, 2014), the range of data included in the current study allows for consideration of the effects of immigration from a wider spectrum of relationships—including paternal/maternal, customers, partners, and friends—across immigration statuses. The current chapter thus adds valuably to this model by taking a social networks perspective rooted in the notion of mixed-status Latino communities.

Lastly, this chapter contributes to the social networks literature focused on Latino relationships. Recent work has developed a more holistic approach to the

concept of *familismo*, stating that while family support may positively affect health and health behaviors (Ayón et al., 2010; Coohy, 2001; Gil et al., 2000) family conflict may have the opposite effect (McQueen et al., 2003; Mulvaney-Day et al., 2007; Tschann et al., 2002). However, while some analyses may have controlled for such factors as socioeconomic status (Mulvaney-Day et al., 2007), researchers did not generally consider the *causes* of the intrafamilial conflict. The current chapter highlights that intrafamilial conflict can be highly influenced by immigration enforcement. As shared by Viruell-Fuentes and Schulz (2009), intrafamilial conflict may be the result of a sociocultural context that disadvantages individuals already in resource poor settings. The authors state, “The complexities and patterns highlighted in this study encourage us to move beyond conceptualizations of immigrant social networks as culturally determined” (p. 2173). In moving beyond these limited conceptualizations, then, researchers should consider the oppressive sociopolitical forces that give rise to cultural practices and intrafamilial conflict.

6.6.5 Implications for public health practice. This study has implications for those who provide services to members of mixed-status communities. First, service providers should broaden the range of support provided following immigration raids. For example, while many organizations may provide funds for legal aid, less available are the emergency funds to address hunger or homelessness, or provide childcare, transportation, or other immediate needs such as diapers and infant formula. Other professional roles that could prove helpful include lactation support, family and individual mental health counselors, and transportation assistance from those with licenses. Notably, while Lupe benefited from the support

of WICIR, she avoided approaching the WIC office out fear of deportation. Given the fear of traversing public space and visiting social services found here and elsewhere (Hacker et al., 2011; Hardy et al., 2012), organizations could aim to bring their services into the community, or hold meetings and share resources in nearby locations or locations safe from ICE activity (such as churches or schools).

Lastly, many individuals avoided contact with social services because they feared that the agency would notify law enforcement of their immigration statuses. Social service organizations should be explicit about the rules and regulations that govern their interactions with undocumented individuals. For example, all staff members should be aware of the conditions under which they would ask about immigration status (if at all), and what they will do when one discloses her undocumented status. Further, organizational representatives that require proof of identity should be clear on which forms are acceptable and why. So often in fieldwork I observed organizations request driver's licenses reflexively, with no consideration of the ways in which this simple request marginalizes undocumented individuals. Explicit policy and language of inclusion are necessary to create an environment that counters the toxic fear of authorities and deportation.

6.6.6 Implications for immigration enforcement. To be clear, suggesting strategies to mitigate the damage of immigration raids in no way condones these raids, nor is it meant to imply that these raids should continue at all. In fact, given the findings in this study, I strongly advocate against the use of immigration raids in all cases. However, assuming that they will unfortunately continue, a number of steps can be taken to reduce their negative impacts.

First, ICE, and any law enforcement offices that collaborate with them, should be willing to take personal responsibility for the physical damages caused to any raided facility. Guadalupe and Fernanda would not have been homeless had ICE or the WCSO repaired the door that they had kicked in upon entering the apartment. Should they not be able to fix the door or address the property damage they caused, I advocate that the price of averting homelessness for members of the raided residence be considered in the economic costs of conducting a raid.

Second, this chapter provides strong evidence that a single act of immigration enforcement can engender negative health repercussions throughout a wide geographic range and across individuals of various immigration statuses. I would argue that, no matter how many steps are taken to diminish the impact of these raids, this type of militarized violence that by its nature entails race-based power differentials and the threat of death will always damage the relationships between law enforcement agencies and community members. When ICE wishes to collaborate with local law enforcement offices to conduct immigration raids, these offices must weigh carefully the social cost of these tactics, as they alienate not only undocumented community members, but also other Latinos in their social networks regardless of immigration status. As I show in the next chapters, in a time of racial tensions augmented by the filmed killings of unarmed black men, storming homes, detaining and deporting multiple men who were not the target of the raid to begin with, and traumatizing mothers and their children will only serve to reinforce perceptions of law enforcement as a tool for the violent subjection of communities of color.

Chapter 7

“Can I see your ID?”

Identification and Deportability in Mixed-Status Latino Communities

Among the first things she did was ask the woman for an ID. She explained that since she didn't know her, it was important to see who she was. Officer Flynn asked for IDs on just about every interaction with anyone, and seemed to ID everyone, not just the person who was the focal point of the interaction.

-Field notes from ride-along with Officer Lisa Flynn²², November 19, 2015

“If you see something wrong, like robbery or things like that, you’re not going to think to even call the police because it could completely go the other way around: ‘Oh yeah, who called?’ ‘Oh I did.’ ‘Show me your ID I just wanna see who you are.’ ‘Oh I don’t have one.’ ‘Okay you know what, come in [to the station].’ So no.”

-Arturo, who was arrested as he drove away from Santiago’s taller.

²² All officer names are pseudonyms unless stated otherwise.

7.1. Introduction and overview

In the previous chapter, findings indicated that members of the Latino mixed-status community in Washtenaw County avoided public space and confined themselves to their homes in order to avoid encounters with law enforcement officials in which they would be asked to prove their immigration statuses. Further, this fear of status disclosure extended beyond law enforcement officers to representatives of social and community service organizations.

In the current chapter, I explore the mechanism by which immigration status is disclosed in these encounters in two parts. First, I consider how *any* encounters with police officers—including those initiated by the individual and those in which one is in the vicinity of law enforcement activity—become occasions for immigration status disclosure. Second, I illustrate how particular forms of identification when presented by Latinos mark them as deportable to police and agency representatives. Taken together, this chapter highlights the ways in which seemingly innocuous interactions with law enforcement and other formal agencies intersect with Latino presentation and national security policy to reveal Latino deportability. These findings address Aim 2 by illustrating aspects of the sociocultural context that affect the outcome of the raid, in this case, the tendencies of police and organizations to request identification and interpret meaning from it. These findings also address Aim 3 by considering stakeholders with authority in mixed-status Latino communities: law enforcement officers and agency representatives.

7.2. Requests for IDs from Callers and Bystanders

Forty minutes after I arrive at my fourth ride-along, I accompany Officer Lisa Flynn to a 911 call placed from a storefront slightly removed from a main thoroughfare. The dispatcher informs us that nine calls were placed from that location, but the reason for the calls is unclear. When we arrive, Lisa knocks on the door, and, peering past the 6-foot-something man who opens it, observes another man sitting near broken furniture strewn across the room. Lisa immediately asks the man at the door for identification, and then asks if she can come inside, as it's approaching midnight and getting cold. I hear him say something vague like "that's ok," and he doesn't let Lisa past him to enter the room. Lisa does not ask again and remains outside.

The man hands Lisa his ID and tells her his name and birthday, and Lisa goes back to the car to check if he has any outstanding warrants. He does not, and Lisa returns to firmly plant her booted feet a few inches away from the doorframe. With alcohol on his breath, the man explains to Lisa that the nine 911 calls he made were an accident, as he just kept pushing re-dial on the phone and did not remember that he had dialed 911 the first time. He says that everything is fine now, that he and his friend had gotten into it, but now there is nothing left to worry about. The other man in the room agrees. Lisa gets ready to leave, but before she does, she tells the man at the door that he needs to get a ride home, and points to the taxi cabs sitting a few feet away. If he drives home, she promises that he will get arrested for driving while intoxicated. Shortly later, Lisa and I drive away.

This was the second time within the first hour of the ride-along that I had observed Lisa ask for identification. Earlier that night, about five minutes after I

arrived at the station, I accompanied Lisa to a house situated well off of the main street. As we arrived, the dark and secluded front yard was alternatingly cut with the red and blue lights of multiple police cars, and the situation felt tense and urgent. Lisa parked the cruiser in front of the house and immediately went inside while I waited in the car. At that point I knew how to work the dashboard camera, which also recorded the audio from a microphone on Lisa's uniform shirt, and was thus able to hear everything that occurred inside the house even if it was out of view. Though there were multiple other officers inside, when Lisa entered, she immediately engaged with a frantic woman whose rising and falling voice, which I could hear over Lisa's microphone, communicated an escalating standoff with her roommate over a cigarette. Lisa engaged with a soft, neutral tone, and I could easily imagine her getting down on one knee and looking at the woman in the eye. Lisa told the woman that she would work on getting her a cigarette and asked her what kind she smoked. Calmly, Lisa asked the woman for her ID because, she says, she didn't know her yet. Eventually, the officers decided that the woman needed to go to the hospital to see her counselor. Lisa escorted her to the ambulance waiting outside, and told her it was nice to meet her.

In the few hours I spent with her, I saw Lisa calmly approach situations that could have turned violent and engage the individuals involved, often using personal favors and always using direct and humanizing eye-contact, body language, and tone, to de-escalate the situation. In the first example above, Lisa did not insist on entering the storefront when the man denied her entrance, even though, as she pointed out, she could interpret the damaged property as sign of an altercation and

insisted that she be let in. In the second vignette, Lisa entered the house and immediately tended to the woman who appeared to be the most distressed, and, seeing that the cigarettes had come to represent the center of the argument between the woman and her roommate, asked the personally validating question of what kind of cigarette the woman smokes before offering to try and find her one. But in addition to Lisa's skill at de-escalation, she had a habit of asking everyone with whom she interacted for identification. Perhaps most notably, in the opening vignette, Lisa requested the ID of the man who opened the door for her, who was also likely the one who had dialed 911.

When I asked Lisa about this habit of requesting IDs, she explained to me that she requests IDs every time, from everyone, not just the caller or, in the case of a pulled over vehicle, the driver²³. If someone refused to share it, she tells me that there can generally be a legal reason to compel someone to do so, for example, if a driver is pulled over and a passenger does not have on a seat belt.

I knew this habit would inevitably build a wall between her and Latino community members²⁴, as undocumented immigrants have not been able to acquire a driver's license or state ID since the REAL ID Act (HR 1268) of 2005 (implemented in Michigan in 2008) mandated the need for a social security number. I sensed that

²³ Was Lisa within her rights to request these IDs? Generally speaking, officers can always request identification, though those from whom they request identification are not necessarily legally compelled to provide it. While drivers must show their licenses and registration upon request, for passengers as well as others who may come into casual contact with officers, they are only required to show their IDs if the officer has a "reasonable and articulable suspicion" that the individual is involved in criminal activity (*Hiibel v. Sixth Judicial District Court of Nevada*, 542, U.S. 177 (2004)). Thus, Lisa's habit of asking for IDs was probably acceptable, and I did not witness anyone test her legal rights by refusing to provide her ID.

²⁴ While I focus here on mixed-status Latino communities, asking for an ID discourages many individuals from interacting with officers. For example, those with outstanding warrants for unpaid traffic tickets may similarly avoid contact with police.

Lisa had considered this, so I inquired specifically what she would do if someone did not have an ID because he was undocumented. She responded that she usually just asks directly if the individuals are legally in the U.S., and is willing to use anything to prove identity, even a check stub²⁵. She then said that if there were not a reason to be concerned about immigration status, she would ignore it. Here, Lisa highlighted the individual discretion of local police officers when enforcing immigration law, as they choose whether or not to request IDs, what to accept as valid forms of ID, what repercussions follow, and under what circumstances. Complicating this discretion is the arbitrariness of the criteria for enforcing immigration law, as it is not completely clear what constitutes a reason to be “concerned” about immigration status.

Later that night, Lisa gave some clues as to the criteria she uses in enforcing immigration law. A portion of my field notes illustrates this conversation:

After the previous call and until the next, we drive around a bit, before parking in a gas station to chat. Lisa asks me about the work I do, and, unlike other officers, continues the conversation past the general overview I tend to share. I describe what happened in the raid, including the women in the house who had weapons pointed at them and the multiple resulting deportations, and I mention my work looks at how these folks react to all kinds of formal institutions. Lisa shakes her head in a gesture of disappointment. She says that she knows that many cops don't see things the same way as her. She tells me

²⁵ I appreciated the irony that undocumented Latinos can use proof that they are contributing to the U.S. economy (by working illegally) to avoid immigration enforcement. Much work has considered the acceptability of undocumented Latinos as exploitable labor. As De Genova (2004) describes, “The legal production of “illegality” provides an apparatus for sustaining Mexican migrants’ vulnerability and tractability – as workers – whose labor-power, inasmuch as it is deportable, becomes an eminently disposable commodity” (p. 161).

that if there are people here that are working and taking care of their family she doesn't see any reason to deport them. Then she follows up with that if you are undocumented and cause trouble, you "lose privileges," implying that there are large repercussions even for small crimes.

-Adapted from field notes. November 19, 2015

Certainly, this meritocratic mindset (“working and taking care of their family”) that requires Latinos to “earn” their place in U.S. society is not new (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), and was echoed many times throughout this fieldwork. For Lisa and others, if you are working or caring for your family, you will be tolerated. However, if you are undocumented and cause trouble, you “lose privileges.” Lisa thus does not believe in punishing law-abiding, hard working Latinos, nor those who care for their families, but accepts that all crimes, no matter the size, may revoke the “privilege” of remaining in the U.S. and the social services that are presumed to come with it. To give another brief example of the use of such meritocratic criteria for belonging, at the ride-along previous to Lisa’s, Officer Jane Douglas and I were driving around a downtown area full of restaurants and discussing immigration, when she suggested that many of the cooks were likely to be undocumented. She praised these immigrants for “bustin [their] ass” and supporting their families, and compared them to other unspecific individuals who are unemployed and eat “bon bons” while receiving “Obamacare.” In this case, Jane creates a hierarchy in which undocumented immigrants who are working are socially preferable to U.S. citizens who are not, specifically to those drawing on health care not linked to employment.

Thus the picture of when and where Latinos are asked for IDs—and what will be the results—becomes even more complicated and mired in arbitrary officer criteria of immigration enforcement for Latinos. Rhetorically stated, will I be carded, and if so, will I be read as undocumented, and if so, do I work hard enough for it not to matter?

Arturo, who was arrested as he left the Michigan Avenue property on 11/7, described well how Lisa's requests for an ID were viewed in the Latino community as well as how the fear solicited by requests for identification was augmented after the raid:

[After the raid], such a bad reputation about the Sheriff's Department, like people do not trust them, people just don't. If you see something going on in the neighborhood, [they're] not even going to bother to call 911 because they don't trust them. We have the mentality that they are there to help us, to support us, not to smack it across our face and turn their back around when we need them. Cause I feel like when you call 911, it shouldn't be like, 'Who's calling? Where you from? Are you status [referring to immigration status]?' It should be like, 'What do you need? Where are you at? I [will] dispatch this car right now.' That's it. That should be a 911 call. But even if they try to do it, what do they do? 'Who are you?' 'Well this is my name.' 'Well okay.' Well first they can't speak English. Number two they don't have any type of ID so if you see something wrong like robbery or things like that you're not even going to think to even call the police because it could completely go the other way around: 'Oh yeah, who called?' 'Oh I did.' 'Show me your ID I just wanna see

who you are.’ ‘Oh I don’t have one.’ ‘Okay you know what, come in [to the station].’ So no.

- Arturo, September 22, 2015

For undocumented Latinos, the risk of interactions with officers is exceptionally high. Because officers, like Lisa, often request identification from anyone at a given location, Latinos are forced to consider if *anyone* in the vicinity lacks the documentation that will permit him to remain in the U.S. Thus, contact between Latino *citizens* and local officers is limited by the possibility of repercussions for their undocumented peers, a finding beginning to emerge elsewhere (Theodore, 2013).

Notably, as Arturo perceptively highlighted, while the lack of ID itself was incriminating, it was the lack of ID *combined* with markers of Latino identity, in this case, the inability to speak English, that shifted the conversation from one of identification to one of deportability. In the next section, I explore how the lack of identification—as well as various types of IDs—can be interpreted as a marker of deportability in the hands of Latinos.

7.3 Expired, Foreign, and International Identification as Markers of Deportability

As Arturo noted above and as many interviews and interactions demonstrated, it was not simply the absence of identification that marked one as deportable, but the absence of ID by an individual read specifically as *Latino*. In Arturo’s vignette, this interpretation occurred through a phone call in which a hypothetical dispatcher perceived the caller’s English to be accented and therefore

presumed the caller to be Latino, and by extension, undocumented. In this way, being read as Latino becomes a prerequisite for deportability in interactions with local law enforcement. Below I give other examples of the ways in which specific forms of identification become markers of deportability when in the literal hands of Latinos.

After the passage of the REAL ID Act in 2005 (HR 1268), it was impossible to get a driver's license or state ID card without a social security number. For undocumented immigrants in Washtenaw County who lived in the U.S. prior to 2008 (when Michigan implemented the Act), the change in regulations meant they were unable to renew the licenses they had previously possessed. Thus undocumented immigrants were reclassified over night from legal to illegal drivers. While their physical or mental abilities to drive had not changed and no other legal violation that would cause the loss of driver's licenses for citizens had occurred, undocumented immigrants were moved out of legal compliance by administrative fiat. Thus, many undocumented immigrants who had grown accustomed to driving were now faced with the choice of reorganizing their lives without vehicles, leveraging relationships with citizens with driver's licenses, or driving illegally. Further, the Act had the insidious effect of marking as undocumented any Latino who had an expired license.

Many strategies were used to attempt to mitigate the negative effects of an Act that suddenly and drastically reduced the number of drivers in Latino mixed-status communities. Some began to drive with the licenses from their home countries, which, according to the Michigan Secretary of State, is legal in Michigan

for licenses from Mexico, Honduras, Nicaragua, and a handful of other Latin and South American countries (Michigan Secretary of State, 2015). Others began to use what was referred to as an “international driver’s license.” Despite its name, an international driver’s license (also often called an international driver’s “permit”) is not a license to drive, but an English translation of one’s driver’s license from her country of birth (“IDLService.com,” 2014). Thus, it is *only* useful in tandem with one’s driver’s license, and even then, is only necessary if the individual officer requests to see a translation, which isn’t always a legal necessity. The Sherriff and many advocates decried these documents as attempts to make money from a vulnerable population²⁶, and the Sherriff and WICIR attempted to come to agreement on what to instruct the community. An image of an international driver’s license can be seen in Figure 7.1.

²⁶ As I discuss in detail in the next section, given the number of institutions that now request IDs, the regulations around which IDs are acceptable and when is unpredictable, inconsistent, and often comes down to individual discretion from institutional representatives. It was not clear to what extent the international ID could be used, for example, to enroll in English Second Language classes at a local library.

Figure 7.1

Example of an International Driver's License from idlservice.com



Hilda, Arturo's wife and a well-spoken and confident Honduran woman who had collaborated with the EBV team, described to me how an officer who pulled her over attempted to invalidate her Honduran driver's license:

Hilda: Just a bit ago, a police officer stopped me. So racist. Thank God that I could defend myself, and he wasn't going to humiliate me while I was within my rights. But listen, he got angry with me, so he asked me, 'Why are you talking to me like this?' I told him, 'I am not talking to you without respect, I am responding how I should.' And you know what, he had the nerve to tell me that in my country we can't even make driver's licenses (*Y si sabes que me atrevió decirme que 'mi país ni siquiera podían hacer una licencia de manejo*

como era.). I told him, 'Well in my country it is not a license like the one in the U.S., but let me tell you in my country we were at least free to express ourselves...' That's just how it is. And he got very upset and he threw my [Honduran] license and told me, 'You know what, I don't even know what to do with you.' I told him, 'It's cause I haven't done anything.' ...

William: You showed him your [Honduran] license?

Hilda: Yeah. And then he tells me, 'What is this?' I tell him, 'It's a license from my country.' ... [He tells me] 'I don't know what this is.' I told him, 'I think you can read English because here it is translated into English, so what is the problem?' So he tells me, 'You can't even make licenses in your country' (*Me dijo, 'Ah como creo dice que en tu país ni siquiera hacer unas licencias puede*). And I tell him, 'And you, how do you know if you aren't from my country?' So he told me, 'What is this? This doesn't mean anything to me,' and I tell him, 'Well for you no, but for me, yes.' And he got so angry. So then....

William: You said that to him?

Hilda: Yes and after, he told me, 'You know what, it's better if you just go. It's better to go before I change my mind,' he told me. Just because he stopped me doesn't mean I had broken a law (*Entonces porque yo no voy a comerte un delito simplemente me vio, me paró*).

William: You said that?

Hilda: He said that, yep. So he told me it's better that I go before he changes his mind. And he was mad.

William: And were you scared?

Hilda: Well yes I was scared but I wasn't going to show it. Because like I said, I hadn't done anything.

William: Um hm.

Hilda: So I asked him why he stopped me, and he said, 'because your license is expired.' [referring to her Michigan driver's license, which expired about four years prior]... But I told him 'here is the license from my country.' I know that I can drive with it. So? ...Yeah so he told me 'for me this is worthless.' I said, 'Well it's what I have, at least I have it.' He got so mad and he let me go. He said he didn't know what to do with me.

- August 22, 2015

Hilda is correct in that driving with a Honduran license is legal in Michigan. Yet the officer used a number of strategies to delegitimize Hilda's Honduran license. First, he implied that licenses in Honduras are somehow inadequately designed compared to U.S. licenses, a presumption which has no bearing on the legality of the license. Second he stated that he did not know what "this" was, referring to the Honduran license. Hilda interpreted this statement as an attempt to invalidate the license for being in Spanish, and thus highlighted the portion of the license that was in English. Third, the officer told Hilda that he pulled her over for her expired Michigan license. Clearly, an expired license is not visible through the window of a passing car, and Hilda likely read this statement as the officer's assumption that, because Hilda was Latina, she did not have a current U.S. driver's license (She is not the only individual with whom I spoke who assumed that they had been pulled over because of racial profiling. In fact, the same happened many times to a member of

WICIR with whom I collaborated on this study). Again, the possession of a valid U.S. driver's license is irrelevant to the validity of Hilda's Honduran driver's license, yet the officer nonetheless leverages it as a sign of her deportability.

This example illustrates that one's means of identification interacts with her racialized identity as interpreted through complexion, dress, (accented) language, and general presentation. For Hilda, the officer tried a number of strategies to argue for her deportability, but, being a confident and well-spoken woman who knew her rights and the law related to driver's licenses, she was able to speak on her behalf to force the officer to clarify his intentions. When he was unable to do so, the officer told Hilda to leave before he "changes his mind" because he did not know "what to do with her." Because Hilda was driving legally, unspoken was the officer's alternative to letting Hilda go: enforcing immigration law at his own discretion and despite complying with all local laws.

The complexity of self-identification among Latinos in mixed-status communities extends beyond law enforcement to the other formal institutions with which community members interact. A final vignette in this section highlights this complexity.

In September of 2015, I went with Ramiro, a co-founder of WICIR who I hired to work with me on this project, to pick up Yolanda and assist her in recovering her car from the impound²⁷. Yolanda, a 30-something Mexican woman, had illegally turned right on red and was pulled over by an officer, who then gave her a ticket and had her car towed because Yolanda was driving with an international driver's

²⁷ Ramiro agreed to the use of his name in this vignette.

license. To re-emphasize, an international driver's license is a translation of a foreign driver's license ("IDLService.com," 2014). It does not give one the legal right to drive unless accompanied by the original driver's license from one's home country. Thus, because Yolanda no longer had her original Mexican driver's license, she was functionally driving without a license.

To remove one's car after it has been impounded in Washtenaw County, one must provide 1) proof of ownership of the vehicle, such as title or registration, 2) a valid driver's license, and 3) proof of vehicle insurance ("Sherriff's office: Vehicle impounds & releases," 2016). One must also pay a fee for both towing service and storage of the vehicle. If one does not have a driver's license, she can bring a friend or relative who does, and together the pair will be able to recover the impounded car.

We first stop at a house-cum-office so Yolanda can purchase car insurance. As Ramiro, Yolanda and I enter the house, we see a front desk covered in placards and certificates that grant what was clearly a residential space in a past life time an aura of professional legitimacy. The placards are accompanied by a sign reading "check or money order only." A white woman, likely in her 50s, invites the three of us into her office, located just to the left of the front counter at the entrance. I follow Ramiro and Yolanda into the office and wonder how the woman perceives the three of us. While we are all Latinos, our presentations, including our accents as we spoke Spanish or English, our clothes, and the tones of our brown skin, was likely to be read individually in a variety of ways. Together, I was unsure what others would

make of us and if their interpretations could come to affect the interactions we would have with formal institutions.

Ramiro begins the conversation by telling the woman behind the desk that we are looking for car insurance for Yolanda, who has an international driver's license. The woman behind the desk tells us immediately that she spoke with someone about international driver's licenses just the other day, and, unfortunately, she does not provide car insurance to those with international licenses. It is not particularly clear if she means that she will not sell Yolanda car insurance if Yolanda has an international driver's license *only* (that is, with no foreign license to match), or that she will not insure foreign driver's without U.S. driver's licenses generally. Ramiro and Yolanda do not push the interaction further, and we drive to another insurance office.

This insurance office is located in a store front not far from the location in which Yolanda's car has been impounded. I recognize the logo on the front of the office from the commercials of this multinational corporation and the popular TV actor who delivers its slogan as the commercials close. We enter through glass doors and approach a set of three or four desks surrounded by cubicle walls staffed by young salespeople wearing headsets. A white man, probably in his early twenties at most, invites us to sit across from him in his cubicle, and tells us immediately that the policy of the company is to insure only those who have had a *minimum* of six months insurance coverage. Yolanda, who is purchasing insurance for the first time, does not have six months of previous insurance coverage. The young white man slowly glances from Ramiro to Yolanda to me and back again, and asks if any of us

have had six months of coverage, probably giving us the opportunity to change the storyline about who is applying, why, and with what documents and insurance history. It is clear that he is unsure of the relationships among the three of us and unsure of how to proceed, so he continues with the same corporate line: that without a minimum of six months previous insurance coverage, he cannot sell Yolanda auto insurance.

The white woman in the cubicle next to him overhears the conversation, and, tells us that, because we are using an international driver's license, her boss could find cheaper auto insurance. Further, because Yolanda is a foreign driver, she does not have to have six months of continual coverage as was previously stated multiple times. Thus, the international driver's license that was the original cause of Yolanda's ticket and the impounding of her car appeared to be *the* reason she was able to purchase car insurance.

The woman ushers the three of us into the office of a short Middle Eastern man who immediately scrolls through a few screens on his computer, and, in less than five minutes, gives us a quote of \$263 for the first month of car insurance and \$270 for every month after from an insurance company whose sign is not on the front door. Yolanda agrees to the offer, and pulls out an envelope full of twenty-dollar bills. The man who sold Yolanda the insurance pulls out an even bigger wad of bills sandwiched by a hundred-dollar bill on the outside, and mentions that he doesn't know if he has change for the fourteen \$20 bills that Yolanda was about to give him. Ramiro and I pull out our wallets and try to piece together \$3 so the salesman wouldn't further price gouge Yolanda and keep the extra \$17 for which he

was unable to make change from his fat sandwich of twenties. We find three extra bills, Yolanda hands the man the cash, signs the paper work, and is instructed to come back again next month to pay the newly acquired monthly insurance she was eligible for as a foreign driver with an international driver's license with no matching driver's license from her home country.

Finally, we drive away and head over to the impound facility to retrieve Yolanda's car. When we arrive, I again follow Ramiro and Yolanda inside, and Ramiro begins to talk with one of three white women seated behind a glass window. The woman requests the proper paperwork from Yolanda, and Yolanda hands her the freshly minted insurance policy, registration for the car, and Ramiro's Michigan driver's license.

The woman accepts the documents we hand her, but, because the only document with a photo is the Michigan driver's license belongs to Ramiro, there is no evidence that the "Yolanda" on the insurance paperwork is the Yolanda in front of the woman at that moment, and thus Yolanda is asked to produce a photo I.D. to prove she is the person referenced on the paperwork. Yolanda opens her wallet and hands the Clerk her Washtenaw ID, a form of photo identification available to all resident so Washtenaw County ("Washtenaw ID Project," 2016). I was part of a study team evaluating the Washtenaw ID Project at the time, and was aware that the ID had not yet saturated the community and many organizations had probably never seen a Washtenaw ID before. Frankly, I did not think the clerk would accept it. Perhaps sensing the same tension, Ramiro looks at me and, in a neutral tone just loud enough for others to overhear, tells me that he is glad to see that the

Washtenaw ID is used so widely in Washtenaw County. I smile and agree that it is great to see the Washtenaw ID used in so many places. Ramiro's quick engagement with me about the Washtenaw ID was a strategy contrary to what we had been doing throughout the day: leveraging silence to encourage the institutional representatives to provide other opportunities for Yolanda to fit within the regulations. Ramiro actively called attention to the ID, but in doing so, highlighted that the Washtenaw ID was not identification from another *country*, but in fact from Washtenaw County. That the woman does not compare the ID to a list of acceptable IDs further elucidates that much of the exchange was purely a matter of individual discretion on the part of the administrator.

The woman accepts the vehicle registration, the insurance we had just purchased using Yolanda's international driver's license, Ramiro's MI driver's license, Yolanda's Washtenaw ID, and \$230 from Yolanda, and hands us the keys to the car that was ticketed due to Yolanda's lack of Mexican driver's license to match the international driver's license. Ramiro and Yolanda pause to calculate where the \$230 charge comes from, and agree that they are being charged for an extra day of impounding. Ramiro, points this out to the clerk, stating that he called the impound facility and was told that he would not pay for the extra day of storage if he picked the car up in the morning. He asks the clerk if he was given the wrong information. The clerk says yes, and pursues the issue no further. Yolanda takes out her envelope of cash and pays for the extra day.

Yolanda and Ramiro's experience highlights the complexity of self-identification for members of the mixed-status Latino community in a number of

ways. First, the entirety of the interaction would not have occurred prior to 2008, when Yolanda could have applied for a Michigan driver's license without her social security number. Yet the REAL ID Act, which attempts to prevent "terrorists from obtaining state-issued identification documents" in order to "secur[e] America against terrorism" (Department of Homeland Security, 2016) had very real and expensive effects on Yolanda's interaction with institutions unrelated to national security. This begins to illustrate the complicated ways in which immigration laws, though federal in statute, are not federal in nature, but play out and are implemented at local, institutional, and interpersonal levels.

Secondly, one interpretation of why we were ultimately able to retrieve Yolanda's car from the impound was because of Ramiro's adeptness at navigating numerous institutional cultures, correctly reading which aspects of Yolanda's Latino identity would be most beneficial to highlight, and *then* selecting the correct ID to do so. For example, while the international license was not sufficient for Yolanda to drive, it was the document that enabled her to get car insurance. It was specifically because the woman overheard our situation (or more likely, judged us by appearance as soon as we walked in the door) that Yolanda was taken into the manager's office and offered an array of (comparatively expensive) insurance options from different companies that did not require six months of continual insurance coverage specifically because she was born outside of the U.S. Perhaps most illustrative, however, was Yolanda's selection of the Washtenaw ID, and Ramiro's subtle reinforcement of its validity, to finally convince the clerk to hand Ramiro the keys to Yolanda's car. As three Latinos stood on the other side of the

glass window from three white women listening to our collectively accented English, I presume that Ramiro understood the importance of emphasizing that that particular ID card was common and accepted in Washtenaw County (if not the country). I question what would have happened had Yolanda shown a Mexican ID or the international driver's license. Third, Ramiro, whose work is usually paid hourly, spent most of his morning with Yolanda and thus missed the opportunity to generate income during that time. In this way, the emotional and economic duress affects not only the person who interacts with law enforcement, but other members of that person's social network, a finding in line with those from Chapter 6.

Lastly, what occurred with Yolanda was not the worst-case scenario. Yolanda was driving illegally (in that, as far as I or anyone could tell, she did not have a Mexican driver's license to match her international license), which resulted in a traffic ticket and her car being towed. While the officer could have let her drive away despite the lack of license, the officer also could have arrested her, which may have resulted in deportation. This highlights the absurd range of outcomes that may come from even the most innocuous of local law enforcement interactions for Latino members of mixed-status communities.

7.4 Conclusion

7.4.1 Summary. Two salient themes emerge in this chapter. First, results show that everyday policing practices by local police—whether or not those practices are designed to enforce immigration law—create barriers between officers and members of the Latino community. Specifically, officers may request identification from anyone with whom they come in contact, including those who

dial 911 and those in the vicinity of law enforcement activity. This behavior severely limits the willingness of those in mixed-status communities to engage with law enforcement. Further, while state identification and driver's licenses are not available to undocumented immigrants, other forms of identification, such as passports or driver's licenses from countries of birth, are. However, members of formal institutions (including law enforcement) often interpret these forms of identification as signs that the ID holder is undocumented, and chose how to react based on individual discretion. This may include denial of services or, in the case of police, enforcement of immigration law.

For mixed-status Latino communities, whose illegality transforms *any* broken law into a potential for deportation, interactions with formal institutions are indeed high risk. These findings speak directly to Aims 2 and 3 by illustrating aspects of the sociocultural context that may affect the outcomes of raids and the stakeholders who create and enforce this environment.

7.4.2 Chapter 7 findings through the lens of illegality. According to De Genova (De Genova, 2002, 2004), a state of illegality requires the perpetual maintenance of the deportability of undocumented individuals. That is, deportation must remain an omnipresent and unpredictable threat that therefore limits the behaviors of undocumented individuals who are fearful of surveillance and immigration enforcement. When coupled with the limited legal recourses of undocumented immigrants, illegality becomes a mechanism of control. This deportability is maintained by regulating who can enter the U.S., for how long, and under what conditions they will be removed. De Genova and Peutz, in the

introduction to the book, “The Deportation Regime” (2010), suggest that it is not deportation per se that creates immigrant illegality, but the possibility that one could be deported at any moment:

Deportation regimes are profoundly effective, and quite efficiently so, exactly insofar as the grim spectacle of the deportation of even just a few, coupled with the enduring everyday deportability of countless others (millions in the case of the United States), produces and maintains migrant “illegality” as not merely an anomalous juridical status but also a practical, materially consequential, and deeply interiorized mode of being—and of being in place (emphasis in the original; p. 14).

This chapter additionally finds that deportability is maintained not only by federal immigration law, but also by local policing practices that serve as *de facto* immigration enforcement. Thus, it is not only DHS that creates and maintains the condition of deportability (and hence illegality), but the local police departments with whom they collaborate.

This deportability is also maintained by the unpredictability of the results of interactions with local police and the clear lack of criteria on which these results are based. In Hilda’s case, for example, the officer who pulled her over instructed her to leave before he “changes his mind,” implying that it was his generosity that allowed Hilda to avoid immigration related consequences despite the fact that no other law had been broken. In this way, the officer maintained Hilda’s deportability as well as exacting a level of social control in that Hilda was now vulnerable to deportation at any time, anywhere, under any circumstances, if an officer deemed it so.

Provine and Lewis (2014) highlight the ways in which collaboration between local police and ICE following 287(g) and Secure Communities may shape immigrant illegality. Echoing the findings above, the authors find that local officers exercise significant “discretion on the street” (p. 320) in decisions to enforce laws with immigration related consequences. This discretion may be facilitated nationally by the low rate of law enforcement offices that have written policies about interactions with immigrant communities. Thus, through officer discretion, local officers maintain the threat of deportability and hence the state of illegality among undocumented Latinos in mixed-status communities. This exertion of power and social control stands directly counter to officers’ stated goal of “protecting and serving” the communities they police.

As illustrated in Chapter 6, the fear of interaction with local police altered daily routines, confining many to their homes, and deeply affected children’s emotional stability, as they feared they would never see their parents again. Thus, findings from this chapter suggest that the enforcement of immigration law by police officers is yet one more mechanism by which the “spill over” of illegality extends to mixed-status communities.

7.4.3 Strengths and limitations. This chapter has many strengths, including data gathered from police ride-alongs to investigate daily immigration enforcement. However, there are limitations worth noting.

First, this dissertation was designed to consider broadly how local law enforcement enacted immigration law throughout a wide geographic range across many departments. Thus, findings above would have benefited from multiple ride-

along with the same departments, ride-alongs at various times during the day, or perhaps formal interviews with law enforcement officers (Fassin, 2013). Future studies could focus specifically on interactions between local police and mixed-status Latino communities and would benefit from more extensive and systematic interaction with law enforcement.

Second, while interviews with members of the Latino mixed-status community often included conversations about law enforcement, I did not specifically inquire about police requests for identification. Future studies could make such inquiries, or perhaps build on narrative interviewing to consider extensive narratives of Latino interaction with police officers.

7.4.4 Closing gaps in the literature. This research is among the first to consider how local law enforcement agents enact immigration law in their day-to-day policing routines. Much work has highlighted the intersection of immigration enforcement and local policing by focusing on 287(g) and Secure Communities programs (Castañeda & Melo, 2014; Chaudry et al., 2010; Doering-White et al., 2014; Garcia & Keyes, 2012; Jones-Correa & de Graauw, 2013; Theodore, 2013). Yet research on the daily interactions of police with minority communities generally focuses on interactions with Black communities (Christensen & Crank, 2001; Fassin, 2013; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; Marks, 2004; Reitzel, Rice, & Piquero, 2004; Skolnick, 1996; Westley, 1970), especially the extensive body of literature on racial profiling (Gumbhir, 2007; Harris, 1997; Rojek, Rosenfeld, & Decker, 2012; Skolnick, 2007). On the other hand, emerging literature that considers day-to-day law enforcement among Latinos often focuses on ICE or CBP (Adler, 2006; Maril, 2004;

Slack et al., 2013; Slack & Whiteford, 2011). Thus a notable gap in the literature exists, with little work considering interactions of local law enforcement with mixed-status Latino communities.

At least two other teams of researchers have highlighted this gap as well. Retizel, Rice, and Piquero (2004) describe, “Although insightful, most of the prior racial profiling literature, with a few exceptions, remained limited because studies typically only compared Blacks to Whites or categorized ethnic minorities under a non-White umbrella” (p. 608). Cheurprakobkit (2000), who considered attitudinal differences toward police between Hispanics and non-Hispanics, argued similarly:

There has been limited research on Hispanics and the police. Almost all of the research on race and ethnicity focuses on Blacks. Given that the term ‘minorities’ also applies to the Hispanic population, assumptions have been made that Hispanics’ experiences with the criminal justice system, especially with law enforcement, is similar to that of Blacks.

p. 327.

Further, when the racial profiling literature includes Latinos, it does not consider the interplay between racial profiling, local policing, and citizenship, as highlighted by the continual use of the phrase “Hispanic citizens” to describe Latino study samples (Cheurprakobkit, 2000; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; Reitzel et al., 2004; Rice, Reitzel, & Piquero, 2005; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). Thus, the illegality of the undocumented portion of the Latino population in these study samples renders their experiences invisible to the current discussions of the influence of race in local

law enforcement. Therefore, this work notably and valuably begins conversations about the local policing experiences of Latinos in mixed-status communities.

7.4.5 Implications for law enforcement officers and advocates. The practice of requesting identification of every individual with whom an officer comes in contact warrants reflection from law enforcement. While this practice may be intended to keep officers safe, by, for example, ascertaining if the person with whom the officer comes in contact has a warrant for dangerous crimes, the practice is much more likely to engender division between officers and local communities. If individuals fear that they and everyone in the vicinity will be asked to show identification every time they interact with officers, it is likely that no one who is undocumented or in the vicinity of those who are undocumented is likely to contact the police. This practice can be addressed in two ways. First, if law enforcement offices are clear that they do not enforce immigration law, then members of mixed-status communities may be more willing to risk contact with the police. Law officers can do this by, for example, clearly stating which IDs are acceptable without further question about immigration status. Acceptable forms of ID could include passports or even expired driver's licenses, as one's identity does not expire even if her ID has. Second, law enforcement officers can simply ask for IDs less frequently, by, for example, not requesting IDs of those who call 911, those who are passengers in cars, or those who are in the vicinity of a law enforcement interaction.

The Washtenaw ID ("Washtenaw ID Project," 2016) provided another opportunity for advocacy of behalf of the mixed-status community. The Washtenaw ID is a form of identification open to residents of Washtenaw County, including

undocumented individuals. The purpose of this ID is to provide access to government-issued photo IDs to all residents of Washtenaw County. This includes communities for whom it may be challenging to acquire IDs, such as transgender individuals whose gender presentation may not match the sex noted on their birth certificates, the chronically homeless, who do not have stable addresses, and undocumented immigrants, who, as discussed above, cannot access IDs without social security numbers. However, Washtenaw ID organizers, backed by the Sheriff of Washtenaw County, have encouraged all residents to obtain the ID and present it whenever IDs are requested. Because residents of all immigration statuses will have and use this ID, it cannot be treated as a marker of deportability. Municipal-level IDs such as these have increased in popularity(de Graauw, 2014; Ditzmann & Lagunes, 2014) and provide strong opportunities for advocates to de-stigmatize certain forms (or lack) of identification.

Chapter 8

Immigration Enforcement in an Era of #BlackLivesMatter

Cold November night, on a Sunday on the 9th
around a quarter to midnight if memory is precise
Ann Arbor PD, responded to the scene
In less than 60 seconds life became a bad dream
(They) forced through the door, two shots her body hit the floor
15 feet away DEAD, AURA was no more
Her boyfriend screamed in agony “what is this all for!?”
They didn’t have to shoot her,” he would further implore
The basis of a problem one can no longer ignore
The mind state of RACIST cops who done declared war

-“A Song for Aura.” SKLFL tha Free 1, 2015

The second aim of this dissertation asks how the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred shaped the effects of the 11/7 raid. The raid—and the ensuing fieldwork I conducted—occurred during a period of heightened tensions between police officers and communities of color spurred by the filmed killings of unarmed black men by police officers. In the final analytic chapter, I argue that the contemporary dynamics of racial policing are an important aspect of the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred.

Specifically, because the #BlackLivesMatter (Garza, Tometi, & Cullors, n.d.) movement—which formed in the wake of Trayvon Martin’s death (Direk, Newson, Hofman, Kirschbaum, & Tiemeier, 2011) and increased in prominence with the multiple and frequent killings of unarmed black men and women—centered the

killings of black men in policing conversations, police and police departments were forced to reveal the reasoning used to justify, erase, or ignore violent and deadly acts of law enforcement that severely damaged their relationships with minority communities. This reasoning provides a valuable analytical lens for which to consider the environment in which the 11/7 raid occurred. Stated differently, how do relationships between law enforcement and black communities inform our understanding of law enforcement and brown communities? Are the arguments used to justify the killings of black men the same as those used used to justify the deportations of brown men?

In the next sections, I provide a brief overview of the literature on policing culture. I then consider the specific local context in which this fieldwork unfolded by detailing WCSO practices related to relationships with minority communities. I suggest that officers engage in two arguments that justified the killings of black men—the notion of policing as keepers of moral order and the making irrelevant of the collateral damage of law enforcement—that are directly relevant to the logic of the raid.

8.1 Review of the literature on police culture

Research on policing has often considered the notion of a single “police culture” (Chan, 1996a; Crank, 2014; Loftus, 2010; Westley, 1970) and the stability of this culture in policing worldwide, including Australia (Chan, 1996a; Prenzler, 1997a), the United Kingdom (Skolnick, 1996), the Netherlands (Terpstra & Schaap, 2013) and the U.S. (Mastrofski, Worden, & Snipes, 1995; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000). Much of this work has suggested that there is a monolithic culture shared

among officers and across police departments due to the similarities in the demands these officers encounter in their day-to-day activities (Paoline, 2003). These demands are both occupational (the exposure to danger and the ability to use coercive force) and organizational (supervisor scrutiny and ambiguity of role) and result in the development of shared values, norms, and attitudes (Paoline, 2003; Terpstra & Schaap, 2013). Loftus (2010) summarizes the common conceptions of police culture thusly:

Police, it is said, have an exaggerated sense of mission towards their role and crave work that is crime oriented and promises excitement. They celebrate masculine exploits, show willingness to use force and engage in informal working practices. Officers are continually suspicious, lead socially isolated lives and display defensive solidarity with colleagues. They are mainly conservative in politics and morality, and their culture is marked by cynicism and pessimism. The police world view includes a simplistic, decontextualised understanding of criminality and officers are intolerant towards those who challenge the status quo (p. 2).

Much of this description of police culture is said to result from the perceived risks believed to be inherent in police work (Chan, 1996a; Paoline et al., 2000). As Chan (1996) describes, police culture "...is seen to be functional to the survival of police officers in an occupation considered to be dangerous, unpredictable, and alienating" (1996a, p. 111). Paoline (2003) states similarly, "Studies of police have noted that officers perceive their working environment to be laden with danger or

the risk of danger. Officers have often been described as 'preoccupied' with the danger and violence that surrounds them, always anticipating both" (p. 201).

While many researchers ascribe to the view of monolithic police culture, others have challenged the notion (Loftus, 2010), suggesting that the transition to community policing and the diversifying of the police force could alter or stratify police cultures (Paoline, 2003; Prenzler, 1997b). Prenzler (1997) states, "...it would seem that an unjustifiable and misleading stereotype has been created out of the literature on police culture. Police forces are probably not as homogenous as has been assumed" (p. 52). Yet Loftus (2010), who aimed to illustrate changes to police culture, ultimately concluded that "... the underlying world view of officers displays remarkable continuity with older patterns, and argues that police culture endures because the basic pressures associated with the police role have not been removed" (p. 1). She suggests that researchers not lose sight of "the remarkable continuities and inertia within police values, assumptions and practices" (p. 16).

Skolnick (1966), discusses the notion of the "symbolic assailant": "The policeman [sic], because his work requires him to be occupied continually with potential violence, develops a perceptual shorthand to identify certain types of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gesture, language, and attire, that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence" (p. 45). For example, to support the War on Drugs, the Drug Enforcement Agency, as well as other law enforcement agencies, utilize criminal profiling, or "formal law enforcement procedures used to recognize individuals who may be engaged in criminal behavior through the identification of salient characteristics associated

with specific crimes. Criminal profiles provide officers with a rough sketch of potential offenders, highlighting demographic and behavioral characteristics thought to be related to certain criminal enterprise” (Gumbhir, 2007, p. 13).

When race and ethnicity are used among these symbolic markers, people of color, most often young Black men, are subject to disproportionate policing, which in turn casts them as more frequently breaking the law (Jones-Brown, 2007). Much research attests to the toll of racial profiling in law enforcement (Bowling & Phillips, 2007; Gumbhir, 2007; Harris, 1997; Holbert & Rose, 2004; Rice et al., 2005), which disproportionately fills prisons and jails with young Black and Latino men. Jones-Brown (2007) suggests that “... policing in the United States is Pavlovian in nature. That is, the police are conditioned to suspect blacks, and black males in particular, of wrong-doing even in the absence of actual criminality” (p. 103). At its worst, then, this “Pavlovian” fear of Black men not only contributes to mass incarceration, but the but ultimately to their deaths at the hands of police officers (Moore et al., 2016b, 2016a).

To summarize, the literature on police culture suggests that this culture is relatively stable worldwide, owing to shared demands experienced by officers (Paoline, 2003). Aspects of this culture include a heightened sense of purpose, a willingness to use force, and a decontextualized understanding of criminality (Chan, 1996b; Paoline et al., 2000). In the U.S., race and ethnicity are often used as symbols of criminality, resulting in disproportionate policing of Black and Latino communities, the incarceration of the men in these communities (Alexander, 2012;

Reitzel et al., 2004), and, recently, the filmed killings of black men by police officers (Moore et al., 2016a)

In the next section, I focus on the WCSO and the ways in which this office engages with minority communities in Washtenaw County. I then consider how the WCSO—in many ways, exemplar in its efforts to address the killings of black men by police—justified its participation in the 11/7 raid.

8.2 Policing in Washtenaw County

Coleman (2012) argues that Secure Communities, despite being a federal immigration policy, “take[s] shape within specific political, legal, policing, and biographic contexts, and, as such, take on a site-specific form” (p. 159). Similarly, while the #BlackLivesMatter movement gained national and international prominence (Edwards & Harris, 2015; Sidner & Simon, 2015), the conversations and reactions from police departments the movement engendered likewise took on “site-specific” forms. In this section, I consider how the WCSO—the local police department that partnered with ICE to conduct the 11/7 raid—aimed to be aware of race-relations, sensitive to community needs, and purposeful in its outreach to the minority communities it policed. In this way, the policing strategies of the WCSO contributed to the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred.

When Eric Garner was choked to death by a white police officers on Staten Island, NY, on July 17, 2014, police violence in Black communities once again saturated the media and was thrust into the national spotlight (Harkinson, 2014; Klee, 2014). The ripple effects of the incident—as well as the killings of other unarmed Black men and women that followed it (Moore et al., 2016a)—were no

doubt felt in individual counties, cities, and towns throughout the U.S., as officers attempted to enforce laws in environments fraught with surfacing and intensified racial tension (Bekiempis, 2015). Indeed, these killings frequently filled television news reports, and in the age of cellphones and social media, were shared and discussed at alarming speed (Stephen, 2015). Table 8.1 lists the Black men and women killed since the beginning of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, and places in the timeline the 11/7 raid as well as the timing of police ride-alongs in which I engaged²⁸.

²⁸ By listing fieldwork along side the names of the Black men and women killed by police or who died in police custody, I in no way suggest that any experience in which I was engaged is symbolically notable for the movement. Rather, I list periods of fieldwork in the timeline so that the reader may better understand the growing weight of tension between the police and Black communities during the time in which the data were gathered.

Table 8.1

Timing of Killings of Black Men and Women and Fieldwork with Law Enforcement¹

Year	Month/day	Name of victim	City	Video footage
2016	9/20	Keith Scott	Charlotte, NC	No ²
2016	9/16	Terence Cutcher	Tulsa, OK	Yes
2016	8/28	Paul O'Neal	Chicago, IL	Yes
2016	7/16	Alton Sterling	Baton Rouge, LA	Yes
2016	7/6	Philandro Castile	St. Anthony, MN	Yes
2015	11/19		Ride-along 4	
2015	8/16		Ride-along 3	
2015	7/13	Sandra Bland	Hempstead, TX	Yes
2015	7/19	Samuel DuBose	Cincinnati, OH	Yes
2015	5/8		Ride-along 2	
2015	5/5		Ride-along 1	
2015	4/25		ENPACT meeting	
2015	4/19	Freddie Gray, Jr.	Baltimore, MD	No
2015	4/4	Walter Scott	North Charleston, SC	Yes
2014	11/22	Tamir Rice	Cleveland OH	Yes
2014	11/10	Aura Rosser	Ann Arbor, MI	No
2014	10/20	Laquan McDonald	Chicago, IL	Yes
2014	8/9	Michael Brown	Ferguson MO	No
2014	7/17	Eric Garner	Staten Island, NY	Yes
2013	11/7		Raid on Santiago's <i>taller</i> and apartment	
2012	2/26	Trayvon Martin	Sanford, FL	No

¹Fieldwork with law enforcement and raid are shaded in light gray

² No video has been released for the killing of Keith Lamont Scott as of Thursday, September 20, 2016

In many regards, Washtenaw County, with an area of 720 square miles with a population that includes 359,000 residents, 13% of whom are Black and 5% of whom are Latino (United States Census Bureau, 2015) was ahead of the curve. The WCSO had attended to the relationships between law enforcement and minority communities of color —via forums, discussions, and individual meetings—for some time, and I was able to observe many of these engagements during the fieldwork period. Much of the concern for race relations in the County can be attributed to the

Sherriff of Washtenaw County, Jerry Clayton²⁹. Sherriff Clayton, a Black man in his 40s, was elected to the position of Sherriff on January 1, 2009, after working with the WCSO for 20 years. Between about 2006 and 2009, when he was elected to Sherriff, Sherriff Clayton spent three years in private industry, where he served as the Vice President of Lamberth Consulting (“About Washtenaw County Sherriff Office: Administration,” 2016). Lamberth Consulting provides “statistical analysis, training, and engagement services focused on addressing racial profiling and biased enforcement in the United States and Europe” (“About Washtenaw County Sherriff Office: Administration,” 2016). Thus, Sheriff Clayton was elected to his position as Sherriff of Washtenaw County with expertise in cultural diversity and the prevention of racial profiling in police forces, and joined the 13% of Sheriffs nationally who identifies as a racial minority (Provine & Lewis, 2014). I observed Sheriff Clayton, most often dressed in a suit and tie instead of his law enforcement uniform, at community events throughout Washtenaw County that focused on the challenges of minority communities. I provide an example of Sheriff Clayton’s participation in notable community activities below.

In November of 2014, about a year after the 11/7 raid, Sheriff Clayton gave a compelling speech at the County Clerk’s Office when the County Commissioners would ultimately vote in favor of the Washtenaw ID, a photo ID available to all residents of Washtenaw County discussed briefly in Chapter 6 (“Washtenaw ID Project,” 2016). Sherriff Clayton passionately expressed his support for an ID accessible to everyone, referencing the challenges his own grandparents faced as

²⁹ I use Sherriff Clayton’s real name, as he is an elected official and therefore a public figure. He also has given me permission to do so.

older Black Americans who lacked federally recognized identification. I later saw Sheriff Clayton at Eastern Michigan University discuss implications of President Obama's My Brother's Keeper initiative in Washtenaw County. Numerous times, Sheriff Clayton met with WICIR representatives to discuss the 11/7 raid, international driver's licenses, and other concerns of immigration advocates. He had also previously stated that he would not enforce immigration law, and his department was discussing the use of body cameras before the revived national call that came in the wake of Michael Brown's and Eric Garner's deaths (Freed, 2014; Moran, 2014), or the brutalization of Rodney King two decades earlier (Bibring, 2016).

When Sheriff Clayton was not at an event (and sometimes even when he was), his Director of Community Outreach, Derrick Jackson³⁰ often was. Derrick held an undergraduate degree from Eastern Michigan University and a Master in Social Work degree from the University of Michigan, often was. Before Derrick worked at the WCSO, he worked at OZONE house in Ann Arbor with runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth. I spoke with Derrick many times over the course of my year of fieldwork (as well as before and after) and often had the privilege of hearing him speak at public events. Whenever he spoke, Derrick left audiences hypnotized by his engaging stories and sincere desire to serve minority communities. He spoke specifically of his time "on the block" and vulnerably shared how he struggled to form his identity as a Black man in a neighborhood where, as he put it, selling drugs represented the peak of success. At the My Brother's Keeper event at Eastern

³⁰ I use Derrick Jackson's real name as he has given me permission to do so.

Michigan University, his lecture was greeted with prodigious applause, and everyone from the largely Black audience seemed to relate to at least some part of Derrick's story.

The WCSO provides law enforcement services to residents throughout the 720 square miles of Washtenaw County, and is contracted as the primary police force for Ann Arbor Township, Dexter Township, Dexter Village, Lodi Township, Salem Township, Scio Township, Superior Township, Webster Township, Manchester Village, York Township, and Ypsilanti Township ("Washtenaw County Sheriff's Office: Police services," 2016). It was symbolically meaningful, and a statistical rarity (Provine & Lewis, 2014), that two Black men were at the helm of a police force with large geographic reach.

Sherriff Clayton and Derrick made inroads into the local Latino community as well. Often, the Sherriff trusted WICIR and Casa Latina (a community-based organization that had collaborated in the creation and implementation of the EBV) to liaise between the WCSO and the Latino community. It was through conversations with WICIR and other advocates that the Sherriff was informed, and in turn informed his officers, about the policies about the "international driver's license," discussed in the previous chapter. Though the Sheriff's relationship with the Latino community was not facilitated in the same way by his identity and life stories as a Black man, it was likely still meaningful. Some research shows that minority Sheriff's engage in less immigration law enforcement activity than do white Sheriffs, perhaps due to the Sheriffs' sensitivity to issues of racial policing or the openness to racial diversity of the communities that elected them (Provine & Lewis, 2014).

To summarize the WCSO was guided by two Black men who engaged in intentional efforts to build relationships with minority communities and break down barriers between the police and these communities. Yet amid these efforts, the office collaborated with ICE to conduct an immigration raid with severely negative repercussions on the mixed-status Latino community, as described in the previous chapters. Next, I consider one specific event organized by the WCSO that illustrated numerous arguments officers used to justify, disregard, or explain away violent acts of law enforcement that resulted in the deaths of Black community members. After considering these arguments in more detail by using data from ride-alongs with officers, I consider how these arguments can be used to inform our understanding of the context in which the 11/7 raid occurred.

8.2.1 Enhancing Police and Community Trust: An example of WCSO race relations. On April 25, 2015 at 9:00 AM, the Washtenaw County Sheriff's Office organized its second Enhancing Police and Community Trust (ENPACT) event, which met on the campus of Eastern Michigan University about three miles west of Santiago's *taller*. In the email invitation³¹ Derrick, the WCSO Director of Community Engagement, sent me, the event was described as a

...workshop [that] will bring together 30 residents and 30 officers to provide each participant an opportunity to share information and perspectives, begin discussing solutions to their relationship challenges, and commit to continuing their collaborative efforts beyond these workshops. It's more than just a

³¹ It was not completely clear who was invited to the event and why. Derrick started the session by saying that he asked a number of groups to "give [him] some names of citizens" to invite to the event. WICIR URs and I questioned why I had been invited to the event and they hadn't. As discussed in Chapter 4, I imagine it had to do with the need for Latino representation in the audience.

conversation. It's a way for us to come together and set expectations, build trust, impact policy decisions, and ultimately improve our community.

-Email from Derrick, April 13, 2015

The ENPACT event occurred less than three weeks after the shooting death of Walter Scott in Charleston, North Carolina, and only six days after the death of Freddie Gray, Jr, who fell into a coma in the back of a police transport van in Baltimore, Maryland, on April 12, 2015 (Barajas, 2015) (See Table 8.1). In fact, while we were seated in a ballroom at Eastern Michigan University, protesters in Baltimore were marching to City Hall to draw attention to Gray's death as well as the string of other deaths of unarmed Black men at the hands of police in the preceding months (Marquez & Almas, 2015; Stolberg & Babcock, 2015). Many cell phone videos and photos were shared over social media with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter in order to situate Gray's death amid the other deaths of unarmed black men and women at the hands of police officers (Edwards & Harris, 2015; Moore et al., 2016b, 2016a). Both Scott's and Gray's deaths followed a particularly grievous wound suffered by the Black community in Ann Arbor when Aura Rosser, a 40-year-old Black woman, was shot and killed by AAPD in her house in November of 2015 (Counts, 2014), less than ten miles from where we sat. The dark cloud of these deaths hung thickly in the air, and I wondered if officers and community members would be able to engage at all amid so much community grief, rage, and confusion.

The event takes place in a medium sized ballroom with a capacity for about 80 people. Throughout the room are circular tables covered with white tablecloths,

and in front was a barren wall that would soon support the posters on which were written community and police officer perceptions of each other. As other community members and I enter the room, many of the (far more punctual) officers, most of them white, most of them men, are already seated. The majority of officers are wearing uniforms, and on their belts are strapped their handcuffs, flashlights, expanding batons, walkie-talkies, guns, and multiple magazines of extra ammunition. Many officers in uniform are also wearing their bulletproof vests, which enhance their bulk and presence considerably. Community members are mostly racial minorities, mostly black, and I am aware of no other Latinos besides me. At least one community member is wearing a shirt that says “Black Lives Matter.”

Sheriff Clayton, wearing a dark suit and tie, heads to the front of the room to begin the event. Derrick is next to him, dressed in khaki pants and a collar shirt with no tie, the mix of professional and casual attire that represents well his need to straddle the worlds of law enforcement and community advocacy simultaneously. Sheriff Clayton outlines the agenda for the day, telling the audience that we will spend the first half of the event separated into “the community” and “folks who are sworn to protect and serve” while each group responds to the same questions independently. Then both groups will return to this room and “eat, break bread, and have fellowship.” Sherriff Clayton leads the officers to a separate room to facilitate their discussion, and community members reorganize to fill in the vacant seats the officers leave behind.

About five community members sit at each table and discuss the questions Derrick gives us, one at a time. These questions—What does the community expect from law enforcement? What does law enforcement expect from the community? How would you rate the relationships between the community and law enforcement for each police department and for the county? Why? What does the badge mean?—generate some responses that may upset officers when they return.

A representative of each table summarizes responses on poster boards and shares aloud with the room the results of their discussions. Many times, “citizen” is used to speak about residents of Washtenaw County. One participant interjects that “citizens” excludes the County’s undocumented residents, to which another participant counters that “citizen” “just means someone who lives here.” But the original woman is steadfast, and continues to advocate that we use a different word besides “citizen” because, she says, the police protect “illegal” people too.

After a few tense hours, Derrick tells us that it is time for lunch. The double doors open and officers stream in together, a mass of intimidating blue and steel. One officer adjusts his gun. Posters with responses to questions are now hung on the wall in the front of the room. Some of the responses, such as those to the question, “How would you describe the relationship with law enforcement?” (“suspicious,” “predestined,” “disconnected,” “nonexistent,” “damaged,” “good”) cause participants to fidget in their seats. The second half of the event is open to the public, and I notice Melanie Harner, a Latina and co-founder of WICIR who was working with me on this project, enter the room. I laugh that the number of Latinos in the room has doubled.

As we begin discussion, no matter the question, community members continually push officers to acknowledge the enormous imbalance of power in the room, specifically, that officers can kill, that community members fear their capacity to kill, and that in the past few days they have watched people with *those* weapons kill people with *their* skin color. Officers counter by saying that community members are basing their fears of being killed either on negative personal interactions with a specific police officer or the statistically anomalous police violence continually replayed by the jaded media. Either way, those were different officers, not the ones in the room right now. Plus, officers argue, community members have no idea how hard it really is to be a police officer.

As we begin to discuss individual questions, one community member or one officer goes to the front of the room to explain the thinking behind the responses. Officers are well-spoken. They smile. They invite community members to engage with them. Sometimes they laugh. As community members look on, officers confidently plant their feet shoulder width apart and stand comfortably, as if they have been standing for hours under public scrutiny for years on end. They do different things with their arms. Sometimes they cross them. Sometimes they don't. And sometimes they hook their thumbs into their belts and rest their hands on their hips, index fingers inches from triggers. Despite the tension, nobody fidgets.

It is approaching three o'clock when the event is scheduled to end, so Sheriff Clayton and Derrick bring the group back together for closing words. Sheriff Clayton, ever perceptive of the nonverbal cues, passive aggressive gestures, and, sometimes, overt calls from outspoken community members, finally acknowledges

the inequity between police and community members. As he does so well, he attempts to speak across differences and choose words that acknowledge the perspectives of both parties. This time, however, he skews blue: Yes, there is a power imbalance, as officers can take away that which is valued most in this country, "our freedom."

Hours after the end of the ENPACT event, John Counts, the same MLive reporter who had covered the events of the 11/7 raid (Counts, 2013) and Aura Rosser's death (Counts, 2014), published the article, "'My mistakes will land me in jail or dead,' EMU student tells police at workshop" (Counts, 2015a). Counts summarizes the exchange from which the article draws its title:

"Every time something happens like in South Carolina [in which Walter Scott was killed], it affects us as much as you," said [an] Ann Arbor police Officer... "I want to get rid of bad cops, too."

Police pointed out that, despite the gun and badge, they needed to be seen as people, too. On the other hand, community members pointed out that it will always be an uneven playing field.

"My mistake will land me in jail or dead," said [an] Eastern Michigan University student ... "Your mistake will land you in question mark."

This event placed a magnifying glass on community and police interactions and, because the deaths of unarmed black men were front and center, engendered many explicit conversations that highlighted how officers view and justify the damaging effects of law enforcement actions. Specifically, officers engaged in three

rhetorical strategies to erase the relevance of the killings of Black men and women by officers they were forced to confront. In the next section, I describe each of these strategies in turn by drawing on data from ride-alongs with officers and consider how these strategies inform our understanding of the 11/7 raid.

8.3. Heroes and Villains: Policing as Hope to the Hopeless. Many officers at the ENPACT event viewed themselves as agents of positive change and keepers of social order. This self-perception of officers as protectors of morality is certainly neither new nor unique to the officers I observed. Herbert (1996) describes police officers as historically “preeminently focused on those who violate moral-cum-legal codes, and defines their actions as part of an attempt to protect the good through expunging the evil” (p. 800). Reiner (2010) similarly describes:

...a feeling that policing is not just a job but a way of life with a worthwhile purpose, at least in principle....The purpose is conceived of as the preservation of a valued way of life and the protection of the weak against the predatory (p. 119).

Chief Radi, with whom I shared a table in the ENPACT event and introduced in Chapter 4, labeled police officers as “finders of fact trying to get to the truth,” indicating both an underlying nobility to the profession of policing as well as an overt positivism that leaves no space for various cultural “truths.” At the ENPACT event, when officers were asked what “the badge” represented, they responded: “Emblem of public trust,” “Calling to make a difference,” “Honor, integrity, and professionalism,” “Sacrifice,” “Means everything,” “High expectations,” “Symbol of keeping order in Society,” “What is going on? Can I help?,” and “Hope to the

hopeless.” Thus, officers often viewed themselves as saviors of the “hopeless” and heroes who enforced a moral order. By extension, those they policed were either in line with this moral order or needed to be brought in line, if necessary, through force.

I observed many officers create dichotomized worlds in which there were heroes and there were villains with little in between. They did this in two ways. First, they leveraged cultural prototypes of human innocence that inherently needed protection, such as elderly veterans or children. Second, they told stories in which animals—helpless and in need of rescuing—featured prominently. I give examples of each below.

When I spoke with Chief Radi at Station 1, he described to me the types of crimes that occurred in the city in which he policed. By recounting a story of a World War II veteran whose coin collection had been stolen, he both created an image of an innocent victim as well as the contrasting image of a criminal who would have the gall to take advantage of someone so culturally revered.

I asked Officer Logan Stephens, with whom I would ride-along that day after I met Chief Radi, if his adrenaline rushed every time he gets called to a potential crime. He told me no, what gets his heart racing are calls such as when a child gets hit by a car, or other calls in which a child is involved. In another example of children as innocent victims, as we drove by a high school, Logan told me that he had no problem with concealed pistol licenses in an age of increased school shooters. Concealed weapons, he implied, were needed to protect children from the predators who would harm them. The literature highlights officer references to

children as an innocent population in need of protection. For example, Loftus (2010) describes a situation in which a child with autism went missing from a supermarket and all local police officers responded immediately, serving as “the thin blue line between order and chaos” (p. 5). Likewise, Herbert (1996) described the use of the elderly and children by police officers to represent prototypically vulnerable and innocent populations in need of defense.

Animals were also used to create a world in which officers protected the objectively vulnerable. At one point, Logan walked me through the station’s garage, showing me what he described as his “favorite” part of the station. In the four-car garage, the back third served as a dog kennel so that, as Logan told me, “if we find a stray dog, we can take it some place.” That this was Logan’s “favorite” part of the station spoke to his preference for law enforcement in which there are no shades of gray that need to be interpreted, only rescuing and protection.

In what was easily the most disturbing use of animal actors, I was riding with Officer Robert Lee, the second officer with whom I rode-along at Station 1, and he begins to discuss the state of policing generally, segueing quickly into Michael Brown’s killing by Officer Darren Wilson in Ferguson, Missouri. He reminds me that the officer was found by a jury, then another jury, to be innocent of wrong doing, and that the officer’s “life is ruined” because he had a run in with someone who was “not a good person.” The officer lost his job, Robert tells me, “basically for just being a cop.” Robert then states that it is still unknown what happened in Baltimore, implying that it may not have been officers’ fault that Freddie Gray Jr. fell into a

coma in the back of a police van and later died. I continue the interaction drawing on field notes below:

We continue to drive, and at this point it begins to drizzle ever so slightly, as it has on and off all day. We are driving down a hill on a two-lane road, and the officer pauses to look behind him and asks me if I saw what he noticed. I didn't. He tells me there was a turtle on the side of the road, and I encourage him to go get it. He turns the car around to go park off the road next to the turtle. He tells me it's a snapping turtle, and I tell him we used to have those in my backyard at my grandma's house. He says there are alligator snapping turtles, which are even bigger.

At this point, he has turned the car around and parked it and many, many cars slow down and are awkwardly unsure of whether to proceed around the parked police car. I ask him what he is going to use to get the turtle, and he says he'll just use his hands. I hop out of the car to follow him over to the other side of the road, where there is a little pond in which he wants to let the turtle go.

We put the turtle in the pond and get back in the car. As we are driving away, he comments that he hates to see turtles "die unnecessarily."

- Adapted from fieldnotes. May 5, 2015

The officer, while being able to empathize with the vulnerability of a turtle on the side of the road, was not able to empathize with the deaths of Michael Brown and Freddie Gray, turning instead to the ruined career of the officer involved. The turtle, it seemed, was objectively helpless, while the officer was uniquely in the

position to offer salvation. The simplicity of the turtle's vulnerability mirrored that of the dogs in the kennel or the children hit by cars in the examples given above. Michael Brown, on the other hand, was "not a good person" (another officer later called him a "bully"), was not a turtle that could be offered the salvation of a nearby sanctuary, and thus was violently brought in line with the moral order dictated by Darren Wilson.

A generous reading of the situation would offer that Michael Brown had complicated the situation, rendering useless the dichotomy of police as protector by committing a minor crime (he was thought to have stolen cigarillos from a convenience store (United States Department of Justice, 2015)) that resulted in maximum use of force. A more critical reading, on the other hand, would suggest that Officer Wilson was "being a cop" when he shot a "not good person," and that the public derision he received was undeserved as nothing that had occurred was contrary to the role of the officer as hero and protector.

The perceptions many held of Santiago were not drastically different than those officers held of Michael Brown. Near the end of my fieldwork period, I found myself with the opportunity to guide a reflection among members of a group of Washtenaw County residents who served as a liaison between the Sheriff's Office and the Washtenaw County Community. At the time of the raid, the group called itself the Law Enforcement Citizens Advisory Board, or Le CAB. Le CAB would have occasional meetings to discuss items of note related to policing in Washtenaw County, and would draft memoranda to share with the Sheriff, to which he would respond. Notably, shortly after the raid, the Board realized that the title was not

inclusive of all Washtenaw County residents because of the use of the word “citizen,” and thus changed the name to the Community Advisory Board to Law Enforcement, or CABLE.

I arrived at the beginning of the CABLE meeting, and Board members shared with me their reflections on the 11/7 raid and the role they played in serving as mediators for both the Sheriff and the community. It seemed as though everyone on the Board wanted the opportunity to explain his or her story, as well as defend their efforts, declare their good intentions, and, whether implicitly or not, share how deeply sorry they were that the raid unfolded in the way it did. Amid this empathy came a refrain from a representative of the Sherriff’s Office similar to those described in the preceding sections:

I think the [reason] emotions got so strong, on both sides, was this totally different perspective. You know, the Sheriff was like, ‘we were protecting folks...Why are you attacking us for trying to protect you?’ ... [T]he immigrant community is often victimized because they are scared to report, so from [the Sherriff’s] perspective he was doing his job to serve and protect [the Latino community] from this person that was a really, really bad guy. And yet, here were people that he worked with and friends attacking him.

- October 1, 2015

This analysis similarly leveraged a dichotomous world that contrasted the helpless with those who would seek to hurt them. Law enforcement thus became the “protecting” force defending the community from Santiago, a “really really bad

guy,” a close parallel to the “not a good guy” that was used to describe Michael Brown.

8.4 Preventing Crime, Ignoring Collateral. Amid this “decontextualised understanding of criminality” (Loftus 2010, p. 2), officers prioritized the policing of certain crimes over others, especially crimes related to drugs, and were willing to accept (or overlook) collateral damage in their efforts to prevent these crimes. This prioritization of the enforcement of drug laws over the damage the enforcement causes in communities has continuously been highlighted in the literature on the War on Drugs (Moore & Elkavich, 2008; Provine, 2007). As Michelle Alexander (2012) describes, “Nothing has contributed more to the systemic mass incarceration of people of color in the United States than the War on Drugs” (p. 60). A number of times, drug-related offenses were prioritized in this way, and officers sometimes justified this prioritization using similar narratives of powerless and innocent civilians in need of protection.

For example, while I waited to interview Kirk, Jessica’s boyfriend at the time of the interview (Jessica was the white U.S. citizen who was 16-years-old when she was present in the apartment above Santiago’s *taller* when it was raided), Kirk explained to me that women sold sex in front of the automobile shop in which he worked. Later, while riding with Officer Lisa Flynn, I inquired about her perceptions of the sex work Kirk had explained to me. Lisa had worked with women who had experienced domestic violence, and I noticed in the visor of her police cruiser the phone numbers for domestic violence centers. I thus assumed she would be aware of—and have a strong opinion on—legal issues that primarily affected women. Lisa

drove me over to the parking lot in front of a hotel where she told me that Johns frequently brought women to pay for sex. Generally, she says, she is uninterested in enforcing prostitution laws. She then notes, however, that when there appears to be drugs involved in sex work, she becomes more concerned, as women's drug use creates an imbalance of power that exposes them to violence from Johns who may use their drug addiction against them. Thus, it was the presence of drugs that changed a behavior—sex work—from something that could be ignored to a broken law that had to be addressed in order to protect women from the men who would take advantage from them.

While riding-along with Officer Luke Lancaster, a tall and fit-looking young white man who stood at about 5'10", I observed Luke search vehicles and people for drugs and weapons, whether or not any initial law had been broken. Because these interactions highlight the ways in which the rhetoric of dangerous drug use overshadows any collateral damage that comes from law enforcement direct at drug users, I describe a number of these interactions below.

At around midnight, Luke pulled over a Chevy Malibu, ostensibly for a cracked windshield and broken license plate light. In the car were a white passenger and a black driver, both teenagers. I took notes as I observed the interaction unfold:

Luke steps out of his car to approach the black driver and white passenger of a Chevy Malibu that he says has a crack in the windshield and a broken tag light. Luke is searching the driver's seat. Now he is searching the rear seat. He finds a grinder [used to make marijuana cigarettes]. The teen [who Luke had cuffed and placed in the seat] behind me says "You know what he is doing is wrong.

We both know that he wasn't allowed to pull me out of that car. Me or my friend. It's not the first time he did this to me. It's alright though, I'm chillin'."

Now Luke searches the passenger side. Now rear passenger side. He looks in the trunk, pulls out a tux for prom. Passenger says prom is tomorrow. Luke gives him a ticket for the cracked windshield. He removes the passenger from the police car, unlocks his handcuffs, and the Malibu drives away.

- Adapted from field notes. May 28, 2015

Afterwards, Luke tells me that he pulled over the Malibu because he saw the passenger slump down in the seat after he noticed the police car and, to Luke, this looked suspicious. Luke described with pride why he ticketed the driver for a cracked windshield instead of possession of marijuana or drug paraphernalia: the drug-related misdemeanor would have made it difficult for the teen to find future employment. Further, he emphasized to me at least twice that he is not concerned with small amounts of weed, but more interested in removing large amounts of drugs and weapons from the streets. Importantly, Luke also situated the behavior as one of officer solidarity (Chan, 1996a; Loftus, 2010; Terpstra & Schaap, 2013), reminding me that had he taken the driver into custody, he would have remained in the office doing paper work and have left other officers without back up should they find themselves in dangerous situations.

Luke felt justified in his attempts to remove weapons or serious drugs from circulation in Washtenaw County, and was able to overlook the collateral damage—the initial vehicle stop that was not based on anything illegal, the psychological

stress of being cuffed and placed in a police car, and the financial cost of the resulting ticket—that had resulted from this failed attempt.

Earlier that day and shortly after my ride-along with Luke had begun, I witnessed a similar exchange. I recreate the scene from field notes below:

Shortly after my ride-along with Luke begins, we drive over to a corner in which Luke says drug sales often occur. There are at least two huddles of people, one group of white men and one of black men. Luke notices someone, sees him walk away, and decides to go talk to him to see what he is doing. Because the down town area is a maze of one-way streets, “go talk to him” turns out to be sharp turns and rapid acceleration and deceleration until Luke finds the man walking in the street next to the curb a few blocks away from where he originally saw him.

Luke stops the cop car awkwardly in the middle of the road and hops out to talk to the Black man. He asks him questions about where he's been and where he's going. The man responds, saying something about coming from or going to a relative's house. He doesn't mention being at the corner store where we just saw him. Luke tries to get it out of him, but he continues to not mention it. Eventually, Luke tells him to step in front of the police car.

I'm in the passenger seat of the car and watching this all unfold directly in front of me. I roll down the window so that I can hear the exchange.

The man answers Luke's questions, and eventually allows Luke, upon his request, to check his pockets.

At this point, another white cop shows up, and, stands with muscular arms folded over his vested chest, just observing, a poker face betraying no emotion. Luke continues to friendly talk to the man he tracked down. Luke asks for his license, which he then brings over into the car to see if the man has any previous warrants. He talks to me a bit while he is doing so.

Luke returns to the intimidating white cop and the Black man, and tells the man that Luke approached him because he was walking in the street when a sidewalk was clearly available.

Luke and I, the other white cop, and the Black man all eventually part ways after nothing of note is found in his pockets. As we leave the other white cop asks him to open his mouth and looks to see if he is hiding anything in there, specifically, I find out later, if he is hiding crack or heroin wrapped in a balloon that can then be swallowed and passed to be used or sold later. The Black man opens his mouth immediately. The officer doesn't see anything. Everybody leaves.

- Adapted from fieldnotes. May 28, 2015, 10 PM to 2 AM.

Many elements of this story mirror the previous vignette in which Luke pulled over the Malibu. To begin, Luke had not seen the man break any laws, but

followed him in the hopes of finding drugs in his possession. In this case, the intuition (Chan, 1996a; Skolnick, 1996) that suggested to Luke that the man had broken a law felt akin to racial profiling (Gumbhir, 2007), as his “crime” was standing in a huddle with other Black men, a “crime” not unlike that reported on the WCSO police report to point to Santiago’s guilt³². Similarly, at the end of the interaction, as the driver of the Malibu was ticketed for a cracked windshield, the man was told that he had broken a lesser law and walked in the street when a sidewalk was clearly available. In this case, the fallout was not being placed in the back of a police car, but being made to stand in front of one, in broad daylight, watched by numerous passersby, and later to open his mouth while an officer with rubber gloves took a close look inside. The degradation of the interaction, as well as the reinforcement of racial stereotypes, were again negligible collateral, eclipsed by the possibility of a drug related arrest.

At its worst, the damaging collateral resulting from law enforcement was not ignored or discounted, but used to the benefit of law enforcement. For example, at one point, I was introduced to an officer who invited me to read over his prolific writing. He is indeed, quite a prolific writer for a local online newspaper. As I was reading through his pieces, I noticed one published about a year after the 11/7 raid, titled, “The reality of Safe Building searches.” Having spoken for hours with Guadalupe, Santiago, and Fernanda about the terror they felt as SWAT entered their apartment, about the dehumanization of their possessions being searched, thrown,

³² As the WCSO report obtained from a FOIA request explained: “[An Agent] observed several cars enter into the complex [Santiago’s *taller*], [Santiago] would walk up to the car and then walk to a truck parked in the complex. [He] would then retrieve something from inside the truck and then walk back to the subject and hand it to them. The vehicle would leave the area.”

and sniffed through by dogs, it stood out to me that the individuals involved, as well as the processes of their bodies, could serve as the backdrop of a building raid:

The greatest tool for searching a building is a police canine. Human fear is very smelly. Sometimes officers can actually smell an intruder in a room. I call the odor, "the wall of funk" and would smell it quite often when I entered an interview room where a nervous suspect was waiting to be interviewed. The "wall of funk" is an unpleasant combination of body odor, bad breath and the escape of digestive gases caused by the hidden suspect or interviewee's "fight, flight or freeze" reflexes kicking in. The body when faced with a threat--either the officer searching to arrest the intruder or the interviewee worried about giving up "secrets" to the interviewer--responds by increasing the metabolism to "flee" or "fight" the threat. If the person under pressure is hiding or in chair in an interview room the overflowing metabolites emanate as a noxious odor.

- Citation withdrawn for anonymity

In this example, the metabolites produced by a human body when the owner of that body assumes she is going to die are nothing more than clues officers can use in pursuit of a larger policing goal. Notably, the author does not mention that the metabolites produced when one fears death require that individual to actually be guilty of breaking a law. Rather, the decontextualized smelly, dirty, "wall of funk" serves as a sign of guilt that the illegal "secrets" one is keeping will be secrets no longer, and the "truth", as Chief Radi described it, will finally come to light. It pained me to imagine that Santiagito and Fernanda, who stared down the barrel of SWAT

rifles and watched their friends and family get arrested and deported, probably stunk.

The above analysis—that the enforcement of drug related laws takes priority over the collateral damage the enforcement causes—illustrates a likely justification for the 11/7 raid despite the damage that extended from it. The collateral of the raid—the deportations, the psychological trauma, the separated families, the ensuing poverty and homelessness—was secondary to the larger policing goal of confiscating drugs and weapons and the individual who supposedly trafficked them.

8.4.1 Everybody’s human. It would be inaccurate to cast all officers as insensitive to the emotional and psychological harm of law enforcement or its collateral effects. Yet even those attuned to the damage cause by acts of law enforcement would absolve themselves from responsibility by distancing themselves from the perpetrating officers. They did this by highlighting the uniqueness of every individual officer, often by calling them “human beings,” and then emphasizing their unpredictability. When I discussed Aura’s shooting with Officer Jane Douglas from my third ride-along, the first words out of her mouth were “It sucks. It sucks when a family loses somebody.” During an individual meeting with the Sheriff, he described the 11/7 raid as tragic, citing the psychological and emotional “trauma” involved and the severe damage the raid did to community and officer relations. He told me that, if he had to do it again, he would do it differently. These are just two examples of law enforcement officers attuned to, perhaps even regretful of, the damage caused by law enforcement actions.

When riding along with Officer Lisa Flynn, introduced in the previous chapter, I asked her what she thought about the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson and Eric Gardner in Staten Island. Then *she* corrected *me*, saying that the start of the #BlackLivesMatter movement started a few years before Eric Gardner was killed, after the shooting of Trayvon Martin (Table 8.1). I interpreted this primarily as her attempt to show that she was aware of the evolution of the movement and was aware of the historical context of recent killings.

Notably, however, Lisa's reference to Trayvon Martin and George Zimmerman served another rhetorical purpose: the deferral of responsibility for his killing to sources outside of the policing structure. Lisa went on to describe the Trayvon Martin killing as someone—George Zimmerman—having too much power and taking it upon himself to be an enforcer. Lisa also pointed out that George Zimmerman had a domestic violence charge in his past. On the one hand, highlighting Zimmerman encouraged the comparison of police officers with a man with “too much power” with a previous charge of domestic violence. However, on the other hand, Lisa was able to remind me, whether purposefully or not, that #BlackLivesMatter started because of a civilian, not an officer, and that officers were now swept up in the backlash that was instigated by a domestic violence perpetrator.

Lisa's deferral of responsibility to Zimmerman mirrored another strategy I observed numerous times that officers used to distance themselves from the killing of unarmed black men and women. Specifically, officers individuated the officers doing the killings as “human beings,” and emphasized the unpredictability of

individual human beings that is beyond the control of any larger structure.

Sometimes, officers would reference their own humanity without extending it more functionally to the inherent unpredictability it created. Other times the links, and its usefulness for distancing themselves from “bad” officers, were made quite clear.

There were numerous examples of officers either outright referencing their own humanity (e.g., “we are human beings”) or highlighting situations in which they were doing what “normal” people do. For example, Officer Jane Douglas shared with me a story about when she was eating an ice cream cone in public, at which point she was approached by a passer-by who said that it was nice to see an officer eat an ice cream cone. She received a similar response after giving someone a hug in public. When Jane shared these stories, she looked at me as if these statements were simply ridiculous, and stated that of course she eats ice cream and gives people hugs, since she is “a human being.”³³ At the ENPACT event, the Sheriff suggested similarly, after he was continually pressed to acknowledge why officers had worn their uniforms and brought their guns to share bagels with community members, he explained the choice as just individual preference: “At the end of the day, they are still human beings.”

In an initial exchange with Officer Logan Stephens, Logan shared with me that he had worked as a police officer in Detroit prior to his current work in a small city of predominantly white older adults. As we drove out of the police station, we

³³ There were instances in which officer’s “human-ness” shocked me as well, which I observed as my own tendency to consider officers as somehow different from the general public. At one point, Jane was driving down a dark and isolated bridge near a river where she had received a report of someone screaming. She and another officer were chatting back and forth over the laptop in her vehicle, and as I glanced at the monitor, I noticed she had typed “lol.” I chuckled to myself before reflecting on why that seemed like such a strange behavior for police officers.

left through an alleyway connected to the backyards of residential houses, placing the police car about 20 or so yards from residents' back doors. I asked Logan if residents reacted differently to police cars in proximity to their houses here versus in Detroit, to which he responded, "Human beings have different reactions to different things." Earlier at the same station, an officer stated that there are many "facets [of being an officer] that people don't understand" and that sometimes officers also make mistakes, as "we're just human."

Sadly, I observed other officers carry this idea of individual humanity to its much more functional conclusion. Jane and I discussed the death of Sandra Bland, who was found dead in her jail cell three days after she was pulled over and arrested by Officer Brian Encinia for not using a turn signal (Almasy & Friedman, 2016). Officer Encinia instructed Sandra to put out her cigarette, but she refused. Officer Encinia then pulled Sandra out of the car, yelling at her that he would "light you up" with his Taser if she did not cooperate. Jane's demeanor changed as we discussed Sandra's death, and she spoke out emphatically that Officer Encinia should not have escalated the situation as he did. Indeed, Jane and Lisa were cut from the same cloth, and both had de-escalated situations with skill and sensitivity. In instances I thought could turn violent, Jane, Lisa and other officers from a range of departments appeared compassionate and sensitive to the needs of individuals in tense situations. Yet nonetheless, at the end of the interaction, Jane provided a single and telling disclaimer: she can "only speak for herself." That is, everyone is different. Everyone is human.

To summarize, officers consistently circulated narratives of themselves and other officers as “human beings” while highlighting the inherent unpredictability of human beings. This rhetorical set up was then used whenever an officer engaged in an act of policing with which they did not agree. So often, this strategy powerfully cast responsibility for the killings of black men onto individual, unpredictable, officers and thus limited any capacity to consider aspects of policing and police culture that may contribute to these deaths.

This strategy was used to justify the 11/7 the raid to a certain degree as well. When I met with a high-ranking officer in the WCSO, he lamented the narrative that circulated after the raid, stating that it was “another example of police being bad.” Indeed, John Counts’ words did paint a particularly stark picture of the officers who had been involved in the raid, and further juxtaposed WICIR to the WCSO:

A release from the Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights paints a different picture: “This drug investigation and search warrant empowered law enforcement entities to collaborate with each other and use especially brutal tactics which have resulted in more separations and trauma to immigrant families, including women and very young children, and the detention of eight men by immigration officials, who have been identified and reported to WICIR,” the release states.

- Counts, 2013

As many officers presented the killing of unarmed black men and women as isolated incidents perpetrated by lone, unpredictable, “human” officers, by highlighting the event as “bad policing” the officer, too, casted the event as an

isolated incident that should not be used to portray police in a universally negative light.

8.5 Conclusion

8.5.1. Summary. Over the course of interaction with officers, I observed arguments and justifications for violence perpetrated in Black communities that shed light onto the sociocultural context in which the 11/7 raid occurred. I detailed two of these arguments, a decontextualized view of police work that casts law enforcement officers as keepers of an objective social order and a discounting of collateral in pursuit of a larger crime fighting goals, often drug-related. This latter strategy in turn involved a distancing from “bad cops” by focusing on them as individual humans who are inherently unpredictable. As Santiago became the villain in the simplified narrative of heroic officers, the violent method needed to apprehend him and locate the alleged drugs in his *taller* took precedence over psychological and emotional trauma and the multiple severed social, economic, and familial relationships that resulted. Thus, it seems as though the same logic that renders black bodies expendable has rendered brown bodies deportable. There are many implications that follow.

8.5.2 Chapter 8 findings through the lens of illegality. This chapter begins to consider the similarities and differences between the Black experience of police violence and the Latino experience of deportation. Research on police culture has suggested that concepts such as Skolnick’s (1966) “symbolic assailant” have contributed to the “Pavlovian” interpretation of Black men as criminals (Jones-Brown, 2007). Thus, as Black individuals are read as threatening to officer safety

and killed, so Latinos are read as threats to U.S. stability and economic prosperity (Chavez, 2013b) and deported. By extension, while the experiences of Latinos and Blacks may vary in the types of violence enacted against them, the results—their violent social exclusion—may perhaps be similar.

The previous chapter suggested that illegality is preserved in mixed-status communities through the maintenance of a deportability that is omnipresent, unpredictable, and with few avenues for legal recourse. These conditions appear to exist in Black communities as well, as illustrated by the Black men who are killed while obeying the law (such as possessing a weapon while being licensed to do so) and engaging in nonthreatening behaviors (such as walking away with one's hands down). As Latinos are read as deportable, Black individuals are read as criminal, and each in turn becomes the targets of state-based violence. Thus, it can be argued, that both Black and Latino communities experience illegality, albeit in different ways.

Yet important differences in the experiences of Black and Latino communities are worth further consideration. While the Black men and women who were killed by officers likely could not have been deported (assuming they were U.S. citizens), undocumented Latinos could indeed be either deported or shot by ICE or the police with whom they collaborated. Law enforcement shootings of Latinos have garnered far less public outcry than those of Black men and women, perhaps in part due to the presumed association of Latinos with the immigration system (El Nasser, 2015). That is, Latino illegality renders their murders as presumed outside the realm of federal prosecution. As stated by El Nasser (2015):

But the reasons why the deaths of Latinos have not sparked the same national outrage as those of blacks are tangled in a complex web of history, debate over immigration and lack of government statistics on the number of brown lives lost at the hands of police.

Yet while deaths of Latinos at the hands of law enforcement officers do occur (Southern Border Communities Coalition, 2016), the social death (Biehl, 2005; Camacho, 2010) of deportation is perhaps a much more efficient and functional means of subjugating a minority community, as immigration raids engender less advocacy and public uproar, are even less likely to concretize around a coherent national movement, are rarely prosecuted for violations to constitutional rights (Evans, 2009), are not widely reported in the media, and have yet to be captured on cell phone video and circulated publicly (that I am aware).

Further, while members of Black communities often cannot escape the criminality thrust upon them by virtue of the color of their skin, citizen Latinos *can* distance themselves from the experience of deportation. However, just as Latino citizens stepped in to support the undocumented members of their communities who confined themselves to their homes after the raid, a coherent advocacy movement must likely leverage the efforts of Latino citizens whose political advocacy efforts do not put them at risk of deportation.

8.5.3 Implications for law enforcement. I highlight in this chapter the ways in which law enforcement actions that diminish relationships between officers and the community and engender damaging collateral among community members can be justified, ignored, or disregarded. Again, it is important to note that at no point

did I call into question outright acts of explicit and overt racism. To the contrary, numerous times I emphasized the positive and intentional activities of the WCSO and the individual officers with whom I interacted in maintaining and prioritizing relationships between police and communities of color and de-escalating situations that could turn violent. Thus, the reasoning that justifies the murder of Black men and the deportation of brown men is perhaps that much more insidious, as it occurs in environments absent the overt racism that garners federal or popular attention and engenders policy change.

First, it is imperative that law enforcement offices understand that community members do not judge them by their *intent*, but by the results of their policing activity. That is, law enforcement offices need to consider law enforcement actions based on the collateral damage they produce. What if Sandra Bland had been allowed to smoke her cigarette? What if Alton Sterling had been allowed to sell burned CDs, or Eric Garner a few cigarettes? A drug raid that catches and deports immigrants ceases to be a drug raid and becomes an immigration raid, and the police that collaborate in the raid cease to be heroes and begin to be, as Guadalupe describes, the people who take your family away.

One way to encourage departments to be aware of the collateral damage they cause is to hold them financially responsible for this damage. Just as the driver at fault for a deadly car accident is responsible for the property and lives he destroys, and as the surgeon utilizes his malpractice insurance for the scalpel he failed to remove from your abdomen, police departments should be required to pay for the grievous wounds they cause in the communities they police.

Secondly, it is imperative that high-ranking law enforcement officials eliminate the knee-jerk reaction to absolve officers who kill of any responsibility by highlighting their unpredictability. If anything, a profession that hires unpredictable individuals and then hands them firearms should be severely questioned. High ranking officers should instead instill in their officers the opposite sentiment: that the police departments are, to use the cliché, as strong as their weakest link, and that violent officers who refuse to de-escalate situations are shameful representations of a faulty whole.

Lastly, the simplified world of guilt and innocence, of heroes and villains, has no basis in the realities of community life. While at the My Brother's Keeper event, I overheard a woman explain it well: No one likes the dope dealer. Until the dope dealer is your son. And the dope dealer is keeping your lights on. The reality is that individuals are intertwined with others in their communities through marriage, friendship, work, school, business, and many other ways. The illegal behaviors in which they engage are similarly motivated by a variety of complex reasons, often including poverty. Police departments are not prepared—nor should they be—to address the many challenges faced by low-income communities of color. Instead of spending the hundreds of thousands of dollars to invest in more deadly militarized weapons, law enforcement offices should invest in the social workers, trauma counselors, and translators necessary to address community needs in ways that do not involve the use of force.

8.5.4 Implications for advocates. There are implications for advocates as well. First and foremost, while Black men and women were killed at the hands of

police, Latino and Native lives were also lost as well (Downs, 2016). Yet these lives did not gain the notoriety that did the killing of Black men. While I do not attempt to explain why this occurred, I echo other advocates in calling for more unity among communities of color in combating racist and violent police enforcement (Camp & Heatherton, 2016).

8.5.5 Strengths and limitations. In this chapter I argue that the contemporary dynamics of racial policing are an important aspect of the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred. I do so by putting findings related to the 11/7 raid in conversation with data gathered from ride-alongs with police officers and interactions with other officers and Departments throughout Washtenaw County. Indeed, the data used in this chapter are unique and contemporarily relevant. However, there are limitations to this chapter that are worth noting.

First, this study was *not* designed to consider the interactions between law enforcement and communities of color. Yet the theme developed organically with a force and relevance that could not be ignored. I aimed instead to consider broadly how local law enforcement enacted immigration law—purposefully or not. Had this study occurred at another time, there would perhaps have been more opportunity to discuss immigration and immigration enforcement in police cars, but conversations were swept up, appropriately so, in discussions of police and Black community interactions.

Second, Washtenaw County covers a wide geographic range, and while I aimed to conduct ride-alongs and engage with officers throughout the county

whenever possible, all generalizations should be made with caution. While the findings in the chapter mostly echo those from the literature on police culture (Crank, 2014), it is possible that variations exist throughout the county. Thus this study would have benefited from a larger sample of departments from which to draw conclusions.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and Implications

“There was nothing there that was happening that was hurting our country. The injustice was all the legal stuff that happened. That was the where all the injustice occurred.”

-Amalia, WICIR Urgent Responder who arrived at the end of the raid

“Not that there was a significant amount of trust prior to that, but from my understanding people were afraid to call the Sheriff or the police and report any kind of crime. I think that in and of itself is pretty tragic because it’s just re-victimization after re-victimization.”

-Ofelia, WICIR Urgent Responder who arrived at the end of the raid



Figure 9.0:
*Raid Site, with Stairs to
Apartment Removed and
Door Sealed Shut,
April 9, 2015*

This study contributes to public health by examining the effects of an immigration raid on a mixed-status Latino community in the Midwestern U.S. While immigration enforcement has increased drastically in the years following 9/11 (Golash-Boza, 2012; Simanski, 2014), little research has focused on immigration enforcement in the U.S. interior. Immigration home raids (Evans, 2009) are one way in which immigrants in the interior of the U.S. are apprehended, and have been increasing in frequency in the past months (Edwards, 2016; Harris, 2015; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). Research that considers the legal aspects of raids describes home raids as swift, violent, traumatic, and, often, violations of legal rights (Adler, 2006; Chiu et al., 2009; Evans, 2009; Treadwell, 2011). Yet no research of which I am aware has considered the health implications of raids on the individuals, families, and communities in which they occur.

This dissertation begins to fill this gap. Specifically, this dissertation is a mixed methods critical case study (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015) that utilizes a conceptual framework of illegality (De Genova, 2002) to investigate the health implications of an immigration home raid on the mixed-status Latino community in which it occurred. Three study aims guided this dissertation:

Aim 1: To investigate how the 11/7 raid affected social service utilization patterns in the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred;

Aim 2: To consider how the sociocultural context in which the 11/7 raid occurred shaped the effects of the raid, and consider if and how the raid in turn affected the sociocultural context; and

Aim 3: To investigate how different stakeholders shape, enforce, contribute and react to, and combat immigration law enforcement practices.

Mixed methods research draws on the strengths of qualitative and quantitative data collection as well as their philosophical underpinnings to enhance perspectives and understanding about a research question (Creswell et al., 2011; Steckler et al., 1992). Thus in this chapter, I present findings and implications for public health research and practice as they relate to study aims. I end by considering the ways in which study findings add to the public health and immigration literature; immigration policy implications; and study conclusions.

9.1. Aim 1: Summary of Findings

The first aim of the study is to investigate how the 11/7 raid affected social service utilization patterns in the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred. To summarize, the 11/7 raid appeared to *decrease* social service utilization among undocumented Latinos in Washtenaw County and *alter* the social service utilization patterns of their citizen and visa-holding peers. Much evidence supports this finding. In Chapter 5, an initial analytic model showed that participants who completed the EBV after the raid agreed significantly more with the item “I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency” than participants who completed the EBV before. Findings in Chapter 6 suggested that this belief was translated into action (Janz & Becker, 1984), as, for example, Guadalupe described avoiding the renewal of her food assistance, and Fabián, who worked at Sewing Seeds, shared that fear of traversing public space decreased access to healthy food and recreational space. Thus, in line with other health

research, this study adds further evidence that immigration enforcement affects social service utilization (Asch et al., 1994; Hacker et al., 2015).

However, results from this study also nuance the above finding, as decreases in service usage were not universal. For example, Hilda and Arturo took their children to see a psychologist to cope with the emotional repercussions of their father's detainment. A closer consideration of Hilda and Arturo's social position suggests that they may be an exception to the rule, and their decision to access health services was likely influenced by their well-established links in the community augmented by Arturo's language and cultural fluency and years with his employer. Further, while the raid may have engendered fear that lead to decreased service utilization among undocumented residents of Washtenaw County, citizens, like Jessica's mother Diane, and visa-holders, like Francisco's girlfriend Frida, increased their interactions with social service organizations on behalf of their undocumented network members.

Finally, while the results above did not discuss *how* immigration status is revealed when accessing social services, Chapter 7 illustrated that, following the REAL ID Act, expired and foreign driver's licenses when presented by Latinos became markers of deportability. In line with the illegality framework in Table 2.5, these findings speak to one specific mechanism by which immigration status can be disclosed in interactions with social service agencies. These findings further emphasize that one does not have to be *asked* about her immigration status for it to be revealed. Rather, one can be "read" as undocumented based on the color of her skin and the form of identification she presents.

9.2 Aim 1: Implications for Public Health Research and Praxis

Research has shown that a variety of demographic factors predict limited access to health sustaining resources. These demographic factors include a lack of English fluency (Fiscella, Franks, Doescher, & Saver, 2002), undocumented status (Asch et al., 1994; Blewett et al., 2003; Cavazos-Rehg et al., 2007), and immigration and uninsured status (Lasser, Himmelstein, & Woolhandler, 2006). Notably, many of the members of the mixed-status Latino community in which the raid occurred belong to more than one (if not all) of these categories, suggesting that those who live through immigration raids are likely to also experience multiple barriers to social service access in their day-to-day lives. Thus, the raid is not the *only* factor limiting access to health resources, but may synergistically enhance the limits already placed on members of marginalized communities. As stated in Chapter 6, restrictive immigration enforcement climates matter, but after raids, they matter more.

To address these disparities in health care access, those who provide social services and medical care to members of mixed-status communities should be absolutely clear about the circumstances under which they will inquire about immigration status and what they will do with that information. Organizations who wish to be inclusive and inviting to members of mixed-status communities could begin by welcoming alternative forms of identification other than driver's licenses, including passports and local IDs (such as the Washtenaw County ID).

Chapter 6 illustrated the variety of consequences and needs that extended from the 11/7 raid. These findings suggest that social service organizations who

react to immigration raids should be prepared to provide a range of services to address not only legal needs, but homelessness, hunger, and mental health crises. Ideally, opportunities to access these services could be provided in areas community members consider safe from the threat of immigration enforcement, such as faith-based organizations and schools.

9.3 Aim 2: Summary of Findings

The second aim of this study asks how the sociocultural context in which the raid occurred shaped the effects of the raid. Important aspects of the sociocultural context include the passage of the REAL ID Act, the tendency of ICE to use local police as “force multipliers” (Kobach, 2005), a gendered immigration enforcement regime (Doering-White et al., 2014; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), and the growth of the #BlackLivesMatter movement. These aspects of the sociocultural context are summarized below.

The REAL ID Act was passed in 2005, and later implemented in Michigan in 2008. Indeed, it is likely that this study would have unfolded differently had the Act not been implemented, emphasizing the local consequences of federal regulations. Findings in this dissertation testify to two impacts of the passage of the REAL ID Act. First, it restricted driver’s licenses to those who had social security numbers. In this way, undocumented individuals—many of whom had licenses prior to the passage of the Act—had to choose whether to drive illegally, give up driving altogether, or continually depend on community members with licenses to support their day-to-day lives. Secondly, and as described in detail in Chapter 7, when Latinos present expired or foreign driver’s licenses, these licenses are often interpreted as symbols

of deportability. Thus, had the REAL ID Act not passed, while individuals perhaps would still have been fearful of being racially profiled, the risk of traffic incidents leading to deportation would have been significantly decreased. Further, as shown in Chapter 6, social networks were essential in mitigating the negative effects of the raid. Yet much of the burden fell to the citizen and visa-holding community members who were able to drive legally. A sociocultural context in which undocumented immigrants are permitted to drive would decrease the strain placed on particular members of the mixed-status community.

A second important aspect of the sociocultural context includes the tendency of federal immigration agencies to collaborate with local police offices (Kobach, 2005). As discussed in Chapter 2, most immigration home raids require the consent of residents before agents can enter the property (Evans, 2009). Yet because the target of this raid, Santiago, had been arrested with weapons in his possession previously, and because he was thought to traffic drugs through his property, ICE and the WCSO were able to obtain a search warrant and enter the property without consent. As WICIR explained in a press release, “This drug investigation and search warrant empowered law enforcement entities to collaborate with each other and use especially brutal tactics which have resulted in more separations and trauma to immigrant families” (Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights, 2014).

Had this been an ICE raid with no collaboration, permission to enter the premises would have been required. Would ICE have knocked on the door and gained access to the building? Likely, yes, and in all likelihood, the same “collateral” would have been rounded up and deported. But the unnecessary trauma of the

forced entry could have been avoided. Guadalupe and Fernanda could have put clothes on Sofia, Fatima, Lena, and Ignacio so they wouldn't have been clad only in diapers and pajamas when SWAT kicked in the door in November. And they could have opened the door, prevented the broken locks, and avoided their homelessness. Thus, immigration raids, which involve the legal arrests of those who are not the targets of raids, and drug raids, which often allow for forced entry, become more violent and traumatizing when combined through departmental collaboration.

A third aspect of the sociocultural context that shaped the effects of the raid is the way in which immigration law is differentially enforced based on the genders of those involved. Some scholars have suggested that, following the events of 9/11, male immigrants began to represent a “new danger that is masculine, personified by terrorist men and ‘criminal aliens’” (Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013, p. 273). Enforcement has thus focused on detaining and deporting men, leaving undocumented women and their children in perilous economic and emotional positions (Delva et al., 2013; Dreby, 2012b). The effects of this gendered enforcement were clear in the current study, as all the undocumented men that ICE encountered (of which I am aware) were detained and deported unless they had access to legal remedies. Fernanda and Guadalupe, on the other hand, were left in the apartment with their children but little resources to care for them³⁴.

Lastly, the raid—and the fieldwork that followed—unfolded during a period of heightened tensions between police and black communities augmented by the

³⁴ While I certainly do not suggest that women be arrested and deported as frequently as men, the cruelty of subjecting women to circumstances so harsh that they “self-deport” is yet more evidence of the inhumanity of our immigration system (Benen, 2016).

filmed killings of black men by police officers. The efforts of the #BlackLivesMatter movement to center these killings in conversations about policing forced the law enforcement officers with whom I interacted to reflect on violent and deadly law enforcement practices that damaged community relationships. Two results extended from this forced transparency.

First, it is likely that these conversations would not have come to light had the growth of #BlackLivesMatter not corresponded with the timing of this study. Two of the arguments used to justify or disregard the killing of Black men—a decontextualized view of police work that casts law enforcement officers as keepers of an objective social order and a discounting of collateral in pursuit of a larger crime fighting goals, often drug-related—were illustrative of the ways in which the raid was perceived as well. As Santiago became the villain in the simplified narrative of heroic officers, the violent method needed to apprehend him and locate the alleged drugs in his *taller* took precedence over the collateral damage to the community that followed.

Second, the efforts of the #BlackLivesMatter movement to link the political struggles of Black, LGBT, and undocumented individuals (Edwards & Harris, 2015; Garza et al., n.d.) has transformed deportation from an act of immigration enforcement to a symbol of militaristic subjugation of marginalized communities broadly. In fact, as of August of 2016, the #BlackLivesMatter movement has explicitly called for an end to deportation and ICE raids (Rivas, 2016). Thus, the racialized manner in which the raid unfolded provided more evidence of racist police forces and expendable black and brown bodies.

9.4 Aim 2: Implications for Public Health Research and Praxis

A growing body of public health research shows that lack of transportation is frequently a barrier to healthcare access, especially among low income communities (Ahmed, Lemkau, Nealeigh, & Mann, 2001; Litman, 2013; Syed, Gerber, & Sharp, 2013). Yet with one exception (Lebrón, 2015), no public health work of which I am aware has focused on the impacts of restricted driver's licenses on undocumented individuals and mixed-status communities. Future research should consider how limits to driver's licenses impact the health of immigrant communities, restricting healthcare from those who cannot drive to access it, and burdening those with licenses to provide support to a larger range of community members.

Immigration advocates should also bear in mind the important role that transportation plays in the lives of undocumented individuals and their families. Among the many services agencies can provide, transportation can be among the least expensive and most efficient at reducing risk of arrest and deportation. Organizations could experiment with organizational accounts for popular drive programs like Uber, or advocate for, as did the Washtenaw ID Project, alternative forms of IDs to be acceptable to receive discounts on public transportation.

Results also highlighted the differential impacts of the raid on men and women. While men were deported, women were left behind. While men were detained, but fed, women were homeless and hungry. While men were traumatized by their inability to care for their children from detention, women were traumatized by their need to care for the children who were suddenly depressed, aggressive, sick, and fearful. Simply, a gendered deportation regime (Doering-White

et al., 2014; Golash-Boza & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013) results in gendered health repercussions. Health care providers should be prepared to provide resources specific to the gendered impacts of immigration raids. The most specific example was Fernanda's need for lactation support when Ignacio began to reject her breast milk. Financial support and childcare could be provided to undocumented women who do not have any means of employment. Efforts could be made to stabilize children's lives by providing transportation to and from school and access to school counselors or tutors. Lastly, results from Chapter 6 showed that Arturo and Francisco, two undocumented men arrested in the raid, were particularly vulnerable in between their release from detention and the days in which they received their work permits. While this time frame is one in which economic support is needed, it may also be one in which, because the father is not working, families and counselors could attempt to seek services together.

Lastly, this study underscored the ways in which immigration raids can involve the collaboration of even the most forward thinking, community minded, law enforcement departments. Indeed, that the WCSO could be intentionally sensitive to community needs yet still engage in this type of enforcement illustrates that issues related to the policing of minority communities are rooted much more deeply than superficial gestures of community and police unity can address. As an example, there has been a drastic increase in the militarization of the police force in recent years (American Civil Liberties Union, 2014b; Barthelemy, Chaney, Maccio, & Church, II, 2016; Sidner & Simon, 2015). As the American Civil Liberties Union

(2014b) explains, “Militarization of policing encourages officers to adopt a “warrior” mentality and think of the people they are supposed to serve as enemies” (p. 3).

In the wake of Michael Brown’s killing in Ferguson MO, President Obama issued Executive Order 13688, which aimed to reduce the flow of excess military equipment to local law enforcement offices. The impact of this Executive Order trickled down to Washtenaw County as the WCSO was asked to return the armored personnel carrier it owned (Counts, 2015b). My family and I saw the vehicle at the Touch-a-Truck event in Ypsilanti, where police officers stood next to the armored personnel carrier and were positioned next to the fire trucks and fire fighters, ambulances and ambulance drivers, for children to admire.

Figure 9.1

Armored Personnel Carrier at Touch-a-Truck event in Ypsilanti, MI



Lastly, while the WCSO bears responsibility in collaborating in a violent immigration raid, ultimately, Sheriff Clayton, Derrick, and the rest of the WCSO staff were also victims of immigration law enforcement that is inhumane and insensitive to relationships in the communities in which they enforce immigration law. ICE has no ties to the communities in which they detain and deport immigrants and no responsibility in dealing with the repercussions they cause. Further, given their need to reach deportation quotas, there is no incentive to ignore collateral arrests when they are possible (Hsu & Becker, 2010). Local police, however, must continue policing communities after events such as the killings of Black men and women and the raiding of *tallers* that leaves women and children without providers and men unconnected with the “target” of raids deported.

As many law enforcement offices have already established (Khashu, 2009), local law enforcement offices rarely, if ever, benefit from their collaboration with ICE. Instead, collaborative raids instill fear in Latino community members, who distance themselves from police in any way possible as they fear that any encounter could lead to deportation (Quesada et al., 2014) (as data from Chapter 7 show). To provide for the health and safety of the residents they are sworn to protect, local offices should avoid enforcing immigration law whenever possible by, for example, refusing to honor ICE detainers (in which ICE requests that local jails hold inmates for deportation) (Rucke, 2013), enforcing traffic laws without enforcing immigration laws (e.g., writing tickets but not detaining), and avoiding collaboration in immigration raids.

9.5 Aim 3: Summary of Findings

The third aim of this dissertation investigates how different stakeholders shape, enforce, contribute and react to, and combat immigration law enforcement practices. There were numerous stakeholders—or individuals and organizations that affected or were affected by the raid—in this study. I highlight below the roles of three of the stakeholders that featured prominently in the data.

Results from Chapter 6 showed that citizens and visa-holders in the Latino mixed-status community were among the most influential in shaping the outcomes of the raid. Regression analyses from Chapter 5 showed that raid timing significantly predicted increases in the intensity of immigration enforcement stress, a factor that likely confined undocumented community members to their homes. Thus, after the raid, it was the citizen and visa-holding community members that provided critical social support to those who were detained, deported, or too fearful to leave their homes. The degree of heterogeneity (Berkman & Glass, 2000) in the social network of the mixed-status community, specifically in regards to immigration status, thus had implications for the outcomes of the raid. However, the redistribution of resources toward undocumented community members, and the additional risk engendered by those who supported them, likely created tensions between network members, as echoed in transnational network demands in findings by Schulz and Viruell-Fuentes (2009).

The WCSO was a second stakeholder in the immigration raid as the Office collaborated with ICE to conduct the raid and later had to cope with the repercussions in the community. In Chapter 8, the WCSO was described as a

department that actively tried to address the needs of and build relationships with the minority communities it policed. The Office collaborated with community-based organizations, including Casa Latina and WICIR, and frequently organized and attended events that engaged with the community. The Office was also lead by two Black men, a statistical rarity among Sheriff's Offices that also has immigration enforcement implications (Provine & Lewis, 2014). However, after the Office collaborated to conduct the raid, the reputation of the WCSO in the Latino community was severely damaged. Advocates and others in Washtenaw County did not understand how the WCSO could openly claim not to enforce immigration law while simultaneously kicking in doors to allow ICE to enter homes and detain residents. Research suggests that collaborative immigration enforcement severs the trust between community members and law enforcement officers (Khashu, 2009), and findings in Chapter 7 suggest that this fear is augmented by the knowledge that officers will ask for identification from anyone with whom they interact.

The third group of stakeholders includes community organizations, which reacted to the raid and shaped how it unfolded. Casa Latina and WICIR are two examples. As described in Chapter 4, Casa Latina's text messaging system alerted community members to the raid, and likely encouraged community members to avoid the area, resulting in fewer detainments. The texting service could also partially explain the wide geographic range in which fear of immigration enforcement was captured in the EBV, as shown in Chapter 5. Elena Maria, Amalia, and Ofelia, the WICIR URs who arrived at the site of the raid, were also able to support Guadalupe and Fernanda by providing funds for food, diapers, and hotels.

Both WICIR and Casa Latina had extensive relationships with the Latino community, had Spanish-speaking, immigrant, and citizen members, and had multiple Latino community members among their leadership. These finding suggests that community-based services with staff who are trusted and able to access (both linguistically and physically) community members are best prepared to react to raids and mitigate their negative impacts.

9.6 Aim 3: Implications for Public Health Research and Praxis

These findings show that there are multiple stakeholders who may shape how immigration raids unfold. Notably, as discussed in Chapter 6, social networks, including both other community members and community and social services, were largely responsible for mitigating the negative effects of the raid. This finding suggests that immigration advocates and social service providers can support undocumented community members by *also* supporting the citizen and visa-holding members of their social networks. That is, the psychological and economic toll of raids extends throughout the social networks and communities of those who are detained, and thus others may benefit from access to services as well.

The reputation of the WCSO suffered among Latinos in the community. This was especially unfortunate, as the WCSO had begun to make progress toward gaining the trust of the undocumented Latinos in the community largely through Sheriff Clayton's support of the Washtenaw ID and interactions with WICIR and Casa Latina. These findings suggest that relationships between law enforcement and minority communities are tenuous at best, and difficult to recuperate after community members feel they have been the targets of racialized enforcement. For

law enforcement departments who wish to maintain positive relationships with minority communities, no raid should be conducted without careful planning and intentional preparation of the needs that will follow.

For example, the WCSO report suggested that the stake out on Santiago's *taller* began on October 31st, a week before the raid. There is no reason that officers conducting stakeouts cannot also work to ascertain the particular needs of those in the facility to be raided. At the very least, it was clear that Spanish was spoken in the facility, yet no translators were available when the raid occurred. As findings from Chapters 4 and 6 suggest, entering a home while covered in body armor, throwing flash bangs, and pointing assault rifles is an inherently traumatic experience that will inevitably engender traumatic emotional and psychological reactions. There is no reason that law officers cannot bring with them resources to address this damage with them immediately.

Lastly, findings suggest that text notification systems are useful tools for the rapid exchange of information about immigration enforcement. However, because the impact and reach of this method of communication is large, it is important that there be some sort of verification system to confirm that immigration enforcement is taking place. The Urgent Responder system utilized by WICIR to support those in the raid was also successful in avoiding the worst possible outcomes of the raid. Other organizations could emulate this model and prepare advocates to respond to raids and link those involved with services.

9.7 Advancement to Conceptual Framework of Illegality

In this dissertation, I utilize a conceptual framework of illegality to investigate the health implications of an immigration raid on the mixed-status Latino community in which it occurred. Illegality, as a sociopolitical construction, guides analysis toward a consideration of multiple stakeholders in its shaping, questions its mutability, and shifts analysis away from undocumented individuals to mixed-status communities. I summarize findings in light of and related to this framework below.

First, illegality is not a static category or mode-of-being in the world (Willen, 2007), but a mutable condition created by political and social circumstances that ebb and flow with particular historical moments, or, as was suggested by this dissertation, after extreme acts of immigration enforcement. As shown by the increased perceptions of immigration enforcement stress (Chapter 5), individuals who completed the EBV survey after the raid may have been increasingly aware of their own illegality and the effect it would have on their lives, and appeared to have altered their behaviors accordingly. Secondly, illegality is not limited to individuals, nor the families to which they belong, but “spills over” to other members of mixed-status communities, as many change their behaviors to support those who fear deportation and confine themselves to their homes (Chapter 6).

Third, illegality, while traditionally centered around explicit immigration enforcement by federal authorities, is shaped by local authorities who maintain deportability by enforcing *de facto* immigration law at their own discretion (Chapter 7). Fourth, as Black men are often read as threatening to the safety of police officers, Latinos are read as threatening to the integrity of U.S. society. The threat of

deportation—which maintains Latino illegality—is an efficient means of social control, rendering members of Latino mixed-status communities fearful of surveillance and limited in their willingness to access services or traverse public space (Chapter 8).

Taken together, this dissertation augments the utility of illegality as a conceptual framework and suggests that an operationalization of illegality is possible. The variables used to measure the intensity of immigration enforcement stress may provide useful starting points for this operationalization. For example, while the item “My legal status has limited my contact with family and friends” is likely to capture the effects of immigration status on those who are undocumented, it likely will not capture limitations among Latino citizens. If the question were instead open to the effects of legal status broadly, community level illegality may be more measurable. The item could read, for example, “The legal statuses *of members of my community* limit our contact *with each other*.” Similarly, the item, “I will be reported to immigration if I go to a social service agency,” could instead read “Some *members of my community* may be reported to immigration if they go to a social service agency.” For the item, “I fear the consequences of deportation,” increased specificity could clarify the source of the deportation-related fear. For example, the item could begin with multiple choice before allowing the participant to rate agreement for each item selected: “I fear the consequences of deportation for [circle all that apply]: myself; my family; other members of my community.”

While the development of a scale of illegality is beyond the scope of this dissertation, such a scale would likely require questions that broadly consider at

least three factors. First, to what extent do individuals consider themselves to be in control of their treatment by state actors? That is, do individuals perceive some sort of predictability to their legal treatment, or is the treatment a matter of arbitrary regulation or officer discretion. Second, to what extent does the individual perceive differentiation in punishment for crimes? That is, does one perceive a range of possible fees, incarceration time, community service hours, etc., depending on the law broken, or is the perception that all crimes result in deportation? Third, does the individual perceive any claim to public space, goods, or services? That is, to what extent does the individual believe that his claim to goods and space to which he is legitimately entitled (such as police or ambulance services) is negated by his legal status?

Taken together, these and other items could valuably increase our understanding of the effects of illegality on the health of Latino mixed-status communities.

9.8 Implications for Immigration Policy

This study has implications for immigration policy. First and most broadly, participants in this study and throughout the U.S. would benefit from comprehensive immigration reform that provides pathways to citizenship for undocumented individuals. While Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), an immigration policy that allows certain undocumented immigrants who arrived under the age of 16 to obtain a driver's licenses, work permits, and deferrals from deportation for two years, has supported the economic mobility of the hundreds of thousands of undocumented youth who have received it (Gonzales, Terriquez, &

Ruszczuk, 2014), the two year time frame is short, costs are prohibitive, and millions more are left without any legal options. Thus, while DACA is a step forward, it is not a sustainable solution. A functional reform would include options for family reunification, mandated court-appointed attorneys in immigration court for undocumented immigrants, especially minors (Markon, 2016), and broader acceptance of asylum claims, including those fleeing drug violence associated with U.S. drug consumption (McKinley, 2010).

Second, immigration raids should be banned as an enforcement option. This study provides evidence of the damage such raids can do to a community and to relationships between that community and the police. If raids cannot be banned, then criteria for when to raid a house and under what circumstances need to be revisited. For example, the current wave of raids has targeted mothers and children who fled poverty and violence in Central America (Edwards, 2016). Allowing these women and children to claim asylum would avert the need to arrest and deport them.

Lastly, as this study shows, the inability to obtain a driver's license has long lasting and dramatic effects on Latino mixed-status communities. The DHS (2016), explains that restricting driver's licenses is a "vital component of a holistic national security strategy." They continue: "Law enforcement must be able to rely on government-issued identification documents and know that the bearer of such a document is who he or she claims to be." That a social security number is needed to verify identity is an arbitrary standard. A more inclusive policy would accept all forms of government documentation whether from the U.S. or the individual's

country of birth. The contradictory nature of the policy is evident in that one can be allowed to drive with a foreign license but not allowed to use that license to apply for a U.S. driver's license. Advocate communities should work to provide licenses to members of mixed-status communities. This would ease the strain on the citizens who support undocumented community members during periods of intense immigration enforcement, such as following immigration raids. One such effort is currently being made in New York (Mostacero, 2016).

9.9 Implications for Immigration and Public Health Literature Broadly

This study provides strong evidence that immigration home raids affect health across a wide geographic area and regardless of immigration status. This suggests that illegality (De Genova, 2004), then, does not only shape the health experiences of individuals (Willen, 2012b), but of entire communities, by altering the health behavior patterns and exchange of resources among community members whether or not one is undocumented. Thus, this study encourages researchers who focus on immigration status and health to broaden their analyses beyond “undocumented populations” and instead consider the ways in which undocumented individuals are members of larger mixed-status communities. While some nascent research has begun to advance the concept of mixed-status *families* (Enriquez, 2015; Mangual Figueroa, 2012), little work has focused specifically on health (Castañeda & Melo, 2014), and no work of which I am aware moves beyond mixed-status families to mixed-status *communities*.

For public health researchers, this study encourages us to consider a wider range of factors that influence individual health decisions and question our

understandings of the role of individual agency in health behaviors. That is, to what extent are behavioral frameworks useful in assessing the health of and developing interventions for communities who are violently marginalized? To use the health belief model as an example (Janz & Becker, 1984), this study suggests that, amid the threat of arrest, detention, deportation, or death, some communities are subjected to “perceived threats” so severe so that they elide all other aspects of our health behavior models.

Indeed, it was notable the degree to which participants directly spoke to traditional aspects of public health. For example, Fabián not only explained how fear of immigration enforcement limited access to healthy foods, but also how it restricted the use of public space in which to engage in exercise. So many others spoke of the outright inability to feed oneself. As Graciela said, “What if you needed milk? No. Don’t go get milk. You drink water. You make do with what you have because you are not leaving the house.” This study suggests that individual agency and the capacity to make health decisions should carefully consider the social positions of the decisions makers and the numerous outside factors that constrict their abilities to engage in health promoting behaviors.

9.10 Final Summary and Conclusion

This dissertation investigated the health implications of an immigration raid on the mixed-status Latino community in which it occurred using a mixed methods critical case study (Remler & Van Ryzin, 2015) design. The critical case study was a collaborative immigration raid that occurred in Washtenaw County, Michigan, on November 7, 2013. A conceptual framework of illegality (De Genova, 2013) was

used as this framework creates the analytical space to consider multiple stakeholders in shaping undocumented immigrant health (Holmes, 2007; Willen, 2005), examine how this status can be recast through advocacy (Coutin, 2000), and expands the focus from individuals to the social and familial communities in which they live (De Genova, 2002). Quantitative data from the EBV, a community survey of Latinos in Washtenaw County, and qualitative data, including participant observation and interviews with three subsamples, were collected and analyzed using a mixed methods approach that draws on the strengths of qualitative and quantitative data collection as well as their philosophical underpinnings to enhance perspectives and understanding about a research question (Creswell et al., 2011; Steckler et al., 1992).

The findings presented in this dissertation provide evidence that immigration raids have profoundly negative effects on the well-being of Latinos in mixed-status communities and alter their social service utilization patterns. Negative effects included both health outcomes, such as depression, anxiety, illness, and weightloss, and economic outcomes, such as job loss, poverty and homelessness. Friends, family, and fellow community members—stakeholders in the immigration raid—were able to moderate the negative impacts of the raid by providing critical social and economic support. The sociocultural context in which the raid occurred was one in which DHS considered local police to be “force multipliers” (Kobach, 2005), undocumented immigrants could access driver’s licenses, and video footage of the killing of black men and women by police steadily circulated in the media. Taken together, this sociocultural context created an

environment in which individuals feared encounters in which their immigration statuses would be disclosed. Efforts to avoid these encounters limited the ameliorative impact of social networks.

In conclusion, immigration raids serve as examples of violent and intrusive immigration law enforcement practices that are unpredictable to the communities in which they occur and incorporate overt militarized displays of power enacted on racialized minorities. Results of this study provide strong evidence of the negative impact of these raids throughout Latino mixed-status communities. Although these findings are novel to the literature, due to the overt violence and trauma of these raids, they are perhaps not surprising. As recently as the past few months (Edwards, 2016), immigration raids have been used to apprehend, detain, and deport undocumented immigrants . As immigration law—and the methods of enforcing it—continues to be a topic of national debate, conversations should include a holistic assessment of the social cost of enforcement policies, including how they may exacerbate existing health inequities among marginalized populations and sever relationships between local law enforcement offices and Latino communities.

Appendix: Study Forms

Form A1. Narrative Interview Guide for Sample 1 (participants “directly involved” in 11/7 raid)

Let’s talk about the raid that occurred on November 7th of 2013. I want to hear as much as you can tell me about the experience.

- Let’s start at the beginning of the day. What did you do in the morning? Take me through your day.
 - Prompts:
 - Who was with you?
 - Is this a typical day?
- Let’s talk about the raid itself. What do you remember happening?
 - Who was with you?
 - What were people saying or doing while it was happening?
 - How were you feeling?
- Let’s think about the rest of the day after the raid occurred. What do you remember?
 - Who was with you?
 - What were you thinking/feeling?
 - Who did you contact?
- Let’s talk about how you felt the days and weeks after the raid. What do you remember?
 - Who was with you?
 - What were you thinking/feeling?
 - Who did you contact?
- Let’s talk about how you feel now. When you think about the raid, how do you feel?
 - What makes you think about it?
 - When do you talk about it? With whom?
 - How did it affect you?
 - Do you do anything differently now?
- Is there anything else you want to tell me about the raid?

Form A2. Post-interview Demographic Questionnaire

All subsamples:

1. How old are you? _____years
2. What is your gender? ____Female ____Male
3. Where were you born (city and country, state if applicable)?_____

Subsample 1 and 2 only:

4. How many years have you lived in the USA?_____
5. How many years have you lived in Washtenaw County?_____
6. Are you...
____single ____dating ____in a committed relationship ____legally married ____separated
____divorced ____widowed
7. How many children less than 18 years of age live in your household?_____

Subsample 3 only

8. How long have you worked in Washtenaw County?_____

Form A3. Semi-structured Interview Guide for Subsample 2 (social networks of individuals “directly involved”).

Domain	Sample interview question and probe
Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell me about where you grew up and where your family came from. • Tell me a little bit about your life right now. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Do you work? Do you have children? ○ Can you tell me about your relationships with your family and friends? Do they live here in Michigan? ○ How long have you lived in Michigan? In Washtenaw County? Can you tell me about how you arrived here?
Neighborhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tell me about your neighborhood. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ When I say “community”, what do you think of? Who would you say is a part of your community? ○ Do you feel safe outside in your neighborhood? Why or why not?
November 7 th Immigration raid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you familiar with the immigration raid that occurred on November 11th, 2013? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How did you find out about the raid? ○ Why do you think the raid happened? ○ When people ask about the raid, what do you tell them? ○ How likely do you think it is for these raids to happen again? ○ Have you noticed any changes in the community after the raid?
Experience with immigration and law enforcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am interested in some of your interactions with authorities. Can you tell me a bit about that? By “authorities” I mean immigration officials, police, anything like that. • Can you tell me about deportation in your community? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Has anyone you know been deported? If so, can you tell me about that? ○ Tell me about one of your encounters with law enforcement. • Do you ever get questioned about your documentation status? If so, can you describe that interaction for me?
Service utilization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where do you go when you need medical care? What about your family? • Are there other services that you need, like legal help, food stamps, or anything like that? Where do you go for these services? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Take me through one of these interactions. Who is usually there? Who do you talk to? Do you feel safe, why or why not? ○ Do you feel safe accessing the services you need? Why or why not? • Would you call the police if you felt unsafe? Would you call an ambulance?

Form A4. Semi-structured Interview Guide for Subsample 3 (social service representatives).

Domain	Sample interview question and probe
Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you describe to me the work that you do? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What are some of the motivating factors for doing the work you do? ○ What would you describe as the community in which you work? ○ What are some of the needs of this community or people in it?
Interactions with other organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In your role as _____, with which other organizations do you interact? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Are there challenges to these interactions? ○ Do your views of Latinos, immigrants, or immigration differ from others at your organization? In other organizations? ○ Do you interact with law enforcement agencies or officers, including immigration? If so, can you describe those interactions for me?
Contextual factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe for me a “typical” person that uses your services. What challenges do they describe outside of the one for which they contacted you? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What challenges do you see that they may not discuss? ○ Do you think immigration law enforcement officials have a presence in the community with which you work?
November 7 th Immigration raid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you familiar with the immigration raid that occurred on November 11th, 2013? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Were you present at the raid? If so, can you take me through the events as you remember them starting that morning? ○ How did you find out about the raid? ○ Why do you think the raid happened? ○ When people ask about the raid, what do you tell them? ○ How likely do you think it is for these raids to happen again? ○ Have you noticed any changes in the community after the raid?

Form A5: Participant Observation Guide.

Information relevant to research aims gained:

Discussion of portrayal of immigrants, laws, advocates, etc.

Discussions of health

Discussions of family, community, and effects of immigration enforcement

New questions or hypotheses generated from event:

Related documents or materials:

Additional follow up tasks/contacts:

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