“INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, WHERE CHARLOTTE WELCOMES THE WORLD:” A CASE STUDY OF AN IMMIGRANT-SERVING NONPROFIT IN AN EMERGING GLOBAL GATEWAY CITY, 1980-2010

by

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ABSTRACT

MADISON P. RHINEHART. "International House, Where Charlotte Welcomes the World:" A Case Study of an Immigrant-Serving Nonprofit in an Emerging Global Gateway City, 1980-2010 (Under the direction of DR. MARK WILSON)

The city of Charlotte saw a substantial increase in international diversity beginning in the late 1980s. Since that time, the city developed into what is termed a Global Gateway City, becoming home to a population that is 16.4% foreign-born. Paralleling the city's growth resides the history of a cross-culture focused nonprofit known as International House, whose mission is to provide a sense of belonging and connection to the integrating international population. This thesis tracks the growth of International House and its interaction with the city of Charlotte, the state of North Carolina, and the United States immigration policies from 1980-2010. Broken down into three sections, this work looks at the origins of International House, its International Visitors Program, and the creation of the Immigration Advocacy Program. Within each of these programs, this work demonstrates the increased interconnectedness of the city, business leaders, and the economic and social opportunities International House provided in bridging the foreign-born population to the native Charlotte community. Within this intermediary role as a community nonprofit promoting cross-cultural relations, at times the organization is faced with obstacles in a rights-based advocacy for immigrant populations. This thesis looks at how mezzo-level organizations interacted and become increasingly connected with its city's economic, political, and social agenda. Further, this

thesis suggests the inherent limitations associated with a cross-culture based mission. It analyzes how various programs and actors facilitated or constrained nonprofits' initial goals and missions. This historical perspective reveals how both International House and programs in Charlotte designed for internalization and immigration inclusion changed over time, revealing themes of economic development, immigration concerns, and immigration policies and responses.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the thousands of immigrants and migrants that made Charlotte, North Carolina their home.

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I first want to thank my thesis advisor Dr. Mark Wilson for his invaluable reading and comments for every draft I presented him (and there were many). Moreover, I want to thank Dr. Wilson for pointing me in the right directions in the archives, listening to me talk through ideas, and always encouraging me throughout the entire process. Additionally, I want to thank my other committee members Dr. John Cox and Dr. Ella Fratantuono for their time, comments, revisions, and suggestions. Dr. Cox, thank you for inspiring me to be a lifelong activist. Dr. Frantanuono, thank you for pushing me to always critically analyze structures and institutions. And perhaps most importantly, for always having chocolate in your office. Without the committee members and the entire UNC Charlotte history department's encouragement I know that I would not be where I am today. I would also like to thank the J. Murray Atkins Special Collections Library Staff and a special thank you to Christina Wright for meeting with me over the summer and teaching me the art of oral history. I want to thank the entire current and prior staff of International House for their encouragement and excitement for this project. As a former intern, I have seen firsthand the blood, sweat, and tears that go into the organization; your work has impacted thousands in the Charlotte community, including myself. Specifically, I want to thank Rusty Reynolds for always allowing me into the organization's archives without hesitation and helping arrange oral history interviews. To Johnelle Causwell and Nina Batson, thank you for picking me as an intern and helping me fall in love with International House, the city of Charlotte, and international

exchanges. Your passion for the city and for your visitors continues to make Charlotte a wonderfully diverse and international place to live. This work would not have been possible without the oral interviews from Kimm Jolly, David Stewart, and Millie Cox. Thank you all for sharing your time, stories, and your contributions to the International House organization. In my two years of graduate school I have made lifelong friends who made even the most challenging days fun. You know, they say it takes a village to write a thesis, and you guys are my village. Finally, I want to thank my family, specifically my parents and brother, Bob, Leslie, and Robert Rhinehart, who always encouraged me to explore the wonders of the world. Thank you for pushing me to welcome the world, and teaching me to see the joy in diversity, travel, and to show love to each person that I meet. You instilled in me a desire to always learn and to never stop growing. I would absolutely not be here today without your never-ending love and support.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, Charlotte and Mecklenburg County (the largest county in the state of North Carolina) have become an immigrant destination, fundamentally altering the demographics of the region. Most recently in 2018, Charlotte, North Carolina is recognized as the third largest financial center in the United States, a New South city, the largest city in the state, and a so-called Global Gateway City. The last term defined Charlotte as a city of high immigrant population growth. In 2019, the Queen City was picked by the organization New American Economy to receive the 'Gateways for Growth' award, recognizing the city for its internationalization, and declaring the city a Global Gateway destination.[1] While in 2019, Charlotte may be celebrated for its international business, global finance, and high international population —constituting over 20% of the Charlotte population — less than 40 years ago, the city attracted virtually no immigration. Yet, today's Charlotte is home to a diverse collection of individuals.

The Queen City's surge in international immigration did not begin in the nineteenth or twentieth century, as it had in historic immigration cities like New York and Los Angeles. Instead, Charlotte considers itself a twenty-first century "New Immigrant Destination." Asian individuals (many from Southeast Asia) and Central American individuals (predominantly Mexican) constitute the majority of Charlotte's

[1] "The City of Charlotte Just Won The Gateway For Growth Award," *Charlotte Stories*, January 13, 2019.
https://www.charlottestories.com/the-city-of-charlotte-just-won-the-gateway-for-growth-award/

immigrant population.[2] With this nationally high influx of immigrants, Charlotte's rapid economic growth has depended recently on the integration, assimilation, and acceptance of immigrants. According to the City of Charlotte's International Relations page, there are over 300 organizations in the Charlotte region with a "focus on serving the international community or helping Charlotteans be better global citizens."[3] Despite Charlotte's apparent accepting promotion of its immigrant population, the city has faced rising anti-immigrant policing trends from both the state of North Carolina and the United States government. Through an analysis of one of the city's nonprofit organizations, this work will reveal the development of Charlotte's internationally focused presence, as well as the mediation, adaptation, and challenges faced in embracing its international population, from the initial rise in the 1980's through the early 2000's.

My research analyzes the history of one of Charlotte's oldest international centers, which from its inception in 1981, has striven to engage, welcome, connect, and integrate the rapidly growing international community. International House (which in 2018 celebrated its 37th anniversary) and its history provide a window for understanding the more significant trends in the city of Charlotte's multidimensional embracement,

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[2] The Vietnamese population, one of the largest immigrant groups, arrived as Vietnam War refugees through organizations such as the Catholic Social Services in the 1970s. Catholic Social Services also resettled over 1,200 Indochinese refugees, in addition to waves of Cuban and Haitian refugees. See Gary Ferraro, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Variable in Charlotte's Urbanization," University of North Carolina at Charlotte, International House Proposal, 1983 International House Archives.

[3] "Finding the World in Charlotte," City of Charlotte's International Relations, Accessed September 28, 2018. https://charlottenc.gov/international-relations/inltcommunity/Pages/default.aspx

rejection, and integration of the international community. This work analyzes these trends from a local, state, and national level. It argues that International House acted as a constant mediator between the city government, the local population, international visitors, and international residents. While the nonprofit's mission has resided in ground level initiatives, the city government and business leaders of Charlotte have continually applied and maneuvered this mission to fit its own changing needs. Fostering a mission of cross-cultural understanding, as International House grew in status within the community and in the minds of city officials, the organization itself was forced to adapt to the city's goals of economic and "productive immigrant" promotion. The city of Charlotte's pragmatic outlook additionally influenced both International House's and the city's neutral response to immigrant unrest in the 2000s. Utilizing the work of historian Julie Weise, this thesis describes the interconnections of nonprofits like International House and city officials' goals of economic promotion. Weise pointed to the city of Charlotte's immigrant goals, outlooks, and use of mezzo-level programs of cross-culture programs:

> Well aware of the economic benefits this new labor force was bringing to the region, Charlotte's biracial civic leadership reflexively turned to the city's political culture of business-driven pragmatism in the face of divisive racial issues. In the process, they created real opportunities for immigrants to access vital public services and find points of connection with more established Charlotteans.[4]

[4] Julie M. Weise, *Corazón de Dixie: Mexicanos in the U.S. South since 1910*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 229.

This work reveals these relations between International House and the pragmatic Charlotte officials and business leaders and analyzes how they changed over time.

Through an analysis of two of International House's many programs, a comparison of the city of Charlotte's growth as an international hub and the growth of the nonprofit reveals connectivity between local, national, and international trends of global diversification. This thesis also describes the broader context of national and state policies on immigrants, and the use of pro-immigrant rhetoric for economic growth. International House has become a focal point in the Charlotte community for new arrivals. Its history and scale of operation showcase it as a viable organization to analyze broader national and state implications for the Charlotte region.

International House

Founded in 1981, International House originated from the Community College and International Ministry of Charlotte, Inc. The Charlotte Area Clergy Association, run by David Upshaw (a Baptist preacher), sponsored this organization. In 1984, CCIM changed its name to International House, adopting the slogan, "Where Charlotte Welcomes the World." International House has grown from a small nonprofit founded in St. John's Baptist Church on Hawthorne Lane to a central player in Charlotte's mediation of international growth. The organization today describes itself as "a center for diversity, a welcoming place for people from different cultures and backgrounds, and a hub that

brings globally-minded residents of the greater-Charlotte area together."[5] The organization began with programs such as "Friendship Connection," which encouraged the development of English language skills and community fellowship, while focusing on promoting interest and awareness about international issues. International House's programs have grown throughout the years to embody current programs such as an Immigrant Law Clinic (established in 2002), Friendship Connection (1981), a summer literacy program for children English learners (2010), tutoring for citizenship tests, an International Visitor Program (1986), and several other programs that have impacted thousands of people across the Charlotte-Mecklenburg region. International House itself has had to respond to the city's dichotomy of being a pro-immigrant city in a largely anti-immigrant state. By using the case study of International House, this work will highlight the layered policies of federal, state, and local governments, and the adaptation of an increasingly internationally diverse, yet contested, community in Charlotte.

International House (in comparison to the aforementioned more than 300 organizations) followed a timeline of development that corresponds to Charlotte's growth in international relations and population. This research analyzes the period 1980– 2010, beginning with the creation of International House and Charlotte's development as a New South, Global Gateway city.

[5] "History of International House," International House Website, Accessed January 30th, 2018. http://www.ihclt.org/about/

In analyzing Charlotte's "international community," this research discusses the various groups International House engaged with, including immigrants, spouses of international business employees, international visitors, and new United States citizens; in addition to the local Charlotte community members who worked, befriended, and participated in the organization. While this case study of International House certainly cannot represent all of the U.S relations with its international community, this study nonetheless highlights specific characteristics and relationships. Specifically, it documents relationships between the city of Charlotte, the state of North Carolina, and, moreover, the local response to federal and state policies on international relations and immigration. Given its status as the state's largest city (and in fact, largest city north of Florida, in the southeast), and given its growing international presence, Charlotte makes an ideal location to trace significant trends in North Carolina and the region. Charlotte is also an aggressively pro-growth city, which viewed immigrants as tools for internationalizing the community, while promoting business relations abroad.

Charlotte's Immigration in Numbers 1980-2018

Charlotte's history of immigration and international growth is critical in understanding the significance of International House. Charlotte, North Carolina, nicknamed the "Queen City," derived its name from British (many Scots-Irish), colonists in 1768, paying tribute to King George III's wife, Charlotte.[6] Additionally, Mecklenburg County was named after the Queen's German homeland, giving the New World county

[6] Tom Hanchett, "The History of Charlotte, NC," *Charlotte's Got A Lot*, Accessed September 14, 2018. https://www.charlottesgotalot.com/articles/history/the-history-of-charlotte.

and city ties to the Old World.[7] Despite its internationally originating name, Charlotte, like much of the U.S. South, saw little international diversity between the 18th century and the 1970s, instead growing from internal migration across the state. Nevertheless, in the years between 1970-1980, Charlotte became a city on the rise; a city, which in comparison to its southern counterparts, such as, Little Rock and Montgomery, saw (on the surface) less violent conflict over civil rights reform. During the early 1980s, Charlotte-Mecklenburg was home to more than 30,000 foreign-born people, representing 90 countries worldwide.[8] Despite this seemingly high population number, 1980 represents only the beginning in the growth of Charlotte's international population, as this demographic accounted for only 1% of Charlotte's total population.[9]

Many international companies viewed Charlotte as an ideal location in the 1980s. Because of the South's cheap labor supply, a moderate climate, and apparently low racial conflict, international business saw economic potential. Foreign ownership of businesses increased from 1970 to 1980 by 128%.[10] In the 1980s Charlotte became recognized as the largest banking city behind New York City, serving as a commercial distribution and

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[7] Mary Norton Kratt, *Charlotte, North Carolina: A Brief History* (The History Press, 2009).
[8] International Ministries, "A Center for Charlotte's Internationals," *The Charlotte International,* 1983, International House Archive.
[9] 1% accounts for roughly 3 million people. Office of International Relations, Meeting attended at International House, June 6, 2018. See also, Charlotte, North Carolina. 2010 U.S Census Bureau, March 26, 2019.https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/charlottecitynorthcarolina/POP645217#POP645217
[10] Addie Somprasong, "The International House of Charlotte," June 16, 1981, 4. International House Archives. See also, Charlotte, North Carolina. 2010 U.S Census Bureau, March 26, 2019.https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/charlottecitynorthcarolina/POP645217#POP645217

finance center. Due to this rise, international workers and families whose companies relocated or expanded to Charlotte became a large part of the international population in the city.[11]

By the 1990s, Charlotte's international presence began to diversify and expand at a more significant rate than the previous decade. Historians such as Tom Hanchett describe certain Charlotte neighborhoods in the 1990s as "salad-bowl suburbs." The term "salad-bowl" (coined in 1959 by historian Carl Degler) replaced the term "melting pot" in reference to cultural changes, in addition to avoid misleading exaggerations about assimilation.[12] In an analysis of Charlotte's East Side neighborhoods, located along Central Avenue —the location of International House beginning in 2012 —and South Boulevard, Hanchett used "salad-bowl suburbs" to refer specifically to Charlotte's settlements of international and immigrant populations.[13] Historians such as Hanchett explain this shift by pointing to changing demographics due to the large increase in

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[11] Ibid. These numbers consisted of natives from predominantly Germany, Great Britain, and Canada.

[12] "Salad-bowl," compared to the term "melting pot," views diverse international residents as theoretical" salads" where despite living together each group maintains distinct qualities in their culture. "Melting-pot" suggests a blending of cultures into a uniform American society. Tom Hanchett, "Salad-Bowl Suburbs: A History of Charlotte's East Side and South Boulevard Immigrant Corridors*,"* in *Charlotte, NC: The Global Evolution of a New South City*. ed. William Graves and Heather A. Smith (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 247-262.

[13] Along these corridors resided Latinxs, Middle Easterners, Africans, and Eastern Europeans in addition to, native-born whites and blacks. For demographic changes in the Mecklenburg school system see Roslyn Mickelson, Arlin Smith, Stephen Samuel, and Amy Hawn Nelson, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow: School Desegregation and Resegregation in Charlotte,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2015). Mickelson, in her study of segregation in Charlotte schools, describes the changing demographics of Charlotte (and of the New South in general) in the 1990s as "From Black to White to Tricolored."

Mexican migrant workers hired to construct Charlotte's residential housing and skyscrapers, such as the Bank of America tower. While Mexicans were the dominant immigrant group, other Hispanics from across Central and South America also arrived in Charlotte in large numbers, making Mecklenburg County the leading county in North Carolina in numbers of Latinx immigrants. These high numbers established Charlotte in 2000 as the fastest Latinx growth in the nation, making the city a "pre-emerging gateway and Hispanic hypergrowth city."[14]

Beginning in 1996, Charlotte also became a hub for refugee resettlement. Some of the most significant waves of refugees that came to Charlotte during the 90s include members of the Former Soviet Union (1996-2013) and Bosnians (1997-2002).[15] This wave of immigrants and refugees raised Charlotte's global population in 1990 to 3% foreign-born.[16] Between 1990 and 2010, Mecklenburg-County experienced 410% growth in its Asian population (36,403), 1,572% growth in its Latinx population (95,688) and a 595% growth in overall foreign-born population[17] These numbers, along with various other nationalities, made 12% of the population foreign-born in Mecklenburg-County in 2010.[18] Despite the expansive growth of the international population, the city of Charlotte still struggled to accommodate and provide resources. Charlotte's Mecklenburg-County

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[14] Mickelson, *Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, 120. For more on the Latinx immigration to Charlotte in recent years see Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*.
[15] "We are here to help: A guide to refugee assistance programs in the Charlotte, NC area" Brochure created May 2015, International House Archive.
[16] Office of International Relations, Meeting attended at International House, June 3, 2018.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.

school system displayed this lack of resources, as high numbers of international residents caused inflation of ESL (English as a Second Language) students and community members. This rise caused a shortage of services in Mecklenburg-County schools and training centers.

As of 2018, 20% of Charlotte's population is foreign-born, comprising one-fifth of the population.[19] This significant number of Charlotte-Mecklenburg's population provides a profound contribution to the economic growth of the city. The Charlotte International Cabinet estimates that in 2018, immigrants owned 16.7% of main street businesses.[20] International corporations and businesses in 2018 — one of the original contributors to Charlotte's international presence — employ 66,185 Charlotte natives and comprise over 1,000 firms. In addition to Charlotte-Mecklenburg being home to thirteen honorary consuls, Bank of America (whose headquarters are located in Charlotte) operates in hundreds of cities in 43 countries, including the financial capitals of Frankfurt, Hong Kong, London, Mexico City, Milan, Paris, Seoul, Singapore, Taipei, Tokyo, and Zurich.[21] Along with the city's impressive display of international businesses

[19] Of this 20%, 30% are younger than 18, displaying a youthful collection of internationals. Charlotte, North Carolina. 2010 U.S Census Bureau, March 26, 2019.https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/charlottecitynorthcarolina/POP645217#POP645217, also Office of International Relations, Meeting attended at International House, June 3, 2018.

[20] Of this 16.7% of main-street business, 32.6% constitute restaurants, nail salons, and grocery stores. Office of International Relations. Meeting attended at International House, June 3, 2018.

[21] These honorary consults include Estonia, France, Germany, Guatemala, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Mexico, Moldova, Nicaragua, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

and population, it is also home to the sixth busiest airport in the world, and administers 160 nonstop destinations around the globe.[22]

The city's colleges and universities, such as the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and Central Piedmont Community College, host on average 6,000 international students combined. The University of North Carolina at Charlotte (UNCC) alone in 2006 hosted 915 international students; ten years later the university hosted 1,877 international students from around the world.[23] Central Piedmont Community College (CPCC) welcomes students from over 163 different countries, providing services to the community college's 5,000 internationally born students.[24] The college's work in the 1980s and the 2000s contributed to Charlotte's growth as a multi-national city by attracting young internationals. Charlotte, with its universities, international businesses, and diverse population in 2018, constitutes an international powerhouse in the South. The city's substantial rise in international growth, diplomacy, and business make it an ideal location from which to study how an internationally focused nonprofit interacted and contributed to the growth, awareness, and welcoming of Charlotte's international population.

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[22] "Airline and Flight Information," Charlotte Douglas International Airport, Accessed September 15, 2018. http://www.cltairport.com/AirlineandFlightInformation/Pages/Default.aspx.
[23] "International Student Enrollment 10-year history," Resources, *International Student and Scholar Office UNCC*, Accessed October 2, 2018.
[24] "Welcome to International Services," *Central Piedmont Community College*, Accessed October 8, 2018. http://www.cpcc.edu/international_services.

Table 1: International Business in the Charlotte Region in 2018[25]

Country	Firms	# of Locations	Employees- 2018
Germany	209	241	17,020
United Kingdom	118	163	6,585
Canada	101	119	5,384
Japan	80	89	6,268
France	57	67	4,304
Switzerland	57	67	3,395
Italy	51	52	2,242
The Netherlands	50	59	3,767
China	44	44	1,569
Sweden	38	49	3,161
Ireland	21	28	3,728
Australia	18	22	793
India	18	16	173
Belgium	15	15	365
Other	141	162	7,431
Grand Total	1,018	1,193	66,185

Historiography

This research will incorporate and entwine several themes. Moreover, this will be the first in-depth history of International House. This history draws on multiple sources to critically analyze International House's role in connecting Charlotte's international communities to other sectors of the city. The following pages discuss Charlotte's immigration and New South history, nonprofit history, and diplomatic history. The central historiography addressed below, focuses on the history of various nonprofits'

[25] Table 1: from, "International Businesses in the Charlotte Region," Charlotte Chamber, Accessed September 15, 2018. https://charlottechamber.com/international/international-businesses-in-the-charlotte-region/

ability to achieve their political, social, and ideological goals (such as immigrant integration).

Several explanations of immigrants' integration into the American political system ask how effective nonprofits are in lobbying or garnering political attention. Methodologically, the majority of these studies use either a micro or macro analysis, respectively focusing on either individual cases of nonprofits locally or broader connections between nonprofits and political relationships. The first researchers, led by civil society scholars, suggest nonprofits aimed at serving immigrants have been unsuccessful in navigating and mediating federal, state, and local governments.[26] Authors such as Jeffrey Berry and Michael Arons, and authors in Elizabeth Boris and C. Eugene Steuerle's edited volume, *Nonprofits & Government: Collaboration & Conflict*, are quite pessimistic about what these organizations can achieve.[27] However, despite this research suggesting nonprofits serving immigrants have been unsuccessful, there is a counter-

[26] These scholars suggest that nonprofits (generally speaking to include any nonprofit) can achieve very little in their advocating for marginalized communities due to the resistant realm of local and federal politics. See, Jeffrey Berry and Michael Arons, *Voice for Nonprofits* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2003) and Boris and Steuerle, *Nonprofits & Government: Collaboration & Conflict*. Third edition. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).
[27] Berry and Arons *A Voice for Nonprofits* uses a microanalysis which focuses on the tax deductibility of nonprofits as a deterrent to minimize political voices. In their research, based on surveys, the authors selected random nonprofits across the nation to measure the impact of tax law 501c3- looking at how this tax exemption law discouraged political activism due to its rigid guidelines. Through their analysis of the 501c3 tax laws, the authors conclude that ultimately, these codes restrict nonprofits extensively. The authors conclude that both the government and nonprofits have limited resources for never-ending demands. This conclusion implies that the lack of resources causes a lack of interconnection and cooperation between the government and nonprofits; suggesting a stalemate that leaves nonprofits without political impact.

argument. Researchers including Lorrie Frasure and Michael Jones-Correa, Shannon Gleeson, and Els de Graauw believe that international nonprofits have successfully undertaken a great deal of advocacy on immigrants' behalf, promoting the rights of politically marginalized and economically disenfranchised communities.[28]

Frasure and Jones-Correa's work focused on the suburbs of Washington, D.C., and how immigrant-based nonprofits have received public funding for the creation of day labor sites.[29] The authors' goal is to track the interaction of immigrant nonprofits, and immigrant corporations in the U.S. Fraure and Jones–Correa acknowledge that it is odd that local elected officials and bureaucrats would collaborate, given the hostile environment regarding immigration population and policy intervention.

Gleeson's *Conflicting Commitments* uses a methodology that compares two of America's largest gateway communities, San Jose, California and Houston, Texas. The book looks at how the two differ in approaches in addressing the exploitation of

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[28] See Lorrie Frasure and Michael Jones-Correa, "The Logic of Institutional Interdependence: The Case of Day Labor Policy in Suburbia," *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol 45, Issue 4, (July 2010): 75-130; Shannon Gleeson, Conflicting Communities: The *Politics of Enforcing Immigrant Workers Rights in San Jose and Houston* (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2012); and Els de Graauw, *Making Immigrant Rights Real: Nonprofits and the Politics of Integration in San Francisco* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

[29] Using data from over 100 interviews across D.C, incorporating nonprofit organizers, community leader, and politicians, Frasure and Jones–Correa concluded that partnerships develop that promote the interest of all parties involved. This research uses a micro methodological approach by using a case study that focuses on the issue of day labor in the D.C suburbs. See, Frasure and Jones-Correa, "The Logic of Institutional Interdependence," 75-130.

immigrant workers.[30] Gleeson argued that local political contexts matter for protecting undocumented workers. While she acknowledges the challenges associated with these varying political contexts, Gleeson offers a positive conclusion that, despite adversities, these cities successfully addressed immigrant workers' rights.

In 2016, Els de Graauw's *Making Immigrant Right Real* diverged away from micro and macro methodology in determining the effects of immigrant nonprofits. De Graauw highlighted the vital role of *mezzo-level* analysis, one that combines both macro and microanalysis. Although de Graauw focused on specific nonprofits for his research, he drew broader conclusions that incorporate local and national politics.[31] Diverging from the works of Berry and Arons, de Graauw argued that nonprofit advocates can provoke necessary political changes in policies dealing with immigrant rights. These changes occur in the form of mediation between the community and politics. He revealed that these nonprofits become an integral part of the integration process for immigration in the U.S, and as important advocates for immigrant rights.

The city of Charlotte has in recent years gained attention in the academic field for its immigration integration and issues in its rise into a Global Gateway City. Although

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[30] Gleeson's research analyzes federal laws and investigates how these legislations translates into local communities. Gleeson uses oral testimonies from ordinary workers, federal, state, and local government officials, community organizers, and nonprofits for the majority of her sources.

[31] De Graauw researched how immigrant-serving nonprofits successfully navigate federal and political constraints to influence the local government in promoting immigrant rights and integration. See de Graauw, *Making Immigrant Rights Real,* 10.

Charlotte has been ignored relative to historically recognized immigration cities, work from Heather A. Smith, Owen Furuseth, William Graves, Tom Hanchett, and Julie Weise have recently recognized Charlotte as a unique, southern, United States city to study immigration.[32]

This thesis builds on this growing literature on Charlotte's recent history, as well as the broader literature on nonprofits, immigrants, and policies. By applying a mezzo-level analysis, this research contributes to the historiography by revealing the city of Charlotte's relationship with its international population through the history of a nonprofit. This thesis traces the changes within International House's history to examine larger trends in Charlotte, the state of North Carolina, and national trends — suggesting International House's role as a mediator between the three levels. Building on the work of scholars such as de Graaw, this work does not argue about the "success" or "failure" or International House in its mission. Instead, this thesis documents the city of Charlotte's use of the organization in facilitating its own international agenda on the local level. However, as International House plays an intermediary role as a nonprofit that promotes cross-culture relations, at times the organization is faced with obstacles in a rights-based advocacy for immigrant populations. This thesis will look at these interactions with the actors in the story of Charlotte's international development, analyzing how these actors

[32] See, Graves and Smith, *Charlotte, NC: The Global Evolution of a New South City;* Tom Hanchett,"Salad-bowl Suburbs," 247-62; Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 179-216; Heather Smith and Owen Furuseth. *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place*. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate. 2006).

facilitate or constrain migration and settlement in the city, in addition to immigration advocacy. This historical perspective reveals how both International House and infrastructures in Charlotte changed historically. In adding to engaging with the nonprofit literature, this work reveals themes that over time, International House was utilized by local and political interests as a cross-community connector, within the larger framework of the pragmatic "Charlotte Way." This study suggests that as mezzo-level organizations gain success within the community, they simultaneously become more entwined with political interests. This leads an organization to face a constant challenge in staying true to its mission, in addition to staying within its 501c3 nonprofit status.

Sources and Methodology

Through this historical mezzo-level analysis, this research analyzes two of International House's main programs: The International Visitors Program, and the Immigration Law Clinic. For source material, this research uses original oral histories, as well as archives obtained from International House, including proposals, newspaper clippings, meeting notes, photographs, and budget reports. This work, additionally, uses unique archival records from previous Charlotte mayors, discussing the international community.

This research, organized temporally and thematically, tracks the history and creation of International House's programs and the growth of Charlotte's international community. The first chapter – (Chapter 1: "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?": The Creation of International House)– looks at the early beginnings of the

organization and how the nonprofit immediately engaged with local institutions, businesses, community leaders, and international chambers.

Chapter 2- "Citizen Diplomacy Program: 'Today's Visitors...Tomorrow's Leaders,'" looks at the creation of the Charlotte Council for International Visitors (CCIV) and its International Visitors Program (IVLP). This program is one of the oldest in the organization, having been created in 1986, shortly after the move to a permanent building in 1985. The history of the IVLP helps us to better understand the city of Charlotte's political development in international engagement, and the U.S State Department's goals regarding international diplomacy.[33] This program is a symbol of local leaders' strong efforts to internationalize Charlotte through the business sector. It reveals the city's goal of promoting Charlotte as an economically driven, internationally friendly city. The IVLP became a central player in educating the local Charlotte population about the economic and social benefits of internationalizing. This chapter also describes the Sister City Program and the city of Charlotte Mayor's International Cabinet, a branch of the city government that specifically addresses the international community in Charlotte.

The final chapter- Chapter 3: "'Waving the Placards- Immigration Law Clinic" traces the history of the Immigration Law Clinic, opened in 2002. This law clinic not

[33] Launched in 1940, the IVLP helps strengthen U.S. international engagement and cultivate lasting relationships by connecting current and emerging foreign leaders. International House is one of 90 local institutions across the United States that welcomes these international visitors, connecting the city of Charlotte with the rest of the world's diplomatic leaders.

only represents the growth of International House's services, but it also reflects the growing need in Charlotte for immigrant based legal services. It reveals the broken immigration system in a post 9/11 America, while also analyzing the ambiguous and shifting views of immigration in the city of Charlotte and the state of North Carolina. This chapter shows International House and the city of Charlotte caught between anti-immigrant state policies, on one side, and, on the other, the push to promote the city as international business friendly, pro-immigrant city. Through an analysis of changing national debates on immigration and the policies on a local level, together with a detailed original history of the law clinic, chapter three reveals International House's role within this push and pull of immigration debates and the limitations of its cross-cultural mission.

The analysis of the organization is primarily viewed from an administrative level, incorporating voices from program and executive directors. While this work does not detail every program at International House, or its complete history, the programs chosen reflect vital changes in the organization, while moreover, revealing responses to changes in city, state, and national trends.

The history of International House is a history of Charlotte's growing pains and triumphs of becoming an internationalized city. Both the organization and the city represent the pragmatic "Charlotte Way," of cross-community building, leading to successes and limitations. Documenting the successes and failures of both the organization and the city, this work reveals historical trends in immigration responses,

nonprofits' limits in having a neutral teaching-based mission, and the economic promotion and "functionality" of foreign-born populations. This work demonstrates the perhaps unintended, yet, mutually connected relationships that nonprofits form with cities and the conversations between the micro, mezzo, and macro level establishments. This further suggests that nonprofit's change over time, moving from pioneers in their field to collaborators within their city. In order for nonprofits to grow, they must engage a broader audience, whether that be with city leaders, business, or adapting to changing national policies.

CHAPTER ONE: "HOW SHALL WE SING THE LORD'S SONG IN A STRANGE LAND?" THE CREATION OF INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, 1980-1986 [34]

In February of 1983 *The Charlotte International,* a newsletter published by International Ministries, announced that the congregation of St. John's Baptist Church voted to use the property next to the church as an international center, working with the Community College and International Ministry of Charlotte, Inc. (CCIM).[35] The fundraising goal was $50,000. The church decided that if achieved by July 10, 1983, "the Charlotte community will have an international center."[36] This newsletter started a fundraising campaign that reached local Charlotte churches, businesses, and the broader Charlotte community.

In 1979, Reverend David Upshaw was fresh out of Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary at Wake Forest when the N.C. State Baptist Convention sent him to Charlotte. He recalled to the *Charlotte Observer*, "they sent me down here and told me to drink coffee and scout around and see what was going on and what could be done here in the area."[37] His scouting led him to discover two areas that he believed could benefit

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[34] This title is in reference to Psalms 137:4 in the Old Testament. This verse appears in an original proposal arguing for the creation of International House.
[35] International Ministries, "A Center for Charlotte's Internationals," *The Charlotte International,* 1983. International House Archive.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Kathleen Galligher, "2 Ministries Plan to Serve Missed Groups," *The Charlotte Observer,* October 26, 1981. . David Upshaw uses the term "internationals" throughout his proposal writing to various groups about International House. The term refers to non-native U.S citizens who reside in Charlotte, North Carolina permanently or temporarily.

from ministries: students at Central Piedmont Community College and "internationals." Upshaw would go on in 1981 to become the ministry coordinator and designer of CCIM— the concept which eventually would become "International House." The program's goal was to interact with the city of Charlotte's steadily increasing international student population. With a deeply rooted Christian moral of love, acceptance, and "loving thy neighbor as oneself," this religious organization viewed the "international" population in Charlotte as a "stranger to take in."[38] Program organizer David Upshaw, however, envisioned an international center that did more than assist college-level internationals. From the beginning of CCIM, Upshaw looked for avenues that would allow his program to reach the large local international populations, as well as Charlotte's business and political community. In order to achieve this vision, Upshaw described a center that hosted international delegates and provided women's support groups, immigration assistance, and language classes.[39] Upshaw's religious beliefs caused him to see a need in the Charlotte community. This need consisted of a growing international population that had little resources and few interactions with the native population. CCIM — which began as a program to interact with local international

[38]"International House Significance and Purpose," 6. Reference to the Bible, Matthew 25:35, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in." And Matthew 22:39, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." International House Archive.

[39] For David Upshaw's use of the term "international" see, "2 Ministries Plan to Serve Missed Groups," *The Charlotte Observer*, October 26, 1981." International House, A Proposal." David Upshaw. April 1982., International House Archives.

students — would grow into a community-wide engagement of Charlotte's international community, an engagement that the city would utilize in promoting its international agenda.

This chapter examines the origins of CCIM and the factors that made the international community in Charlotte a population that Upshaw felt needed assistance. Interaction with the international community was not, however, the only goal for the organization. From its inception (and through its development as an organization), International House urged the city of Charlotte to interact with a community that would become integral to its economic growth. Through engagement with the city, local businesses, and community leaders, International House placed itself in the center of Charlotte's international activity; however, questions circulated about the religious-based group's true agenda. The founders of International House had to fight to open the organization, define its purpose, and defend against notions of "missionizing" the international population. Despite these debates, the early creation of International House reflects not only the growth of an international community but the growth of a global presence in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Why an International Center?

Notwithstanding the massive influx of international workers, students, immigrants, and refugees in the city, those arriving in Charlotte during the early 1980s

found little hospitality.[40] With scattered communities of foreign-born persons in pockets of the city, Charlotte allotted few resources for assisting with the assimilation and integration of these individuals. Additionally, for many, economic mobility was poor. Wives, refugees, immigrants, and families, often knowing little or no English, became forced to assimilate into a community that paid little attention to them. While the number of internationals grew, the small size made little impact on neighborhood demographics or political change. *The Charlotte Observer* details an incident in which a Cambodian woman, who spoke little to no English, rushed into a local Charlotte hospital on January 17, 1983. Once at the hospital, the language barrier kept both the doctors and the patient from communicating efficiently. This obstruction in communication hindered not only the woman's ability to describe her symptoms but also the doctor's work in prescribing a diagnosis or recommending a treatment.[41] While translating services existed in Charlotte during the 1980s, few members of the community knew about them, making situations like the one described in the *Observer* challenging to overcome and navigate. This understanding of Charlotte's international community from the 1980s provides the foundation for the communities David Upshaw envisioned helping in the early days of International House. Charlotte's international community experienced a profound growth in numbers of immigrant population over a 40-year span; however, Charlotte's earliest

[40] For a full breakdown of population numbers, see the Introduction section.
[41] Pat Borden, "New Resource Center Will Aid Internationals," *The Charlotte Observer*, January 17, 1983.

communities of international residents were scattered throughout the city and relatively minor in population numbers.

Nevertheless, the designers of International House (and rising business and city leaders) saw from an early time that this community would develop into a critical population in the metropolis, a population which the Christian-based organization felt needed a welcoming, accepting hand. With the beginning stages of international businesses flocking to Charlotte and the rapid diversification of its population, the creation of International House developed in a critical time for the booming city of Charlotte.

CCIM: Creation and plans for beyond

The story of International House begins at the college level. Captivated by the need to address the international community, Upshaw saw international students as a group lacking friendship and at a high risk for homesickness. Upshaw had been working in the Charlotte area on a joint project — involving the Youth and Campus Ministry Division of the North Carolina State Baptist Convention, and the Mecklenburg Baptist Association — whose goal involved outreach to CPCC's general population and the sizable international population.[42]

[42] David Upshaw, "Friends in a Foreign Land," International House Archives.

2 Ministries Plan To Serve Missed Groups

Continued From Page 1B

organization founded in July.

It might seem an odd combination of efforts, but the ministry plans to split into two groups.

"There's two separate ministries being developed simultaneously," said coordinator Upshaw as he sat in his tiny office in the basement of St. John's Baptist Church at 300 Hawthorne Ln.

"What we've done is wed them together for a period of two years, and right now we plan a divorce at the end of two years."

The campus ministry will get into full swing in January.

"We're in the process of developing a ministry team. We have about five different ministers who've indicated an interest in spending one or two hours a week on the campus," said Upshaw, a 30-year-old Virginia native.

So far, a Baptist, a Roman Catholic, a Lutheran, a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian are lined up to work with the students. Upshaw is still searching

David Upshaw

Figure 1: *Charlotte Observer* article featuring David Upshaw [43]

Central Piedmont Community College, the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, and Belmont Abbey College held the highest number of international students in Charlotte during the years of 1975-1981.[44] In a five-year span, beginning in 1976, the number of international students substantially increased. CPCC— continually the largest host of international students out of the three schools—went from hosting 290 students in 1976 to hosting 1,135 in 1980.[45] UNC Charlotte ranked as the second highest with 125 in 1976, growing to 250 by 1980.[46] However, as these numbers demonstrate, CPCC

[43] Figure 1: Kathleen Gallagher, "2 Ministries Plan to Serve Missed Groups," *The Charlotte Observer*, October 26, 1981.

[44] Addie Somprasong, "The International House of Charlotte," June 16, 1981, 1. International House Archives. International foreign students consist of individuals who hold "F-1 visas, and foreign students who recently immigrated into the United States that are now attending a university." During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Charlotte was home to six universities. International students resulted in an influx of diversification in the Charlotte area.

[45] Ibid., 3.

[46] Out of the 30,000 internationals living in Charlotte, 2,000 were students. Ibid.

accommodated a significant portion of international students, making it an ideal location for Upshaw to begin his outreach project.

Through the creation of the Community College and International Ministry of Charlotte, Inc. (CCIM), a small joint ministry project rooted in CPCC, Upshaw used this university community to refine, understand, and develop his future plans in creating an independent international center. While its reach and ministry were smaller than what he wanted, Upshaw's time at CPCC allowed him to expand his ideas, plan a future agenda, and create a foothold in the international community.

Before Upshaw launched his explicit goal of reaching the international students, Rev. Don Rogers, a Baptist, and Mary Agnes Solari, a Catholic Sister, had already established a ministry foothold at CPCC.[47] The two ministers— working independently for several years before the establishment of the international ministry— worked with CPCC students, holding weekly meetings, discussions, and activities. With the joint project coordinated by Upshaw and Rogers, however, a combining of two established ministries within CPCC took hold. This joint program became known as CCIM. The program's goal was to involve all denominations and university students in interfaith dialogue and community building. For Upshaw, this joint program created a beginning to a much larger project he had in his sights— to have an established international center in Charlotte.

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[47] "2 Ministries Plan to Serve Missed Groups," *The Charlotte Observer,* October 26, 1981.

One part of this joint ministry continued the labor of Rev. Rogers and Sister Solari and worked with all CPCC students to broaden their ministries. This organization hoped to touch as many faiths and students as possible, as it focused on the student population as a whole, not specifically targeting internationals. The second group, coordinated by Upshaw, directly engaged with the international students at CPCC.[48]

This joint ministry, sponsored by the Charlotte Area Clergy Association, found funding primarily through the N.C State Baptist Convention, the Charlotte Methodist District, and the Mecklenburg Presbytery, totaling a budget of $28,000 annually.[49] Founded in July 1981, the joint campus ministry organization became fully operational by January 1982. At the beginning of CCIM, Upshaw coordinated five different ministry teams: one Baptist team, a Roman Catholic team, a Lutheran team, a Presbyterian team, and an Episcopalian team.[50] The ministry for internationals developed more slowly than its counterpart. However, the program soon gained steam, attracting students, volunteers, and plans for the future.

Programs, Volunteers, and Community Involvement

During his time working with CCIM, Upshaw (and those around him) was sensitive to the struggles of international college students. In his comments in *The*

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[48] "International House, A Proposal," April 1982, International House Archives.
This was the first proposal given to St. John's Facility Use Committee & the International Center Study Community.
[49] "Ministries Aim at Often Overlooked Groups," *The Charlotte Observer*, October 26, 1981.
[50] Ibid.

Charlotte Observer and various self-written proposals, he described the "need for a community," "acceptance for one's neighbor," and "inclusion."[51] To foster a welcoming environment, Upshaw used games, exercises, and community involvement to bring awareness of the international community and their daily struggles. In one exercise with his college group, Upshaw arranged the students into groups of five. From here, he asked one student in each group to leave the room (who then became the "stranger"), and one of the remaining students to become the "leader." Once the student had left, he then asked the remaining group members to create a set of "rules," that each person at the table must follow. This exercise simulated a culture so that people could experience what it is like to enter a new environment and not know the cultural norms.[52] Upshaw designed new cultural norms, such as greeting people by placing one hand on a cheek or mimicking the leader's hands when he talks.[53] When the stranger returned, he or she then had to try to figure out these new rules without help from the group. With this exercise, Upshaw explained how American culture could be just as strange for people of other countries as their cultures might be in America. Ultimately, Upshaw saw three main goals he hoped to achieve working with CCIM: "to understand the needs of the international community, to

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[51] "2 Ministries Plan to Serve Missed Groups," *The Charlotte Observer,* October 26, 1981, "International House, A Proposal," David Upshaw, April 1981, International House Archives.
[52] David Upshaw, "The Stranger: An Experiment in Cultural Understanding," *Community College and International Ministry of Charlotte Inc*, 1, International House Archives.
[53] Ibid., 1.

bring awareness of internationals to American students, and finally to raise the awareness of the Charlotte community to internationals."[54]

With the program's religious core, attracting the church and its members became a vessel for Upshaw to spread his goals. In urging volunteers to help with his international ministry, Upshaw continually referred to internationals as "strangers in a foreign land," in reference to the words of Jesus, "I was a stranger, and you welcomed me."[55] Upshaw's continual use of religious motifs, teachings, and references aided in the recruitment of volunteers. Recruiting volunteers, in turn, aided in the spreading of knowledge of the international community throughout Charlotte.

Volunteers were essential in ensuring the running of CCIM. Linda Landers, a Charlotte resident, described the difficulties she witnessed while working with international college students at CCIM. "Human need," she wrote, is an endless search for these students, "loneliness, hunger, language barriers, sickness, psychological problems, legal problems, and family problems."[56] She continued by adding, "these problems were an epidemic in the university's global population."[57] Landers believed that American friendship and community were not reaching the international students in Charlotte's university system. Despite some outreach, the international community still

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[54] Ibid., 5.
[55] Ibid., 1.
[56] Linda Launders, "Bring World Together," *The Charlotte Observer,* March 10, 1982.
[57] Ibid.

lacked support and a voice. With the program residing on CPCC's campus, reaching non-student internationals proved challenging. Most native Charlotte residents were also unaware of the "strangers in their midst," or Upshaw's program at CPCC. However, working with Rogers and the Baptist Student Union, Upshaw realized that this joint ministry would ultimately create the foundation for reaching his goal of establishing an international center in Charlotte. He knew that once this program developed, it would reach others in the community; with this he already set in motion his proposals and ideas for an international house.

CCIM consisted of two separate ministries that developed simultaneously, and were, in its creation, designed to be "wed" together for two years. However, the coordinators designed the programs to "divorce" at the end of those two years, going their separate ways once established.[58] Upshaw pushed this "divorcing" and knew that in order to grow, this international ministry must establish its own path. CCIM marked the beginnings of reaching the greater Charlotte community, through volunteers and community outreach, while additionally, creating the start of understanding the international community and its needs.

[58] "2 Ministries Plan to Serve Missed Groups," *The Charlotte Observer*, October 26, 1981.

From CPCC to an International House

To attract others, Upshaw saw designing a central location for internationals as integral. CCIM solidified a beginning but still lacked full community engagement, limiting itself to primarily international students and a handful of volunteers. Upshaw believed that an "International House" would serve as tangible evidence of the concern for the Charlotte community for its international brethren.[59] Before the creation of International House, international clubs, organizations, and groups had long established themselves in Charlotte, but many did not have the budget, nor the ability to have a central meeting location. Charlotte housed established organizations before International House such as Church World Service, Coordinating Council for International Persons, and the German-American Club, but conversely, lacked a central "headquarters" location. Upshaw wanted his organization to make a statement to the Charlotte community and the world that the city was welcoming and concerned for its international neighbors.[60] With this in mind, he found a property owned by the St. John's Baptist Church known as the "Next Step Property." This location featured a close proximity to the organization's "mothering" institution CPCC, Uptown Charlotte, and the emergency medical services in the area, in addition to being in a neighborhood where there was already a significant international population.[61]

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[59] David Upshaw, "International House, A Proposal," April 1982, International House Archives,
[60] David Upshaw, "International Culture Center," International House Archives.
[61] "Location," David Upshaw, International House Archives.

Upshaw knew that as Charlotte became aware of the international community, additional religious leaders, teachers, and businessmen would look for avenues to forge mutual learning and sharing with the 'strangers in our midst.'[62] As Upshaw put it,

> in order for the Center to be effective there must be a coming together of the community, local officers, agency heads, international advisors, and internationals themselves in a united effort to enrich the lives of the lives of the people who live in Charlotte; specifically, the pressing needs of internationals must be met and cultural exchange facilitated.[63]

Before he could establish his building at the "Next Step Property," he first needed to appeal to several categories of people in order for the nonprofit to gain success. The first was Charlotte's colleges and universities —predominantly CPCC.[64] The second was the church, specifically St. John's Baptist Church, where Upshaw hoped to establish the center on its property. This aspect was especially important because, without the congregation's support in donating the property, International House would lack an independent building. Involving the Charlotte community as a whole was also vital. This included business leaders, the native Charlotte community, and the international population. To reach these distinct groups, Upshaw had to create a proposal that appealed to all sectors—each branch having their own interests, needs, and concerns.

Appealing to the Community

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[62] David Upshaw, "International House, A Proposal," April 1982, International House Archives,
[63] Ibid.
[64] This is due to their pre-established ties in the joint-ministry and a desire to continue to connect with the international student population.

One of the first organizations that Upshaw reached for endorsement was the ministry's home base, CPCC's International Student and Culture Department. The chair of International Programs at CPCC, Joseph T. Barwick, had long established ties with Upshaw and CCIM and supported the growth of the program. The department would go on to pledge $3,525 in donations to open the center.[65]

Given the program's origins, connecting with CPCC's International Student and Culture Department provided a necessary first step; however, appealing to the business sector proved to be much harder. Upshaw appealed to Charlotte businesses by advertising the Center as both versatile and valuable. In one aspect, Upshaw proposed an "International Hospitality Suite" for visiting international businesses delegates. This suite would be an opportunity for foreign visitors to have a "closer look at Charlotte" and see the local interest in internationals.[66] Additionally, Upshaw suggested that the center would be a reception venue for visiting dignitaries. These proposals highlighted the opportunities in Charlotte's business sector to expand their cross-cultural understanding, building trade partners and international alliances through International House. The business sector of Charlotte would eventually utilize International House as a primary tool for international economic opportunities. These business, banking, and economic connections would become intrinsically tied with the future International House,

[65] "List of donations pledged," International House Archives.
[66] "Other uses for International House," David Upshaw, International House Archives.

developing a mutually beneficial relationship that promoted one another, yet left the nonprofit vulnerable to economic and political interests of the city leaders. Banking giants in the Charlotte region realized the growth in foreign companies in Charlotte. With Upshaw's proposed, banking leaders saw opportunities to educate middle-level management on international relations and cross-cultural understanding.[67]

When David Upshaw envisioned the international center, the idea of community resided in the core of his architecture. As in his appeal to Charlotte businesses, Upshaw used the idea of cultural exposure as a way to appeal to the broader public. Some of the founding programs Upshaw proposed were language classes, lectures, community workshops, comparative religion courses, citizenship classes taught by Americans, host family programs, lectures, and cultural exchange programs.[68] The concept of native Charlotte residents interacting with internationals on a deeper level became a strong ideal to Upshaw (and later the city). Upshaw envisioned the center as a hub for learning, engagement, and a safe place to ask for help. This mission became a symbol for community engagement, one that welcomed all individuals and encouraged friendships. For the general community, the idea of International House became very appealing.

[67] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[68] "Other uses for International House," David Upshaw, International House Archives.

During the donation process, twelve individuals donated to help jump-start the organization.[69]

Finally, after appealing to the general public Upshaw had to convince the church of the value of his center. Despite Upshaw's devout faith being one of the founding principles in the design of the organization, one of the toughest challenges he faced became the Church congregation. This specific aspect caused controversy from within the community. Upshaw found the full support of his mission from St. John's Baptist Church preacher Dr. Julian Cave.[70] Dr. Cave described St. John's Baptist Church as a "servant church," one that calls for human sensitivity, an active engagement with the community, and (in this case) a call to assist the international population in Charlotte.[71] The Christian emphasis of these proposals caused tension between the secular and the religious community. Would International House be a center used to convert Charlotte's international population?[72]

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[69] These individuals include Justin Hunt, Irvin Jackson, Agnes F. Hosteller, Elfi Houch, Adele Azar, Marian Beane, Kue Chaw, Catherine Huffman, Gerald Rocha, A. Zemek, and Carole Cato, See "List of donations pledged," International House Archives.

[70] Dr. Cave, the senior minister from 1978 to 1986, broadened the church's social ministry and its impact on the community at large. "History and Covenant," St. John's Baptist Church Website, Accessed November 15, 2018. http://stjohnsbaptistchurch.org/about-us/history-and-covenant/.

[71] David Upshaw, "Why Have an International Center?" *The Charlotte Observer*, February 9, 1983.

[72] Historically, the spread of American culture and values resided on the idea of promoting Christianity as displayed in work by historian Liping Bu who described promoters of American values abroad across the 19th and 20th centuries. Despite discussing the overseas promotion of American religion, her research provides a way to contextualize the debate of determining International House's intentions. During the 19th century missionaries spreading Christianity abroad used education as the means for connecting and building trust with native peoples across Asia, Latin America, and beyond, in an effort to ultimately convert and spread American ideals.

In many respects, church groups only tend to volunteer to support projects that promise new memberships.[73] While St. John's pastor, Dr. Julian Cave, supported the International House project, it was ultimately up to the church congregation and the religious organizations in the Charlotte area. As an article in the *Charlotte News* described, there were two ways that local churches could view this mission and call for funds. The first way suggested that there needed to be an international center in Charlotte to serve as a vehicle for Christian ministry.[74] This viewpoint emphasized words such as "missions" and "evangelism." To rephrase, the church was not going to put its efforts and funds into a project that did not produce more Christian members. The second interpretation was that there needed to be an international center because the internationals needed a collective meeting location — an interpretation that David Upshaw vigorously defended.[75]

Evangelical based nonprofits are not uncommon, especially those involved in assisting international, immigrant, and refugee populations, so for many Charlotte citizens analyzing the program, it seemed fair to question the intentions of the

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See, Liping Bu, *Making the World Like Us: Education, Cultural Expansion, and the American Century* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2003), 2.

[73] Terry Mattingly, "The International center 'at-home mission,'" *The Charlotte News*, January 25, 1983.

[74] This way is traditional and reflected Bu's interpretation of the work of American missionaries in the 19th century. Ibid.

[75] Terry Mattingly, "The International center 'at-home mission,'" *The Charlotte News*, January 25, 1983.

organization.[76] Notwithstanding these debates on the international center's true purpose, Upshaw was adamant about developing the organization as a center for internationals to come as they are, not a missionizing goal of the church.[77] As International House developed in the future, the organization would make a clear break from any underlying religious motifs. The first Executive Director of International House, Kimm Jolly, recalled the organization's future relationship with St. John's as, "St. John's was involved, but it was not like a formal tie, or that we were a religious organization. I think we had to make that very clear at the beginning. I think we realized early on that we could not keep a religious undertone to it, because people from other countries were very wary about that sort of thing."[78] Despite this eventual separation, St. John's throughout International House's beginnings involved itself in the organization. The congregation decided that if the organization raised $50,000, the church would donate property for the center.[79]

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[76] Historically, it is not surprising that the design of International House arose from a faith-based organization. Some social scientists argue that immigrant-serving nonprofits play a central role in helping international communities across the United States advance. For extensive literature on nonprofits and government see the Introduction of Berry and Arons' *Voice for Nonprofits*, Shannon Gleeson's *Conflicting Commitments* and Frasure and Jones-Correa's "The Logic of Institutional Interdependence."

[77] See, Terry Mattingly, "The International center 'at-home mission,'" *The Charlotte News*, January 25, 1983.

[78] Kimm Jolly, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 4, 2018. Archived in the J. Murrey Atkins Library, Special Collections.

[79] The initial International House board held church affiliates.

Community leaders, businesses, and the local universities quickly raised the money. According to *Charlotte Observer* editor Rolf Neill, "a couple folks stubbornly willed International House into existence with the financial cooperation of a few churches and corporations."[80] The raised money included donations from organizations such as the Lance Foundation, the Blumenthal Foundation, the Greater Charlotte Foundation, and Al Levine.[81] Ginter Foundation additionally gave donations; this foundation would later fund the Ginter Law Clinic at International House. The highest business donation came from Philipp Holzmann USA, Inc, a German construction company that owned JA Jones Construction — a century-old Charlotte company, and one of the most important construction firms in the USA in the 20th century.[82] Other donating businesses included WSOC-TV, WBT-TV, Allan Gordon Law Firm, IBM, and First Union.[83] Altogether businesses and foundations in Charlotte donated $12,047.00 in total funds. Donations received from 38 churches, including Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Lutheran, made up a large portion of the donation ($11,450.00 in total). Additionally, the Federal German Republic donated fifty books in German and English.[84] Moreover, the newly established CCIM board pledged $3,525 during the fundraising

[80] Rolfe Neill, "Musing Parkside in Gotham: Charlotte has its own U.N," *Charlotte Observer*, September 2, 1986, International House Archives.
[81] "List of donations pledged," International House Archives.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] "Report to the Facilities Committee" Jeanne Bohn, June 1, 1983, International House Archives.

process. These types of donations involved many parts of the Charlotte community and created the foundation for International House's role within the city.

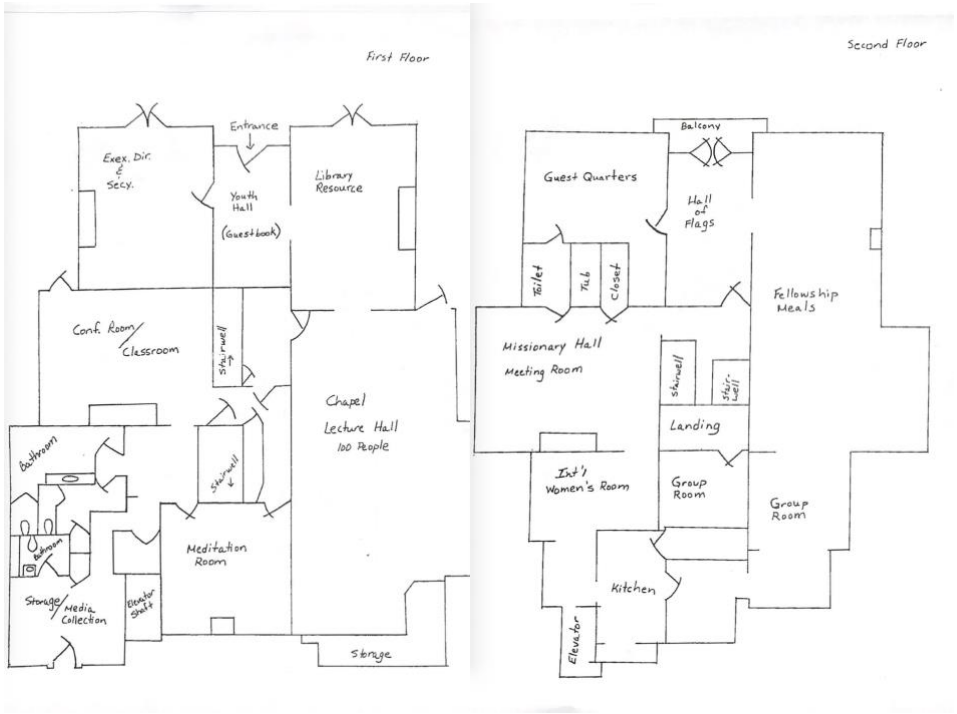

Figure 2: Early Floorplans of the Staton Manson for International House [85]

The newly developed board consisted of members of the community, St. John's Baptist Church members, and CCIM directors, including long-term volunteer Linda Launders. Eyeing the level of acquired donations, David Upshaw proposed a budget for International House ranging from $42,260- $58,100. This budget involved personnel,

[85] Figure 2: "International House, A Proposal," David Upshaw, April 1982, International House Archives.

operating, and program expenses.[86] During this fundraising period, CCIM was housed in St. John's Baptist Church in two small rooms.

As the organization began to develop, the board appointed the first Executive Director, Kimm Jolly, on January 20, 1985. Jolly, then 47 years old, lived near the establishment "off the edge of Eastover," with her husband, Raymond, and their three children.

Figure 3: Picture of the first Executive Director, Kimm Jolly, Featured in the *Charlotte Observer* [87]

Jolly grew up in Massachusetts, received her master's in teaching at Duke University and moved to Charlotte in 1984. Before coming to International House, Jolly worked at Discovery Place in Charlotte as its development director. An affiliate of the Christ Episcopal Church, Jolly recalled that during her time as Executive Director, her favorite

[86] "Proposed Budget for International House," International House Archive.
[87] Figure 3: Picture of Executive Director, Kimm Jolly, Featured in the *The Charlotte Observer*, January 7, 1986, International House Archives.

part of her job was, "meeting the international people that are here in Charlotte and learning about their background."[88] When asked what she wished the Charlotte community as a whole understood, she said:

> I think it is exciting to realize what an international community Charlotte is and what a rich resource people from other countries bring here, but I think it is also important to realize many of them have difficulty in adjusting to the new country. I would like to encourage people to reach out and help them become a part of the community.[89]

Her commitment to the program and its mission helped jump start the early days of International House in the Charlotte community.

322 Hawthorne Lane

In 1983, the congregation at St. John's Baptist Church officially donated the property next door —the "Next-Step Property" also known as the Staton Mansion (1910) — as the site for this international center.[90] St. John's, in addition to donating the building, charged International House only $1 per year for rental use. On November 23, 1985, the nonprofit opened its doors for the first time at 322 Hawthorne Lane.[91] In an interview with the author in 2018, Jolly described the original building: "it was a southern mansion. It was distinct and it gave the aura of being a home that was welcoming."[92] *Observer* editor Rolfe Neill would additionally describe the organization

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[88] These statements were an official one during her capacity as director. "International House," *The Charlotte Observer,* January 7, 1986. International House Archives.
[89] Ibid.
[90] "Usage of Facilities (Next Step Property) Committee Recommendations," Fred E. Bryant, November 8, 1982, International House Archives.
[91] "History of International House Document," International House Archive.
[92] Kimm Jolly, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 4, 2018.

as, "truly, it might be said to be our own embassy to the world."[93] With the international center now in a concrete location, David Upshaw's idea became a reality.

Figure 4: The original building of International House: Staton Mansion 1985 [94]

This center continued under the name CCIM until 1989 when the organization officially changed its name to International House. Jolly stated that the donation of the house became a way to put International House into the community. Despite the Staton Mansion donation, going from a small program housed in two rooms to now being in an entire house proved to be challenging for the small organization. "No one knew us," Jolly recalled, "but we just sort of plunged in."[95]

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[93] Rolfe Neill, "Musing Parkside in Gotham: Charlotte has its own U.N," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 21, 1986, International House Archives.
[94] Figure 4: Picture of International House on 322 Hawthorne Lane, International House Archives.
[95] Tom Bradbury, "International House," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 2, 1995.

Fundraising became one of the initial challenges the non-profit faced because the organization was new and not yet well established. She described, "and so the gauntlet was down, we had to produce an organization that could fill up the house. We had to develop programs, we had to develop a presence in the community."[96] International House not only had to develop programs, but also, find ways to make the house inviting and functional. Despite the financial gifts to open the organization, it became a constant struggle to find donations; however, according to Rolfe Neill, the organization knew how to "s-t-r-e-t-c-h" every dollar.[97] Jolly, in the early days, asked for donations and volunteers such as home furnishings and accessories, and technology, as well as volunteers for yard work and inside home maintenance.[98] One way that Jolly promoted International House to the community was through the local newspapers, corporations, brochures, and word of mouth. After running a column about International House's need for volunteers, *The Charlotte Observer* reported that 17 people called Jolly the following week to ask about volunteering. The callers included a hairdresser who wanted to volunteer on her days off, a young woman who brought in a computer to help organize files, and a CPCC student who wanted to do odd jobs.[99]

Despite these initial fundraising issues, the organization grew with the programs Upshaw had envisioned. In February of 1983, the organization released its first

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[96] Kimm Jolly, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 4, 2018.
[97] Rolfe Neill, "Musing Parkside in Gotham: Charlotte has its own U.N," *The Charlotte Observer,* September 21, 1986, International House Archives.
[98] Ibid.
[99] "Making Connections," Newspaper Clipping, International House Archive.

newsletter, *The Charlotte International*, highlighting its beginning remarks and programs. Some of the founding programs in the center were Food, Friendship Connection, and Community, and an International Women's Support Group. Both of these programs continue to run in 2018. In 2018, the latter program has women members who represent 38 countries.[100] Because of the large population of international women—often spouses of international business workers— working with these women became an essential program. The center provided a community for these women, offering sewing and cooking circles, teaching communicative English, and tasks such as going on shopping trips.[101] Program Director Millie Cox discussed the process of addressing these women in an interview with the author: "these business executives are moving into Charlotte from different countries, they have wives that are university educated, but they do not have the visa to work. How can we engage with them? How can we make their lives more interesting?"[102]

After a lecture and discussion on "Living in the U.S," *Charlotte Observer* writer John Vaughan interviewed several women about what the programs at International House meant to them during their time adjusting to new cultures and making new friends. He interviewed Michelle Bellier of France (spouse of an IBM employee), Bharati Shah of India (spouse of an electrical engineer), and Joanna Trojer of Poland. Each woman

[100] "Doorway Women's Group," Flyer, International House Archives.
[101] International House Significance and Purpose, 2, International House Archives.
[102] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019. Archived in the J. Murrey Atkins Library, Special Collections.

described how challenging it was to make friends with Americans.[103] One woman explained, ”after one or two years here, we still don't know any Americans. American people think they are very open and easy to know, but that is not true.”[104] This specific program — subtitled “A Program for International Women”— discussed American culture and the differences between Southerners and other Americans. In addition to providing these women with a community, this was also a way to attract members and build up the organization. Part of Cox’s job as program director was to “find them, get them to join International House as members, and sign up for these programs.”[105]

For these women and others, International House became a place to gather, to meet new people, learn, and to build new connections. As International House grew groups like book clubs for reading developed as well as programs for English as a second language. “We ultimately started running ESL classes out of International House,” Cox recounted.[106] Reflecting on the presence of these international women, Jolly commented that this community built friendships, formed bonds, and contributed to the running and growth of International House.[107] Cox also initiated a support group for “international women that were just feeling displaced and just didn't feel that happy here.” These women became the foundation of this organization’s volunteer corps, leading eventually

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[103] John Vaughan, “The American Way,” *The Charlotte Observer*, 1985, International House Archives.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Kimm Jolly, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 4, 2018.

to the creation of International House's Gala Committee — the organizer of an annual formal event that contributes to an extensive collection of donations to the organization through 2018.[108]

Representative of the women's voices and countries of origins, the ethnic groups that International House primarily interacted with in the late 1980s and early 1990s reflect the changing demographics of Charlotte. Some of the largest groups involved were Russian and Indian immigrants, in addition to the continual waves of Europeans, coming from Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, and France.[109] In many regards, International House in the early years of the organization were less engaged with the larger groups of working-class immigrants. For instance, while the Latinx community while heavily visible and present in Charlotte during the 2000s, they were not particularly involved in the early days of International House.

In addition to working with these different ethnic groups and women in particular, the main goals of International House involved also incorporating the local Charlotte population. Americans were invited to weekly "Foreign Language Lunches," to eat and practice various foreign languages such as Spanish, French, and Italian. In 2018, International House's offerings of adult education and language conversation hours

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[108] Ibid.

[109] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2018. For more information on the Latinx community in Charlotte and International House see Chapter 3. For the demographic shifts of the Latinx community in Charlotte see Weise's *Corazón de Dixie*.

continue the core of these early programs.[110] During the first years of the organization, International House provided programs such as "Home for the Holidays," where local families invited an international resident to share Thanksgiving dinner.[111]

Food became a founding community builder at International House. In the first newsletter, there was a call for a "Charlotte International Cookbook." The organization asked that members of the Charlotte community send in their favorite international recipes with a brief story about the dish, where it was from, how it was obtained, and on what occasion it might be served.[112] Food provided a vessel to bring the community together. In addition to programs held at International House, the organization made a significant effort to continually engage the community with events and meetings in various places. These places include the YWCA, where they ran a program called "International Y Women." At International Y Women, women would meet, bring food, and have discussions on a specific country. International House offered other meetings and events at the Afro-American Culture Center, costume parties at the Albania Club, and Palestine dinners at UNCC.[113] In future years International House would be home to Charlotte's Council for International Visitors (described in chapter two), and the Community Connections/ Presidential Management Training Initiatives program. Local

[110] "History of International House," International House Website, Accessed November 1, 2018. http://www.ihclt.org/about/
[111] Rolfe Neill, "Musing Parkside in Gotham: Charlotte has its own U.N," *The Charlotte Observer,* September 21, 1986, International House Archives.
[112] "The Charlotte International," International House Newsletter, February 1983, International House Archives.
[113] Ibid.

Charlotte organizations also resided in International House, such as the Japanese Association, Latin American Coalition, Charlotte Friendship Force, and Cooperative Latina.[114]

In addition to community groups, *The Charlotte Observer* reported in an interview with Jolly, that by the early 90s International House was "working with Medic, the county's emergency ambulance service, to translate materials into Spanish, Vietnamese and French."[115] The report continued documenting that, "one of the most aggressive users of International House, Jolly says, has been the Police Department: It's on the advocacy council, and instruction in cross-cultural skills was provided for officers and built into recruit training."[116]

These local initiatives, penetrating the Charlotte community, became a vital and dynamic function of International House. In effect, the city of Charlotte used this organization to educate the local population on the importance of international acceptance, understanding, and the city's place in a growing international market. The rise in International House's programs reflected Charlotte's growing internationalization. As chapters two and three detail, International House established itself as a community mediator in the promotion of Charlotte's international business and political needs.

Conclusion

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[114] "History of the Organization," International House Archives.
[115] Tom Bradbury, "International House," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 2, 1995. Newsbank.
[116] Ibid.

Jolly and those around her took the programs designed by Upshaw and built a community.[117] Jolly started the job as Executive Director in 1985 with a budget of $55,000. Ten years later, International House had a budget of more than $400,000.[118] From its creation, International House not only represented a home in Charlotte for its local international population but soon for the world. As the community and city's needs changed, so did International House's priorities in order to meet those needs.[119] International House's goal was not only to attract the community but to build Charlotte into a globally aware, welcoming destination for international visitors. This goal continues to play out in International House's history; however, the organization and the city of Charlotte constantly had to adjust to changing national and state ideas of immigration and acceptance. Perhaps Upshaw anticipated the central, mediator role that International House would have with the city's business leaders, future mayors, and community activists. Upshaw's mission was to forge mutual learning with the "strangers in our midst." Chapters two and three will suggest that once the city leaders understood the significant economic and social impact of the international community, International House became a tool to push Charlotte's economic and social agenda. Despite this developing relationship with the city that both grew International House and limited the organization, the new international center created a foundation in the Charlotte

[117] In 1995 Kimm Jolly stepped down as Executive Director and handed the job to Linda Holland.
[118] Tom Bradbury, "International House," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 2, 1995.
[119] "History of International House," International House Website, Accessed November 1, 2018. http://www.ihclt.org/about/

community, signaling to the growing global community that the nonprofit cared and would help them "sing the Lord's song in a strange land."[120]

[120] Psalms 137:4 in the Old Testament.

CHAPTER TWO: 'TODAY'S VISITORS...TOMORROW'S LEADERS,'" CHARLOTTE COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS: 1986-2000

International House arose in a time of global change and awareness in Charlotte, marking it one of the founding nonprofits for international relations in the area. As Charlotte, North Carolina grew its skyscrapers with the help of internationals (through both the physical construction and with international businesses), so did International House and its programs. The founding programs focused on branching together the community: working with international students from around the world and women and additionally with local organizations such as churches and businesses. With International House establishing itself in the community, it looked for other avenues to gain influence and connections beyond the local sphere.

Upshaw designed International House as a place for not only local internationals to congregate but also a place for visiting delegates to stay and feel welcomed. As described in chapter one, International House was designed to hold and accommodate foreign visitors for business relations and community engagement. Upshaw's proposed "International Hospitality Suite," for international event hosting, hoped to give foreign visitors a "closer look at Charlotte" and demonstrate the city's profound local interest in internationals.[121] International House was to provide a reception for visiting international dignitaries, as described in a proposal: "International House will...assist in making our

[121] "Other uses for International House," David Upshaw, International House Archives.

guests feel at home."[122] Upshaw in 1982 envisioned "cultural exchange programs" in the international community center, where International House would be the focal point for international visitors and locals to meet one another.[123] The goal was to create an environment that made the immigrant population relatable, friendly, and comfortable. This exchange center was to be a "neutral" territory where conflicting groups would meet for discussion and provide cultural bridge-building exercises in the spirit of cross-cultural dialogue.

Through Upshaw's vision, soon after International House became established in its building in 1984, the Charlotte Council for International Visitors (CCIV) launched in 1986. Today, the CCIV is known as the Citizen Diplomacy Program. The CCIV constitutes one of the oldest programs in the organization.124 Upshaw's "International Hospitality Suite" came to life through the CCIV. International House, through CCIV, has introduced thousands of overseas visitors to local businesses and community organizations in Mecklenburg County throughout its history.125 Its history helps us to understand international political affairs, the city of Charlotte's political development in international engagement, and the U.S State Department's goals for international diplomacy.

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[122] "Suggested Ministry Programs for International House, David Upshaw, International House Archives.
[123] "International House, A Proposal", David Upshaw, April 1982, International House Archives.
[124] Ibid.
[125] International Visitors Leadership Program Info, *History of International House*, International House Archives.

This chapter will begin with the history of the U.S State Department creation of the International Visitors Leadership Program (IVLP) — the original idea created in 1940— analyzing its creation, the U.S government's motives behind it, and its implementation. While detailing the history of International House's Charlotte Council for International Visitors, this chapter argues that the city of Charlotte eventually utilized this program to showcase Charlotte to the world, demonstrating itself as a globally friendly business market. While the city initially displayed a resistance to supply funds for international programs, city leaders would instrumentalize International House's mission and connections to develop programs within the Mayor's office, remaining physically and metaphorically close to the nonprofit.126 Moreover, this program became a way to expand the city's political involvement in foreign relations and foster growth at home. This growth is demonstrated through the creation of the Mayor's International Cabinet and the city's involvement with the Sister City Program.127 Additionally, the CCIV brought more awareness to International House as an organization, through direct interaction with Charlotte community members, increasing its presence, stature, and importance within the city. City officials, business leaders, and boosters saw the opportunities that the international visitors program provided in showcasing Charlotte and promoting business relations, while also educating the local population. This idea

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[126] The Sister City Program, an umbrella program city under the Mayor's office, rented space for several years within the Staton Mansion from International House.

[127] Status Report on International Education in the Charlotte Area, Mayor's International Cabinet, City of Charlotte, "International Relations," October 1999. Accessed on September 29, 2018, https://charlottenc.gov/international-relations/inltcommunity/Documents/International%20Education.pdf

places International House and the visitor program at the center of mediation in promoting Charlotte to the world. Historian Julie Weise described the core political and economic ideas in the 1990s of promoting Charlotte. Officials wanted to peg Charlotte as being internationally accepting, having minimal racial conflicts, and supplying positive business opportunities. As Weise put it, "the white business elite eschewed open racial conflict, preferring the 'Charlotte Way' of closed negotiation to preserve racial peace."128 She added, "during the 1990s, the pragmatic Charlotte Way complemented progressive and business-friendly traditions in North Carolina to shape state-level policy, too."129 Weise's analysis emphasizes how integral projecting a positive, internationally friendly image of Charlotte to the world was during the 1990s. International House became the place to facilitate this promotion. Its global ties and centrality in the international and native community made it an ideal place for government and business leaders to work within. This analysis of the U.S State Department's history of international relations, CCIV, the Sister City Program, and the Mayor's International Cabinet will track Charlotte's growth as a global city while showing International House to be a moderator of this change.

International Visitor and Leadership Program's Goals

While International House's specific goal fosters a welcoming environment to internationals who currently live in Charlotte, the CCIV worked with the U.S Department

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[128] Julie M. Weise, "Skyscrapers and Chicken Plants: Mexicans, Latinos, and Exurban Immigration Politics in Greater Charlotte, 1990–2011" in *Corazón de Dixie* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 219.
[129] Ibid.

of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs to bring foreign leaders to the area. In providing the local level goals implemented by the U.S State Department, the program's objectives are to exchange ideas, promote cross-cultural understanding, and to create international connections. This nationwide program brings 5,000 professional emerging leaders from around the world to the United States each year for programs of up to three weeks.[130] In many respects, the vision held by David Upshaw in placing International House at the center of Charlotte's international relations became a reality. The CCIV was a local branch of the U.S State Department International Visitors Leadership Program (IVLP). The IVLP had a history of cross-cultural exchanges and spreading of American culture long before Upshaw designed International House. Its history and creation began in 1940; however, the exchanging of American culture abroad began as early as the 19th century. Creating a program such as this in the early days of International House was fundamental in not only establishing ties to the U.S federal government, but moreover, in influencing the spread of the city of Charlotte's international affairs and international awareness. The CCIV, more than other International House programs, demonstrates International House's influence in the promotion of international exchange and cross-cultural expansion in the city of Charlotte.

History of the International Visitors Leadership Program

[130] Jon Kelly, "How do you spot a future world leader?" *BBC News Magazine*, March 29, 2011, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-12880901.

Journalist Jon Kelly's article, "How do you spot a future world leader?" addressed questions about the IVLP.

> Conspiracy theorists warn the scheme is all about an imperial power meddling in the affairs of sovereign regimes, seducing their future political leaders and molding them into Washington-approved candidates. But its supporters say it operates more subtly than that, aiming not to convert opponents but to give future opinion-formers an understanding of how America works. [131]

A history of its origins explains how and why an international exchange program became a fundamental piece within the U.S State Department. Additionally, this history discusses how a government agency came to use local institutions such as International House to run its programs on the ground level.

The international exchange as we know it began in 1940, when Nelson Rockefeller was named the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Affairs for the American Republics.[132] Rockefeller and the family's organization were one of the founding New York elites who initiated the exchange programs within the private sector. Nonetheless, as the American government feared that it was losing ground in Latin America to Europeans — Italy, Germany, Britain, France — it organized new policies

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[131] Ibid.

[132] As Liping Bu described in her book *Making the World Like Us*, American international exchange established itself much earlier than the 1930s when the government began to take ownership. For further reading on American international exchange, see Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor's *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* (London: Routledge, 2008); Robert D. Schulzinger, *U.S. Diplomacy Since 1900*. 6th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Giles, Scott-Smith, *Networks of Empire: The US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France, and Britain 1950-1970* (Bern: Peter Lang S.A, 2008); Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); and Frank Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations 1938-1950*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

that emphasized cultural exchanges and took cultural education into its control. [133] To counteract this, President Franklin D. Roosevelt initiated a new policy known as the "Good Neighbor Policy." This program would become the predecessor to the government's worldwide commitment to international education and cultural exchange after World War II.[134] Washington believed that the European expansion constituted a serious encroachment on American foreign influence. To reverse the USA's fleeting control, Rockefeller initiated the exchange of persons program with Latin America, inviting 130 Latin American journalists to the United States.[135] Historian Liping Bu suggested that the "change in government policy and the creation of new agencies within the structure of the federal government directly linked cultural exchanges with American foreign policy."[136] Education and cultural exchanges became considered the "human side" of foreign policy, transitioning from the traditional dimensions of foreign policy — politics, economy, and military — to focusing on people, ideas, and culture.

In 1948, Secretary of State Cordell Hull decided to use the expertise of the private sector to assist in running these cultural exchanges, arranging an advising committee for the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department. This committee —consisting of the directors of the private sector —suggested private institutions should implement

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[133] Out of its European competition, the United States felt most threatened by the Germans who by the 1930s had established three-fourths of the 900 international schools in Latin America. See, Bu, *Making The World Like Us*, 146.
[134] Bu, *Making The World Like Us*, 145-146.
[135] "Program History," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Accessed November 11, 2018. https://eca.state.gov/ivlp/about-ivlp/program-history.
[136] Bu, *Making The World Like Us*, 147.

these exchanges due to their preexisting operations in the field. By maintaining the running of the exchanges through private ownership or independent nonprofits, Washington hoped to raise fewer suspicions about the political purpose of a government program. Four initial private institutes were enlisted for this task: The American Council of Learned Societies, The American Liberty Association, the American Council of Education, and the Institute of International Education (IIE).[137] In 2018, education exchanges still operate with this idea in mind; the U.S State Department relies on eight nonprofit agencies to run its exchange programs and use local partners such as International House — known as community-based members — to carry out its citizen diplomacy.[138] In 1942, The Office of War Information (OWI) was established to consolidate scattered agencies of domestic and foreign information. Four years later, President Truman terminated the OWI and what remained became placed in the State Department. Within the State Department, the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) in 1946 had a network of 76 branches the world over. The OIC, renamed the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange in 1947, operated wireless files, carried daily news, and feature stories from Washington and sixty-seven information centers and libraries. It also stocked books, displayed exhibits and showed films."[139] On August 1, 1946, President Harry S. Truman also signed the

[137] IIE still operates through 2019.
[138] The eight national programs in 2018 include Cultural Vistas, FHI 360, Graduate School USA, IIE, Meridian International Center, Mississippi Consortium for International Development, World Learning, and CRDF Global.
[139] "Program History," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Accessed November 11, 2018. https://eca.state.gov/ivlp/about-ivlp/program-history.

Fulbright Act, which authorized the State Department to enter into an agreement with foreign governments to conduct academic exchanges.[140]

One of the most significant changes in America's international exchange program occurred in 1948 with the passing of the Smith-Mundt Act. With the approval of President Harry Truman, Representative Karl E. Mundt and Senator H. Alexander Smith sponsored the Informational and Educational Exchange Act, also known as the Smith-Mundt Act. This act established a statutory information agency for the first time in a period of peace and during a time when Americans grew increasingly concerned about Soviet propaganda.[141] The purpose of the Smith-Mundt was "to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries" through educational and cultural exchanges.[142] The Smith-Mundt Act gave full recognition to the importance of educational and cultural exchanges sponsored by the government. Part of the 1948 Smith-Mundt Act, The International Visitor Program (IVP) started in the recognition of the need to build well-informed intellectuals and opinion leaders in the political and social infrastructure. In 2004, the IVP was renamed the International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP). After an assortment of changes in

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[140] Bu, *Making The World Like Us*,155. For additional reading on the Fulbright Act, see Johnson and Colligan, *The Fulbright Program*.

[141] "Program History," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Accessed November 1, 2018.https://eca.state.gov/ivlp/about-ivlp/program-history.

[142] "United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Smith-Mundt Act)," U.S Department of State Website, Original Document pdf, Accessed November 18, 2018, https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/177574.pdf.

departments and title changes, in 1959 the exchange programs settled in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs — where they continue to reside in 2018.[143]

As the Cold War anxieties deepened within the U.S State Department, the government was continually attempting to balance propaganda, state-directed education, and unbiased education. In the early 1950s, the U.S Government began a "Campaign of Truth," which emphasized political propaganda in the international educational exchange as a means to combat "Communist Aggression."[144] Within the American government, some, like Senator Joseph McCarthy, argued that educational exchanges led to communist spies infiltrating the country, while others, such as James Fulbright, argued that the best way to beat communism was through internationalism.[145] These divisive standoffs led to budget cuts for international education exchanges during the 1950s, revealing the government's concern of political propaganda.

In the 1960s the U. S government began to shift its priorities back to the core of international exchange with President Kennedy. Passed in 1961, the Fulbright-Hays Act reaffirmed the objective of increasing mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other nations.[146] The difference between the Smith-

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[143] For full extent of department and name changes please see "Program History," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Accessed November 11, 2018. https://eca.state.gov/ivlp/about-ivlp/program-history.
[144] Bu, *Making The World Like Us,* 222. See also Snow and Taylor's *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*; Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream;* and Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas.*
[145] Ibid., 223.
[146] "Program History," Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Accessed November 11, 2018. https://eca.state.gov/ivlp/about-ivlp/program-history.

Mundt Act and the Fulbright-Hays Act lies in earlier act's emphasis on the "better understanding of the *United States* in other countries," in comparison to the 1961 act's call for the "increasing mutual understanding" between the United States and fellow countries. This change in legislation led to an improvement in educational exchanges and cross-cultural awareness. President Lyndon Johnson, in the years after President Kennedy, continued the push for international education under his Great Society and the passing of the International Education Act in 1966. It is here that we see federal government's current role in taking the primary control in international education funding and regulation.[147]

In many cases, this idea of being paraded on a propaganda tour is still a concern for international visitors.[148] As the Cold War threatened global security, the State Department's policies and motives changed. However, the history of the U.S State Department's IVLP program came out of a place of cross-cultural understanding, in an attempt to bring together nations and people. Interviewed for Jon Kelly's *BBC News Magazine* article in 2011, one visitor acknowledged that her experience as an IVLP visitor deepened her appreciation of how the American system operates. The visitor went

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[147] Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas.*

[148] In 2018, the IVLP consist of groups that typically travel to four U.S. communities over three weeks and are all based around a specific theme. Participants travel alone, with others from their home country, or they may be in a group of all different nationalities, depending on the theme. The delegates begin their stay in America in Washington, D.C. and then travel to three additional cities or towns around the United States. They attend professional appointments with their American counterparts, learn about the U.S. system of government at the national, state and local levels, visit American schools, and experience American culture and social life. See, "The IVLP Experience." Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, Accessed December 2, 2018. https://eca.state.gov/ivlp/ivlp-experience.

on to say, "I was quite conscious that I didn't want to go on some kind of propaganda trip." [149] Historian Ian Hall also described, "Diplomacy can play a very positive role in international relations, but if practiced badly, it can be a potential source of great instability and even conflict."[150] Nevertheless, one way the national government was able to bring credibility back to its programs was through its community-based members such as International House. Because the State Department's programs were dispersed to locally operated organizations, visitors were able to experience a wide breadth of American life and minimize government interference.

History of IVLP at International House

In the midst of the U.S Government nearing the final years of the Cold War, International House in 1986 began implementing the State Department's IVLP on the ground level through its Charlotte Council for International Visitors (CCIV), later known as the Citizen Diplomacy Program. International House's adaptation of the IVLP program became one of the first institutions in Charlotte that worked to incorporate foreign delegates into the political fabric of the city.[151] The IVLP program relied primarily on volunteer "citizen diplomats" to create quality experiences for the

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[149] Jon Kelly, "How do you spot a future world leader?" *BBC News Magazine*, March 29, 2011, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-12880901.
[150] Ian Hall, "The Transformation of Diplomacy: Mysteries, Insurgencies and Public Relations," *International Affairs, 86* (1), (January 2010): 247–256.
[151] In North Carolina, two additional cities run an IVLP program, including Greensboro and Raleigh. The organizations that house these programs are: International Focus, Inc. Raleigh, N.C. and N.C.Global Leadership, Greensboro, N.C. For a complete list of the community-based members see Community-Based Members," *Global Ties*, Accessed November 26th, 2018. https://www.globaltiesus.org/our-members/community-based-members.

participant and to alleviate potential worries about overbearing propaganda. Citizen diplomacy through the IVLP program at International House became both the means and the motive to connect the local Charlotte population with international delegates. In turn, this program became a mutually appealing contact with the U.S. State Department. Kimm Jolly described the purpose of the program at International House:

> The purpose of the program is to bring people from other countries here to learn and take back to where they are in order to develop their own counties. Also, another goal of it was to bring them here so that people in the States could meet people from other countries and share their expertise and friendship. So that was a big help in getting Charlotte city engaged with us at International House and the community. They (the visitors) always had a focus when they came. So, we, as an organization, were able to tap people in different areas of the community to receive these visitors and they, of course, got something out of the exchange as well as the visitors.[152]

This program put Charlotte on the international map; it promoted international business and relations amongst the community and became a way for International House to gain support and recognition across the city. While later sections of this chapter will analyze how the IVLP helped Charlotte business, interaction with the community became the first step in launching this program.

Program Director Millie Cox operated the Charlotte Council for International Visitors from its creation in 1986 through 1990. Cox, described by executive director Kimm Jolly as "a dynamo," was a part-time program director and established a program at International House that brought money, awareness, and government and community

[152] Kimm Jolly, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 4, 2018.

involvement for the organization.[153] Cox joined International House in 1986. A native of Charlotte, Cox was ecstatic to immerse herself in the international community through International House: "I had this vision and dream that someday Charlotte would be more international even in high school I just wanted this so bad. And I just thought, I want to work to make this happen." [154] As program director, Cox was in charge of designing a variety of programs for the nonprofit and was always looking for new avenues to expand. After a discussion with UNC Charlotte professor Harold Jefferson, a leader in the international network at the university, Cox became interested in the idea of a council for international visitors at International House and began designing the new program.

Instrumental in the program's planning, Cox applied International House for a provisional membership in the National Council for International Visitors (NCIV) in Washington, D.C in 1986.[155] The NCIV had over 100 members nationwide in 1986. Cox began the process by writing a grant to the U.S Information Agency. Once approved, International House became the official receiving agency in Charlotte, North Carolina for the U.S. Information Agency.[156] The program additionally had to come up with matching funds, which it found through community groups like the Charlotte chapter of the Junior League and volunteers. The CCIV was part of International House and considered under the umbrella of the nonprofit. This program would be one of the largest in the developing organization and required a part-time director and a secretary (Millie Cox and Celia

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[153] Ibid.
[154] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[155] "Minutes International House Board," March 11, 1986, International House Archives.
[156] Ibid.

Martonffy). This size of a program additionally required a large number of volunteers, who would go on to spread their experiences and knowledge about the program. During a board meeting, Cox proposed requesting funds from the Charlotte City Council to help support the Council for International Visitors. Involvement with the local Charlotte government became a way to increase International House's influence in the community and develop future programs. On March 25, 1986, Cox submitted an official request to the City Council and by the first week of April, International House hosted its first visitors.[157] Arriving on April 2, the first visitor spent five days in Charlotte; he was a 24-year-old M.D. from Scotland who was running for Parliament. He came to Charlotte to specifically learn about the textile industry and drug prevention in schools.[158] Twelve International House volunteers assisted with the program and provided hospitality. The visitor reported back to Washington, D.C. that "all future visitors must be sent to Charlotte."[159] After this first visitor, Cox pushed to expand and develop the program by applying for a wide range of visitors. Supplying quality programs for the foreign delegates were essential in promoting Charlotte and its organizations and businesses.

Community Volunteers

Every couple of months International House would release a newsletter; each letter shared a section on the CCIV, updating the community on the upcoming delegates, their themes, and occasionally some of the people they would be meeting. Volunteers and

[157] "Program Directors Report," April 8, 1986, International House Archive.
[158] Ibid.
[159] *The Charlotte International*, May and June 1986, International House Archives.

donations were essential to the running of the program, as matching grants were a requirement for U.S Information Agency sponsorship.

One early partner in supporting the CCIV was the Junior League.[160] The Junior League in Charlotte was at the time, looking for volunteer opportunities for their professional women: women who typically had careers in banking and law. These women wanted to be a member of the Junior League but were unavailable during the typical morning meeting. Cox, who had been a long-time member of Junior League herself, reached out and offered volunteer opportunities to these women at the Council for International Visitors. Cox illustrated, "they were delighted I think they gave us $30,000, they gave us a lot of money that we could match with USIA."[161]

A significant aspect of Cox's job was dedicated to training volunteers and "connecting, connecting, and connecting people."[162] Volunteers for the visitors program helped schedule appointments for the visitors, serve as guides and arrange dinners in Charlotte homes.[163] Reflecting on volunteers for the CCIV, Cox stated, "we would pull on International House volunteers and Junior League Volunteers. We were this huge volunteer organization." Volunteers additionally assisted with programming, hosting, escorting and driving the delegates. Cox described, in an International House board

[160] The Junior League has members and groups across the United States. They are geared towards college educated women. The main objective of the Junior League is to organize volunteer opportunities and community projects.
[161] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[162] Ibid.
[163] *The Charlotte International*, February 1986, International House Archives.

meeting, that the guest host role could entail four to five days of "mothering" a visitor.[164] Having people in the community offering to provide home hospitality became a signature feature in many of the visitors programs.[165] Home hosting solidified a personal way for community members to interact with the foreign delegates. Home hosters were excited to meet and get to know the different cultures, build connections, and provide a welcoming stay in Charlotte.

Once signing up for home hosting, members of the community often volunteered regularly.[166] Dinner hosting became a way to engage not only the Charlotte community, but also a way to build deeper connections and continue to bring volunteers in International House. Home hosting allowed visitors to gain an give them an "honest look" at the United States. For Millie Cox, this meant having home hosters in various neighborhoods across Charlotte, ranging demographics, and socioeconomic status. In describing home hosting, Cox elaborated on its impact and the representation showcased of the Charlotte public:

> And then getting into people's homes with these people was pretty grassroots. Even though you weren't in the poorest of the poor homes, I would say you were in some good solid middle-class homes though. Middle-class Americans. It was not only Eastover and Myers Park, it was Sedgefield, Montclair. It was all over.[167]

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[164] Minutes of International House Board Meeting, April 14, 1987, International House Archives.
[165] The term, home hospitality, refers to organized events for the international visitors that involved members of the community; often, these events being dinner hosting.
[166] *The Charlotte International*, May/June 1989, International House Archives. Frequent volunteers included, Gary Ferrero, and Lorne Lassiter, as well as Raija and Harold Ogburn, who hosted two separate groups within two months.
[167] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.

One way that Cox connected people and managed this expansive volunteer network was through an elaborate database system. The program database organized people through travel experience, interest in specific countries, and volunteer requests. For example, if the CIV was hosting delegates from Turkey, Cox would search the database with these thoughts: "Are there volunteers at International House who have either lived in Turkey, studied in Turkey, or traveled to Turkey that we know about? We can check out system and call them up and see if they want to have them for dinner."[168]

Cox, as well as organizing dinner host and volunteers, arranged workshops on issues such as educating the CCIV volunteers on issues such as the world economy and how it relates to Charlotte, bringing in professors from the surrounding universities — an important exercise that is explained in later detail below.[169] The International House newsletter in its November-December of 1988 issue claimed: "CCIV is a household word in Charlotte." The CIV's volunteer pool had grown to include 682 people in the community, helping in various aspects of the program by 1988. By incorporating the Charlotte community, the program additionally encouraged Charlotteans' understanding of the importance of Charlotte's international engagement.

International Visitors - 1980's

In May of 1986, the CCIV hosted three Chinese journalists who had the opportunity to meet with local Charlotte television reporters, talk with newspaper editors

[168] Ibid.
[169] Program Director's Report, June 9, 1987, International House Archives.

and share meals with local Charlotteans.[170] When asked how would Charlotteans fare in the Chinese newspapers, visitor Zhou Zhong responded, "I will write about how friendly and warm the people are."[171]

With the continued success and high reviews of the visitors program, *The Charlotte International*, International House's newsletter, clamored: "Charlotte, a model for fast growing, progressive, Southern cities, has become an intriguing and attractive destination."[172] International House hosted 26 European economists who visited Charlotte to learn about economic growth and initiative in August of 1989.[173] Additionally, in 1989 the CCIV received four Soviet citizens whose visit was highlighted by lunch at International House where 70 Charlotteans attended. Moreover, the Soviet visitors attended an address titled "Europe 1992: Continent of Opportunities or Fortress of Protectionism?" by Mr. Gerd Bruggemann, U.S Economic Correspondent of *Die Welt*, where a crowd of 69 internationally oriented people attended.[174]

One aspect of these visits to Charlotte that was particularly important to Cox during her time as program director was the need to showcase all sides of the city, not only the affluent neighborhoods and the skyscrapers of the city. She believed in the honesty in showing both the grandeur of Charlotte but also where the city struggled. Cox explained:

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[170] Amy Bedenbaugh, "For Visitors, Our Ordinary Seems Exotic, *The Charlotte Observer*, May 22, 1986, International House Archives.
[171] Ibid.
[172] *The Charlotte International,* July/August 1988, International House Archives.
[173] Ibid.
[174] *The Charlotte International,* January/February 1989, International House Archives.

> With my volunteers I would say, don't let them leave the city without addressing the city's needs. Without letting them see a part of the city that is less fortunate. A visit would not be successful if they just went to Bank of America and South Park. They needed to see several sides of our city. The goal was that by the time they leave please let them have a balanced view of what our city is. I felt very strongly about that.[175]

This honest display of the city represented a strong personal goal of Cox to show the diverse nature of Charlotte, leading to a wide variety of volunteers, in addition to popularity as a national international visitor destination.

Within a year of the establishment of Council of International Visitors, it had increased four times and hosted on average one visitor per week.[176] From April-December of 1986 the number of visitors totaled 55, while from January-April the following year had already seen 30 visitors. The length of the visitors' stays averaged three days. They attended around six professional appointments per trip and averaged two hospitality appointments per visitor.[177] Within the first year, the program grew to an annual budget of $28,205. The program received funding from the Charlotte Junior League, Foundation for the Carolinas, Charlotte Convention and Visitors, the City of Charlotte, and the State of North Carolina. By 1988 the program saw a 144% increase in visitors from the previous year, seeing 189 visitors since from January- November.[178]

In May of 1989, Cox traveled to Washington, D.C., where she participated in a program training organized by the National Council for International Visitors. During

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[175] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[176] "Program Director's Report," April 14, 1987, International House Archives.
[177] "Council for International Visitors" April 14, 1987, International House Archives.
[178] *The Charlotte International,* November-December 1988, International House Archives.

that time she had the chance to promote Charlotte to the United States Information Agency.[179] These few examples of the hundreds of visitors provide an insight into the themes, people, and countries that the United States and Charlotte interacted with in the beginning days of the CCIV program. At its core, the program fostered a way to engage the Charlotte community (including middle-class families and middle-level management), business leaders, and government with international visitors. Moreover, it provided an opportunity to promote the city of Charlotte to the world, declaring itself internationally aware, accepting, and open for business.

International Visitors - 1990's

As the program moved into the 90s, the Council for International Visitors saw a significant increase in the variety of visitors and their programs. Chosen out of a field of 105 nominees, at only four years old, the Charlotte Council for International Visitors won the National Award for Excellence in Programming.[180] As the program expanded and under the new leadership of Tony Dick, in 1991, the CCIV received a $5,000 grant to work with Fulbright teachers in the Southeast.[181] International House continually worked to create connections and network Charlotte, which became evident in the 1992 "Travellink" program. This program was designed to connect Charlotteans traveling domestically and internationally with people associated with the CCIV's around the United States and internationals who have visited Charlotte through CCIV. [182] By 1992,

[179] *The Charlotte International,* May/ June, 1989, International House Archives.
[180] International House Board Meeting, April 13, 1990, International House Archives.
[181] Board of Directors Meeting, August 13, 1991, International House Archives.
[182] Council for International Visitors, January 14, 1992, International House Archives.

the CCIV hosted 300 visitors while in 1994 the program hosted 265 visitors from over 52 countries.[183] With the end of the Cold War, the United States focused heavily on former Soviet countries, which is evident in the groups International House hosted. The federal government doubled the budget for Eastern European visitors in 1990.[184] Some of the groups included a November 1997 Chinese "Civic Journalism," group, which met with Queens College President Dr. Billie Wireman. In March of 1999 the program hosted a group from Mongolia, Latvia, and Ukraine, focusing on "Foreign Service Nations." This trend continued, with a May 1999 Belarus "Women Entrepreneurs" group and the following September a Russian Leadership program.[185] In 1999, International House hosted ten visitors from the Ivano-Frankivsk region of Ukraine visiting Charlotte to learn about pollution and environmental regulation, waste management, public policy, and forestry.[186]

[183] Tom Bradbury. "International House." *The Charlotte Observer*, September 2, 1995. Accessed on Newsbank, May 2, 2018.
[184] International House Board Meeting, April 13, 1990, International House Archives.
[185] 1994-1999 Photo Album, International House Archive.
[186] "Ukraine Visitors to Charlotte," *The Charlotte Observer*, July 4, 1999, International House Archives.

Figure 5: Women's Group at Meeting, "Entrepreneurship," Belarus May 1999 [187]

A project known as the Global Training for Developing Countries also introduced foreign visitors to long-term training in Charlotte. In December of 1997, International House organized men and women from Tanzania to intern within Charlotte businesses for four to five weeks. Once returning to Tanzania, these business people took back with them new ideas and business connections in Charlotte.[188] This type of program also operated with former Soviet Union counties, known as the Business for Russia / Community Connections Ukraine. The United States Information Agency approved 15-day programs for Russian business persons to intern at Charlotte companies.[189] Both

[187] Figure 5: "Women's Group, Entrepreneurship, Belarus, May 1999," Photo Book, International House Archives.
[188] International House Update, December 1997, International House Archives.
[189] International House Update, October 1997, International House Archives.

programs stayed with host families. In addition to visiting delegations, the Council continued to handle the partnership between Mecklenburg County and the German state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, the ancestral home of Queen Charlotte. By 2001, Charlotte's Council for International Visitors brought in $57,585 to International House's total income of $585,848.42.[190]

As these stories of delegates have suggested, Millie Cox and International House worked consistently with Charlotte's government and the community to involve the city in citizen diplomacy and business forward vision. Whether it be through volunteers, or via meetings with people in business, university professors, or city officials, the Charlotte Council for International Visitors at International House became a tool of cross-cultural exchange and a way to promote Charlotte's international presence. In tandem with the CCIV, Cox continually looked for additional avenues to deepen Charlotte's interaction with international counterparts, while also placing International House at the center of this exchange.

Charlotte's Sister City Program

Cox, as part of her work with international visitors — and the city of Charlotte — also established sister city connections in various countries. Similar to the interest and exchange to Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, these Sister City Programs were designed to promote education and cross-cultural understanding. In this respect, they resembled the goals and objectives of the international visitors program. Deriving from the People-to-

[190] "Income Statement," International House, January-December 2001, International House Archives.

People program created by President Dwight Eisenhower in 1956, the Sister City Program in Charlotte began in 1962. The U.S Sister City Program (SCP's) is a nationwide initiative brought about after World War II in hopes of continued peace. By 1973, there were over 400 cities with over 500 affiliates in 70 different countries.[191] These connections with international cities are primarily established through various types of external and internal motivations.[192] Sociologist David Horton Smith argued that two thirds of the programs begin from a city's own motivations, such as a particular economic interest with a sister city or a push in public interest.[193]

This program, housed in International House, coordinated the Charlotte Sister City Program's committee activities under a contract with the city.[194] Hired through the Mayor's office, Peggy Wisp worked out of International House, where the city rented a space in the Staton Mansion.[195] This program involved high ranking Charlotte officials and businesses, as well as the Charlotte school system and community. Charlotte has sister cities in Arequipa, Peru; Port-au-Prince, Haiti; Krefeld, West Germany; and Baoding, China.[196] Through this program, Charlotte hosted delegates from its sister cities as well as assisted with medical relief in the early years. This medical relief was mainly

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[191] David Horton Smith, "Voluntary Inter-Cultural Exchange and Understanding Groups: The Roots of Success in U. S. Sister City Programs," 1990, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 31: 177.
[192] Ibid, 180. See also, Snow and Taylor's *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*.
[193] Smith defines "external" motivations as directed from the U.S government and diplomatic issues. David Horton Smith, "Voluntary Inter-Cultural Exchange," 180.
[194] *The Charlotte International*, May/June 1987, International House Archives.
[195] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[196] *The Charlotte International*, May/June 1987, International House Archives.

directed to the Arequipa tuberculosis control project, where the Charlotte community helped treat 900 cases of TB in Peru.[197]

The third established sister city, Krefeld, Germany, created an exchange that led Cox, Wisp, and others to establish the Charlotte/Krefeld Sister City Committee. This committee involved International House, the city of Charlotte, and the German counterparts. The first exchange between the Krefeld and Charlotte occurred in September of 1986. Charlotte hosted two visiting bands, along with their friends and family members, and housed the visitors in private homes. The first group, known as the Krefelder Fanfaren Korps, consisted of 25 members that played at the First Union Plaza in Uptown, Charlotte. The second group, the Blasorchester, and Spielmannszug, a 75-member group, performed at UNC Charlotte's International Festival.[198] The final send-off consisted of a free public celebration with food, music, dance, and storytelling.

This exchange continued, and the week of January 20, 1987, Charlotte hosted additional delegates from its German sister city. This group totaled 190 visitors, including the Lord Mayor Dieter Puetzhofen, the Mayor Dr. Annemarie Schraps and City Manager Dr. Herman Stefgend, the members of the Blasorchester (wind orchestra), the Fanfarenkorps (marching band) and others. [199] This delegation was the culmination of one year's work by the Charlotte/Krefeld Sister City Committee under the leadership of

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[197] *The Charlotte International*, September-October 1988, International House Archives.
[198] Pat Borden Gubbins, "Visitors From Sister City Will Get Big Send-Off," *The Charlotte Observer,* September 21, 1986, International House Archive.
[199] Frank Angstadt, "Krefeld Visitors Made Charlotte Shine," *The Charlotte Observer*, January 25, 1987, International House Archives.

Stephen Blum and Millie Cox, with additional cooperation from Charlotte's city government. Local members of the community housed the delegates. *Charlotte Observer* writer Frank Angstadt described the comments he heard from the delegates, believing that they would "go back to Krefeld and sell Charlotte better than any advertising or media ever could."[200] Despite the delegates visiting other American cities such as New York, Washington, and Philadelphia, Angstadt was conceived that the delegates would tell their friends that Charlotte surpassed them all as a place to live and work.[201] After hosting the Germans in Charlotte, 250 Charlotteans traveled to Krefeld the next July 9-13 of 1987.[202] The Charlotte visitors included Charlotte's mayor Harvey Gantt, members of the Charlotte City Council, area business persons and civic leaders.[203] These Sister City programs continued with city funding and support, organizing trips to Baoding, China the following year.

This interaction of government officials, business owners, and the community illuminates a common theme of both the international visitors program at International House and the Sister City program; it reflects not only a desire to engage with international counterparts, but a strong desire by city leaders to sell Charlotte as a globally aware, conscious, and accepting city.[204] Angstadt's comments about promoting

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[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] *The Charlotte International*, May/June 1987, International House Archives. Harvey Gantt was Charlotte's mayor from 1983-1987.
[204] While not engaging the entire Charlotte community, these programs drew on community members from a diverse background, occupations, and socioeconomic status.

the city of Charlotte resonates with the implications of the visitor's program. These programs (both organized by Millie Cox and International House) became a way for the city of Charlotte to advertise its appealing business stock, its acceptance of global diversity, and its wide-ranging programs for internationals. With programs such as the CCIV and Sister-City Program developing in full swing in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the city of Charlotte found a need to capitalize on its new role as a growing international hub. International House served as a vessel in bringing attention to the benefits of its work to the Charlotte local government. Government officials, people in business, and the community took hold of the opportunity interacting with international counterparts that CCIV and Sister City offered and developed a business model to support growth and development from this interaction.

City of Charlotte Initiatives- Chamber of Commerce

As Angstadt described in the comments about the promotion of the city of Charlotte through the Kerfeld visitors, Tom Bradbury, the associate editor of the *Observer* in 1987, saw how vital displaying Charlotte as an international, welcoming city was for future development and continued growth.[205] Bradbury along with Larry Harmon, chair of the Image Committee of the Charlotte Chamber's International Development Committee, realized the need to improve the international image of Charlotte to Charlotteans.

[205] Tom Bradbury, "Charlotte The International," The *Charlotte Observer*, January 1987, International House Archives.

Bob Kellen, chairman of the overall International Development Committee, stressed the human element of international integration and acceptance in balance with the business-oriented side. Kellen in the *Charlotte Observer* continued his discussion by stating that he feared Charlotteans held an "isolationist attitude, a sentiment that 'we do not need those people."[206] This isolationist attitude in the late 1980s derived from a lack of contact and understanding of international business and the international population in Charlotte. Encouraging international exports, Harmon estimated that each additional $1 million in exports meant 25 to 40 new jobs in Charlotte. He went on to stress the importance of community understanding and international perception of Charlotte by stating, "when foreign investors come here, they encounter local people in many settings. If foreign visitors meet an unreceptive community, the Chamber's work is wasted and the opportunity for jobs may be lost."[207]

Millie Cox described the realization of the economic developers in the city in promoting international relations: "the economic developers were like this is important, this is really important."[208] As mentioned previously, banking leaders saw CIV and International House as an opportunity to expose mid- level managers to international, cross-culture exchange. Cox explained, "In many aspects, the mid-level managers knew nothing about the world. But then suddenly they were having to bank with Japanese company or German company."[209]

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[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[209] Ibid.

This point highlights the importance of educating CCIV and International House volunteers, as well as the working class in Charlotte on the global economy and its significance to Charlotte and the visitors. As *Observer* writer Tom Bradbury put it in 1987, "much of the image committee's planned work this year is directly economic: promoting Charlotte's image abroad, preparing foreign-language materials, welcoming Chamber visitors and checking on how happy new foreign firms are in Charlotte."[210] To achieve this business-directed goal, the general Charlotte community also had to be on board. Kellen argued that there had to be a balance between business-oriented goals and "human-driven" measures. One way that the city of Charlotte worked to combine business-friendly objectives with local community outreach was through organizations like International House. The business community and city officials had to find a way to work both goals simultaneously; otherwise, without Charlotteans understanding the economic goals at stake, the business sector would flounder. This combination of the international visitors program, Sister City Program, and political-economic objectives of promoting Charlotte led to the creation of the Mayor's International Cabinet.

City of Charlotte - Mayor's International Cabinet

With the international political influence that CCIM brought to the city of Charlotte, local politicians began to see the opportunities and need for an international sector of the government. In addition to addressing Kellen's "human-driven" need and to bring together the internationally focused groups, Mayor Richard Vinroot established The

[210] Tom Bradbury, "Charlotte The International," The *Charlotte Observer*, January 1987, International House Archives.

Mayor's International Cabinet in 1992. Richard Vinroot was a former attorney for Roberts and Bradshaw and Hinson, before serving as Charlotte's mayor from 1991-1995. Cox illustrated Vinroot's reasoning behind starting a Cabinet for international relations in Charlotte:

> I think he clearly got it that there was a connection for economic development and international. And I think he also got it that Charlotte was attracting a lot of international firms, by then. And there were some stories reaching him that were not good. I remember one of the stories reaching him was from international corporate guys, that they move their families all the way to Charlotte, and they open up their headquarters for the U.S and they cannot even open up a bank account. And so, Richard, his message was very clear from the beginning: we have to make our people better. Our mid-level managers, we have to train them better, and we have to deliver better service.[211]

Vinroot realized how quickly Charlotte was internationalizing and realized that an assessment of the city's international infrastructure needed to be addressed, leading to the Mayor's International Cabinet. As well as working within the Charlotte city government, the International Cabinet continually worked with the U.S Department of State in bringing speakers, fellows, and strategic plans to Charlotte.[212] The State Department additionally sent an officer, named Janet Malkemes, to help produce the strategic plan in 1994.[213] Vinroot saw international strategic plan blueprints in cities like Indianapolis and Seattle and knew that Charlotte needed to do more.[214] He set about to make an action

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[211] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[212]"City of Charlotte Memorandum," July 6, 1994, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collections, Charlotte (NC) Mayor Vinroot, Box 12. Folder 7.
[213] "International City?" Tom Bradbury, *The Charlotte Observer*, May 28, 1994. University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collections, Charlotte (NC) Mayor Vinroot, Box 12. Folder 7.
[214] Ibid.

plan that would directly improve the city's international infrastructure. Kimm Jolly (a long-standing member of the Cabinet) described the role of the International Cabinet:

> The Cabinet was a gathering of people who were involved in international activities. We had a strong Sister City program, and the Mayor at the time was also interested in the visitors' program. They had on the Cabinet representatives from the various Hispanic community, German community, and so forth.

The organization was a city-initiated program that called together various international groups to meet and discuss new programs, problems, and solutions in making Charlotte as internationally accessible as possible. The International Cabinet, in its beginning, composed of 35 educators, business people, leaders of international organizations, and citizens interested in "Charlotte's evolution into a international city."[215] Cox explained further, "He (Vinroot) wanted to pull in all of the organizations who were making Charlotte tick internationally. International House had a place at the table, CIV, and Sister Cities, World Affairs Council, Chamber of Commerce, and CMS schools"[216] The beginning goals within the first strategic plan focused on improving bilingual signs in the city, police/ emergency interpretive services, and citizenship and language training, in addition to increasing internationally focused education in the school system.[217]

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[215] "Report of the Mayor's Ad Hoc Committee on International Cabinet Members," University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collections, Charlotte (NC) Mayor Vanroot, Box 12. Folder 7.
[216] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.
[217] "Mayor Releases Charlotte International Strategic Plan," News Release, July, 14, 1994, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collections, Charlotte (NC) Mayor Vanroot, Box 12. Folder 7.

The Mayor's International Cabinet's forum centered approach encouraged dialogue about international issues and offered a platform to advocate to local government on behalf of the international communities, organizations and businesses.[218] Mayor Vinroot created the Mayor's International Cabinet to focus on three main goals:

> The Charlotte International Cabinet creates awareness of Charlotte as an international city by promoting exchange between Charlotte and its Sister Cities, welcoming all citizens and visitors, regardless of ethnicity or language skills, supporting global education programs, encouraging further growth of the international business sector and enhancing Charlotte's nonprofit international sector.[219]

And further, "to take the pulse of Charlotte to see, to get a baseline for where we were internationally."[220] The Cabinet became a way for the international community to discuss with the local government issues that needed addressing. The main focus, however, was the section discussing the "further growth of the international business sector." International business leaders viewed this idea and function of the International Cabinet in a positive and encouraging light; for many, the Cabinet represented Charlotte's continued efforts to create a welcoming environment for foreign investment. Mayor Vinroot recognized that the international economy in Charlotte provided a real and viable investment. The Ministry of W. Deen Mohammed (an Islamic center), wrote to Mayor Vinroot applauding the Cabinet and other internationally focused initiatives. E. Ebdulmalik Mohammed, writing on behalf of the W. Deen Mohammed, stated that the

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[218] "Mayor's International Cabinet," Members Retreat Powerpoint, August 1, 2002, International House Archives.
[219] "Charlotte International Cabinet," International Community Relations, City of Charlotte, Accessed December 11, 2018. https://charlottenc.gov/international-relations/inltcommunity/Pages/Charlotte-International-Cabinet.aspx
[220] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.

Cabinet, among other things, influence the organization to open an office in the city. He continued, "we are indebted to Charlotte for the friendly and progressive living and working conditions."[221]

The Cabinet addressed Charlotte's economic status amongst international businesses, nonprofits, and community, while adding a formal element of Charlotte government involvement. The Cabinet was charged with providing input and recommendations to the Charlotte City Council on topics pertaining to international affairs of domestic and foreign origin.[222] In the first years, the Cabinet divided itself into committees, focusing on things like infrastructure, commerce, and the school system. These efforts led to a strategic plan that the members developed, including putting "Welcome to Charlotte" signs at exits to the Charlotte-Douglas international airport, and assessing the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school systems' international class and language selections.[223]

By involving community leaders like International House, the business community, and government sector, the city of Charlotte could advance understanding of international diversity in the community while enhancing the city's international image. Kimm Jolly and International House were continually long-term members, in addition to

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[221] Letter from The Ministry of W. Deen Mohammed, June 8, 1994. University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collections, Charlotte (NC) Mayor Vanroot, Box 12. Folder 7.

[222] "Charlotte International Cabinet," International Community Relations, City of Charlotte, Accessed December 11, 2018. https://charlottenc.gov/international-relations/inltcommunity/Pages/Charlotte-International-Cabinet.aspx

[223] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2019.

Millie Cox, who was at this time affiliated with the French Consulate. In 1994, Jolly informed the Mayor and others about change in leadership at International House, particularly concerning Charlotte's Council for International Visitors.[224] CCIVs' importance and contribution to Charlotte's global future became integral, as displayed in its continued discussion within the International Cabinet.

By 1999 there were over 100,000 foreign-born residents of Charlotte and over 377 foreign-owned firms operating in Mecklenburg County.[225] With these numbers, foreign direct investment became one of the mayor's goals. David Stewart, Executive Director of International House in the late 2000s, recalled, "The Mayor's International Cabinet was oriented more toward foreign direct investment attraction, that was its core mandate."[226] Expanding on the section of Cabinet goals regarding global business, the group defined its mission as "encouraging growth of international business through partnerships that support globally-competitive workforce development, entrepreneurship, foreign direct investment, and exporting."[227]

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[224] International House Memo, Kimm Jolly, August 24, 1994. University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collections, Charlotte (NC) Mayor Vanroot, Box 12. Folder 7.

[225] "Status Report on International Education in the Charlotte Area", A Report of the Education Committee of the Mayor's International Cabinet, October 1999, pdf accessed, January 7, 2019. https://charlottenc.gov/international-relations/inltcommunity/Documents/International%20Education.pdf.

[226] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018. Archived in the J. Murrey Atkins Library, Special Collections.

[227] "Charlotte International Cabinet," International Community Relations, City of Charlotte, Accessed December 11, 2018. https://charlottenc.gov/international-relations/inltcommunity/Pages/Charlotte-International-Cabinet.aspx

The Cabinet operated with various internationally focused nonprofit and community leaders to expand its goals of not only business promotion but also educating the Charlotte public about international education. In 1999, the Cabinet created a report on "International Education in the Charlotte Area." Within the opening paragraph it stated, "The need to prepare local citizenry to function and compete in a global environment has never been more apparent. Education is a key component in the development of an internationally aware citizenry."[228] The Cabinet saw oversight in increasing resources for English as a Second Language in Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools, which by 1999 was desperately needed by the rapidly growing non-English speaking families in Charlotte. ESL was not the only initiative by the International Cabinet, however. Focusing on expanding the overall understanding and tolerance in the Charlotte community became another key goal. This would be achieved by ensuring that education in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school district taught not only skills and languages but also, "history, geography and a sense of the interconnectedness of the world today."[229] The report's conclusion summarized the goals of Charlotte's internationally focused economy and business plans: "If Charlotte is to continue to develop as a more international community, additional efforts will be required to keep

[228] "Status Report on International Education in the Charlotte Area", A Report of the Education Committee of the Mayor's International Cabinet, October 1999, pdf accessed, January 7, 2019. https://charlottenc.gov/international-relations/inltcommunity/Documents/International%20Education.pdf
[229] Ibid.

pace with the rapidly changing world and to prepare our students to participate in the increasingly complex and competitive global economy."[230]

The establishment of the Mayor's International Cabinet represented a foundational shift in Charlotte city official's views, while additionally providing a visible representation in the progress of internationalizing the city. Through the International Visitors Program, Charlotte's Sister City Program, and the Mayor's International Cabinet, Charlotte saw a way to interact with the growing globalization of the world. These important programs represent not only an expansion of international awareness within Charlotte, but moreover, a mechanism to capitalize on its business ventures and economic expansion.

Conclusion

In 2017, the Citizen Diplomacy Program hosted 219 international visitors.[231] These visitors from around the world saw and engaged with Charlotte, North Carolina. The CDP at International House represents more than a local level producer of U.S State Department incentives. This program is a vivid example of Charlotte's international presence and diplomacy. CDP's influence is demonstrated by the establishment of the city's own related initiatives, such as the Mayor's International Cabinet and the growth of the Sister City Program.

The CCIV program at International House helped establish the nonprofit as a leader in cross-cultural promotion and a beacon to connecting Charlotte to the world.

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[230] Ibid.
[231] The 2018 goal is 301.

This chapter has emphasized International House's role as a mediator in the city business community and the global community. International House became a way to illustrate the diverse economic potential within the city of Charlotte. The Charlotte business community utilized International House's role within the city to not only showcase the city to international delegates but relied on the organization to get the local Charlotte community to do more to recognize the economic potential that came from progressively open views on immigrants and international business. Through a broader analysis, this program demonstrates the inherent nature of nonprofits to interact with its local city, showing how political and economic interests are facilitated down to non-government organizations. When asked how the CCIV fits into the larger picture of Charlotte's internationalization, Millie Cox responded:

> CIV was on the team. So, you have a playing field and you have a team. And CIV was a really important part I think on the team. It helped educate the mid-level managers. The tellers at the banks, the school teacher in a classroom. And started opening their eyes to international. Just slowly opening their eyes to international relations.[232]

While the visitors program became a tool to interact the city government with world leaders, International House was also engaging with the growing number of immigrants (particularly Latinx) settling in the Charlotte area in the late 1990s. The third chapter looks at the organization's immigration law clinic. The law clinic at International House represents the organization's shift away from international diplomacy and

[232] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2018.

economic promotion and returns to growing tensions within the city's rapid immigrant population growth in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This chapter further demonstrates the interconnectedness of Charlotte city official's pragmatic "Charlotte Way," and the successes and limitations in International House's cross-culture based mission operating an immigration advocacy program.

CHAPTER THREE- "WAVING THE PLACARDS": IMMIGRATION ADVOCACY PROGRAM 2000-2010 [233]

In his original 1982 proposal directed to St. John's Baptist Church, David Upshaw suggested ten examples of proposed programs bulleted alphabetically from a-i. The letter "i," the last of the programs listed, suggested an "Immigration Assistance," under which, Upshaw provided a brief explanation stating, "International House can be helpful with the many citizenship and immigration questions faced by Internationals."[234]

As the previous chapters have explained, International House, in both its creation and its programs, engaged with the Charlotte community in hopes of bringing awareness, acceptance, and understanding of the international community. Chapter one detailed the settings and demographic shifts that created the non-profit. Moreover, it examined how coordinators like David Upshaw engaged and organized business leaders, church groups, universities, and the community in the creation of International House. Chapter two explored how International House's IVLP program connected Charlotte to global affairs and politics in spreading the U.S State Department's goals of soft diplomacy. This program promoted an "internationalizing" of the city of Charlotte, heightening international awareness, promoting a global business image, and encouraging the development of citywide international initiatives.

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[233] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[234] "International House, A Proposal," David Upshaw, April 1982, International House Archives.

The previous chapters have looked at the early programs that created a foothold in the community for International House. This chapter, however, will look at a program whose creation came much later. In 2002, International House founded an immigration law clinic staffed by one attorney. Through its immigration law clinic, International House engaged with the community, with politics in and outside of Charlotte, reaching across local, state, and national political agendas. This chapter describes a history of immigration law in Charlotte, North Carolina, the early establishment of the immigration law clinic program, and the ways in which International House continued to interact with the city of Charlotte. It will also describe the impact of this program in the community, as well as the city of Charlotte initiatives to address a growing immigrant population, including its continued issues with the city's immigration court.

A newsletter in 2010 described the premise of the clinic, as well as its continued success and growth as a program:

> Due to Charlotte's changing demographics as an "Immigrant Gateway City," demand for affordable naturalization and family immigration services has skyrocketed, and International House's legal team has grown in an attempt to keep pace with the demand. The Clinic now serves hundreds of low-income refugees and immigrant clients each year.[235]

While being one of the newer programs in the organization, the Ginter Immigration Law Clinic at International House represents the adaptation, response, and limitation of the nonprofit in addressing the needs of the international community in Charlotte. Executive Director Jose Hernández-Paris (director from January 1998- July 2005) created a

[235] "History of International House," International House Website, Accessed January 30, 2018. http://www.ihclt.org/about/.

program in 2002 known as "Immigrant Assistance." As this developed, Hernández-Paris in attempting to establish a clinic, hired Massachusetts attorney David Stewart and through Stewart's direction, built a full-fledged immigration law clinic at International House.[236]

As the creation of the law clinic suggests, the 2000s represented a critical time in the international relations of the city of Charlotte. While the international visitors program encouraged global connectivity with foreign officials, Charlotte now had to address a growing number of immigrants from within its city limits, in addition to rising tensions in political discourse. Through International House and its history, the intersection of federal, state, and local policies becomes evident, while moreover, this history reveals the nonprofit's central role in Charlotte's international connection and outreach. The late 1990s and early 2000s represent a critical time in federal, state, and local discussions and discourses on immigrants. The following paragraphs describe the foundation for the emergence of an immigration law clinic at International House, beginning with post-9/11 federal policies in America on immigration and ending on Hawthorne Lane, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Post 9/11 America

September 11, 2001 became a day in American history that reinforced underlying notions of undocumented immigrants in the United States. This time in American history placed the immigration system under scrutiny for its now evident lack of oversight,

[236] International House Board Meeting Notes, January 9, 2002, International House Archives.

forcing new stricter policies and regulations. The National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) displayed this response in hardened policies. This controversial program, implemented by the United States government after 9/11, was designed to register targeted noncitizens, based on their country of birth. This "War on Terror" initiative involved interviewing, fingerprinting, and monitoring individuals from certain countries. In addition to the NSEERS, the so-called "Special Registration" system required all immigrants from a select list of countries to report to the Department of Homeland Security by a determined date. The first list of countries included Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan & Syria. [237] This required noncitizens from the selected countries who were already in the United States to report to immigration officials for questioning. While it was later suspended in 2003, it was not until April 28, 2011 that the full program ended in its entirety. The program came to represent the fear both within local levels and state levels and assumptions about immigrants. Grassroots movements across the United States pushed for national security, causing terms like "immigrant" and "non-citizen" to become associated with "terrorist," and "illegal aliens."[238]

The first attorney at International House recalled this moment in history and described the scenes associated with the Special Registration Program: "it looked a bit

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[237] Muzaffar Chishti and Claire Bergeron, *Migration Policy Institute*, May 17, 2011, Accessed January 11, 2019.
.https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/dhs-announces-end-controversial-post-911-immigrant-registration-and-tracking-program. The full list of countries additionally included, Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Eritrea, Lebanon, Morocco, North Korea, Oman, Qatar, Somalia, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan & Kuwait.
[238] Monica Varsanyi, *Taking Local Control : Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010), 11.

like sepia photos from World War II with all kinds of people lined up outside, scared, holding their documents and they were having to go in and report."[239] Because the pilots who flew the planes on 9/11 were on F-1 visas (student visas) there was a crackdown on universities, making sure oversight was strong. This led to many F-1 visa students studying in the United States to lose funding due to political tensions. The post 9/11 United States had a tremendous effect on immigrant services and ideas of immigrants themselves, while also producing discursive effects down to the local level. David Stewart outlined some of the critical issues that 9/11 revealed in the U.S immigration system: "one of the things I found rather surprising when I first started taking in clients was just how chaotic the U.S immigration system was at the time. There was a lot of controversy in the news about 9/11 and the risks of having a little bit of disorganization."[240] While his impulse as an immigrant advocate was to get involved and "stand up for the little guy," in a tense 9/11 atmosphere, he admitted that he was becoming aware of the "crazy problems" in the immigration system after working on the ground level of immigration law.

On the national level, with the glaring holes in the immigration structure, new jurisdiction policing immigration policies began to fall to the state and local level.[241] Attorney General John Ashcroft issued a memo, shortly after 9/11, "affirming the

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[239] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Monica Varsanyi, *Taking Local Control* , 11.

authority of state and local police to enforce immigration law."[242] This jurisdiction policy produced a variety of results across the country, producing tensions across the political, economic, and cultural sphere. With states now in control of implementing immigration regulation, these tensions became displayed within towns, cities, and counties.

The combination of a broken immigration system with a growing trepidation of newcomers created the dialogue and justification needed to produce mounting anti-immigration laws within states across the country; the state of North Carolina became no exception. Home to one of the fastest-growing immigrant populations in the United States, North Carolina provides a unique opportunity to explore how national, state, and local policies and objectives at times do not align with each other. An analysis of the state of North Carolina, the city of Charlotte, and International House and its mission as an immigrant-friendly organization, reveals these tensions between state and local objectives.

Early Immigration Concerns in North Carolina and Charlotte

In a letter to the editor of *The Charlotte Observer*, one Concord, North Carolina citizen in 1999 expressed his concern for the city of Charlotte's use of money spent on Spanish translators in the court system. He wrote, "I feel our government bends over backward to accommodate these people when we have millions of Americans living without benefits the immigrants enjoy." His letter concluded by stating, "To all immigrants, I say: Welcome, but if you are here to live, learn enough language to defend

[242] Ibid.

your family… not just enough words to get by at the social services office."[243] This newspaper comment reveals the rising tensions on the high influx of immigrants to the Charlotte area during the late 90s and early 2000s. His comments also imply the perceived correlation between immigrants and welfare.

By the early 2000s, Charlotte locals were beginning to question the economic impact of immigration to the city, a debate that reverberated from North Carolina policymakers. The 2000s represents Charlotte's growth into a Latinx hypergrowth city. Cox, in a discussion of the Latinx community's growth and visibility shifts in Charlotte, described:

> I think slowly you started seeing things in Spanish, in addition to English. You go to the bank and its not only in Spanish, it's not only in English but it is in Spanish. Or you go to the doctor's office and they have a welcome in Spanish and in English. And you start getting it.[244]

Owen Furuseth and Heather A. Smith, in their piece titled "Localized Immigration Policy: The View from Charlotte," analyzed localized and state immigration policies in Charlotte from the 1980s through the 2000s. They created a three-phase model to categorize the changing attitudes towards Hispanic immigrants during this period. The first, phase 1, early 1980s-1990s, termed "Welcome Amigos " depicted the rather harmonious and eager acceptance of the single Mexican male construction worker.[245]

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[243] If You Want to Live Here, Learn our Language," *The Charlotte Observer*, June 21, 1999, International House Archives.
[244] Millie Cox, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, March 15, 2018.
[245] Owen J. Furuseth, and Heather A. Smith, "Localized Immigration Policy: The View from Charlotte" in *Taking Local Control : Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States,* ed. Monica Varsanyi, (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2010), 180-83.

Historian Julie Weise described Mexican immigrant activist Angeles Ortega- Moore's more sober perspective on Charlotte white elites' comparatively "welcoming" attitude in the mid-1990s. Ortega- Moore believed their praise was code for "We'd rather have you than African Americans. Somehow, we became the lesser of two evils."[246] As Ortega-Moore suggested, Furuseth and Smith's phase 2 and 3 beginning in the late 90s-early 2000s, demonstrated the rising tensions as large family units from across Central America migrated and immigrated to Charlotte, testing the city's ability to accommodate and assimilate the newcomers [247] As Weise explained it, "Republican mayor Pat McCrory, suburban Republican congresswoman Sue Myrick, and Senator Elizabeth Dole, each of whom would embrace anti- immigrant politics in the 2000s, all expressed open pro-Latino sentiment during the late 1990s."[248]

Furuseth and Smith's model chronologically depicts Charlotte's dynamic and actively contested shifts in government and public opinion. These immigration concerns and issues came to the forefront in politicized national debates at the North Carolina state level in the 2000s. As North Carolina representatives increasingly depicted themes of the "Latino Menace," Furuseth and Smith argue this began a reconstruction of "Old South" political strategies built around racism.[249] The late Senator Jesse Helms became one of the most notoriously anti-immigrant representatives for the state for his public rallies

[246] Weise, "Skyscrapers and Chicken Plants," in *Corazón de Dixie,* 185.
[247] Furuseth and. Smith, "Localized Immigration Policy," 182.
[248] Weise, "Skyscrapers and Chicken Plants," 188.
[249] Ibid., 183.

against Latinx immigrants.[250] Furuseth and Smith described Helms' rallies, in which he would "compare Latinx immigrants to burglars breaking into your house and taking up residence."[251] Weise accredits the rise in xenophobic rhetoric in Charlotte to the perceived scarcity of government resources, not national security concerns. As she puts it, "the underlying debate over who was entitled to public services presaged changes in immigration politics to come."[252] Weise relates this public disgruntlement to North Carolina's immigrant-friendly driver's license policies in the early 2000s. However, by February of 2014, the North Carolina state legislature directed the Division of Motor Vehicles to deny most international birth certificates and identification cards issued by the Mexican government.[253] Across the state, the term "illegal immigrant" became synonymous with the Latinx community. Tied with Pennsylvania, in 2005-2006 North Carolina held the highest number of anti-immigration local ordinances passed.[254]

While the national and state level showcased, at times, radical anti-immigrant rhetoric, policies, and platforms, local level politics in Charlotte represented a more balanced and actively contested anti and pro-immigrant stances.[255] This distinction and break from national and state policies down to the local level is a well-documented trend across America.[256] Sitting between the pro-immigrant business leaders and progressives

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[250] Ibid., 183.
[251] Ibid., 183.
[252] Weise, "Skyscrapers and Chicken Plants," 201.
[253] Ibid., 182.
[254] Monica Varsanyi, *Taking Local Control*, 15.
[255] Furuseth and Smith, "Localized Immigration Policy," 183.
[256] See Varsanyi, *Taking Local Control* for a collection of essays detailing local immigration policies in various cities across the United States.

and the anti-immigrant state legislators, the city of Charlotte became positioned at a crossroads.[257] Amidst the discourses, on the local level, Charlotte still had to account for its increasingly large immigrant population and its relatively few resources. This chapter will now shift to examine how these national and state trends affected the lack of immigration assistance to the Charlotte area. This lack of immigration law assistance caused International House to address this growing need in the community.

Immigration Assistance Issues in Charlotte

As the previous section suggested, Charlotte became a political battleground, caught between the rhetoric of pro and anti-immigration across the state. With a flummoxed United States in desperate need of immigration reform, the city of Charlotte did not provide the resources to provide its immigrant population with legal assistance. Charlotte, despite its size and quick growth in an international population, lacked several things that kept it from developing quality immigration law clinics. In an interview, David Stewart described three reasons for Charlotte's lack of legal support for its immigrant community. The first, is that despite Charlotte's substantial university system, the city lacked a law school. It was not until 2006, with the establishment of the Charlotte School of Law, that the city housed an accredited law school.[258] In 2018, Charlotte was once again without a law school. Stewart described the effects of Charlotte not having a law school in the early 2000s and its implications for the city's immigrant population:"

[257] Furuseth and Smith use the term "cross-road" to describe Charlotte's immigrant climate in the 2010s in Furuseth and Smith, "Localized Immigration Policy," 183.
[258] The Charlotte School of Law was an independent, for-profit college, which would end up losing its license by August 15, 2017.

One thing that I observed having been in grad school in Boston, there was a rich tradition of indigent legal services. And non-profit legal services with close affiliation with the many law schools in the region."[259] Because Charlotte did not have a law school from which it could draw on students, internships, and outreach, many of the services such as non-profit immigration legal assistance were absent. Secondly, while there were private immigration law offices in Charlotte, due to varying business models, many relied on corporate clients for business. Appealing to corporate clients made it hard for many to offer reasonable fees. Stewart described, "the private bar, even though they were well-intentioned, it just could not offer any special or pro bono rates or anything like that."[260] One legal institution that could help low-income clients during the early 2000s was the Legal Services of Southern Piedmont, now known as the Charlotte Center for Legal Advocacy.[261] Legal Services of Southern Piedmont (LSSP) was a nonprofit that had resided in the Charlotte area since 1967.[262] Despite their nonprofit service, their mission did not target the immigrant population living in Charlotte. Stewart described their mission as directed more towards petitions for women victims of domestic violence.[263] This is the case for many of Charlotte's resources for immigrants: Furuseth and Smith depict the entire city as "reacting" versus proactively supplying nonprofit or government

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[259] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Legal Services of Southern Piedmont, "About Us-Our History," Accessed January 30, 2019, http://www.lssp.org/about-us/.
[262] Ibid.
[263] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.

services for the influx of migrants.[264] In regards to law support, this put the city of Charlotte's immigrant population in an increasingly vulnerable position.

Lastly, in terms of the legal services for immigrants, during the early 2000s Atlanta, Georgia had the only the southeast immigration court in the area, known as the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR). Atlanta is over a four-hour drive from Charlotte, making it difficult for immigrants and nonprofits alike in the Charlotte region to get to the immigration court. This distance also discouraged many immigration lawyers from coming to Charlotte, perpetuating the lack of a law school and immigration law clinics in the region. In addition to the cyclical production of lawyers in the immediate area, the Atlanta Executive Office for Immigration Review during the 2000s developed a reputation as being one of the strictest courts across the United States — a reputation that continues to this day. Stewart explained, "I know (the Atlanta court) has a reputation of being one of the most strict courts with the highest rate of denials in the country....and was the only court in the area for us."[265] In 2017 the American Immigration Council released a news article that cited a 98% denial rate of asylum applicants.[266] Along with high denial rates, Emory School of Law students, while sitting

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[264] Furuseth and Smith, "Localized Immigration Policy," 189.
[265] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[266] Hilda Bonilla, "The Sad State of Atlanta's Immigration Court," *America's Immigration Council*, March 10, 2017, Accessed January 30, 2019. http://immigrationimpact.com/2017/03/10/atlanta-immigration-court/

in on 31 court hearings in 2017, described discriminatory language, inadequate language translators, and a lack of courtesy and professionalism.[267]

Immigration judges are the determining factor when the Department of Homeland Security charges foreign-born people with violating immigration law.[268] As explained by journalist Nate Morabito in 2018, "Aliens are sometimes permitted to stay in the United States due to asylum, torture or other credible claims of possible danger they'd face if returned to their home country."[269] When International House developed its law clinic in 2001, the clinic was unable, due to funds and resources, to take clients to Atlanta. Instead, for the clients who needed to travel to court, International House would use a Raleigh nonprofit known as Catholic Charities, which did have the resources to travel to Atlanta. Stewart recalled the difficulty of the Atlanta court and the Catholic Charities experiences by stating, "they use to take those clients and fly to Atlanta and lose, and lose, and lose…"[270] The challenges in Atlanta for nonprofits, including International House, reflect more significant issues in post 9/11 America and immigration reform that created significant effects on the ground level.

These factors in Charlotte left a vacuum in the city for predatory legal advisors: fake attorneys around the city who would charge unknowing immigrants sometimes

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[267] Ibid.
[268] Nate Morabito, "The Defenders: Is Charlotte ground zero when it comes to deportations?" *WCNC*, July 17, 2018. Accessed January 30, 2019. https://www.wcnc.com/article/news/the-defenders-is-charlotte-ground-zero-when-it-comes-to-deportations/275-574863649
[269] Ibid.
[270] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018

thousands of dollars with the promise of obtaining a working visa or green card status. Stewart soon discovered this after opening the law clinic at International House. He recalled, "I would look at the file and realize that a predatory practitioner had charged them several thousand dollars and then filed papers where they literally had no standing to apply."[271] This combination of factors — the absence of a law school (and the networks that come with one), lack of affordable legal services, the political environment post 9/11 America, and a brutal and distant Atlanta immigration law court — developed a market in Charlotte that lacked non-profit based services for immigrants and migrants in need of legal assistance. This political, legal, and social climate created the environment that International House began addressing. International House once again saw a need in the Charlotte community and took action; however, the active involvement in assisting immigrants started several years before the culmination of factors that led to the Immigration Law Clinic.

Citizenship and Language Classes at International House

The Charlotte Observer on September 15, 1995, detailed a story of Florence Beretta, a 22-year-old volunteer for International House's English Tutoring Program. The article described her quizzing the students on questions such as, "who is the vice president of the United States? Who is the president?" and responding encouragingly to

[271] Ibid.

the thickly Spanish accented correct answers.[272] Beretta was one of 75 volunteers during this time who assisted with the English Program at International House.

Before the arrival of David Stewart and the establishment of an immigration law clinic, on July 4, 1994, International House began offering Citizenship and English Classes to foreign nationals from all over the world. This program came at a vital moment in the timeline of Charlotte's immigration boom. By 1990, 50,000 internationals lived in the Queen City, 4,500 of whom lived in "linguistically isolated households," meaning that they could not communicate in English.[273] For acceptance to United States citizenship, immigrants had to demonstrate the ability to speak, read, and write English as well as demonstrate an understanding of American government and history.[274] As a community serving nonprofit, International House responded through its citizenship classes. International House trained over 550 individuals on the essentials of becoming a U.S. Citizen between 1990-1995.[275] Each citizenship class was comprised of three-hour sessions over six consecutive Sundays. The individuals learned about U.S. history, government and the political system, and English skills, as well as citizenship responsibilities such as voting and civic duties. After the fourth round of classes in 1995, 50 long-term residents of Charlotte prepared to take the final steps in gaining American citizenship. *The Charlotte International* detailed the countries these 50 students came

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[272] Jerri Fisher Krentz, "Helping Immigrants, Refugees Feel at Home," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 15, 1995, International House Archives.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] "International House Citizenship Classes," *The Charlotte International*, Spring 1995, International House Archives.

from: Brazil, Cambodia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guyana, Great Britain, Honduras, Jordan, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, and Vietnam.[276] On average, members of this class had resided in the United States for 14 years. *The Charlotte International* also provided several facts that went along with this article, including that, approximately 95 immigrants became citizens every month in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, and that taxes paid by immigrants exceeded the cost of public services received by them at an annual surplus of 25 billion dollars.[277] By 1997, International House had seen over 400 individuals go through its classrooms.[278] As the nonprofit continued to develop its citizenship programs, it began to realize that while many students were proficient in English verbally, many could not read or write. To combat this lack of reading and writing skills, the organization teamed up with Central Piedmont Community College and organized the first Literacy for Citizenship class on September 14, 1997.[279]

Along with offering the citizenship and writing classes, from the beginning of the organization, International House offered language and English classes. Language hours had been a staple program within the organization since its founding in the mid-80s; however, this combination of citizenship and language instruction contributed to the ability of immigrants in Charlotte to work towards citizenship. The tutoring program at

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[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.
[278] "Becoming a Citizen, in their own Words," *International House Update,* November 1997, International House Archives.
[279] Ibid.

International House, such as the one Florence Beretta volunteered at, eased transitions and supplied services to minority populations in Charlotte that otherwise might not receive training.

In conjunction with the growing list of services and classes International House provided for immigrants' journeys to citizenship, it began to expand its resources to provide legal services. In the late 1990s, International House began providing consulting with an immigration attorney.[280] This program was, in essence, a referral service, that would provide contacts and available resources for immigrants. Under what was known as the Information Referral Program, the organization provided resources so that immigrants could access a reliable list of lawyers.[281] While not providing a full immigration law clinic, as the organization would do in 2002, this program marked the beginning and recognition of the growing needs of the immigrant community. When discussing the ideas of an immigration law clinic, Kim Jolly reflected that it was something that she wanted to work towards during her time as Executive Director of International House; however, at the time it was too costly for the young organization. During Jolly's tenure as director, immigration was not the topic it became during the 2000s. She elaborated, "that was not a big thing when I was there and frankly it doesn't bring in a lot of money, but it does bring in some. But it is not the money thing it's more

[280] "International House Citizenship Classes," *The Charlotte International*, Spring 1995, International House Archives.
[281] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.

that you are helping people with specific needs."[282] While the clinic did not open until 2002, International House had primed itself for the moment that it would occur. Its Citizenship Classes, language and writing tutoring, and the referral program created the steps necessary to build a program that provided legal assistance.

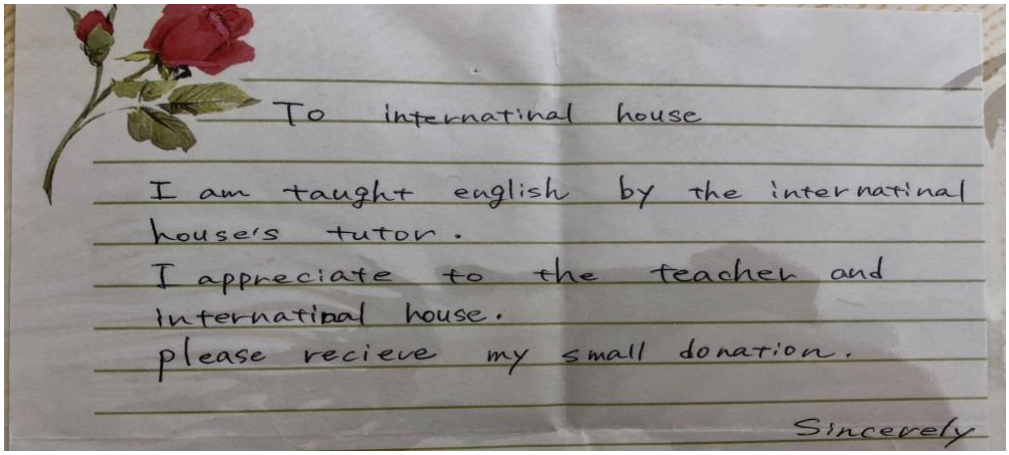

Figure 6: Handwritten Letter by English Language Course Student[283]

Creation of the Immigration Law Clinic

On January 9, 2002, at an International House Board meeting, Executive Director José Hernández-Paris opened the meeting by saying, "Legal Services of Southern Piedmont and the North Carolina Justice Center can't help undocumented aliens as they receive federal funding."[284] In other words, International House would become the only

[282] Kimm Jolly, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 4, 2018.
[283] Figure 6: Handwritten Letter by English Language Course Student, International House Archives, Photobook.
[284] International House Board Meeting Notes, January 9, 2002, International House Archives.

attorney-staffed provider of general consultation to immigrants in the Charlotte area.[285] As the previous section described, Charlotte was in desperate need for immigrant services, and while the LSSP was a low income serving nonprofit, it could not help immigrants in a full capacity. With the Charlotte community in desperate need of assistance and the United States just months after 9/11, the time to begin such a project came at a unique time in Charlotte's international history. Hernández-Paris opened this January meeting with a goal he had aspired for since his tenure as International House's executive director: build an immigration law clinic. Though Hernández-Paris's vision, the setting in Charlotte, and the political importance during the period, International House would work to open an immigration law clinic in a dusty room of the organization by August 2002.

José Hernández-Paris began as executive director in 1998 and dreamed of professionalizing some of the services the nonprofit was already doing for immigrants, such as the referral program and citizenship classes. Hernández-Paris, himself, moved to Charlotte from Colombia in 1977 at twelve years old. He described to *Charlotte Magazine* in 2013, "I was just starting seventh grade and didn't speak any English at all. It was a confusing, difficult time, but my memories are vivid."[286] With his personal background arriving in Charlotte as an immigrant, Hernández-Paris felt International

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[285] Laurene Callander, "Where Charlotte Welcomes the World," *The Charlotte Examiner*, March 8, 2011.

[286] Melissa Hankins, "Jose Hernandez-Paris," *Charlotte Magazine*, February 2013. Accessed January 30, 2019. http://www.charlottemagazine.com/Charlotte-Magazine/February-2013/Hidden-History/Jose-Hernandez-Paris-As-told-to-Melissa-Hankins/

House represented a natural meeting point for immigrants in the region.[287] To get a clinic going, Hernández-Paris had to find and hire an attorney who would build the program from scratch, while also being aware of the nonprofits' limited funds.

During the time that Hernández-Paris was mulling over the idea of designing an immigration clinic at International House, Massachusetts lawyer David Stewart had recently begun to look at relocating to the southeast. Born in Quebec, Canada, Stewart grew up as an English-speaking minority in a French-dominated culture. He described that growing up as a member of an ethnic minority significantly influenced his interest in cross-cultural understanding and ultimately led to his interest and passion in immigration law. "I had a similar feeling of being an outsider, but for different reasons. But because I had this framework of being a minority in my own kind of national context and then finding myself an immigrant, I grew very interested in the dynamic and the similarities and differences in that experience."[288] Stewart studied comparative Canadian law, both in the French civil and the common law tradition at McGill University, while additionally completing a master's degree in intercultural relations from Lesley University.[289] His law degree focused around the business side of immigration law. While looking for job opportunities in Charlotte, Stewart met with Hernández-Paris and began discussing the idea of designing an Immigration, Landlord, and Legal Services clinic, possibly in May

[287] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[288] Ibid.
[289] Ibid.

or June of 2002.[290] Stewart agreed to the job and moved to Charlotte with his wife. On August 15, 2002, Stewart, as the Immigration Service Director, oversaw the creation of International House's Immigration Advocacy Project (IAP). This program established an immigration services office for low-income residents of greater Charlotte, while also expanding the International House's services to include immigration law assistance to qualified and eligible residents.

One factor that allowed International House to create this program was the availability of space in the nonprofit. In mid-January of 2002, the Latin American Coalition moved out of International House to a different location, making room for the newly designed service.[291] With Stewart now the established director of the IAP, he then had to build the program from the ground up — from cleaning the room, to learning the ins and outs of immigration law, to making the program known in the community. He described his first day: "when I first started, Jose showed me a room in the back of our sort of musty smelling old house and it was full of crap. And the green carpet was really dirty. And basically, he showed me the room and gave me a vacuum cleaner and said here you go."[292]

By November 13, 2002, the clinic had established Tuesday afternoons for client intake information and consultation appointments and began seeing clients.[293]

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[290] International House Board Meeting Notes, January 9, 2002, International House Archives.
[291] Ibid.
[292] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[293] International House Board Meeting Notes, November 13, 2002, International House Archives.

Hernández-Paris' dream of professionalizing International House's immigration services became a reality. He described his excitement for the expansion of International House in a local Charlotte newspaper:

> We are pleased that we are able to begin providing Charlotte's low-income immigrants competent and trustworthy advice on their immigration law questions. As our immigration project expands, we aim to offer Charlotte's low-income immigrants a viable alternative to the unlicensed and unqualified individuals currently advising many of these people.[294]

In November of 2002, the *Asian Herald* ran a story on the newly established law clinic. The story explained that the clinic was opened, "in response to the growing demand from the international community and mounting concern for over unlicensed and unqualified individuals offering poor immigration law advice."[295] For Charlotte individuals to qualify, they had to earn less than 185% of federal poverty guidelines and reside in the Greater Charlotte area. When the clinic first opened it accepted cases involving family reunification cases, including family petitions, K and V visas, and approved asylee petition for family members.[296] As suggested, immigrants had become increasingly subjected to potential immigration scams. One key aspect David Stewart emphasized was the need to supply clients with qualified, competent information. Even if IAP was not able to ultimately help people because of qualification issues, it was "important that they even know that because otherwise, they were vulnerable to predatory

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[294] "International House offers Immigration Law Services," *The Asian Herald*, November 2002, International Hose Archives.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.

practitioners." Starting from the bare minimum, with one staff attorney, David Stewart helped transform the program into a full-fledged clinic that assisted a Charlotte immigrant community in desperate need of help. Within the opening days, the program quickly had many clients seeking assistance, forcing the program to quickly define its place in the community, its finances, and its mission.

The Mission and Goals of the Law Clinic

Housing an immigration law clinic within the broader agenda of International House meant that the mission and goal of the law clinic differed in some aspects from that of other typical law firms. International House's mission has continually been to promote cross-cultural understanding and to be a place of welcome and support for all of Charlotte's international community. With the organization's goals in mind, Stewart had to try to answer the question: "what does a legal immigration service look like for an organization whose mission is not a remedy driven legal services but rather, promoting intercultural understanding?"[297] Within the framework of both International House's mission and the needs in the Charlotte community, the IAP's non-traditional legal services approached the needs in the community with a wide lens. The forefront of that lens was, as the *Asian Herald* described, addressing the problem of predatory advice. Thinking differently about legal immigration services, the IAP founded the early cases on family reunification and unification. Additionally, while the program focused on developing a network of immigration law assistance, it also developed a network of

[297] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.

immigrant advocates and resources. One International House Update issued in 2002 described a network of competent, reliable local attorneys and friendly contacts with the Immigration and Naturalization Service.[298]

In defining its mission, the IAP also worked with Queens University and UNC Charlotte students with F-1 and J-1 visa problems, specifically heightened with the 9/11 lockdown. In many ways, the goals and mission of the immigration law clinic at International House reflected the priorities of its founder David Upshaw. The law clinic rooted itself in the core mission of International House, addressing the most pressing needs in the community, while also supporting some of its longest standing groups: university students and families.

Financing/ Early Community Involvement

One of the key concerns Hernández-Paris had in establishing the law clinic involved financing. In the nonprofit setting, finding fundraising for any new project always involved a careful look at how a new project would maintain revenue. This conversation began early with the initial hiring of David Stewart, as Hernández-Paris worried about how the organization would pay him. The two decided on a structured salary where Stewart started lower than the market rate, but every six months for two years the salary would go up.[299] Additionally, if the clinic proved successful, it would provide a ramp of revenue. The clinic established a mixed revenue strategy in which the

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[298] "International House offers Immigration Law Service," *International House Update* October-November 2002, International House Archives.

[299] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.

clinic would combine clients paying fee-for-service on a sliding income scale with grant money and some additional general funding from International House. One of the most substantial early grants that the clinic received was from the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, which helped jump-start the program. Grants quickly became a significant contribution to the financial stability of the program. As knowledge about the program and its mission grew across Charlotte and North Carolina, so did community support. When asked to explain why the community rallied around this program, Stewart described: "partly, because there was no one else doing it, and partly because of the climate. There were concerns with certain people who worried about the implications of the political environment of fear after 9/11 and how it was going to play out for immigrants."[300]

The mission statement of the immigration law clinic sparked interest, and several foundations provided grant funding in the early days of the program. With predatory advice rampant, and the continual political climate of 9/11 surrounding immigration, members in the community saw International House addressing these problems and rallied behind the mission. In addition to the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, Catholic Charities, and the Sisters of Mercy supplied money early in the program's start.

Typical Day and Early Challenges

As the program began, it continually had to react and respond to new clients' needs and set up an intake and case management system, while operating with limited

[300] Ibid.

personnel support. A typical week for Stewart became broken down by days. Monday involved catching up on cases and preparing cases for filing, while on Tuesday, the organization hosted new client intake. Wednesday involved interviewing clients and arranging meeting times. The rest of the week Stewart described, often involved a mix of things, including, going to the post office, filing papers, and meeting with other International House personnel.

When the program first started, David Stewart was the only legal full-time attorney, with occasional support from volunteer attorney Anne Crotty. As the program grew over time, Stewart established connections with CPCC, where he was teaching a class in the paralegal program and began building a pipeline of volunteers. At one time the program would have one, sometimes two paralegals.[301] These connections with CPCC continued to benefit the young program, as the paralegals were able to help prepare letters to clients, file forms, and other additional help. An *International House Update* letter described how many of these volunteer paralegals had themselves gone through an immigration process. These paralegals hailed from countries like Colombia, Peru, Chile, Serbia, and Egypt. With International House's core values residing in cross-cultural understanding, the nonprofit offered many languages in-house for clients, continually relying on community volunteers.[302]

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[301] Ibid.
[302] "Immigrant Advocacy Project: An Update," *International House Update*, October-November 2004, International House Archive.

Because Stewart trained in business immigration law, he was continually learning and adapting to his new role. In many ways, the IAP was a startup, often reacting to change and having to learn and adapt to what the program could and could not do in terms of resources. This meant defining what cases the clinic could take on. Stewart described, "we had to adapt, and sometimes we would go down rabbit holes and we would take new kinds of cases. But then we would realize, oh this is crazy like it does not make any sense for us to do this."[303] As described previously, for many of these cases that International House could not handle, clients needed to take trips to the Atlanta Immigration Court. Given their limited resources and capacity along with the expense involved traveling to Atlanta, in addition to the program mission statement, these trips were not possible. Stewart recalled that these "work intensive remedy driven cases" did not fit as comfortably into the program's mission of intercultural relations, empathy, and education, leading to an early policy decision in the beginning to not take these cases. Nevertheless, through other nonprofit and community connections, International House was able to use other support to assist these clients, such as the Catholic Charities to assist in as many cases as they could.

In the organization's early days, it had to define its place in Charlotte, its mission, and its capacity. As Stewart described, this "start-up" faced a desperate community and an endless number of challenges; however, as the program continued to shape its place in Charlotte, it became a significant player within community immigration advocacy, a

[303] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.

beacon of the city's diverse internationally friendly resources, and a place where immigrants could find secure, dependable resources.

2004-2009: Changes in IAP and Charlotte

By year two of the program's operation, IAP counseled, assisted, or referred over 450 individuals with immigration and citizenship questions and issues. Additionally, the program entered into retainer agreements with over 90 individuals, legally representing them before the U.S Bureau of Citizenship and Immigrant Services.[304] Through its two-year development, it specifically focused on low-income immigrants. It worked in conjunction with its still next-door neighbor, St. John's Baptist Church, in assisting Sudanese refugees with obtaining Permanent Resident Applications, as well as other organizations in Charlotte through referrals.

The *International House Update* newsletter described specific cases that the IAP assisted. One specific case that the newsletter explained involved a woman from Eastern Europe who had come to the United States to marry an American man. The man kept the woman and her young child in a remote trailer park with no phone or transportation.[305] When the woman tried to complain, the man threatened to have her deported. Through the IAP however, the organization helped her apply for protection as a battered spouse of a U.S citizen.[306] Another positive case that the newsletter happily detailed involved a

[304] "Immigrant Advocacy Project: An Update," *International House Update*, October-November 2004, International House Archive.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Ibid.

woman from Africa who was one year away from completing her degree.[307] Through the help of the law clinic, case workers ensured that she and her young children did not get deported. Stewart remembered these positive stories with fondness, stating "you have moments where you really are part of a narrative in someone's life, overcoming challenges and making something important happen to improve their lives."[308]

While the organization recognized positive outcomes in some cases, Stewart also recalled the cases that did not always end happily. He described, "and sometimes it was not totally uncommon for clients to just break down in sobs in despair when they realized they had kind of hit the end of the road."[309] The emotional impact of this job is something that the IAP director said not many people could compartmentalize. Stewart illustrated this: "I have talked to some people in the field that said that wore them down and they just could not do this kind of work because it is just too sad kind of thing."[310] The Immigration Advocacy Program daily felt the highs and lows that ranged between cases. In the early openings of the program, most of this work operated within the walls of International House; clients learned about the program through word of mouth. The program's work operated mainly through the network of immigrants and did not always reach the general Charlotte community.

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[307] Ibid.
[308] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Ibid.

However, as time progressed, and the United States moved away from the post-9/11 reactionary period, Stewart acknowledged feeling a shift in the cultural climate. He recalled feeling that up until year two of the program's operation, that they were working in "total obscurity" on a problem that the staff found to be very important, but it did not feel like it was getting much attention.[311] In 2005, however, the national political news turned its attention to efforts in immigration reform. Senators John McCain and Ted Kennedy introduced a bill in the United States Senate on May 12, 2005, known as the Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act. This bill became a bipartisan effort to put illegal immigrants on a more direct path to citizenship without having to leave the country before applying. Without this proposed act, all but the illegal immigrants living in the United States for 5 or more years, would have to leave the country. Once leaving the country, immigrants were not guaranteed a slot in a guest worker plan.[312] David Stewart explained the proposed bill as a "new approach to border patrol as well as other opportunities to the million-plus unauthorized migrants that were in the U.S to have an opportunity, a pathway to citizenship." The first of its kind since the early 2000s, this bill incorporated legalization, guest worker programs, and border enforcement components.[313]

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[311] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[312] Rachel L. Swarns," Bipartisan Effort to Draft Immigration Bill," *The New York Times*, December 26, 2006, accessed January 30, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/26/washington/26immig.html.
[313] "Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act," Congress.Gov, accessed January 30, 2019, https://www.congress.gov/bill/109th-congress/senate-bill/1033

While this bill never reached the floor for voting, its discourse and media coverage brought new attention to the IAP at International House. Stewart recalled this moment in history, stating that "it looked like it had a real chance to pass and the national news and local media started to get very interested in this development."[314] With this boom in the national news, International House began receiving calls from national foundations wanting to support the program. One of the largest organizations that contacted IAP was the Knight Foundation. The Knight Foundation's goal included building a national networking field where they found organizations such as IAP, which were doing grassroots immigrant services, and connected International House to other local actors doing similar work around the country.[315] Additionally, organizations such as the Four Freedoms Fund (FFF) and the American Freedom Fund (AFF) supplied grants to the immigration law clinic at International House for the next several years. Along with supplying monetary donations, the organization also began inviting David Stewart and others around the country to large summits in Chicago and Los Angeles. At these summits, Stewart was able to meet other advocates for immigrants' rights, connecting International House to other organizations that were "bit below the radar in comparisons to the L. A.'s and Bostons and others who already had more developed nonprofit immigration ecosystems."[316]

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[314] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid.

As the Immigration Advocacy Program continued to grow from trends of national debates, it additionally gained recognition across the Charlotte community. With its ties to the immigrant community, International House continually found itself in the middle of the city's growing discussions of immigration. These discussions included Charlotte public radio debates, and International House's role in promoting business relations for the city.

Local Charlotte Public Radio show, "Charlotte Talks with Mike Collins" in the late 2000s brought David Stewart and an anti-immigrant supporter from Raleigh to have a debate about pro and anti-immigrant views in North Carolina.[317] Stewart recalled, "they put me up against, this guy from Raleigh who was very sort of sloganeer, anti-immigration sloganeer...and it got a lot of attention for our program, and for what was going on at the time."[318] Because of this radio segment, the IAP at International House began gaining more and more attention across the Charlotte community. Its work and mission became well known in the local government. The organization, once again, became a way to promote the city's projected immigrant-friendly rhetoric. When asked how the immigration program at International House placed itself in the sphere of local government, David Stewart explained, "I think where the opportunities and synergies arose with the immigration program, and multinational companies like to invest in and affiliate with cities that are diverse."[319] As with International House's visitor program,

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[317] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.

local business realized the benefit of pitching Charlotte and Mecklenburg as an internationally and immigrant-friendly county.

During this time, International House additionally developed a parental role as a sponsor for fledgling nonprofits that started to address specific needs of a particular ethnic group. Angeles Ortega-Moore, executive director of the Latin American Coalition, which was once housed in the International House, detailed in the *Charlotte Observe*r, "International House served almost as an incubator for many organizations and many groups to become strong before leaving the nest and flying off on their own."[320]

Because of the program's vision of opportunity, openness, and engagement, the organization became viewed, according to Stewart, "as the warm and friendly place for immigrants."[321] The program came to represent a place where city leaders and foreign direct investors could point to within the city as an example of the welcoming nature of Charlotte. In 2006, Mayor Pat McCrory honored International House for its years of service advocating for people of diverse national backgrounds by issuing a proclamation declaring Sept. 30 "International House Day." McCrory went on to state to the *Charlotte Observer* in 2006, "International House has played an integral role in helping Charlotte to become an international city. They have not only brought the world to Charlotte but helped promote Charlotte to the world." [322]

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[320] Franco Ordonez, "Uniting Worlds for 25 Years - International House Continues to Foster Diversity," The Charlotte Observer, September 6, 2006, Newsbank.
[321] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.
[322] Franco Ordonez, "Uniting Worlds for 25 Years - International House Continues to Foster Diversity," *The Charlotte Observer*, September 6, 2006, Newsbank

Stewart felt that synergies arose from these connections with the local government.[323] Furuseth and Smith's research points to Stewart's conclusion as well, suggesting that Charlotte's corporate communities' lack of support for anti-immigrant policies displayed the business sector's growing awareness "that Charlotte-Mecklenburg's future competitiveness is linked to internationalization of the workforce and success in national and global markets."[324] However, while these "synergies" within the city pushed the immigration law clinic into a more significant role in the immigration and local government community, continual local, state and national backlash on immigrants kept Charlotte at the "crossroads," of pro and anti-immigrant sentiment. Additionally, International House's nonprofit mission limited the program's ability to advocate during times of high immigration tension. Within its intercultural mission, the program, reflecting the city of Charlotte itself, " had a long tradition of blending legacy white and black leaders in the community with new American leaders." Because of this, while International House supported Latinx national movements in Charlotte, the organization "didn't necessarily want to be front and center waving the placards on the newsreels." As Stewart recalled, during times of rising political debates in Charlotte, International House had to "walk a fine line."[325]

These changes on the national level, and the lack of federal immigration regulation in the mid-2000s, greatly affected the visibility of the immigration law clinic

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[323] Ibid.
[324] Furuseth and Smith, "Localized Immigration Policy," 186.
[325] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018.

on the ground level. As immigration rights and discussion of illegal immigration came to the forefront of national news, yet produced no policy results, the Charlotte community continually looked to International House for support and as a place to demonstrate the city's progressive ideals of its international community. Amidst International House's role in the community, the city officials of Charlotte faced intensifying pressure to address the mounting demand for immigration regulation and policies. Because of the continued inability of the federal government to produce immigration regulation, local cities like Charlotte became a contested battleground for policies.

Charlotte: "The whole, Illegal Alien Problem"[326]

This dichotomy of increased attention to immigrants, combined with the failure of the federal government to develop legislative solutions, produced a rippling effect in Charlotte. While organizations like International House came to represent the "accepting" and at times "neutral" nature of Charlotte, the city found itself as a region deeply divided.

In late November of 2005, one event brought these simmering tensions to a head. Jorge Hernandez-Soto crashed into a UNC Charlotte student on Interstate 485 while driving north on a southbound lane at speeds over 100 mph.[327] He was a Mexican citizen, in the United States illegally, with no driver's license, and admitted to driving drunk the night of the crash. Utilizing this story, by the beginning of December, three Republican

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[326] Quote from, Don Beken, Letter to Mayor McCrory, August 15, 2008.University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection, Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:4.
[327] Ed Williams, "Immigrant impasse," *Editor Pages*, December 8, 2005. University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection,Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 16:1.

commissioners drafted a proposal to deter illegal immigration in Charlotte. According to historian Julie Weise this movement in anti-immigration rhetoric and policy making "combined grassroots energies with national politics, often advocating that model legislation from national conservative organizations be implemented on a local or state level.[328] On December 5, the Mecklenburg County commissioners split a vote over what to do about illegal immigration. Republicans called for specific county action to deter immigration, while Democrats pointed to the newly developed city-county committee appointed by Charlotte's mayor to study the problem before further consideration.

This newly designed committee was Mayor McCrory's (mayor of Charlotte from 1995–2009) Immigrant Study Commission (ISC). Created in response to the public outcry following the death of the UNC Charlotte student, this program became a branch of the mayor's office dedicated to studying current policies and data on the city's immigrant population and the effects on Charlotte's economy, job market, health care, and school system.[329] It was designed to study federal policies and then return with recommendations for Charlotte before making any formal action.[330] However, the

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[328] Weise, "Skyscrapers and Chicken Plants," 202.
[329] "Alan Gordon Appointed Chair of Mayor's Immigration Study Commission," *The Charlotte Jewish News*, May 2006. University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection,Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:4.
[330] Brian Gott, "Study Hall of Big Stall," *Rhino Times*, December 15, 2005. University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection,Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:24.

creation of this commission led to a city-wide dialogue, leaving many Charlotteans to ask, "why don't they just get legal?"[331]

This program came under fire within a week of its start. Republican County Commissioner Bill James called the program a "toothless tiger," and that it was a "do nothing board full of the usual suspects whose goal is to cover the behinds of politicos too scared to do their jobs."[332] For many Charlotteans, the ISC, and the city's silence on immigration policies, symbolized the city government stance and support for the immigrant community. The city government was trying to avoid making sustained rash policies on immigration, due to the city's ties and economic growth within the community. McCrory said in an interview, "we want to utilize the ISC, so we are not making policies based on signs, singular events, or on headlines."[333] Mecklenburg County's rejection of proposals related to immigrant employment and social services demonstrates this stance. The county responded to their decision by saying "immigration is a federal responsibility."[334] Frustrated by this one man wrote to McCrory, "Sure, it is the job of the feds to do something, but… it is up to the local people to step up and take charge."[335] Despite Mecklenburg County's stance to avoid regulated policies on

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[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Danica Coto, "English as official language proposed," *The Charlotte Observer*, October 23, 2006.University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection,Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:2.
[335] Wayne Harbin, Letter to Mayor McCrory, May 30, 2006, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection, Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:2.

immigration, areas around Charlotte — like many other cities around the country — did make their own policies. In 2006, neighboring cities of Mint Hill and Landis reviewed policies that would make English the official language and would punish businesses that employed, rented, or provided services to undocumented immigrants.[336]

It was within the city's surrounding suburbs that Greater Charlotte found its anti-immigrant rhetoric and base. Weise's research demonstrated a comparison of Mecklenburg and neighboring Gaston County: "A comparison of anti-immigrant ordinance debates in Mecklenburg and Gaston counties shows how the Charlotte Way and a Democratic majority kept the movement at bay in the city even as politically independent exurbs passed anti-immigrant legislation."[337]

Combined with rising public rhetoric of anti-immigrant and "illegal aliens" (often circling perceived increases in crime rates and overpopulated classrooms) many people in Charlotte demanded that Mayor McCrory and city officials tighten policies on undocumented communities. In letters to McCrory, members of the Charlotte community expressed outrage at both the federal government's inability to regulate illegal immigration and the city of Charlotte's perceived acceptance and tolerance. The mayor received letters about community members' dissatisfaction with the city's tolerance and accommodation of immigrants. One woman from Gastonia wrote, "What is it going to

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[336] Danica Coto, "English as official language proposed," *The Charlotte Observer,* October 23, 2006.University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection, Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:2.

[337] Weise, "Skyscrapers and Chicken Plants," 204.

take for you people to wake up? They are taking over our country… Frankly, I am tired of these Latinos who have invaded our country"[338] Another Concord woman suggested the preferred treatment of illegal immigrants, "it is very clear they get preferential treatment at the expense of natural citizens."[339]

The Mayor and Charlotte's city officials struggled to implement immigration regulation, representing the city's attempt to promote itself as an internationally diverse and friendly location. Yet, intensifying debates and public demand led to changes within Charlotte's business friendly, pro-immigrant rhetoric. The supporter of International House and business minded Mayor Pat McCrory in 2008 began speaking out against the Latinx community, as he sought to accumulate and broaden his Republican base. Weise's research provides an excerpt from a Charlotte Spanish-language newspaper:

> "We the Latinos have changed in the eyes of McCrory. In the 1990s we were a hard-working community, with family values, needed to build downtown Charlotte. Now that it has all been built, he is using us for a different purpose"—courting white suburban votes by stoking anti-immigrant sentiment.[340]

As this chapter has suggested, the city's stance of internationalizing, and immigration policy found itself struggling against public opinion and national debates. The continued

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[338] Jeanette Humphries, Letter to Mayor McCrory, July 7, 2008, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection, Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCrory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:26.
[339] Carol Lee Roy, Letter to Mayor McCrory, May 24, 2006, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection, Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCrory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:26.
[340] Weise, "Skyscrapers and Chicken Plants," 205.

plunge into anti-immigrant rhetoric in Charlotte continued in 2008 with its push for a national immigrant court.

"Don't stop in Charlotte"'- Current Issues in Charlotte's Immigration Court [341]

In a new development that deepened the city's continued struggle to regulate local immigration policies, in 2008 Charlotte became home to one of the most notorious immigration courts in the United States, revealing the city's continued "crossroads" time period.[342] Beginning as early as 2002, U.S North Carolina Rep. Sue Myrick called for giving Charlotte's immigration office a larger role —at this time, Charlotte's Immigration and Naturalization Service Office was just a satellite of the Atlanta branch.[343] Immigrants found themselves waiting for more than three years for permanent residency status or citizenship. During the debate in 2006, anti-immigrant rhetoric soared across the city and surrounding regions. Rep. Myrick released a press statement discussing the potential of the court coming to Charlotte:

> And now, we have this chance to be one of the areas selected for a new immigration court. And let me be clear, this might be the last chance we have in getting a court in the foreseeable future...That is why I am asking the people of Mecklenburg, Gaston and Union Counties, my district, and residents of this entire

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[341] Quote from Julia Preston interview with Viridiana Martínez in Julia Preston, "Migrants in surge fare worse in immigration court than other groups," *The Washington Post*, July 30, 2017, accessed January 30, 2019.

[342] Furuseth and Smith, "Localized Immigration Policy," 186. Furuseth and Smith described the current status of Charlotte immigration time period as "cross-road," moving from immigrant friendly in the 80s to Hispanic being synonymous with illegal immigrant in the late 2000s.

[343] Jim Morrill, "Myrick: Immigration Office should gain district status," *The Charlotte Observer*, June 4, 2002, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Atkins Library, Special Collection-Manuscript Collection,Charlotte (NC) Mayor (1995-2009: McCory) Papers, Immigrant Study Commission, 15:4.

region and state to sign a petition to help push the Department of Justice to make the right decision.[344]

While Charlotte did not gain its own immigration court until 2008, it is worth detailing the controversy surrounding its high rate of deportation. On November 4, 2008, Charlotte became the headquarters of the Executive Office for Immigration Review Court. The Charlotte Immigration Court falls under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Chief Immigration Judge, which is under the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice chose Charlotte due to its location near the South Carolina border, a state that the court also serves, in addition to the substantial caseloads in the area.[345] Until 2008, both states reported to the Atlanta immigration court.[346] *The Charlotte Observer* reported that in 2017 there were 2,883 immigration cases from North Carolina and 490 from South Carolina.[347] In 2008, there were 55 national immigration courts across the country; Charlotte became the 57th.[348]

Opening in October of 2008, the Charlotte court quickly became known as one of the toughest in the nation. *WCNC*, a local Charlotte news station, reported that according

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[344] "REP. Myrick Announces Petition Drive to Bring Immigration Court to Charlotte, US Fed News Service, Including US State News; Washington, D.C. [Washington, D.C]17 July 2006:N.C, https://search-proquest-com.librarylink.uncc.edu/docview/470410603?accountid=14605 2002 represents the second time North Carolina officials tried to gain a full court in Charlotte.

[345] Lisa Zagaroli, "Immigration court opens in Charlotte Nov. 4," *The Charlotte Observer*, October 11, 2008, accessed January 30, 2019.

[346]"Immigration Court Charlotte, North Carolina," United States Department of Justice, accessed January 30, 2019. https://www.justice.gov/eoir/charlotte-immigration-court

[347]Lisa Zagaroli, "Immigration court opens in Charlotte Nov. 4," *The Charlotte Observer*, October 11, 2008, accessed January 30, 2019. https://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/local/article9016364.html#storylink=cpy

[348] The city of Charlotte signed a 10-year lease for 13,100 square feet, plus 52 parking spaces, for the court. Ibid.

to Syracuse University's Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse, the Charlotte Immigration Court had the third highest rate of deportation orders in 2018.[349] Their report concluded that "through May of 2018, the court had ordered 3,250 deportations, including 293 children" ;the numbers showed just eight ordered deportations for criminal or national security reasons.[350] By this time, Jose Hernández-Paris was now the Latin American Coalition Executive Director. In the *WCNC* news article, he described his recognition for the need for enforcement from the Charlotte immigration court, but not at this level.[351] "It's not allowing folks to show the need to be able to stay in this country, even if they qualify," he said.[352] He continued by stating, "it's so difficult to show up to court when you're afraid you're going to be taken away from your families."[353] The news article went on to detail that Charlotte's Immigration Court held an 88.4% deportation rate. With the national average at 67.5%, Charlotte only trailed immigration courts in Georgia and New Mexico in deportation rate percentages.[354] Julia Preston from the *Washington Post* interviewed Viridiana Martínez, an immigration attorney in Durham, North Carolina, who discussed the Charlotte court by stating, "We should set up

[349] Nate Morabito, "The Defenders: Is Charlotte ground zero when it comes to deportations?" *WCNC*, July 17, 2018. Accessed January 30, 2019. https://www.wcnc.com/article/news/the-defenders-is-charlotte-ground-zero-when-it-comes-to-deportations/275-57486364
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Nate Morabito, "The Defenders: Is Charlotte ground zero when it comes to deportations?" *WCNC*, July 17, 2018. Accessed January 30, 2019.
[353] Nate Morabito, "The Defenders: Is Charlotte ground zero when it comes to deportations?" *WCNC*, July 17, 2018. Accessed January 30, 2019.
[354] Ibid.

billboards on the highway for people coming from the border. Keep going, don't stop in Charlotte!"[355]

Charlotte's Immigration Court represents another glaring hole in the city's continued struggle in the late 2000s to preach pro-immigration (and pro-business) in a heavily divided local community and state that supported anti-immigrant rhetoric. Despite the controversial state policies and the immigration law court, International House continued to help and support the city's immigrant community. The contradictory rhetoric encouraged by the pro-immigrant business community, and North Carolina's rulings on immigration and its immigration court, places Charlotte at a conjunction of ideologies. The city of Charlotte's at times contradictory place within the division of pro and anti-immigration policies, represents national trends across the United States. The shifting of immigration regulation in post 9/11 America from federal to state jurisdiction continued to produce cities like Charlotte: a city where pro-immigration advocates and businesses encourage friendly, open policies, in a state that continually reinforces hardened views on immigrants and their rights.

Conclusion

The Immigration Advocacy Project — known in 2018 as the Ginter Immigration Law clinic — in International House represents a full circle of David Upshaw's vision for immigration assistance. Jose Hernández-Paris saw a demanding need in the Charlotte immigrant community for trustworthy, professional, legal advice, and took action.

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[355] Julia Preston, "Migrants in surge fare worse in immigration court than other groups," *The Washington Post*, July 30, 2017, accessed January 30, 2019.

Through Hernández-Paris' vision and David Stewart's leadership, dedication, and patience, these men took a dusty room in the Staton Mansion and made a lasting immigration legal law clinic. Despite the challenges that involved opening a nonprofit immigration law clinic in North Carolina, in a post-9/11 United States, the lives that the program touched made all the difference for David Stewart. Stewart continues to support the program with donations. Looking at the law clinic now he described: "it gives me a great sense of pride, pleasure, and satisfaction."[356] The lives and people he met, Stewart stated, were what made the hard work worth everything. He described one client, whose story and impact continues to this day.

> And one of the most touching things is I helped a client who was an Indian national. And she was in an abusive relationship and we were able to work with her and help her get a green card independently from her spouse. And because of that, she was able to gain that independence and work her way out of this abusive relationship. And now every year since then on U.S Thanksgiving Day I get a call from her father in India saying thank you. [357]

David Stewart discussed this phone call that he had received every Thanksgiving from this woman's father as the embodiment of why this work was so meaningful to him.

The last proposed program that David Upshaw proposed in his initial creation of International House was labeled an "Immigration Assistance." The creation of the Immigration Assistance Program encapsulated Upshaw's vision but also exceeded his original ideas. Studying a pro-immigrant nonprofit in Charlotte provides a case study that

[356] David Stewart, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 14, 2018
[357] Ibid.

represents much larger trends across the United States. It reveals how national (or lack thereof) and state policies trickle down to the local level and become adapted, reconstructed, and revised to fit into narratives that benefit the city's image. This chapter has described how International House's role as a moderator was once again adapted to fit Charlotte's changing landscape. The organization stepped into a vacant role in the city that desperately needed attention: immigration law. As the city of Charlotte battled and fought to define its place in an increasingly local anti-immigrant setting, and within the state and national system, it looked to International House and its IAP to illustrate the city's continued fight for a welcoming, internationalized city. While the city pointed to International House as an example of its diversity, the organization remained constricted in its ability to publicly advocate during the hotly contested immigration battles in Charlotte. Charlotte developed ar an intersection of both pro and anti-immigrant policies that continues to develop in 2018. While the city continually addresses its anti-immigrant problems, International House represents a beacon for the pro-immigrant side of Charlotte and simultaneously the limits of a culture-promotion based nonprofit. Through the organization, IAP demonstrates International House's ability to continually respond to its targeted community while addressing Charlotte's place, growth, and responsibility as a Global Gateway city.

EPILOGUE

As this work has described, International House from its creation, strove to engage a local and international population in Charlotte. As a New South City, Charlotte, North Carolina serves as a case that provides a unique opportunity to analyze the history and interconnectivity of a local, internationally-focused non-profit. The history and growth of this program is unique because of its parallels to the growth of the city of Charlotte's international population.

Figure 7: International House's 2018 Logo[358]

While this thesis is not exhaustive in examining each of the organization's programs, it does provide the first historical analysis of International House and its expansive reach in the international community in Charlotte and abroad. It has detailed three important aspects of the history of International House. The first chapter described why Charlotte became a home to an international center. It details the organization's birthplace, its core goals, and how it interacted with various sectors of the Charlotte

[358] Figure 7: "International House's 2018 Logo", International House Website, Accessed January 5, 2019. https://www.ihclt.org

community. This mission, which focused on the people living in Charlotte —locals and internationals— set the core of how the organization would advance in the future. This initial mediation introduced various sections of the Charlotte community together.

Chapter two looked at one of the oldest programs at International House, the International Visitors Program, and how this connected the organization closer to Charlotte businesses and political leaders, in addition to national diplomatic agendas. It displayed the pragmatic pro-business and pro-immigrant rhetoric that the growing business sector preached across the city in the late 80s and early 90s. In this chapter, this thesis explored how International House's mediation shifted during this time period to assist the economic goals of the city. The city of Charlotte utilized CCIV to connect foreign delegates, and international business, and to educate the community on the economic benefits of internationalization.

The third chapter detailed the origins of the immigration law clinic at International House. Arising out of the midst of intensifying, post-9/11, anti-immigrant rhetoric within Charlotte, across the state of North Carolina, the southeast, and the nation, International House stood as a community leader in demonstrating Charlotte's inclusive attitudes. While the organization had to continually revisit its cross-community goals in a turbulent political sphere, it strove to be a meeting ground for the international, local, and political sectors of Charlotte, yet, faced limitations as a cross-culture mission-based nonprofit. North Carolina's state rulings on immigration and its immigration court, revealed a crossroads where Charlotte's pro-immigrant business and the state's anti-immigrant government officials halted at a standstill. The city of Charlotte and its

officials also found themselves trapped and, in some cases, overcome by anti-immigrant policies. Within this crossroad, International House found itself once again a mediator of Charlotte's international, immigrant population: working on the ground level activism and support, while being utilized as a tool and symbol of Charlotte's pro-immigrant mindset. The rise of xenophobia and anti-immigration in Charlotte further reveals the limitations of internationally focused nonprofits in their ability to reach populations outside the city limits. While International House became interconnected with the city's political and economic leaders, its influence at times was hindered by nationwide debates.

In 2012 International House moved to its current location in 2018 at the Midwood International and Cultural Center. This converted high school "houses a multitude of international and community-based groups including the Language Academy, The Light Factory, Universal Institute for Successful Aging, League of Women Voters, Bosnian-Herzegovinian American Cultural Center, Japanese Association of Charlotte, All Ethiopian Community Center, and Grameen America."[359] The website for International House summarizes the organization's current mission and its roots in David Upshaw's original concept:

> Still, at its core, International House remains the same organization that was founded at St. John's Baptist Church on Hawthorne Lane all those years ago - a center for diversity, a welcoming place for people from different cultures and backgrounds and a hub that brings globally-minded residents of the greater-Charlotte area together.[360]

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[359] "History of International House," International House Website, Accessed January 30th, 2018. http://www.ihclt.org/about/

[360] Kimm Jolly, interviewed by Maddy Rhinehart in Charlotte, North Carolina, December 4, 2018.

The organization throughout its history has grown in size, in programs, in staff, and in lives touched. Kimm Jolly recalled, "the thing I remember the most, that touches me the most, was the personal relationships that I had, and the fact that people did find a home there. And something they found that they couldn't find anywhere else in Charlotte."[361]

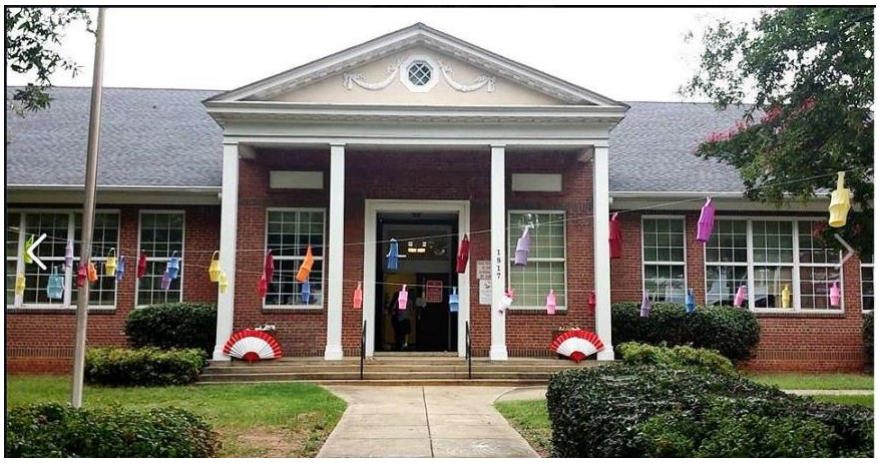

Figure 8: The Midwood International and Culture Center: Home of International House in 2018[362]

While this thesis suggested both the successes and limitations of cross-culture based nonprofits, the workers, staff, and volunteers throughout International House's history reveals the passion and desire to make Charlotte a globally-inclusive center.

This thesis has described the ways in which International House has demonstrated its place as a symbol and operator in Charlotte's international presence. While its role as

[361] Ibid.
[362] Figure 8: The Midwood International and Culture Center: Home of International House in 2018, International House Website, Accessed January 5, 2019. https://www.ihclt.org

a mezzo-level intermediary has shifted to address the city' needs, the local, grassroots, program that David Upshaw designed and envisioned in the early 1980s, remains the same. This work concludes by reevaluating David Upshaw's quote, utilized in the first chapter, to describe his initial goals of community mediation:

> in order for the Center to be effective there must be a coming together of the community, local officers, agency heads, international advisors, and international themselves in a united effort to enrich the lives of the lives of the people who live in Charlotte; specifically, the pressing needs of international must be met and cultural exchange facilitated.[363]

His words suggest that in order for International House to be effective there must be a coming together of all aspects of the community. In doing so, it will enrich the lives of all of the people who live in Charlotte. This history has demonstrated a coming together. While roles and agendas have continually shifted in changing political climates, both International House and the city of Charlotte strive to be a city that "welcomes the world."[364]

[363] David Upshaw, "International House, A Proposal," International House Archives, April 1982.
[364] International House slogan in 2018.

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