no official policy on immigration enforcement, while 12 percent reported that their local government expects that the police take a proactive role in immigration enforcement. Four percent of respondents reported that they had an agreement with ICE for local police officers to investigate and arrest immigration law violators and three percent had jail-based 287(g) programs. Eight percent reported that they had ICE officers embedded within one or more units of the police department. Only 4 percent of chiefs reported that their local governments have openly declared themselves as "sanctuary cities" for unauthorized migrants who are not engaged in criminal activities, while another 15 percent report that their cities unofficially operate under a "don't ask-don't tell" policy (Decker et al. 2008).

State and Local Law Enforcement of Immigration Law: Benefits and Costs

During the conference and the focus groups, there was a healthy level of debate over the role of local law enforcement in enforcing federal immigration law. Law enforcement participants, community members, elected officials, and researchers presented varying arguments on the benefits and costs associated with immigration enforcement. The great majority of comments made during the focus groups and at the conference opposed local law enforcement's participation in purely civil immigration enforcement. However, some participants in the Collier County focus group and at the conference also articulated some of the benefits of state and local law enforcement sharing responsibility with the federal government for immigration enforcement. Below we describe the main arguments for and against local participation in federal immigration enforcement that were raised during project activities.



Sheriff Don Hunter discusses his agency's participation as a 287(g) partner.

Benefits

1. Reduce Jail Population and Save Detention Costs

Sheriff Don Hunter of Collier County, Florida, stated that Collier County decided to participate in the 287(g) program as part of their overall strategy to reduce jail crowding. The sheriff's office had conducted a study of its jail population and found that 25 percent were removable aliens. Twenty-seven officers from the sheriff's office were trained to identify, arrest, and detain immigration law violators. As a result, Sheriff Hunter argued, the jail population had dropped 14 percent between July 2007 and July 2008 (the program did not begin until October 2007) (see appendix K). It is not clear if there were other factors contributing to the decline in jail population.

2. Deterrent to Unauthorized Immigration

One argument mentioned during the focus groups in favor of local participation in federal immigration efforts, in particular the 287(g) program, is that communities where agencies participate in the program receive a lot of media attention as places where unauthorized immigration is not tolerated. This reputation, they argue, could serve as a deterrent to unauthorized immigrants settling in the area and/or could lead to unauthorized immigrants moving out of these regions. But as one Collier County focus group participant pointed out, this deterrent effect would merely displace unauthorized immigrants from a pro-enforcement community to one in which the police and local government do not engage in immigration enforcement. For this reason, the participant argued, there is a need for a nationally consistent policy or approach.

Another project participant, who favored local participation in immigration enforcement,

stated that the size of the undocumented population in the United States is simply too large for federal law enforcement agencies to manage; therefore, without the assistance of state and local police, the federal government will never be able to solve its undocumented immigration problem. One law enforcement conference participant challenged this argument, stating, "If you have people who are undocumented but are good, law-abiding, contributing citizens, I'm not sure all the negative impacts of this issue are worth removing a law-abiding person. There are other ways to work with federal agents than to use 287(g) to arrest otherwise good citizens."

3. Criminal Enforcement Tool

Proponents of local police participation in immigration enforcement, such as some of the Collier County focus group participants, argue that immigration enforcement, and in particular the 287(g) program, could serve as a criminal enforcement tool. A Collier County participant argued that when sophisticated criminals successfully evade criminal prosecution, an agency could use immigration enforcement as a tool to rid that community of the individual if he or she is unauthorized to be present in the United States. James Pendergraph, executive director of ICE's Office of State and Local Coordination, also asserted that deportation of a person who has previously committed a crime would reduce overall crime rates. Conference survey participants were also asked to describe the advantages and disadvantages of local participation in immigration enforcement; merely nine stated that it would help fight crime (Amendola et al. 2008).

4. Counterterrorism

Proponents of increased immigration enforcement, such as Kris Kobach, former counsel to Attorney General John Ashcroft, have argued that because several of the September 11 terrorist attackers had overstayed their visas without significant interference from federal or local law enforcement, the abuse of U.S. immigration laws was responsible for the deaths resulting from those attacks (Olivas 2007, 47). Others have criticized this argument, stating that the real failure, as pointed out by the bipartisan 9/11 Commission, was the failure of the federal government's various intelligence offices to collaborate and to take seriously radical Islamic movements following the earlier bombing of the World Trade Center in New York (Olivas 2007, 50).

These proponents argue that increased local immigration enforcement may identify individuals suspected of engaging in terrorist activities. For instance, in the course of routine policing, police may encounter an immigrant with an individual warrant in the NCIC database, and who may have plans at some point to engage in terrorist activities. However, as stated by Kareem Shora during his presentation at the national conference, a local department's participation in immigration enforcement efforts may result in isolating communities, making them less willing to provide intelligence to police on possible terrorist and other criminal activity (see appendix L).

5. Access to Federal Databases to Verify Identity

Some participants who favored local police immigration enforcement argued that participation in the 287(g) program has the advantage of giving local agencies access to federal databases to verify identity of suspects. One participant claimed that undocumented immigrants often give false names but that through the use of federal immigration databases it might be possible to accurately identify a suspect. As James Pendergraph noted, an agency has access to the various federal immigration databases only if it is a 287(g) partner. However, a non-participating agency can always contact the LESC if it needs additional information, and ICE is currently piloting an integration of the NCIC database with federal immigration databases so that when an agency runs a check on NCIC, it automatically searches federal immigration databases as well (Carroll 2008).

Policing experts and project participants have expressed concern that local police involvement in immigration enforcement could have a chilling effect on immigrant cooperation.

6. Immigration Violators are Lawbreakers

A common argument heard in the media and mentioned during project conversations is that, like criminal law violators, those individuals who have violated federal immigration law are lawbreakers. Some participants argued that police are bound to enforce federal immigration laws just as they are violations of criminal law and cannot pick and choose which laws to enforce. Conference participants engaged in lively discussion about whether police have discretion to choose which laws to enforce. While some argued police have no discretion, others disagreed, maintaining that police everyday make choices about which laws to enforce. Furthermore, some pointed out, police officers take an oath to uphold state not federal law.

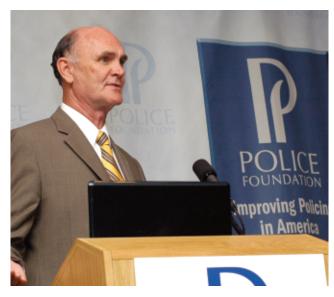
Costs

1. Reduced Trust and Cooperation in Immigrant Communities Would Undermine Public Safety

Policing experts and project participants have expressed concern that local police involvement in immigration enforcement could have a chilling effect on immigrant cooperation. Immigrant witnesses and victims of crime, many of whom already bring with them fear and mistrust of police due to experiences with authorities in their home countries, would be less likely to report crimes and cooperate as witnesses. Without this cooperation, law enforcement will have difficulty apprehending and successfully prosecuting criminals, thereby reducing overall public safety for the larger community. Immigrants need assurances that they will not be subject to deportation proceedings if they cooperate with police.

To demonstrate the fragility of the relationship between the police and immigrants, one midwestern police chief recounted an incident where an unauthorized immigrant was a witness to a crime and agreed to testify in a criminal case. The witness's name appeared on a witness list in preparation for the trial. As the court began to vet the background of this witness, defense attorneys revealed that he was an undocumented alien. A few days after the witness testified in the court case, ICE arrested him and initiated deportation proceedings. Word of this incident rapidly spread throughout the immigrant community and, as a result, the police have had difficulty securing the cooperation of other immigrant witnesses. Even residents who were victimized and exploited feared approaching the police because trust between the immigrant community and the police had been destroyed.

El Paso focus group participants and Mayor John Cook in his conference presentation also reported a similar experience. Years earlier, the El Paso Police Department had a practice of conducting joint patrol operations with CBP in El Paso City. They later discontinued this practice because the joint operations had a chilling effect on immigrant communities. In particular, in the context of domestic violence, they found a troubling decrease in reports.



Mayor John Cook of El Paso, where the population is over 80% Hispanic and there are 8.3 million pedestrian border crossings annually between the U.S. and Juarez, Mexico.

The Police Foundation has done much of the research that led to a new view of policing—one emphasizing a *community* orientation—that is widely embraced today, and has played a principal role in the development of community policing research, training, and technical assistance. Over the past fifteen to twenty years, community policing and problemsolving policing initiatives—a philosophy of policing that requires significant col-

laboration and cooperation with community members—have become increasingly commonplace in the policing profession (Harris 2006, 7). Community policing is an approach to policing where police officers engage communities in a working partnership to reduce crime and promote public safety. It thus requires police to interact with neighborhood residents in a manner that will build trust and improve the level of cooperation with the police department (Moore 1992, 123). Proponents of community policing have expressed concern that policies and practices that sanction police officers to act as immigration agents will undo the successes they have gained over years of developing police relations with immigrant communities (Appleseed 2008, 8). As pressure for local police to proactively get involved with immigration enforcement increases, the public safety gains achieved through the community-policing movement are placed in jeopardy, particularly in communities and cities with significant immigrant populations.

The majority of respondents to the conference survey indicated that aggressive enforcement of immigration law would have a negative impact on community relationships by decreasing (1) community trust of the police (74 percent), (2) trust between community residents (70 percent), and (3) reporting of both crime victimization (85 percent) and criminal activity (83 percent). Adding to those concerns are beliefs that aggressive enforcement of immigration laws would weaken (1) public trust initiatives (77 percent), (2) community-policing efforts (77 percent), (3) youth outreach (74 percent), (4) intelligence/information gathering (63 percent), (5) criminal investigations (67 percent), and (6) even recruitment (31 percent), thereby impacting operations significantly (Amendola et al. 2008).

Project participants expressed concerns that the loss of trust and cooperation would not be limited to undocumented immigrants. Eighty-five percent of immigrant families are mixedstatus families, families with a combination of citizens, undocumented immigrants, and documented immigrants (Morawetz and Das 2008, 73). The loss of cooperation resulting from local police involvement in immigration enforcement would extend to authorized immigrants living in mixed-status households who fear contact with police would lead to deportation of family members and other loved ones (Harris 2006, 39). A recent Pew Hispanic Center survey found that the majority of Latinos in the United States worry about deportation of themselves, a family member, or a close relative (Lopez and Minushkin 2008, ii).

2. Increased Victimization and Exploitation of Undocumented Immigrants

Many law enforcement participants also emphasized their duty as police executives to ensure public safety for all community members, regardless of legal status, and expressed their concerns that criminal predators take advantage of undocumented immigrants' fear and tendency not to report crimes. As one northeastern city police chief stated:

They [undocumented immigrants] refer to themselves as walking ATMs because everybody knows that they don't have documentation enough to get bank accounts, checking accounts, and those kinds of things, and that their savings and whatever they have is on their person, not anywhere else. First of all, they live in an apartment with eight other people, so you can't leave it behind. They carry it with them and the people who seek to victimize them take advantage of that.

Fifty-three percent of respondents to the ASU survey stated that undocumented immigrants are more likely to be victims of theft or robbery (Decker et al. 2008). Similarly, respondents to the conference survey were asked whether undocumented immigrants were likely or unlikely to be crime perpetrators and crime victims. As figure 6 shows, respondents believed that undocumented immigrants were more likely to be crime victims (81 percent) than crime perpetrators (39 percent) (Amendola et al. 2008).

Any police actions that result in exacerbating fear of police in immigrant communities could lead

to increased victimization and exploitation of immigrants as perpetrators of crime take advantage of heightened immigrant fear to target them for criminal activity. At least one El Paso focus group participant believed that more enforcement would specifically lead to more human trafficking, as smugglers or traffickers are more able to use the threat of deportation to coerce undocumented immigrants into situations of forced labor. Several participants also believed there would be an aggravation of employer abuse and exploitation of undocumented immigrants.

Participants' perceptions of immigrant victimization were confirmed by research conducted in Memphis, Tennessee, on victimization of undocumented immigrants and their interaction with police. The study found that

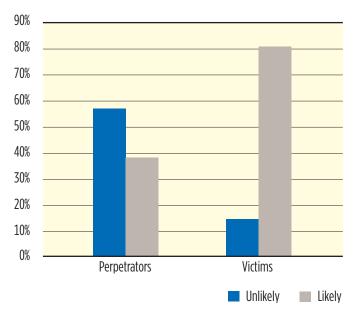


FIGURE 6. LIKELIHOOD OF CRIME PERPETRATION AND VICTIMIZATION

Source: *Law Enforcement Executive Views: Results from the Conference Survey* (Amendola et al. 2008) (see appendix H).

undocumented workers experienced high rates of victimization, yet they were unlikely to report the crimes to law enforcement officials. The study also found perceived deportation risk to be a factor driving both undocumented workers' particular risk of victimization and their reluctance to report crimes. Memphis is a city that reports interactions with undocumented victims and perpetrators to immigration officials (Bucher, Tarasawa, and Manasse 2007).

3. Police Misconduct

For similar reasons that immigration enforcement by local police could lead to increased victimization and exploitation of undocumented immigrants (fear of police and deportation), some participants expressed concern that it could lead to an increase in police misconduct. As one El Paso focus group law enforcement executive stated, "I might have issues out in the field with officers who are doing things they're not supposed to be doing, but people are afraid to tell us, simply because they're afraid." At the conference, Professor Raquel Aldana also argued that the extremely limited application of the exclusionary remedy in immigration court proceedings creates an additional risk of abuses of power not subject to judicial review and oversight (Aldana 2008, 99). In another project that brought together police officials from the New York/New Jersey metropolitan area, one police official working in a jurisdiction that in the past collaborated with federal immigration officials confirmed that his agency's prior involvement in immigration enforcement had indeed led to corruption and extortion (King 2006, 25).

4. Large Financial Costs of Immigration Enforcement Divert Resources from Traditional Law Enforcement Activities

In recent years, police departments throughout the country have experienced budget cuts because of the diversion of federal funds from traditional law enforcement funding streams, such as the Office of Community Oriented Police Services (COPS) and Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) Byrne grants, to homeland security programs, while simultaneously their workloads have increased as a result of current homeland security and counterterrorism responsibilities (Harris 2006, 12). In addition to having to take on additional counterterrorism responsibilities, local law enforcement has to make up for reductions in federal law enforcement manpower that was previously devoted to federal criminal enforcement simply does not have the resources to add immigration enforcement responsibilities (MCC 2006, 10). As one participant stated, "Law enforcement is struggling just to keep up with the things [we] need to do every day. So taking on an additional responsibility is probably impossible."

Federal immigration enforcement agencies contend they do not have adequate resources to accomplish their immigration enforcement mandate. Local agencies have even fewer resources given all their competing demands (MCC 2006, 6). Moreover, focus group participants warned that were the federal government to change its current practice and begin funding local agencies to collaborate in immigration enforcement, those resources should not come at the expense of traditional crime fighting resources, such as what little is left in the COPS and BJA Byrne grant funding streams.

Indeed, respondents to the conference survey ranked resources as their highest agency concern, followed by staffing. Immigration ranked merely seven after the concerns listed above (see table 1) (Amendola et

TABLE 1. HIGHEST RANKED AGENCY CONCERNS

In general, what do you consider to be the most critical issues facing you and your agency? Please list them in priority order, from highest to lowest.

- 1. Resources
- 2. Staffing
- 3. Violent Crime
- 4. Gangs
- 5. Community Relations; Drugs (tie)
- 6. Property Crime
- 7. Immigration Issues

Rankings were based on a weighted scoring system. Those ranked first were given a score of 5, second scored 4, third scored 3, and so forth.

Source: *Law Enforcement Executive Views: Results from the Conference Survey* (Amendola et al. 2008) (see appendix H).

Federal immigration law is very complicated, technical, and constantly changing.

al. 2008). One of the biggest concerns discussed in policing today—as confirmed by the choice of staffing as the second most urgent agency concern—is the challenge of police officer recruitment (Raymond, Hickman, Miller, and Wong 2005). Therefore, even if the federal government provided financial resources for local immigration enforcement, many police agencies would have difficulty hiring quality police recruits to meet the additional workload demands of enforcing immigration law.

Because of the resource issues above, opponents of local law enforcement participation in federal immigration enforcement contend that there could be a diversion of police resources away from criminal investigations to immigration enforcement (Seghetti, Viña, and Ester 2004, 25). Financial costs listed by conference and focus group participants included the patrol resources and overtime costs resultant from arresting and processing immigration detainees, costs of providing temporary detention space, transportation costs, and potential medical costs incurred during detention. This diversion of resources, participants argued, could have a negative public safety impact. Mayor Gordon gave the example of the immigration enforcement initiatives of the Maricopa County Sheriff's Office being responsible for its failure to investigate at least thirty violent crimes, including a dozen sexual assaults, in the past year in a small city of 32,000 people. "He [sheriff of Maricopa County] allows sexual assaults, homicides, and other serious crimes to go unsolved, by arresting victims and witnesses and sending them to jail for violating immigration statutes. That's a direction that makes our community less safe."

5. Complexity of Federal Immigration Law and Difficulty in Verifying Immigration Status

One of the arguments articulated against local participation in federal immigration enforcement is that federal immigration law is very complicated, technical, and constantly changing. Indeed, it has often been compared to the tax code in complexity (Harris 2006, 36). A conference participant who supports local enforcement of immigration law argued that police are used to enforcing all types of laws and that immigration would be no different. However, IACP has stated that immigration enforcement would require specialized knowledge of "suspect's status and visa history and the complex civil and criminal aspects of the federal immigration law and their administration. This is different from identifying someone suspected of the type of criminal behavior that local officers are trained to detect" (IACP 2004, 4). MCCA has also said that immigration law is very complicated and nothing like criminal violations, such as murder, assaults, narcotics, robberies, burglaries, and so forth (MCC 2006, 7). If police departments employ insufficiently trained officers to perform federal immigration enforcement duties, they may also risk exposing themselves to substantial civil liability (Venbrux 2006, 330).

At the conference, Nancy Morawetz, New York University Professor of Clinical Law, presented a paper that describes in detail some of the complexities of immigration law enforcement and reveals the challenges to local police participation in immigration enforcement activities (see appendix B). Professor Morawetz begins by challenging the assumption that the immigration status of an individual is easy to identify. Firstly, she points out that approximately 70 percent of the foreign born in the United States are legal permanent residents or citizens. Of the remaining 30 percent, substantial numbers have some form of lawful status or are in the process of obtaining lawful status. About 300,000 of these immigrants have temporary protected status (TPS), which allows them to live and work in the United States; and 617,000 are in the process of applying for legal permanent residency and have official permission to work. Every year, approximately one million people receive legal permanent resident status. In addition, there are millions of people each year who are present in the United States with a lawful business, visitor, or student visa. The challenge this creates for police engaging in immigration enforcement is that there are no distinguishable factors that allow police to distinguish between the authorized and unauthorized immigrant population.

Furthermore, Professor Morawetz notes that police will have difficulty verifying immigration status because many people do not have the necessary documentation to prove their lawful status, in part because immigration documents were not



Professor Nancy Morawetz describes the legal complexity of local law enforcement's role in immigration enforcement and legal constraints on methods of enforcement in a legal and institutional system that operates quite differently from local criminal justice systems.

designed to function as identity documents. Thirteen million U.S. citizens lack papers proving they are citizens, permanent residency card ("green card") renewals are frequently delayed, and there is no national database of citizens and the status of other people.

Both Professors Morawetz and Aldana also observed that federal immigration databases are notoriously inaccurate; thus, police reliance on these databases will most likely lead to error. The DHS Inspector General estimates that the immigration records relied upon by ICE's fugitive teams are inaccurate in up to 50 percent of cases (Morawetz and Das 2008, 82). DHS also commissioned a study of Social Security Administration (SSA) databases and found that they were able to verify employment eligibility in less than 50 percent of work-authorized noncitizens (Aldana 2008, 101). The SSA itself has estimated that 17.8 million of its records contain errors with respect to name, date of birth, and citizenship status; and that 4.8 million of 46.5 million noncitizen records in its database contain errors (Aldana 2008, 101). A mismatch between employee records when checked against the SSA databases can turn into an immigration administrative warrant (Aldana 2008, 101). Immigration warrants and information contained in the NCIC database have also proven to be inaccurate. A study by the Migration Policy Institute of calls to the LESC showed that 42 percent of all police inquiries to the LESC were false positives that DHS was unable to confirm (Gladstein et al. 2005, 3).

6. Racial Profiling and Other Civil Litigation Costs

Because local law enforcement agencies lack sufficient and ongoing training in federal immigration law, are prohibited from racial profiling, lack clear authority to enforce civil immigration laws, and are limited by state law on making warrantless arrests, those police agencies that get involved in civil immigration law enforcement risk being subject to civil litigation (MCC 2006, 8). Prohibitions on racial profiling and state laws limiting the scope of police authority exist to protect community members from being victim to police error or abuse. Were these laws to be violated in the context of immigration enforcement, and given the complexity of federal immigration law, it is likely that citizens and immigrants with lawful status would be arrested and detained. These errors are then likely to result in litigation.

Prohibitions on racial profiling and state laws limiting the scope of police authority exist to protect community members from being victim to police error or abuse.

Indeed, there have been several lawsuits where citizens or legal permanent residents have been arrested, detained, and in some cases deported. For instance, Pedro Guzman, a cognitivelyimpaired U.S. citizen who had been arrested and detained in a Los Angeles County jail for misdemeanor charges, has sued the sheriff of Los Angeles County who erroneously identified Mr. Guzman as an unauthorized immigrant and turned him over to federal immigration officials who later deported him to Mexico. It took months for Mr. Guzman's family to locate him after he was deported to Mexico (Morawetz and Das 2008, 78).

The likelihood of error in the context of immigration enforcement is higher for poor and minority communities. A recent study showed that citizens with incomes under twenty-five thousand dollars are twice as likely to lack citizenship documents as those earning more than twenty-five thousand dollars. Twenty-five percent of African Americans lack any form of government-issued photo identification. As many as thirty-two million American women do not have citizenship documents reflecting their current name. And, as stated above, there is no national database of citizens to verify status (Morawetz and Das 2008, 77).

Even well-intentioned police officers risk racial profiling and resultant lawsuits in the course of enforcing immigration laws. As stated above, there are no discernible indicators of immigration status; thus, it is difficult for police officers to observe behavior that indicates immigration status as they would be able to observe criminal activity. As a result, police officers may use ethnic or racial characteristics as a basis for stopping and questioning, and possibly detaining, people from certain racial and ethnic groups (Chishti 2002, 374). The practice of using race or ethnic characteristics to determine whether to investigate immigration status also wastes valuable law enforcement resources. The number of erroneous stops or detentions resulting from false positives will be particularly high in regions with high Hispanic and Asian populations (Harris 2006, 51). Furthermore, many communities of color already have strained relations with police, which will be further exacerbated as they feel targeted by immigration enforcement efforts (Appleseed 2008, 10). A recent survey of Hispanic residents in the United States found that nearly one out of ten Hispanic adults (native-born 8 percent and immigrants 10 percent) have been stopped and questioned about their immigration status in the past year (Lopez and Minushkin 2008, i). Thus, it seems the trend towards greater participation by local law enforcement in federal immigration enforcement has already begun to impact the Hispanic community.

Professor Morawetz emphasized during her conference presentation that 287(g) agreements contain language clarifying that officers are bound by federal civil rights statutes and regulations and specifically prohibit the practice of racial profiling. The 287(g) agreements are also narrowed to authorize behavior only to the extent that it is consistent with state and local law (Morawetz and Das 2008, 76). Some state and local law enforcement officials participating in the project were under the impression that the federal government would assume liability under the Federal Tort Claims Act (FTCA). However, because 287(g) limits police behavior as described above, local agencies will not be protected or covered by the agreement where they have violated federal civil rights statutes, state or local law, or engaged in racial profiling in the course of immigration enforcement (Morawetz and Das 2008, 76).

Several major lawsuits have already been filed alleging racial profiling by police departments engaging in immigration enforcement. For instance, residents, alleging racial profiling among other violations, sued the Chandler, Arizona, Police Department as a result of a joint operation with CBP. Complainants alleged that police officers were stopping and questioning darkskinned, Spanish-speaking residents (who appeared "Mexican") and requesting proof of citizenship (Venbrux 2006, 327-328). In addition to costing the city money as a result of the lawsuits, the police department created deep distrust in the Latino community, harming its ability to effectively police the city.

Sheriff Joe Arpaio of the Maricopa County, Arizona, Sheriff's Office (an ICE 287(g) partner) has faced several lawsuits, the allegations of which include racial profiling (Aldana 2008, 105). Mayor Gordon commented during his conference remarks that the sheriff, himself, says he can identify an unauthorized immigrant "by the way they dress and where they are coming from." As Mayor Gordon stated, that is "the very definition of racial profiling." Mayor Gordon further explained that sheriff's deputies are stopping citizens in Maricopa County because they are brown and detaining them, even when they have documentation proving their legal status. Even a member of Mayor Gordon's staff and her husband, who are third-generation Latino citizens, were stopped and asked for their social security cards by Maricopa sheriff deputies.

7. Immigrants Will Fear Accessing Other Municipal Services

The increased fear of deportation resulting from local law enforcement participation in immigration enforcement will not only impact police-community relations with immigrant communities but might also lead to fear among immigrant communities of accessing other state and local government services. Several focus group participants who worked for city agencies discussed the difficulty they already have encouraging immigrants to access municipal services. In a paper presented at the conference, Professor Roberto Gonzales of the University of Washington discusses the impact of immigration enforcement efforts on schools, including increased absences and students distracted by their anxiety over deportation (Gonzales 2008, 142) (see appendix E).

Striking a Balance Between Immigration Enforcement and Civil Liberties: Recommendations

The goal of the Police Foundation project was to begin a dialogue among police executives and professionals, scholars, public policy and community groups over the role of local law enforcement in federal immigration law enforcement, in order to improve law enforcement's understanding of the issue and to begin to develop some consensus on how to strike the balance between the competing federal need of immigration enforcement with local public safety priorities and civil liberties. As stated earlier in the About the Project section, the foundation conducted a series of focus groups throughout the country with police executives, local government officials, and community members; convened a national conference of leaders in the policing, public policy, academic, and immigrant communities; commissioned academic papers on pertinent topics; and conducted a written survey of police executives. Throughout this process, there was a healthy level of dialogue and disagreement about specific questions and issues. However, it also became clear that certain recommendations and policy positions were widely held among the group. In this section of the report, we describe some of these positions and recommendations.