

RECEPTIVITY IN A NEW IMMIGRANT GATEWAY:
IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT GEOGRAPHY, PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND
IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION IN CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

by

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ABSTRACT

PAUL NOEL MCDANIEL. Receptivity in a new immigrant gateway: immigrant settlement geography, public education, and immigrant integration in Charlotte, North Carolina (Under the direction of DR. HEATHER A. SMITH)

Community receptivity expresses the degree of openness within a place to someone or something new. Receptivity is shaped by multiple components, institutions, and structures related to a community's political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. Receptivity also encapsulates how immigrants perceive their reception in their new home. This mixed methods study explores how receptivity plays out in a new immigrant gateway (Charlotte, North Carolina) with a particular focus on its complexity and manifestations within the local public school system. Amid new forms of immigrant settlement geography and integration processes the city's public school teachers and administrators must navigate their response to the growing number of immigrant students and families in their institutions. This research explores the extent to which various stakeholders in the process experience and negotiate these changes, how this is shaped by the context of Charlotte's new gateway status, and advances the perspective that educational institutions play a particularly integral role in shaping a place's receptivity.

The research results offer the following contributions: First, receptivity, as a fluid, fickle, and malleable process, is likely distinctive in new immigrant gateways and different from that observed in traditional destinations with long-established immigrant communities. Second, the dynamism of a new gateway affects that place's receptivity, with some places becoming either more or less receptive to such changes over time. Third, beyond the political and economic realms, a social and cultural institution such as

a public school system can serve as a critical influencing factor of broader community receptivity especially in a new immigrant gateway. Whereas our thinking about receptivity is typically based on the experience of traditional or more established gateways, immigrant settlement in new destinations provides an opportunity to explore how receptivity is shaped and reshaped as the immigration landscape is emerging. In terms of receptivity, new gateways are at a crossroads. Their journey forward will include decisions that will lead to a direction that is either more or less open to immigrant newcomers. Schools and other community organizations have an opportunity to proactively influence the direction of receptivity in new immigrant gateways. This research illuminates that role in the case of Charlotte. Finally, as places with greater welcome and inclusiveness tend towards more efficient integration and stronger economic and societal resiliency, this study furthers the dialogue about how the *warmth of receptivity* contributes to an area's degree of *regional resilience*. Ultimately, offering another thread of understanding to the tapestry of new urban geographies, this research shows that, among the intersections of increased immigration, service provision, community receptivity, and immigrant integration, public education institutions are presented with the challenge and the opportunity to be a vanguard of positive change in their communities. Through quantitative analysis, exploratory spatial data analysis, and systematic content analysis of qualitative interviews, this mixed methods study's major theoretical contribution is that receptivity works differently in new immigrant gateways compared with traditional gateway destinations. Receptivity also occurs differently across geography at both the inter-urban and intra-urban scales. The short history and rapid growth of immigration in a place leads in part to a distinctive form of receptivity that

occurs differently than that found in traditional immigrant gateways with longer histories of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration.

Receptivity, therefore, is constructed in a new immigrant gateway by the various dimensions – political, economic, social, and cultural. Educational institutions, such as public schools, have the challenge and the opportunity to contribute to the construction of receptivity in their communities. Furthermore, while receptivity occurs differently in new immigrant gateways at the inter-urban level, receptivity may also occur distinctively at the intra-urban level across different communities within the same metropolitan area. The varying experiences of the three immigrant clusters in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County and the three case study schools each in one of the three clusters suggest that receptivity is playing out differently in each of those areas. At the same time, however, each area contributes to the city's collective receptivity. With that in mind, teachers and administrators in a school are agents of change constructing receptivity for their school and surrounding community.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
LIST OF TABLES	xx
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and Rationale	1
1.2 Purpose and Methodological Approach	7
1.3 Research Significance	9
1.4 Conceptual and Practical Contributions	11
CHAPTER 2: FOUNDATION OF RECEPTIVITY AND LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 What is Receptivity?	16
2.2 How Have Others Defines and Explored Receptivity?	18
2.2.1 Native-Born Receptivity Toward Immigrants in the United States	20
2.2.2 Geographies of Receptivity	21
2.2.3 Positive and Negative Receptivity	25
2.2.4 How Does This Research Define Receptivity?	30
2.3 What Constitutes Receptivity and Receptivity's Multidimensionality	30
2.3.1 Receptivity and Aspects of Everyday Life	31
2.3.2 Political Dimensions of Receptivity	33
2.3.3 Economic Dimensions of Receptivity	37
2.3.4 Social, Cultural, Educational, and Community Dimensions of Receptivity	40
2.4 Creating Community Receptivity	41
2.5 Receptivity and Immigrant Assimilation, Incorporation, Inclusion	43

Integration, and Adjustment	
2.5.1 Immigrant Assimilation	44
2.5.2 Immigrant Incorporation, Inclusion, and Integration	48
2.5.3 Immigrant Adjustment	55
2.5.4 How is Receptivity Shaped and Changed?	56
2.6 Receptivity and New Immigrant Gateways: New Geographies of Immigrant Settlement	57
2.6.1 Six Types of Immigrant Gateways	57
2.6.2 Current Research Trends in New Immigrant Gateways	60
2.6.3 New Immigrant Gateways and Suburban Immigrant Settlement in the U.S.	62
2.6.4 Changing Patterns of Immigrant Growth in Metropolitan America	63
2.6.5 Immigrant Settlement, Residential Mobility and Neighborhood Change	71
2.7 How is Receptivity Different Across Space and in New Immigrant Gateways?	73
2.7.1 Fluidity and Fickleness of Receptivity	74
2.7.2 Examining Public Schools as Evidence of a Distinctive Form of Receptivity in New Immigrant Gateways	75
2.7.3 What Else Does This Research Tell Us About Receptivity?	76
2.8 Summary	76
CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION FOR ALL IN THE UNITED STATES	78
3.1 Immigrant Education Receptivity in the United States Today	81
3.2 Public Education and Receptivity in Charlotte: Past, Present, and Future	84
3.2.1 Public School Desegregation in the 1970s: Charlotte's Historical Context	84

3.2.2 Public and Private School Resegregation in the 2000s: Charlotte's Current Context	87
3.2.3 Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools Strategic Plan 2010	94
3.2.4 Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools Strategic Plan 2014	96
3.2.5 Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools and the 2010 Broad Prize for Urban Education	98
3.3 Immigrant Education and Public Education Receptivity	99
3.3.1 Strengthening Public Education Receptivity for the Public Good	102
3.4 Summary	103
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND DATA	105
4.1 Humanistic Geography and Situated Knowledge	106
4.2 Mixed Methodology	110
4.2.1 Mixed Methods Research in Human Geography	112
4.3 Multiscalar Process	116
4.4 Multilevel Mixed Methods Model	120
4.4.1 Research Question 1	122
4.4.2 Individual Case Study School Selection	125
4.4.3 Research Questions 2 and 3	126
4.4.4 IRB Human Subjects Research Approval Process	132
4.5 Summary	135
CHAPTER 5: STUDY AREA AND FIRST RESEARCH QUESTION	137
5.1 Charlotte's Evolution as a New Immigrant Gateway	137
5.2 Justifying the Study Area: Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	138
5.2.1 Total Population in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	139

5.2.2 Population Growth Rate in Mecklenburg County	141
5.2.3 Population Group Concentration and Dispersal in Mecklenburg County	142
5.3 Research Question 1: How have transitioning neighborhood-based patterns of increased immigration settlement in Charlotte impacted school composition over time?	152
5.3.1 Exploratory Spatial Data Analysis	153
5.3.2 Location Quotient Analysis	153
5.3.3 Local Indicators of Spatial Association	165
5.4 Characteristics of Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools	179
5.5 Selecting Three Case Study Schools	187
5.5.1 Case Study School Selection Process	187
5.6 Study Area and First Research Question Summary	193
5.7 Summary	194
CHAPTER 6: <i>A PRIORI</i> THEMES AND RESULTS	196
6.1 Introduction	196
6.2 Research Question 2: How is a large public education system responding to increased immigration at both the school system level and the individual school level?	197
6.3 Qualitative Key Informant Interview Analysis and Discussion	199
6.4 <i>A Priori</i> Themes	199
6.5 Composition and Demographic Change at the District and Individual School Levels	206
6.5.1 District Level Demographic Change	207
6.5.2 Individual School Level Demographic Change	210
6.6 Challenges for Public Education from Transitioning Immigrant	211

Settlement Geography	
6.6.1 Challenges for the District	212
6.6.2 Challenges for Individual Schools	214
6.6.3 Language Barriers	215
6.6.4 Cultural Barriers	217
6.6.5 Testing Barriers	219
6.7 Opportunities for Public Education from Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography	223
6.7.1 Diversity	224
6.7.2 Global Learning and Understanding	226
6.7.3 Cultural Literacy	228
6.8 Responses by the School District and Specific Schools to Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography	230
6.8.1 District Response	231
6.8.2 Individual School Response	234
6.8.3 Individual Participant Response	239
6.8.4 Community Response	240
6.9 Community Receptivity, Public Education, and Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography	242
6.9.1 Overall Receptivity	243
6.9.2 Community Receptivity Effect on Public Education	247
6.9.3 Public Education Affect on Community Receptivity	248
6.10 New Immigrant Gateways, Public Education, and the Public Good	250
6.11 <i>A Priori</i> Themes Analysis	254
6.11.1 Receptivity is Unfolding Differently in a New Immigrant Gateway	254

6.11.2 The Construction of Receptivity in a New Immigrant Gateway	256
6.12 Summary	257
CHAPTER 7: ORGANIC THEMES	258
7.1 Organic Themes	258
7.2 Refugees	265
7.3 Transiency of Immigrant Students and Families	270
7.4 Mixed Status Families	272
7.5 Barriers Imposed by an Overall Culture of Poverty	276
7.6 The DREAM Act	279
7.7 What Participants Would Like to See Occur	281
7.8 Other Challenges	284
7.8.1 Parent Involvement and Participation	284
7.8.2 Budget	285
7.9 Other Opportunities	286
7.10 Organic Themes Analysis	287
7.11 Summary	291
CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND THEORETICAL LIFT	292
8.1 Situated Knowledge, Receptivity, Immigrant Adjustment and Integration, and Public Education in a New Immigrant Gateway	293
8.2 Receptivity, Immigrant Adjustment, and Integration	298
8.3 Receptivity in New Immigrant Gateways	300
8.4 Receptivity: Fluid, Fickle, and Malleable	301
8.5 Receptivity: Cultural Dimensions and Education	302

8.5.1 South Charlotte	307
8.5.2 East Charlotte	308
8.5.3 Northeast Charlotte	309
8.6 Summary	309
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION	311
9.1 Research Significance	316
9.2 Broader Conceptual, Practical, and Societal Impacts	319
9.2.1 Advancing Understanding While Promoting Teaching, Training, and Learning	319
9.2.2 Broadening the Participation of Underrepresented Groups	320
9.2.3 Enhancing the Infrastructure for Research and Education	320
9.2.4 Benefitting Society Through Practical Applications and Societal Significance	321
9.3 Challenges and Opportunities for Future Research	322
BIBLIOGRAPHY	324
APPENDIX A: LEGAL PRECEDENT CONCERNING PUBLIC EDUCATION	338
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW MATERIALS	350
VITA	356

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 2.1. Receptivity diagram developed from a discussion among Paul McDaniel, Heather Smith, and Susan Harden. 29 November 2010.	42
FIGURE 2.2. Continuum of adjustment	56
FIGURE 3.1. CMS student enrollment by race/ethnicity by academic year, 1987 to 2010 (percent of total students).	91
FIGURE 3.2. Mecklenburg county population age 5 to 19 by race/ethnicity in 1990, 2000, and 2008 as percent of total county population age 5 to 19.	92
FIGURE 3.3. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools in the context of percent Hispanic Population by census tract in 2000.	94
FIGURE 4.1. The mixed methods multilevel model triangulation design used in this study. Modified from Creswell and Plano Clark (2007).	121
FIGURE 4.2. Progression of each research question and analysis.	122
FIGURE 5.1. Dissimilarity indices in Mecklenburg County in 1990 and 2000.	144
FIGURE 5.2. Percent of total population by census tract in Mecklenburg County ordered lowest to highest for each population group in 2000.	145
FIGURE 5.3. Percent of total population by census tract in Mecklenburg County ordered lowest to highest for each population group in 2000.	145
FIGURE 5.4. Percent of total population by block group in Mecklenburg County ordered lowest to highest for each population group in 2000.	146
FIGURE 5.5. Percent white by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.	148
FIGURE 5.6. Percent black by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.	149
FIGURE 5.7. Percent Asian by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.	150
FIGURE 5.8. Percent Hispanic/ Latino by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.	151
FIGURE 5.9. Percent foreign born by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.	152
FIGURE 5.10. Location quotients for the white population by block group in	155

Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

FIGURE 5.11. Location quotients for the black population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	156
FIGURE 5.12. Location quotients for the American Indian or Alaskan Native population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	157
FIGURE 5.13. Location quotients for the Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	158
FIGURE 5.14. Location quotients for the other race population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	159
FIGURE 5.15. Location quotients for the two races population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	160
FIGURE 5.17. Location quotients for the Hispanic or Latino population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	162
FIGURE 5.18. Location quotients for the foreign born population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	163
FIGURE 5.19. Location quotients for the foreign born, naturalized citizen population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	164
FIGURE 5.20. Location quotients for the foreign born, not a citizen population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.	165
FIGURE 5.21. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by census tract in 1990 (N=111).	169
FIGURE 5.22. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by census tract in 2000 (N=144).	170
FIGURE 5.23. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by block group in 2000 (N=373).	171
FIGURE 5.24. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by census block group in 2009 (N=373), based on American Community Survey 2005-2009 population estimates.	172
FIGURE 5.25. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent Asian by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.	174
FIGURE 5.26. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent foreign born by	174

block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.

FIGURE 5.27. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent white by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.	175
FIGURE 5.28. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent black by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.	175
FIGURE 5.29. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent Hispanic/Latino by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000	176
FIGURE 5.30. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent Asian by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000	177
FIGURE 5.31. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent foreign born by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000	177
FIGURE 5.32. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent white by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000	178
FIGURE 5.33. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent black by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000	178
FIGURE 5.34. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools student enrollment by race/ethnicity by academic year, 1987 to 2010 (percent of total students in CMS).	180
FIGURE 5.35. Mecklenburg county population age 5 to 19 by race/ethnicity in 1990, 2000, and 2008 (percent of total county population age 5 to 19).	181
FIGURE 5.36. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools in the context of Hispanic population location quotients by census tract in 2000.	182
FIGURE 5.37. Hispanic student percent of total students form 1987 to 2009 for the top ten schools in CMS based on Hispanic student percent in 2008-2009 academic year.	184
FIGURE 5.38. 25 CMS schools with highest percent Hispanic student population for the 2008-2009 academic year, compared with Hispanic population location quotients from 2000.	185
FIGURE 5.39. Mecklenburg County, NC, showing CMS schools with highest percent Hispanic student population for the 2008-2009 academic year compared with Hispanic population percents by block group calculated from current American Community Survey 2005-2009 estimates from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.	186

FIGURE 5.40. Percent Hispanic in case study elementary schools in South Charlotte.	190
FIGURE 5.41. Percent Hispanic in elementary schools in East Charlotte.	190
FIGURE 5.42. Percent Hispanic in case study elementary schools in Northeast Charlotte.	191
FIGURE 5.43. Percent Hispanic in potential case study elementary schools in Southwest Charlotte for three school years.	192
FIGURE 5.44. Percent Hispanic in potential case study elementary schools in East Charlotte for three school years.	192
FIGURE 5.45. Percent Hispanic in potential case study elementary schools in Northeast Charlotte for three school years.	193
FIGURE 6.1. A priori themes, all interviews.	203
FIGURE 6.2. A priori themes, East Charlotte interviews.	204
FIGURE 6.3. A priori themes, Northeast Charlotte interviews.	204
FIGURE 6.4. A priori themes, South Charlotte interviews.	205
FIGURE 6.5. A priori themes, community organization interviews.	206
FIGURE 7.1. Organic themes, all interviews.	261
FIGURE 7.2. Organic themes, East Charlotte interviews.	262
FIGURE 7.3. Organic themes, Northeast Charlotte interviews.	263
FIGURE 7.4. Organic themes, South Charlotte interviews.	264
FIGURE 7.5. Organic themes, community organization interviews	265
FIGURE 8.1. Receptivity diagram developed from a discussion among Paul McDaniel, Heather Smith, and Susan Harden. 29 November 2010.	194
FIGURE 8.2. Context of receptivity.	295
FIGURE 8.3. Continuum of adjustment.	299

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 2.1: Examples of positive and negative receptivity in local places	26
TABLE 2.2: Singer's six immigrant gateway types, metropolitan areas, 2000	59
TABLE 2.3: Top ten metro areas with the largest Latino population in 2000	64
TABLE 2.4: Four patterns of Latino population growth in 100 U.S. metro areas, 1980-2000 (Suro and Singer 2002)	65
TABLE 2.5: "Hypergrowth" new Latino destinations, 2000 (Suro and Singer, 2002)	68
TABLE 3.1: Characteristics of diversity in Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools during 2010-2011	90
TABLE 4.1: Strengths and weaknesses of mixed methods research	113
TABLE 4.2: Recent examples of mixed methods research design in immigrant geography research	114
TABLE 4.3: Three areas of Hispanic settlement concentration in Charlotte, North Carolina	125
TABLE 4.4: Field-based qualitative interview methodology	129
TABLE 5.1: Total population in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	140
TABLE 5.2: Percent of total population in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	141
TABLE 5.3: Population growth rate in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina	142
TABLE 5.4: Distribution of Hispanic population by level of concentration by census tract, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, 1990 and 2000	147
TABLE 5.5: Distribution of Hispanic population by level of concentration by census tract, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, 2000 and 2009	148
TABLE 5.6: Local indicators of spatial association (LISA) interpretation key (Anselin 2005)	168
TABLE 5.7: Twenty-five CMS schools with highest percent Hispanic student population for the 2008-2009 academic year	183

TABLE 5.8: Hispanic students, total students, and percent Hispanic for potential case study schools for three school years and three areas of Hispanic concentration in Charlotte, North Carolina	189
TABLE 6.1: Interview participants	198
TABLE 6.2: A priori themes and sub-themes	200
TABLE 6.3: A priori themes and sub-themes, percent of total	202
TABLE 7.1: Organic themes	259
TABLE 7.2: Organic themes, percent of total	260

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“Education has always been a pathway to social and economic integration for every generation of immigrants and their U.S.-born descendants. The United States must make a commitment to ensure that all students, including those from an immigrant background, have access to a high-quality education that will prepare them for success in today’s knowledge-based economy. Educating immigrants and their children is vital to our ability to remain strong and prosperous as a nation.” – Andrés Henríquez, Program Officer, Education, Carnegie Corporation of New York, New York

1.1 Background and Rationale

Receptivity is the degree of openness within a place. It is a person or community’s level of openness to someone or something new. In the case of this research, receptivity refers to a broad set of concepts, ideals, feelings, attitudes, and political, economic, social, and cultural structures that all play a role in how a particular place receives migrants and newcomers. Receptivity also refers to how migrants, immigrants, and newcomers perceive their reception in their new home. Receptivity towards processes of immigration and immigrant newcomers plays an important role as the theoretical foundation upon which this study rests.

Receptivity, comprised of many components in a place, broadly contextualizes a place’s collective experience related to immigrants and newcomers and in turn affects newcomers’ experience in a place. Specifically, this research views receptivity as a place-based context shaped by multiple components, institutions, and structures related to a community’s political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. Of those, this research includes the perspective that social, cultural, and educational institutions form an integral

part of the broader mirrors, molders, and shapers of a city region's receptivity. In particular, a case study of public education forms a significant component of this research.

In the context of a new immigrant gateway, however, the very nature of a rapid increase of immigrants and newcomers to a particular place affects the political, economic, social, and cultural components that shape receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. Because all children are rightly permitted to attend public school in the United States, places of public education contain a very visible manifestation of significant population and neighborhood demographic shifts. Such places are one of the community institutions most affected by a population shift. Public education, therefore, serves as a salient case study in which to explore the dynamism of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway.

The focus area of this research is a new immigrant gateway in the U.S. South: Charlotte, North Carolina. Over the last two decades the U.S. South has experienced – and continues to experience – profound demographic transitions in part due to aspects of globalization and economic restructuring. Post-industrial shifts in the global economy, manifesting themselves in local places and reshaping everyday lived experiences, play a role in creating avenues of opportunity for people to relocate and resettle for a variety of reasons, particularly labor. Migrants representing many different ethnicities, socio-economic backgrounds, and points of origin, native and foreign born, are moving and settling in new immigrant destinations and places throughout the South. Such increasingly diverse places in the U.S. South were traditionally characterized in the past

as culturally only white or black. Today, they are places marked by a diversity of multicultural influences.

Based on attitudes of native-born U.S. citizens towards immigrants there are geographic areas that are typically either more receptive or less receptive to new immigration. The level of receptivity in a particular area may send a signal to a potential immigrant about whether integration is easier or more difficult in one place compared to another. De Jong and Tran (2001) note that “policymakers infrequently address the receptivity of U.S. citizens toward immigrants – attitudes that may be critical not only to the economic productivity of immigrants in their jobs, but also to their assimilation [or integration] into the life of local communities and to their ability to adapt to the social norms and civil order expectations of U.S. society.” (De Jong and Tran 2001).

Furthermore, receptivity is also likely to be different in new immigrant destinations and new immigrant gateways today than in the traditional immigrant gateways and settlement areas of the past. Receptivity, therefore, plays an expected role in the dynamic changes occurring over time within new immigrant gateways. As much of the receptivity literature is based on either nationwide assumptions, or studies in traditional immigrant settlement areas, this study contributes to the conversation around receptivity as it occurs and influences transitioning immigrant settlement geography in a new immigrant gateway. Our current understanding of receptivity is grounded in literature based upon either nationwide trends of receptivity or receptivity as it occurs in traditional immigrant gateways. By examining the relationships among the growth and transition of an immigrant population, the effect upon and response by a public service, and community receptivity in a new immigrant gateway, this research makes a

contribution to the receptivity literature and our understanding of new urban geographies of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration.

Singer's (2004) discussion of six types of immigrant gateways posits how cities are realigning themselves vis-à-vis recent immigration. The six immigrant gateway types Singer describes include Former, Continuous, Post-World War II, Emerging, Re-Emerging, and Pre-Emerging (Singer 2004). To reiterate, our understanding of receptivity is based on immigrant gateways with a longer history of immigrant settlement and adjustment, not new immigrant gateways. New immigrant gateways, particularly Pre-Emerging immigrant gateway cities, in part due to the recent occurrence of foreign born population growth, have not received as much attention in the receptivity literature. A number of southern cities, including Atlanta and Charlotte, fall within the new gateway categories of *Emerging* and *Pre-Emerging*. This categorization indicates that immigration will continue to play an integral role within southern cities for the foreseeable future.

A growing body of new immigrant gateway literature is emerging to address the finer components of daily life for immigrants in these places (i.e. public service provision, including healthcare, education, public safety, among other facets). Within the immigration geography literature, there is much discussion on settlement, and to a lesser extent integration. In terms of receptivity, however, while the literature may not be using the language of receptivity specifically, the writing about receptivity-related concepts – such as police response, changing immigration laws, and other political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of receptivity – explores how a community responds to the arrival of newcomers. Much investigation has primarily related to where immigrants are settling in places and how immigrants react to being in a new city. Yet less work

exists examining how the city and place respond to and receive newcomers. Such factors undoubtedly inform the expression of a new immigrant destination and gateway over time, subsequently informing yet another component of our understanding of new urban geographies.

A metropolitan area's status as a particular type of immigrant gateway is not static but temporally dynamic. This dynamism affects facets of daily life for individuals in the particular area over time. The fact that cities are not static entities, enduring constant changes over time, also suggests that a city's particular immigrant gateway category status will not remain the same over time. A question thus arises: At what point does a city become one of the particular immigrant gateways and at what point might a particular city transition from one type of immigrant gateway to another (i.e. from *pre-emerging* gateway to *emerging* gateway) and does a place's receptivity affect this new immigrant gateway process of formation and change? A discussion of Singer's (2004) immigrant gateway typology also leads to the questions of: how are places of new immigration receptive to immigrants? How does a place's level of receptivity affect its response to increasing immigration in the context of public service provision such as education, healthcare, policing and safety, transit, parks and recreation, social assistance, among others? How does the immigrant population access or experience public services in a particular place? What are the barriers for public service provision (i.e. barriers to educational achievement) in this particular place? Therefore, this study addresses some of these concerns through a case study of a particular aspect of daily life, public education, for immigrants and immigrant families in a particular place and new immigrant gateway (Charlotte, North Carolina) at this particular time.

Related to the contextual discussion of new immigrant gateways and new immigrant destinations is the phenomenon of immigrant suburban settlement (Frey 2003; 2005). Frey specifically states that “minority suburbanization increased markedly during the 1990s,” and, concerning Hispanic and Latino persons specifically, “melting pot metro areas and the Hispanics locating within them are the major drivers of national minority suburbanization trends” (Frey 2003). Suro and Singer (2002) discuss how the Latino immigrant population in the country’s 100 largest metro areas is increasingly suburban. New immigrant destinations, such as those in the U.S. South, increasingly bear witness to the suburbanization of immigrant settlement. Specifically related to the goals of this study is that suburbanization of immigration has a profound effect on local educational facilities and the public school system, as well as levels of receptivity. The discussions by Suro and Singer (2002) and Singer (2004) are quite telling and forecast a significant future role and impact of immigrant settlement geography within the U.S. South and in new immigrant gateways.

With knowledge of the basic theoretical framework of receptivity and contextual framework of new immigrant gateways, the specific topic area for this research revolves around the effects of recent transitioning immigrant settlement geography on public education, the response of a public education system to those transitions, and the response and receptivity by the broader community to those changes. Attitudes of receptivity and certain areas of social policy, such as housing, healthcare, and education, have direct impacts on whether or not people feel they have access, equity, inclusion, opportunity, and trust within a community. These are established essential components of a community with abundant social capital and a positive, resourceful living environment.

Such impacts also affect to what extent people feel that they are welcome in a place, can successfully integrate within a community, may meet their basic needs, can lift themselves out of poverty, can become successful at upward socio-economic mobility, and may go on to make positive contributions to the community.

1.2 Purpose and Methodological Approach

This research focuses on the relationships among transitioning immigrant settlement geography, public education system change, and shifting community receptivity in the new immigrant gateway destination of Charlotte, North Carolina. The analytical research questions relate to transitioning immigrant settlement and public education system change within a new immigrant gateway and rest upon the broader theoretical foundation of community receptivity. Specifically, the central research questions examine a comparative case study of three different public elementary schools experiencing different degrees of changing enrollment and response as a function of increased immigrant settlement in their communities:

1. How have transitioning neighborhood-based patterns of increased immigrant settlement in Charlotte impacted school composition over time?
2. How is a large public education system responding to increased immigration at both the school system level and at the individual school level?
3. How does this response support the hypothesis that receptivity operates distinctively in a new immigrant gateway?

The case study acts as a point of investigation of one dimension of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. Specifically, the central research questions reflect the nature of the research design in that it is a mixed methods comparative case study within Charlotte

Mecklenburg Schools of three different public elementary schools experiencing changing enrollment and response as a function of increased immigrant settlement in their communities.

Although the study considers the overall immigrant, foreign born, and refugee population, the research often alludes specifically to the Hispanic/Latino immigrant population – by far the dominant immigrant group in many new immigrant gateway destinations, including the Charlotte/Mecklenburg County study area in this project. The multiscale approach at the school system and individual school levels addressed by the first two research questions comprises the analytical focus of the research. At the local community and global scales within the context of the third research question and theoretical framework, this research further addresses the intersected changes at the neighborhood, school district and individual school level scales and their impact on our understanding of emerging immigrant gateways and new urban geographies around receptivity. The third research question also synthesizes the dynamism of receptivity within new immigrant gateways and leads to several potential theoretical applications of receptivity.

A component of the first research question, primarily of a quantitative nature, examines school composition over time. School composition is measured by the following variables: race/ethnicity, number of Limited English Proficient (LEP) and English as a Second Language (ESL) students, the number of foreign born students, the number of students with at least one foreign born parent, the number of Hispanic/Latino students, the number of students on free and reduced lunch, poverty status, resources allocated to particular schools, and overall enrollment. The time period of examination,

depending on availability for particular data, is 1980 to the present, with four temporal data points: 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2009. The reason for a focus on this thirty-year span is due to the abundant changes witnessed at many levels and scales during this time related to immigration, public education, and metropolitan growth in Charlotte.

The second research question, primarily of a qualitative nature, refers to two scales of research: the school system level and the individual school level. The scale of research dictates who is interviewed to collect primary data. Policies, programming, funding, and resources are all important points of consideration to gauge the multiscale response to increased immigration.

The scale above the school system level is discussed within the theoretical construct of receptivity and contextual framework of new immigrant gateways. Schools are a public resource and a public good. Therefore, the local community has a response to increased immigration and the impacts on and response by the public education system. There is an underlying public attitude towards immigrants and newcomers in the schools. This theme links with the native-born citizenry's attitudes of receptivity toward immigrants in general. Within the context of new immigrant gateways, the perspective of receptivity informs the changes occurring in such places. New immigrant gateways are fluid and dynamic. Host community receptivity is also dynamic, in some places cyclical, and changes over time.

1.3 Research Significance

Broad trends of immigrant settlement and adjustment at inter-urban and regional or national scales of analysis may be viewed as a product due in part to larger processes of global restructuring and globalization. This research, however, addresses the intra-

urban processes of immigrant settlement and adjustment and related public service provision and social changes stemming from the shifting dynamics and patterns of immigration. Using quantitative data at the census tract and block group levels, this research examines the empirical evidence of the intra-urban geography of suburban immigrant settlement and concentration in a new immigrant gateway. Using qualitative data, this study investigates the impact of recent immigration to Charlotte on the public school system and the school system's response amid shifting community receptivity, as well as the extent to which the various stakeholders in the process experience and negotiate these changes. Ultimately, this research sheds light on how receptivity is playing out differently amid new forms of immigrant settlement and adjustment in new immigrant gateways. This research further addresses processes of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration at the community level. Furthermore, it describes the local factors affecting and influencing immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration in a new immigrant gateway within the context of public service provision and dynamic community receptivity, offering another thread of understanding to the tapestry of new urban geographies.

Ultimately, the research demonstrates that receptivity works differently across geography at both the inter-urban and intra-urban scales. Particularly, receptivity is:

1. Likely distinctive in new immigrant gateways, and different than that found in traditional immigrant gateways and destinations with longer histories of receiving immigrants;
2. Fluid, fickle, and malleable;

3. Critically influenced beyond the political and economic realms by public schools and other similar education, social, and cultural institutions.

Receptivity, therefore, is constructed in a new immigrant gateway by various dimensions – political, economic, social, and cultural. Educational institutions, such as public schools, have the challenge and the opportunity to contribute to the initial construction of receptivity in their communities. While these various dimensions influence receptivity in both established and new immigrant gateways, the front line workers in new gateways, such as teachers in schools, play an even more critical role. Teachers and others are on the vanguard of change and are the first point of negotiation for both newcomers and the receiving community.

Furthermore, while receptivity occurs differently in new immigrant gateways at the inter-urban level, receptivity may also occur distinctively at the intra-urban level across different communities within the same metropolitan area. The varying experiences of the three immigrant clusters in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County and the three case study schools each in one of the three clusters suggest that receptivity is playing out differently in each of those areas. At the same time, however, each area contributes to the city's broader and collective receptivity. With that in mind, teachers and administrators in a school are agents of change actually building the structure of receptivity for their school and surrounding community. Collectively, these pockets of receptivity across a metropolitan area influence the city's receptivity position as a whole.

1.4 Conceptual and Practical Contributions

This research offers contributions in a number of ways. First, this research encourages thought about how community receptivity responds to transitioning

immigrant settlement geography linked with the changing nature of a city's immigrant gateway status in terms of the city becoming an actual emerging gateway or no longer serving as a gateway at all. In this case, the schools themselves are one marker of receptivity as they respond to taxpayers' demands and other political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. Second, the dynamism of a new immigrant gateway affects that gateway's fickle context of receptivity, with some places becoming either more or less receptive to such dynamic changes over time. As receptivity fluctuates over time across geography it is mutually informed by the dynamic nature of new immigrant gateways. Third, this study illustrates ways in which a public service institution – public education – can and does serve as an influencing factor of broader community receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. Whereas our thinking about receptivity is typically based on a national perspective or on traditional immigrant gateways, new immigrant gateways are at a crossroads as to which direction they may proceed concerning receptivity – positive or negative. Community organizations have an opportunity to help positively and proactively influence the direction of new immigrant gateways. Educational institutions are mirrors and molders of receptivity, are dynamic and fluid examples of and influencers of receptivity, and can influence multidimensional receptivity. Finally, in addition to the discussion of new immigrant settlement, public service provision, community receptivity and new immigrant gateways, this research contributes to the dialogue about the “warmth of receptivity” and positive, proactive response in an area and its relationship to the extent of “regional resilience” (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010). New immigrant gateways, and the public education institutions within them, are presented with the challenge and the opportunity to be at the forefront of leading positive change in their communities in

the context of increased immigration, public service provision, and community perception and receptivity. In addition to theoretical contributions, this research encourages several broader societal impacts and implications: advancing understanding while promoting teaching, training, and learning; broadening the participation of underrepresented groups; enhancing the infrastructure for research and education; and benefitting society through practical applications and societal significance.

Having introduced the purpose of this research in the preceding pages, the next chapter describes in detail the theoretical foundation and key literature from which this study proceeds.

CHAPTER 2: FOUNDATION OF RECEPTIVITY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

“For more than four decades, immigration theorists have debated the most effective way to analyze a world in motion brought on by the drama of international migration...to accommodate and make sense out of this ongoing and often dramatic globalization process, scholars have had to construct new ways to conceptualize and write about the processes involved in immigration” (Hardwick 2006).

With Hardwick’s (2006) statement above in mind, this research examines a component of immigration within the realm of receptivity’s influence upon the context of a new immigrant gateway. Receptivity towards processes of immigration plays an important role for immigrant settlement, incorporation, inclusion, adjustment, and integration. There is an inherent fluidity of and susceptibility to receptivity change in new immigrant gateways. Communities and institutions in new immigrant gateways play a dichotomous role in shaping as well as responding to receptivity change. Schools are but one example acting as both mirror and molder of receptivity change. Furthermore, the level of receptivity in a particular place affects the amount of access, equity, inclusion, opportunity, and trust that people experience within that place.

Receptivity may also affect the level of social capital within a community. Studies have shown (i.e. Putnam 2000) that communities with higher levels of social capital tend to be much more resilient than communities with low social capital. Additionally, the concept of new immigrant gateways and immigrant suburban settlement act as important contextual girders anchoring this study into the theoretical foundation. These components are secured together around a discussion about receptivity. One challenge in linking receptivity and the new immigrant gateways concept is that cities are often discussed in

the literature as monolithic structures in a set point in time. But as we know in reality, cities are complex, dynamic entities, ever changing, and composed of a myriad of components. A multitude of factors are at work constantly shaping cities and the extent of receptivity and immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration occurring within them.

In this research, a light is shone upon one factor among many within a city – public education – and how that structure may, in response to transitioning immigrant settlement geography and in combination with a host of other internal and external forces, influence receptivity within a city. This chapter describes receptivity, how others have defined and explored it, and offers a definition of receptivity for the purposes of this research. Additionally, this chapter discusses the various dimensions that constitute receptivity – including aspects of everyday life, political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions, and how these components come together to create receptivity in a community. This chapter then moves into a discussion of receptivity as it relates to immigrant integration, incorporation, inclusion, adjustment, and integration, and ways in which receptivity is shaped and changed. Furthermore, the chapter describes a distinctive form of receptivity occurring in new immigrant gateways, a receptivity that is fluid, fickle, and open to influence. Next, the chapter moves into a discussion of why and how public schools are a necessary place in which to observe receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. The chapter concludes with a discussion of additional ways in which this research informs our understanding of receptivity beyond the argument that the dynamics of receptivity in new gateways are likely different than in other places.

Following this chapter about receptivity, the subsequent chapter provides an overview of education in the United States as it relates to immigration and an arc of

receptivity. Additionally, literature related to the restructuring city – discussed in the later study area chapter – further informs the background landscape.

2.1 What is Receptivity?

The words *receptive*, *receptiveness*, and *receptivity* may mean different things to different people. One's experiences and contexts often play a leading role in a person's perspectives. However, we can agree generally upon what these words and concepts broadly mean. For example, the various common dictionary definitions of *receptive* include:

- Willing to consider or accept new suggestions or ideas.
- Open to arguments, ideas, or change.
- Ready or willing to receive favorably.
- Tending to receive new ideas or suggestions favorably.
- The manner in which something is greeted.

Synonyms of *receptive* include amenable, hospitable, responsive, and open. Similarly, the definition of *receptiveness* is the willingness or readiness to receive (especially impressions or ideas). Synonyms of *receptiveness* include acceptance, broad-mindedness, impartiality, considerate, open-mindedness, kind, responsiveness, compassion, tolerance, empathy, and understanding. In common vernacular, people often refer to reception and receptiveness in terms of temperature. A cold reception is a negative one. Most people, when going anywhere, whether it be as simple as attending a dinner party, social or volunteer event, or as complex as going to a new school, starting a new job or moving to another city, state, or country, hope for a warm reception – a positive reception.

Simply, we may define *receptivity* as the degree of *openness*. In the case of this research, receptivity refers to a broad set of concepts, ideals, feelings, attitudes, and political, economic, social, and cultural structures that all play a role in how a particular

place receives migrants and newcomers. Receptivity also refers to how migrants, immigrants, and newcomers perceive their reception in their new home.

Continuing with the temperature metaphor, we may describe a place's "warmth of receptivity" to convey a meaning of how welcoming a place is to newcomers and how welcome newcomers feel in a particular place. Consider synonyms for the words *warm* or *warmth*: glowing, clement, snug, pleasant, summery, sunny, amiable, gracious, and affable. Using such words to describe a particular place paints a pleasant picture of a locale. A place that is receptively cool, however, characterizes an opposite, closed environment. Consider synonyms for the words *cool* and *cold*: bleak, brisk, chilled, crisp, frigid, frosty, icy, and wintry. Thinking of a location using those words typically creates an image of an unpleasant place. Any of these two lists of related words could be used to describe places of warm and cool receptivity, respectively. Identifying a basic and broad definition and associated vocabulary for receptivity aids our understanding of how receptivity characterizes a particular place's perspective towards newcomers.

As a concept, scholars from an array of disciplines have discussed receptivity from various perspectives for some time. Depending on the disciplinary lenses from which a researcher derives his or her framework, scholars and practitioners have described the various intricacies of receptivity from multiple perspectives and through varying case studies of particular components comprising receptivity (discussed in more detail in the subsequent literature review).

This research builds upon a definition of receptivity that largely draws from past experiences of traditional immigrant gateways and offers a current exploration of receptivity's distinctiveness in new gateway destinations. In the remainder of this section,

I discuss further details of how others have defined and explored receptivity; how this research defines receptivity specifically, as well as what constitutes receptivity – receptivity and aspects of everyday life, political, economic, social, cultural, and community dimensions of receptivity; receptivity and immigrant integration, incorporation, inclusion, adjustment, and integration; how receptivity is shaped and changed; how receptivity is different across space and new immigrant gateways in particular; distinctive forms of receptivity in new immigrant gateways; observing receptivity (i.e. in the public school system); the nature and dynamics of receptivity in new immigrant gateways; and other aspects of receptivity in new immigrant gateways. One note moving forward: in this research, the word “community” is used to describe the intangible aspects of a place, while the word “neighborhood” is used to describe a specific, tangible, physical manifestation of a portion of a community on a place’s landscape.

2.2 How Have Others Defined and Explored Receptivity?

While this research seeks to define receptivity as it occurs in new immigrant gateways, others have described receptivity in more traditional immigrant destinations and for the country as a whole. Abundant research related to immigrant and ethnic settlement and adjustment geography focuses on the experience of the immigrant or ethnic population itself rather than the receiving community, and in more traditional rather than new immigrant gateways. However, how a community receives a newly arriving group of people has a profound effect on the newcomer group’s settlement, incorporation, and adjustment experience, and in turn affects the overall community as a whole. Li (2009) notes that “researchers must not only examine the ‘classified’ – the

various racial/ethnic groups – as they did before, but also focus more on the ‘classifier’ – the white-dominated social structure” (Li 2009). An emphasis on the need for more research regarding the receiving community, and in particular the community with the majority presence within the traditional power and elite class structure, is one area in which this research attempts to fill a literary gap by examining the context of community receptivity towards newcomers in Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway. In Charlotte, as is often the case in other places in Western society, receptivity is shaped in part by the dominant white racial class, social, and power structural contexts within the city.

Traditionally, scholars define receptivity within three specific contexts: political, economic, and cultural. Particular emphasis has been placed on the political and economic aspects and influences of receptivity. Most explorations of receptivity examine either a national context or a particular place context of receptivity from the framework of one of these three particular perspectives. Furthermore, traditional immigrant gateways – places that have had much longer histories of immigrant integration, incorporation, and adjustment – comprise the bulk of receptivity studies. Political and economic factors as influencers of receptivity in a place tend to dominate the receptivity literature. Ways in which others have defined and explored receptivity are discussed in further detail in this literature review. However, a dearth of research exists examining the multitude of receptivity’s components in new immigrant gateways and destinations. Therefore, this research attempts to fill a gap in the receptivity literature by offering an examination of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway and how public education – in addition to political or economic factors – influences receptivity.

2.2.1 Native-Born Receptivity Toward Immigrants in the United States

Fetzer (2000) reviews three possible theories attempting to explain the waxing and waning of native-born receptivity toward immigrants to the United States over the past century and a half: cultural difference or marginality; economic conditions or self-interest; and the proportion of foreign born or extent of contact with the foreign born. Regarding cultural difference, Fetzer (2000) states that “Americans’ reception of a given group of immigrants does seem largely determined by how much the newcomers’ culture diverged from the dominant WASP norm.” However, U.S. relations with a particular country of origin may also have played a role for any outliers to that hypothesis at any given time in the past (Fetzer 2000). Additionally, Fetzer (2000) states that “the American case might also suggest that nativism rises when a new wave of culturally distinct immigrants arrives.” In terms of economic conditions as a theory behind the rise and fall of receptivity levels toward immigrants, Fetzer (2000) suggests that “in prosperous times, natives usually tolerate immigrants. On the other hand, bursts of nativism have usually followed significant economic downturns” (Fetzer 2000). One recent example includes the rise of nativist and anti-immigrant sentiment leading to and stemming from the passage of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 in April 2010, and similar legislation in other states, such as HB56 in Alabama in 2011, which of course follows the national economic downturn that began in 2008 during the twilight of the Bush Administration. There are, of course, a number of outliers to this theory as well, such as Proposition 187 in California in the 1990s. Finally, concerning variations of the proportion of foreign born (or, the over time version of contact theory) as an influencing factor to the rise and fall of native-born receptivity, Fetzer (2000) offers little support.

Beyond reasons why receptivity changes over time, scholars have also investigated why receptivity changes across space, as the next section discusses.

2.2.2 Geographies of Receptivity

Based on attitudes of native-born U.S. citizens toward immigrants there are geographic areas that are more receptive or less receptive. The context of reception – the receptivity of different types of places to new immigrants – as Jensen (2006) suggests “can vary greatly from place to place and can have significant impacts on the ability of communities to cope and immigrants to assimilate and prosper” (Jensen 2006). The level of receptivity in a particular area may send a signal to a potential immigrant about whether integration is easier or more difficult in a particular area. In terms of urban versus rural, citizens in metropolitan areas tend to have a generally higher receptive attitude toward immigrants than citizens in non-metropolitan areas (De Jong and Tran 2001). Additionally, in terms of geographic region within the U.S., citizens in the industrial Midwest typically have a more receptive attitude toward immigrants than citizens in the South Atlantic Census division and in the large metropolitan areas of Texas and California (De Jong and Tran 2001).

Specifically regarding the rapid influx of new immigrants into particular places and new immigrant destinations, Jensen (2006) issues the following thoughts:

- High growth of an immigrant population in a particular place can “catch municipalities off guard” (Jensen 2006). This idea is important to the later discussion of new forms of receptivity in new immigrant gateways.

- The size of a place affects the costs and stresses that a growing immigrant population places on community infrastructures and is particularly dramatic and magnified in smaller places (Jensen 2006).
- As communities seek ways in which to adapt to a growing immigrant population, newcomers at times may be greeted with some resentment on the part of community natives (Jensen 2006).
- A growing immigrant population oftentimes plays a role in the demographic and cultural revitalization of a place (Jensen 2006).
- Public school systems are often one of several public goods that may feel the stresses of a growing immigrant population more acutely. However, public school systems, as a public good, “represent a critical forum where old and new cultures interact” (Jensen 2006). This point is also an important consideration for the later discussion of public schools as an example of receptivity in new immigrant gateways.
- “The receptiveness and openness of local leadership can be essential for creating an atmosphere in which new immigrants can be viewed positively and crafting local policies that enhance their chances for success,” further strengthening the community as a whole (Jensen 2006) and easing newcomers’ ability to integrate into the broader community.
- In some contexts, undocumented immigration may exacerbate an “already difficult situation, and can undermine the receptivity necessary for the success of legal immigrants,” which in turn presents a compelling argument for Comprehensive Immigration Reform (Jensen 2006).

In particular, two of Jensen's (2006) above points are specifically important to this research's examination of public schools as examples of places within a new context of receptivity in new immigrant gateways. Specifically, that high growth of an immigrant population can "catch a municipality off guard," and public schools acting as a "critical forum where old and new cultures interact" (Jensen 2006).

Obviously, there are diverse attitudes of receptivity toward immigrants by native-born U.S. citizens across geographic regions and levels of urbanity within the United States. Pastor and Mollenkopf (2010), using Arizona's passage of SB 1070 in April 2010 and the ensuing public outcry in support of and against it as a primary example, suggest that this pattern of geographic variation in reception toward immigrants alludes to a key point:

"while the federal government is responsible for determining policy about immigrant admissions, receptivity to immigrants and efforts at integrating immigrants are a distinctly local or regional affair. Partly because Congress has failed to agree on comprehensive immigration reform, localities and states have taken on the issue with initiatives ranging from declaring a status of 'sanctuary city' (San Francisco), the granting of local ID cards for the undocumented (New Haven), [a city-wide welcoming campaign (Dayton),] and state-sponsored efforts at integration (Illinois); to efforts at tightening enforcement (as with Phoenix's [in]famous Sheriff Joe Arpaio), to prevent landlords from renting to unauthorized residents (Hazelton, Pennsylvania), and to restrict the use of public benefits by legal and illegal immigrants (a much wider swath of states and locales)" (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010).

Scholars and researchers in various disciplines suggest several potential explanations for such geographically diverse attitudes. First, regional variations in economic conditions can influence attitudes of receptivity toward immigrants. De Jong and Tran (2001) state "receptivity toward immigrants becomes decidedly cooler as unemployment rates of U.S. citizens increase and warmer when unemployment rates fall. Rising unemployment among citizens triggers economic insecurity, and labor market

competition engenders nativism” (De Jong and Tran 2001). This hearkens to Fetzer’s (2000) analysis of cyclical economic conditions influencing cycles of receptivity toward immigrants. Espenshade and Hempstead (1996) also discuss this issue in their research.

Second, the level of “perception by citizens that illegal immigrants are a drain on local and state public resources” (De Jong and Tran 2001) can also influence native-born attitudes of receptivity. This particular perception, oftentimes considerably less than true, is fueled by political and media rhetoric not entirely steeped in fact or empirical research. For example, this perception in part “helped drive the passage of Proposition 187 in California. Prop 187, passed in late 1994, cut off some health and social services, including access to public education, to illegal immigrants and their children. The initiative was put on hold by a federal court, but its passage generated a national immigration debate and major legislation in Congress” (De Jong and Tran 2001). The same response may also be seen within the broad national public debate that ensued around issues of immigration and comprehensive immigration reform as a result of Arizona’s passing controversial SB 1070 in April 2010. This bill was supposedly designed to address issues of undocumented immigration in Arizona. Other states including Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina, among several others, attempted to implement similar legislation in 2011.

Third, cultural affinity may be another explanation for a place’s level of receptivity to immigrants. Cultural affinity “suggests that a warmer welcome of immigrants may stem from large concentrations of immigrants of similar origin in certain metropolitan areas or regions” (De Jong and Tran 2001). This concept may be seen

particularly in metropolitan areas with larger foreign-born populations and longer histories of immigration.

Fourth, higher average education level of a place's native-born population is yet another possible explanation for attitudes of receptivity in an area. Specifically, “a consistent finding is a more positive attitude toward immigrants in areas with a higher mean level of educational attainment for the native population” in that particular place (De Jong and Tran 2001). Espenshade and Hempstead (1996) previously found the similar conclusion of persons with higher average incomes and education levels tending to be more receptive to current and higher immigration levels. In addition to changes in receptivity across time and space, receptivity manifests on a place’s landscape in positive and negative ways, as the next section details.

Receptivity’s geography at the national, state, and inter-urban scales receives attention in the literature, as the above examples indicate. However, little to no attention has been paid to receptivity’s varying geography at the intra-urban scale. As receptivity varies across space at the national and regional context, one would suspect that it also varies across spaces and places within a particular city. The later analysis and discussion concerning Charlotte speaks to the observation that receptivity varies from one neighborhood to another within the same urban region, contributing to the city’s mixed receptivity.

2.2.3 Positive and Negative Receptivity

In some communities, there are facets of both positive as well as negative receptivity (Table 2.1). One aspect of more positive receptivity is often found among the local business community with businesses embracing immigrants as hard-working

employees as well as new potential customers (Johnson, et. al. 1999). Banks, for example, are often seen training their employees on how to best interact with a growing immigrant

TABLE 2.1: Examples of positive and negative receptivity in local places

Negative Receptivity	Positive Receptivity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Increasingly negative views of the immigrant population in general. ▪ Belief that newcomers have a negative effect on the traditional social fabric of local communities. ▪ Tensions and conflicts arising between the local population and newcomers over jobs. ▪ Tensions between the traditional population and immigrants over bilingual education. ▪ Differences about fair or equitable representation in social and political institutions. ▪ Unfounded concerns about immigrant strains on public and social services, often revolving around the perception of taxes funding services for immigrants. ▪ Perceived unfounded concerns over rising crime rates related to an increasing immigrant population. ▪ Perceived effects on local education system due to higher school enrollment and attrition rates. ▪ Concerns about perceived increased pressures on the existing housing stock, social services, and infrastructure in the area. ▪ Additional misunderstanding due to cultural conflicts and language barriers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Business community embracing Hispanic immigrants as hard-working employees and new potential customers. ▪ Banks train employees on how to best interact with a growing immigrant population as potential new customers. ▪ Increase in bilingual signage, often in both English and Spanish (or other dominant immigrant language) in many business locations, advertising venues, and public services. ▪ Spanish language newspapers and radio stations appear on the local scene. ▪ Immigrants credited with transforming a once declining place from that characterized by net out-migration to net in-migration. ▪ Formation of new immigrant advocacy groups. ▪ Increasing occurrence and frequency of ethnic festivals and cross-cultural events to foster communication and understanding between locals and newcomers.

Source: Johnson, et. al. 1999.

population in new immigrant receiving locations (Johnson, et. al. 1999). There may also be an increase in bilingual signage, often in both English and Spanish, in many business locations. Spanish language newspapers and radio stations appearing on the local landscape are further evidence of positive levels of receptivity. In some areas, immigrants may even be credited as transforming a place from that characterized by net out-migration to net in-migration, helping to maintain or strengthen the local economy (Johnson, et. al. 1999). Additionally, in some cases, “immigrant advocacy groups have formed to aid Hispanic and other immigrant newcomers in their efforts to secure various services and in obtaining documentation for employment and citizenship” (Johnson, et. al. 1999). Furthermore, some communities may “sponsor ethnic festivals and cross-cultural events to acknowledge and celebrate the Hispanic or immigrant presence in their communities and to foster understanding and communication between newcomers and locals” (Johnson, et. al. 1999).

In terms of positive political and economic receptivity, McDaniel and Drever (2009) note that in the Birmingham suburb of Homewood, Alabama, the location of an immigrant business “international corridor”, immigrant business owners often receive verbal support from city officials resulting in a larger immigrant business conglomeration than in other parts of the city possibly due to the warmer welcome received from the local government. Additionally, “it is also likely that city officials’ positive attitudes toward ethnic businesses make it easier for immigrant businesses to acquire permits and influence local ordinances” (McDaniel and Drever 2009).

Although in many communities we may see evidence in support of warmer levels of receptivity toward newcomers, there are also many examples of cooler, negative receptivity. Oftentimes, facets of both warmer as well as cooler receptivity occur in the same communities, leading to the experience of a mixed, tepid receptive response to new immigration. In some communities, a broad backlash against newcomers who are seemingly “different” from the local population is seen. One aspect of lower receptivity is the “negative views about the impact of the Hispanic newcomers on the social fabric of these communities, which were formerly inhabited by a predominately non-Hispanic...population” (Johnson, et. al. 1999). The following examples from public opinion polls and public involvement are yet further evidence of negative community response in various places: “rural residents of the state [of Nebraska] felt that their quality of life was being adversely affected by the migration of Hispanics and other people of color”; “those making less than twenty thousand dollars annually [in Iowa] felt that a diverse population was a ‘disadvantage’”; “a community group in Arkansas reportedly held public forums in an effort to garner support for a proposed five-year moratorium on foreign immigration to the United States”; and “in several communities, legislation has been introduced to establish English as the official language, in response to the linguistic diversity that accompanies the Hispanic influx” (Johnson, et. al. 1999).

Another aspect of cooler receptivity is the tensions and conflicts that may arise between the local population and newcomers over “jobs, bilingual education, fair or equitable representation in social and political institutions, among other matters” (Johnson, et. al. 1999). Those apt toward colder receptivity also tend to voice concerns about immigrant strains on public and social services. These concerns are noted in related

public opinion polls (Johnson, et. al. 1999). Such concerns, often grounded in fabricated mythical rhetoric, tend to revolve around the perception of taxes funding services for immigrants; higher education taxes to support lower-class immigrants; perceived rising crime rates; higher school enrollment and attrition rates; increased pressures on the existing housing stock, social services and infrastructure in a local area; as well as “cultural conflicts and language barriers in schools, the health care industry, and grassroots organizations” (Johnson, et. al. 1999).

In many cases across many places, media coverage, including the way in which “news” items are framed, often sways public opinion of newcomers and attitudes of receptivity toward immigrants. This has certainly been the case in the recent example of the goings on in Arizona in 2010 and Georgia and Alabama in 2011, for example: the push for and passage of anti-immigrant legislation (i.e., SB 1070, HB 56); and the proposed law banning ethnic studies classes – particularly related to Hispanic culture – in public schools in Arizona. As seen from these varied examples, tensions abound between newcomers and the established local population in many communities. With this in mind, it is important to consider that “such tensions and conflicts are likely to persist and escalate... unless there are proactive initiatives to counter these trends” (Johnson, et. al. 1999). Local community leaders therefore have an opportunity to chart one of two courses: proactive and warm receptivity or reactive and cold exclusion. Individuals, communities, and local leaders must choose to cooperate in charting a course for their area to become the type of place in which they prefer to live and work and for which they wish to be broadly perceived. Having discussed some of the primary ways in which

others have described and explored receptivity, the next section offers a definition of receptivity for the present context.

2.2.4 How Does This Research Define Receptivity?

Receptivity, comprised of many components in a place, broadly contextualizes a place's collective experience related to immigrants and newcomers and in turn affects newcomers' experience in a place. Specifically, this research views receptivity as a place-based component shaped by multiple factors, institutions, and structures related to a community's political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. Of those, this research includes the perspective that social, cultural, and educational institutions form an integral part of the broader mirrors, molders, and shapers of a place's receptivity. In particular, a case study of public education forms a component of this research.

In the context of a new immigrant gateway, however, the very nature of a rapid increase of immigrants and newcomers to the particular place affects the political, economic, social, cultural, and educational components that shape receptivity in the new immigrant gateway. Because all children are permitted to attend public school in the United States, places of public education contain a very visible manifestation of significant population and neighborhood demographic shifts and are one of the community institutions most affected by a population shift. Public education, therefore, serves as a salient case study in which to explore the dynamism of a context of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway.

2.3 What Constitutes Receptivity and Receptivity's Multidimensionality

Having discussed and defined receptivity broadly, I now turn to an overview of the dimensions affecting receptivity, followed by a discussion of new immigrant

gateways as the structural context within which to examine receptivity. Our collective thinking of receptivity is based primarily on national trends and studies in traditional gateway areas with longer histories of foreign born population settlement and adjustment. Less research focuses upon receptivity as it functions in new immigrant gateways, and in particular how various factors contribute to creation of receptivity in such cities.

Receptivity affects aspects of everyday life for the native population, long-term residents, and newcomers in a place. Residents go about their daily lives amid a receptivity constituted by ideas, policies, institutions, and structures within the various dimensions of the political, economic, social, cultural, educational, and community. All of these components comprise and constitute receptivity for a particular place. This context forms the stage upon which actors play out their daily lives and interactions. However, individuals and organizations, as agents of change, also play a role in creating and shaping the structure of receptivity in a place. In this section, I describe in further detail the various components that constitute receptivity: aspects of everyday life; and the political, economic, social, cultural, educational, and community dimensions of receptivity.

2.3.1 Receptivity and Aspects of Everyday Life

Receptivity affects everyday life for individuals and communities within a particular place. Native residents, long-standing inhabitants, and newcomers all experience various vestiges of receptivity playing out on the community landscape. Receptivity shapes the collective thinking and action by the place's native and long-standing population towards immigrants and newcomers. Immigrants and newcomers in turn react to the way in which the larger community receives them. Broadly, these

perceptions and attitudes, as well as the broader atmosphere they create, affect how individuals, families, and groups go about their daily lives. In places characterized by a more positive, warmer receptivity toward newcomers, there is generally a more positive atmosphere in general in terms of how people, groups, organizations, and institutions comprised of diverse populations and cultural backgrounds work together for the betterment and progress of the entire community. On the other hand, in places characterized by a more negative, cooler receptivity toward an influx of the “other” there is generally a more pessimistic atmosphere in terms of interaction and cooperation by people, groups, organizations, and institutions. This negative atmosphere affects how each component may or may not work together in cooperation for the betterment of the overall community. Furthermore, receptivity may play a role in a place’s regional resilience and ability to weather broad and deep economic downturns or natural calamities. For example, scholars suggest that places with more positive receptivity tend to have a greater capacity for regional resilience and more abundant social capital (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010; Putnam 2000).

While immigration policy is often set at the national and/or sub-national levels, aspects of everyday life surrounding processes of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration occur at the local level. As immigrant settlement today occurs mostly in metropolitan areas, cities and the organizations within them have the opportunity to directly impact immigrant settlement and experience. Singer (2012) states that “where an immigrant arrives and settles is very important to the immigrant integration process, which largely takes place on the local level. Immigrants live in neighborhoods, go to work, set up businesses, and send their children to school – all of which happens at the

local level” (Singer 2012). More specifically, receptivity affects and is affected by the actions and attitudes of local policies and social and cultural institutions. The degree to which individuals participate in and interact with these components affects the degree to which they experience receptivity in a place.

Receptivity’s influence on aspects of everyday life is compounded by several dimensions that influence a place’s receptivity: political, economic, social, cultural, educational, and community dimensions. In some instances, the prevailing rhetoric in dominant media structures has an influence on these dimensions, on how particular topics are framed and contextualized, and on the way in which people think about particular topics related broadly to receptivity, immigrants, and newcomers. I discuss each of these dimensions in the subsequent segments.

2.3.2 Political Dimensions of Receptivity

Political dimensions of receptivity play out through policies of the receiving government structure at difference scales: national, state, and local place. Connor (2010) describes Portes and Rumbaut’s (2006) contexts of reception as follows:

“policies of the receiving government are one form of reception context relevant to immigrant adaptation...[Portes and Rumbaut’s] typology refers to three nodes along a continuum of immigrant receptivity, with exclusion of immigrants on one end and active encouragement on the other. Sandwiched in the middle is a passive acceptance where immigrants are essentially permitted to enter the society, yet with little assistance provided by the public purse for their incorporation. Broadly, this typology provides the basis for a continuum of immigrant receptivity as hostile at one pole and supportive at the other. Portes and Rumbaut’s continuum is similar to many other formulations of immigrant receptivity such as Bauböck’s (1996) segregation-assimilation-accommodation typology and Ben Rafael’s (1996) unifying versus permissive dominant culture interaction” (Connor 2010).

Local, regional, and national policies, politics, political ideals, political rhetoric, and political leaders can all influence receptivity nationally, regionally, and locally. Local

elected political leaders reflect the general attitude of the broader place's majority voting population group. However, they in turn, through their actions, speech, and influence, contribute to the political dimension of receptivity in a place and to what direction the place's context of receptivity heads. Political legislation that makes daily life more difficult for newcomers is an example of cold receptivity and actions that further influence and direct a place's trajectory toward a climate of negative receptivity. For example, state level legislation – such as SB 1070 in Arizona (2010) and HB 56 in Alabama (2011) – designed to encourage attrition, or self-deportation, of an undocumented immigrant population by making all aspects of life as difficult as possible are examples of negatively receptive policies. Politicians whose speech is riddled with divisive language, fear-mongering, misinformation, and gross generalizations of the “other” are an example of intentionally negative receptivity. On the other hand, political actions that aim towards inclusiveness – such as policies encouraging cooperation and an atmosphere of welcome – are examples of warm receptivity (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010). Positive political receptivity includes political leaders who speak in inclusive terms, promote cooperation, accurately portray populations, ground their conversations in facts and empirical research, and speak factually to communities and constituents.

At the local level, cities tend to have little direct role in immigration policy which is set at the national or sub-national level of government (Siemiatycki 2012). At the national level, “governments set policies related to immigration admission, status, and citizenship; they frame the terms of integration around approaches ranging from marginalization to assimilation to multiculturalism, depending on the country” (Siemiatycki 2012). But as Siemiatycki (2012) reiterates, cities “are the destination point

of migration journeys.” As cities are the local stage upon which national immigration policy plays out, municipal leadership is important to a place’s receptivity and immigrant adjustment and integration. Remarking on the importance of municipal leadership as it relates to processes of immigrant settlement, Broadbent (2012) states

“cities know and feel both urbanization and immigration profoundly. At the national and sub-national levels, urbanization and immigration are policy issues. At worst, they become xenophobic political issues as politicians stir fear of immigrants. At the municipal level, though, they are primary lived experience. And at the city level is where we find the political and community voices that embrace immigrants, knowing they bring strength, vitality, and innovation” (Broadbent 2012).

He goes on to state that

“at the municipal level, in our cities and urban regions, managing the settlement and inclusion of newcomers is vital. Managing it well can make a city prosper. Managing it well helps newcomers succeed at work, school, in the neighborhood, and at the sports field or concert hall. Municipal governments provide essential services that impact day-to-day living, and can be flexible and responsive in their design and delivery. They exert their influence in a myriad of other ways, as employers, providers of goods and services, and as wealth creators and policy-makers” (Broadbent 2012).

Building upon Broadbent’s (2012) comments, Omidvar (2012b) describes cities as the “lead actors on the stage of global migration.” As such, city leadership is an important component in receptivity and immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration in a place. Omidvar (2012b) also states that

“as the level of government closest to the people, local governments are most directly and immediately impacted by the lives, successes and challenges of immigrants...local governments who understand this respond by proactively building inclusion into public policy and by actively providing new opportunities for business development and infrastructure design. By organizing around success and action instead of failure, crisis, and inaction, local governments can succeed where many national governments are challenged” (Omidvar 2012b).

Furthermore, she states that

“city leaders set the tone for how a city is run. Whatever the legal and jurisdictional framework, or differences in responsibilities, cities have a range of levers which they can deploy to introduce change – through policy instruments (equality, inclusion, nondiscrimination), as service providers (settlement, education, housing, police, etc.), as employers and diversity managers, and as the drivers of the local economy – from infrastructure and procurement to support for investment, entrepreneurship, and small business incubation” (Omidvar 2012b).

The sentiments by Broadbent (2012) and Omidvar (2012b) link to the suggestion by Pastor and Mollenkopf (2010) that local metropolitan area leadership would do well to keep in mind the intersections among immigrant settlement and integration, warm receptivity, and regional resilience. Omidvar (2012a) cautions, however, that “while cities are powerful agents of change at the local level, they must also engage with policy makers at the sub-national, national, and international levels. They must tell their stories so that effective policies and successful practices can be adapted and replicated by others. From these local practices, we can move to policy solutions that make sense in both local contexts and within the frameworks of national immigration strategies” (Omidvar 2012a).

Broadbent also suggests that it is important for city leaders in different places to learn from one another in terms of what works well, what does not work, and what programs are worth adapting or emulating (Broadbent 2012). He also states that “we know that civic leadership matters. Where you see a newcomer population thriving in an inclusive way, you see leaders in city government, in local business, in community organizations and institutions showing the way. For there is no doubt that leadership matters, whether it comes from the head of the city government or from other, often surprising, places in the community” (Broadbent 2012). His last comment about leadership concerning receptivity and immigrant integration coming from under-

researched places within a community is where this study fills a gap by focusing on the public schools' influence on receptivity.

2.3.3 Economic Dimensions of Receptivity

In addition to the political dimension of receptivity, but not altogether unrelated, economic cycles influence the ups and downs of receptivity nationally, regionally, and locally. For example, on a national scale, we tend to witness a generally warm attitude of receptivity toward immigrants and newcomers during good economic times. However, when the economy declines, we tend to see an increasingly cooler attitude of receptivity toward newcomers. The same may be seen to a greater or lesser extent in particular regions or local places. Local businesses taking steps that are inclusive of a broader demographic and of diverse cultural backgrounds to gain more customers is one example of warm, positive economic receptivity toward newcomers. Contrarily, businesses refusing to serve certain segments of the population are examples of cold, negative receptivity.

Economic dimensions of receptivity also impact individual immigrant economic and labor force attainment. Portes (1995) suggests, within his modes of incorporation framework, that "individual labor force attainment and outcomes depend critically on structural receptivity contexts as well as on individual human capital characteristics" (De Jong and Steinmetz 2004). Building upon Portes' assertion, De Jong and Steinmetz (2004) suggest that "immigrants' job opportunities are enhanced in metropolitan and regional labor markets where U.S. citizens hold more positive attitudes toward immigrant workers, compared to labor markets where U.S. citizens hold more negative attitudes toward immigrant workers" (De Jong and Steinmetz 2004).

De Jong and Steinmetz (2004) also expect a negative impact on immigrant labor force access and occupational attainment in urban regions where citizens' support for traditionally nativist and anti-immigrant sentiment is stronger – places of cooler receptivity. Their assertion is built upon arguments by Sanchez (1997) and Higham (1988) identifying three American xenophobic sentiments that define present-day nativist attitudes: (1) “antipathy toward non-English languages as a fear that linguistic differences will undermine American society” (De Jong and Steinmetz 2004); (2) undocumented workers, along with multiculturalism and affirmative action, help immigrants take special advantages (De Jong and Steinmetz 2004); and (3) “the belief that both legal and illegal immigrants drain public resources, particularly their utilization of welfare, education, and health care services” (De Jong and Steinmetz 2004). Together, these three anti-immigrant sentiments, however unfounded, comprise what De Jong and Steinmetz (2004) view as cooler receptivity in certain places. This cooler receptivity, according to their findings, can limit immigrant incorporation into the labor market in a place, which would decrease their opportunities for inclusion and integration into the broader community.

Furthermore, De Jong and Steinmetz (2004) building upon previous work by Espenshade and Hempstead (1996) argue that “U.S. citizens hold a more negative attitude toward immigrants if they are viewed as taking jobs away from native workers and are perceived as more likely than natives to utilize public welfare...[and] native citizens who believe that immigrants have a more beneficial social and economic impact on U.S. society are likely to be more supportive of immigrant and immigrant workers occupational opportunities” (De Jong and Steinmetz 2004).

Regarding the intersection of economic and immigration policy, which is often discussed and implemented on national and international scales, Roth (2012) suggests the following regarding the evolution of recent macro-level economic and migration policy: “Following a phase of restrictive migration policy in many Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, the last few decades have seen more open immigration policies that focus on skilled labor. We are experiencing global competition for information technology professionals, creative artists and high skilled individuals upon whom to place our hopes for future prosperity. ‘Brain gain’ rather than ‘brain drain’ is the driving force in today’s migration policies” (Roth 2012). He goes on to state that “economic considerations crucially influence both migration policy and key policy decisions at the national level, generally. Local communities, especially large cities, similarly cannot escape the impact of global competition for goods, services, and labor, and are developing economic strategies and principles” (Roth 2012).

While major policies are proposed and enacted at the national and international levels, life goes on at the local level. As with the political, local places are important for economic receptivity related to immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration. As Singer (2012) states, “metropolitan areas are on the front lines of the economic integration of immigrants.” Furthermore, she states that “many urban areas have welcomed immigrants, including places with well-established foreign-born populations [traditional immigrant gateways], and those that started receiving and integrating immigrants more recently [new immigrant gateways]” (Singer 2012). Concerning former immigrant gateways, some cities are implementing strategies to attract and retain immigrants in an effort to “stem population loss and to stimulate economic activity”

(Singer 2012). Other cities are “investing in immigrants that are already here, as a strategy to help local businesses and economies, as well as immigrants, their families and the communities in which they live” (Singer 2012). Singer goes on to state that “cities that are the most forward-looking, that have the most pragmatic view on immigrants, are the ones that are reaching out and creating environments that immigrants can not only survive in but thrive in. They are putting out the welcome mat for immigrant newcomers” (Singer 2012). Roth (2012) offers the following suggestion: “Today, cities fluctuate between adaptation and obstinacy when it comes to economic integration. Given the success of local efforts to adapt to economic trends and the number of policy guidelines in many cases and in many places, there remains a surprising reluctance among some cities to embrace their traditional role as places of integration. Going forward, we must continue to develop resources to support new immigrants and their integration into the urban economy so that they really can help make all of us ‘rich and happy’” (Roth 2012).

2.3.4 Social, Cultural, Educational, and Community Dimensions of Receptivity

Social organizations, community and advocacy organizations, and cultural and educational institutions such as museums and public schools, each act in ways that influence receptivity in a place. Receptivity may also influence to a greater or lesser extent the nature of social and cultural aspects in a community. A museum that, as part of its mission of community engagement, chooses to implement and carry out exhibits and outreach programs that educate the broader community about demographic, social, and cultural changes occurring within the particular locale, is acting in a way that may influence broader community receptivity to progress in a positive direction. Public schools that experience a growth of immigrant students or students from immigrant

families, with diverse language and cultural backgrounds, must decide upon actions that respond to such a shift in its student population. Schools that take proactive and inclusive steps that adhere to the mission of educating all students are acting in ways that contribute to warm receptivity. A school's community that reacts to a growing immigrant student population by being fearful of demographic change is manifesting and influencing negative receptivity. School administrators and instructors who choose to ignore the increasing diversity of their student body, imperiling student achievement in the process, or cutting funding for particular programs designed to help integrate limited English proficient students, exhibit cold receptivity.

Political, economic, social, and cultural, including educational, dimensions of receptivity all work in combination to form a place's overall receptivity. Receptivity is therefore dynamic, fluid, and fickle, and acts as both mirror and molder in part of what characterizes a particular place. In the next section, I discuss overall receptivity in more detail.

2.4 Creating Community Receptivity

All of the above dimensions, plus the role of the media and the dominant discourse about immigration, contribute to creating receptivity for a place. A place's receptivity may contain multiple facets of both warm and cool receptivity. However, a place may generally be characterized as receptively warm or receptively cool overall. Furthermore, a place's receptivity is dynamic, changing over time in response to transitions in the various dimensional influencers of receptivity. This research explores the extent to which receptivity differs across place and scale with specific application to new immigrant gateways who find themselves at a receptivity "crossroads".

Figure 2.1 illustrates the concept of receptivity that can be applied to a particular place. Within this milieu, “Crossroads cities” are on the cusp of a tipping point at which they may decide to become more or less receptive to newcomers. In the absence of federal immigration policy and comprehensive immigration reform to address the present situation many metropolitan areas are facing regarding high immigrant growth, local places must make things up as they go. Where a city finds itself regarding receptivity affects the process of immigrant incorporation, inclusion, adjustment, and integration as it in turn affects both the immigrants and the host community and society.

Charlotte, the case study in this research, as a globalizing city (Graves and Smith 2010) with an array of available resources, is at the crossroads. It is a city on the cusp of the tipping point at which it could choose to progress in a positive direction towards an inclusive climate of warmer receptivity. Or the city may regress negatively towards a climate of cold exclusion paralleled by weaker social capital and frail regional resilience.

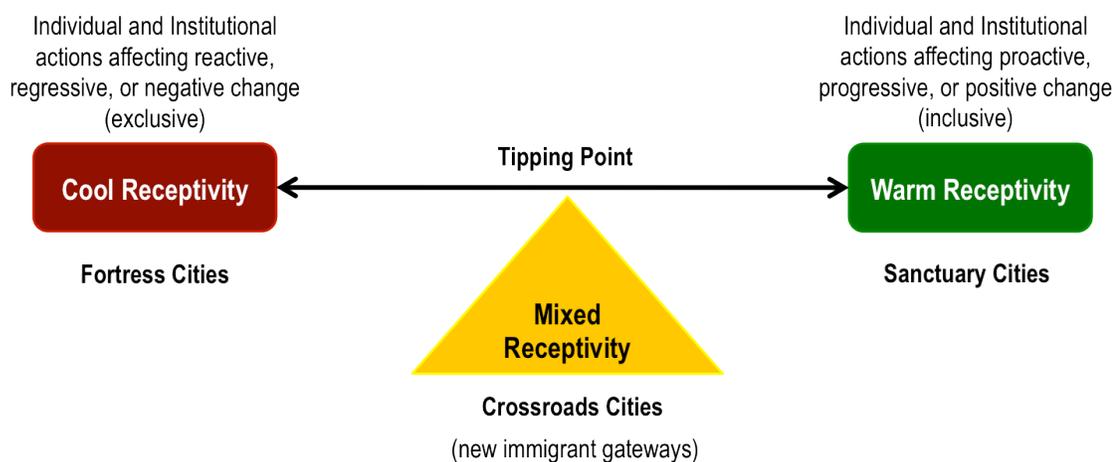


FIGURE 2.1. Receptivity diagram developed from a discussion among Paul McDaniel, Heather Smith, and Susan Harden. 29 November 2010.

What then are the actions occurring at the local level that influence a city's "warmth of receptivity" and which contribute positively to regional resilience in a particular place (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010)? The various political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions described above help us to answer that question. Local organizations and institutions have the challenge and opportunity to play critical transformative roles through which to positively affect receptivity. Institutions implementing proactive interventions – rather than reactive, which are the norm in most places experiencing rapid change – are critically important to influencing a city's move in a positive direction towards a climate of warmer receptivity. Such spatial, neighborhood-based as well as social, community-based strategies are profoundly influential on broader trends of receptivity and social capital. Local institutions can inspire the community and assist or guide the city at the crossroads so that it may better strive for a positive place amid warmer receptivity. If a city strives to be successful, recruit economic growth through increasing political and economic cooperation, encourage people to relocate there, and to foster a broadly positive image both locally and farther afield – the case for many globalizing cities that are also new immigrant gateways – it must keep in mind actions at the local level that can impact its receptivity.

Having introduced and discussed receptivity, I now turn to a brief discussion of receptivity and its relationship to immigrant incorporation, inclusion, integration, and adjustment. This section is followed by ways in which receptivity is shaped and changed, and receptivity in new immigrant gateways.

2.5 Receptivity and Immigrant Assimilation, Incorporation, Inclusion, Integration, and Adjustment

Receptivity can influence and affect the immigrant experience of incorporation, integration, and adjustment in a place. Places of perceived negative receptivity may be places where immigrants find it more difficult to adjust and integrate to life in that particular place. Places of perceived positive receptivity may, on the other hand, provide a context for more efficient and inclusive immigrant inclusion, adjustment, and integration. Immigrant integration, incorporation, inclusion, and adjustment are helped when the broader community, including the community's social capital, are more receptive and cooperative with one another. Incorporation, inclusion, adjustment, and integration are hampered by colder receptivity and a lack of resources, community cooperation, and low social capital. This section links the context of receptivity with the concepts of immigrant assimilation, incorporation, inclusion, integration, and adjustment. Receptivity's relationship with these concepts is described further in the later discussion chapter.

2.5.1 Immigrant Assimilation

The immigration literature is filled with definitions and descriptions of immigrant assimilation into a host society throughout the twentieth century, with many studies at different scales in a variety of countries. Scholarly thinking about assimilation has shifted greatly over time, leading to new forms of assimilation theory, as well as other concepts of immigrant settlement, integration, and adjustment altogether. This section describes several veins of assimilation and their relationship with receptivity.

Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR) defines assimilation as the process of "incorporating immigrants and refugees into the receiving society through an often multi-generational process of adaptation. The initial formulation

of assimilation posited that both immigrants and host society adapt to each other, but the term has come to be associated with immigrants' relinquishing their linguistic and cultural characteristics in order to become part of the economic and social structure of mainstream society” (GCIR 2012).

Brown and Bean (2006) define assimilation as “the process by which the characteristics of members of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another. That process, which has both economic and sociocultural dimensions, begins with the immigrant generation and continues through the second generation and beyond” (Brown and Bean 2006). Speaking to the extent of assimilation over time for a particular group, Brown and Bean (2006) state that

“different aspects of assimilation may also vary in completeness at any point in time. For example, an immigrant may master a host-country language faster than he or she matches the earnings of the native born. Finally, the incompleteness of assimilation may be similarly affected across groups if economic or other structural changes were to reduce most people's chances of economic mobility. Assimilation may be incomplete because it is blocked outright, delayed, or merely unfinished. But the type of incompleteness matters, because each type is freighted with different implications for theory, and thus for policy” (Brown and Bean 2006).

That certain structural factors at play may hinder immigrant assimilation or integration suggests that immigrants in a place experiencing negative receptivity may have a much more difficult time integrating with the broader community.

Three major theories of integration that Brown and Bean (2006) review include: the classic and new assimilation models; the racial/ethnic disadvantage model; and the segmented assimilation model. “In general, classic assimilation theory,” states Brown and Bean (2006),

“sees immigrant/ethnic and majority groups following a ‘straight-line’ convergence, becoming more similar over time in norms, values, behaviors, and

characteristics. This theory expects those immigrants residing the longest in the host society, as well as the members of later generations, to show greater similarities with the majority group than immigrants who have spent less time in the host society. Early versions of the theory have been criticized as ‘Anglo-conformist’ because immigrant groups were depicted as conforming to unchanging, middle-class, white Protestant values. In 1964, Gordon postulated several stages that follow the acquisition of culture and language. First comes structural assimilation (close social relations with the host society), followed by large-scale intermarriage; ethnic identification with the host society; and the ending of prejudice, discrimination, and value conflict” (Brown and Bean 2006).

Concerning new assimilation theory, Brown and Bean (2006) state that

“in what they call "new assimilation theory," Alba and Nee refined Gordon's account by arguing that certain institutions, including those bolstered by civil rights law, play important roles in achieving assimilation. They give the example of Jewish organizations that persuaded the New York City Council in 1946 to threaten the tax-exempt status of colleges or universities that discriminated on the basis of race or religion” (Brown and Bean 2006).

Regarding the racial/ethnic disadvantage model, Brown and Bean (2006) summarize:

“Other scholars argue that the assimilation of many immigrant groups often remains blocked. This stream of thought, called the *racial/ethnic disadvantage* point of view, is reflected in the writings of Nathan Glazer, Patrick Moynihan, and Alejandro Portes and his colleagues. To be sure, some of these writers emphasize racial and ethnic pluralism as much or more than they do ethnic disadvantage. For example, Glazer and Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot*, published in 1963 before the most recent wave of immigration, argues that ethnicity can constitute a resource as well as a burden for achieving economic mobility. But in general, this literature, especially its more recent versions, argues that language and cultural familiarity may often not lead to increased assimilation. Lingering discrimination and institutional barriers to employment and other opportunities block complete assimilation. Because immigrants compare socioeconomic opportunities in the host country to those in their countries of origin, they may not perceive these barriers. However, by the second or third generations, they may realize that the goal of full assimilation may be more difficult and take longer than originally presumed. This realization can have social and cultural consequences, including sometimes the reemergence (or simply emergence) of racial/ethnic consciousness. Critiques of this model suggest that it overstresses racial/ethnic barriers and fails to adequately explain evidence of socioeconomic mobility” (Brown and Bean 2006).

In terms of the segmented assimilation model, Brown and Bean (2006) state

“assimilation does appear to elude some immigrants’ descendants, even as late as the third generation. However, uneven patterns of convergence do not necessarily indicate lack of assimilation, but rather may reflect a "bumpy" rather than "straight-line" course, as sociologist Herbert J. Gans described the process in 1992. Others have noted that just as some members of immigrant groups become cut off from economic mobility, others find multiple pathways to assimilation depending on their national origins, socioeconomic status, contexts of reception in the United States, and family resources, both social and financial. As a result, the assimilation experiences of recent immigrants are more variegated and diverse than the scenarios provided by the classic assimilation and the ethnic disadvantage models. In 1993, Portes and Min Zhou combined elements of both the straight-line assimilation and the ethnic disadvantage perspectives into a framework they call *segmented assimilation*. They theorize that structural barriers, such as poor urban schools, cut off access to employment and other opportunities — obstacles that often are particularly severe in the case of the most disadvantaged members of immigrant groups. Such impediments can lead to stagnant or downward mobility, even as the children of other immigrants follow divergent paths toward classic straight-line assimilation. Heavily disadvantaged children of immigrants may even reject assimilation altogether and embrace attitudes, orientations, and behaviors considered "oppositional" in nature, such as joining a street gang. More advantaged groups may sometimes embrace traditional home- country attitudes and use them to inspire their children to achieve, a process Portes and Zhou call selective acculturation. Consequently, segmented assimilation focuses on identifying the contextual, structural, and cultural factors that separate successful assimilation from unsuccessful, or even "negative" assimilation. Portes, Zhou, and their colleagues argue it is particularly important to identify such factors in the case of the second generation, because obstacles facing the children of immigrants can thwart assimilation at perhaps its most critical juncture. Thus, while many children of immigrants will find pathways to mainstream status, others will find such pathways blocked, particularly as a consequence of racialization... Critics of this model argue that the perspective may erroneously attribute poor economic outcomes primarily to racialization when they may actually stem from other constraints like family financial obligations or factors such as lackluster job growth that slow the rate of mobility. They also point out that since the model has not been empirically tested beyond the current second generation (the members of which are still very young), segmented assimilation may misinterpret oppositional attitudes historically found among the young and misconstrue the pace of assimilation” (Brown and Bean 2006).

Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR) cites Portes, Rumbaut, and Zhou’s definition of segmented assimilation as a “concept developed by sociologists Alejandro Portes, Rubén Rumbaut, and Min Zhou in the 1990s to explain the

varying patterns of assimilation experienced by members of different ethnic groups” (GCIR 2012). Furthermore, they state that it “focuses on the second generation, and posits that while many immigrants will find different paths to mainstream success, others will find their pathways blocked by segmented labor markets and racial discrimination and experience negative assimilation” (GCIR 2012).

In addition to traditional thinking on immigrant assimilation, there is also new thinking on immigrant integration overall, as the following section discusses. The relationship of immigrant incorporation, inclusion, integration, and adjustment with receptivity becomes clearer in the following sections.

2.5.2 Immigrant Incorporation, Inclusion, and Integration

Immigrant incorporation, inclusion, and integration are discussed in the immigration literature on their own as well as within the framework of assimilation and adjustment. Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees (GCIR) provides very recent definitions, built upon past research, of immigrant incorporation, inclusion, and integration. They define immigrant incorporation as a phrase “used by some social scientists seeking a neutral term to refer to the process by which immigrants become part of a society, in an attempt to avoid normative implication sometimes associated with terms such as ‘assimilation’” (GCIR 2012).

GCIR defines inclusion as the “process by which immigrants become participants in particular sub-sectors of society, such as education, labor market, or political representation” (GCIR 2012). They state that inclusion “emphasizes active and conscious efforts by both public agencies and employers as well as immigrants themselves; [and is] meant to contrast with exclusion or social exclusion” (GCIR 2012).

GCIR defines immigrant integration as “a dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and cohesive communities” (GCIR 2012). Furthermore, they suggest that with immigrant integration, there is an “emphasis on the two-way process of change by both immigrants and members of a receiving society” (GCIR 2012). Their use of the term integration “contrasts with the alternative use of the term ‘integration’ to signify a one-way process of adaptation by immigrants to fit in with a dominant culture” (GCIR 2012). They use the term “integration” and not “assimilation” to “emphasize respect for and incorporation of differences and the need for mutual adaptation” (GCIR 2012). Additionally, they state that “‘integration’ also reflects an appreciation of diversity instead of the homogeneity that ‘assimilation’ has come to connote” (GCIR 2012).

Similar to GCIR’s definition, Jimenez (2011) defines immigrant integration as “a process wherein immigrants and the communities in which they settle – both the individuals and institutions – mutually adapt to one another. Integration is also an endpoint reached when individuals only minimally perceive themselves and others in ethnoracial and national terms, when these attributes have, at most, a negligible impact on opportunities and life chances” (Jimenez 2011). Additionally, Jimenez (2011) refers to the two-way process of integration through socio-economic opportunities, political participation, and social interaction. In particular, he states that

“integration is a function of the characteristics of both immigrants and their host communities. Socioeconomic status is determined by the sort of skills and financial resources that immigrants bring with them and the economic opportunities that exist in the host country, in this case the United States. Political participation, broadly defined, is shaped by the experiences that immigrants bring with them from their countries of origin and the host society’s laws and institutions that determine formal and informal political belonging. And social interactions between immigrant newcomers and the host society hinge upon the

ethnoracial and socioeconomic characteristics of immigrants and the rigidity of the host society's ethnoracial and class structure. Integration entails mutual change; as the characteristics of immigrants and their descendants change, so do the characteristics of host society that determine integration" (Jimenez 2011).

The reference to the two-way nature of integration is important to keep in mind when thinking about receptivity in a community. In terms of political receptivity and immigrant integration success, Jimenez (2011) notes that "although restrictionist legislation at the state and local levels garners a great deal of attention, state governments have been more successful at passing integration-oriented legislation...Just as some state and local governments have initiated efforts to enforce restrictive immigration policies, other locales have developed immigrant policies aimed at achieving fuller belonging for immigrant newcomers...Some of these efforts are partnerships with local NGOs that help implement integration policies" (Jimenez 2011).

In their study of immigrant-serving organizations in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, De Leon, et. al. (2009), describe ways in which community-based organizations "help immigrants find their way by encouraging them to participate civically and politically" (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009). Additionally, they state the following key findings about their study of immigrant-serving community-based organizations in the Washington, D.C., area, which may also be indicative of local community organizations in other immigrant gateway destinations:

- "Immigrant communities provide leaders who create nonprofits; staff, volunteers, and board members who run these organizations; and funding and other support" (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009).
- "Immigrant integration through culturally sensitive services promotes newcomers' social and political mobility" (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009).
- "These nonprofits advocate for their communities and encourage constituents to voice their own concerns and issues" (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009).

- “Each jurisdiction’s unique structures and policies affect these nonprofits’ service portfolios, funding, and political negotiating environments” (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009).
- Community-based organizations “are constantly up against fragmented public policies and a knowledge gap about foreign-born populations and the organizations that serve them” (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009).

Moreover, the authors cite research stating that “immigrant-serving community-based organizations ‘play a central role during all parts of the immigration process and in the social, cultural, political, and economic’ integration of newcomers” (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009; Cordero-Guzman 2005). They go on to state that

“At the outset, these agencies help individuals and families find a community; achieve economic stability and self-sufficiency; learn and respect a new social and political system; and become legal permanent residents or citizens. In the long run, CBOs ease cultural and language incorporation while maintaining ethnic identity and solidarity, which are crucial to empowering newcomers to secure their place in American society” (de Leon, Maronick, De Vita, and Boris 2009; Fix 2007; Newland, Tanaka, and Barber 2007).

Jimenez (2011) suggests that, although integration is not always an easy process, recent immigrants are integrating reasonably well with U.S. society in general.

Specifically, Jimenez (2011) states that

“integration is not necessarily a smooth process. It entails uncomfortable adjustments among immigrants, their descendants, and the host society in which they settle. However, just as previous waves of immigrants eventually found their way into the mainstream of American life (even those who were initially considered ‘unassimilable’), the recent inflow of immigrants is integrating reasonably well according to five main indicators: language proficiency, socioeconomic attainment, political participation, residential locale, and social interaction with host communities. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that US immigrants are learning the English language faster now than in the last wave of mass immigration at the beginning of the 20th century” (Jimenez 2011).

Jimenez (2011) goes on to state that

“When they first arrive, immigrants face some natural barriers to full social, economic, and political participation. The gap between them and the rest of society narrows over time, however, as immigrants and their children learn English, interact with members of host communities, and become involved in the

political process. For the most part, full integration into the US society and economy takes more than one generation” (Jimenez 2011).

Furthermore, Jimenez (2011) makes the following comparisons about the extent of integration between today's immigrants and immigrants of earlier eras of immigration to the United States:

“As in earlier eras, today’s immigrants show a remarkable ability to integrate and U.S. society has, by and large, adjusted to newcomers. For the most part, integration today is happening organically in host communities despite a lack of comprehensive government policies that would aid immigrants’ advancement. This process has not been universal, smooth, or conflict-free. There still are significant challenges to successful integration. And while the integration of today’s immigrants may differ in form and style from the integration of previous waves of immigrants, the end result is still strikingly similar to the successful integration observed among past immigrant inflows” (Jimenez 2011).

Jimenez (2011) makes the following conclusions about the current nature of immigrant integration in the United States:

“Immigrant integration in the United States is proceeding steadily, but unevenly. Remarkably, the process has unfolded almost entirely without the help of policy intervention. With the exception of refugees, immigrants receive relatively little federal funding for integration programs. This laissez faire approach to immigrant integration has in the past relied primarily on a strong labor market and high-quality public education to provide opportunities for integration. If this continues to be the preferred approach, the state of public education in areas of considerable immigrant settlement and the weakened US economy will be significant areas of concern in coming years. Equally, the size of the United States’ unauthorized population is likely to remain a powerful barrier to social cohesion and full social, economic, and political integration until steps are taken to address it” (Jimenez 2011).

At the local municipal level, Siemiatycki (2012) describes landscapes of exclusion and landscapes of inclusion that can hinder or help the immigrant integration process, respectively. Landscapes of exclusion are typically characterized as physical manifestations on the landscape of broader social policies of exclusions, and may include: “immigrant ghettos; unequal access to institutions and spaces of employment,

learning, government, etc.; and municipal planning policies that are unresponsive to the distinct residential, recreational, religious and cultural needs of diverse communities. Such patterns invariably create polarized and divided societies” (Siemiatycki 2012). Landscapes of exclusion may be one marker of cool receptivity. Such examples within a city may pose risks to the broader community’s regional resilience, including “social strife and the lost opportunity to fully benefit from the human capital of a diverse urban population” (Siemiatycki 2012). Landscapes of inclusion (Siemiatycki 2012), on the other hand, are manifestations of a city’s welcoming and warmly receptive environment. Examples of inclusive landscapes are the steps cities can take “to promote the integration of immigrants in their new urban home. Some of the most creative and effective initiatives assure that urban space – streets, but also parks, schools, libraries – serve the entire population” (Siemiatycki 2012).

Niessen (2012) describes the multiscalar process of immigrant integration as a “multi-faceted, long-term, and rather open-ended process” that “requires a confluence of global and local, general and specific policy interventions” (Niessen 2012). He also describes the multidimensionality of integration. Similar to the various dimensions of receptivity, “public policies, as well as policies of civil society and private sector organizations, can create favorable, less favorable, or unfavorable integration conditions” (Niessen 2012). Regarding the national scale, Niessen (2012) states that, “as regulator and policy-maker, national governments adopt anti-discrimination laws, review existing general policies and laws through the lens of equality, allocate resources and implement policies facilitating equal access to employment, education, health and other public services, decision-making and citizenship” (Niessen 2012). Bridging the local and global

scales, he states that such “civil society and private sector organizations as, for example, commercial firms, social enterprises, welfare and community organizations, sports clubs, civic and political organizations, or cultural and scientific institutes...knit society together. Their social commitment can find expression in the implicit and explicit acknowledgement of society’s diversity, which inspires compliance with anti discrimination laws; the screening of internal regulations on provisions preventing or facilitating the participation of specific groups of individuals; the adoption of programs, project and products from which a diverse population benefit; and the setting of clear targets for specific categories of people within the population” (Niessen 2012). He goes on to state that “the public, private and civil society sectors can work together and learn more from each other more than they often seem to realize” (Niessen 2012).

Niessen (2012) also comments on national policy influences on local integration processes. Specifically, he states that “integration at the local level is made much more difficult when the residence status of immigrants is not secured, their labor market mobility is restricted, they cannot live with their families, they do not have equal access to education, they cannot participate in decision-making or acquire citizenship, and when they are not protected against discrimination” (Niessen 2012). He suggests that cities “have a big interest in the creation of favorable conditions in all of these areas” and may do well by working together so that their collective voices are heard at the national level where immigration policy is typically planned and implemented (Niessen 2012).

The above concepts and components of immigrant integration are particularly important for new immigrant destinations and new gateways to comprehend. Traditional and new ideas about immigrant assimilation and integration suggest that there are

structural processes at play that can help and hinder immigrant adjustment and integration. Structural forces can include local, state, and federal level policies that help or hinder receptivity and immigrant integration. This research relates the importance of a place's receptivity with the extent to which immigrants adjust to and integrate within a community. The above information about integration suggests that communities with greater positive receptivity create an efficient environment of immigrant integration and adjustment, as well as a more positive experience for the receiving community. With this in mind, the following section describes a continuum of adjustment that exists along with a place's receptivity – leading to integration.

2.5.3 Immigrant Adjustment

We can think of immigrant adjustment as a product of the interplay among receptivity, incorporation, and inclusion, leading to integration. As incorporation and inclusion affect the extent to which immigrants adjust to life in their new destination, so too does receptivity affect the trajectory towards adjustment and ultimately integration. Adjustment may be conceptualized as a continuum along which immigrants and receiving communities may find themselves at various points over time. The continuum of adjustment may be visualized as shown in Figure 2.2.

The continuum of adjustment depicts an initial point of immigrant settlement wherein there is a significant increase in the number of newcomers moving to a place. The immigrant population goes through a process of incorporation, inclusion, and adjustment. The place's dynamic receptivity affects this process. Depending upon the

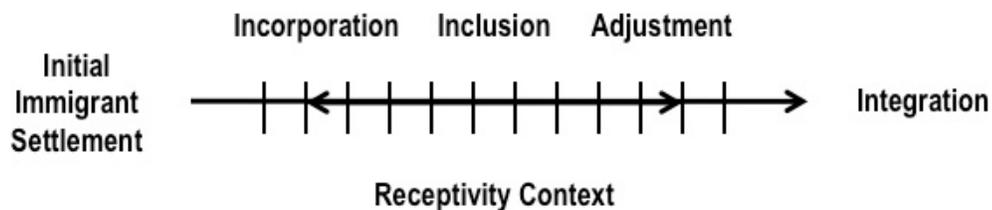


FIGURE 2.2. Continuum of adjustment.

nature of receptivity in the place, the immigrant population’s trajectory toward integration may be helped or hindered. Ultimately, however, the continuum of adjustment is part of a larger continuum leading to integration. As a reminder, integration in this sense – with its relationship with receptivity – refers to the “dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and cohesive communities” (GCIR 2012). Furthermore, there is a “two-way process of change by both immigrants and members of a receiving society that contrasts with the alternative use of the term ‘integration’ to signify a one-way process of adaptation by immigrants to fit in with a dominant culture” (GCIR 2012). The next section describes how receptivity is shaped and changed.

2.5.4 How is Receptivity Shaped and Changed?

Cities are often described as mirrors and molders of society and culture. In much the same way, the broader context within which receptivity rests shapes and changes a place’s receptivity over time. The various dimensions discussed above serve to shape receptivity, yet at the same time they also mirror the broader context of a place, which is in part shaped by regional receptivity.

Receptivity is shaped and changed by the various dimensions previously discussed: political, economic, social, and cultural. These dimensions, however, are

susceptible to being shaped themselves by the broader global, national, regional, and local discourses perpetuated by the media, political, and economic elite. Therefore, receptivity is shaped and changed both directly and indirectly at multiple scales.

In the next section, I discuss receptivity as it occurs in new immigrant gateways, and the related new geographies of immigrant settlement in new immigrant destinations.

2.6 Receptivity and New Immigrant Gateways: New Geographies of Immigrant Settlement

While receptivity serves as the theoretical foundation for this research, the new immigrant gateways typology acts as the contextual support structure for the broader discussion. In this section, I begin by discussing Singer's (2004) typology of six immigrant gateway types and the two types that constitute new immigrant gateways. Subsequently, I provide an overview of research related to the rise of new immigrant gateways, with mention of specific examples. The discussion then proceeds into describing how receptivity is different across space, especially in new immigrant gateways as opposed to traditional immigrant destinations. Lastly, this section discusses receptivity's distinctive form as it occurs in new immigrant gateways and why a public school system is an ideal place in which to observe receptivity in a new immigrant destination.

2.6.1 Six Types of Immigrant Gateways

Singer (2004) describes six types of immigrant gateways (Table 2.2): Former, Continuous, Post-World War II, Emerging, Re-Emerging, and Pre-Emerging. In terms of the definition of each of the six immigrant gateway types, Singer (2004) states

“All of the gateways have metropolitan populations greater than one million population. Continuous, Post-World War II, Emerging, and Re-Emerging gateways have foreign born populations greater than 200,000 and either foreign

born shares higher than the 2000 national average (11.1 percent) or foreign born growth rates higher than the national average (57.4 percent), or both. Former gateways are determined through historical trends. Pre-Emerging gateways have smaller foreign born populations but very high growth rates in the 1990s” (Singer 2004).

Again, linking to the concept of receptivity, it is important to note that our understanding of receptivity is primarily based upon the study of national-level trends or on places with long histories of immigrant settlement, incorporation, and adjustment, rather than upon new immigrant gateways. A number of southern cities fall within the *Emerging* and *Pre-Emerging* categories, indicating that immigration will continue to play an integral role within southern cities for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, such cities are likely wrestling with dramatically dynamic levels of receptivity as they must decide how receptive they wish to be at the same time as they are managing rapidly growing immigrant populations..

Singer’s (2004) discussion of six types of immigrant gateways posits how cities are realigning themselves according to more recent immigration. However, this gateway literature has yet to address the details of daily life for immigrants in these places (i.e. education, policing, housing, healthcare, parks and recreation, social services, among other public services) as they relate to receptivity. But this brings up the question of why has there been less work on public services related to new immigrant destinations? Since both place and scale matter, it is important to understand the more in-depth facets of life for immigrants and their communities at the local scale in addition to the broader structural components occurring at larger state, national, and global scales. Public service provision and access to it are indeed facets of daily life. For example, healthcare is

TABLE 2.2: Singer's six immigrant gateway types, metropolitan areas, 2000

Former	Continuous	Post-World War II
<p>“Above national average in percentage foreign born 1900-1930, followed by percentages below the national average in every decade through 2000.”</p> <p>Baltimore Buffalo Cleveland Detroit Milwaukee Philadelphia Pittsburgh St. Louis</p>	<p>“Above average percentage foreign born in every decade, 1900-2000.”</p> <p>Bergen-Passaic Boston Chicago Jersey City Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon Nassau-Suffolk New York Newark San Francisco</p>	<p>“Low percentage foreign born until after 1950, followed by percentages higher than the national average for remainder of century.”</p> <p>Fort Lauderdale Houston Los Angeles Miami Orange County Riverside-San Bernardino San Diego</p>
Emerging	Re-Emerging	Pre-Emerging
<p>“Very low percentage foreign born until 1970, followed by a high proportion in the post-1980 period.”</p> <p>Atlanta Dallas Fort Worth Las Vegas Orlando Washington, DC West Palm Beach</p>	<p>“Similar pattern to continuous gateways: foreign born percentage exceeds national average 1900-1930, lags it after 1930, then increases rapidly after 1980.”</p> <p>Denver Minneapolis-St. Paul Oakland Phoenix Portland, OR Sacramento San Jose Seattle Tampa</p>	<p>“Very low percentages of foreign-born for the entire 20th century.”</p> <p>Austin Charlotte Greensboro-Winston-Salem Raleigh-Durham Salt Lake City</p>

Source: Modified from Singer, Audrey. 2004. *The Rise of New Immigrant Gateways*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

important because a lack of access to appropriate healthcare impedes all other aspects of life such as going to work or getting children to school. Education is important because those without access to adequate education often find their chances for future opportunities and upward mobility impeded. Inadequate access to education also increases the likelihood of living in poverty and not being able to positively contribute to the broader community. Furthermore, insufficient educational access lessens the chance of a student going on to engage in various sectors of the economy, possibly leading to a growing underclass (*Plyler v. Doe* 1982). Access to decent and affordable housing stock is essential for immigrants to adequately fulfill other aspects of their lives. Additionally, proper access to other public services, such as policing and public safety, parks and recreation, among others, is impactful upon the immigrant experience in ways relating to feelings of safety, quality of life, and levels of community engagement, all of which are important factors in any robust community with high levels of social capital.

A discussion of Singer's (2004) gateway typology also leads to the questions of: how are such places focusing on how to effectively respond to increasing immigration in the context of public services? How does a particular immigrant or ethnic population (such as the Latino population) access healthcare or experience education, for example, in this particular place? What are the barriers to accessing public services (for example, barriers to educational achievement) in this particular place? These are important considerations as we move the discussion forward.

2.6.2 Current Research Trends in New Immigrant Gateways

A number of studies citing Singer's (2004) immigrant gateways typology do well at looking at foreign born settlement and spread within a particular city or metropolitan

area. Subsequent studies relevant to this research that cite Singer's (2004) immigrant gateway typology include: Frey (2005); Price, Cheung, Friedman, and Singer (2005); Skop and Li (2005); and Waters and Jiménez (2005). However, fewer studies appear to have looked at issues beyond immigrant residential settlement in general. These finer and more detailed issues of daily life for immigrants and the broader community, affected by immigrant settlement and spread and community receptivity that creates a metropolitan area's immigrant gateway status, include the public services previously mentioned. Two edited volumes – *Migrants to the Metropolis: The Rise of Immigrant Gateway Cities* (Price and Benton-Short 2008) and *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America* (Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell 2008) – take the immigrant gateway idea and push it forward in a variety of places and spaces, further establishing the immigrant gateway phenomenon as an important idea for study in the twenty-first century.

Migrants to the Metropolis: The Rise of Immigrant Gateway Cities, edited by Price and Benton-Short (2008), contains works by a number of scholars with international examples of three types of immigrant gateways: established, emerging, and exceptional. Several chapters, particularly about the established New York City immigrant gateway (Foner 2008) and the emerging Washington, D.C., immigrant gateway (Chacko 2008), relate to Singer's (2004) new immigrant gateway typology.

Twenty First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America, edited by Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell (2008), contains works by a number of scholars relating back to Singer's (2004) immigrant gateways typology. Specifically, the book includes studies examining the emerging gateways of Dallas (Brettell 2008), Phoenix

(Oberle and Li 2008), Atlanta (Odem 2008), Washington, D.C. (Price and Singer 2008); the re-emerging gateways of Sacramento (Datel and Dingemans 2008), Minneapolis-St. Paul (Fennelly and Orfield 2008), and Portland, OR (Hardwick and Meacham 2008); and the pre-emerging immigrant gateways of Austin (Skop and Buentello 2008), and Charlotte (Smith and Furuseh 2008). In addition to incorporating Singer's (2004) immigrant gateways typology, the studies in this volume refer to the growing trend of immigrant suburban settlement within metropolitan areas in the United States in general. The next section looks more specifically at the phenomenon of immigrant suburban settlement in the context of new immigrant destinations and their respective receptivity.

2.6.3 New Immigrant Gateways and Suburban Immigrant Settlement in the U.S.

As the geography of immigrant settlement in new immigrant gateways continues to evolve, we see suburban immigrant settlement and spread manifesting in a variety of ways as the primary form of immigrant settlement in new destinations. Several concepts for the geography of suburban immigrant settlement are briefly outlined below, providing a further thread of understanding in the broad tapestry of immigrant settlement geography in new immigrant gateways. But foremost of importance in regards to this research is the link between suburban immigrant settlement in new immigrant gateways and receptivity, a relationship with implications for, impacts upon, and responses by the public education system. The changing geography of immigrant settlement in suburban areas – often times quite rapid in some places – brings about shifts in the demographic, cultural, and linguistic make up of schools located within changing neighborhoods. How these schools respond, and how the school system as a whole responds to changes can play a role in shaping overall community receptivity toward immigrants.

Census data in recent years clearly show that “at the beginning of the twenty-first century American racial minorities, immigrants included, increasingly call American suburbs their home. Clearly, both the traditional inner-city ethnic enclaves and the multiethnic suburbs have become new immigrant gateways” (Li 2009; Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell 2008). Over the course of the last two decades, migration to the U.S. South in particular saw a significant increase. Some of the highest growth rates across the nation for Latino migration in particular are seen in southern states, counties, cities, and places (Berube 2003). But this new migration appears to be operating differently than the migration to traditional gateway cities and places of the past. Unlike traditional gateways of the past, immigrants to the U.S. South are not necessarily forming ethnic enclaves nor are those migrants to cities settling in inner-city areas. Recent research shows that more often than not, migrants to metropolitan areas in the South are initially heading directly to suburban areas, particularly older, maturing suburbs in between the inner city and the outer fringe of a metropolitan area. This is in line with findings by Frey (2003) concerning melting pot suburbs across the United States. To reiterate, Frey specifically states that “minority suburbanization increased markedly during the 1990s,” and, concerning Hispanic and Latino persons specifically, “melting pot metro areas and the Hispanics locating within them are the major drivers of national minority suburbanization trends” (Frey 2003). This raises many questions about race, population, space, and place in many metropolitan areas of the United States, but predominantly in areas of the U.S. South where issues of black and white race and racial geographies have long been points of contention.

2.6.4 Changing Patterns of Immigrant Growth in Metropolitan America

Although discussing immigration as a whole, at times the discussion focuses on the Latino community because this population group makes up the largest component of immigrants in Charlotte and indeed in many new immigrant gateways and destinations. Concerning the Latino population specifically, Suro and Singer (2002) discuss how the Latino immigrant population in the country's 100 largest metro areas (Table 2.3) is increasingly suburban. They specifically state that "fifty-four percent of all U.S. Latinos now reside in the suburbs; the Latino suburban population grew 71 percent in the

TABLE 2.3: Top ten metro areas with the largest Latino populations in 2000

Metro Area	Latino Population in 2000	Percent of Total Population in 2000	Latino Growth 1980 – 2000
Los Angeles	4,242,213	45%	105%
New York	2,339,836	25%	60%
Chicago	1,416,584	17%	143%
Miami	1,291,737	57%	123%
Houston	1,248,586	30%	211%
Riverside-San Bernadino	1,228,962	38%	324%
Orange County, CA	875,579	31%	206%
Phoenix	817,012	25%	261%
San Antonio	816,037	51%	67%
Dallas	810,499	23%	324%
Total	15,087,045	31%	130%

Source: Suro, Roberto and Audrey Singer. 2002. *Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

1990s. In 1990 the central-city and suburban Hispanic populations in the 100 largest metros were nearly identical, but during the next decade suburban growth so outpaced central-city growth that by 2000 the suburban Hispanic population exceeded the central-

city population by 18 percent” (Suro and Singer 2002). They go on to state that “new Latino destinations [such as those in the U.S. South] saw the fastest growth of Latino suburbanites” (Suro and Singer 2002). Suro and Singer (2002) additionally describe four patterns of Latino growth (Table 2.4): *established Latino metros* (New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago); *new Latino destinations* (Atlanta, Orlando, Charlotte); *fast-growing Latino hubs* (Houston, Phoenix, San Diego); and *small Latino places* (Baton Rouge). Within this context, they discuss the emergence of eighteen *Hispanic Hypergrowth* metropolitan areas (Table 2.5) – metro areas that witnessed a Latino population growth rate of more than 300 percent from 1980 to 2000 – which fall within the *new Latino destinations* category (Suro and Singer 2002). Hispanic hypergrowth cities in the U.S. South include Raleigh, Atlanta, Greensboro, Charlotte, Orlando,

TABLE 2.4: Four patterns of Latino population growth in 100 U.S. metro areas, 1980-2000 (Suro and Singer 2002)

Established Latino Metros	New Latino Destinations
<p>Defined by a large Latino base but with slow growth. “Sixteen major metros constitute a kind of Hispanic heartland in America...with large, long-standing Latino communities.” Examples:</p> <p>Albuquerque, NM MSA Chicago, IL PMSA Denver, CO PMSA El Paso, TX MSA Fresno, CA MSA</p> <p>Jersey City, NJ PMSA Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA PMSA McAllen, TX MSA Miami, FL PMSA New York, NY PMSA</p>	<p>Defined by a small Latino base with fast growth. 51 of “the largest 100 metropolitan areas in America posted explosive growth of their initially small Latino communities between 1980 and 2000.” Among new Latino destinations, there are “hypergrowth” metros which witnessed Latino population growth over 300 percent between 1980 and 2000. Many of these cities are in the Sunbelt, and were places experiencing significant overall growth in general. Examples (<i>italics</i> indicates a metro area with growth over 300 percent from 1980 to 2000):</p>

<p>Table 2.4 (continued)</p> <p>Oakland, CA PMSA San Antonio, TX MSA San Francisco, CA PMSA San Jose, CA PMSA Tucson, AZ MSA Ventura, CA PMSA</p> <p>Fast-Growing Latino Hubs</p>	<p>Albany, NY MSA Allentown, PA MSA <i>Atlanta, GA MSA</i> Baltimore, MD PMSA Bergen-Passaic, NJ PMSA Birmingham, AL MSA Boston, MA-NH PMSA <i>Charlotte, NC-SC MSA</i> Columbus, OH MSA <i>Fort Lauderdale, FL PMSA</i> <i>Fort Worth-Arlington, TX PMSA</i></p>
<p>Defined by a large Latino base and fast growth. “Eleven metros – the fastest growing Latino hubs – grew at extraordinary rates from very large base populations, and now supplement the established Latino metros as major population centers on the map of Hispanic America.” Most of these metros are in California and Texas. Examples:</p> <p>Austin, TX MSA Bakersfield, CA MSA Dallas, TX PMSA Houston, TX PMSA Orange County, CA PMSA Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA Riverside-San Bernardino, CA PMSA Sacramento, CA PMSA San Diego, CA MSA Stockton, CA MSA Vallejo, CA PMSA</p>	<p><i>Greensboro- Winston Salem, NC MSA</i> <i>Greenville, SC MSA</i> Harrisburg, PA MSA Hartford, CT MSA <i>Indianapolis, IN MSA</i> Jacksonville, FL MSA Kansas City, MO-KS MSA Knoxville, TN MSA <i>Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA</i> Little Rock, AR MSA Louisville, KY-IN MSA Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ PMSA Milwaukee, WI PMSA <i>Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA</i> Monmouth-Ocean, NJ PMSA <i>Nashville, TN MSA</i> Nassau-Suffolk, NY PMSA New Haven, CT PMSA Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA</p>
<p>Small Latino Places</p> <p>Defined by a small Latino base and slow growth. “About a quarter of the 100 metros in this survey remained largely on the periphery of major Hispanic growth trends.” Most of these cities are in the Midwest or South, with a few in the</p> <p>Table 2.4 (continued)</p> <p>Northeastern Rust Belt. Examples:</p> <p>Akron, OH PMSA</p>	<p>Oklahoma City, OK MSA Omaha, NE-IA MSA <i>Orlando, FL MSA</i> <i>Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA PMSA</i> <i>Providence, RI-MA MSA</i> <i>Raleigh-Durham, NC MSA</i> Richmond, VA MSA</p> <p>Salt Lake City, UT MSA <i>Sarasota, FL MSA</i> Scranton, PA MSA Seattle-Bellevue, WA PMSA</p>

Table 2.4 (continued)	Springfield, MA MSA
Ann Arbor, MI PMSA	Tacoma, WA PMSA
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA
Buffalo, NY MSA	<i>Tulsa, OK MSA</i>
Charleston, SC MSA	<i>Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV PMSA</i>
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN PMSA	<i>West Palm Beach, FL MSA</i>
Cleveland, OH PMSA	Wichita, KS MSA
Columbia, SC MSA	Wilmington, DE-MD PMSA
Dayton, OH MSA	
Detroit, MI PMSA	
Gary, IN PMSA	
Honolulu, HI MSA	
Mobile, AL MSA	
New Orleans, LA MSA	
Newark, NJ PMSA	
Philadelphia, PA-NJ PMSA	
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	
Rochester, NY MSA	
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	
Syracuse, NY MSA	
Toledo, OH MSA	
Youngstown, OH MSA	

Source: Suro, Roberto and Audrey Singer. 2002. *Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Nashville, Fort Lauderdale, Sarasota, Greenville, and West Palm Beach (Suro and Singer 2002).

New immigrant destinations, such as those in the U.S. South, increasingly bear witness to the suburbanization of immigrant settlement. Singer further states that “contemporary data...suggest that many immigrants are moving directly to the suburbs...the classic pattern of city to suburban migration no longer predominates”

TABLE 2.5: “Hypergrowth” new Latino destinations, 2000 (Suro and Singer, 2002)

Metro Area	Latino Population in 2000	Percent of Total Population in 2000	Latino Growth 1980 – 2000
Raleigh	72,580	6%	1,180%
Atlanta	268,851	7%	995%
Greensboro	62,210	5%	962%
Charlotte	77,092	5%	932%
Orlando	271,627	17%	859%
Las Vegas	322,038	21%	753%
Nashville	40,139	3%	630%
Fort Lauderdale	271,652	17%	578%
Sarasota	38,682	7%	538%
Portland, OR	142,444	7%	437%
Greenville	26,167	3%	397%
West Palm Beach	140,675	12%	397%
Washington, DC	432,003	9%	346%
Indianapolis	42,994	3%	338%
Minneapolis-St. Paul	99,121	3%	331%
Fort Worth	309,851	18%	328%
Providence	93,868	8%	325%
Tulsa	38,570	5%	303%
Total	2,750,564	9%	505%

Note: Hypergrowth metros had Latino population growth over 300 percent between 1980 and 2000. Source: Suro, Roberto and Audrey Singer. 2002. *Latino Growth in Metropolitan America: Changing Patterns, New Locations*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

(Singer 2004). Singer (2004) also offers a discussion as to why so many immigrants are now moving directly to suburban areas:

“Contemporary immigrants, like their earlier counterparts, frequently settle close to where the jobs are; however, this time around, the jobs are mostly in the suburbs. Moreover, many inner suburbs are distinguished by the affordability of their housing, especially as compared with dwindling options in many central city neighborhoods, particularly those experiencing gentrification. This in part explains the sharp contrast of settlement patterns in continuous gateways (where more than half of the immigrants reside in central cities), and emerging gateways (where fully three-quarters of immigrants resided outside the central cities) in

2000. In some emerging gateway metropolitan areas such as Atlanta and Washington D.C., nearly all of immigrants lived in the suburbs in 2000, whereas in 1970 only 55 percent of the areas' immigrants did. In those metro areas, immigrant settlement patterns resemble those of the native-born population, so that similarly high shares of both populations reside in the suburbs" (Singer 2004).

This indicates a specific trend of initial suburban settlement that may be occurring in many cities throughout the U.S. South. Local government officials, public policy makers, and local media should take note of this trend that may have significant public policy implications and impacts for years to come in local places across the South.

As Suro, Wilson, and Singer (2011) state, "Demographic change and economic tumult have changed the geography of poverty across and within U.S. metropolitan areas. As a result of these intersecting trends, many suburban areas with little experience with either immigration or poverty face new and distinctive public policy challenges. Suburban governments, nonprofits, and private funders – many with already stretched budgets – will need to modify and extend their programming to reach immigrants living in poverty" (Suro, Wilson, and Singer 2011). Furthermore, they describe that their findings

"illuminate a new geography of nativity and disadvantage that has developed out of booms, bubbles and busts and challenges traditional thinking about the structure of metropolitan areas and their governance. It is no longer useful to think of central cities as the primary locations of poverty in America, surrounded by concentric suburban rings of predominately white and affluent populations. The interplay of demographic change and economic turmoil has produced a dappled map in which foreign born and native born, poor and non-poor, are scattered and intermingled across the entire metropolitan landscape. As a result, suburbs with little or no experience with either immigration or poverty face complex and unfamiliar public policy challenges" (Suro, Wilson, and Singer 2011).

Specifically, this suburbanization of immigration has a profound effect on local public service provision – such as educational facilities and the public school system. This new

form of immigrant settlement may indeed play a role in education zoning decisions and education policy formation. The discussions by Suro and Singer (2002) and Singer (2004) are quite telling and forecast a significant future role and impact of Latino migration to the U.S. South. To further reinforce this point, Kandel and Parrado (2006) suggest that “underlying many policy issues are demographic differences between local residents and recent migrants, including age, gender, and household composition.” Concerning education policy specifically, “public education represents a central arena where Hispanic population growth translates into significant and visible fiscal and policy impacts” (Kandel and Parrado 2006). The rapid growth of a previously small and unknown population group has a significant effect on the local area and on local education, particularly when public school funding plays a large role in local fiscal and policy debates. Specific impacts of a growing immigrant population on a local school system include: transforming school composition, a higher demand for educational facilities, a contribution to overcrowded schools if the facility demand is not met, the need for new and innovative teaching strategies and resources, and a greater demand and need for new teachers, such as English as a Second Language instructors, as well as interpreters and translators (Kandel and Parrado 2006).

A contextual understanding of new geographies of immigrant urban and suburban settlement is important to the discussion of new immigrant gateways and receptivity. This context is both spatial and social. Dynamic and transitioning immigrant settlement in a city occurs over geographic space affecting physical changes to neighborhoods over time (spatial context). At the same time, transitioning immigrant settlement geography in a city affects communities (social context). Therefore, in new immigrant gateways

witnessing dramatic growth of their foreign born populations, we see both spatial and social changes occurring on the urban and suburban landscape. Spatial changes are manifested in physical neighborhood changes visibly evident on the landscape (i.e. housing and retail change; new and different signage; cultural and religious institutions). Social changes are manifested in the communities comprising cities through new cultural traditions brought from immigrant homelands and layered upon the traditional cultural practices already in place among the long-term population (i.e. festivals, music, radio, food). Geographers have set out attempting to describe the spatial and social changes occurring across space and place in neighborhoods and communities as a result of transitioning immigrant settlement geography and adjustment. An understanding of some of these geographies of immigrant urban and suburban settlement is therefore an important cornerstone in the overall discussion of new immigrant gateways and receptivity.

2.6.5 Immigrant Settlement, Residential Mobility and Neighborhood Change

Migration and immigrant settlement within urban and suburban areas play a role within the relationships between residential mobility and residential structure (Knox and Pinch 2010) in new immigrant gateways. Indeed, Knox and Pinch (2010) state “while migration creates and remodels the social and demographic structure of city neighborhoods, it is also conditioned by the existing ecology of the city: a classic example of the sociospatial dialectic. The process is undergoing constant modification as each household’s decision to move (or not to move) has repercussions for the rest of the system. Chain reactions of vacancies and moves are set off as dwellings become newly available, and this movement may itself trigger further mobility as households react to

changes in neighborhood status and tone” (Knox and Pinch 2010). Furthermore, they state that “mobility is seen as a product of housing opportunities – the new and vacant dwellings resulting from suburban expansion, inner-city renewal and rehabilitation, etc. – and the housing needs and expectations of households, which are themselves a product of income, family size and lifestyle. Meanwhile, residential mobility can also be interpreted within the frame of broader structural changes” (Knox and Pinch 2010). Within the relationship among residential mobility, residential structure, and neighborhood change, immigrant settlement plays a role in that oftentimes, as we are seeing in such places as new immigrants gateways in the Sunbelt South, immigrants and immigrant entrepreneurs move in to recently vacated and subsequently less expensive housing and retail stock in the aging, middle ring suburbs of a metropolitan area (McDaniel and Drever 2009; Singer, Hardwick, Brettell 2008; Smith and Furuseth 2006).

As Li (2009) points out, “the spatial dimensions of ethnicity are what geographers can best address, not only from the perspective of spatial variations of ethnicity, but also the relationship between the spatial form of ethnic communities and ethnicity and racial formation as social constructions” (Li 2009). Ethnic geographers in recent years have been busy postulating theories on what they observe as new forms of ethnic settlement and adjustment in urban and suburban areas of America. Many of these new models exploring urban and suburban immigrant and ethnic settlement and adjustment challenge the “dominant view that assimilation is inevitable and remains the ideal solution for immigrants and other racial/ethnic minorities who live in the United States” (Li 2009). Indeed, this realization is yet another point of understanding for communities as they negotiate their dynamic components of receptivity. In the following sections, I turn to a

discussion of ways in which receptivity differs across space and in new immigrant gateways, the fluidity and fickleness of receptivity, public schools as a salient case study for examining receptivity in new immigrant gateways, and other ways in which this research informs our understanding of receptivity.

2.7 How is Receptivity Different Across Space and in New Immigrant Gateways?

Receptivity may be described from various perspectives at multiple scales. An entire country, such as the United States, has a national receptivity that waxes and wanes over time from inputs by the various influencing dimensions, media, and political discourse. However, as with most issues, receptivity varies across place and space when examined at a finer level of geography. Some places may be thought of as exhibiting a generally warmer receptivity (i.e. “sanctuary cities”). Other places may exhibit a generally cooler receptivity (i.e. “fortress cities”). New immigrant gateways and destinations, with a much shorter history of immigration and increasing diversity, must struggle with the interplay of the various dimensions and dynamics affecting receptivity. They also must negotiate a nascent receptivity with which their place, presently at a receptive crossroads, will come to be known. The dominant receptivity that develops within a new immigrant gateway will in turn further shape the dimensions and dynamics within that place. This burgeoning milieu in part affects the place’s further trajectory as a new immigrant gateway. Receptivity is, however, fluid and fickle over time, ever susceptible to the broader political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions and discourses.

2.7.1 Fluidity and Fickleness of Receptivity

Receptivity is fluid and fickle over time. As previously discussed, receptivity is continuously susceptible to inputs by the various dimensions affecting receptivity, as well as from the broader discourses of the media and political realms. Receptivity is fluid and fickle in at least two ways. First, it is susceptible to and influencer of change brought about by the various broader dimensions of society and the multitude of components comprising each of those dimensions. Second, receptivity's importance to a particular place's broader context and societal discourse waxes and wanes across time, space, and place. Receptivity may play an influential role in a place at a particular time, but may not be as important in characterizing a place at another time.

As cities themselves are places of dramatic dynamism, receptivity plays a role in the vitality and vigor of a place. Receptivity influences the shifts in a place, but may also be influenced by many other factors contributing to urban dynamism. New immigrant gateway cities are undergoing rapid and significant population, cultural, political, economic, and societal shifts. With the brisk, often breathtaking, pace of change occurring, a place's receptivity is also susceptible to wide vacillations between warm and cool receptivity. A new immigrant gateway over a short span of time may appear early on to be generally receptive to newcomers. Shortly thereafter, the same place may begin to manifest more examples of cool receptivity. Further, as the various dimensions play out influencing receptivity and urban life, the location may end up decidedly receptive to newcomers with strong regional resilience and social capital. Or, a place may become emphatically unwelcome to newcomers, weakening the city's economy, culture, and ability for resilience. New immigrant gateway destinations, therefore, are at a

metaphorical crossroads. They may progress towards an overall climate of warm receptivity. Or, they may regress into an atmosphere of receptive coldness.

2.7.2 Examining Public Schools as Evidence of a Distinctive Form of Receptivity in New Immigrant Gateways

New immigrant gateways, by being at a conceptual crossroads, exhibit a distinctive form of receptivity. Places with a long history of receiving immigrants and newcomers, although not immune to the national and regional vacillations of factors influencing receptivity, are much more likely to have defined their receptivity. New immigrant gateways, with much shorter histories of receiving newcomers, will have a much more ambiguous atmosphere of receptivity. New immigrant destinations are then more susceptible to the multiscalar dimensional impacts influencing a place's receptivity.

As mentioned before, all children are permitted to attend public school in the United States. Places of public education therefore contain a very visible manifestation of significant population and neighborhood demographic shifts. Public schools are one of the community institutions most affected by a population shift. In much the same way as receptivity, public education is an institution directly impacted by political, economic, social, and cultural factors at the local, state, and national level. Community members and voters have a say in policies implemented by public schools and how public funds are spent on education. Public education, therefore, serves as a salient case study in which to explore receptivity's dynamism in a new immigrant gateway. The way in which public schools respond to an increasingly diverse student population – with many different languages and cultures represented – is a microcosm of the way in which the broader community ultimately receives immigrants and newcomers.

2.7.3 What Else Does This Research Tell Us About Receptivity?

Beyond the argument that the nature and dynamics of receptivity in new immigrant gateways is likely different than in other places, this research informs our understanding of receptivity in several ways. First, this research suggests that a place's public education realm is an important component in viewing a place's receptivity. Second, this research reinforces our understanding that receptivity is a complex concept affected by many factors at many levels. A host of dynamic, diverse dimensions influence receptivity at multiple scales. National, regional, and local discourses in political, economic, social, cultural, and media spheres sway receptivity at various levels of geography. Third, this research reminds us that receptivity is fluid and fickle, susceptible to and influencing changes over time. Just as influencers of receptivity are evident at multiple scales, receptivity's fluidity and fickleness are also multiscale in nature. Fourth, this research suggests that receptivity is an important component in our contextual understanding of new forms of urban social geography. Without the contextual understanding brought by the various components of receptivity, there is a gap in the knowledge about new urban geographies. This research, in addition to arguing that the challenges and opportunities of receptivity are likely different in new immigrant gateways, therefore contributes to our broader thinking about receptivity and its relationship with urban, social, and ethnic geographies.

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the theoretical foundation of receptivity upon which this research rests. This discussion was complemented by an overview of the structural context of new immigrant gateways and immigrant settlement geography. In

the next chapter of the literature review portion of this research, I discuss a background context of legal precedent and immigrant education in the United States. This contextual grounding is necessary to a more meaningful understanding of how the Charlotte case study of public education relates to the broader theoretical construct of receptivity and contextual framework of new immigrant gateways.

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION FOR ALL IN THE UNITED STATES

“Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.” – Chief Justice Earl Warren, United States Supreme Court, 1954.

Schools are among the most receptive places in communities. The law itself says that schools must be receptive places. Indeed, past legal precedents laid the groundwork for receptivity in public schools. The arc of education and immigration policy has bended toward receptivity. Such legal decisions create a framework for receptivity and the law is clear that education has to be one of the most receptive environments. Legal precedents lay the foundation for further receptivity and for the current place of education and immigration policy (see Appendix A).

This chapter provides a discussion around receptivity and education policy concerning immigrant education in the United States and how immigrant education assists in the goal to provide public education for the public good. This contextual grounding is necessary to build a background understanding for the broader and deeper discussion pertaining to immigrant settlement, public education, and receptivity that follows.

Appendix A provides an overview of examples of various education and immigration precedents forming the legal arc which bends toward receptivity. These cases include: *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), in which the Supreme Court introduced the doctrine of “separate but equal”; *Mendez v. Westminster School District* (1946), which was one of the first examples of individuals legally challenging the “separate but equal” doctrine; *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the landmark Supreme Court decision overturning the doctrine of “separate but equal”, which led to desegregation and integration of public education; *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968), in which the Supreme Court again ruled in favor of integration and showed impatience with slow efforts to desegregate; *United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education* (1969), in which the Supreme Court upheld a mandate that the Montgomery County, Alabama, Board of Education must facilitate racial desegregation of faculty and staff within the county school system; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), in which the Supreme Court rules that busing is an effective method to integrate a public school system and to promote racial balance among schools; *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), wherein the Supreme Court stated that public secondary education (K-12) in the United States must be accessible to all children, including undocumented students; *Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1999), wherein the court declared that the school system had reached a unitary status and that busing may cease, which led to a return to neighborhood schools; and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007), in which the Supreme Court decided that students may not be assigned to specific schools solely for the purposes of racial integration.

Among the legal precedents mentioned in Appendix A as part of the broader trajectory of education policy moving towards receptivity, the *Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1999) case may at first appear out of place. However, this case impacted receptivity and adds complexity to the question of receptivity and public schools. While the case was a setback to those wanting to create diverse school environments – which busing systems helped to create – this decision led to the creation of schools in neighborhoods where immigrant families are concentrated. Schools located in immigrant areas of Charlotte suddenly became places of significant communities of Latino and immigrant students. This suggests that diversity and receptivity are two different concepts not always aligned. Under a system of busing, immigrant communities would be broken up and scattered across a school district. Within that hypothetical framework, would immigrant children, students from immigrant families, or limited English proficient students be as well served if they were scattered in schools across Charlotte? Probably not if a student ended up as one of only a handful of immigrant or LEP students in an entire school. Within the current context of neighborhood schools located in areas where immigrant families reside, resources related to serving immigrant students and native-born children of immigrant parents (i.e. English as a second language, ESL, instruction and other services for limited English proficient students and English language learners; bilingual resources and staff) may be concentrated and utilized more efficiently.

In summary, the educational environment today is one of the most receptive places in communities. The law is clear that education must be a place of receptivity. While some may disagree on this point, I argue that schools today are places of high

receptivity and places that can have impact on broader community receptivity. On the one hand, the resegregation of schools in the current post-busing era (i.e. *Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* 1999) has led to concentrated communities in neighborhood schools. And this may indeed be counter to strides toward socially diverse schools and communities. Yet on the other hand, within a discussion of receptivity, schools that now serve many immigrant students and students from immigrant families, which may contain a diversity of students from minority backgrounds, may be even more welcoming. In such schools, immigrant students feel comfortable attending with other students from similar situations and backgrounds. Schools with larger proportions of immigrant students, students from immigrant families, and limited English proficient students may garner additional resources that schools with low numbers of such students may not receive. These factors create a welcoming school environment for students from similar situations and backgrounds.

3.1 Immigrant Education Receptivity in the United States Today

As the United States bears witness to an overall growing foreign born population, with immigrants from many different points of origin, so too are schools becoming more diverse with higher proportions of immigrant students. Capps, et. al. (2005) describe the nature of a growing immigrant student population in the United States, particularly in places witnessing high rates of immigration. They note that the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation requires schools to identify and serve limited English proficient (LEP) and immigrant students, and that “95 percent of all children of immigrants and 91 percent of students who are limited English proficient attend *urban* schools” (Capps, et. al. 2005). Concerning the Hispanic/Latino population specifically, a majority of Latino

children are U.S.-born (U.S. Citizen) children of immigrants (Fry and Passel 2009; Suro and Passel 2003). Hispanics currently comprise 22 percent of all children under age 18 in the U.S. and 52 percent are “second-generation” (Fry and Passel 2009). Additionally, 43 percent of first-generation Latino children, 21 percent of second-generation, and 5 percent of third-generation are not fluent in English (Fry and Passel 2009).

Batalova, Fix, and Murray (2007) describe key findings about the demography and literacy of adolescent English learners in the United States, specifically from 1995-2005. They note that the limited English proficient (LEP) population growth outpaces the general student population. Specifically, this change “varies dramatically by state, with ‘new growth’ states for immigrants experiencing much higher increases in the LEP population” (Batalova, Fix, and Murray 2007). Additionally, 57 percent of LEP students nationwide are U.S.-born, part of the second-generation (27 percent) or third-generation (30 percent), and 70 percent of LEP students in grades 6-12 speak Spanish. Batalova, Fix, and Murray (2007) suggest that “wide achievement gaps exist between LEP and non-LEP adolescents on statewide standardized tests” (Batalova, Fix, and Murray 2007). For example, in their study, only a small percent of eighth grade LEP students were proficient in math – six percent – or reading – four percent (Batalova, Fix, and Murray 2007).

With the context of large public school districts in mind, several challenges exist that such school systems face as of 2000. First, Rumbaut (2002) suggests that there is “a sharp rise in the number of children who have at least one parent born outside the United States” and that one in five children within the U.S. have an immigrant parent (Rumbaut 2002). Second, relating to “the dispersal of the immigrant population,” the highest growth for immigration and the number of children of immigrants is occurring in new immigrant

destinations (Fix and Capps 2005). With this in mind, Fix and Capps (2005) state that “the newcomer populations moving to the fastest growing states are more recently arrived, are more likely to be poor, have fewer English language skills, and are more likely to be undocumented than their counterparts in the traditional receiving areas and the United States as a whole” (Fix and Capps 2005). Third, LEP students are becoming more segregated from the broader community population, which relates in part to “ongoing residential segregation by race, ethnicity, and income” and to the acknowledgement that there is rising poverty among the children of immigrants (Fix and Capps 2005, Van Hook 2003). Fourth, such segregation may lead to broader linguistic isolation. Fix and Capps (2005) state that “the linguistic isolation these children experience in their homes, since most LEP children live in households where those over age 14 are also LEP” further exacerbates challenges facing urban school systems as they seek ways to educate immigrant LEP students. The linguistic isolation for LEP students at home twinned with the segregation of LEP students at school is a large challenge for school systems to attempt to solve. Additionally, this segregation and linguistic isolation may lead to the phenomenon of long-term LEPS, “children who have not learned English even after seven or more years in U.S. schools” (Fix and Capps 2005). Fifth, “the age distribution of the newcomer children in the United States and their relatively high concentration in secondary schools” in school systems within new immigrant destinations also contributes to broad challenges faced by large public school systems (Fix and Capps 2005).

Ensuring that everyone – regardless of background – has access to an adequate education is in the best interest for all, at the national, regional, local, and community

scale. Disenfranchised population groups only lead to further problems and costs for individuals as well as for entire communities. Therefore, it is important for local communities and places, states, and the country as a whole to seek out and support education policies that are the most inclusive, beneficial, integrative, and efficient for all students, and to denounce proposed policy changes that ultimately serve to divide and disenfranchise a certain group of students.

3.2 Public Education and Receptivity in Charlotte: Past, Present, and Future

With the context constructed by the previous section about immigrant education in the United States today, combined with the information about legal precedents forming the legal arc towards receptivity integral to equal access to public education for all students, including immigrants, this section discusses the public education experience in Charlotte specifically: public school desegregation in the 1970s as part of Charlotte's historical context; public and private school resegregation in the 2000s as part of Charlotte's present context; Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools Strategic Plans for 2010 and 2014, and the school system's selection as a recipient of the Broad Prize for Urban Education in 2010. The brief discussions in each of these sections help to form a larger picture of Charlotte's receptivity history related to public education. A more general discussion of how immigrant education and receptivity assists the broader goal of public education for the public good follows this section.

3.2.1 Public School Desegregation in the 1970s: Charlotte's Historical Context

Public school desegregation is an important historical component in the trajectory of public education becoming more receptive. "Ever since the Supreme Court's epochal decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)," states Mickelson (2001), "school

desegregation has played a central role in efforts to provide the equality of educational opportunity that is essential to the American Dream.” Support for school desegregation sits upon evidence of minority students’ access to the better education historically only available to white students (Mickelson 2001). The expectation remains that desegregated schools will improve the education outcomes for minority students and their longer-term life chances and opportunities (Mickelson 2001). With the improvement of education access for some comes the broader increase in human and social capital afforded to whole communities.

According to Douglas (1995), Charlotte is an interesting case in the study of public school integration and desegregation for three reasons: (1) As a “moderate” city, Charlotte responded more rapidly to post-*Brown* era stipulations than many other southern cities by becoming one of the first to allow black students into white schools; (2) Charlotte became nationally known in 1971 when the Supreme Court used the *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* case pertaining to busing students to set a precedent for the role of urban school boards of education in overcoming residential segregation; and (3) up to the mid-1990s, Charlotte school desegregation was viewed as more successful than some other urban areas, particularly when measured through educational achievement, community acceptance, and extent of white flight (Douglas 1995). The second point, about Charlotte becoming a nationally known test case for desegregation through busing, deserves further examination.

Charlotte served as a test case for desegregation of public schools in the early 1970s that was brought before the Supreme Court, as described in the previous section. In her study of CMS in the late 1990s, Mickelson (2001) described Charlotte as “a rapidly

growing sunbelt city known for its landmark *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1971) decision, in which the Supreme Court upheld the use of within-district mandatory busing as a remedy for segregated schooling.” The Supreme Court, in the 1971 *Swann* decision, upheld the 1969 ruling of a federal judge in Charlotte stating that busing of students would be allowed for desegregation (Smith 2004). The Charlotte busing plan went into effect in the mid-1970s and continued through the early 1990s, fostering a high level of racial and ethnic balance within Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools (Smith 2004). Mickelson (2001) states that “for almost 20 years, CMS served as a model for other school systems, demonstrating how to provide seemingly equitable, high quality, desegregated public education through busing and other means.” In fact, the desegregation of public schools in Charlotte is considered to coincide with the beginning of Charlotte’s renaissance. Desegregation laid the groundwork for much black-white cooperation in local government, politics, and economics, which, for example, allowed for the passage of bonds to expand the airport¹ (Smith 2004). Charlotte was also seen from a national perspective as a city with progressive race relations, allowing for further economic and political cooperation in the subsequent decades of rapid growth and prosperity in Charlotte. Consider the following statement by Charlotte-headquartered Bank of America former CEO Hugh McColl:

“Almost immediately after we integrated our schools, the southern economy took off like a wildfire in the wind. I believe integration made the difference. Integration and the diversity it began to nourish became a source of economic, cultural, and community strength.”²

¹ As of 2011, the Charlotte Douglas International Airport was the eleventh busiest airport in the United States and the twenty-fifth busiest airport in the world in terms of passenger traffic, is the largest hub airport for U.S. Airways, and is an important source of revenue for the local economy.

² Statement made in 2000 by Hugh L. McColl, Jr., at the time CEO and chairman of Charlotte-based Bank of America and the person widely credited for spearheading the bank’s emergence as a global financial
² Statement made in 2000 by Hugh L. McColl, Jr., at the time CEO and chairman of Charlotte-based Bank of America and the person widely credited for spearheading the bank’s emergence as a global financial

However, despite Charlotte's progress forward, a trend of resegregation in Charlotte's education environment began to emerge in the late 1990s.

3.2.2 Public and Private School Resegregation in the 2000s: Charlotte's Current Context

The polarizing trend of resegregation in Charlotte's public schools can be seen emerging in the late 1990s and continuing to the present. This trend can be traced to several occurrences. First, the 1990s saw several superintendents come and go within the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System. Each superintendent had drastically different thoughts and opinions on how the school system should proceed regarding government enforced desegregation (Gaillard 2006).

Second, as the 1990s progressed, Charlotte welcomed migrants from many different points of origin, but particularly from the northeastern United States where public school systems tend to be much more demographically homogenous than in Charlotte. Many recently arrived parents at that time, among others, wanted official declaration that the schools had reached unitary status – “that is, a ruling that CMS was no longer a dual system with officially sanctioned separate schools for Blacks and for Whites” (Mickelson 2001) – and that busing should cease (Gaillard 2006). In *Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1999) a federal judge, Robert D. Potter, declared the school district as unitary (Mickelson 2001). With this decision, Judge Potter declared the mandate of a unitary system had been met and therefore lifted the court order on mandatory busing by race or ethnicity, which had been instituted by the *Swann* case. In other communities around the country, such as San Jose, California and Duval

powerhouse. Reference: Hugh L. McColl Jr., “What is, and What We Hope For,” (speech, Governor's Emerging Issues Forum, Raleigh, NC, February 24, 2000).

County, Florida, such court rulings had set the stage for resegregation to occur (Gaillard 2006). Consider the following statement by prominent Charlottean C. D. Spangler, an opponent of the 1999 ruling:

“The success of Charlotte, N.C. and Mecklenburg County, all this economic success...has been based on what I would call racial harmony...Had we taken a different course in 1972 (when schools were desegregated), then we would not be enjoying the prosperity that we now have.”³

Third, the push for official declaration of unitary status was ultimately a push for a return to neighborhood schools, which work well only when all community members and parents are actively involved in the particular schools within their neighborhood. Several members of the school board, acknowledging that there were growing disparities between schools in the county and that over the years a disproportionate amount of new schools and greater funding had been allotted to white-majority areas of the county, chose to remain in favor of desegregation rules rather than side with those pushing for declaration of unitary status (Gaillard 2006). With the return to neighborhood-based schools, the system designed and implemented a new “school choice plan” in 2002. This plan divided the district into four large attendance zones based on neighborhoods, which immediately reinstated de facto racial segregation in the school system as many neighborhoods are predominately either white or black. This decision also led in part to de facto segregation based upon socio-economic class and status. As Godwin, et. al. (2006) state, “public school choice is a widely used tool for education reform and may be a way to improve school accountability and efficiency.” They state that “the previous

³ Statement made prior to the 1999 reopening litigation of the *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg School Board* by C. D. Spangler Jr., business executive, member of Charlotte’s school board in the 1970s, and subsequently one of North Carolina’s wealthiest individuals, President of the University of North Carolina, and President of Harvard’s Board of Overseers. Reference: Debbie Cenziper and Celeste Smith, “School Plan is Greeted Cautiously,” *Charlotte Observer*, February 14, 1999.

policy used a broad array of magnet schools and a limited amount of mandatory busing to achieve desegregation,” while “the new policy required that all students choose a school, and it specifically avoided using race or ethnicity considerations in assigning students” (Godwin, et. al., 2006). Godwin, et. al. (2006) suggest “that the ‘race-neutral’ assignment policy was neither neutral in the opportunity it provided students to attend their school of choice nor in its academic outcomes. Anglo students were more likely to receive their first choice of schools and to improve their scores. African American students were less likely to receive their first choice school and their scores declined” (Godwin, et. al., 2006).

Fourth, changing demographics and rapid growth of the foreign born population, particularly the Hispanic/Latino population, in the Charlotte area added yet another layer to the growing unrest among those involved with Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools.

A final thread of resegregation woven within CMS in the 1990s relates to within-school segregation through academic program or track, or second-generation segregation (as opposed to first-generation segregation referring to spatial segregation between actual schools). According to Mickelson (2001), “tracking can undermine the potential gains of desegregation efforts by resegregating students within desegregated schools and thereby limiting Blacks’ [or other minority students’] access to the higher-quality education more often available to Whites.” Ultimately, this about face toward resegregation of the schools in Charlotte signaled the slippage back to both perceived and actual inequalities between schools occurring in different parts of Mecklenburg County.

Additionally, there appears to be a continuing trend of persons from the middle and upper socio-economic echelons to pull their children from the public school system

and place them alternatively in one of the growing number of costly private educational facilities (Kozol 2005) found in and around the Charlotte area. For example, by the fall semester of 2004, forty percent of total school enrollment in CMS was from the white population (Gaillard 2006). The student population remaining within the public school system (Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1) is increasingly ethnically diverse as a whole but less representative of the overall school-age population in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County (Figure 3.2).

TABLE 3.1: Characteristics of diversity in Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools during 2010-2011

-
- Total students = 135,638
 - 14,204 students are Limited English Proficient
 - 10,339 students are learning English as a Second Language
 - 2 of every 10 students are international students
 - 159 native countries are represented by students
 - 162 different native languages are spoken by students
 - 27,675 students are considered Language minority students
 - Top ten languages (other than English) spoken by students:
 - Spanish – 18,562
 - Vietnamese – 973
 - Jarai / Mnong / Rade / Koho – 523
 - Arabic / Egyptian / Lebanese / Syrian – 453
 - Chinese Cantonese / Mandarin / Zhongwen – 368
 - Russian – 368
 - French – 383
 - Korean – 331
 - Hmong – 294
 - Gujarati / Gujarathi – 211
 - 53.4 percent of students are economically disadvantaged
-

Source: Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools, 2010.

The current CMS student population, outlined in Table 3.1, would also include undocumented foreign born students per the 1982 Supreme Court ruling in *Plyler v. Doe*. With the knowledge that high-poverty schools tend to not perform nearly as well as more diverse schools, and knowing that many schools in the Charlotte Mecklenburg School system are heading in that direction, one must wonder if Charlotte’s public school system has come full circle from that of segregated, to desegregated, to resegregated. Ironically, as the city of Charlotte becomes more “globalized” and progressive – perhaps with

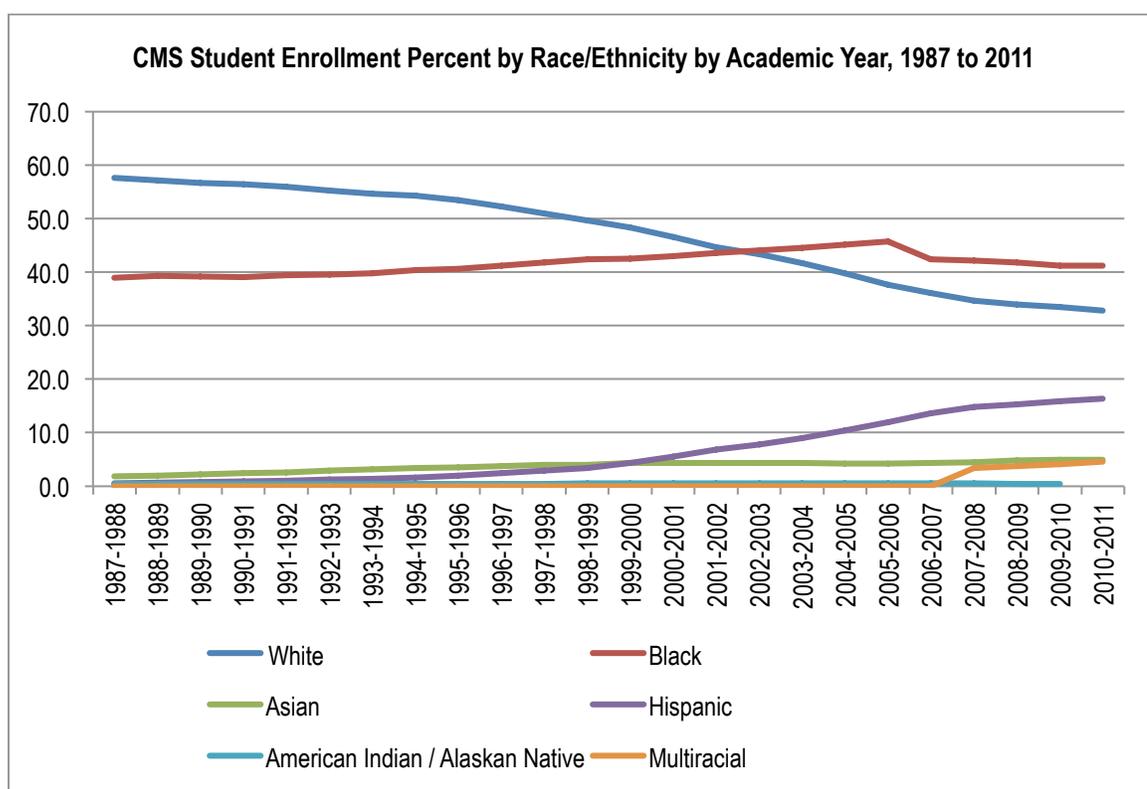


FIGURE 3.1. CMS student enrollment by race/ethnicity by academic year, 1987 to 2010 (percent of total students).

Sources: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, and Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools, 2010. *Ethnic includes both domestic and foreign born persons. For 2010-2011 American Indian / Alaskan Native is included within the Multiracial category.

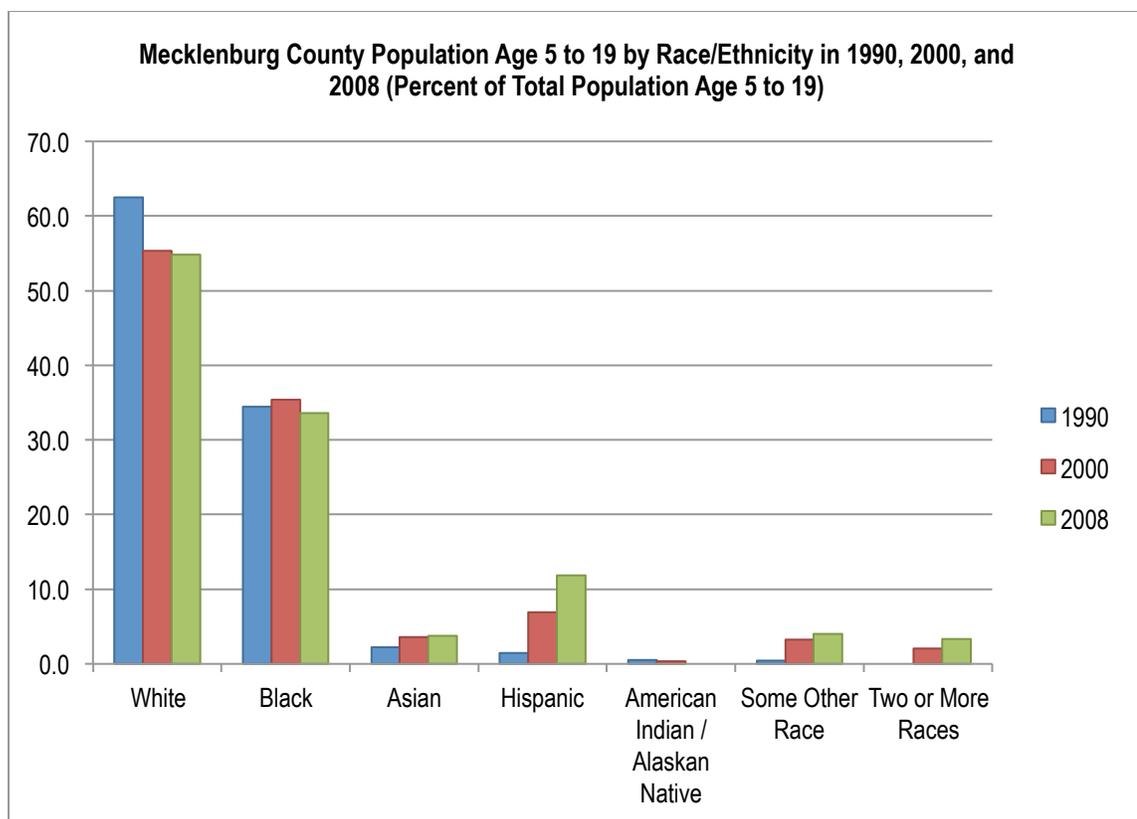


FIGURE 3.2. Mecklenburg county population Age 5 to 19 by race/ethnicity in 1990, 2000, and 2008 as percent of total county population age 5 to 19.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990 and 2000, and 2008 American Community Survey. Note: no data available for American Indian/Alaskan Native in 2008 and Two or More Races in 1990.

globally ascendant aspirations – the city appears to be slipping back into its segregated past of segregation along intersections of race, ethnicity and social class lines.

Speaking to the trend towards resegregation within secondary education in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, Stephen Samuel Smith (2010a) issues the following contemplation:

“Given that contemporary Charlotte is much more of a global city than it was in the 1970s and 1980s – the heyday of the mandatory busing plan – and that desegregation is usually touted as preparing students to deal with increasingly diverse workplaces and societies resulting from globalization, one might assume that school desegregation would be even more necessary for Charlotte’s development at the start of the twenty-first century than it was a generation ago.

But that assumption is contradicted by Charlotte's recent history, which has been characterized by ongoing economic growth but increasing school resegregation, not desegregation. Accompanying that resegregation has been concern that CMS schools are becoming increasingly differentiated in other ways as well" (S. Smith 2010a).

S. Smith (2010a) goes on to mention a 2004 report by CMS' equity committee, which stated, "We fear the growing schism – and the proximity of a yawning chasm out of which we may never climb – between both 'have' and 'have not' segments of our population and the 'have' and 'have not' schools their children attend" (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2004). Figure 3.3 maps the location of CMS schools within the context of Hispanic population concentration percent by census tract in 2000.

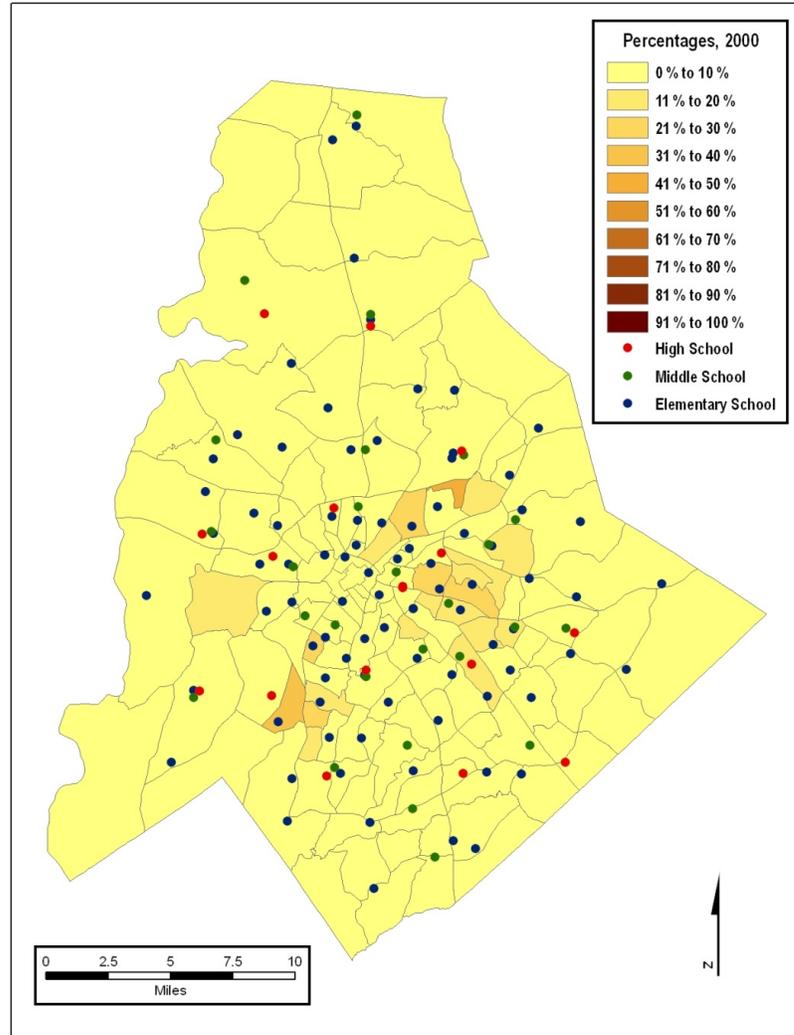


FIGURE 3.3. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools in the context of percent Hispanic population by census tract in 2000.

3.2.3 Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools Strategic Plan 2010

As seen in Table 3.1, Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools had a 2010-2011 student body of 135,638, of which over ten percent are considered Limited English Proficient (14,204) and over seven percent are learning English as a Second Language (10,339). Additionally, 162 different native languages and 159 different native countries are represented among the student population (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010). The 2010-2011 student body ethnic distribution (including both native and foreign born

students) is 32.8 percent White; 41.2 percent African American; 16.4 percent Hispanic; 5.0 percent Asian; and 4.6 percent American Indian/Multiracial (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).

Charlotte's public school system obviously has not sat idly by as the region rapidly diversifies as part of its becoming a new immigrant gateway. This increasing diversity, including transitioning ethnic settlement within Mecklenburg County and increased immigration to the area, is incorporated into CMS planning strategies. These planning strategies represent in part CMS's response to Charlotte becoming a new immigrant gateway. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools *Strategic Plan 2010* includes several strategies for adequately incorporating immigrants, English as a second language (ESL), and limited English proficiency (LEP) students into the school system.⁴ Within the plan, in the overview of Section 1 about High Academic Achievement (Page 18), CMS states

“The Board of Education's bold Vision [for high academic achievement] requires CMS to provide all its students the best education available anywhere. Furthermore, the Board of Education has committed the school system to achieving three goals: 1) Provide all students with the opportunity to perform to their fullest potential; 2) Ensure there is no discernible achievement gap among students based on race, gender or economic level; and, 3) Prepare all students to be successful in institutions of higher learning or the workforce without remediation. In addition, we must better prepare and expose our students for the world within which they will live” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2007).

In the Objectives portion of section 1 about High Academic Achievement, objective number seven (Page 19) states “Disparity based on race, ethnicity and socioeconomic status will not exceed 10 percentage points on all academic measures” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2007). In the Strategies portion of section 1 about High Academic Achievement, strategy number twelve (Page 23) states that CMS will:

⁴ As of March 29, 2010, Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools has launched its new *Strategic Plan 2014: Teaching Our Way to the Top*.
<http://www.cms.k12.nc.us/mediaroom/strategicplan2014/Pages/default.aspx>.

“Address the needs of English Language Learners. CMS has a diverse student population. Schools with high numbers of English as a Second Language (ESL) students will have a newcomer program to provide orientation and transition services. These programs will provide a curriculum tailored to each student's level of English fluency, emphasizing academic English. Appropriate instructional materials will be available, and principal and teacher training will be provided. A National College Fair for Hispanic Students will be held to provide information for parents and students and to encourage greater participation among Latino students in higher education. A position for immigrant-student education and services will be created. Additionally, parent/student advocates will be hired and placed in schools with high Limited English Proficiency (LEP) enrollment to strengthen the parent and school relationship and address academic needs of students. Start date: August 2007” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2007).

3.2.4 Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools Strategic Plan 2014

In early 2010, CMS released a revised and updated strategic plan for 2014:

Strategic Plan 2014: Teaching Our Way to the Top. The 2014 plan consists of two key

goals – improving teaching and managing performance – supported by six areas of focus:

1. Effective Teaching and Leadership. Measurements include “one hundred percent of students achieve more than a year’s worth of growth in a year’s time. Teachers and leaders will narrow the achievement gap between the lowest-performing and highest performing students” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).
2. Performance Management. Measurement includes “ninety percent of all employees will meet or exceed expectations by 2014” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).
3. Increasing the Graduation Rate. Measurement includes “increase the number of students who graduate in four years from 66 percent to 90 percent by 2014” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).
4. Teaching and Learning Through Technology. Measurement includes “CMS technology infrastructure will be capable of supporting 98 percent of all academic and business demands for service by the 2014-2015 school year” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).
5. Environmental Stewardship. Measurement includes “reduce all utility consumption by 20 percent, solid wastes by five percent and pollutants by 20 percent” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).
6. Parent and Community Connections. Measurements include “increase the number of family members who participate in Parent University courses to 30,000

by 2014. A district family survey will indicate that 85 percent of parents believe that family involvement is valued in their child's school. District partners will be surveyed annually and indicate a 75 percent or higher satisfaction rate on partnership effectiveness" (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).

Another aim of the 2014 plan is to accelerate transformational and cultural change. The authors of *Strategic Plan 2014* chose that goal because they "believe that Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools today stands at an unprecedented convergence of national and local opportunities to transform public education" (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010). In order to meet this goal, the authors issued the following proposals (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010):

- "We propose to transform the district, by creating a culture of effectiveness, by setting and meeting high standards for our employees and high expectations for our students."
- "We propose to transform the way we measure our teachers, leaders, and ultimately all of our employees, by linking pay to performance and creating standards that are rigorous and explicit to measure effectiveness."
- "We propose to transform our use of resources, by aligning people, time and money with our priorities."
- "We propose to transform the way we use technology, by incorporating it more effectively into our classrooms and our business operations."
- "We propose to transform district business operations, by emphasizing environmental stewardship to meet global standards of efficiency."

Unlike *Strategic Plan 2010*, which contains statements about an increasingly diverse student body, limited English proficiency (LEP), English language learner (ELL) students and English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, all described in the previous section, *Strategic Plan 2014* does not contain any information or directives about such programs. Those items were mentioned in Section 1 about "High Academic Achievement" in *Strategic Plan 2010*. *Strategic Plan 2014*, in its conclusion, contains a recap of progress

made toward the goals set forth in *Strategic Plan 2010*. Concerning progress towards the 2010 goal of “High Academic Achievement” related to issues of race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, *Strategic Plan 2014* states the following: “In the three years since the Strategic Plan 2010 was launched, CMS has made significant progress on the academic goals in that plan” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010). However, the report goes on to state that “work remains to be done in two broad areas. The district achievement gaps – disparities in test scores when students are groups by race, ethnicity and socioeconomic status – have narrowed only slightly. The graduation rate has decreased since 2006. Serious issues have been raised about the accuracy of records used to compile this statistic in prior years” (Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools 2010).

3.2.5 Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools and the 2010 Broad Prize for Urban Education

In 2010, the Broad Foundation selected Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools as its recipient for the 2010 Broad Prize for Urban Education. According to the Broad Foundation, the “Broad Prize for Urban Education, established by the Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation in 2002, is the largest education award in the country given to school districts. The Broad Prize is awarded each year to honor those large urban American school districts that demonstrate the greatest overall performance and improvement in student achievement while reducing achievement gaps among poor and minority students.”⁵ The goals of the Broad Prize are fourfold⁶: (1) “restore the public’s confidence in our nation’s public schools by highlighting successful districts;” (2) “reward districts that improve achievement levels of disadvantaged students;” (3) “create

⁵ “About the Broad Prize: Overview.” *The Broad Prize for Urban Education*. Los Angeles: The Broad Foundation. <<http://www.broadprize.org/about/overview.html>>. Last accessed on December 30, 2011.

⁶ “About the Broad Prize: Overview.” *The Broad Prize for Urban Education*. Los Angeles: The Broad Foundation. <<http://www.broadprize.org/about/overview.html>>. Last accessed on December 30, 2011.

competition and provide incentives for districts to improve;” and (4) “showcase the best practices of successful districts.” That CMS received the Broad Prize in 2010 is evidence that some of the goals of the 2010 Strategic Plan were indeed met. The above contexts about Charlotte are important in setting the stage for the later discussion.

3.3 Immigrant Education and Public Education Receptivity

Education is an important component in shaping receptivity in a community. Public education, as a public good, plays a key role in a place’s receptivity. Immigrant education, therefore, is a critical component for receptivity in public schools. As noted by several of the opinions of the Court in the rulings previously described in this chapter, and as Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom (2001) state, “public education is probably the most important service that local governments provide...In an economy characterized by shrinking manufacturing employment, rising service employment, ubiquitous information technology, and low union membership, a strong back and willingness to work hard rarely provide a middle-class standard of living” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001). They go on to state that “even if all school districts had the same resources, they would not produce equal educational outcomes because of social disadvantages in poor districts...Many have concluded that schools simply reproduce the class inequalities that are present in American society” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001).

Regarding social determinants of educational outcomes, Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom (2001) reassert that “children from poor families typically have lower academic performance than do those from middle- and upper-class families. This has nothing to do with their intelligence but much to do with the social conditions that

handicap their ability to learn, which are worst when they live in concentrated poverty neighborhoods. Poor children are more likely to move frequently, and poor neighborhoods have less stability” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001).

Furthermore, they state “of those children living in families with incomes below \$10,000 a year, more than 30 percent have attended three or more different schools by the third grade. These children lack a quiet place to study...Poor children are more likely to be malnourished and to come to school tired and are less likely to have books at home and parents who read with them. High crime levels in poor neighborhoods lead mothers to keep children inside for their safety and to send them to worse nearby schools rather than have them travel farther to magnet programs” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001).

Furthermore, they state that “many residents of poor neighborhoods have supportive social networks in their immediate neighborhood, but they lack connections to opportunities outside the neighborhood. Their social networks may help them to ‘get by’ but not to ‘get ahead.’ The payoff from education may not seem real to young people who do not know anybody who has graduated from college and has a good job. As a result, they often have low expectations of what they can accomplish” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001). Ultimately, they suggest “equalizing the quality of all public services, not just education, within and across these different types of metropolitan regions, regardless of race or income, would have profound implications” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001).

Butler and Hamnett (2007) summarize what is laid out above by stating “...education is key to long-term economic growth and to reducing social inequality and

disadvantage” (Butler and Hamnett 2007). Key issues and discussions concerning the importance of education “have focused around several different issues including the level of comparative national educational attainment, variations in attainment between different social and ethnic groups, the role of education in social exclusion, fostering social integration and mobility, questions of changing educational standards and the need for developed Western countries to ensure that they have a highly educated and skilled work force” (Butler and Hamnett 2007). They go on to suggest that “education is at or near the heart of policies for fostering greater social integration, social mobility and national competitiveness and reducing social exclusion” (Butler and Hamnett 2007).

Butler and Hamnett (2007) also state that “educational opportunity and attainment have for long been recognized to be class related (Halsey et al., 1980; Reid, 1981) with children from lowerclass backgrounds performing less well on average than those from higher backgrounds. Also, in the U.S., there has been a strong racial dimension to issues of educational opportunity and attainment with major inequalities in educational attainment between Blacks and Whites” (Butler and Hamnett 2007). They go on to state that

“in post-war decades, the proportion of the age-cohort going to university has also risen dramatically and a university degree is now frequently a requirement for a good job. Yet educational access and attainment have not progressed evenly and some social groups have been left behind and today, as education is seen as a key to overall economic success and to social integration in post-industrial ‘knowledge economies’, concern has become widespread about standards, attainment and school drop-out. There have been concerns about the development of an educational ‘underclass’ characterized by very limited educational attainment and low levels of literacy and numeracy which are seen as unacceptable in developed societies” (Butler and Hamnett 2007).

Furthermore, Butler and Hamnett (2007) suggest that

“education has therefore moved up the political agenda in almost all developed countries. The key issue for politicians in most developed nations is the awareness that, unless they seriously address the issue of educational performance, they will face the danger that those of their populations who do not have good educational skills will—in the face of the increasing globalization of manufacturing and services—experience unprecedented labor market exclusion and will at best only be able to aspire to a minimum wage standard of living. The social and political dangers of exclusion and polarization for large swathes of the populations of the currently developed nations and the consequences of these for social cohesion serve to explain why this issue is moving up the social and political agenda. It is... a particularly urban issue which affects issues of social justice, social cohesion and economic competitiveness and thus cannot be ignored” (Butler and Hamnett 2007).

The next section summarizes the importance of strengthening public education for the broader public good.

3.3.1 Strengthening Public Education Receptivity for the Public Good

“Public education has traditionally been an engine of integration. Schools provide training for immigrants and their descendants to successfully pursue economic aspirations, producing social and political forms of integration. Schools can also be a socializing mechanism that affords children the opportunity to interact with members of other ethnoracial groups, thereby breaking down social boundaries that are defined in ethnoracial terms.” – Tomas Jimenez (2011).

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom (2001) state that “if educational attainment is a key determinant of individual upward mobility, greater federal support is needed for improving the public primary, secondary, and postsecondary educational systems serving the urban poor and near poor” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001). They go on to suggest that “the political isolation of central cities, the resegregation of their schools, and the poor quality of the schools in concentrated poverty neighborhoods have had devastating consequences for poor neighborhoods...As currently configured, urban school systems systematically reinforce initial disadvantage. The problems of urban

school systems not only derive from concentrated urban poverty; they also contribute to it” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001).

Despite popular myths, misinformation, and rhetoric purported by the popular media and political arenas, Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom (2001) note that the majority of public schools do a superb job at educating students given the vast resource constraints many schools are faced with on a yearly basis. Rothstein (2001) also offers a poignant, and at times scathing, analysis of America’s “myth of public school failure.” Nevertheless, “the wide disparities among metropolitan areas mean that geography still determines the kind of education students receive” (Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001).

3.4 Chapter Summary

The above discussion of public education for the public good is important to our understanding that immigrant education, as part of the overall trajectory of education as an arc bending towards receptivity, is an integral component to a place’s receptivity. Indeed, schools have the ability to be the most receptive places in communities. Inclusive education for all students – native-born and immigrant – is important in strengthening the ideals of education equality for the broader public good. The various ideas and examples described in this chapter, including immigrant education in the United States, the various legal precedents related to equal access to education, education in Charlotte, and public education for the public good, tell us that a place’s educational environment changes over time. These changes form a reciprocal relationship with a community’s level of receptivity to change. Changes may well be occurring for public education in a particular place, and that community may have varying degrees of receptivity to that change.

Furthermore, the continuing changes occurring within public education and public education's response to such changes, include responses borne from the broader community's level of receptivity to change. Public schools, therefore, are both mirror and molder of receptivity and thereby contribute to the broader public good by contributing to greater community receptivity. Public education is an important public service if it is truly receptive.

Finally, teachers are an important component in the educational arc of receptivity. As the analysis of qualitative interview results with teachers and later discussion chapters show, teachers themselves are agents constructing the structure of receptivity within their schools and communities. They operate from a framework of embedded knowledge. Situated knowledge, as the subsequent methodology chapter describes, is important as each teacher brings her or his own experiences to the collective construction of receptivity. The next chapter transitions into a discussion of the methodology for this study, followed by a chapter about the study area.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND DATA

This mixed methods study addresses the effects of recent transitioning immigrant settlement geography on a public service – the public education system in this case – and the response by that public service to those transitions amid the broader context of community receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. A triangulated mixed methods design is used, a type of design in which different but complementary data is collected on the same topic (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). In this study, descriptive statistics, exploratory spatial data analysis to test for statistically significant settlement and clustering of the foreign born population, and geographic information systems and cartography are used in the quantitative portion of the research. Concurrent with this data collection, qualitative key informant interviews explore the response of the public school system to transitioning immigrant geography amid a dynamic context of receptivity. The reason for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data is to bring together the strengths of both forms of research to compare, validate, and corroborate results, to construct a more thorough analysis of the phenomenon, and to draw conclusions with the most depth, breadth, and applicability.

The methodology ties in to this study's primary research questions and literature review. As a reminder, the research questions are:

1. How have transitioning neighborhood-based patterns of increased immigrant settlement in Charlotte impacted school composition over time?

2. How is a large “urban” public education system responding to increased immigration at both the school system level and at the individual school level?
3. How does this response support the hypothesis that receptivity operates distinctively in a new immigrant gateway?

Additionally, the literature provides justification for the chosen methodology for carrying out this research. A humanistic geography approach, utilizing a mixed method triangulation design (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007; Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998), blending both quantitative and qualitative methodologies through a multiscalar process is the most prudent course of action for developing the fullest understanding of the research topic and for painting a richer picture with more depth and breadth. Where the schools are located within certain concentrations of immigrant settlement is important and is connected to the quantitative and exploratory spatial data analysis. Subsequently, there is a need to talk to key personnel and community members in schools in those places. One of the challenges for a study of the Charlotte Mecklenburg School system, however, is the additional immigrant overlay on top of previous Black/White segregation and resegregation. Past studies have almost always focused only on Black and White populations with immigration and subsequent increased diversity only more recently appearing on the radar screen. The various sections of this chapter describe the humanistic geography approach, the mixed methodology, the multiscalar process, the mixed methods multilevel model of research, and the school case study selection process.

4.1 Humanistic Geography and Situated Knowledge

As this research is interested in the effects upon the everyday lived experiences of the participants and communities, and because of the broad array of human players

involved, it is important to keep in mind a holistic *humanistic* approach to geographic research. David Ley describes the necessity for an active view of humanity through the humanistic approach to geographic research (Ley 1980a). Entrikin and Tepple quote David Ley as stating: “An aspiration of humanistic perspectives is to speak the language of human experience, to animate the city and its people, to present popular values as they intersect with the making, remaking and appropriation of place” (Entrikin and Tepple 2006). Ley expresses that a geography without human action is inherently flawed at the levels of epistemology, theory, existence, and morality (Ley 1980a). Keeping mindful of these sentiments in the context of the primary research questions and throughout the course of this research is important. Also of importance is to continually evaluate how the humanistic approach, the research questions, and the overall study complement one another. At this point, I offer a justification for the use of a humanistic geography foundation and situated knowledge lens for carrying out the comprehensive analysis in this research. This justification is built upon the development of humanistic geography stemming from the critique of positivist methods cultivated during geography’s quantitative revolution, and the ideas of situated knowledge in human action.

Situated knowledge, in combination with humanistic geography, is an appropriate lens through which to analyze data garnered from qualitative interviews in this research. Situated knowledge is a central premise of many theoretical developments in geography since 1980. Theories of structuration, humanistic geography, feminist geography, Marxist geography, and the geography of difference all rest upon the idea that knowledge is in some way situational. This segment discusses what situated knowledge is, its role in geography and how it informs the ways in which geographers conduct their research, and

more specifically the ideas and tenets of humanistic geography and how the recognition of situated knowledge affects this particular method and design of geographic investigation and research.

Johnston and Sidaway describe situated knowledge as a concept that explores “the basis of different geographical claims and the diversity of vantage points from which they are made” (Johnston and Sidaway 2004). They also state that while situated knowledge “shares much with a wider postmodernism and poststructuralism in geography and social sciences...it has also led to a stress on what is at stake in creating...alliances across differences of class and race” (Johnston and Sidaway 2004). Situated knowledge plays an important role in the theories and perspectives of structuration, humanistic geography, feminist geography and the geography of difference. Each of those methodological perspectives primarily seeks to study a group of people whose situated knowledge may be unique or different from an outside observer. In order to better understand what is going on the researcher will need to garner a sense of what the particular situated knowledge actually is in the given situation. In the realm of this research, different perspectives of situated knowledge are uncovered depending upon the perspective of an immigrant, a teacher, an administrator, a community organizer, or a member of the broader community.

The recognition of situated knowledge affects the humanistic method of research design in geographic investigation. Pocock, as quoted in Rodaway (2006), describes situated knowledge as it relates to human geography: “the humanist rejects the dualism of an outer, objective world and an inner, subjective world or representation. The world is the ‘lived world’ and *is* what it seems – which is not to admit solipsism, which is where

the mind creates its own world. There are multiple-emergent worlds or realities which can only be studied holistically. Again, the humanist rejects that the knower and the known constitute a discrete dualism; rather, they are inseparable, interacting and influencing each other. Consequently, any enquiry is value-bound” (Rodaway 2006). With the amount of work being carried out currently by a wide variety of geographers practicing their craft from multiple philosophical paradigms, it is obvious that humanistic geography has found itself a strong place among rigorous, meaningful, and worthwhile geographic research.

Although it is important to examine the statistics and numbers present in socio-spatial and intra-neighborhood polarization, and in issues of concentrated immigrant poverty, it is also essential to delve deeper into the underlying processes at work behind the numbers (Smith 2003). Smith specifically states, “in the same way that we must understand the numbers of polarization, it is also necessary to recognize that those numbers hide a much more nuanced and complex story” (Smith 2003).

Mixed methods research allows a scholar to address a particular problem or issue from multiple perspectives. For example, a scholar examining issues concerning concentrated poverty or transitioning ethnic settlement might first begin by conducting quantitative research from an objective, positivist perspective in order to gain a general and broad understanding of what is going on and what the numbers are saying. Then he or she may proceed to further study the problem from a subjective, humanistic perspective, delving deeper into the nuances masked by the numbers and initial quantitative and spatial analyses, in order to discover and identify the individual

experiences of human awareness, agency, consciousness, social constructions, and experiences with place among the researched group.

The above discussion of humanistic geography and situated knowledge are effective lenses through which to analyze mixed-methods data gleaned from quantitative and qualitative research. In particular, the qualitative interviews comprising a component of this research yield evidence about receptivity in a new immigrant gateway from individuals, each with a contextual situated knowledge. Each participant goes about his or her daily life amid an array of dynamic factors, including receptivity, in a new immigrant gateway. He or she contributes from a perspective of situated knowledge to the broader receptivity of a place through actions at the public schools and in the community. Having justified the use of a humanistic geography and situated knowledge perspective for the course of this research, and discussing the merits of combining both a quantitative and qualitative approach, I now turn to a discussion of the specific mixed methodological framework by which this study is implemented.

4.2 Mixed Methodology

The methodological framework selected to address the research questions in this study is a mixed methods multilevel model triangulation design (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007; Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). Concerning mixed methods research design in general, Creswell, Fetters, and Ivankova (2004) state that

“mixed methods or multimethod research holds potential for rigorous, methodologically sound studies...Mixed methods investigations involve integrating quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis in a single study or a program of inquiry. This form of research is more than simply collecting both quantitative and qualitative data; it indicates that data will be integrated, related, or mixed at some stage of the research process. The underlying logic of mixing is that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient in themselves to capture the trends and details of the situation. When used in

combination, both quantitative and qualitative data yield a more complete analysis, and they complement each other” (Creswell, Fetters, and Ivankova 2004).

Furthering our understanding of mixed methodology, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) specifically define mixed methods research as

“the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study. Philosophically, it is the ‘third wave’ or third research movement, a movement that moves past the paradigm wars by offering a logical and practical alternative. Philosophically, mixed research makes use of the pragmatic method and system of philosophy. Its logic of inquiry includes the use of induction (or discovery of patterns), deduction (testing of theories and hypotheses), and abduction (uncovering and relying on the best of a set of explanations for understanding one’s results)” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).

Mixed methods research, therefore, may be thought of as the third research paradigm (with qualitative research and quantitative research being the other two). Practitioners of mixed methods research hope that scholars and researchers will move beyond the strict quantitative versus qualitative research arguments (Kwan 2004; Philip 1998) “because, as recognized by mixed methods research, both quantitative and qualitative research are important and useful” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Mixed methods research does not seek to replace the quantitative or qualitative approaches. It does, however, seek to “draw from the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) go on to state that mixed methods research

“offers great promise for practicing researchers who would like to see methodologists describe and develop techniques that are closer to what researchers actually use in practice. Mixed methods research as the third research paradigm can also help bridge the schism between quantitative and qualitative research” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).

Additionally, they assert that mixed methods research also attempts to

“legitimate the use of multiple approaches in answering research questions, rather than restricting or constraining researchers’ choices (i.e., it rejects dogmatism). It is an expansive and creative form of research, not a limiting form of research. It is inclusive, pluralistic, and complementary, and it suggests that researchers take an eclectic approach to method selection and the thinking about and conduct of research” (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).

Strengths and weaknesses of a mixed methods research approach are identified in Table

4.1.

4.2.1 Mixed Methods Research in Human Geography

Concerning geographic research specifically, Kwan (2004) suggests there is a great need for geographers to bridge the traditional divide between quantitative spatial-analytical research and qualitative social-cultural research. Kwan encourages geographers to begin thinking of and utilizing mixed methods research within a hybrid geography framework incorporating facets of social-cultural and spatial-analytical research from a “both-and” perspective rather than an “either-or” perspective (Kwan 2004).

Referring to migration geography specifically, Hardwick and Meacham (2005), along with a host of other geographers (Bailey et. al. 2002; Lawson 1999, 2000; Li 1998; Philip 1998), encourage the use of mixed methods or multi-methods as a way of “integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in migration studies” (Hardwick and Meacham 2005). Concerning mixed methods research in geography in general, Hardwick and Meacham (2005) articulate:

“Despite recent urgings in geography papers and publications, the use of multimethods of analysis by geographers is nothing new. Since the earliest days of Sauer’s studies of the cultural landscape, and the postpositivist, humanistic work of scholars such as Ann Buttimer, Yi-Fu Tuan, David Ley, and Nicholas Entrikin, beginning in the mid-1970s and extending up to the present day, many human geographers have depended on a long list of data sources to substantiate their findings on people and places” (Hardwick and Meacham 2005).

TABLE 4.1: Strengths and weaknesses of mixed methods research

<i>Strengths</i>	<i>Weaknesses</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Words, pictures, and narrative can be used to add meaning to numbers. ▪ Numbers can be used to add precision to words, pictures, and narrative. ▪ Can provide quantitative and qualitative research strengths. ▪ Researcher can generate and test a grounded theory. ▪ Can answer a broader and more complete range of research questions because the researcher is not confined to a single method or approach. ▪ A researcher can use the strengths of an additional method to overcome the weaknesses in another method by using both in a research study. ▪ Can provide stronger evidence for a conclusion through convergence and corroboration of findings. ▪ Can add insights and understanding that might be missed when only a single method is used. ▪ Can be used to increase the generalizability of the results. ▪ Qualitative and quantitative research used together produce more complete knowledge necessary to inform theory and practice. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Can be difficult for a single researcher to carry out both qualitative and quantitative research, especially if two or more approaches are expected to be used concurrently; it may require a research team. ▪ Researcher has to learn about multiple methods and approaches and understand how to mix them appropriately. ▪ Methodological purists contend that one should always work within either a qualitative or a quantitative paradigm. ▪ More expensive. ▪ More time consuming. ▪ Some of the details of mixed research remain to be worked out fully by research methodologists (e.g., problems of paradigm mixing, how to qualitatively analyze quantitative data, how to interpret conflicting results).

Source: Modified from Johnson, R. Burke and Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie. 2004. "Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come." *Educational Researcher* 33, 7: 14-26.

With these ideas in mind, Table 4.2 provides specific examples, although certainly not an exhaustive list, of mixed methods studies in immigrant geography research.

TABLE 4.2: Recent examples of mixed methods research design in immigrant geography research

Author(s) and Year of Publication	Journal	Study Title	Mixed Methods
Walcott (2002)	<i>Journal of Cultural Geography</i>	“Overlapping Ethnicities and Negotiated Space: Atlanta’s Buford Highway”	-descriptive statistics -key informant interviews -participant observation
Smith and Furuseth (2004)	<i>Southeastern Geographer</i>	“Housing, Hispanics, and Transitioning Geography in Charlotte, North Carolina”	-descriptive statistics -regression analysis -key informant interviews
Hardwick and Meacham (2005)	<i>Professional Geographer</i>	“Heterolocalism, Networks of Ethnicity, and Refugee Communities in the Pacific Northwest: The Portland Story”	-cartographic analysis of settlement patterns -spatial analysis -personal interviews -focus group discussions -participant observation -fieldwork
Smith and Ley (2008)	<i>Annals of the Association of American Geographers</i>	“Even in Canada? The Multiscalar Construction and Experience of Concentrated Immigrant Poverty in Gateway Cities”	-quantitative analysis -cartographic analysis -community and organizational partnerships -focus groups
Wang, Rosenberg, and Lo (2008)	<i>Social Science and Medicine</i>	“Ethnicity and Utilization of Family Physicians: A Case Study of Mainland Chinese Immigrants in	-quantitative analysis of census and survey data -spatial analysis -focus groups

Table 4.2 (continued)		Toronto, Canada”	
McDaniel and Drever (2009)	<i>Southeastern Geographer</i>	“Ethnic Enclave or International Corridor: Immigrant Businesses in a New South City”	-descriptive statistics and quantitative analysis of census data -quantitative and cartographic analysis -key informant interviews -participant observation

At this point, it is evident that a number of studies across disciplines in fact employ mixed methodology research strategies, but do not specifically define the particular type of chosen mixed methods research framework when reporting research findings. At least, many studies do not define their methodological framework in the manner established by the literature pertaining to the logistics of mixed methods research design. A number of the studies in geography mentioned in Table 4.2, for example, appear to have comparable research designs of mixed methods similar to the specific type of mixed methods design chosen for this study: the multilevel model variation of the triangulation design (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). And those studies appear to have worked quite well, producing informative results.

In the multilevel model variation of the triangulation design of mixed methods research, “different methods (quantitative and qualitative) are used to address different levels [or phases/stages] within a system. The findings from each level are merged together into one overall interpretation” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). As with any research design strategy, there are both strengths and challenges to be aware of. These

strengths and challenges identified by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) hearken back to strengths and weaknesses of general mixed methods research identified by Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) in Table 4.1. Strengths of the mixed methods triangulation design include:

- “The design makes intuitive sense...a framework for thinking about mixed methods research” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007).
- “It is an efficient design” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007).
- “Each type of data can be collected and analyzed separately and independently, using the techniques traditionally associated with each data type. This lends itself to team research, in which the team can include individuals with both quantitative and qualitative expertise” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007).

Challenges of the mixed methods triangulation design include:

- “Much effort and expertise is required, particularly because of the concurrent data collection and the fact that equal weight is usually given to each data type” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007).
- “Researchers may face the question of what to do if the quantitative and qualitative results do not agree. These differences can be difficult to resolve and may require the collection of additional data” (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007).

Having outlined and justified the use of a mixed methodological approach to research, I now describe the multiscalar process inherent in this research.

4.3 Multiscalar Process

Li (2009) notes that both race and ethnicity are spatially constructed and expressed in part due to large-scale political-economic processes as well as in local

cultures and economies. As such, “studies of race and ethnicity should incorporate the spatial expressions and the economic characteristics of ethnicity/race and be multilevel in nature, and, indeed, recent geographical scholarship emphasizes how racial/ethnic identities are not only socially constructed but spatially constituted” (Li 2009). A multiscale process or approach is the best course for adequately carrying out the appropriate research and to gather the quantitative and qualitative data needed to answer the research questions. As such, many “factors contribute to the creation of immigrant geographies that are more complex and multiscale than were those evidenced in the past” (Pandit and Holloway 2005). Furthermore, Smith and Ley (2008) state that “place matters in the shaping of immigrant lives and in the extent and character of social integration.” Multiple geographic scales “impose their own constraints on immigrant integration and work collectively to shape overall individual experiences” (Smith and Ley 2008). Therefore, this research and context are approached through mixed methods research (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007; Hardwick and Meacham 2005) at four scales of analysis: individual school; school system; local community; and global.

Investigation of the topic at the *school system* level and at the *individual school* level are important to the analysis of data relevant to the first two research questions. Additionally, a discussion of transitioning immigrant settlement geography, community receptivity toward immigrants, and new immigrant gateways at the contextual *local community* and *global* scales emerge from the theoretical context and literature review and is important to the third research question in particular. The specific components of each level of research include:

- Analytical Scales (addressed in the first two research questions):

- *Local Community*: Local Charlotte host community receptivity toward immigrants and newcomers.
- *School System*: Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools (CMS):
 - Administrators of CMS school system
 - Board of Education
 - Directors of programs
 - Outside observers of school system (scholars, researchers, community organizers, education and immigration activists, and others who have observed happenings within CMS)
- *Individual School*: Three specific individual comparative case study schools (a sample of CMS):
 - Administration: Principals and Assistant Principals
 - Teachers
 - Support staff: school nurse, counselors
 - Community organizers and education activists
 - PTA members/parents
- Contextual Scale (addressed via theoretical context and literature):
 - *Global*: Global forces of restructuring in part leading to increased immigration and transitional geographies of immigrant settlement, new immigrant gateways, new immigrant destinations, fluctuating receptivity, and changing dynamics of the new urban geography.

Within the individual scale, it is prudent to focus on at least three particular schools in three different areas of the county representing the three primary areas of foreign born concentration. A focus on three particular elementary schools via comparative case study is sensible to further gauge community perceptions and response. The typology for selecting specific case study schools is developed during the quantitative phase of research related to the first research question. Yin (1994) defines the scope of a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined.” Therefore, a case study approach is salient to examine the school system and three specific individual schools to elicit insights about the analytical phenomenon and contextual framework scales.

At the local community and global scales within the context of the theoretical framework this research further addresses the intersected changes at the school district and individual school level scales and their impact on our understanding of emerging immigrant gateways and new urban geographies around public education and receptivity.

In terms of the overall discussion of receptivity, schools are a public resource and a public good. Therefore, the local community has a response to increased immigration and its impacts on the public education system. The community also has as certain level of receptivity towards the public school system’s response to increased immigration. There is an underlying public attitude towards immigrants and immigrants in the schools. This theme likely links with the native-born citizenry’s attitudes of receptivity toward immigrants. Within the context of new immigrant gateways, the attitude of receptivity informs the changes occurring in such places. Furthermore, new immigrant gateways are

fluid and dynamic, leading to a malleable receptivity. In this instance, the proactive public education system response can act as a positive influence on broader community receptivity which, at the same time, may also be negatively influenced by the broader political and media discourse. With the need for a multiscalar approach in mind, I now turn to a discussion of the multilevel mixed methods model this research uses to carry out the research.

4.4 Multilevel Mixed Methods Model

The multilevel model mixed methods triangulation design as it pertains to the proposed research is identified in Figure 4.1. The progression of the research process and each phase of the research is depicted in Figure 4.2 and subsequently explained in detail. From this point forward, I describe the specific methods and logic used to answer each individual research question, followed by a discussion of the overall analysis, and finally a dialogue about potential contributions to the literature as well as practical applications.

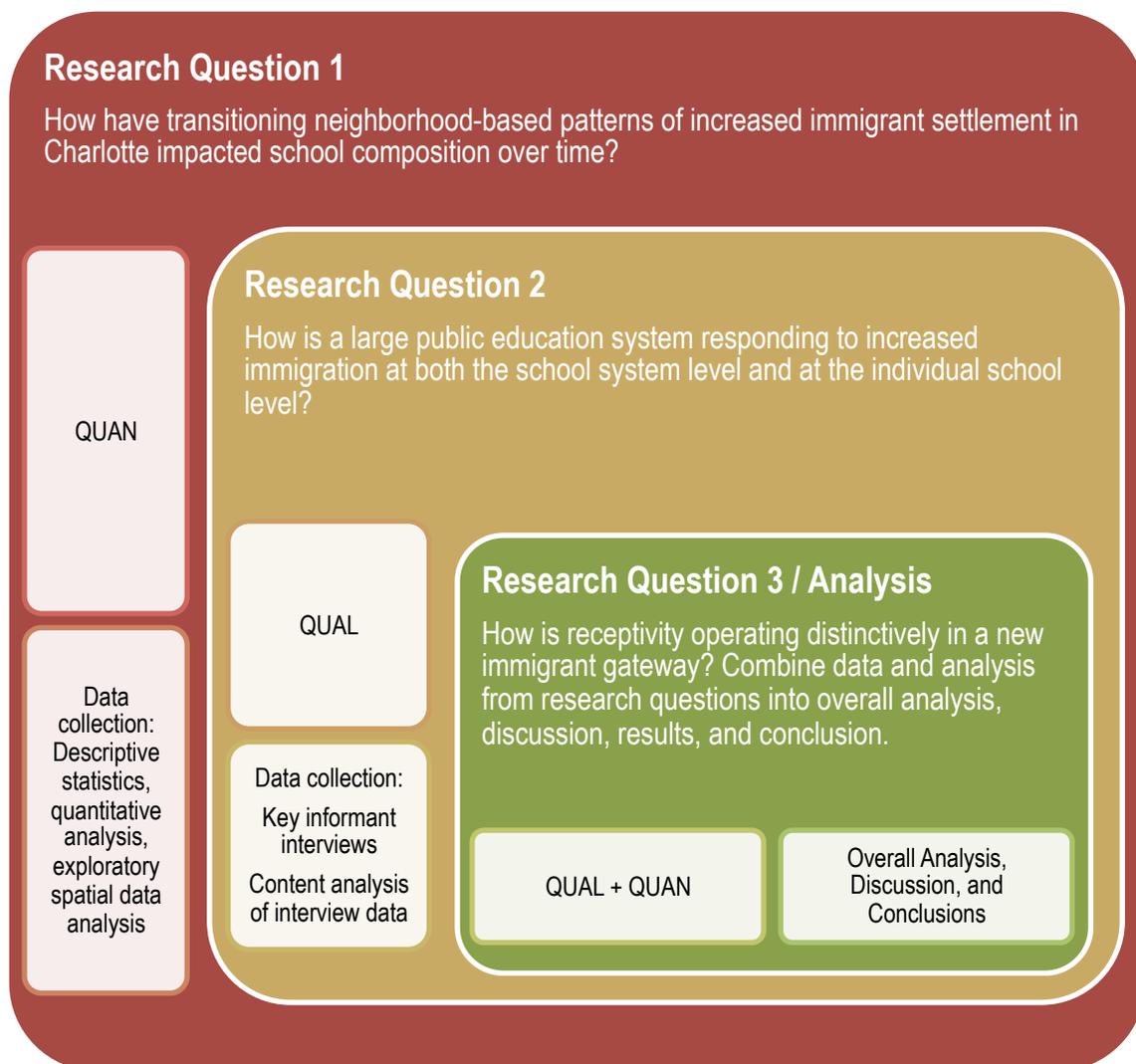


FIGURE 4.1. The mixed methods multilevel model triangulation design used in this study. Modified from Creswell and Plano Clark (2007).

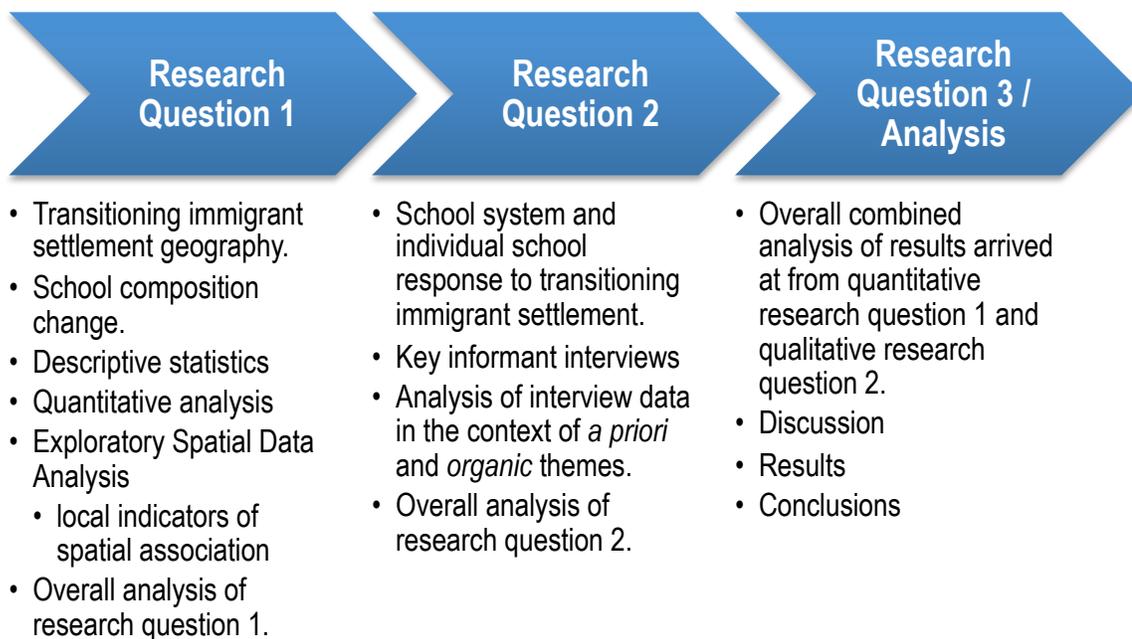


FIGURE 4.2. Progression of each research question and analysis.

4.4.1 Research Question 1

How have transitioning neighborhood-based patterns of increased immigrant settlement in Charlotte impacted school composition over time?

A quantitative approach at the outset to address the first research question will help to build the foundation necessary to adequately address the second research question. The independent variable is Hispanic/Latino immigrant settlement and the dependent variable is impacts on public school composition. Metrics to measure impacts include individual school characteristics, English as a Second Language (ESL) provision, changing policies to address increased immigration and an increasingly multicultural and multilingual student population, and changing demographics in the schools. In this context, individual schools will be examined within the broader spatial context of new immigrant settlement change in Mecklenburg County.

This question is largely answered by a quantitative approach, including descriptive statistics, quantitative and cartographic analysis – including spatial examination of percents and location quotients by variable – and exploratory spatial data analysis of transitioning ethnic and immigrant settlement geography and geographic change over time in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County. Data are at the census tract and block group levels of geography. Although increased immigration overall is the context, the focus will be on the Hispanic/Latino immigrant population. This population is by far the largest newly arriving immigrant group in the Charlotte area.

One model for exploratory spatial data analysis of changing immigrant settlement geographies is the use of local indicators of spatial association (LISA) to uncover areas of ethnic group concentration or dispersal within a particular geographic area at a particular time (Logan and Zhang 2004; Anselin 2003). Data at the census tract and block group levels of geography from 1990, 2000, and the most recent data available (i.e. 2009 American Community Survey) are included in the exploratory spatial data analyses. The use of local indicators of spatial association to identify statistically significant spatial clustering or dispersal of a particular population group adds a layer of statistical significance to the study of transitioning immigrant settlement geography. Additionally, demographic data about the public school system and individual schools is available from the National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, and from Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools.

Charlotte Mecklenburg School (CMS) system as well as individual school composition within CMS is measured by the following variables: race/ethnicity, Hispanic/Latino population, foreign born population, the number of Limited English

Proficient (LEP) students, the number of students enrolled in English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, a school's Title I status (including information about household income of students, the number of students on free and reduced lunch, and the school's student/teacher ratio), school demographic composition over time, resources allocated to a particular school, and overall school enrollment. Data pertaining to these variables are available from Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools, the National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, and the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction.

The time period for analysis of quantitative data relevant to the first research question is 1980 to the present (2010). Data points examined during this time period include: 1990, 2000, and 2009. This span is chosen because of the large changes witnessed at many scales in Charlotte during this time.

The quantitative analyses measuring the impact of transitioning immigrant settlement geography on specific school system and individual school data within the broader spatial context yield concluding results pertaining to the first research question. Additionally, information garnered about specific individual schools within their broader community spatial context allows for the selection of three specific schools to study in more depth within the scope of the second research question. Specifically, census tract and block group neighborhood data as well as individual CMS school data aid in the individual school case study selection process. The typology for selecting these three specific schools comes out of the quantitative data analysis during research addressing the first question. The typology includes three different neighborhood and community spatial contexts: North Charlotte, East Charlotte, and Southwest Charlotte. The three

identified schools then become part of the comparative case study, utilizing key informant interviews as the primary data collection strategy, to address the second research question.

4.4.2 Individual Case Study School Selection

In terms of the most recent wave of immigration to the United States post-1980, Smith and Furuseth (2006; 2008) identify three geographic areas of Hispanic concentration and settlement in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County. These three geographic areas have emerged in recent decades representing the Hispanic immigration process in Charlotte. Table 4.3 explains the three geographic areas, each with their own distinct characteristics and trajectories.

TABLE 4.3: Three areas of Hispanic settlement concentration in Charlotte, North Carolina

<p><i>1. Southwest Charlotte</i>, along South Boulevard, which represents the original settlement area for Hispanic immigrants. This cluster is viewed as the original area of Hispanic concentration and therefore the most established. Within the overall context of Charlotte's Latino migrant history and experience, the Southwest Charlotte cluster may be viewed as an example of late stage immigration.</p>	<p><i>2. East Charlotte</i>, along Central Avenue, which emerged after the Southwest Charlotte area of concentration and represents the primary settlement area for new and established Hispanic arrivals in Charlotte. This area began to emerge shortly after the Southwest cluster. Within the overall context of Charlotte's Latino migrant history and experience, the East Charlotte cluster may be viewed as an example of middle stage immigration.</p>	<p><i>3. Northeast Charlotte</i>, along North Tryon Street, which represents the most recent and most transitional area of Hispanic concentration. As the most recent Hispanic settlement area in Charlotte, this community is the least visible and most transient and transitioning. Within the overall context of Charlotte's Latino migrant history and experience, the North Charlotte cluster may be viewed as an example of early stage immigration.</p>
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Source: Smith and Furuseth 2006, 2008.

The three areas of Hispanic concentrated settlement geography Smith and Furuseth (2006; 2008) identify coincide approximately with the three areas of concentration observable among Hispanic population location quotients by census tract in 2000 (as seen in Chapter 5 quantitative analysis). Additionally, the three areas also coincide with statistically significant Hispanic settlement clusters identified by exploratory spatial data analysis using local indicators of spatial association (LISA) statistics (Anselin 2003).

4.4.3 Research Questions 2 and 3

How is a large public education system responding to increased immigration at both the school system level and at the individual school level?

With the foundation built by information learned from research related to the first research question, a qualitative approach is used primarily to address the second research question (Hay 2005). Qualitative methods used include interviews with key informants (Hancock and Algozzine 2006) at the school system and individual school (three specific case study schools within the comparative case study) scales of research. As mentioned previously, the three specific schools to include in the comparative case study (Yin 1994) are selected within the typology developed from quantitative analysis in research related to the first question as well as via access permission required from CMS. Additional key informant interviews with community organizers and educational activists are also included to gauge the community perspective on this subject.

The qualitative methodology for this research stems in part from a 2004 study by Wainer (2004) about the new Latino South and the challenge to public education. In this report, the author describes strategies for educators and policymakers in emerging immigrant communities. This particular study utilized a qualitative methodology of initial focus groups to identify specific barriers to immigrant education, and then proceeded to

conduct in-depth key informant interviews in three case study sites characterized by recent high growth rates for the Latino immigrant population: Wake and Durham Counties in North Carolina; Washington and Benton Counties in Arkansas; and Hall and Gwinnett Counties in Georgia (Wainer 2004). My study uses a qualitative interview approach similar to the approach used by Wainer (2004).

Wainer (2004) states that his research team “conducted interviews primarily with public educational professionals in each of the study sites. In addition to teachers and principals, other respondents included religious leaders, governmental officials, and immigrant parents and students. Respondents were employed from the preschool to university level, but most interviews were conducted among K-12 respondents in public school districts. Of the K-12 interviews, most of these were conducted with elementary school teachers and staff because most English language learners (ELL) nationwide are found in the early elementary grades (August and Hakuta 1997)” (Wainer 2004). In my study, I also focused on interviews with teachers and support staff at the elementary school level, as well as interviews with leaders of various community organizations that have overlapping interests with public education.

While Wainer’s (2004) study was spread over three county pairs in three southern states, my study is spread across three distinct neighborhood areas focused upon three specific elementary schools within the Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools public school district. Like Wainer’s (2004) study, my interviews were conducted at the respondents’ workplace (most often the case) or some other public location such as a coffee shop, ice cream parlor, or lunch restaurant. Interviews were conducted in person, were audio recorded for later transcription and analysis, and averaged around 45 minutes in length –

although the length of interview time varied considerably depending on the respondent's schedule and the flow and timing of the interview questions. The shortest interview was around twenty minutes and the longest interview was around two and a half hours.

Also similar to Wainer's (2004) interview methodology, the interview protocol was semi-structured with a set of specific open-ended questions. These questions were designed to elicit extemporaneous and impromptu responses from participants. Occasionally, the interview would veer into other topic areas initiated by the respondent, but still related to the overall topic of research.

Similar to Wainer's (2004) study, I also used secondary quantitative data from Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools, the National Center for Education Statistics, the U.S. Department of Education, and the U.S. Census Bureau to help "ground the report and findings in socioeconomic and demographic reality" (Wainer 2004). The quantitative analysis provides a contextual foundation upon which the qualitative field work and analysis rests.

The interview protocol questions were constructed based upon key *a priori* themes identified in the literature as pertinent to the heart of this research. Throughout the interviews, however, in addition to identification and substantiation of the *a priori* themes, a number of organic themes emerged strongly from across the interview dataset. The results garnered from the interviews are presented in the results chapters structured around the *a priori* and *organic* themes.

The audio recordings from all interviews were transcribed and thematically coded based upon the *a priori* themes. In the same manner as Wainer's (2004) methodology, the prominence of themes across the interview dataset were assessed by a counting

procedure. Furthermore, the manual review of the dataset aided in the identification and analysis of the emergent *organic* themes.

In terms of data validation, in the same manner as Wainer (2004) I strived for a diversity of respondents within each case study site and across the entire CMS study area. In addition to recruiting a variety of faculty and staff from each school study site to participate in an interview, I asked each respondent to complete a brief, one-page questionnaire that allowed me to build a contextual background for all interview participants. This survey ensured that the complete dataset of interviews stemmed from participants representing a wide variety of backgrounds and perspectives. The diversity of respondents, therefore, adds further rigor to the strong *a priori* and *organic* themes present across the entire dataset. The specific field-based interview methodology is depicted in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4: Field-based qualitative interview methodology

Case Study Area	Goal	Completed
East Charlotte Teachers	10 Interviews	14 Interviews
Northeast Charlotte Teachers	10 Interviews	6 Interviews
South Charlotte Teachers	10 Interviews	8 Interviews
Community	10 Interviews	10 Interviews

The interviews and questions are designed to elicit detailed and valuable responses and are structured with several *a priori* themes in mind. *A priori* themes include:

1. Immigration and its impact on public school composition.

- a. Related to first question about immigration effect on school composition.
2. Public education system response to increased immigration at the school system level.
 - a. School system response to becoming increasingly multicultural.
 - b. How is school system responding to increased immigration and how is that playing out within broader community receptivity?
3. Public education system response to increased immigration at the individual school level.
 - a. Individual school response to becoming increasingly multicultural.
 - b. How is individual school responding to changes CMS has implemented and how is that playing out within broader community receptivity?
4. Broader Charlotte community attitude of receptivity toward immigrants.
 - a. Reflected in school system response, in local media, and local government action and public discourse.
5. Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway and destination and the relationship with education as a public good.
 - a. Dynamism influenced by transitioning immigrant settlement geography, public service provision and response, and community perception and receptivity.

Several *organic* themes also emerged from the interview process in addition to the stated *a priori* themes. *Organic* themes include:

1. Refugees: Charlotte is a refugee resettlement location, receiving refugees from many points of origin around the globe. Refugee situations most often mentioned by interview participants pertain to refugees from various African and Southeast Asian countries.
2. Transiency of immigrant students and families: Interview participants mentioned how immigrant students and families tend to be more transient than the native-born population.
3. Mixed-status families (families in which one or both parents are immigrants and one or more children are native-born citizens). The situation most cited by interview participants is that of families composed of undocumented immigrant parents and native-born U.S. citizen children. When parents are arrested and deported, U.S. citizen children are forcefully separated from their parents, and families are torn apart.
4. Barrier of a culture of poverty: Interview participants described how some of the challenges in their schools are not specifically related to an immigrant population, but are more related to a broader issue of a culture of poverty for the majority of students and their families, immigrant and native-born, associated with a particular school and neighborhood.
5. DREAM Act: Some participants mentioned the necessity of passing immigrant education reform legislation such as the DREAM Act to spur incentive for undocumented immigrant students to stay in school, graduate, and pursue higher education.

6. Private School Growth: A few interview participants mentioned their perception of the growth of private educational facilities in the Charlotte area that coincided with the city's rapid change, which includes a rapidly growing, multicultural population of newcomers.
7. What a participant would like to see occur: Many interview participants stated ideas and suggestions that they would like to see their school, the school system as a whole, and the broader community pursue.
8. Other challenges not mentioned as *a priori* challenges.
9. Other opportunities not mentioned as *a priori* opportunities.

The scale of analysis dictates who needed to be interviewed. Key informants at the school system scale, identified via a snowball sample, were found within the Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools administrative structure. Key informants at the individual school level, identified via a snowball sample, included school administrators (principals and assistant principals), teachers and instructors, support staff such as school counselors, and nurses. Interviews at the individual school scale of analysis occurred at the three specific comparative case study schools identified from research related to the first question and the selection typology developed out of quantitative research related to the first question. Points of impact that are kept in mind at both scales of analysis revolve around policy, programming, funding and resources.

4.4.4 IRB Human Subjects Research Approval Process

Prior to contacting potential participants for interviews, IRB approval was sought from UNC Charlotte and Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. The IRB approval procedure with CMS was lengthy and time consuming. In order to apply for approval, the principal

at each potential case study school needed to submit their approval in writing to the CMS Office of Research and Accountability for their school to participate. Once that office had received principals' approval from all potential schools, the IRB review could commence. The initial application for CMS IRB approval for this study was denied due to a policy at the time of no additional outside research projects being allowed. However, after discussion and school principal approval, CMS administration approved the research proposal. Once IRB approval was granted, I was then able to proceed with contacting potential interview participants. Potential participants were contacted initially by email to acquire agreement to be interviewed and to arrange a time and meeting place for an interview. Due to the snowball sampling strategy, some initial contacts yield further contacts for interviews. Throughout the process of contacting and interviewing key informants within the schools for interviews, I established anonymity and confidentiality of the individual schools, officials, teachers, and other informants, per UNC Charlotte and CMS protocol for Institutional Review Board for the use of human subjects in research. It was essential to establish this at the outset in initial points of contact with potential participants and to continually reaffirm this throughout the interview process. Furthermore, due to the sensitive nature of the subject matter and participants, each of the three case study schools that agreed to participate and were approved by CMS for participation in this study must remain anonymous. Only their locations within Charlotte are disclosed: east, northeast, and south.

Appendix B contains drafts of the informed consent for the key informant interviews and the question prompts and interview guide for the key informant interviews. Each interview was audio recorded and lasted one hour on average. The

interview audio recordings were transcribed into a computer database for subsequent systematic content analysis. Systematic content analysis is described by Silbermann (1967), and Bos and Tarnai (1999). Concerning qualitative content analysis in general, Bos and Tarnai (1999) state:

“Content analysis is a means of analyzing texts...from newspaper articles to transcripts of interviews and from descriptions of pictures to written recollections...The basic assumption of all content analysis is that cultural forms of expression in the broadest sense can be expressed in texts, which means that the content analysis of texts is concerned with social reality and that the results of the analysis and their interpretation are correspondingly dependent” (Bos and Tarnai 1999).

They go on to describe two types of content analysis: hermeneutic-interpretative content analysis and empirical-explanatory content analysis. Bos and Tarnai (1999) describe hermeneutic-interpretative content analysis as:

“An attempt is made to take from a text the original idea which it was intended to express and make it comprehensible for the contemporary reader...hermeneutic procedures attempt to explain texts in a rule-oriented manner and to comprehend the sense intended by the author...Hermeneutic procedures serve in the first instance to convey the meaning of texts, which is ‘unfolded’ via an interpretative reading. A prerequisite for reading and interpreting a text is understanding it...understanding as a technical term in hermeneutics means the comprehension of complex contexts and sense structures in a text both in its totality and in a higher sense, which is distinguished from an elementary understanding or explanation of facts...The question of how this higher understanding occurs is answered with reference to the phenomenon of the circular structure of understanding, which was originally suggested by Heidegger (1984). Accordingly, an individual content can only be understood against the background of the whole, while the understanding of the whole is in turn a result of comprehending the individual contents” (Bos and Tarnai 1999).

They describe empirical-explanatory content analysis as quantitative content analysis or frequency analysis:

“Quantitative content analysis. Frequency analysis – “the frequency of manifest text units is counted and compared with other units. Thus, with pure frequency analysis, the value, importance, and intensity of a variable is determined from the start. The variables can be considered equal...Holsti (1968)...considers that the

‘theme’ (a ‘singler assertion about some subject’) is the most useful unit for a ‘content analysis’” (Bos and Tarnai 1999).

Furthermore, Bos and Tarnai (1999) state that

“For content analysis to be carried out in practice, it is necessary that qualitative interpretation supplements quantitative analysis. In order to fulfill scientific demands while at the same time being applicable and rich in useful data, content analysis needs to possess several features or elements. They are: theoretical inference and the basis for cognitive interest, sample selection that can be checked and justified inter-subjectively, a reliable and valid category-system that is developed in the process of examining the material, and quantitative analysis of the data with appropriate interpretation” (Bos and Tarnai 1999).

Their procedure for analyzing content is five-fold (Bos and Tarnai 1999):

1. *Theoretical Level*: Research outline, research questions, formulation of hypotheses, material to investigate.
2. *Establishment of Categories*: Operationalizing the categories, determining the sample, determining the unit of analysis.
3. *Pretest*: Determining reliability and validating categories (may require a return to step 2).
4. *Data Collection and Evaluation*: Appropriate statistical analyses.
5. *Interpretation of the Results*: Immanent interpretation of the results, discussion of the results on the basis of the problem (may require a return to step 1).

The systematic content analysis of interview transcription data for this study was conducted manually with the aid of constructing a database in Microsoft Excel to organize and quantitatively analyze coded *a priori* and *organic* themes that emerged from the interview transcript dataset. Content analysis of interview transcriptions uncovers information related to the stated *a priori* themes and yields information related to *organic* themes that emerged from the interview conversations. Upon completion of data collection and analysis for each individual research question, information gleaned from both questions is combined into the overall analysis, discussion, results, and conclusion.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter justified and laid out the methodological framework and data necessary to answer the research questions. The mixed methods triangulation design is evident in the contextual discussion of the theoretical underpinnings linked with descriptive data, quantitative analysis of secondary demographic and social data, and qualitative analysis of data derived from interviews. This triangulation reinforces the overall discussion of increased immigration and its affect on public schools, public schools response to immigration, all of which is occurring in a new immigrant gateway amid a dynamic of fluid and fickle receptivity. In the following chapters, I describe the study area. I then turn to a discussion of the research results and analysis relevant to the research questions. These chapters are then followed by a general discussion of overall research results, and then the conclusion.

CHAPTER 5: STUDY AREA AND FIRST RESEARCH QUESTION

In this chapter, I discuss the specific characteristics of the Mecklenburg County, North Carolina study area, including additional background contextual information about the Charlotte metro area not previously mentioned. I also begin discussing the quantitative analysis results related to the first research question. These descriptive and statistical results further inform our understanding of the study area, prior to delving deeper into the qualitative data and results presented in the subsequent chapters.

5.1 Charlotte's Evolution as a New Immigrant Gateway

Charlotte's emergence as a new immigrant gateway is tied to several factors related in particular to a rapid increase in domestic and foreign born migration. The metro area also underwent profound economic transition and growth beginning in the 1980s and continuing into the 2000s with Charlotte's financial industry ascendance. These changes led the city to become a strong pull factor for both domestic and international migrants to choose to move to the Charlotte region.

With these economic transitions in mind, the rapid increase in both native and foreign born migration of persons from both domestic and international points of origin to Charlotte during the 1990s and 2000s contributed to Charlotte's growth. The accompanying labor market and class-based changes within the city is also another striking facet of Charlotte's burgeoning post-industrial profile. These characteristics are entrenched in the changes stemming from global economic, political, and cultural restructuring (Short and Kim 1999). Charlotte bore witness to rapidly rising growth rates

of native and foreign born migrants to the city during the 1990s and 2000s (Smith 2008; Smith and Furuseth 2008, 2004). An outcome of this rapid growth is the designation of the Charlotte MSA as a *Hispanic-Hypergrowth* city (Suro and Singer 2002) and a *pre-emerging* immigrant gateway (Singer 2004). Many of these changes relate in part to Charlotte's shift towards a post-industrial service-oriented economy centering on its role as a financial industry headquarter city (Graves and Kozar 2010; Smith and Graves 2005, 2003). As changes in the labor market ensued, more workers throughout the socio-economic spectrum were needed. Low-level service workers were attracted to provide the labor for Charlotte's rapid physical growth. High-level service sector workers and elite professionals came to Charlotte to fill the increasing number of offices in the center city and throughout the metro area. Additionally, an increasing number of immigrant entrepreneurs opened businesses aimed at serving the area's growing immigrant populations (Wang and Li 2007). And, as is characteristic of other new gateways Charlotte also exhibits the recent trend of immigrant suburbanization both in terms of residential settlement and entrepreneurial activity (Frey 2003).

5.2 Justifying the Study Area: Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

Several justifications are proposed as to why Charlotte is an effective case for the study of the relationships between transitioning immigrant geography and a public education system within the dynamic of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. First, as outlined above, Charlotte is an example of a new immigrant destination with a high degree of transitioning immigrant settlement geography in recent decades, including high growth rates of both native and foreign born migrants. Charlotte, as a new immigrant gateway, only has a short history of receiving immigrants and newcomers. The recency

of immigrant population growth in Charlotte, and the city's short time of experience at receiving newcomers, sets it apart from traditional immigrant gateway destinations.

Charlotte is also an example of a place that has shifted to a post-industrial economy, a transition that includes changes in the labor market, socio-economic stratification, and an economy tied to the service-oriented financial sector. These implications and changes ultimately define the post-industrial new immigrant gateway profile of twenty-first century Charlotte as partly a product of global, urban, and economic restructuring.

Second, Charlotte's history as a test case for school desegregation and busing programs beginning in the 1970s informs the historical context. Third, Charlotte is presently witnessing a resegregation of schools, primarily along intersections of race, ethnicity and social class lines, in the 2000s. These three justifications are discussed in more detail in the prior chapter about education. The following sections present descriptive data about the study area as well as the results from quantitative analysis derived from the first research question.

5.2.1 Total Population in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

Table 5.1 presents data about the total population and the population for various sub-groups in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, in 1990, 2000, and 2010. Table 5.2 presents data about the population sub-group percent of total population in Mecklenburg County in 1990, 2000, and 2010.

TABLE 5.1: Total population in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

	1990	2000	2010
White	360,554	425,144	465,372
Black	133,866	192,403	278,042
Asian	8,235	21,717	41,991
American Indian/Alaskan Native	1,869	2,130	2,843
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	*	283	518
Other Race	216	1,022	2,407
Two or More Races	**	7,884	16,511
Hispanic	6,693	44,871	111,944
TOTAL	511,433	695,454	919,628
Foreign Born	17,875	68,349	124,150

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *In 1990, Pacific Islanders were included under Asian category as “Asian and Pacific Islander”. **In 1990, there was no “Two or More Races” category. Foreign Born population is listed separate from Total population for context because “Foreign Born” includes members of all of the above race and ethnic categories.

TABLE 5.2: Percent of total population in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

	1990	2000	2010
White	70.50	61.13	50.60
Black	26.17	27.67	30.23
Asian	1.61	3.12	4.57
American Indian/Alaskan Native	0.37	0.31	0.31
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander	*	0.04	0.06
Other Race	0.04	0.15	0.26
Two or More Races	**	1.13	1.80
Hispanic	1.31	6.45	12.17
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00
Foreign Born	3.50	9.83	13.50

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *In 1990, Pacific Islanders were included under Asian category as “Asian and Pacific Islander”. **In 1990, there was no “Two or More Races” category. Foreign Born population is listed separate from Total population for context because “Foreign Born” includes members of all of the above race and ethnic categories.

5.2.2 Population Growth Rate in Mecklenburg County

Table 5.3 presents data about the population sub-group percent growth in Mecklenburg County from 1990 to 2000, 2000 to 2010, and 1990 to 2010. In each of the time periods, the population sub-groups with the highest growth rates include Asian, Other Race, Two or More Races, and Hispanic.

TABLE 5.3: Population growth rate in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina

	1990 to 2000	2000 to 2010	1990 to 2010
White	17.9	9.5	29.1
Black	43.7	44.5	107.7
Asian	163.7	93.4	409.9
American Indian/Alaskan Native	14.0	33.5	52.1
Native Hawaiian/ Other Pacific Islander	*	83.0	*
Other Race	373.1	135.5	1014.4
Two or More Races	**	109.4	**
Hispanic	570.4	149.5	1572.6
TOTAL	36.0	32.2	79.8
Foreign Born	282.4	81.6	594.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. *In 1990, Pacific Islanders were included under Asian category as “Asian and Pacific Islander”. **In 1990, there was no “Two or More Races” category. Foreign Born population is listed separate from Total population for context because “Foreign Born” includes members of all of the above race and ethnic categories.

5.2.3 Population Group Concentration and Dispersal in Mecklenburg County

Figure 5.1 charts the dissimilarity indices between various population group combinations in Mecklenburg County in 1990 and 2000. The index of dissimilarity is a standard measure of spatial segregation between different population groups, which makes it appropriate to include when exploring for the appearance of ethnically concentrated areas within a particular geography. The index is expressed as a value of 0.0 to 1.0 with 0.0 representing complete spatial integration between the two population groups and 1.0 representing complete spatial segregation between the two particular population groups (for examples of other ethnic settlement studies utilizing dissimilarity

indices, see: Barcus 2007; Johnston, Poulsen, and Forrest 2006; Fischer 2003; Yarbrough 2003; and Zhang 1998). The dissimilarity index is represented as

$$\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^N \left| \frac{b_i}{B} - \frac{w_i}{W} \right|$$

where, b_i represents a population sub-group (i.e. Black) in geography i (i.e. a specific census tract or block group), B represents the population sub-group total for Mecklenburg County as a whole, w_i represents another population sub-group (i.e. White) in geography i (i.e. a specific census tract or block group), and W represents the population sub-group total for the county as a whole.

Dissimilarity indices in this case are based on a comparison of the population ratios at the block group level between two population groups using the counts in each block group and in the overall county as a whole. Obviously, the white and black populations have the highest index of dissimilarity value, just under 0.6, indicating these two groups are the most spatially segregated from one another in Mecklenburg County. The Asian and White populations are quite a bit more integrated as suggested by their dissimilarity value of just over 0.4 in 2000. The Hispanic population appears to be neither spatially segregated nor integrated with the other groups, having dissimilarity values all around 0.5 in 2000. One item of note, however, is the low dissimilarity value between Foreign Born and Hispanic. These two groups are not entirely mutually exclusive, which would contribute to the calculation of a lower dissimilarity index value. Furthermore, index values for 2010 are not shown because at the time of writing block group level data for various population groups was not yet accessible.

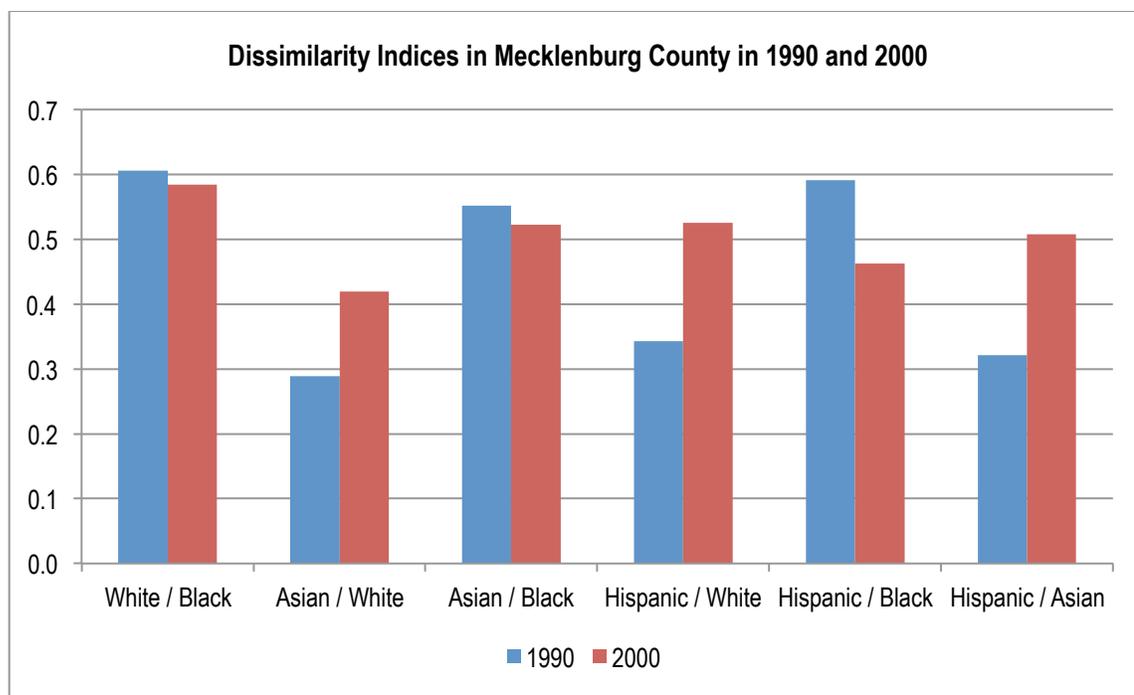


FIGURE 5.1. Dissimilarity indices in Mecklenburg County in 1990 and 2000.

Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3 illustrate another useful basic introductory indicator of whether or not particular population groups are concentrating in certain areas of a specific geographic area in 1990 and 2000, respectively. These two charts show the percent of the total population for each particular group in each census tract ordered from census tract with lowest percentage to census tract with highest percentage for each population group. Figure 5.4 shows the same thing for block groups in 2000. The white and black populations appear more evenly dispersed throughout the county (the black population somewhat less so than the white population). The graph data for the other minority population groups, such as Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born, indicate that there are many block groups with very low percentages of each of those populations, but a much smaller number of block groups with higher proportions of those population

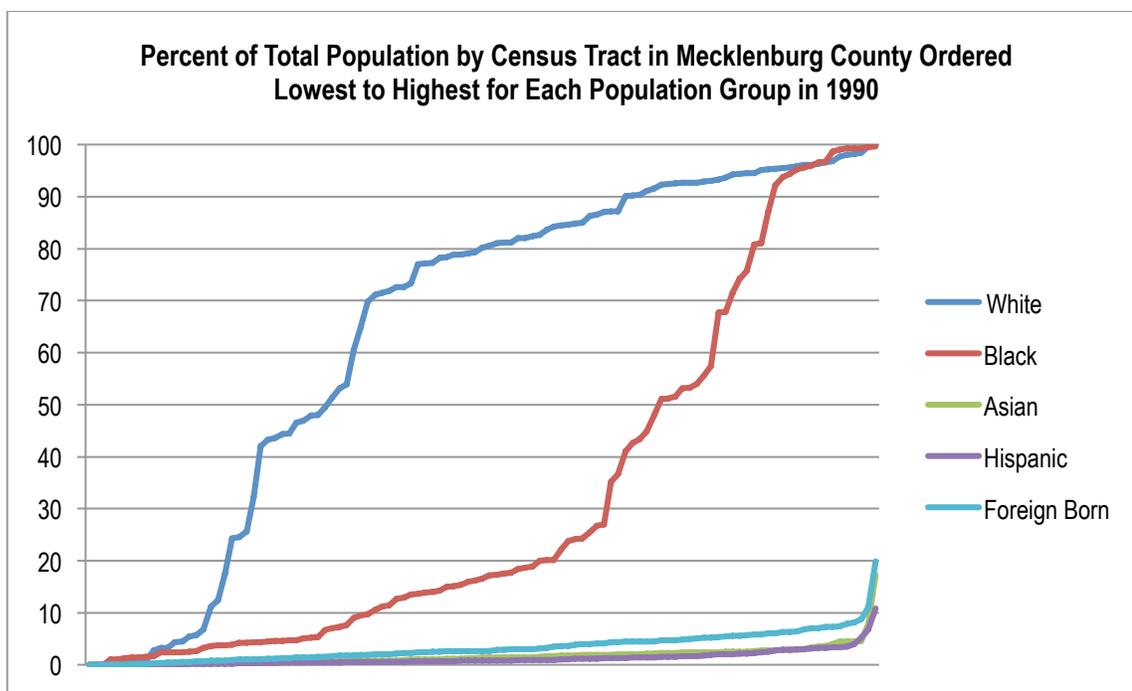


FIGURE 5.2. Percent of total population by census tract in Mecklenburg County ordered lowest to highest for each population group in 1990.

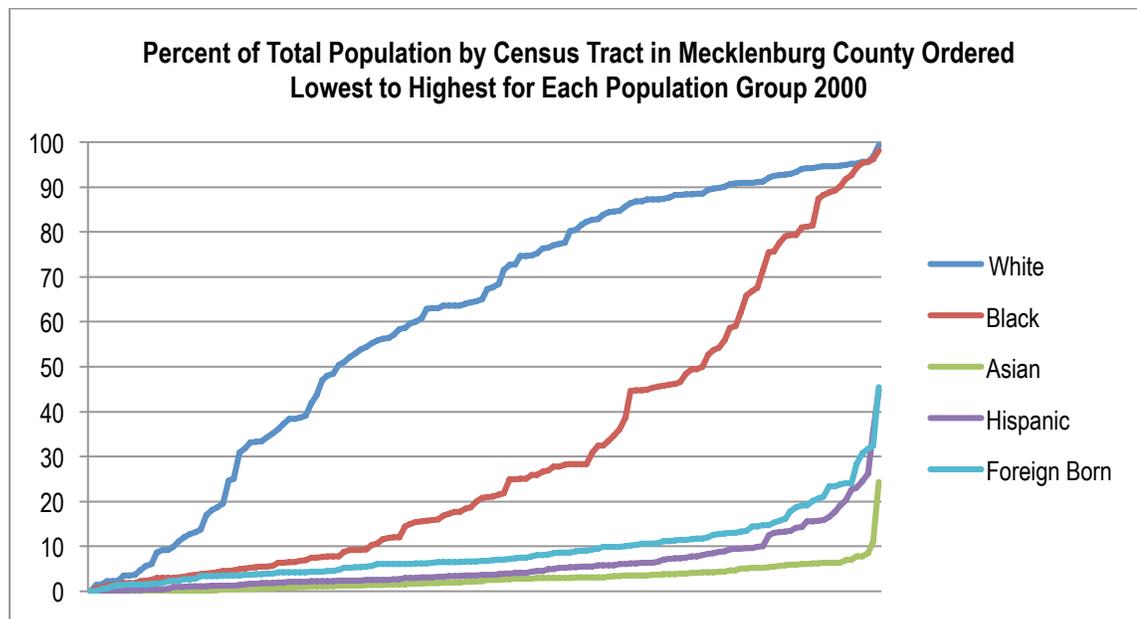


FIGURE 5.3. Percent of total population by census tract in Mecklenburg County ordered lowest to highest for each population group in 2000.

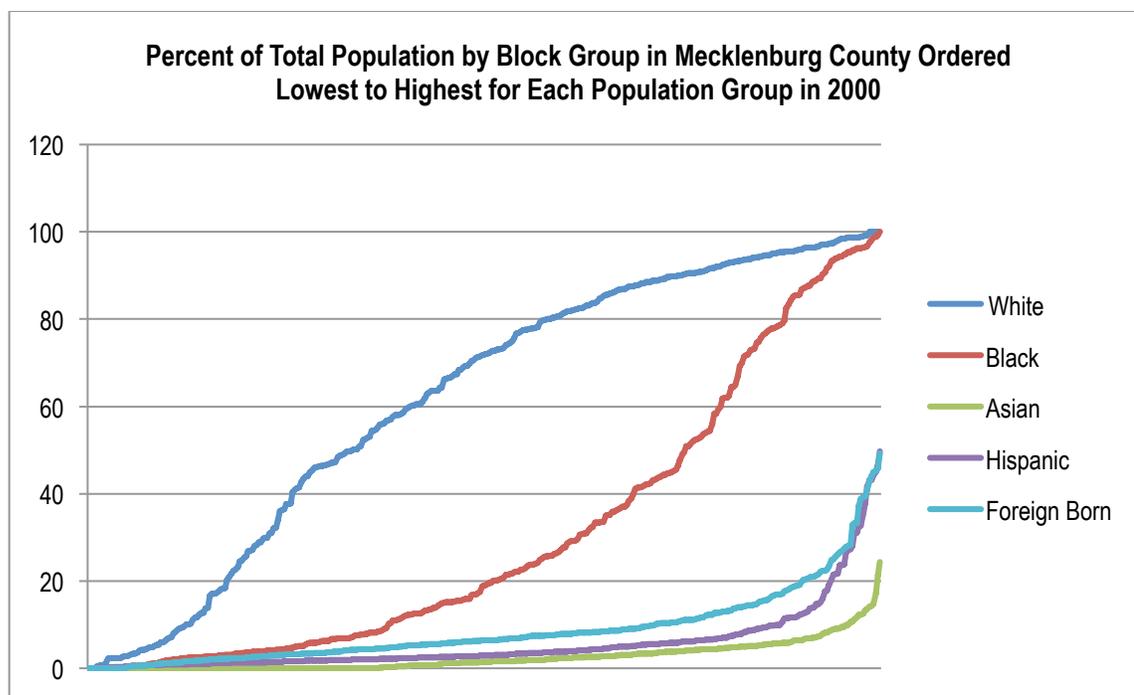


FIGURE 5.4. Percent of total population by block group in Mecklenburg County ordered lowest to highest for each population group in 2000.

groups. This data serves as yet another indicator that there are ethnic concentrations in certain areas of Mecklenburg County.

Table 5.4 shows that Hispanic settlement by census tract (N=111) in Mecklenburg County in 1990 was relatively scattered. By 2000, more concentration by census tract (N=144) among the Hispanic population may be seen. Over twenty percent of the Hispanic population in 2000 live within census tracts that are at least twenty percent Hispanic.

TABLE 5.4: Distribution of Hispanic population by level of concentration by census tract, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, 1990 and 2000

Census Tract % Concentration	Hispanic 1990	Hispanic % 1990	Hispanic 2000	Hispanic % 2000
<1	1,310	19.57	36	0.08
1 - 1.99	3,331	49.77	2,085	4.65
2 - 4.99	1,919	28.67	7,997	17.82
5 - 9.99	-	-	12,029	26.81
10 - 19.99	133	1.99	12,749	28.41
20 - 29.99	-	-	3,335	7.43
30+	-	-	6,640	14.80
Total	6,693	100.00	44,871	100.00

Note: N=111 census tracts in 1990. N=144 census tracts in 2000.

Table 5.5 shows that almost one-fourth of Hispanic persons in Mecklenburg County reside in block groups (N=373) that are at least thirty percent Hispanic in 2000, and almost two-fifths residing in block groups that are at least twenty percent Hispanic in 2000. By 2009, approximately one-third of Hispanic persons in Mecklenburg County reside in block groups that are at least thirty percent Hispanic in 2009, with half residing in block groups that are at least twenty percent Hispanic in 2009.

Cartographic visualizations of Mecklenburg County block groups and the percentages of each population group variable are helpful to understand the geographic distribution of the county's population. Figures 5.5 through 5.9 map the percentage of the White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, and Foreign Born population groups, respectively, by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.

TABLE 5.5: Distribution of Hispanic population by level of concentration by block group, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, 2000 and 2009

Block Group % Concentration	Hispanic 2000	Hispanic % 2000	Hispanic 2009	Hispanic % 2009
<1	308	0.69	227	0.26
1 - 1.99	2,012	4.48	1,459	1.68
2 - 4.99	8,425	18.78	6,894	7.96
5 - 9.99	9,306	20.74	12,103	13.97
10 - 19.99	7,079	15.78	22,327	25.77
20 - 29.99	7,089	15.80	15,407	17.78
30+	10,652	23.74	28,224	32.58
Total	44,871	100.00	86,641	100.00

Note: N=373 block groups in 2000 and 2009. Hispanic 2009 data are from American Community Survey 2005-2009 estimates from U.S. Bureau of the Census.

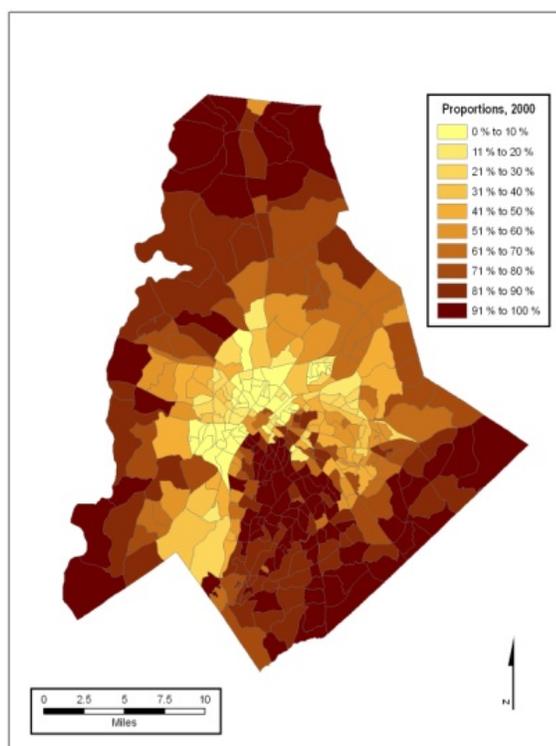


FIGURE 5.5. Percent white by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.

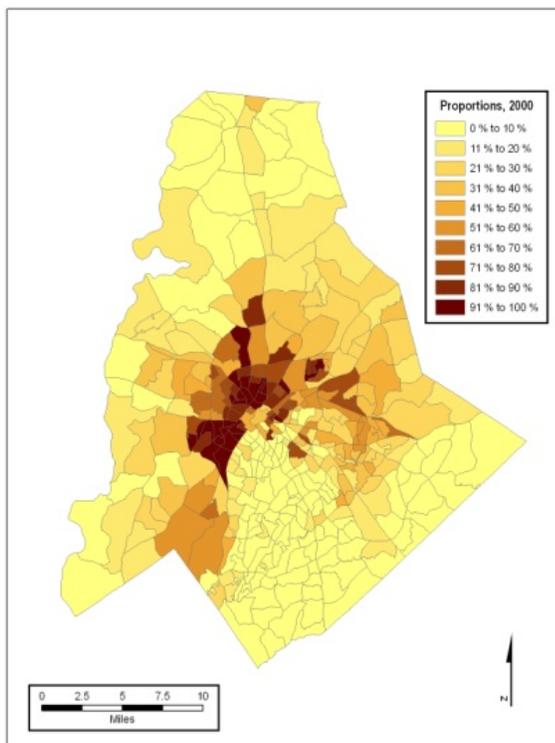


FIGURE 5.6. Percent black by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.

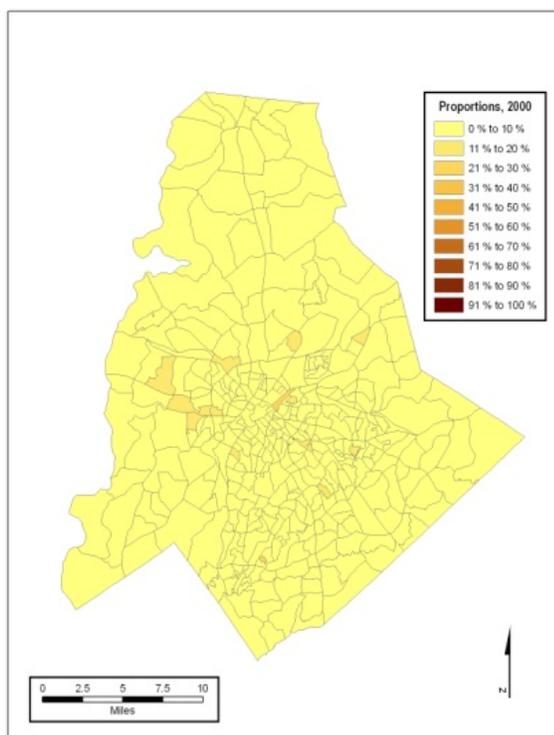


FIGURE 5.7. Percent Asian by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.

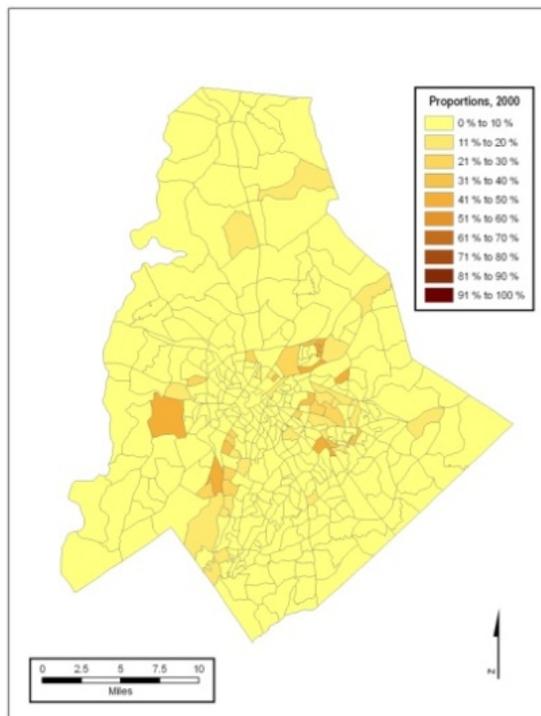


FIGURE 5.8. Percent Hispanic/Latino by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.

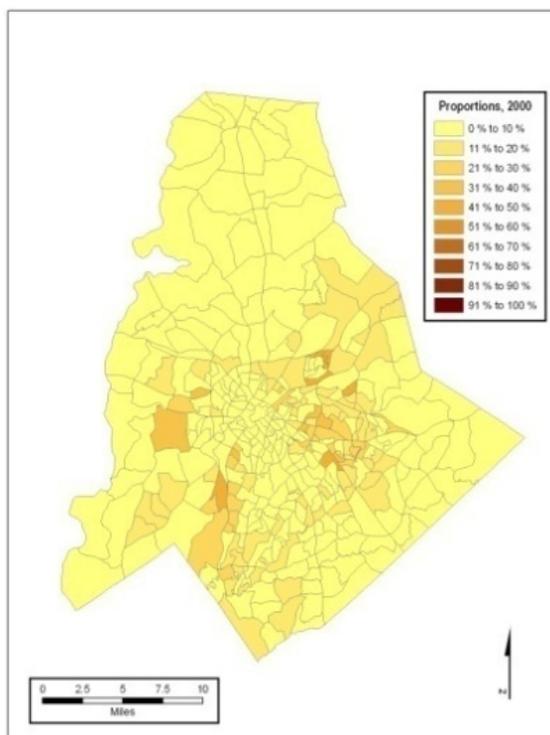


FIGURE 5.9. Percent foreign born by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, in 2000.

5.3 Research Question 1: How have transitioning neighborhood-based patterns of increased immigrant settlement in Charlotte impacted school composition over time?

It is now appropriate to begin presenting quantitative statistical results related to the first research question as they help inform our understanding of the study area. In order to begin addressing this first research question, a thorough understanding of the descriptive and quantitative nature and foundation of Hispanic/Latino migration to and settlement within Charlotte and Mecklenburg County is important. This question is built upon the Charlotte and Mecklenburg County descriptive statistics presented in the previous sections and is largely answered by a quantitative approach, including descriptive statistics, quantitative and cartographic analysis – with spatial examination of location quotients by variable – of transitioning ethnic and immigrant settlement geography and geographic change over time in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County, and

exploratory spatial data analysis. Data are at the county (Mecklenburg County, NC), census tract and block group levels of geography. Although increased immigration overall is the context, the focus will be on the Hispanic/Latino immigrant population as this population is by far the largest newly arriving immigrant group in the Charlotte area.

The quantitative data and accompanying graphs and charts presented about Charlotte and Mecklenburg County in the study area chapter indicate that the Hispanic and foreign born populations are becoming increasingly concentrated over time in certain areas of Mecklenburg County. To uncover where within the county persons of Hispanic origin are concentrating, I employ exploratory spatial data analysis – including the use of local indicators of spatial association.

5.3.1 Exploratory Spatial Data Analysis

Tobler's First Law of Geography states that "everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distance things," (Tobler 1970) which emphasizes the importance of spatial dependence and forms the foundation of geostatistics. Therefore, unique statistical methods are required when analyzing spatial data. This section discusses the results arrived at via the location quotient analysis and the local spatial autocorrelation – local indicators of spatial association (LISA) – analysis.

5.3.2 Location Quotient Analysis

Location quotients are useful to assess whether or not block groups have more or less of their fair share, or have an equally proportionate amount, of a particular variable, in this case the Hispanic/Latino population. Location quotient analysis is helpful to establish relative quantitative concentrations of a particular phenomenon for a specific geographic area. A location quotient is expressed as

$$LQ = \frac{e_i/e}{E_i/E}$$

where, e_i represents a population sub-group (i.e. Hispanic) in geography area i (i.e. block group 1), e represents the total sub-group population in Mecklenburg County, E_i represents the total population in geography area i , and E represents the total county population. Using the following conventions, if a block group has a location quotient of less than 1.00 then the block group has less of a proportionate share of the particular variable relative to other block groups and the county as a whole, if the location quotient is around 1.00 then the block group has an equally proportionate share of the particular variable as the county as a whole, and if the location quotient is greater than 1.00 in a block group then that area has a higher proportionate share of the particular variable relative to other block groups and the overall county as a whole. A location quotient greater than 1.00 in a block group therefore would indicate a concentration of the particular variable in the associated block group. Figures 5.10 through 5.20 illustrate the location quotients by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000 for White, Black, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, Other Race, Two or More Races, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, Foreign Born, Foreign Born Naturalized Citizen, and Foreign Born Non Citizen, population groups respectively. Most census defined population groups were included here in order to put each group into context with each other group. However, the bulk of the analysis in this paper is focused on the Hispanic/Latino population. These maps facilitate the visualization of block groups with concentrations of particular populations based on location quotients. Visuals presented here will be useful to refer to in the subsequent discussions about local indicators of spatial association.

Referring to the Latino population specifically (Figure 4.17), there appear to be concentrations – block groups with location quotients greater than 1.00 – in several areas of Mecklenburg County: East Charlotte around Central Avenue, Albemarle Road, and Harris Boulevard; Northeast Charlotte along North Tryon Street; Southwest Charlotte along South Boulevard; and one block group in particular in the west part of the county.

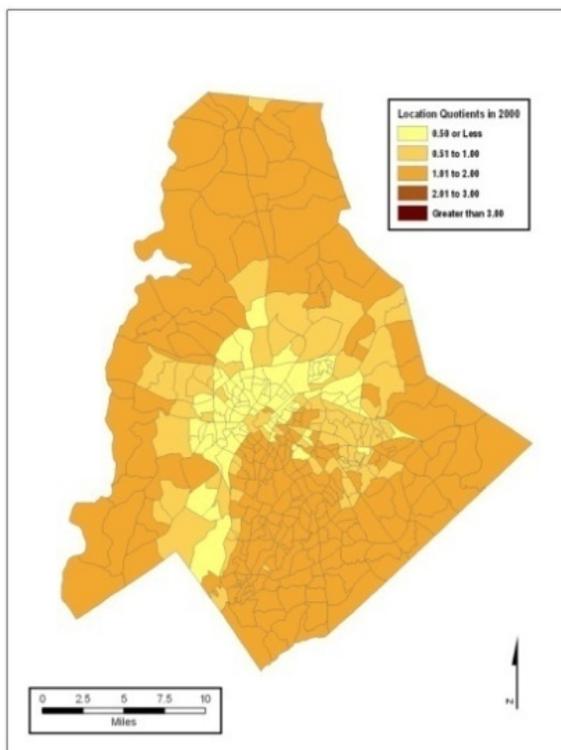


FIGURE 5.10. Location quotients for the white population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

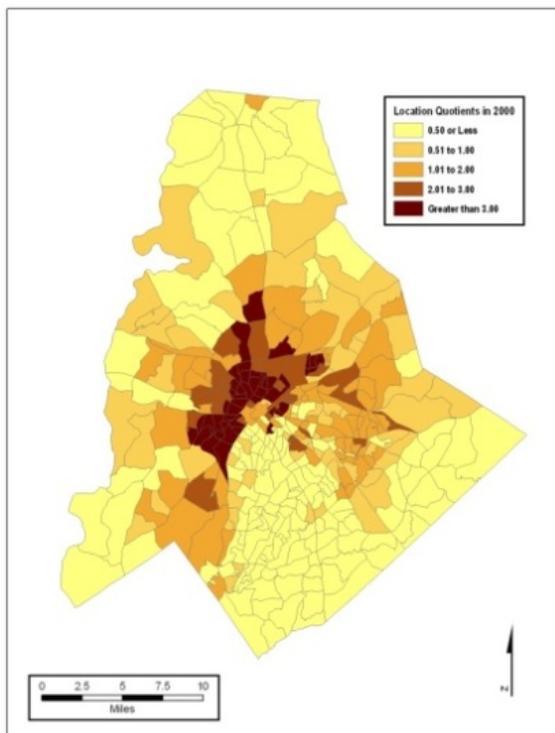


FIGURE 5.11. Location quotients for the black population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

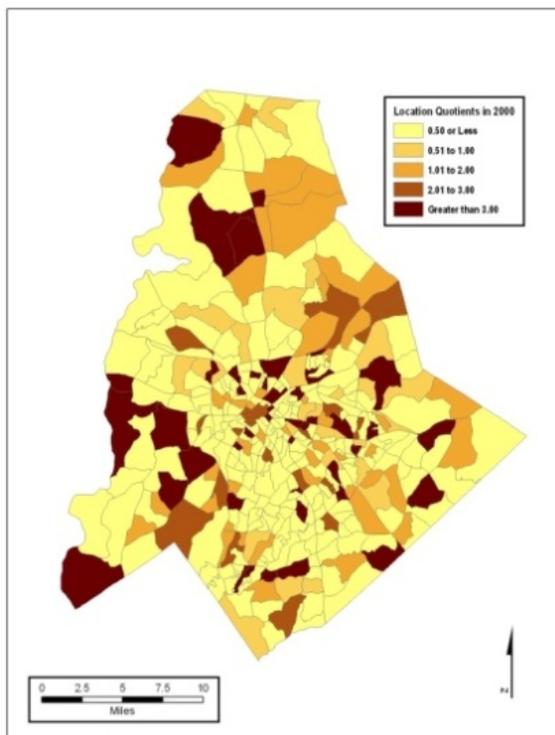


FIGURE 5.12. Location quotients for the American Indian or Alaskan Native population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

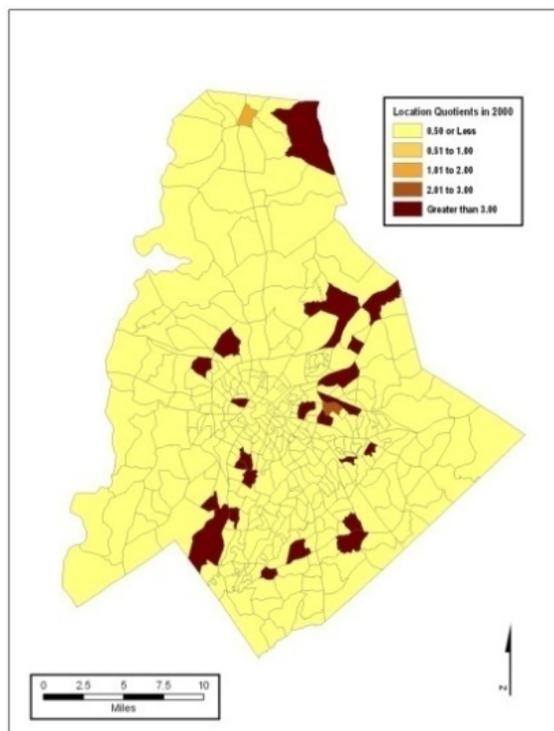


FIGURE 5.13. Location quotients for the Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

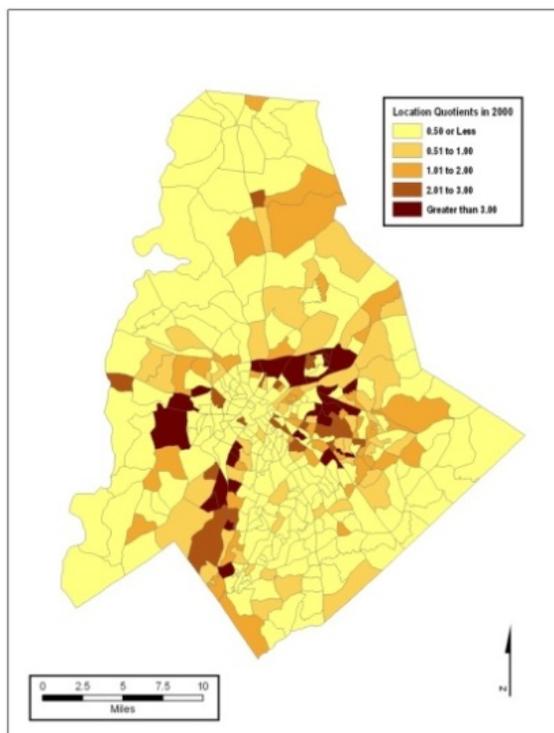


FIGURE 5.14. Location quotients for the other race population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

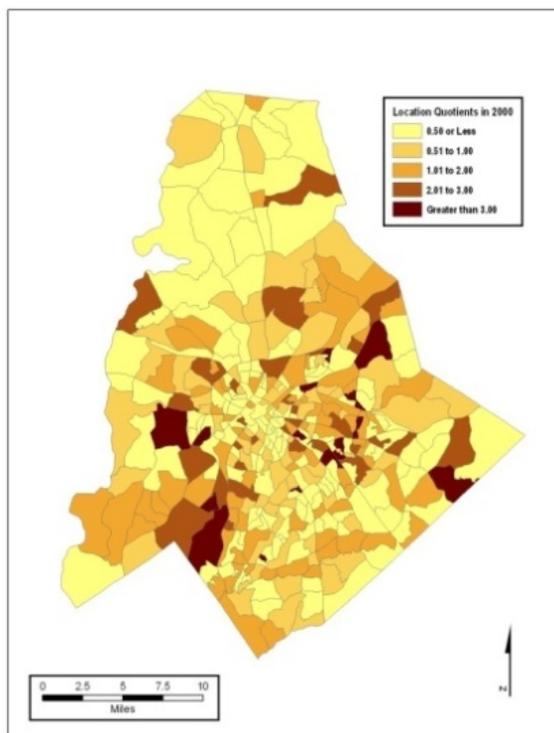


FIGURE 5.15. Location quotients for the two races population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

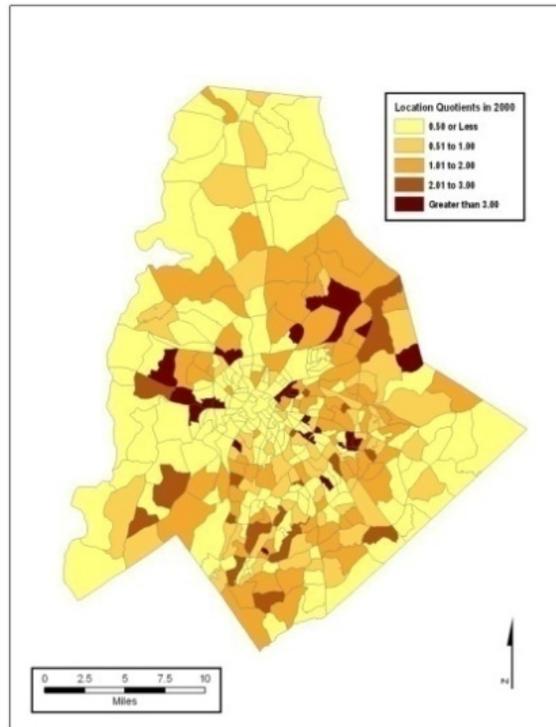


FIGURE 5.16. Location quotients for the Asian population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

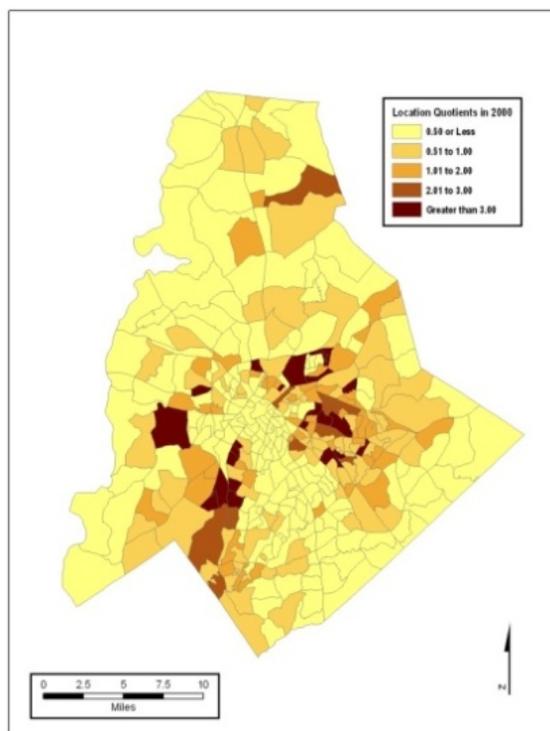


FIGURE 5.17. Location quotients for the Hispanic or Latino population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

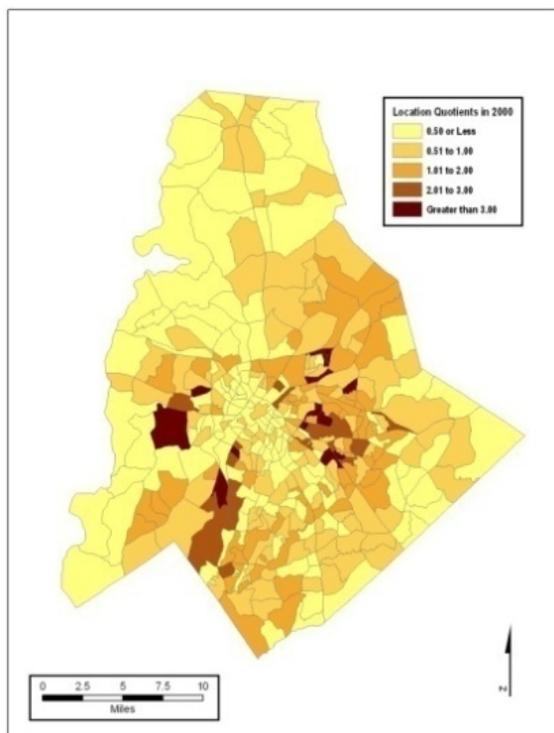


FIGURE 5.18. Location quotients for the foreign born population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

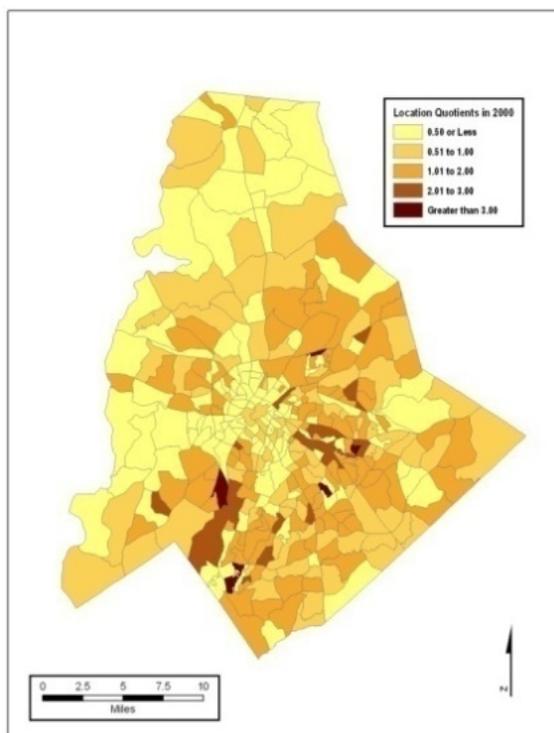


FIGURE 5.19. Location quotients for the foreign born, naturalized citizen population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

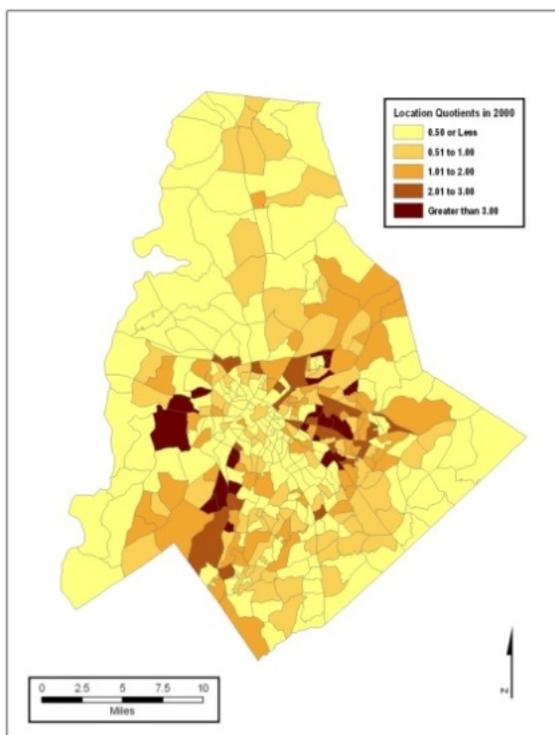


FIGURE 5.20. Location quotients for the foreign born, not a citizen population by block group in Mecklenburg County, NC, 2000.

5.3.3 Local Indicators of Spatial Association

Another method and model for exploratory spatial data analysis of changing ethnic and immigrant settlement geographies is the use of local indicators of spatial association (LISA) to uncover areas of ethnic group concentration or dispersal within a particular geographic area at a particular time (Logan and Zhang 2004; Anselin 2003). Data at the census tract and block group levels of geography from 1990, 2000, and the most recent data available (i.e. 2009 American Community Survey. At the time of writing, 2010 block group level data were not yet available) are included in the exploratory spatial data analyses. The use of local indicators of spatial association to identify statistically significant spatial clustering or dispersal of a particular population

group adds a layer of statistical significance to the study of transitioning immigrant settlement geography.

In this section, the research uses local indicators of spatial association (LISA) to identify clusters and spatial autocorrelation to search for statistically significant spatial clusters of the Hispanic population using the percent of the total population in each block group. Such methods as described above using spatial autocorrelation to examine ethnic neighborhoods and residential patterns have been previously used, for example, in the following studies: a study of immigrant enclaves and ethnic communities in New York and Los Angeles (Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002); to describe socio-economic and racial residential patterns in U.S. urban areas (Frank 2002); and a study of ethnic change and segregation in Chicago (Howenstine 1996).

Spatial autocorrelation is the correlation of a particular variable with itself over geographic space and exists when a variable shows a regular pattern over space in which its values at certain locations depend on values of the same variable at alternate locations (Burt, et. al. 2009). Burt, et. al. (2009) state that

“when spatial autocorrelation is strong, nearby values of a variable are closely related to one another. When spatial autocorrelation is weak, or even nonexistent, the values of a variable are distributed randomly in space. Spatial autocorrelation can be negative or positive. If similar values of a variable tend to cluster in space, the geographic distribution of that variable is *positively spatially autocorrelated*. If very different values of a variable tend to cluster, that variable is *negatively spatially autocorrelated*” (Burt, et. al. 2009).

Local Indicators of Spatial Association (LISA) statistics, a method of exploratory spatial data analysis, are the bases for local spatial autocorrelation analysis, which yields a measure of spatial autocorrelation for each location individually (Anselin 2003). In other words, “LISA provides a measure of spatial association for each areal unit [e.g., block

groups] within a larger region of study [e.g., Mecklenburg County]. The measure is a local value of the global Moran's I statistic" (Burt, et. al. 2009). Moran's I is defined by

$$I = \frac{\frac{N}{S_0} \sum_i \sum_j W_{ij} Z_i Z_j}{\sum_i Z_i^2}$$

where Z_i is the deviation of the variable of interest with respect to the mean, W_{ij} is the matrix of weights that in some cases is equivalent to a binary matrix with ones in position i,j whenever observation i is a neighbor of observation j , and zero otherwise.

A local statistic can be interpreted in the same way as the global Moran's I value: "high LISA values indicate spatial clustering of similar values of a variable of interest, while low LISA values indicate spatial clustering of dissimilar values of a variable of interest" (Burt, et. al. 2009). The LISA statistic is defined through the following equation derived from the global Moran's I :

$$I_i = \frac{Z_i}{m_2} \sum_j W_{ij} Z_j$$

where

$$m_2 = \frac{\sum_i Z_i^2}{N}$$

then

$$I = \sum_i \frac{I_i}{N}$$

where N is the number of observations, I is the Moran's I measure of global autocorrelation, and I_i is local. GeoDa is the most efficient software for calculating the LISA statistic (Anselin 1995; Anselin 2003). Table 5.6 lists the local indicators of spatial association interpretation key. As part of the analysis, the software categorizes each

significant local geography (i.e. block group) into one of four categories, as Table 5.6 explains.

TABLE 5.6: Local indicators of spatial association (LISA) interpretation key (Anselin 2005)

Category (Significance of $p \leq 0.05$)	Moran Scatter Plot Quadrant	Spatial Autocorrelation	Interpretation
High-High	Upper Right	Positive	Hot Spot Cluster – block group with high value surrounded by high values
High-Low	Lower Right	Negative	Spatial Outlier – block group with high value surrounded by low values
Low-Low	Lower Left	Positive	Cold Spot Cluster – block group with low value surrounded by low values
Low-High	Upper Left	Negative	Spatial Outlier – block group with low value surrounded by high values

For this analysis, the input variable is the percent Hispanic in each block group. A spatial weight file, which is essential for the calculation of local or global spatial autocorrelation statistics, using queen contiguity is associated with this analysis. Figure 5.21 and Figure 5.22 illustrate the results of the Univariate LISA analysis for the Hispanic population in 1990 and 2000 by census tract, respectively. Figure 4.23 and Figure 4.24 illustrate the results of the Univariate LISA analysis for the Hispanic population in 2000 and 2009 by block group, respectively. Block groups identified as High-High have relatively high percent Hispanic population values and are surrounded by block groups that also have, on average, relatively high percent Hispanic values. In

contrast, block groups identified as Low-Low have relatively low percent Hispanic values and are surrounded by block groups that also have, on average, relatively low percent Hispanic values. Block groups identified as Low-High have relatively low percent Hispanic values but are surrounded by block groups that have, on average, relatively high percent Hispanic values. The fact that a number of these Low-High block groups are located in and around the cluster in east and northeast Charlotte is perplexing, but may signify that Hispanic persons in this area of the county are settling in very specific neighborhoods.

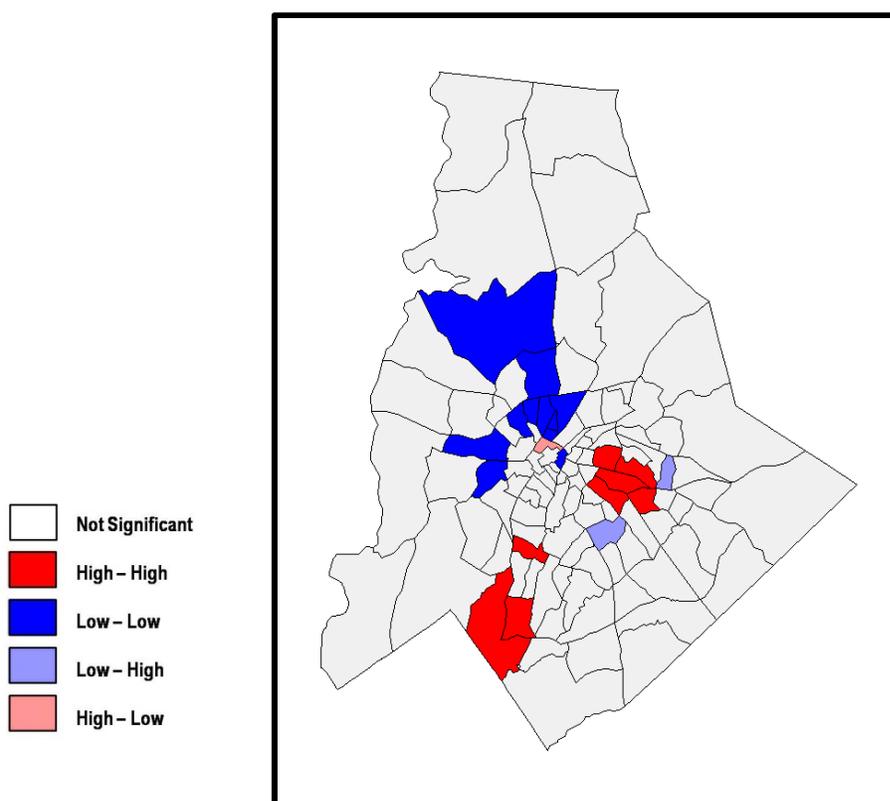


FIGURE 5.21. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by census tract in 1990 (N=111).

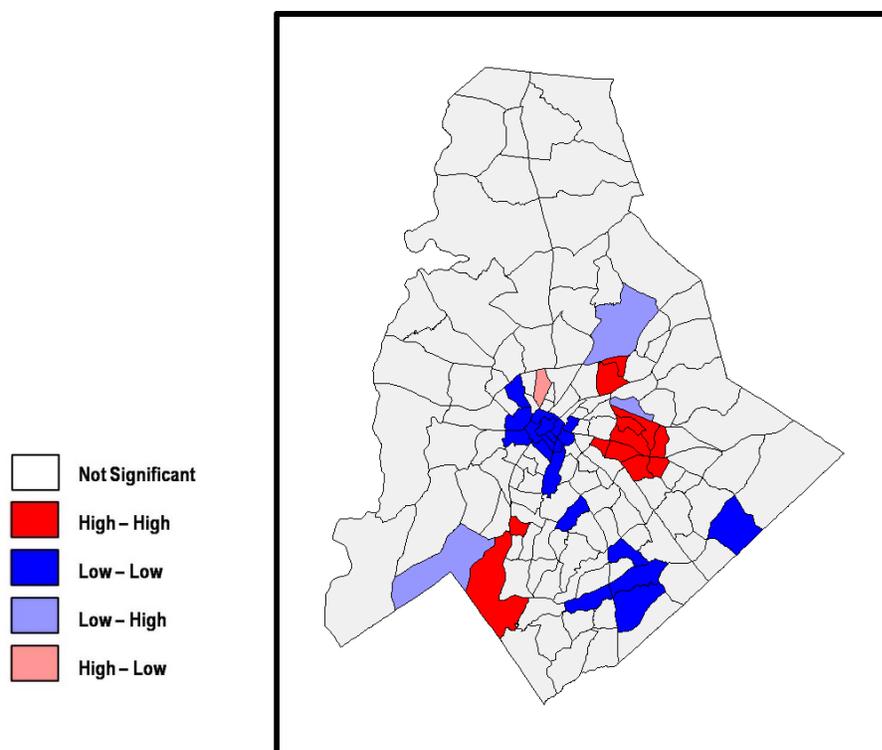


FIGURE 5.22. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by census tract in 2000 (N=144).

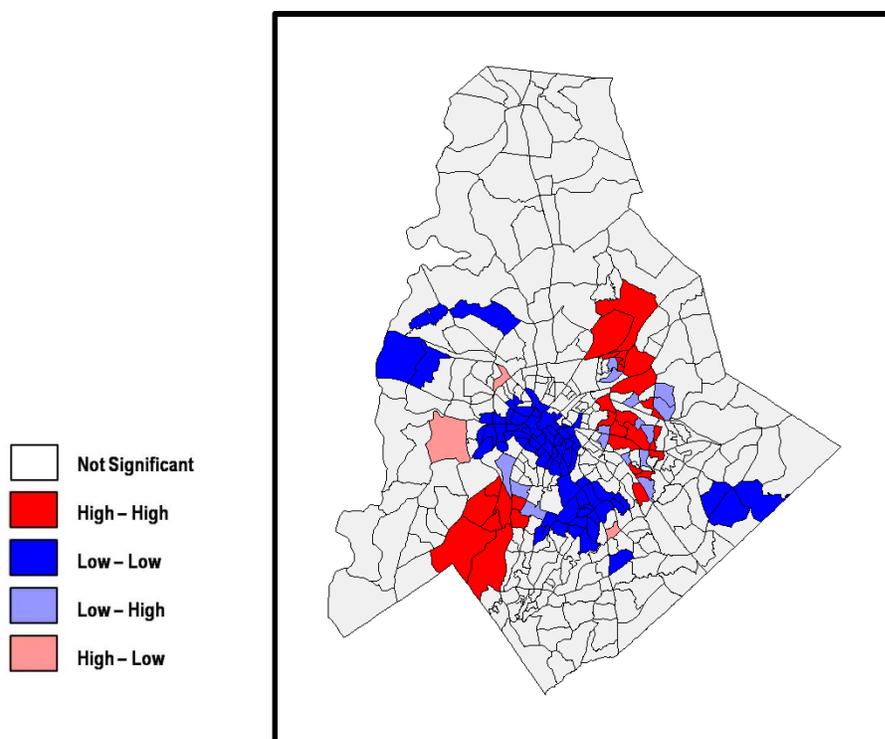


FIGURE 5.23. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by census block group in 2000 (N=373).

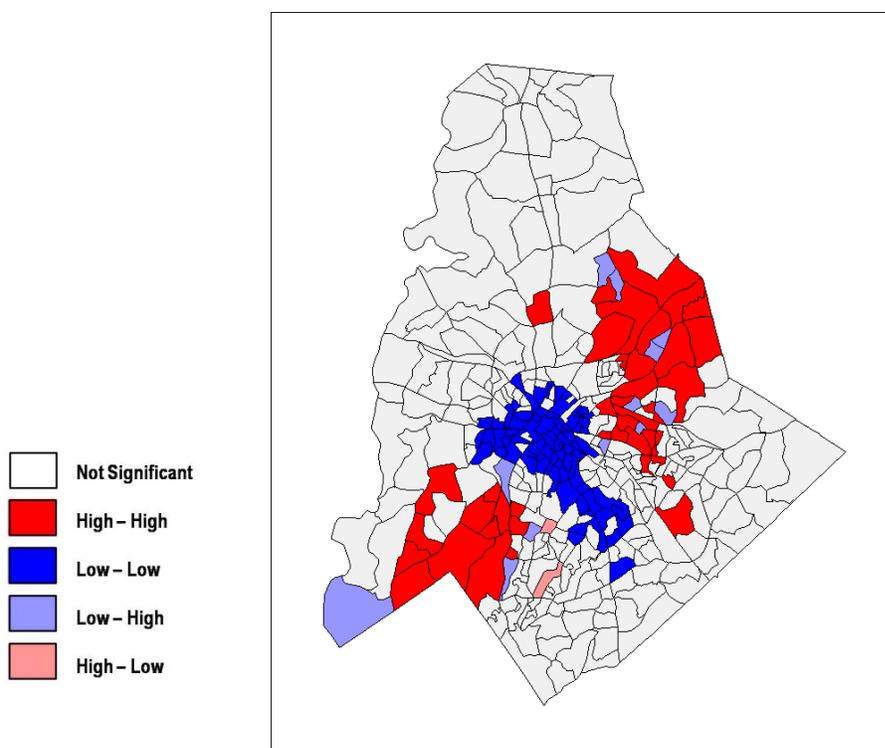


FIGURE 5.24. Univariate LISA for the Hispanic population by census block group in 2009 (N=373), based on American Community Survey 2005-2009 population estimates.

Here it is interesting to refer back to Figure 5.17 and visually compare the location quotients for the Hispanic population with the results of the LISA analysis in the cluster map on the percent Hispanic population (Figure 5.21 through Figure 5.24). The block groups identified by the LISA analysis with both relatively high percentages of Latino persons within the block group and in the neighbors to the block group (High-High) appear in the same general areas as the block groups with high location quotients for the Hispanic population, particularly with location quotients greater than 3.00, indicating high concentration in those areas of the county. In contrast, the block groups indicating a Low-Low value – with relatively low percentage of Hispanic persons in the block group and in the block groups’ neighbors – appear in the same general areas of

block groups with very low Hispanic location quotients, and in this case in the areas of the county that are very White and with higher median household incomes.

These results suggest that there is statistically significant clustering of the Hispanic/Latino population occurring in and around the particular block groups in east, northeast, and southwest Charlotte. LISA cluster maps and significance maps for the percent Asian, percent Foreign Born, percent White, and percent black are included for context and comparison in Figures 5.25 through 5.28, respectively. Of course there will be much overlap seen between the Foreign Born population with the Hispanic population and the Foreign Born population with the Asian population because each of those groups are not entirely mutually exclusive. However, it is interesting to note that there appears to be a cluster of the Asian population in east Charlotte in and around the same area as the Hispanic population cluster, indicating a multi-ethnic concentration. This would certainly be obvious to anyone passing through that area, as evidenced by the many business icons on the landscape – retail, markets, restaurants, food – representing a variety of nationalities from both Asia and Latin America, particularly along and around Central Avenue, near the intersections with Eastway Drive, Sharon Amity Road, and W.T. Harris Boulevard, and along Albemarle Road.

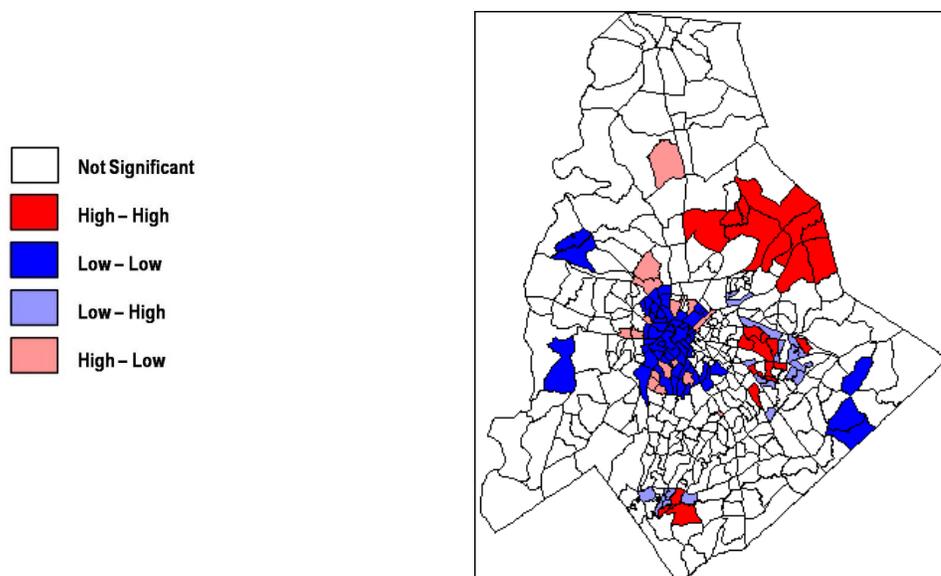


FIGURE 5.25. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent Asian by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.

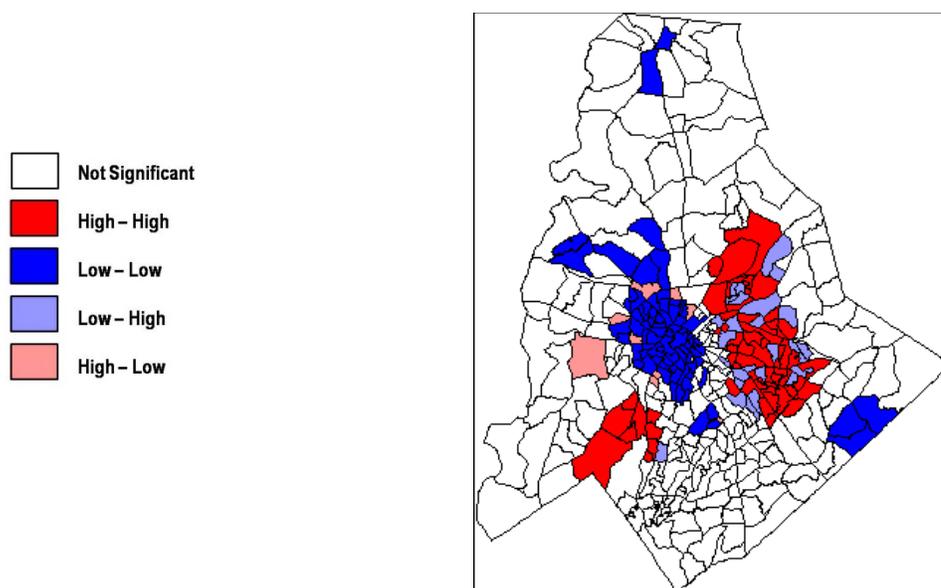


FIGURE 5.26. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent foreign born by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.

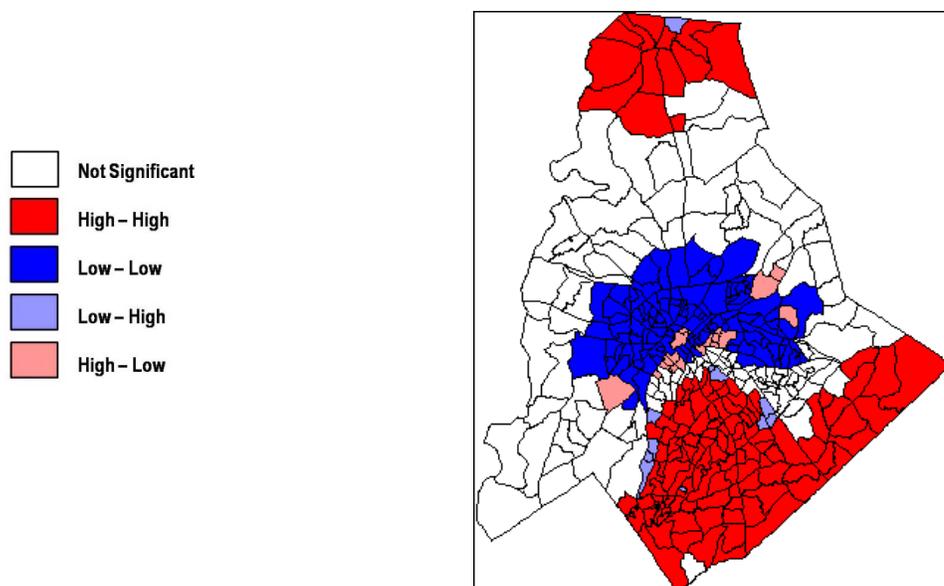


FIGURE 5.27. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent white by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.

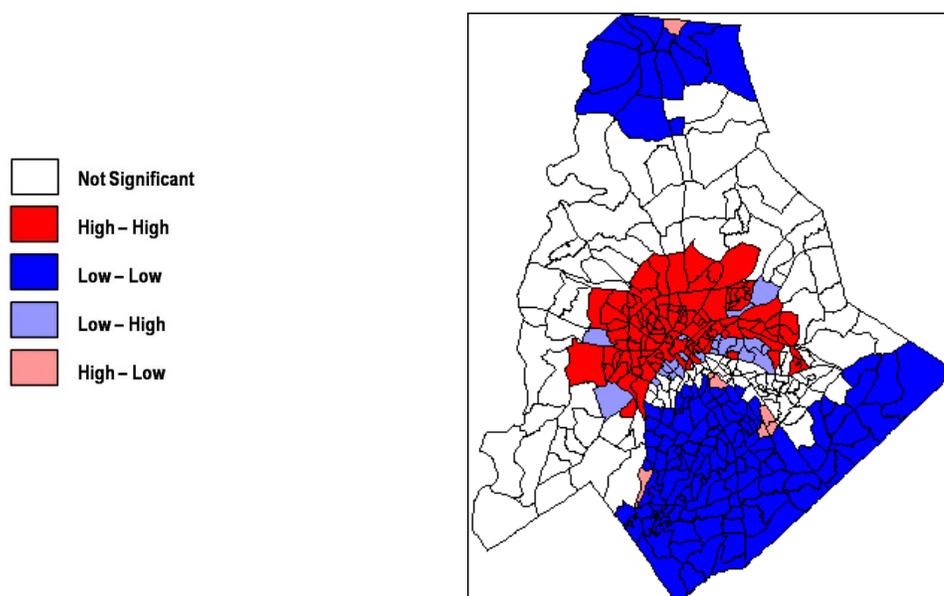


FIGURE 5.28. Univariate LISA, cluster map, variable: percent black by block group in Mecklenburg County in 2000.

Moran scatterplots are also included for the Hispanic population, (Figures 5.29 through Figure 5.33) respectively. The scatterplot for the percent Hispanic population (Figure 5.29), for example, with Moran's I of 0.1608, suggests that the percent Hispanic

population is positively spatially autocorrelated, further indicating that there are statistically significant clusters of the Hispanic population in the specifically identified areas of Mecklenburg County.

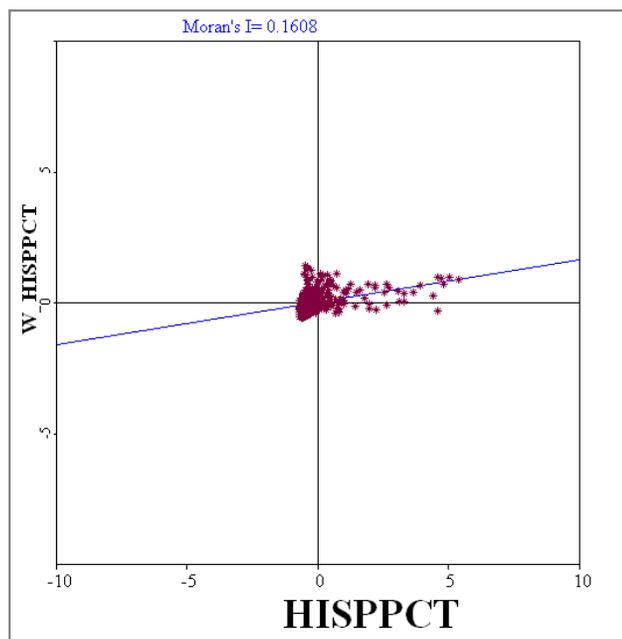


FIGURE 5.29. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent Hispanic/Latino by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000. Moran's I = 0.1608.

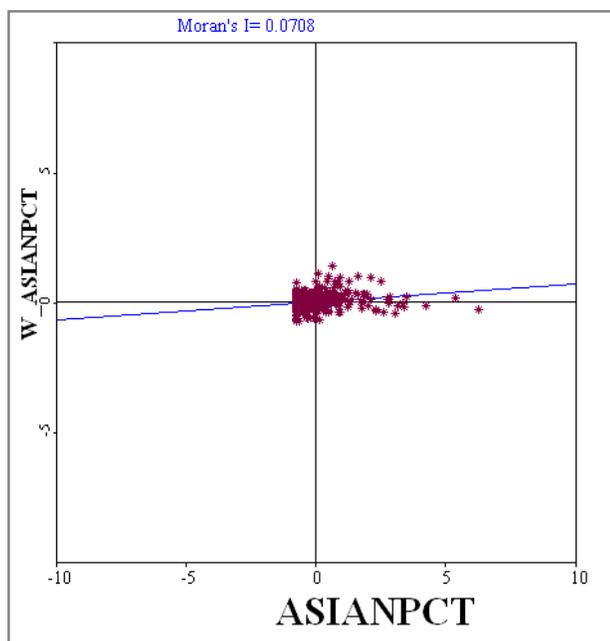


FIGURE 5.30. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent Asian by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000. Moran's I = 0.0708.

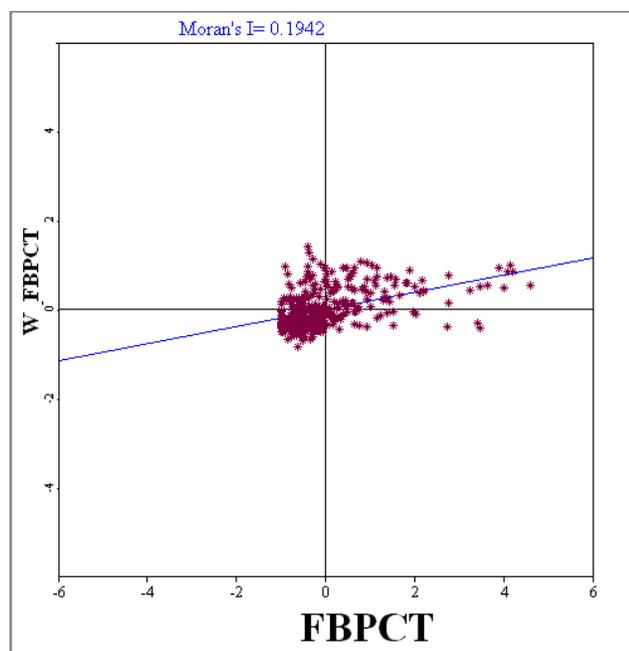


FIGURE 5.31. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent foreign born by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000. Moran's I = 0.1942.

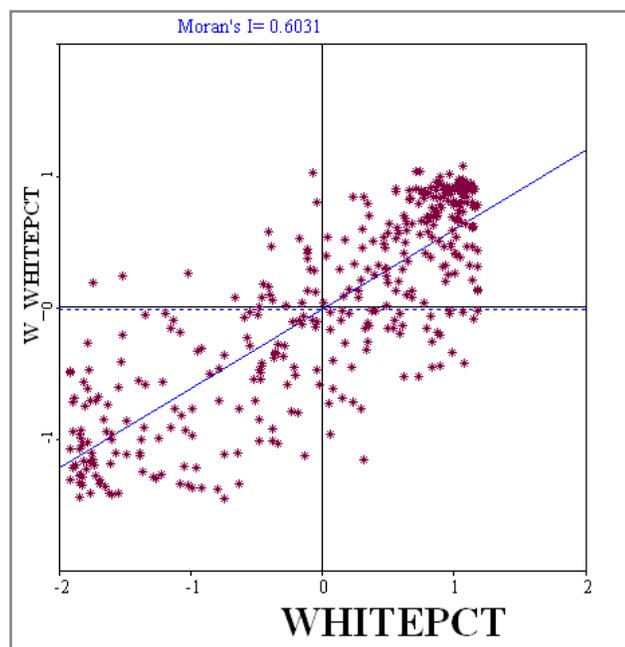


FIGURE 5.32. Moran scatterplot for univariate LISA analysis on percent white by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000.
Moran's I = 0.6031.

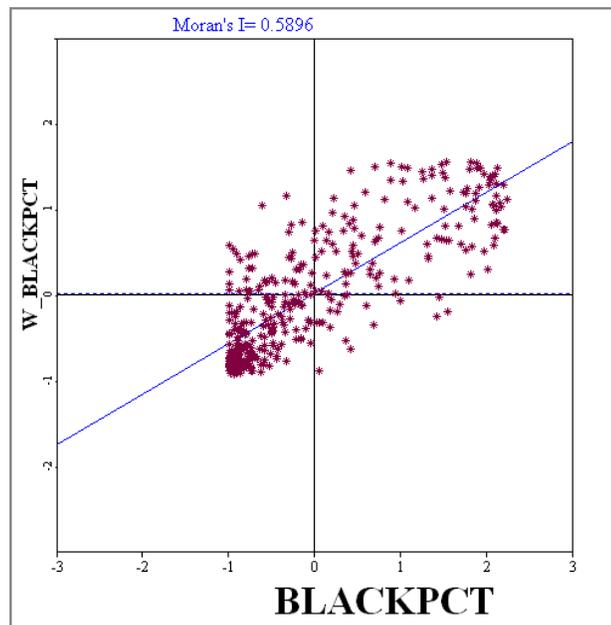


FIGURE 5.33. Moran Scatterplot for Univariate LISA analysis on percent Black by block group in Mecklenburg County, in 2000.
Moran's I = 0.5896.

The LISA analysis presented above is helpful because it goes above and beyond providing a mere descriptive overview of the population's concentration and spread across the county. LISA analysis provides us with an understanding that the concentrations of the particular population in question are statistically significant concentrations in particular neighborhoods within Mecklenburg County. In the following sections, I introduce and discuss descriptive data related more specifically to Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools.

5.4 Characteristics of Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools

Figure 5.34 shows the CMS student enrollment as percents by race/ethnicity by academic year from 1987 to 2010. For comparison, Figure 5.35 graphs the total Mecklenburg County school-age population (age 5 to 19) as percents by race/ethnicity in 1990, 2000, and 2008. When comparing the CMS student population with the overall Mecklenburg County school-age population, the data show that the current CMS student body is not representative of the overall composition of the Mecklenburg County school-age population. This relates to, in part, the growing number of private educational facilities that have opened in the area in recent years.

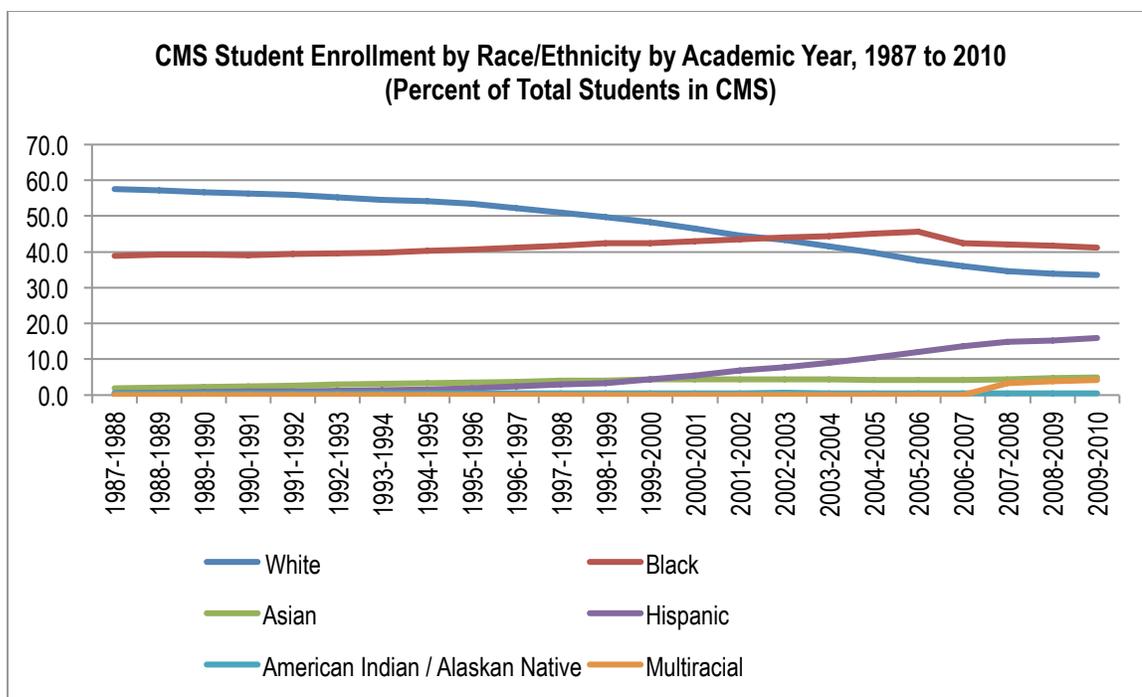


FIGURE 5.34. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools student enrollment by race/ethnicity by academic year, 1987 to 2010 (percent of total students in CMS).

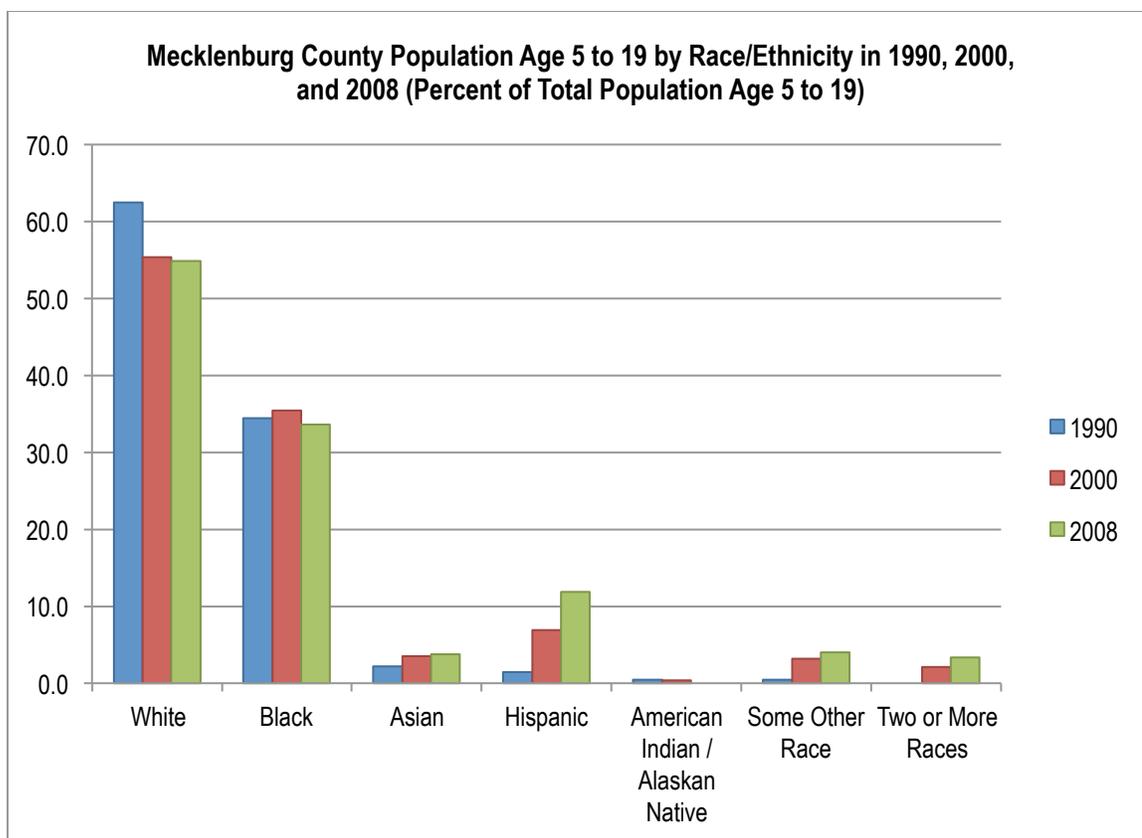


FIGURE 5.35. Mecklenburg county population age 5 to 19 by race/ethnicity in 1990, 2000, and 2008 (percent of total county population age 5 to 19).

Figure 5.36 maps the location of CMS schools within the context of Hispanic population location quotients by census tract in 2000.

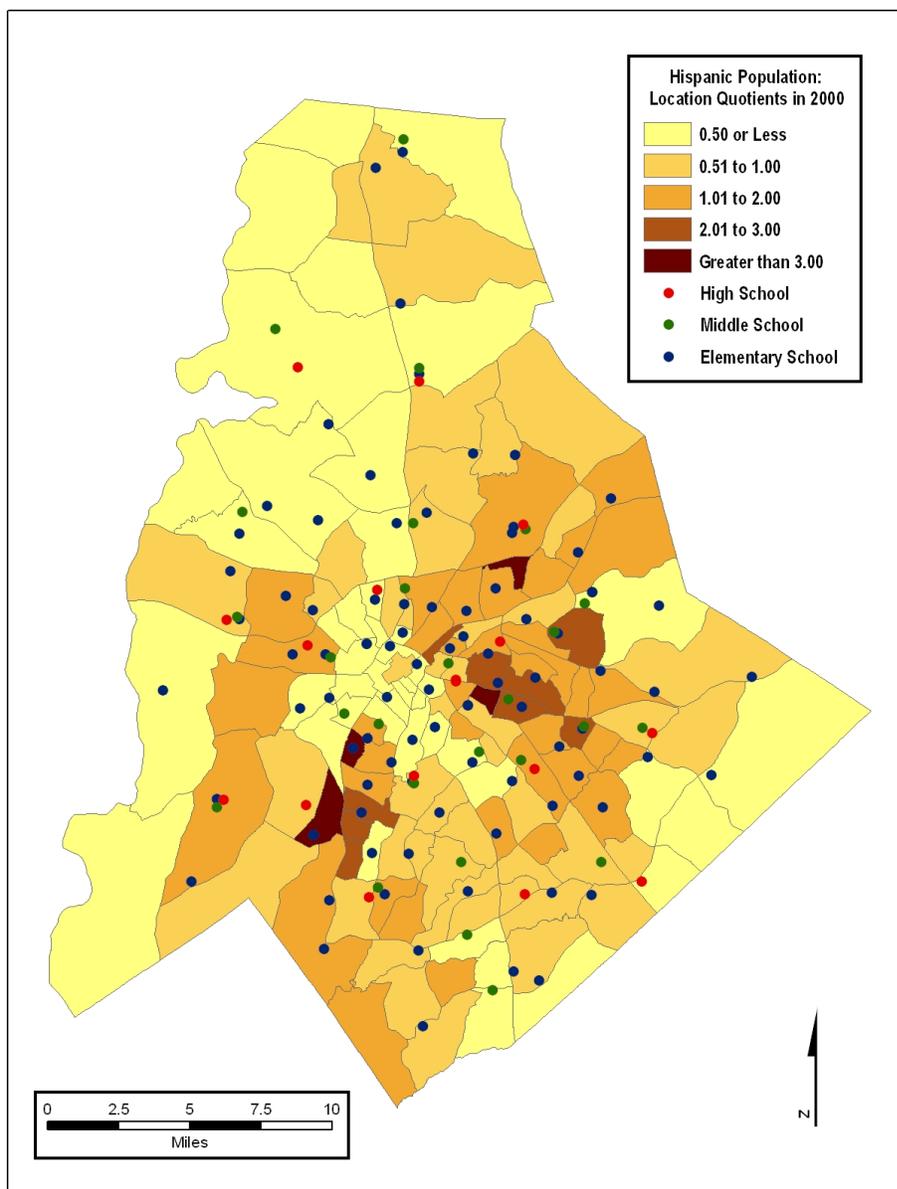


FIGURE 5.36. Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools in the context of Hispanic population location quotients by census tract in 2000.

Table 5.7 represents the twenty-five CMS schools with the highest percent Hispanic student population for the 2008-2009 academic year.

TABLE 5.7: Twenty-five CMS schools with highest percent Hispanic student population for the 2008-2009 academic year

School	Percent Hispanic
Montclair Elementary	78.6
Collinswood Language Academy	60.9
Nations Ford Elementary	51.3
Winterfield Elementary	50.0
Merry Oaks Elementary	49.8
Windsor Park Elementary	47.1
Albemarle Road Elementary	45.7
Pinewood Elementary	43.4
Huntingtowne Farms Elementary	42.4
Devonshire Elementary	40.8
Hidden Valley Elementary	40.6
Newell Elementary	39.3
Berryhill Elementary	38.5
Sedgefield Elementary	37.2
Piney Grove Elementary	35.3
Hickory Grove Elementary	34.8
Briarwood Elementary	34.4
Eastway Middle	34.1
Sterling Elementary	33.7
Albemarle Road Middle	33.2
E E Waddell High	33.0
J H Gunn Elementary	32.1
Steele Creek Elementary	31.9
Lebanon Road Elementary	31.5
Highland Renaissance Academy	30.6

Figure 5.37 illustrates the Hispanic student percent of total students from 1987 to 2009 for the top ten schools in CMS based on Hispanic student percent during the 2008-2009 academic year.

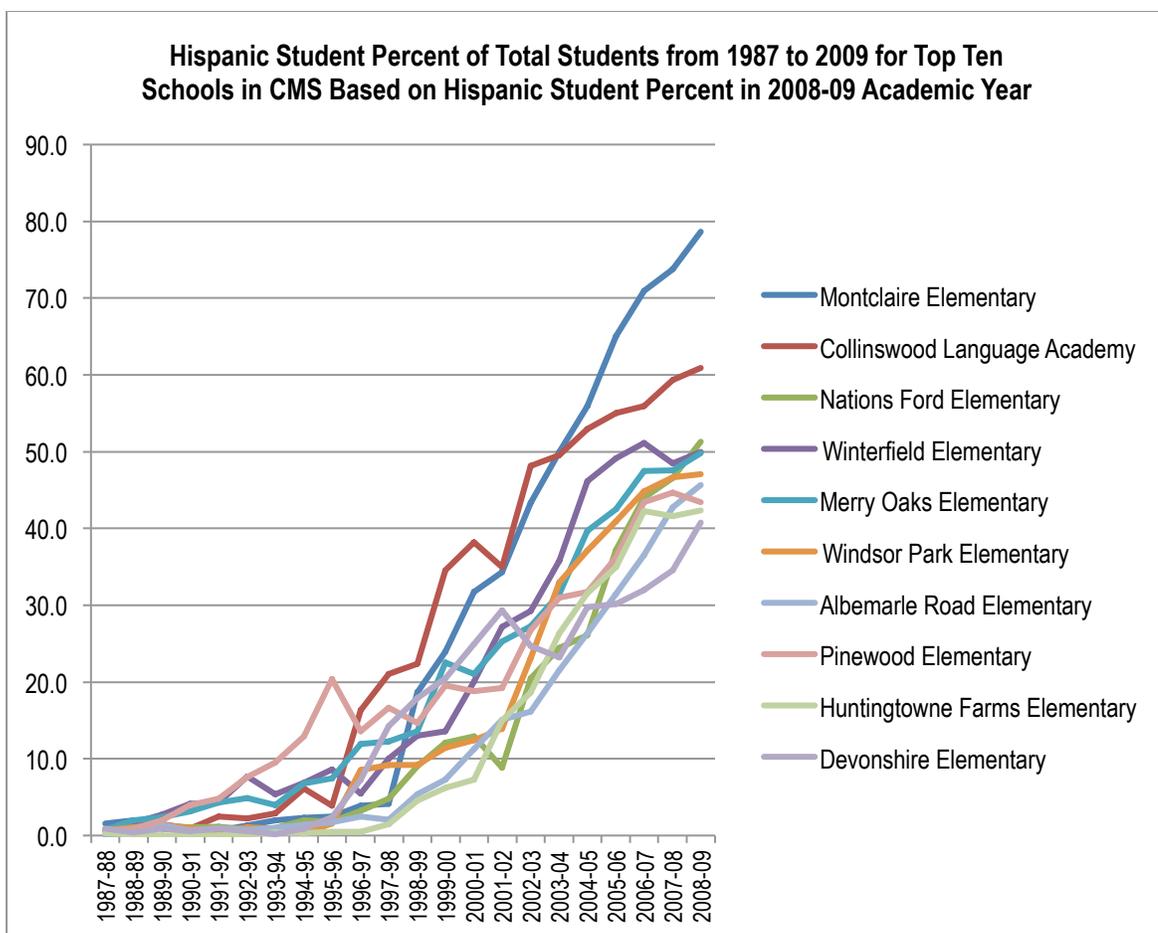


FIGURE 5.37. Hispanic student percent of total students from 1987 to 2009 for the top ten schools in CMS based on Hispanic student percent in 2008-2009 academic year.

Figure 5.38 maps the twenty-five CMS schools with the highest percent Hispanic student population during the 2008-2009 academic year and compares those school locations with the Hispanic population location quotients by census tract in 2000.

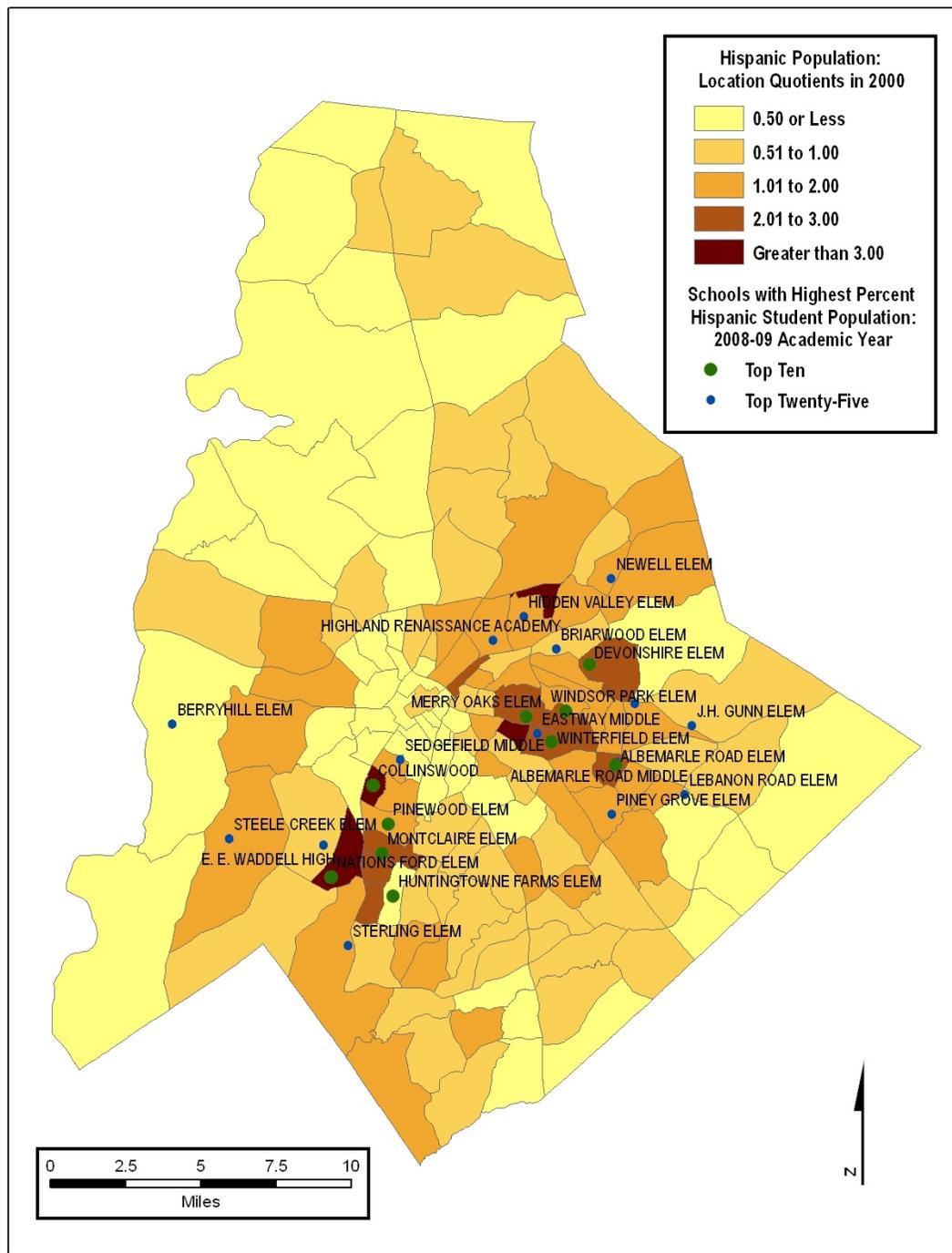


FIGURE 5.38. 25 CMS schools with highest percent Hispanic student population for the 2008-2009 academic year, compared with Hispanic population location quotients from 2000.

Figure 5.39 maps the twenty-five CMS schools with the highest percent Hispanic student population during the 2008-2009 academic year and compares those school locations with the Hispanic population percents by block group calculated from 2005-2009 American Community Survey estimates from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

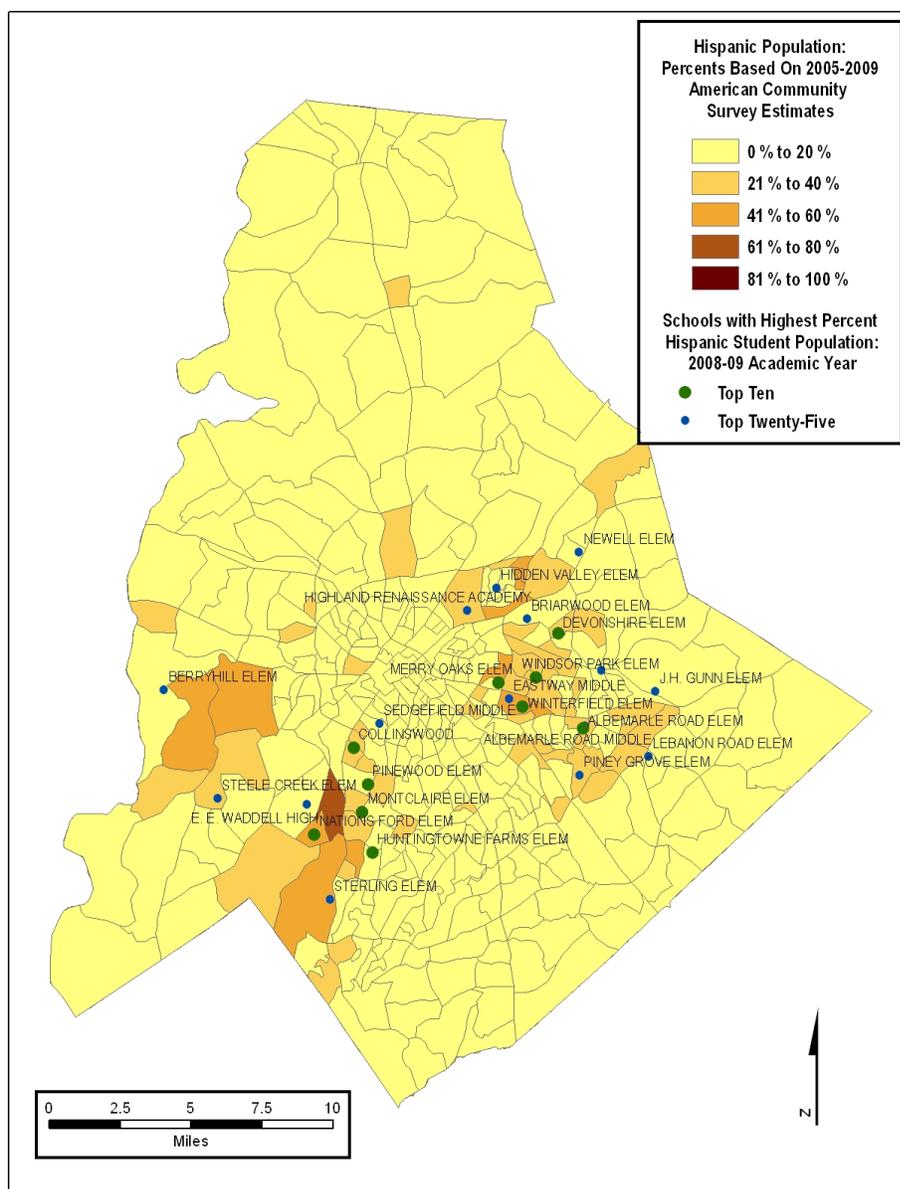


FIGURE 5.39. Mecklenburg County, NC, showing CMS schools with highest percent Hispanic student population for the 2008-2009 academic year compared with Hispanic population percents by block group calculated from current American Community Survey 2005-2009 estimates from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

5.5 Selecting Three Case Study Schools

The descriptive quantitative analyses exploring the impact of transitioning immigrant settlement geography on specific school system and individual school data and variables within the broader spatial context yield information pertaining to the first research question. Additionally, information garnered about specific individual schools within their broader neighborhood spatial contexts allow for the selection of three specific schools to study in more depth within the scope of the second research question. Specifically, census tract and block group neighborhood data as well as individual CMS school data aid in the individual school case study selection process. The typology for selecting these three specific schools comes out of the quantitative data analysis during research addressing the first question. The typology includes schools within three different Hispanic and immigrant concentration areas: Northeast Charlotte, East Charlotte, and Southwest Charlotte. The three schools identified subsequently become part of the comparative case study, utilizing key informant interviews as the primary data collection strategy, to address the second research question.

5.5.1 Case Study School Selection Process

In terms of the most recent wave of immigration to the United States post-1980, Smith and Furuseth (2006; 2008) identify three geographic areas of Hispanic concentration and settlement in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County. These three geographic areas have emerged over time representing the Hispanic immigration process in Charlotte. Each with their own distinct characteristics and trajectories, the three areas include:

1. Southwest Charlotte, along South Boulevard, which represents the original settlement area for Hispanic immigrants and is therefore in the later stage.
2. East Charlotte, along Central Avenue, which emerged after the Southwest Charlotte area of concentration and represents the primary settlement area for new and established Hispanic arrivals in Charlotte and is therefore in the middle stage.
3. Northeast Charlotte, along North Tryon Street, which represents the most recent and most transitional area of Hispanic concentration and is therefore in the early stage.

The individual case study schools are identified within each geographic area of Hispanic concentration established by the literature and by the quantitative and exploratory spatial data analyses presented in the previous section. A potential case study school is identified in a particular geographic area as being the CMS school within that geographic area with one of the highest proportions of Hispanic students for the 2008-2009 academic year – the most recent year in which data were available at the commencement of this study.

Table 5.8 charts the various potential case study schools by geographic area of concentration for three time periods (1989-1990 academic year, 1999-2000, and 2008-2009) in terms of total students, Hispanic students, and Hispanic student percent of total students for each individual school. Figures 5.40, 5.41, and 5.42, illustrate the percent Hispanic student population in each of the potential case study areas for the three areas of Hispanic settlement geography, respectively.

TABLE 5.8: Hispanic students, total students, and percent Hispanic for potential case study schools for three school years and three areas of Hispanic concentration in Charlotte, North Carolina

	1989-1990			1999-2000			2008-2009		
	Hispanic	Total	Percent Hispanic	Hispanic	Total	Percent Hispanic	Hispanic	Total	Percent Hispanic
Southwest Charlotte (South Boulevard)									
Montclair Elementary	5	545	0.9	100	418	23.9	346	440	78.6
Collinswood	5	334	1.5	146	423	24.5	321	527	60.9
Language Academy									
Nations Ford Elementary	7	521	1.3	57	470	12.1	307	599	51.3
Pinewood Elementary	11	557	2.0	99	507	19.5	207	477	43.4
East Charlotte (Central Avenue)									
Winterfield Elementary	16	589	2.7	74	544	13.6	314	628	50.0
Merry Oaks Elementary	13	537	2.4	110	488	22.5	302	606	49.8
Windsor Park Elementary	11	800	1.4	62	543	11.4	349	741	47.1
Albemarle Road Elementary	10	720	1.4	45	617	7.3	434	950	45.7
Northeast Charlotte (North Tryon Street)									
Devonshire Elementary	6	694	0.9	97	474	20.5	237	581	40.8
Hidden Valley Elementary	7	829	0.8	59	739	8.0	221	544	40.6
Newell Elementary	3	823	0.4	44	601	7.3	333	847	39.3
Briarwood Elementary	15	786	1.9	52	596	8.7	233	678	34.4

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education.

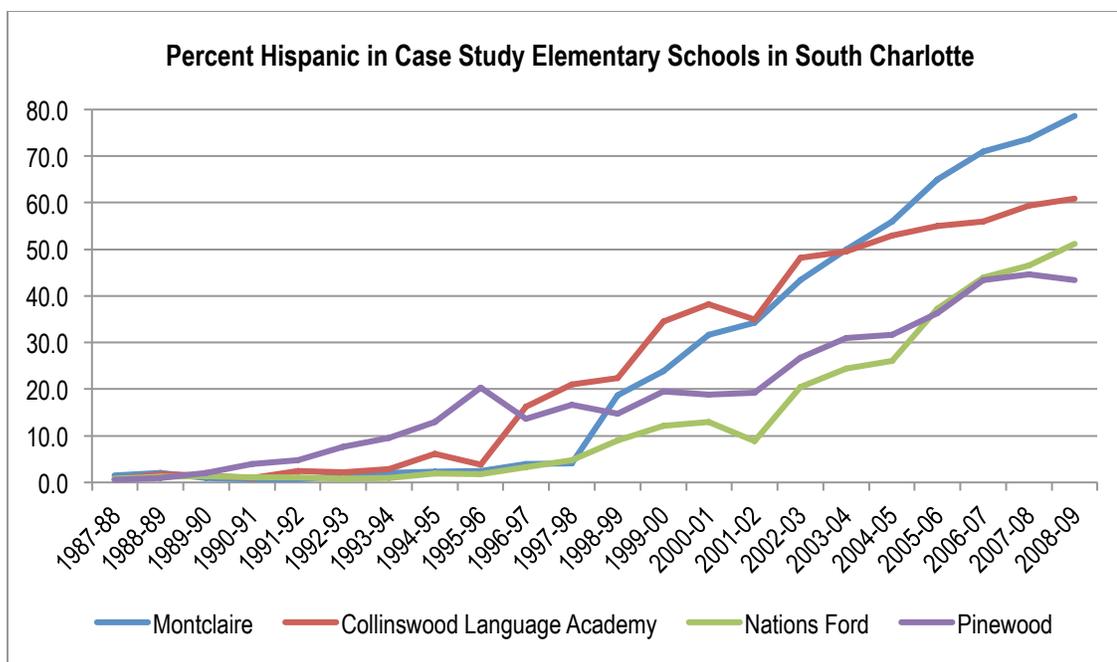


FIGURE 5.40. Percent Hispanic in case study elementary schools in South Charlotte.

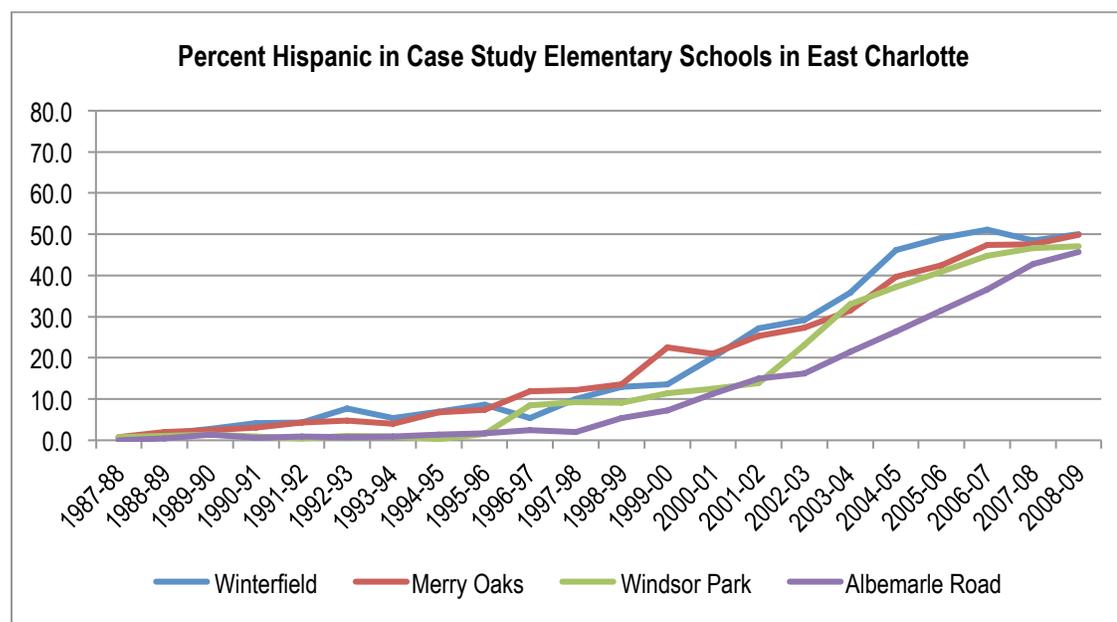


FIGURE 5.41. Percent Hispanic in elementary schools in East Charlotte.

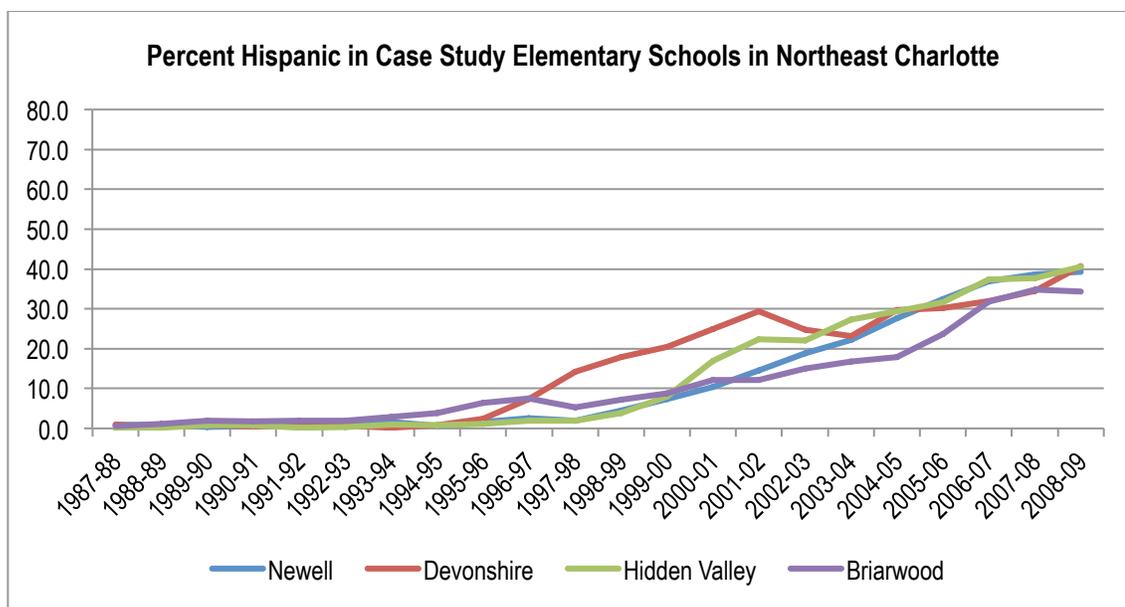


FIGURE 5.42. Percent Hispanic in case study elementary schools in Northeast Charlotte.

Figures 5.43, 5.44, and 5.45, illustrate the percent Hispanic student population in each of the potential case study areas for the three areas of Hispanic settlement geography for three specific academic years, respectively.

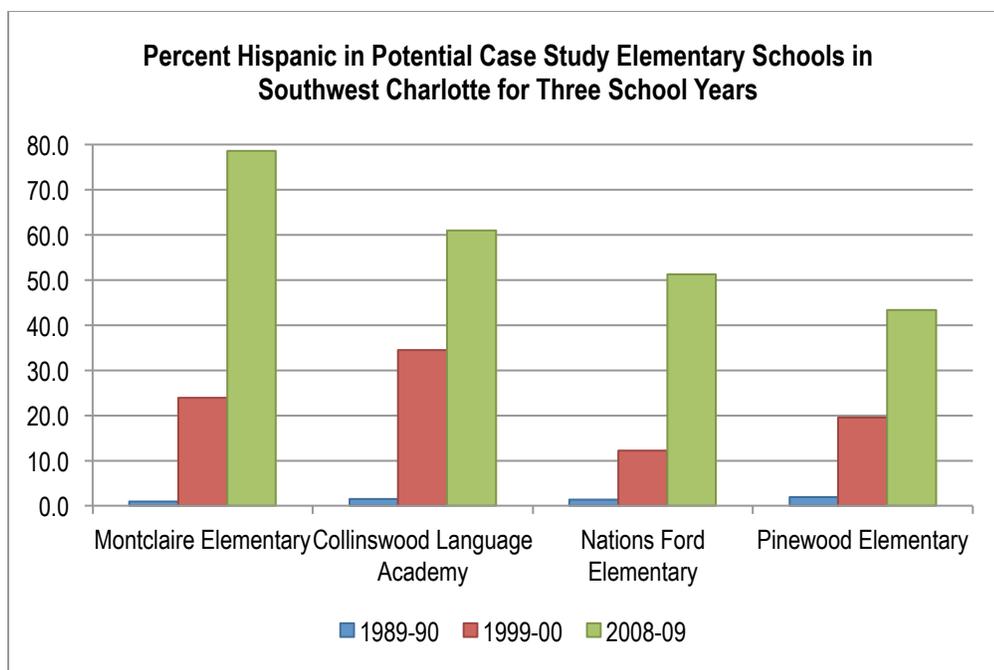


FIGURE 5.43. Percent Hispanic in potential case study elementary schools in Southwest Charlotte for three school years.

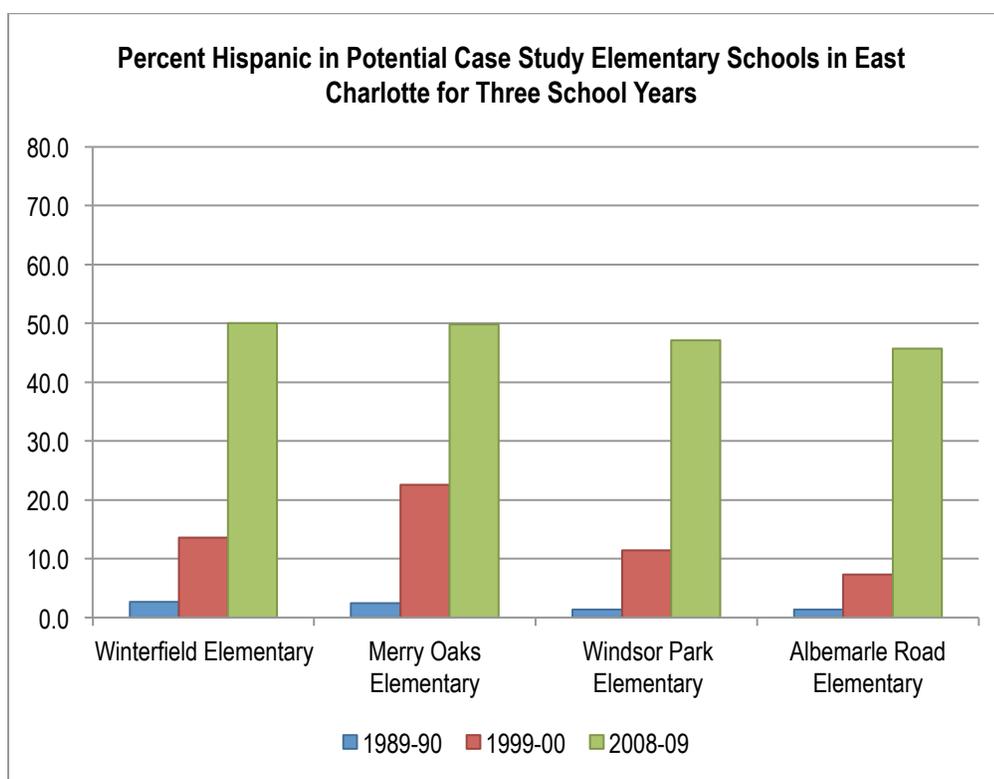


FIGURE 5.44. Percent Hispanic in potential case study elementary schools in East Charlotte for three school years.

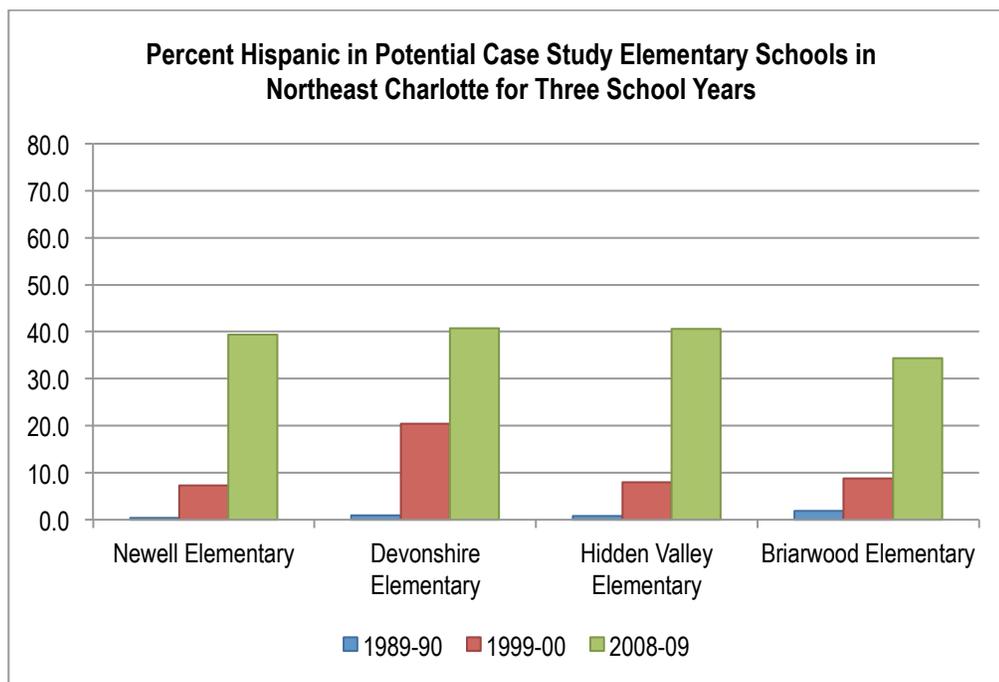


FIGURE 5.45. Percent Hispanic in potential case study elementary schools in Northeast Charlotte for three school years.

5.6 Study Area and First Research Question Summary

The data and analyses presented above in response to the first research question (How have transitioning neighborhood-based patterns of increased immigrant settlement in Charlotte impacted school composition over time?) indicate that neighborhood based patterns of Hispanic-Latino immigrant settlement have transitioned over time and have formed statistically significant areas of concentration within Mecklenburg County. The increasing diversity presented by a growing Hispanic, as well as foreign born, population, as Charlotte evolved into a new immigrant gateway, led to changes in individual school and CMS system-wide student composition and demographics over time. The school system as a whole, as well as specific individual schools, are now much more diverse than they were two decades ago.

As a result of Charlotte becoming a new immigrant gateway, individual schools and the school district as a whole have had to make choices as to how to best respond to significant growth of the foreign born population, concentrated around particular neighborhoods and schools. These school responses to transitioning ethnic and immigrant settlement geography occur amid a broader context of community receptivity towards immigration and a broader community view towards Charlotte's public schools system. Receptivity towards immigration and the community's view of the school system wax and wane over time. The decisions that CMS as a whole as well as administrators and teachers at specific individual schools within neighborhoods experience immigrant population growth are made within the broader context of receptivity, but also have the potential to influence broader community receptivity. The public school system is one of the few institutions that is mandated to serve all people regardless of their status. Therefore, schools are sites at which all immigrants, documented and undocumented, immigrant parents with U.S. citizen children, among other combinations of status, will at one point or another interact. The way in which public schools respond to a growing immigrant population can have long-term impact on the broader community's level of receptivity.

5.7 Chapter Summary

Having provided an overview of the relevant literature, background context, methodology, study area, and results for the first research question, I now turn to discussing the research results for the second research question. The results are spliced into two separate chapters. Chapter 6 specifically examines the results related to

qualitative interview *a priori* themes, while Chapter 7 explores emergent *organic* themes. An overall discussion (Chapter 8) and conclusion (Chapter 9) follow these two chapters.

CHAPTER 6: *A PRIORI* THEMES AND RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

As a reminder, this research addresses the following set of questions via the methodology defined in the previous chapter:

1. How have transitioning neighborhood-based patterns of increased immigrant settlement in Charlotte impacted school composition over time?
2. How is a large public education system responding to increased immigration at both the school system level and at the individual school level?
3. How does this response support the hypothesis that receptivity operates distinctively in a new immigrant gateway??

Information about the first research question was presented in the study area chapter about Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. In this chapter, I present the results from the qualitative research and analysis related to question two and the synthesis of in information from the above related to question three. Having presented quantitative analysis information related to Research Question 1 in the Study Area chapter, I now present qualitative findings related to Research Question 2. Presenting this information here helps to triangulate the qualitative information with the descriptive and statistical data uncovered in research about the study area and Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. As a qualitative researcher, I have structured both Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 to preserve the

voice of the respondents. At the end of each chapter, I offer my comprehensive analysis of the qualitative results.

6.2 Research Question 2: How is a large public education system responding to increased immigration at both the school system level and at the individual school level?

With the foundation built by information learned from research related to the first research question, a qualitative approach is used primarily to address the second research question (Hay 2005). Qualitative methods used include interviews with key informants (Hancock and Algozzine 2006) at the school system and individual school (three specific case study schools within the comparative case study) scales of research. As mentioned previously, the three specific schools included in the comparative case study (Yin 1994) were selected in part through the quantitative analysis in research related to the first question. Ultimately, however, the schools I included are also a function of gaining principal and school system permission to access employees in the particular schools. The schools in each of the three case study areas – North, East, and Southwest Charlotte – that I ultimately gained permission from CMS officials to include in this study will remain anonymous to preserve confidentiality of all CMS employee interview participants. Also included are interview data from interviews with community organizers and education and immigration activists.

Appendix B contains the various documents related to planning, implementing, and carrying out the qualitative key informant interviews: recruitment letter, informed consent, and the actual qualitative interview question guide with the questions asked of and post-interview survey administered to each interview participant. Table 6.1 describes various characteristics of interview participants in each of the study groups: East

TABLE 6.1: Interview participants

Interview Number	Sex	Study Group	Years with CMS	Years with Current CMS School	Languages Spoken Other than English
1	F	East	11 to 20	11 to 20	none
2	F	Northeast	2 to 5	2 to 5	partial French
3	F	East	11 to 20	6 to 10	none
4	F	Northeast	11 to 20	11 to 20	none
5	F	East	6 to 10	2 to 5	none
6	M	Northeast			Spanish
7	F	East	6 to 10	Under 2	none
8	M	Community			Spanish
9	F	Northeast	11 to 20	6 to 10	none
10	F	East	6 to 10	6 to 10	Spanish, ASL, Urdu
11	F	East	6 to 10	2 to 5	none
12	F	East	6 to 10	2 to 5	none
13	F	Community			
14	F	East	11 to 20	11 to 20	none
15a	F	Community			
15b	F	Community			
16	F	East	6 to 10	Under 2	French
17	F	East	2 to 5	Under 2	Spanish
18	F	Community			Spanish
19	F	East			Spanish
20	F	South	2 to 5	2 to 5	none
21	F	South	11 to 20	11 to 20	none
22	F	South	6 to 10	Under 2	none
23	F	East	6 to 10	6 to 10	none
24	F	Community			Spanish
25	F	South	11 to 20	11 to 20	none - little Spanish
		Community /			
26	M	East			Spanish
27	F	East	11 to 20	2 to 5	none
28	F	Community			Spanish
29	F	Northeast	11 to 20	11 to 20	none
30	M	Community			Spanish
31	F	South	11 to 20	11 to 20	none
32	F	Community			Spanish
33	F	Community			
			6 to 10		
34	F	South	years	6 to 10 years	Spanish
			11 to 20	11 to 20	
35	F	South	years	years	None
36	F	South	2 to 5 years	2 to 5 years	None
			11 to 20	11 to 20	
37	F	Northeast	years	years	None

Charlotte, North Charlotte, South Charlotte, and Community. Each interview lasted, on average, about one hour, with the shortest interview lasting less than thirty minutes and the longest interview lasting more than two hours. Each interview was audio recorded. I then transcribed each audio recording to produce a typed transcript of each interview. The transcripts were analyzed for key themes by hand.

6.3 Qualitative Key Informant Interview Analysis and Discussion

In this section, I describe the various *a priori* themes participants discussed in the qualitative interviews and the *organic* themes that emerged from the interviews.

Interviews were conducted from July 2011 to February 2012. A total of 38 people participated in an interview. The average length of time for an interview was around fifty-three minutes, with the shortest interview lasting only eighteen minutes (the participant had a time constraint) and the longest interview lasting 113 minutes.

Interviews were conducted at one of the three elementary school case study sites, at a participant's office, or at another public location such as a coffee shop or ice cream parlor. Each interview was audio recorded using a digital audio recorder and was later transcribed using a word processing program. Each transcript was subsequently analyzed manually using systematic content analysis looking for instances of *a priori* themes and uncovering emergent *organic* themes.

6.4 A Priori Themes

Each *a priori* theme is based on the specific questions from the interview schedule (see Appendix B) asked during the interview. Each theme may be further divided into sub-themes. In this section, I discuss the results for each *a priori* theme

stemming from the systematic content analysis of all interview transcripts. Where appropriate, quotes representative of a particular theme are introduced and discussed.

Table 6.2 charts the major and minor *a priori* themes, and presents data about each theme related to the number of separate interviews containing an instance of the particular theme and the total number of instances of each specific theme for the entire overall interview dataset and also for subsets of the data from East, Northeast, South, and Community participants.

TABLE 6.2: *A priori* themes and sub-themes

Theme	Overall (N=38)		East (N=15)		Northeast (N=6)		South (N=8)		Communit y (N=9)	
	Interviews Containing Theme	Total Occurrences								
Composition/ Demographic Change	26	100	12	45	6	20	7	27	3	8
CMS System Level	22	30	8	12	5	5	6	6	3	7
Individual School Level	26	70	12	33	6	15	7	21	1	1
Challenges	32	340	14	150	6	57	8	86	7	47
CMS System Level	23	30	11	15	2	2	6	8	4	5
Individual School Level	19	25	9	13	3	3	5	7	2	2
Language Barrier	32	101	13	39	6	29	8	25	5	8
Cultural Barrier	27	81	9	29	5	11	6	18	7	23
Testing Barrier	28	103	14	54	4	12	8	28	2	9
Opportunities	25	146	8	52	5	28	5	20	7	46

Table 6.2
(continued)

CMS System Level	8	8	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	1
Individual School Level	5	7	3	5	1	1	1	1	0	0
Diversity	25	54	8	13	5	16	5	9	7	16
Global Learning / Understanding	17	29	7	10	0	0	3	4	7	15
Cultural Literacy	25	48	11	20	4	9	3	5	7	14
Response Overall	36	423	15	177	6	77	8	86	8	83
CMS System Level	2	5	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	1
Individual School Level	36	121	15	44	6	23	7	28	8	26
Individual Teacher / Classroom / Participant Community	31	171	15	86	6	41	8	41	2	3
Community	21	46	12	29	3	7	5	9	1	1
Receptivity Overall	19	80	7	18	1	2	4	8	7	52
Receptivity	31	211	13	84	5	33	6	44	8	50
Receptivity Affect on Public Education	31	108	13	41	4	14	6	13	8	40
Public Education Affect on Receptivity	24	43	12	20	4	6	6	15	2	2
Other Receptivity	25	53	11	23	5	10	6	15	3	5
New Immigrant Gateway	5	7	0	0	2	3	1	1	2	3
TOTAL OCCURRENCES	27	53	12	24	5	10	7	10	3	9
		1,273		532		225		273		243

Table 6.3 charts the percentage each theme and sub-theme represents of the total number of occurrences for all themes for all interviews and for each interview sub-group: East Charlotte, Northeast Charlotte, South Charlotte, and Community Organizations. Figures 6.1 through 6.5 illustrate the proportion each theme occurs out of the total number of occurrences for each of the six major *a priori* themes for all interviews and for each interview sub-group.

TABLE 6.3: *A priori* themes and sub-themes, percent of total

Theme	Overall (N=38)	East (N=15)	Northeast (N=6)	South (N=8)	Community (N=9)
Demographic Change	7.86	8.46	8.89	9.89	3.29
CMS System Level	2.36	2.26	2.22	2.20	2.88
Individual School Level	5.50	6.20	6.67	7.69	0.41
Challenges	26.71	28.20	25.33	31.50	19.34
CMS System Level	2.36	2.82	0.89	2.93	2.06
Individual School Level	1.96	2.44	1.33	2.56	0.82
Language Barrier	7.93	7.33	12.89	9.16	3.29
Cultural Barrier	6.36	5.45	4.89	6.59	9.47
Testing Barrier	8.09	10.15	5.33	10.26	3.70
Opportunities	11.47	9.77	12.44	7.33	18.93
CMS System Level	0.63	0.75	0.89	0.37	0.41
Individual School Level	0.55	0.94	0.44	0.37	0.00
Diversity	4.24	2.44	7.11	3.30	6.58
Global Learning / Understanding	2.28	1.88	0.00	1.47	6.17
Cultural Literacy	3.77	3.76	4.00	1.83	5.76
Response	33.23	33.27	34.22	31.50	34.16
Overall	0.39	0.00	1.78	0.00	0.41
CMS System Level	9.51	8.27	10.22	10.26	10.70
Individual School Level	13.43	16.17	18.22	15.02	1.23
Individual Teacher / Classroom / Participant	3.61	5.45	3.11	3.30	0.41

Table 6.3 (continued)

Community	6.28	3.38	0.89	2.93	21.40
Receptivity	16.58	15.79	14.67	16.12	20.58
Overall Receptivity	8.48	7.71	6.22	4.76	16.46
Receptivity Affect on Public Education	3.38	3.76	2.67	5.49	0.82
Public Education Affect on Receptivity	4.16	4.32	4.44	5.49	2.06
Other Receptivity	0.55	0.00	1.33	0.37	1.23
New Immigrant Gateway	4.16	4.51	4.44	3.66	3.70
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

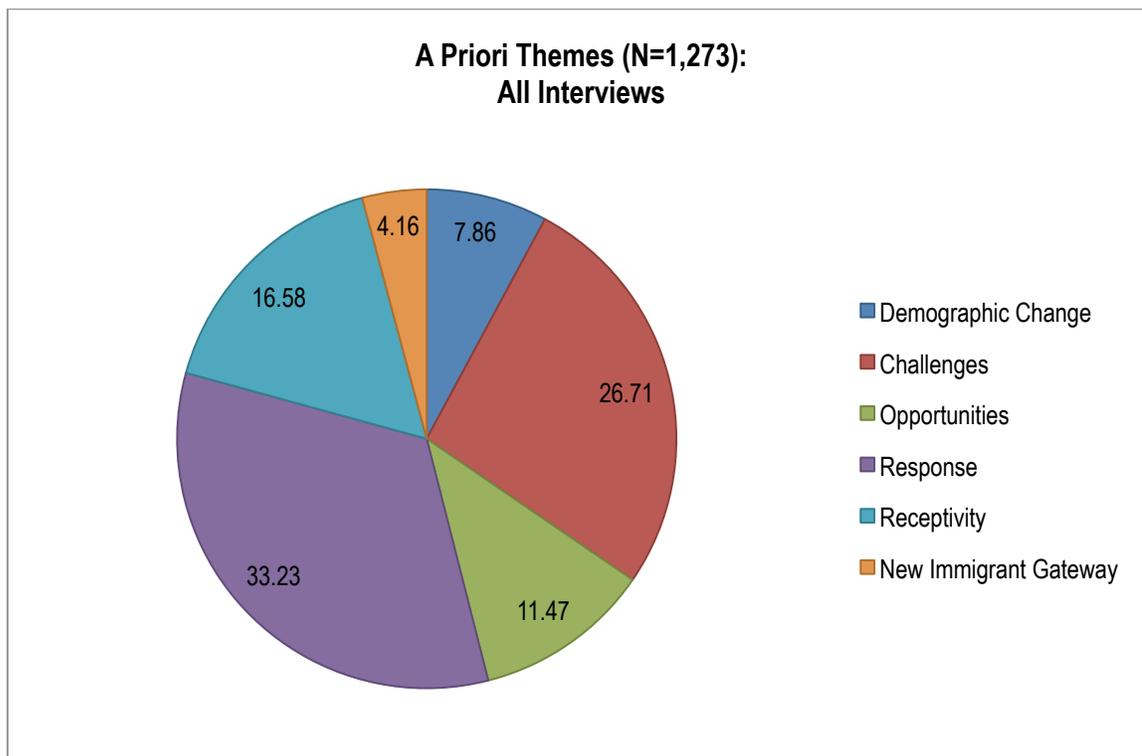


FIGURE 6.1. A priori themes, all interviews.

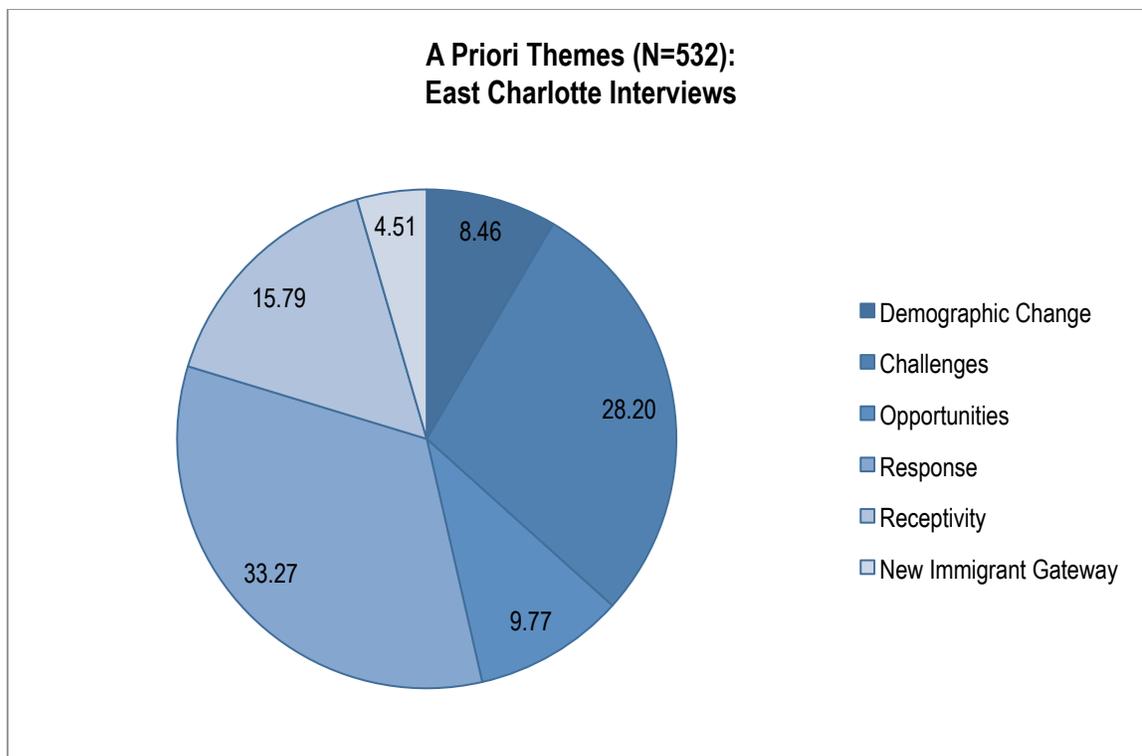


FIGURE 6.2. A priori themes, East Charlotte interviews.

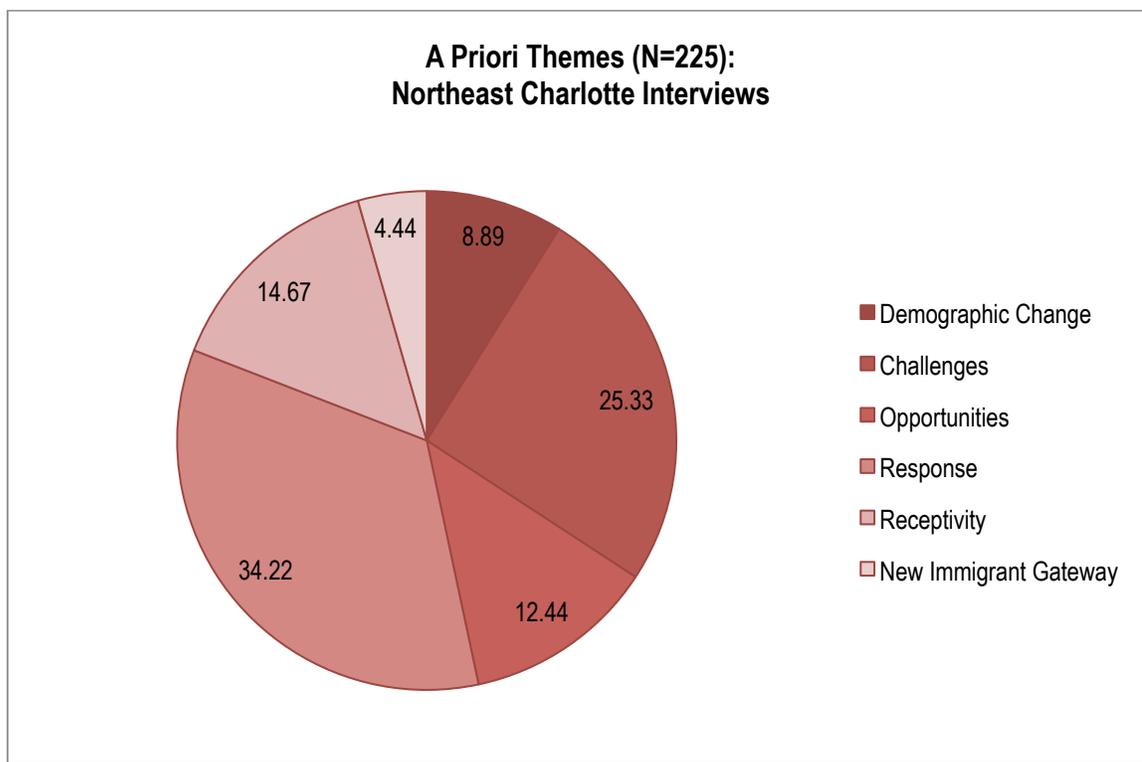


FIGURE 6.3. A priori themes, Northeast Charlotte interviews.

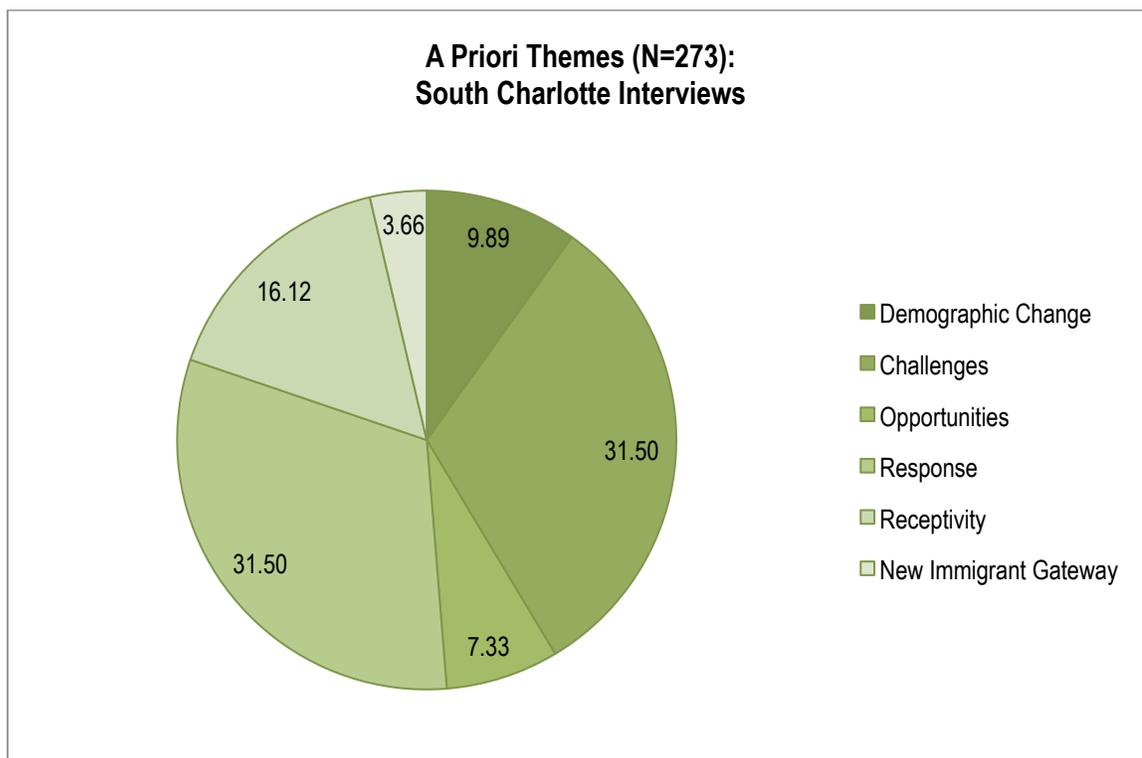


FIGURE 6.4. A priori themes, South Charlotte interviews.

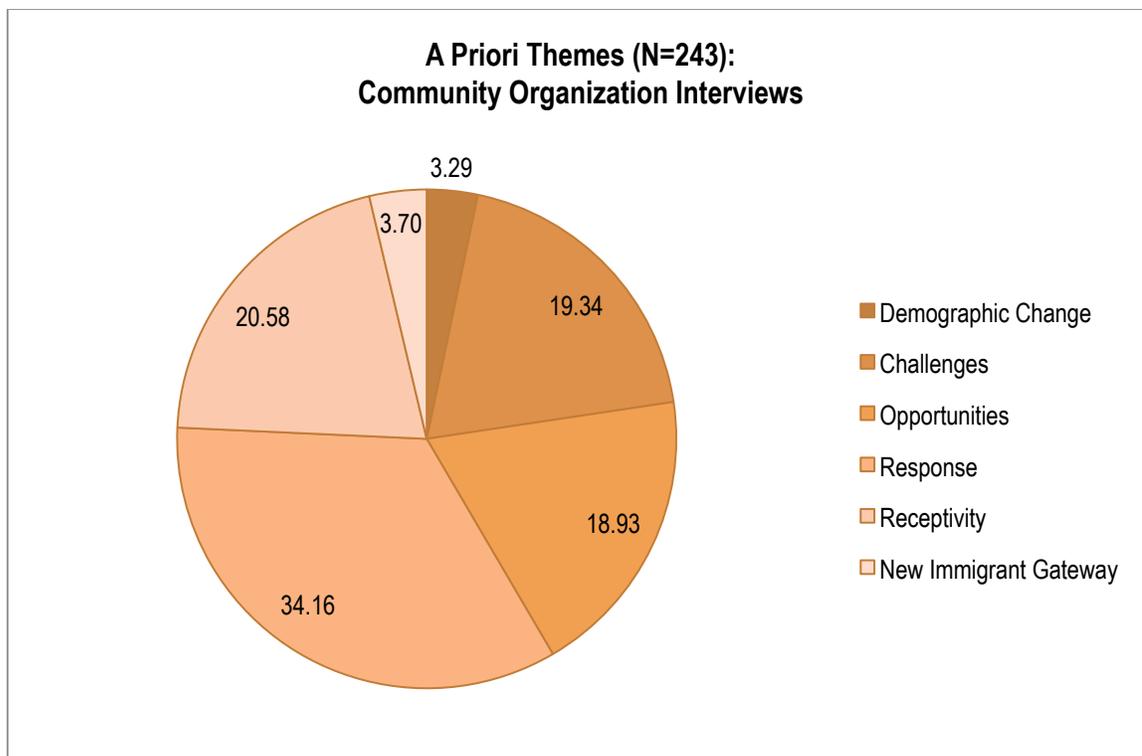


FIGURE 6.5. A priori themes, community organization interviews.

6.5 Composition and Demographic Change at the District and Individual School Levels

The first question in each interview – How has recent immigration to Charlotte impacted public school composition? – asked participants to describe from their perspective how the changing dynamics of foreign born population growth and settlement in Charlotte has impacted both their particular school and the school district as a whole. This question was asked at the outset of each interview as an introduction to encourage participants to think about the actual demographic shifts that have occurred recently in Charlotte. Participants’ recalling their own perspectives of witnessing demographic change in Charlotte helped lay the groundwork for the remainder of the interview discussion. To begin with, I describe participant responses concerning demographic change at the district level, followed by perceptions of demographic change at the individual school level. In general, and not surprisingly, participants felt more

comfortable discussing the demographic changes they have witnessed at their own schools day-to-day.

6.5.1 District Level Demographic Change

When asked about compositional and demographic changes within Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools for the district level as a whole, most participants responded by describing their own perceptions of the changes that they have seen. Many participants alluded to the immigrant settlement geography changes they have witnessed in various communities around Charlotte, for Charlotte as a whole, and how those changes are tied to the demographic changes in the school system. One community participant pointed out that when we talk about immigrants to Charlotte we have to keep in mind that Charlotte has not only been attractive to the foreign born population, but also to a large number of domestic migrants from other parts of the United States:

- “Charlotte has been an attractive community not only for the immigrant community, the new immigrants, but also for well-established immigrants and for traditional populations. So, for example, we have a lot of African Americans coming back to the South because Charlotte has been highlighted many times as a place that is friendly for African Americans. It’s a good quality of life, fairly good education, access to jobs, opportunity in a welcoming environment. So, the same things that attracts African Americans that are coming back to the South is the same thing that attracts immigrants...so that way that represents the community is that we have a growth of people of color in our school district. And about five or six years ago we became what I call the ‘minority-majority’ school district. Now, the majority of our students are people of color. And the impact that that has had on the school district has been affected by the decision on how we assign students. We’re no longer able to assign students based on racial or ethnic background, so there’s not a racial or ethnic balance in our school district, or socio-economic balance, which used to be minorities in the U.S. by percentage are the largest group of people that live in poverty. So, of course when schools are no longer balanced and you have a high number of Latino and African Americans, which make up the largest part of the minority group, concentrated in certain areas of Charlotte, and there are high concentrations of poverty” (Interview #008, Community).

Another community participant reiterated the point about Charlotte being an attractive place to both domestic and international migrants:

- “Charlotte has been known for having a booming economy. Like in the nineties especially. It was just booming. And, so many service jobs. So many manufacturing jobs. So many construction jobs. And that brought a lot of immigration. And, you know, like through word of mouth and families and stuff like that, a lot of, especially Latinos, started coming here. And that brought a huge wave of, of change to the public school system... And now, um, you know, obviously the economy is slowing down. But we still have all these populations that have come. And, so, but the school system has kind of had to figure out what to do really quickly. Whereas in California, it’s kind of more gradual like this, where here it’s like you had a pretty homogeneous population and then all of a sudden, whoa, you know, there’s all this immigration going on. How do we handle it in the school system?” (Interview #15a, Community).

One community participant noted that the public schools themselves are where we often first notice the true extent of the growth of the foreign born population because public schools are a place where both documented and undocumented immigrant students and their families are able to all participate regardless of their status:

- “the first place where you notice...the community is trying to change demographically is a public education system because it’s a place where both documented and undocumented students and families are able to still register and be...counted as part of a demographic group, so it gives us a fairly accurate, even though we don’t know who’s who, it’s prohibited for us to ask, we do have an idea, you know, just because of the challenges that our families face and people confide in you” (Interview #008, Community).

This point that the public schools are one of the first places to witness demographic change in a community also alludes to the schools being in a position to influence community receptivity early on in the process of increased immigration and community demographic change. Additionally, this links with the understanding the public schools, by law and legal precedent, are among the most receptive places in a community.

In terms of a burgeoning foreign born population’s impact on Charlotte’s large public education system, several participants stated the following:

- “There’s a huge influx of non-English speakers. And that has greatly, greatly increased even in the time that I’ve been here, which is nine years I’ve been teaching for CMS” (Interview #012, East).
- “Oh, it’s changed our demographics. It’s increased our population” (Interview #037, Northeast).
- “I think certain areas probably see more of an impact than other areas. And I do think that East Charlotte has probably seen quite a bit” (Interview #014, East).
- “It’s brought changes to the public schools that I don’t quite think that the district may have been ready for... I think that it has been a quick influx in maybe the ESL programs here were not ready for them. I don’t think that the, you know the teacher population maybe has been ready for it... And the amount, I think, is probably the biggest part of it because if it was sudden but it was smaller then I think, I don’t think it would be as impactful.” (Interview #017, East).
- “well, I think it’s just a huge situation that has to be addressed. I mean, I know, I know a lot of teachers in a lot of other schools because I’ve been here for so long. And even some of the schools which, traditionally, were not schools that even had any Hispanic students, now have some Hispanic students. And so, it, it’s just a whole different ball game, having Hispanic students in your class whose parents don’t speak the language and, you know, may not have any modern education. There’s just a lot of obstacles that we encounter on a daily basis that everybody in Charlotte deals with at this point” (Interview #021, South).
- “yes indeed there’s been some talk, but not really a concentration on the impact of the immigration influx in Charlotte particularly, not only on the school system, but also the higher learning schools... Most definitely a tremendous impact. I think the percentage is about fourteen now of, fourteen percent is the percentage of the entire population of Mecklenburg County. Again, at first, I saw that there was a great challenge for the school administration not knowing how to deal with so many, not only the children that were not quite ready to enter the school system, but also children that were basically, as you said before, dropped in. The growth I think will continue.” (Interview #024, Community).

The consensus among all participants from each study group is that the growth of the foreign born population has greatly impacted and fundamentally changed the demographics of Charlotte’s large urban public school system. Indeed, this is consistent with the quantitative data presented in the previous chapter about the study area and first research question. Participants recognize that the school system as a whole has witnessed profound demographic changes in relatively short order. As subsequent sections of results and analysis show, Charlotte’s public school system is poised to positively influence the dialogue of community receptivity toward immigration in Charlotte as a new immigrant

gateway. In the next section, participants describe their perceptions of how specific schools in the particular study group areas have changed demographically due to a growth of the foreign born population.

6.5.2 Individual School Level Demographic Change

When asked about the demographic and compositional impact by a growing immigrant population and transitioning immigrant settlement geography on specific individual schools, teachers from each study group responded with perceptions of the changes they have witnessed in their own schools in which they teach. Community organization participants described specific changes they are aware of at particular schools in various places around CMS. The consensus among participants, which is also verified in the quantitative data, is that profound demographic shifts have occurred in recent years in Charlotte and in the public school system. One teacher commented on the demographic changes occurring at her particular school in East Charlotte:

- “Well, over the years I’ve seen, when I first started here the majority of students were African American. And that continued for the first three years that I was here. I left for three years, and when I came back I could see that there was an increase in the Latino population. And at this point in time, it’s probably more Latino, just probably over 50 percent” (Interview #003, East).

Another teacher, in Northeast Charlotte, commented about a complete demographic shift:

- “Well, at my school you have seen a complete shift. You’ve seen a shift demographically” (Interview #006, Northeast).

In East Charlotte, teachers frequently mentioned the multicultural environment forming at their school due in part not only from increased immigration, but also the arrival of refugees:

- “At our school we have a lot of refugee kids that are coming... Yeah, from Burma or Nepal. Most of ours are from there” (Interview #007, East).

- “There’s a drastic difference in population... We have a high level of Spanish, Hispanic students. And not just from Mexico. From lots of different South American countries and Central American. And then right now we have an increasing population of Burmese students coming in, which offers a completely separate list of challenges” (Interview #012, East).

Teachers in South Charlotte frequently mentioned the rapid shift to a high proportion Hispanic population and LEP student population, as the following comment relates:

“Well, it’s definitely a larger percentage. So, like for example, in my classroom, it’s about three-quarters LEP. Well, pretty much all Hispanic students three-quarters, and then I only have about five or six students right now that do not speak Spanish” (Interview #022, South).

Teachers at the three case study schools in the three areas of Charlotte recognize the rapid succession of demographic changes in their specific schools are a result of the overall changes occurring in the broader community. Beyond recognizing the changes themselves, teachers also note both challenges and opportunities for their students, classrooms, schools, and the broader community brought about because of an increasing immigrant and culturally diverse population. The following sections discuss such challenges and opportunities mentioned by interview participants. Understanding the community’s perspective of these challenges and opportunities is an important link in reinforcing the public school’s influential role in helping shape broader community receptivity.

6.6 Challenges for Public Education from Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography

The second question in each interview – What challenges and opportunities are presented to Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) and to specific individual schools because of higher rates of immigration to Charlotte and a diversifying student body? – led into a two part discussion about the challenges and then the opportunities. This set of

questions was designed to elicit participant perceptions about the actual impacts upon the school system as a whole and specific individual schools because of a growing foreign born population. Many interview participants described specific challenges that can be linked to either a specific school, the entire school district in general, or both. Overall, the specific challenges may be grouped into three types of barriers: language, cultural, and testing. While all three barrier types overlap and influence one another, certain examples are often linked to one of the particular barriers. While most participants agreed that language is the overall underlying barrier affecting most other activities and interactions, the language barrier compounds the cultural and testing barriers.

6.6.1 Challenges for the District

Interview participants described some challenges inherent at the school district level brought about by an increasing foreign born population and transitioning immigrant settlement geography. Several teachers note the link between growing populations and availability of resources:

- “unjust for these children to come in here with not any effective strategies and resources, you know, what we need to get them there. And if you go accept them in our country, you need to find ways to help them” (Interview #004, Northeast).
- “Well, basically, they have to decide where, what’s going to be allotted where. And how much money, like how much money is provided for SES, and how much money is provided for Title I, and all that stuff. I mean those are, they pay a teacher’s jobs. You know, their salaries and whatever materials that come in, and professional development” (Interview #010, East).

Another participant notes the challenges of the school system adapting itself to working with students and families representing a wide variety of languages and cultural backgrounds:

- “And so there’s this really obvious piece around sort of those, those, oh how does our public school system adapt itself to, you know, working with families that are only Spanish speaking, no English. How do we work with immigrant families that

come with all these barriers, and then poverty on top of all that” (Interview #013, Community).

Another participant relates to the variety of factors that play a role in presenting challenges to the school system:

- “The differences, plus the language, plus the socio-economic, plus the other things. So, definitely to your point, I mean it really becomes more of, when you’re talking about the regional like location, geographic location, it becomes more about socioeconomics than ethnicity” (Interview #018, Community).

One teacher relates the challenges at the school system level and the amount of testing, which is described in further detail in a later section:

- “I think that CMS has some good things in mind, but I think that these babies that I’ve got right now, they need me teaching them and not testing them on things that they might not even be ready to test on effectively. So I think that they’re, I think that in some ways CMS is forgetting about these students. And apparently that population is increasing, and that the population is increasing for these families specifically. And so I think sometimes there are appearing to look out for the benefit of the district, and raising test scores, and student achievement. But through doing that, the way that they’re hoping to do it through all this testing, it’s taking time away from the students’ learning. And these students, I mean they need as much time as possible. I mean, we’re like standing in line for the restroom and I’m flashcarding them words, and, basically every minute they’re here needs to be a productive time for them” (Interview #022, South).

A number of teachers comment on the disconnect between decisions being made at a high level, and how those decisions actually play out on the ground in the classroom setting, as one teacher in South Charlotte notes:

- “They’re, yeah, they’re removed from the classroom [high level administrators making system decisions]. And I think if they could see all these faces in here and if they could see how they’re reading and how they’re solving problems and how they’re communicating. I think they could see how we do things and how they could kind of back up and if they’re getting the really good instruction that they need” (Interview #022, South).

Noting challenges a growing immigrant population presents to the overall school system is yet another point of understanding in the structure of public education’s influence on

community receptivity. In addition to challenges for the school system as a whole, interview participants mention a number of challenges presented to their specific individual schools, as the next section describes.

6.6.2 Challenges for Individual Schools

In addition to system-wide challenges, interview participants described challenges they felt were unique to their own school, which were all within areas of foreign born population settlement concentration. Interview participants note a variety of challenges, many of which relate to language and culture barriers. One teacher mentions the challenge of transitioning a student into his or her new educational environment:

- “Well, the children are just dumped from day one into their class. There is no real transition and I think years ago there used to be a transitional place or period. They literally can come off the boat Tuesday and be in your class on Wednesday and I thought how fair is that to the children and the teacher? I will see them in little flip flops and shorts and a little used top that someone just gave them that morning and they’ve probably just arrived” (Interview #001, East).

Participants also mention lack of resources as a challenge, which the following comments relate to:

- “It’s hard to reach all the kids with everything. And the resources seem to still be limited for technology, and just the support that we need for the kids, you know. They really could use a small group instruction all day but we don’t really have the numbers in terms of helping. We just don’t have enough teachers to really do that” (Interview #007, East).
- “Our school individually has a challenge of servicing our ESL population with enough staff members who can offer them language and support. And as a school that has been difficult based upon the way they do, the way they do their allotments for teachers per school” (Interview #012, East).

Language barriers were also frequently mentioned as a significant challenge:

- “we’re sitting there waiting for a meeting and, you know, watching this woman with two kids in tow trying to figure out what school they were supposed to go to because they just moved. Or we’re moving and trying to call, you know, the uncle who spoke English to come and translate. You know, it was just this, and the staff were, you know, real accommodating, but they were foiled at every turn. There

was a cell phone dead zone, so they couldn't call. You know, it's that kind of thing" (Interview #033, Community).

As participants frequently mentioned language barriers as a fundamental underlying challenge that affects many other aspects of education, the next section looks at language barriers in more detail.

6.6.3 Language Barriers

Participants across all interviews frequently cited language barriers, and related specific examples, as the major, overall challenge brought by an increasingly diverse, foreign born population that individual schools and the district are attempting to address and meet. Recall, for example, that in the last couple of years, the CMS student body has contained representation from well over one hundred different native languages and nationalities. Intervention strategies designed to meet the challenge of language barriers require additional time, personnel, and financial resources such as translators and interpreters, additional documents, and training. Language barrier examples interview participants mentioned include the following:

- "We are very frustrated that we can't speak to the children. We do get periodic trainings for dealing with the general LEP population, but eight years ago here, I've been at this school for eleven years. Eight years ago they had a Spanish class for educators at night and it was very popular. But that was the only time they did that" (Interview #001, East).
- "Yeah we get a lot of Hispanics who are born here but because their parents are not born here don't really, they're not encouraged to try to speak English. They, it's hard for them to help their children because they're not speaking in English. But they're very supportive, I must say. They are supportive... Yeah, mostly they just run into the language barrier" (Interview #004, Northeast).
- "When I sit down with my conferences, most of them the children are interpreting for me... When no one available you gotta make do" (Interview #004, Northeast).
- "Okay, the number one challenge is communication. We are, there's some misconception about the US being a multilingual country, and that is catching up with us. So, where in Europe or other countries, in Africa and other continents, multilingualism is the norm. People find the different languages in which they communicate. Here, it's either English or English. And that limits our own ability

to communicate with others. So, communication is a challenge I think because of the historical aspect of the fear of multilingualism in the United States. Fear that we would lose our culture and our language” (Interview #008, Community).

- “The problem that it poses as an educator is communicating with parents because a lot of those parents don’t have the language background to speak with you as a teacher... If the language barrier wasn’t such a big issue, they would be regular parents just like anybody else, with the same trials and the same tribulations that other sub-cultures have gone through” (Interview #009, Northeast).
- “Until the language barrier piece is met, it gives them an extra hardship over another culture because even though we’re looking at the Hispanic population it’s no different for our African population when we have a lot of parents who speak French. They’re at a very big disadvantage, even as a smaller population, because we don’t have any French interpreters. We don’t have any ways to get in touch with those parents who only speak French or some tribal languages. There is no way to communicate with them” (Interview #009, Northeast).

Participants also note the language barrier challenge of communicating with parents of students. Teachers mention that immigrant parents are often even less likely to understand English than their limited English proficient students:

- “Some of the challenges we have at our school, and I’m sure it’s throughout Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools, is communicating with parents. Most of my parents of Hispanic students do not speak English. So just to make a phone call is a challenge. You have to get somebody who speaks Spanish, which we do have people here who do speak Spanish... We need to get them, you know and make those phone calls for us. And they communicate back with us. So it’s a whole challenge to get that done sometimes. Communicating homework, communicating grades. A lot, well I shouldn’t say a lot, several of the parents that we have at our school here are not fluent in English or Spanish... So, they cannot, they can’t write a note in Spanish to tell me that they’re child was sick yesterday. And so, then that develops another problem with unexcused absences” (Interview #021, South).
- “Well, it’s definitely challenging to communicate with the parents. Even with having an interpreter present at the school, it’s still a challenge because you can’t just pick up the phone and just call them. You have to schedule a time to get the interpreter to call for you... It’s difficult along with the lines of communication. Like if I just want to send a note home regardless of if it’s a positive MO or one that just needs to be worked on. It’s hard because I just can’t write out real quick, blah, blah, blah, “I had a really great day at school. Thanks for helping at home.” That’s been really challenging for me to work on because I like to be able to do that and I like to be able to have that open communication... And I think just all, I mean all the things that we do as simple as homework. Even when we translate things into Spanish, it’s still hard for them. Because a lot of the families struggle with reading themselves... I think it’s just, even when a teacher tries really hard to have a really good line of communication, there’s a lot of, it’s kind of like there’s

a lot of hoops I feel like we have to jump through. And I definitely willing to do that, but it just makes it, it's more challenging because I feel like I don't have as good of a relationship with them because I can't speak their language. And that's something that I miss a little bit is being able to have just that ability... So, yeah, I think language overall. I think between communication, my family, language even, and the things that they're expected to do... Because I think most teachers have a lot on their plates, which is, you know, good or bad depending on how you want to look at it. But, I think that if you're a teacher who is willing to make that extra step and try to open up that communication, I think is really helpful for the families. It's kind of like a doctor. Like I've tried to really break down some terms and stuff for families because when you go to the doctor they throw out different terms and you have no clue what they're talking about. It's gonna be really hard for you to take that information and do whatever you do to deal with it" (Interview #022, South).

Another challenge related to the language barrier is that of language isolation. In this case, students are not as frequently exposed to English and have less opportunity to practice and implement English language skills:

- "I mean, it's the kind of thing where you've got all these kids who don't speak English isolated. I mean, it's not like they even have the chance to learn English on the playground because they're, they're all English Language Learners... But, you know, she said during teacher conferences, parent conferences, you know, they face this sort of crisis of translation. And they had kids from Providence High School, Spanish Four kids, coming and doing translating... Well, that was a mine field. You know... These were kids who are, and, you know what? I don't care how talented a high school senior is" (Interview #033, Community).

In addition to language barriers, interview participants also described a variety of cultural barriers as challenges presented to their schools and the school district.

6.6.4 Cultural Barriers

In addition to specific discussion points and examples of language barriers, participants often mentioned various challenges that may be classified as cultural barriers. Cultural barriers include students coming from diverse backgrounds and places around the world where education procedures and views of education vary from the United States; students and parents not understanding the context of what a teacher or

administrator is requesting; cross-cultural misunderstandings on the part of the students and families and the teachers and administrators; among others. Cultural barriers and language barriers often compound one another, as interview participants frequently mention.

- “I think that some of the challenges, one of the other challenges is that people don’t understand the cultures that these people come from. And they don’t understand our culture. You know. The basic U.S. culture is work, work, work” (Interview #003, East).
- “Another thing, and I think that we’ve done fairly well about it, but we can still improve, is knowing, understanding the culture. Because sometimes that’s the difference, that makes a lot of difference in how you educate a child” (Interview #014, East).

One teacher mentions the challenge of understanding that her own personality, while acceptable here, comes across as unfamiliar to some immigrants from a very different cultural background:

- “I am generally a very loud, boisterous woman. And dealing with other certain cultures, I know that I need to key it way, way back. The Burmese parents that I have met are very soft-spoken, and they’re very gentle. They’re just very gentle people. And so I come off loud. [laughing]... They get very, it’s very shocking. And so, I have to, you have to key that way back to get positive relationships there” (Interview #012, East).

Another cultural challenge interview participants mentioned relates to perceived parental involvement:

- “Also, another challenge that I see is parents participation. Sometimes parents they don’t have the time. Sometimes parents they got two jobs, especially immigrants. Sometimes they don’t see how important it is for them to become involved with their children learning. Sometimes they think that the teachers do everything. But they have to understand that it’s a joint effort of the school, the teachers, the administrators, and also the parents. And for me the parents play a crucial role in their children’s education... If the teacher does his job, her job, everything, but the parents at home they don’t support the child with homework and, you know, with anythings related to school, then you know it’s harder for the kids to learn and be more successful. And, sometimes, that’s the culture, also sometimes. But basically because when they come here they have to work long hours.” (Interview #026, East).

- “If there were some way to get the parents more involved in the schools...part of them are scared to get involved because they’re not here legally. And part of it is they don’t feel like they know enough...We have a few volunteers that have volunteered for a long time and have just embraced the school. And they’ve tried to bring other parents in. And the parents are just scared. They’re scared...They’ll schedule appointments but they just won’t come...It’ll be in the middle of the school day and they’ll be wondering why you can’t leave your class to come have a meeting...Well, that’s true there’s no set time frame...But if you don’t know the culture, you don’t know how to approach them, or how to make something that’s serious matter to them” (Interview #036, South).

Ways in which a particular school and the school district as a whole respond to language and culture barriers play a role in shaping the schools receptivity toward immigrants. In addition to language and cultural barriers, interview participants frequently mentioned the testing barriers posed to students, teachers, individual schools, and the school district, as the next section describes.

6.6.5 Testing Barriers

Vignette: Judith teaches first grade at an elementary school in South Charlotte with a student body that is almost ninety percent Hispanic. It is almost the end of the fall semester, and there is just one more round of testing to complete prior to the end of the semester. Many of the teachers, Judith included, comment to each other about the over-abundance of mandatory testing required of the students at various times throughout the school year and how the language barrier for students is an underlying issue affecting all aspects of their education. The teachers’ view is that the testing takes up much valuable time that could be better utilized actually imparting knowledge and critical thinking skills to students. Another worry is that not all students learn in the same way and not all students take tests in the same way. Furthermore, their school contains a high percentage of students categorized as Limited English Proficient (LEP). The teachers often ask the question, “When a child who does not speak or read English very well is presented with a mandatory subject test in English, regardless of whether or not the student knows the material, just how well will that student do on the test?” Furthermore, they ask “in what way will those inaccurate test results reflect poorly on the student, on us teachers, and on our school?” – based on comments from many different teacher interview participants from all case study schools.

The testing barriers are compounded by language and cultural barriers. That teachers frequently made mention of their disdain for the amount of testing, and how

testing poses a great detriment to students, is quite telling and speaks to the broader debate occurring about the necessity of an overwhelming amount of standardized testing in schools. Because so many important decisions are made based upon data stemming from the outcomes of standardized tests in schools, the fact that testing is a great barrier to immigrant students and limited English proficient students is an important point that many participants noted in the interviews. An understanding of the testing barrier is yet another point in building a broader base of knowledge about how public education can be a positive influence on community receptivity. Understanding the challenges and barriers present can help to progress towards and arrive at interventions and solutions to those barriers so that public education may function as an effective positive influence on community receptivity

Among all points of discussion across all interviews, teacher interview participants became most passionate and outspoken about testing and the barriers presented by mandated testing throughout each academic year. The testing barrier is obviously compounded by both the language and cultural barriers. The largest issue repeatedly mentioned by teacher participants was that the mandated testing in their specific schools, which have disproportionately higher percentages of Limited English Proficient students, leads to faulty test results. Those misleading results then reflect poorly on the student, the teacher, the classroom, and the entire school. Teachers also mentioned the amount of stress that testing causes for students, teachers, and administrators because everyone knows so much is at stake with the outcome of the test scores.

- “I think everything goes back to test scores ultimately. That’s what everybody talks about, and because obviously it’s such a source of funding...and so when

you have immigrant students come in there, and they're, you know, they've been in the country for X amount of days and they have to take this test, it reflects back to the amount of, you know, the amount of money we get, the amount of resources we get" (Interview #002, Northeast).

- "Yeah, that's one of the things that I try to be an advocate for our ESL children because they understand the concept, but if they don't understand the reading and the wording they don't get it. And they say they all have to use that same test. And that's not right. You can't tell me that because of a test my child don't know the skills. I know my child knows. But you, they tell us to meet the child where they are. So divide into small groups for that child. If I had to put a cap on that child. Well, when you give them a test they're not capable of reading it and knowing some of the, and that doesn't mean they don't know it... Yeah it don't make any sense" (Interview #004, Northeast).
- "Oh, it makes us look like we're one of the dumbest schools in the system. [laughing]...I mean, it's a hard test to pass if you speak and read English, let alone if you don't" (Interview #035, South).
- "But then, it's looked on me, 'Oh, you have someone who only got a ten. Why is that?' 'Well, because she doesn't speak English.' Thankgoodness, the state decided that they're doing away with the EOG next year because we're going towards this Common Core... And then I laughed when I heard that because CMS spent all this money on this pay for performance nonsense. And now they're doing away with the one thing that they were gonna pay us on... And so now it's like, well how come you, you're gonna pay me money when I have a room full of children who are second language learners compared to where her son goes to, Bellhaven and Ballantyne where it is all English speaking" (Interview #035, South).

Several interview participants described the barrier from a perspective of empathy, in that they imagined what it would be like for them if they suddenly moved to another country with a different language and were expected to take a test:

- "They're just taught in English and they're expected to test in that same language in English. And I think that, you know, giving them that test they get one year to basically have to take the same test and so they get accommodations. But you can give me extra time on the test in Chinese, but I can stare at the test for three hours and I'm still not gonna know Chinese... It doesn't matter what accommodations you give them. You can give me multiple test sessions. You can give me more time, and whatever it is, there's really not strong research that says that those accommodations are beneficial to students" (Interview #017, East).
- "I think it's a big problem. But my token thing to say to people is, 'Imagine you were in your job. You've been there just a year. And they gave you a test in Japanese and said if you don't pass it, then, you know, you won't make any raises or you won't...' Of course if you're in the school system that won't be a problem. I haven't had a raise in five years. Or something like that. You know, I just don't

think that the public understands. And there is a two year thing. But still, you have to have a good handle. I mean our kids are amazing. If you look at these children and all they've learned so that they can take these tests and can do that. I mean it's hard for a lot of these children that speak English, from birth" (Interview #031, South).

- "Yeah, a lot of times what happens I've noticed with these students is that they actually are brighter than what they appear based on like what you're saying with these standardized tests. Because oftentimes I might phrase a question the way that I'm supposed to, and they don't get it. But if I were to be able to break it down more for them, or kind of prompt them in a different way, kind of change the language that, the jargon that CMS has provided for me to say to them, they may have been more effective with it" (Interview #022, South).

Added stress may also be a result of increased testing in schools, compounded by the

language barrier, as one interview participant (a school nurse) mentions:

- "What I probably see is the end result of that [testing], which is the stress...Headaches and, you know, whenever there's testing that's what I see. You know the headaches, the breakdowns, the emotional breakdowns, the throwing up, the thing because of the stress that they're being, looking at a test that's not applicable to them. The level of vocabulary probably is not what they're used to. Therefore the stress. So I'm looking at their parent's who are saying, 'You gotta do good. You gotta do good. That's why we brought you here. That's why you were born here. Do good.' And the other side we see, they come and that's why they're stressed, and they can't understand...I've actually had children with acid reflux, and usually there's a pattern, so that's when I pick up that there's a pattern. And I start asking questions, and it's all of a sudden and it's like, 'Oh yeah!' And, or, a little girl showed up actually the other day and her vision was blurry. Well, what was she doing when her vision got blurry? She was testing. So, it's just...It's a correlation" (Interview #032, East).

Participants also mentioned that the amount of testing requires pulling teachers and staff

away from the core function of their jobs. For example, the following participants

describe how ESL/ELL instructors are often pulled away from that task in order to help

administer tests:

- "And the other real insidious problem, and something that we've raised cain about is that, especially for ELL students, and EC students, what happens is the EC teachers and the ELL teachers, the ESL teachers, we see ESL teachers get pulled to administer tests. So, for the students who should be receiving services don't have access to ESL and ELL services for months during the year because it's a, you know, some, well the K-2 testing has to be individually administered. You

have to test, any kid with accommodations must have a special testing situation. And it's the EC teachers and the ESL teachers, I mean it's all hands on deck...And so everybody gets pulled away for testing...And the kids are losing their special services. And we hear a lot of that from EC teachers and ESL teachers. And I don't know if you'd heard of that" (Interview #033, Community).

- "And then they're [ESL teachers] pulled to test half the year" (Interview #035, South).

Some participants reinforce the fact that an overwhelming amount of testing takes away from valuable classroom instruction time, as the following comment mentions:

- "Oh yeah, all the testing for the ESL students takes away from, it takes away from their class time, those ESL teachers are out of the classroom at least three months out of the school year testing" (Interview #036, South).

As the above comments exemplify, there are clear challenges that must be addressed by schools. Understanding these challenges is helpful for the school system to strengthen its role as influencer of community receptivity. Despite an inordinate amount of challenges related to language, culture, and testing, at individual schools and the school district as a whole, there are also many opportunities brought about for public education and the broader community by transitioning immigrant settlement geography and a growing immigrant population. The following section discusses opportunities for public education as part of a growing immigrant and increasingly multicultural population.

6.7 Opportunities for Public Education from Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography

In addition to challenges, the second interview question also asked about opportunities presented to the district and to specific schools because of an increasing foreign born population and diversifying student body. Furthermore, the eighth and final question in each interview added to the discussion about opportunities: In what ways does an increasingly diverse student population impact education provision for Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools; for your particular school?

In general, most participants discussed opportunities related to an increasing immigrant and increasingly diverse population, both for individual schools and for the district as a whole, as being related to diversity, global learning and understanding, and cultural literacy. The opportunities go both ways and are opportunities for students, parents, families, teachers, administrators, and the broader community to learn about and engage with one another across differences. Generally, participants feel that the greater diversity and multiculturalism brought to the schools because of a growing foreign born population is a good thing. In particular, teachers and community members cite specific examples of students from different cultures, countries, and languages, interacting daily with one another from an early age. Participants see these diverse interactions as beneficial long-term for student growth. As students grow up learning to be comfortable interacting across differences, they will be better equipped to engage across differences as adults in their communities and work. In this way, public education plays an important long-term role in positively influencing community receptivity. In the remainder of this section, I present participant responses related to diversity, global learning and understanding, and cultural literacy.

6.7.1 Diversity

Vignette: Gloria is a fifth grade teacher at an elementary school in east Charlotte. She specifically wanted to work at this particular school, despite having the opportunity to work at more affluent schools with greater resources, because of its high level of student diversity. Gloria recognizes that diversity and cultural literacy is important in a globalizing and increasingly interconnected world. Learning cultural competence and respect for difference is also important, and to learn that at a young age will be a great asset for students as they grow up. She also notes that students growing up exposed to others of diverse backgrounds and perspectives will help them better engage with a global economy while being able to work well with others and make positive contributions to their communities. Knowledge of and respect for diversity is important for interacting in a global society. There is tremendous educational benefit for students growing up in such

an environment. Gloria is proud to be playing a role in helping positively shape students in such a diverse environment. – Based on comments from several teacher interview participants at all three case study schools.

Interview participants discussed ways in which diversity brings opportunities for learning and understanding to students, teachers, and families within particular schools.

One teacher mentions that “It’s so culturally rich. It brings such a joy to me as a teacher to have all of these different kinds of kids in one room” (Interview #002, Northeast).

Another teacher describes the benefits of cross-cultural interactions by students on a daily basis at school:

- “This is a grand social experiment, for this community, for this city, for this state. These, these kids’ parents don’t communicate with each other, but these kids do. And so you have Jose that interacts with a Taikwon. And maybe you don’t see that in the community yet. But these kids are starting that conversation. They’re starting to build those relationships. And so this is a grand scale social experiment. You know it’s these two very diverse communities being able to meld and be one in this location...One, they won’t be nervous around somebody that’s not like them. Two, they’ll have an opportunity to communicate on a completely different level. You know. Because they’re educated differently. You know. And they’ll have resources and networking opportunities with people that the typical kid in this neighborhood doesn’t” (Interview #006, Northeast).

A teacher in East Charlotte describes the pleasure in seeing different backgrounds and cultures come together:

- “It’s really unique to be able to see all these different backgrounds and cultures come together and really, we do our best to really do after school activities with their families and incorporate all of them. We have a night where they come and show all their culture, their dress, their food, and things like that so they can see and participate, not feeling secluded” (Interview #007, East).

Another teacher in East Charlotte discussed the beneficial process of students forming cross-cultural and multicultural understanding from an early age:

- “Well, students are, you know, more aware of different cultures and diversity...you are going to have to work with people of different cultures,

religions. So they get to experience all types of cultures, and diversity” (Interview #011, East).

In addition to increasing diversity in schools being beneficial to student learning, a growing diverse immigrant population can lead to further global learning and understanding in schools.

6.7.2 Global Learning and Understanding

Interview participants also described ways in which growing and transitioning immigrant settlement geography, which brings about an increasingly diverse student population, facilitates an opportunity for global learning and cross-cultural understanding. One participant describes the benefit of students becoming exposed to the world and all its diversity from an early age:

- “I think it offers the opportunity for students to be exposed to the world. It helps students understand and become familiar with world cultures, world languages, with world issues at a very early age, which eventually will help the students become more competitive in the world and therefore make the U.S. more competitive worldwide [allusion to CMS slogan – ‘Global Competitiveness Starts Here’]. I don’t know who said this, but something that stayed in the back of my mind, was a meeting I went to at the State Department one time when I was at the International House, and there was someone who said a quote from someone, I don’t know who it was, but I think it was brilliant because, paraphrasing it he said, ‘you know, our goal in diplomacy, our politic for diplomacy, was to globalize the world. But what if we globalized the world and we omit and we don’t globalize ourselves.’ Basically. And that’s pretty much what’s happening. And that, that’s making us less competitive around the world... Yeah. And how, for example, like with what ‘s happening in the Middle East, there’s a totally different perspective when our local TV channel can interview someone from Syria or Libya, or Egypt, and hear their own perspective about democracy and their dreams about the families and their excitement about what’s happening in the Middle East, versus just seeing that as an abstract concept that you seen on CNN. And then if a child is going to school with someone from the Middle East and they’re able to ask those questions then they have a direct connection to the world that I think can impact someone greatly. Someone might decide to start studying Arabic or Middle Eastern Studies, or get into politics, get into diplomacy... We always talk about our youth being the leaders of tomorrow, what a difference it would be on someone that creates foreign policy. And the relationship between that to someone that has not been exposed to a different

world...So, the provision I guess I will say, it's affected by that because in order for a teacher to be able to be successful, they have to be able to engage the student in learning. And in order to do that, the teacher has to know how to engage those students, how to talk about topics that makes things interesting that the students can relate to. And traditionally in the United States, that has been done from a European American perspective, which engaged European Americans in learning, but only until recently our students learning how to deliver the same information from not a European perspective but from multiple perspectives. Even if the person who is delivering the information is from European origin or European background. People are learning to put on different hats and engage students with their similarities and also understanding their differences" (Interview #008, Community).

Another interview participant described how the next generation will continue to be more tolerant as they become further exposed to diversity:

- "The next generation coming up...is going to be a lot more tolerant and exposed to differences. And I think that that's really great for the Charlotte area specifically because the Charlotte area was a really homogeneous area until very recently" (Interview #015a, Community).

Another community interview participant mentioned the importance of raising children who are globally minded and not scared of differences:

- "It is, basically, the main goal is to raise children who are global minded and children who love, you know, arts and languages and cultures and all that...I think that, you know, the main opportunity that I see is, in general, as a community, being able to raise children who are global minded, and children who are not as scared of the differences, but embrace them instead of other. Because they're gonna grow up in that environment when they don't know anything different" (Interview #018, Community).

In terms of the benefits to the school system as a whole, one teacher mentioned that:

- "I think for the school system, it's an opportunity for other people to learn about different parts of the globe...And, you know that help them reach for the future because we're having a global economy now and everything is about being globally aware...And seeing things with a global vision and, you know, that helps the kids, the students be better prepared for the future" (Interview #026, East).

Another teacher mentioned that for her class:

- "it's a good thing that they're in a room full of other people of other nationalities from other places who speak different than you do. And I think they learn to see

the world...I think they'll be more centered as a person than a person I think who's had a more sheltered existence at their school. So the exposure is a good thing. But even with the exposure, you still feel like your whole class is still the same even though they're completely different" (Interview #027, East).

Another participant discusses the benefit of a growing immigrant population for the overall community:

- "Well, you know, I mean I think, you know, I love what the immigrant population has done for the city. I mean I think it's a much more interesting place. I mean they keep talking about being globally competitive. Which I actually kind of hate. But, you know. But, you know, if you want to be globally competent" (Interview #033, Community).

In addition to an increased opportunity for global learning and understanding brought about by a growing immigrant population, interview participants also mentioned opportunities for increasing cultural literacy.

6.7.3 Cultural Literacy

Interview participants also mentioned opportunities for cultivating cultural literacy among students and teachers in diverse schools as a result of a growing immigrant population. This opportunity for increasing cultural literacy, in addition to the above opportunities, is important for individual schools and the school system as a whole in its role as influencer of overall community receptivity.

One teacher alludes to the importance of empathy in interactions, which is an important component in building cultural literacy:

- "Yeah, I just think that the opportunity for everybody to grow and learn about each other. That there should be a lot more focus on that, which is why you know...we're going to, we live in a global society. So, do I have to know every single thing about you? No. But I need to understand your perspective. And that's not going to happen unless we learn about each other. You know. I may not even agree with your perspective. But, it makes it so that you're not afraid. You're not afraid to approach someone or be part of a group that is different from you" (Interview #003, East).

Another teacher describes the importance of cultivating cultural literacy as part of a twenty-first century education and how this will greatly benefit students as they grow up in a global society:

- “Yeah, the cultural diversity piece is coming into play with the twenty-first century education that we’re trying to give the children now...I think all of our children will be able to mix in society because they are in this diverse culture. I think they will be conscientious and aware of others around them because, despite their cultural differences, they have some common issues. And they are learning other cultures and they are being prepared for the twenty-first century and diversity” (Interview #009, Northeast).

Another example is that of being more centered as a person and better able to relate to others as a result of greater cultural literacy:

- “I think they’ll be more centered as a person than a person I think who’s had a more sheltered existence at their school. So the exposure is a good thing” (Interview #027, East).

A teacher in the very diverse East Charlotte school describes the importance of learning about other cultures and how there are different perspectives, approaches, and solutions to the same issues:

- “I think just learning about other cultures and realizing that not everybody has, how do I say this, learning other cultures, learning how other cultures deal with education, communication, it’s different. And respecting each other and meeting people where they are, rather than saying, ‘You have to do it the American way. You have to do it our way.’ Recognizing, at least for myself, it means that I may refer a child for an earache and having to be respectful of the fact that the parents may think that putting honey, drops of honey in the ear or whatever they choose to do that not’s something western medicine would do. But kind of supporting that...And not being as critical of that intervention” (Interview #032, East).

A community participant describes several components to the importance of developing cross-cultural competency:

- “I think that’s the language we should be using. To have cultural, you know, cross cultural competence. And, to know, you know, how not to offend people just because you’re ignorant...And to build some cultural sensitivities. But, so I think that’s an opportunity, but it’s less of an opportunity when the kids are, you know,

kids at Providence Springs Elementary don't know about these kids. They're the ones that are gonna, you know, go out and work for world domination. [laughing]...But, so I think that's an opportunity, but it's less of an opportunity when the kids are, you know, kids at Providence Springs Elementary don't know about these kids. They're the ones that are gonna, you know, go out and work for world domination. [laughing]...They're the ones that are into the global competitiveness. But they're not exposed to the people they would meet to become globally competent" (Interview #033, Community).

As interview participants mention, there are a variety of opportunities for students and teachers at individual schools and the school system as a whole brought about by a growing immigrant and culturally diverse population. These opportunities play a direct role in public education's role as influencer of community receptivity. As students and staff at individual schools and the school system as a whole become more receptive to newcomers from diverse backgrounds, the overall receptivity of schools in the area grows even warmer. In the next section, I describe participant perspectives on how the school district and individual schools have responded to transitioning immigrant settlement geography.

6.8 Responses by the School District and Specific Schools to Transitioning Immigrant Geography

Having discussed the demographic changes themselves, and the challenges and opportunities brought by a growing immigrant population, the third and fourth question in each interview asked participants to describe the various responses to a rapidly growing immigrant population by the school district and by specific individual schools: How has Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools responded to higher rates of immigration to Charlotte? How has your specific school responded to higher rates of immigration to Charlotte? Similar to the first question, teacher participants seemingly felt more comfortable discussing responses by their own schools, while community organization

participants tended to describe more general district-level responses. Teachers and community organization participants mentioned a variety of common responses at the individual school level and the district level. Participants referred to some responses as reactive and other responses as proactive. Understanding how specific schools and the school district as a whole have responded to a growing immigrant and increasingly diverse and multicultural population is yet another important point of consideration for public education as influencer of receptivity. How a school and the school system responds can have both direct and indirect, short- and long-term, impact on broader community receptivity.

6.8.1 District Response

One interview prompt specifically asked participants how the school district as a whole is responding to a rapid growth of an immigrant population in the overall community. Several interview participants mentioned that the school district has been helpful when it comes to procuring translators and interpreters for various languages. However, sometimes there is a time lag, and budget constraints are also often an issue.

- “I think when I first got here it would be unheard of to call downtown and say we need a translator for something. Whereas now it’s done on a daily basis. And it’s not an imposition on CMS. They do try and get the Burmese translators and I think that’s where we’re getting the partnership more with International House. So I do like to see that CMS is partnering” (Interview #001, East).
- “Well, you know, you get translators and interpreters. Paperwork is translated mainly into Spanish because that’s the biggest leap that we’ve had in the school system as a whole...it’s still difficult to get something translated within a short period of time. You can get translations into the various, among, you know, the various Asian languages, which is harder. But it takes longer. And you can get translators, but it takes longer. You know, you better know a month in advance that you need something. And that doesn’t always happen...and then they’re overloaded because there aren’t enough of them. You know. And that’s due to budget. It’s due to the fact that there just aren’t enough people out there who can translate some of these languages. And so it does take a lot of planning if you know that you need somebody, you better get it way in advance. So, like I said, I

don't think that they've been as proactive as they could have been. They should have foreseen this with all the data that comes out, all the data that comes from CMS. This should have been on the data screen right there" (Interview #003, East).

One teacher mentions that the school system should remain proactive in how it responds to the various challenges arising from a growing immigrant population:

- "they have to continue to be proactive. And to fund what's necessary for students to succeed because, you know interpreters are necessary, and translators are necessary" (Interview #003, East).

Another teacher describes that many decisions ultimately are not up to individual schools or to the school district, but rather come from higher levels such as state- or federal-level decision makers:

- "The only thing I know that would have been a CMS decision as opposed to coming from the state would be the hiring of so many ESL teachers...A lot of things I suspect weren't up to CMS to decide. It was a state mandate, or even national. But yeah I know CMS has had to hire a lot more ESL teachers...Some of them they consult teachers, and very little of it do they really go with what the teachers think...Like, decisions that are made in Raleigh. I don't think there's an educator on that board that makes decisions. They're politicians" (Interview #005, East).
- "They're removed from the classroom [high level administrators making system decisions]. And I think if they could see all these faces in here and if they could see how they're reading and how they're solving problems and how they're communicating. I think they could see how we do things and how they could kind of back up and if they're getting the really good instruction that they need" (Interview #022, South).
- "People that don't be in the classroom, that's who's making the decisions...And that's why the school system really does need to try to make more accommodations for those people who are working with a population such as ours" (Interview #029, Northeast).

Another teacher made a similar point:

- "I think because of how our schools function, a lot of it is based on what the state or the federal government says. We have been given some of these in the last year to kind of broaden the spectrum and get what you need done. You don't have to, we're not forced to follow the script, the reading script, so we're allowed to think outside the box. So, sometimes we're doing a theme, and that's not a state or

federal government thing. Whatever it takes to get the kids what they need and to get them to grow” (Interview #007, East).

One teacher voiced concern that the district should remain mindful of how decisions play out at the individual school level:

- “On the district level, I think the district has to be a lot more mindful of some of the things they’re doing. One of the things that came out last year was that they said that volunteers cannot come and volunteer unless they had a driver’s license number. Immigrants don’t have drivers license numbers because they’re not allowed to have a driver’s license. And so even if a parent wants to come and sit and have lunch with the child they have to do that in a separated space. And again it’s that sense of segregation, you know. And I don’t even, I don’t think that was their purpose in doing that. I think it was strictly for the safety of everyone else in the school. But what do you do in those cases? Because you’re shutting out parents that should be coming and connecting to the school and now you’re making them uncomfortable” (Interview #006, Northeast).

Interview participants also frequently mention resource constraints:

- “Because of our economic times, they can’t hire the teachers...that we need. We don’t have enough of people to do what we need to do here...They had a training today. ESL teachers, all support staff, tutors, went to cover those classrooms of those teachers so the teachers could go to the training. And, you know, it’s just, we don’t have the manpower to do the job that we need to do. Technically we have six ESL teachers here at our school. Technically we should have nine to do the job... We don’t have the manpower. And we don’t have the manpower because we’re cutting budgets” (Interview #010, East).

In terms of specific actions, several participants mentioned that the district has provided a variety of professional development opportunities for teachers and staff:

- “Lots of professional development. We’ve had a lot of that. On how to basically differentiate the instruction to accommodate the, our students from different countries...One of the things is SIOP” (Interview #014, East).
- “Well I do think that they’re offering training for teachers. And they’re, I mean they paid for my sub when I went to SIOP training” (Interview #016, East).
- “I think they’ve done a really good job with Professional Development. There’s a lot of opportunities for Professional Development if you choose to take them. Umm, and they do other things too, like...SIOP” (Interview #022, South).

Resource allocation is also an important point of consideration:

- “it’s important for CMS to recognize the current reality...And align, and try to use all resources and resource allocation based on that. And, and explore and to your point I mean give these teachers some unique and innovative tools. And, once again, they’re taking away the arts and the second languages, the other languages. Teaching from the school system is, I do not believe this is a smart answer to a, a, a new reality where we need ways to connect with each other beyond language sometimes” (Interview #018, Community).
- “Well, the district as a whole, I know that our schools have ESL teachers, which we also, I think we have five ESL teachers here. So, so that helps. There’s several opportunities for SIOP training. There’s, you know, special funding through the ESL department to attend trainings. There’s lots of resources that have been purchased for us to use. Lots of books in Spanish. And that’s, you know, district wide. Lots of programs available to help students make that adjustment learning a new language” (Interview #021, South).
- “They’re doing the best they can with the resources that are available, however I do believe that there is also a shift of the political views in how to kind of, I don’t want to use the word ‘segregation’, but how the system of buses and neighbor schools have kind of set us back again in creating pockets of the city with less resources because of the neighbors around it” (Interview #024, Community).

In addition to the district-level responses above, interview participants also described a variety of responses implemented and carried out by their specific individual schools, and on the ground in the classroom setting. To reiterate, the way in which the school district and individual schools respond to a growing immigrant population can have direct and indirect, short-term as well as long-term impacts and influences upon broader community receptivity.

6.8.2 Individual School Response

The interview questions also asked participants, specifically teacher participants, their view on how their specific school has responded to an increase in the immigrant population. Teachers mentioned a variety of ways in which their schools have responded to an increasingly diverse and increasingly limited English proficient (LEP) student population brought about by a growing foreign born population in the broader community. In this regard, one teacher in East Charlotte stated:

- “I think that we have tried very hard to be accommodating, to be more than accommodating, to meet these families more than half way. But again, we’re stymied by what happens above us. You know...And when they make budget cuts, they make budget cuts at the upper level because they want to save the school as much as they can. So they make those budget cuts. ‘Oh we can’t have five translators, we can only have two now’...So I think that we’re doing, we are being proactive...And think it’s a little late down the pike, but we are being proactive. You know...There’s a lot of good things happening here. And we’re not recognized for those things. Now, we’re recognized for, ‘Oh, you didn’t make EYP. Oh, you have to have SES tutoring.’ You know I mean, it’s just...We need them at the school level so that we can do our jobs correctly. If we do our jobs correctly then we produce successful students” (Interview #003, East).

Several teachers at each of the three case study schools mentioned training about and implementation of the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol – SIOP – method as part of their teaching strategy relating to limited English proficient students:

- “And then in the school what we’ve done too is we’ve implemented the SIOP method – which is ‘Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol.’ We’ve, they’ve trained the whole school in the past. Not in the last two years, but, you know, within the last three years, they’ve trained the whole school in SIOP so that the teacher’s can know how to differentiate to those students’ needs and what it looks like and how to do it easily without, you know, taking so much more time” (Interview #007, East).

In addition to overall responses by individual schools, teachers also described specific examples of individual school responses. Specific responses teachers mention can be classified into the following categories: ESL programs for LEP students, providing translated materials, education and training for parents and families, encouraging greater parental involvement, and developing community partnerships. The following sections provide a few examples from interview participants about these particular categories.

6.8.2.1 English as a Second Language Programs for Limited English Proficient Students

Interview participants mentioned a number of examples relating to English as a Second Language (ESL) programs for Limited English Proficient (LEP) students as a response by schools to a growing foreign born population.

- “Well, we have enough ESL teachers per grade level so that we can focus on that grade level and on their needs, based on the kids, because we’re serving such a huge population. Six [ESL teachers at this school]. Because all the district allows. In numbers, we’re supposed to have nine. But the district only allows six at the top per school” (Interview #007, East).
- “Staff members are constantly making home visits. And we have, we have ESL classes that take place at night at our school throughout the school year” (Interview #012, East).
- “Some of the ways that we have responded, and I’m really proud of our school for this, is we have an ESL class for parents to learn English. We also have a GED class for parents if they want to get their GEDs. And that’s a night” (Interview #014, East).
- “I think just the, we have more ESL teachers, and in our, we really do have a really good ESL staff. They identify the needs of our individual students, and the pull groups, you know who needs what kind of help or services. We have, you know, a newcomers group for kids who just came in the country and just really need some basic, you know, ‘Where’s the bathroom?’ kind of needs” (Interview #021, South).
- “Well, our school specifically has an ESL teacher per grade level. I know that that doesn’t happen very often. But we do make sure that we have an ESL teacher for every grade level so that those students are getting the services they need. And we have a SIOP committee, Sheltered Instruction. We do Sheltered Instruction. There’s actually a box over there for SIOP strategies that we can use” (Interview #023, East).

6.8.2.2 Providing Translated Materials and Language Interpretation

Interview participants also mentioned another response related to providing translated materials and language interpretation:

- “we have several Spanish speaking employees. So, it’s not as hard to get a translator...Right, right. For an assembly or just for an individual parent conference. For the Burmese we have to go through the International House, or through the CMS translators” (Interview #005, East).
- “We try our best to accommodate families with translated materials. We try to provide as much community resources. Actually tomorrow we’re having a resource fair so we’re going to put out a lot of resources they can access” (Interview #006, Northeast).
- “We do a lot of visuals, and I’ll send home a paper with pictures on it. Or we’ve called downtown for translators, things like that. Or they have caseworkers as well that we can call and have them translate. It’s just, it’s hard to create a relationship. It’s more a necessity when we have to do that. So, that’s our best way. And then like with the kids we do a lot of things in our classroom to try to connect them and get around the barrier as quickly as possible” (Interview #007, East).

- “We make sure we have translators. And sometimes we might have a Spanish, you know a classroom where only Spanish speaking people go, and then one for English speaking” (Interview #031, South).
- “Everything’s offered bilingually. Flyers that go home are bilingual. All our programs, like we’re having a musical tonight that will have someone interpret for our music teacher. We have parent coffees once a month. Those are done in both languages. Everything is done in both languages” (Interview #034, South).
- “We used to have student volunteers, like high school kids that are taking college Spanish or something like that. But for some reason, we had heard that, under confidentiality we could have gotten in trouble with that... Then, we got CMS translators but there’s just not enough. When you have a whole school. So, you either, the kids come and translate and you hope that they’re translating the correct stuff” (Interview #035, South).
- “We have a secretary now that’s bilingual. We have a few teachers that will interpret and that will interpret letters home and will interpret verbally and in conferences” (Interview #037, Northeast).

6.8.2.3 Education and Training for Parents and Families

Education and training for parents and families was another response by schools that interview participants described:

- “Well we really embrace them. And the Parent University is very involved here. When we have programs, there’s not a program without a translator. We’ll have programs just for ESL parents” (Interview #001, East).
- “Yeah, so I mentioned the dropout prevention program. We have parent nights, they call it, gosh what do they call it? They call it Parent University... So a lot of things specific, um a lot of the Parent Universities at my school are geared specifically toward the immigrant or the immigrant student population” (Interview #002, Northeast).
- “Well, for the parents we have the Parent University for them at night. And then last year our school did a program with the Y where they would reach out to the Hispanic speaking families. For the most part, they had some outliers, but because our translators are mostly Hispanic they had some night classes for them to learn English and read and write English” (Interview #007, East).
- “We have Spanish classes for parents who would like to learn English, or for parents who need tutoring or help with concepts that their students don’t understand” (Interview #011, East).

6.8.2.4 Encouraging Greater Parental Involvement

Interview participants also described ways in which schools are encouraging greater parental involvement:

- “I think one of the benefits of being a fairly tight knit community is that a lot of our families you can see come out and volunteer. And we’ve made a big pitch for that and a lot of families do that. We incentivize it. So we actually have parents that we’ll let them know, ‘hey listen, we get Christmas sponsorships from generous individuals throughout the city. And one of the things we’d like to do is actually, if you come out as a volunteer, we’ll give you first dibs at a sponsorship’” (Interview #006, Northeast).
- “She’s [this school’s principal] been great because she’s been very open. The minute she came in, her thing was, ‘How can we better serve these families?’ ...The good thing was the principal prior to her was also very much open to doing things with the Latino community...‘What can we do to get them more involved on the educational level?’” (Interview #006, Northeast).
- “We’re working on the PTA, but even with the PTA, because I worked with them last year, I can’t get a lot of the Hispanic parents to join. They will send their money, but they don’t want to join. And getting them to come up here and be a part of it is difficult, but they will show up to every family function. Every school family function. They show up...Because they value education for their children. And they have Girl Scouts here, but predominantly its others” (Interview #009, Northeast).
- “They, also, we also have had employees that will go out and pick up like our parents that have, from Nepal, that do not have transportation to bring them in for certain activities. That was specific to them” (Interview #014, East).

6.8.2.5 Developing Community Partnerships

Several interview participants discussed the importance of developing partnerships between schools and community organizations:

- “We’re encouraged a lot to bring the community in and to keep that communication open and to bridge the gap with the community, whatever we can do” (Interview #010, East).
- “Umm, and definitely church partnerships. I think CMS especially this year it seems like has done a really good job with opening up to different faith organizations for more support for their schools, especially for the Title I schools” (Interview #022, South).

In addition to the above responses at the individual school level, a number of interview participants described ways in which they individually on their own are responding to a growing immigrant population in their classrooms, as the following section describes.

6.8.3 Individual Participant Response

Some participants described their own personal individual responses to the changing demographic dynamics within their school and their own classroom. One teacher described her use of technology to better interact with certain LEP students:

- “I downloaded an app, a Burmese app, that I could talk to kids from there...I downloaded a Spanish app that actually is a lot better because I can speak into it in English like ‘where is your pen’ and then it says it to them and shows it to them and they can talk directly into my phone and it will translate it for them” (Interview #001, East).

Another participant described how she has been trying to learn Spanish on her own:

- “I would like to speak Spanish. I have Rosetta Stone. I bought it. It was expensive...But, I want to be able to at least understand and I can, I only started within the past month or so. But it’s very good because you can, you do your lessons but you also can do live chat with other people who are learning along with a native speaker” (Interview #003, East).

A teacher in East Charlotte describes how she attempts to:

- “Create a classroom community where we are respectful of each others’ cultures. You know. We have respect for each others’ culture. So, classroom community is big” (Interview #011, East).

Another teacher in East Charlotte describes how she tries to create a safe space in her classroom for the best possible learning environment for her students:

- “My job is to educate children...No matter who they are, no matter where they come from, no matter anything else. My job is to make sure that every little child that I touch during the course of the day takes something with them that will make their tomorrow easier...And so, if it comes out that hopefully that we are teaching life skills and knowledge that will make them able to form relationships outside of school easier, then I’m doing my job...And I can’t let rhetoric, or anything like that, influence me or influence the lives of these children, if I can prevent it...My viewpoint is, my room will always be safe and will always be a place for every child to learn no matter where they come from because they have no control over their birth circumstances” (Interview #012, East).

Furthermore, in addition to school system responses, individual school responses, and responses by individual teachers, there are also community responses, as the next section

discusses. All of these multi-level responses are linked with public education's role as influencer of community receptivity.

6.8.4 Community Response

Various organizations and constituencies within the neighborhoods surrounding the individual schools, as well as from the broader community as a whole, have also responded in different ways to an increasing immigrant population and its impact on the public school system. One teacher in East Charlotte describes the way in which religious organizations in the community have contributed to community partnerships with local neighborhood schools:

- “I think your churches have stepped up immensely. That’s where you get most of the support... We have three or four churches that, you know will come in and do different things, basically for the teachers that help the students, that in a way help the students. But they also reach out to the populations to bring them into their congregations. And, you know, they’re the ones who are putting together the backpacks that have the food in them... They’re the ones who are collecting the coats for the kids for the winter. Yes there are other organizations. TV stations and the radio stations and things like that, that are doing it too. But in the community it’s mostly the churches that have stepped up and have done these things for our kids and our families” (Interview #003, East).

Another interview participant describes the Communities in Schools organization as an important program in many area schools:

- “I can speak for Communities in Schools in saying that they have made a big push in getting bilingual persons into the school system. I believe currently, I don’t want to give you the wrong number, but I think currently we’re at ten bilingual site coordinators. And so we’re trying our best...” (Interview #006, Northeast).

One community member described how her organization partnered with local classrooms and schools to use the arts to assist with bilingual education:

- “So, so we did a program in that school where we worked with the teachers to explore different techniques, bilingual techniques, they could use in their classrooms to incorporate their concepts and their, you know using arts in a

bilingual way. So, work with the teachers. We also worked with children in classrooms” (Interview #018, Community).

Several teachers in East Charlotte described various organizations, such as Target and Second Harvest, partnering with the school to provide resources to students:

- “One of the things I also mention, and another opportunity I forgot to mention is we have a partnership with Target and Second Harvest. We were just on the news this weekend about it where they’re providing ten pantries, ten monthly pantries, and that started last May. And what will happen is, once a month, so starting last May, and we just had our third one, this will be our fourth one this month coming up in November. And they provide of course like canned good items. You know, pretty much non-perishable items. But then they’re also providing perishable items. Usually it’s like one meat. They had turkey one month. They had ground beef another month. Chicken was last month. And then they’re also providing diapers, household products, toilet paper, things like that” (Interview #019, East).

Another teacher described how her school has many community partnerships that assist in the school:

- “Yeah, we also have others, last year, because we have a lot of partners. We are a very blessed school. We have a lot of partners. Like churches that partner with us and they give us those school supplies. Sometimes they bring us food. We have a food pantry also. Sometimes if a parent asks, we can provide them something. Also, some of, we have, we have a food pantry that is held by Target in conjunction with the North Carolina Food Bank. And, we, we, we, umm, we do that once a month for everybody. The parents have to come to a workshop first, and then they can get some of the food. Uhh, also for Christmas time, we have some teachers and also people from community businesses, churches, they sponsor kids and families for Christmas and give them gifts and things. So, we are really blessed. We have a good community that helps a lot of families” (Interview #026, East).

A teacher in Northeast Charlotte described how various groups would bring books into the school for the students:

- “We have different groups come in and bring books in and give each child a book. We’ve had that in the past. I wanna say Kiwanis Club gave all third graders the last couple of years a dictionary” (Interview #037, Northeast).

As the above examples show, there are a wide variety of responses to a growing immigrant population and an increasingly diverse student body at multiple scales: the

school district level, individual schools, individual teachers, and community organizations. All of these responses thusfar are examples of different components playing a role in how the overall public education system influences and shapes community receptivity. Receptivity, then, is the focus of the next section, which presents results from the portion of the interviews specifically tying together community receptivity, public education, and transitioning immigrant settlement geography.

6.9 Community Receptivity, Public Education, and Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography

The fifth and sixth interview questions asked participants to reflect upon the dynamic nature and relationships among community receptivity towards immigration, the public school system, and immigrant settlement geography in Charlotte: How are these responses to immigrant changes playing out in the broader Mecklenburg County climate and context of receptivity toward immigrants and newcomers (to what extent does receptivity influence actions by public schools in Charlotte)? How do these responses impact broader community perception of Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools and how do they impact broader community receptivity toward immigrants? These questions were designed to explore the extent to which action by the public school system influences broader receptivity, and the extent to which broader receptivity influences action by the public school system. Interview participant comments typically revolved around overall receptivity, receptivity's affect on the schools, and school-based changes' affect on receptivity.

6.9.1 Overall Receptivity

As a reminder, receptivity is comprised of many components in a place, and it broadly contextualizes a place's collective experience related to immigrants and

newcomers and in turn affects newcomers' experience in a place. Specifically, receptivity in a particular place is shaped by multiple components, institutions, and structures related to a community's political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. Of those, this research includes the perspective that social, cultural, and educational institutions form an integral part of the broader mirrors, molders, and shapers of a city region's receptivity.

Many interview participants, coming from the education and community realms, discussed overall community receptivity towards immigration in Charlotte through a variety of perspectives. Their comments contribute to discussion of the social and cultural dimensions of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. Specifically, interviewee comments support the role of public education playing an influential role in shaping receptivity in a new immigrant destination. Comments varied widely from broad examples of the interview participants' perception of how the community views immigration and receives immigrants, to the media's portrayal of immigration, political rhetoric around immigration, and how community receptivity relates to the schools. Some participants perceive community receptivity in Charlotte as more positive than elsewhere. Others view receptivity as something that needs improvement. Concerning receptivity in general in Charlotte, one participant in East Charlotte stated:

- “Well, we still have a long way to go. It is getting better. The rate of it getting better is not matching with the rate of immigration... And, the rate of prejudice is different with where the immigrant is from. And, again, where they are going to be on the social level” (Interview #001, East).

Another participant views Charlotte as welcoming to newcomers:

- “I do kind of think that Charlotte is welcoming... And I think that's due to the fact that, and this is my opinion obviously, but due to the fact that I think Charlotte is kind of a melting pot of the northerners and the southerners. I haven't met tons of people from Charlotte” (Interview #007, East).

As does the following participant:

- “Compared with other places, it’s [Charlotte] more welcoming. Comparatively. You still have the ones that are factoring in, you know, not open to it. Let’s put it that way” (Interview #010, East).

The following participant alluded to factual evidence that locales more welcoming toward immigrants and newcomers tend to be better off economically and more resilient at weathering crises:

- “And that’s the irony is that there has been research that has shown that communities that have been more welcoming to immigrants versus communities that were, that put barriers towards immigrants, have progressed economically” (Interview #008, Community).

Concerning the causes of fluctuations in community receptivity toward immigration, one participant remarked upon the influence of economic cycles and the media’s portrayal of immigration:

- “a lot of it [receptivity] is driven by the economy...and a lot of it is driven by the media” (Interview #008, Community).

Also alluding to the fluctuating economy’s influence upon receptivity, one participant stated the following:

- “I just think that there has been a big influx of a different population in our society and it’s taking its toll on our society. Had the economy not taken a dive, had the school system not been losing so many teachers, I think we could have sustained it. I think it could work out. But I think right now, people are upset and they need to be upset at something, someone, some sub-group. So that’s why we point fingers. But until recently, when it first happened it was an issue, but we got into it and dealt with it. But now sometimes issues arise when people, if you figure out what’s wrong with something” (Interview #009, Northeast).

An interview participant from a community organization powerfully remarked about the broader nature of immigration, politics, economics, society, and community receptivity in Charlotte and beyond:

- “We live in a ‘bless your heart’ city. We live in a city where it is so politically inconvenient to talk about immigration. So we pretend it doesn’t exist. And what happens is, you allow the hate and the rancor and the vitriolic debate to bubble under the surface. And we don’t acknowledge it. It pops up in our op-ed pages. And it pops up on the internet. But in our day-to-day conversations, we’d rather just not talk about it. And this is, this is I think the, this is, this is a reflection of our long and glorious history of American ambivalence around immigration... We want it both ways. Despite proven cultural and economic benefits of immigration, we continue to deny its value. Because we are so uncomfortable with the cultural friction that accompanies it. And instead of learning from our mistakes from the past, Charlotte is in a perfect opportunity, we are in a city that has visibly benefitted from modern immigration, in ways you cannot even, no one can deny it. You look at our sparkling skyscrapers and our beautiful, professional sports facilities, and our manicured suburban McMansions and lawns. And we see whose building our roads and building our houses and...it’s immigrants! And if you wanted to take all the undocumented immigrants out of Charlotte in one day, every restaurant, every hotel, every construction site, every cleaning company, and every landscaping company would shut down. Or at least let’s say ninety percent. Let’s not be hyperbolic. Let’s say ninety percent. I mean, yeah... We really, I think in Charlotte, we’re torn. We want it both ways. “Yeah I’d like to see it with compassion but it’s all too much.” That’s what I hear a lot from folks is that, when I talk about immigration and the foreign born, and I talk about the broken immigration system, or I talk about, you know, the work that we do to advocate for equal access to education. People say, “I had no idea.” And of course all us well-meaning white folks feel guilty. Right. We feel guilty. But guilt doesn’t change anything. You need action and courage... You need action and courage to say, you know, you have two choices. Right? Guilty, you would say, you feel guilt and you get angry at yourself because you haven’t done anything about it. You’re not more educated. You haven’t changed anything. You’re complicit in a problem. “Oh, I’m eating non-organic food. Oh, I let the water run while I brush my teeth. Oh I’m a terrible person.” Or, you go to the other side of guilt, which is, “It’s not my fuckin’ fault. You know. It’s somebody else’s fault. They’re takin’ from me.” Right?...So, we have to find a middle ground, which isn’t hating ourselves or hating someone else. It’s finding the humanity in it. We’re all part of the same challenge. I don’t really mean to get so lofty about it, but you know what, the human condition gets us to this place where we blame ourselves or we blame others when blame isn’t the answer. But it’s like kind of our default. I mean, we all go there. Right?...And so that’s, that’s what’s very troubling about this. Is that our city and our state is uniquely positioned to make a choice. To make a choice. And we’re not choosing. Right? We’ve all been there. We’ve all had the tough decision to make. And you just let the decision get made for you... You’re at the crossroads... Right. I mean, there’s a part of me that says, ‘North Carolina, pay attention!’ [to other states that have already passed anti-immigrant legislation and are now suffering the economic consequences, such as Arizona, Georgia, and Alabama]. And I guess on the one hand I’m saying, ‘Thank you for paying attention. Thank you for paying attention and seeing we’re not

going to undermine our entire state so we can stand politically principled on this idea that ‘It’s the rule of law.’ Well, what’s the law? It’s corrupt. And why are we as a state trying to enforce a broken federal law instead of holding our elected officials accountable for changing the law?” (Interview #013, Community).

Another community participant described a climate of mixed messages in Charlotte regarding immigration and newcomers:

- “I think there is a whole bunch of mixed signals going on. There are parts of the city that are very supportive, and, and, and, you know, and the ESL’s too, to be allies with this community and to support it, and embrace it. So I see it as a lot of love and a lot of nurturing in getting resources out there and trying to as a community. But there, you know, I think it’s divided and there are mixed perceptions and there is the other part of the community that sees these as all of the negative that this can bring. Which, you know, of course there are economic challenges, and there are social challenges and all kind of challenges that comes with it. But I think there is, within the community, there is a mix of signals and support” (Interview #018, Community).

Another community member described a perspective of overall community receptivity:

- “And it’s my own personal opinion that, umm, people are just afraid. And it’s a variety of things. They’re afraid of people who are different from them. They’re afraid of something that they’re not familiar with, be it language, culture, whatever. And, they’re afraid of losing something. You know, losing money, losing power, losing culture, whatever it may be. But there’s a, there’s a, there’s a fear that just kind of almost permeates a lot of these anti-immigrant bills. And, it just really, it makes me sad for the people who do it, and it also uhh, I don’t know, just, it’s just sad. You know. It’s just sad that someone could be so scared of change, or of just losing something. Umm, I don’t know. And you know there’s so much more that goes into it. You know. There’s laziness. There’s not wanting to find out more about different cultures. You know. A lot of people are happy to, a lot of these people who pass these bills are happy to go eat at a Mexican restaurant, or go stay at a hotel, or go, or have somebody come mow their lawn. But they don’t realize that the people who are mowing their lawn, cleaning their rooms, cooking their food, washing their dishes, come here to earn what to us is a shit wage, but to them is a bounty. You know. They’re providing those services and they’re doing these jobs that we don’t want to do” (Interview #030, Community).

Two participants mentioned that they do not think that the broader community has an adequate understanding of what life is really like for immigrants:

- “You know, I think, large, huge portions of Charlotte don’t know that this, that this is even an issue...Umm, but you know most people who don’t live on this corridor are frankly terrified of coming to East Charlotte”(Interview #033, Community).
- “They don’t understand what it’s like, or even to be a mom here with five kids and your husband’s deported and now you’re left with no income, nowhere to live...” (Interview #036, South).

In addition to the above broad comments about overall community receptivity in Charlotte, participants also described community receptivity and its effect on public education.

6.9.2 Community Receptivity Effect on Public Education

Other participant comments touched on how they view the possibility that the nature of receptivity may or may not have an effect on public education and the decision made by schools to respond to a growing immigrant population. The general consensus among participant comments is that overall receptivity may have a slight effect on what the schools do, but does not have a strong direct effect. This is due to the nature of public education and the mandate and precedent in place that public education exists to educate everyone. In subsequent sections, however, the perception of public education’s impact on receptivity becomes evident.

Concerning community receptivity and its effect on schools, one participant stated the following:

- “I don’t think [community receptivity affects public education]. I think they truly believe in all children being educated. And you know...I never saw anything that, other than you now when I saw the testing, anything intentionally stacked against immigrants...I don’t think enough data is out there for them to look at because it’s been so swift...What other kind of population has increased at that rate? You know, including any kind of population in anything. It’s just such a high rate” (Interview #001, East).

Another participant stated that receptivity has a neutral affect on public school decisions:

- “I think it’s neutral. Because like with CMS, they’ll like put something in place. But is it really effective? I mean where’s the research that shows a non-Spanish speaking person will be effective with a Spanish speaking child?...Yeah, here they, here’s what we’ll give you all...In my area, that’s the majority of the population. You go to the apartments, you go into the houses around. I mean we got like several apartments, oh my goodness!” (Interview #004, Northeast).

Another teacher succinctly stated the following concerning the mandated role of public K-12 education:

- “You know, it doesn’t matter if you believe in it or not. They’re here and they need to be educated” (Interview #020, South).

Another teacher stated:

- “Well, the school system doesn’t have a choice one way or the other. You gotta educate. There’s no choice... We have to accommodate” (Interview #036, South).

These last two comments hearken back to the legal precedents that form the arc of education policy bending towards being more receptive over time. In addition to the view of receptivity’s affect on public education, interview participants also described their view of public education’s affect on receptivity, discussed in the next section.

6.9.3 Public Education Affect on Community Receptivity

Other comments from participants related to whether or not the actions of public education itself could have an effect on broader community receptivity towards a growing immigrant population. The consensus is that indeed public school action can likely have effect to some extent on broader receptivity. Consider the following comment from a teacher in Northeast Charlotte:

- “I think it could. And I think that, and I think that if the schools, and I don’t want to say ‘did the right thing’ because I don’t want to imply that we aren’t, that individual teachers aren’t working to do the right thing, that if we purposefully, district wide, taught positive receptivity and whatever, and in whatever manner we could, I think that we could, you know, make that fluctuate toward more positive. I don’t think that we’re doing that now, which may be causing the negative receptivity, or you know fluctuations. But I don’t know if it’s directly

related or if it's just a coincidence. But I would like to think that it could have a direct impact... Yeah I think so. Because ultimately those kids are going to grow up...and be the ones who are going to have the positive or the negative receptivity" (Interview #002, Northeast).

Another teacher in Northeast Charlotte stated that:

- "The increasing diversity of the student population indirectly, I think, impacts the public's view of CMS because with that diverse population, everything becomes much more of a challenge to teach. And again it all comes back to what the public sees in CMS. And what the public sees is the test scores or the success or growth or achievement or, you know, which schools are closing, which schools are staying open. And all of that comes back to assessments. And anytime you have a diverse group of students, not an entire group I shouldn't say that, but typically when you have more diverse or minority or immigrants, or core, you know, scores will be lower than not. So, indirectly it will" (Interview #002, Northeast).

A teacher in East Charlotte stated the following concerning public schools and receptivity:

- "Yeah, how they handle them, how they organize it, would affect the receptivity and give the school climate and the community climate. Because the community is the school" (Interview #010, East).

Another teacher in East Charlotte stated the following about how schools influence receptivity:

- "Positively. I think that in education, you know, we can't, we can't say, "No, you can't come in my classroom." I mean, we welcome them with open arms. We're working hard to translate and make sure that they understand and to meet them where they are so that they can succeed. So, we're more welcoming of immigration issues" (Interview #011, East).

The above quotes are but a few examples of the consensus among interview participants that schools influence receptivity. Schools are among the most receptive places in a community and therefore have the opportunity to shape broader community receptivity.

In addition to receptivity, interview participants also discussed their perspectives on Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway, public education and the public good.

6.10 New Immigrant Gateways, Public Education, and the Public Good

The seventh interview question asked participants to reflect and comment upon the concept of Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway and what that idea means for public education as a public good: Scholars have suggested that Charlotte is a new immigrant gateway and destination with new forms of immigrant settlement. How does this idea and its ramifications relate to education provision as a public good (and to community perception of public schools and community receptivity toward immigrants)? Participant comments recognize Charlotte's relatively recent experience of a rapidly growing immigrant population, the context of becoming a new immigrant gateway, the shifting receptivity towards immigration, and the necessary responses by the public education system. Ultimately, the recognition of Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway strengthens the foundational context within which community receptivity towards immigration exists. Also within that context, public education acts as an influencing factor shaping receptivity through a dynamic process.

Recognizing that Charlotte is a new immigrant gateway destination, and also noting that immigrants tend to initially settle geographically close to other immigrant populations, one participant made the following statement:

- “I think that they place immigrants in areas where other immigrants already are because that's their support system for them. I think that you're going, you know, I don't think that, well immigration in general has slowed down. Especially from Mexico... You know, because they're not getting any jobs here either. Even if it were to slow, I still think that you're going to have, because it's an opportunity. You're going to have immigrants continuing to come whether it slows down or not. So, your school system is going to have to continue to be proactive to deal with that” (Interview #003, East).

In terms of the consequences to the public school system because of Charlotte's becoming a new immigrant gateway destination, one participant stated:

- “So, you don’t want to end up with a crappy school system that nobody wants to go to. Nobody wants to send their kids to. Nobody wants to teach in. You don’t want to do that. No matter what your population is...And, you know, they have to stay on that course of high expectations. If teachers have high expectations for their students, well CMS needs to have the same high expectations...So, we’ll see. But I do see it going in that direction if they don’t get a handle on it. You know, if all they’re doing when they have board meetings is fighting with each other, you know, ‘well he called me this name, and she called me that name...’ Well, you know. Get on with the program. Listen to what people are telling you” (Interview #003, East).

Harkening to perspectives various participants previously stated concerning the role of public schools, changing population dynamics, and availability of resources, one participant stated the following:

- “I don’t think they’re going anywhere. They’re just populating so fast. I don’t think they’re going anywhere. So I think that in Charlotte, you know the school system will take notice and start pulling that money into that area where they’re moving to...So eventually they’ll be like, “Y’all, we got to do something.” Something. Because you look at our scores, it’s not where it needs to be when you break it down into subcategories and all that stuff. So, you’re going to have to do something with those scores. It’s not that the teacher’s not teaching. It’s more what resources we have to be effective with them. They just go on with their own purpose” (Interview #004, Northeast).

Another teacher commented on public education’s inclusive and welcoming role in the broader community:

- “Being a teacher in Charlotte I feel like being able to reach out and provide something that’s a necessity for any child, you know, and really making it a better education for those who, you know, need to make two year’s growth in a year, or learn English, you know, to be able to provide for their family, you know. Soon. And, go ahead...I think that public education is still welcoming and still available to those. And overall I think it’s a good thing for the ESL kids and the immigrants. And I think revamping some things would be helpful” (Interview #007, East).

That interview participants recognize public schools should be a place of inclusion and welcome to all people is important to the broader understanding of public education’s institutional role in positively influencing community receptivity. Again, as mentioned

previously, public K-12 schools are among the most receptivity places in a community and are required by law to be receptive to all students regardless of their background, life situation, or documentation status.

A community interview participant made the following comments connecting Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway and the increasing diversity that brings with the impact upon and importance of public education in the broader community:

- “The influx of immigrants as far as the impact of how the provision of education is beneficial because it provides a point of reference to many of our of the issues that we have had in our community. And the exposure to the world gives us an insight not only into the world but also into ourselves as Americans. So, I think public education becomes more embraced and I think it helps us understand what do we need to focus our education and enhance. It allow the system, when you have the diversity that we have, it allows the system not only to talk about the sciences and the humanity of education, but also relate to those first hand through the exposure through the community in which we live. There’s a difference to talk about Ethiopia and then be able to go and eat Ethiopian food and then meet someone from Ethiopia and listening to history and related to them. And just hearing about Ethiopia is just an abstract concept that kids and family might not relate to” (Interview #008, Community).

Another interview participant, in East Charlotte, continued with the above thought, referring to the broader community benefits brought forth by an increasingly multicultural community:

- “Well it certainly allows the public to expand from, from, set neighborhoods, set ideas. It definitely expands, you know, knowledge in general. I mean, I guess the best way I can put it is this, I think we miss out when we are only around people who are just like us because we miss what the world is, and we’re in a global society, and we can’t, there’s no way of turning that back, nor do I think it would be a good thing to turn it back, but that’s my personal opinion” (Interview #016, East).

These ideas form a link back to the earlier opportunities produced by a growing immigrant and multicultural population. Such opportunities may be seized by the public education system as a catalyst upon which to further reinforce and strengthen education’s

role in positively influencing and contributing to broader community receptivity and understanding.

Another participant in East Charlotte commented on how Charlotte's becoming a new immigrant gateway and destination puts pressure on the public school system to become a positive role model and continue to strive for greater receptivity:

- “I would think that it puts more pressure on school system to be almost like a role model. Or can we, the other question is, can we look at another city that's a gateway? How to learn from their model? Bring their model. What are we doing? Could we improve? I mean that's how. But if we are that... And, are we responding as fast as we can? Is it normal that it takes as many years? I don't know. Those would be my questions. I would be interested in knowing that... Right. I think we're being proactive. I really, I get that sense and being a Latina woman myself. I think that the opportunities are there and I think we all, I think we're getting there. I think we're at a much better place right now than we were ten years ago. Even some parts of the city that I go to sometimes and I used to be the only Latina woman, and now there's others. So I really think that we are improving even in the school system I see that” (Interview #032, East).

This comment also forms a link to the idea of public education's role in influencing broader community receptivity. When the school system recognizes this, they can strive for ways to become more proactive in their position as community role model and positive shaper of receptivity.

6.11 *A Priori* Themes Analysis

The systematic content analysis of interview qualitative data leads to several findings about the intersections among receptivity, public schools, and the broader community in Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway. In particular, *a priori* results suggest that receptivity: (1) is unfolding differently in a new immigrant gateway; and (2) is actually being constructed in a new immigrant gateway as the voices of teachers and others are overlain on top of a multiscalar receptivity process. I now discuss these points in more detail.

6.11.1 Receptivity is Unfolding Differently in a New Immigrant Gateway

The results suggest that receptivity is occurring differently in a new immigrant gateway. In contrast to traditional immigrant gateways such as New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles, which have long histories of receiving and integrating immigrant populations, new immigrant gateways are navigating a new and complex dynamic of increased immigrant settlement. While the extent of receptivity in traditional immigrant gateways is relatively stable over time, receptivity in a new immigrant gateway is more fluid, fickle, and malleable. Receptivity in a new immigrant gateway is much more susceptible to a wide array of influencing factors from the various dimensions of receptivity at multiple scales – political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions.

In the same way receptivity evolves differently in a new immigrant gateway compared with traditional gateways, there is an argument that receptivity behaves differently in specific areas of a city. As receptivity acts differently across the inter-urban scale through the country (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2012, Jensen 2006, De Jong and Tran 2001, and Espenshade and Hempstead 1996), so too does it occur differently within a particular metropolitan area at the intra-urban scale. There is a general distinction between receptivity in traditional immigrant gateway metropolitan areas and new gateways. At the same time, within a particular metropolitan area, receptivity may be constructed and behave differently across the intra-urban metropolitan landscape. One community within the metro area may have a longer history of immigrant settlement and adjustment and consequently more experience with receptivity. Another community within the same metro area may have seen only a recent growth of a foreign born

population. Due to a lack of a history of immigrant settlement in that particular community, the area would have much less experience with receptivity.

The three case study schools represent the three distinct areas of immigrant concentration within Charlotte/Mecklenburg County. Each of these three areas have experienced different histories of immigration and are experiencing different levels of current immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration (Smith and Furuseth 2004; 2006). These differences are seen in the quantitative data for Mecklenburg County and for Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. Differences are also seen in the qualitative data from the three case study schools. The South area is the oldest area of current immigrant settlement in Charlotte. The east area began to develop as an immigrant community after the South community. The Northeast community is the most recent area for immigrant settlement in Charlotte. Among the data from the three case study schools, we see participant comments related to the extent of experience receiving immigrants in the three communities. Participants in the South and East schools, although mentioning challenges, often discuss successful responses and opportunities resulting from immigrant settlement in their communities. Participants from the Northeast school spend more time discussing challenges resulting from both immigrant settlement and a culture of poverty than do the other schools. The Northeast school has a much shorter history of receiving immigrant families than do the other two case study areas in Charlotte. Further research will help shed light on the hypothesis that, while receptivity is generally occurring differently at the inter-urban level – in a new immigrant gateway as a whole compared with traditional gateways – receptivity is also occurring differently at the intra-urban level across

communities within the same metropolitan region. This could be the case in both established and emerging gateways.

6.11.2 The Construction of Receptivity in a New Immigrant Gateway

A priori themes describe the process of constructing receptivity at multiple scales. Teachers are constructing receptivity in their classrooms. Teachers, administrators, and staff are constructing receptivity for their school around conversations with their peers. Individual schools and system administrators are constructing receptivity within the school system as a whole. These points of receptivity's construction at multiple scales contribute to the overall city's level of receptivity toward immigration – in essence they are the building blocks of the city's overall receptivity.

Consider the participant comments about challenges, opportunities, and responses to transitioning immigrant settlement geography. The ways in which teachers and schools respond to challenges and embrace opportunities are examples of the construction of receptivity. A teacher, through his or her response to challenges and opportunities brought by increased immigrant settlement, plays a profound role in the construction of receptivity at the classroom level. Teachers, with their voices overlain on top of the receptivity process are agents constructing the structure of receptivity. They operate from a framework of embedded knowledge. A teacher's situated knowledge is important as she or he brings her or his own experiences to the collective construction of receptivity in classrooms, schools, the school system, and the city as a whole.

Collectively, teachers, administrators, and other staff, through their aggregate response to immigration's opportunities and challenges, construct receptivity for their particular school. Schools then have the opportunity to influence the school system's

level of receptivity. These overall actions over time contribute to receptivity's multiscalar construction for the new immigrant gateway as a whole.

6.12 Chapter Summary

As many of the above comments indicate, there is a strong recognition of public education's important role in the broader community. Subsequently, the institution of public education recognizably has an important role to play as shaper and influencer of broader community receptivity towards process of immigration, as well as immigrant integration and inclusion into the broader community. This is a central theme and point of this research, and will be discussed in further detail in the subsequent theoretical discussion and conclusion chapters. At this point, I transition from discussing *a priori* themes arrived at through interviews and turn to discussing the themes that emerged *organically* from the interviews. While the *a priori* themes describe receptivity's multiscalar construction, we will see in the next chapter that *organic* themes reveal a fluid, fickle, and convoluted receptivity process.

CHAPTER 7: *ORGANIC* THEMES AND RESULTS

“Something that I hate, that I really hate is when I see kids that were born here, [and] because their parents are undocumented, the parents get deported, and then family gets divided... We have the kids here with uncle, or friend, or relative [or who wind up in foster care]. And then we have more and more of that. It’s something sad. I’m totally against that...[I see this] very often! I have moms here. I have mothers. They come crying...Because sometimes they come here and they say, ‘you know, my husband he was supposed to come home from work and it’s been ten hours. And his driver’s license was expired and he couldn’t renew it. And now he’s deported. And I’m here now and I have my three kids and they were born here. And now I don’t know what I’m gonna do.’ [And those kids are citizens because they were born here]... ‘he’s back in El Salvador’ or, ‘He’s back in Mexico. And now I don’t have a job here, and I’m pregnant, and I have my three kids. And even though they have Medicaid and I don’t have a job. You know, it’s hard for me as a single mom to have a job and raise my kids.’ This is very often... That impacts the kids very, very, very badly, because then you see that their grades start to drop, and they start to, you know, to be withdrawn. They’re sad. And sometimes they have to go to counseling. And that’s hard. That’s hard for, for, for the kids. And, and, you know, I really hate to see that, but I see that often... We do the best we can. We help them here. We have those uniforms here. We have those backpack Fridays. We have, you know, a couple of resources to support the kids. But I think that, when it comes to having a family divided, that’s a really heavy stress.” – comments by a parent/family advocate in East Charlotte (interview 26).

7.1 *Organic* Themes

In this chapter, as with the previous chapter, I first present an overview of the data uncovered from the qualitative interviews organized by *organic* theme. This is then followed by an overall analysis of the *organic* themes at the end of the chapter. Each *organic* theme represents an idea frequently discussed across the interviews, but was not specifically expected at the outset of the study or included in the original interview schedule question design. In this section, I discuss the results for each *organic* theme that emerged from the systematic content analysis of all interview transcripts. Where

appropriate, quotes representative of a particular theme are introduced and discussed.

Table 7.1 charts the emergent *organic* themes and presents data about each theme related

TABLE 7.1: *Organic* themes

Theme	Overall (N=38)		East (N=15)		Northeast (N=6)		South (N=8)		Community (N=9)	
	Interviews Containing Theme	Total Occurrences								
Refugees	16	32	11	23	1	1	1	1	3	7
Transiency of Immigrant Students/Families	12	20	5	9	2	3	4	5	1	3
Mixed Status Families	20	39	7	17	4	6	6	9	3	7
Barrier of Culture of Poverty	20	40	9	23	4	8	5	6	2	3
DREAM Act	9	21	3	5	2	3	0	0	4	13
Private School Growth	9	18	4	9	3	7	2	2	0	0
What a participant would like to see occur	25	97	8	24	5	28	6	11	6	34
Other Challenges	30	129	11	40	5	22	7	23	7	44
Other Opportunities	25	43	9	13	5	9	6	8	5	13
TOTAL OCCURRENCES		439		163		87		65		124

to the number of separate interviews containing an instance of the particular theme and the total number of instances of each specific theme for the entire overall interview dataset and also for subsets of the data from East, Northeast, South, and Community participants.

Table 7.2 presents the percent each *organic* theme represents the total number of *organic* theme occurrences for all interviews and for each interview sub-group: East Charlotte, Northeast Charlotte, South Charlotte, and community organizations.

TABLE 7.2: *Organic* themes, percent of total

Theme	Overall (N=38)	East (N=15)	Northeast (N=6)	South (N=8)	Community (N=9)
Refugees	7.29	14.11	1.15	1.54	5.65
Transiency of Immigrant Students/Families	4.56	5.52	3.45	7.69	2.42
Mixed Status Families	8.88	10.43	6.90	13.85	5.65
Barrier of Culture of Poverty	9.11	14.11	9.20	9.23	2.42
DREAM Act	4.78	3.07	3.45	0.00	10.48
Private School Growth	4.10	5.52	8.05	3.08	0.00
What a participant would like to see occur	22.10	14.72	32.18	16.92	27.42
Other Challenges	29.38	24.54	25.29	35.38	35.48
Other Opportunities	9.79	7.98	10.34	12.31	10.48
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100

Figures 7.1 through 7.5 illustrate the percent each *organic* theme represents the total number of *organic* theme occurrences for all interviews and for each interview subgroup: East Charlotte, Northeast Charlotte, South Charlotte, and community organizations.

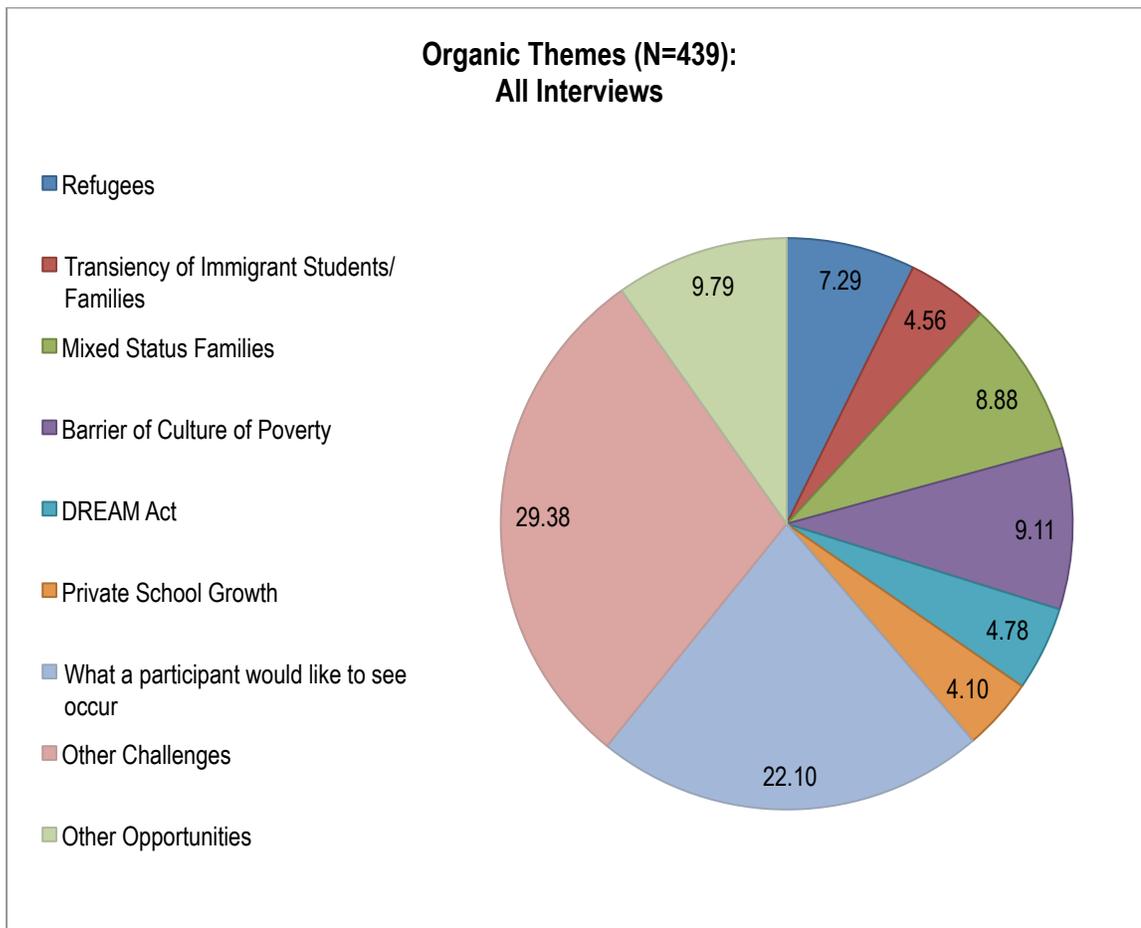


FIGURE 7.1. Organic themes, all interviews.

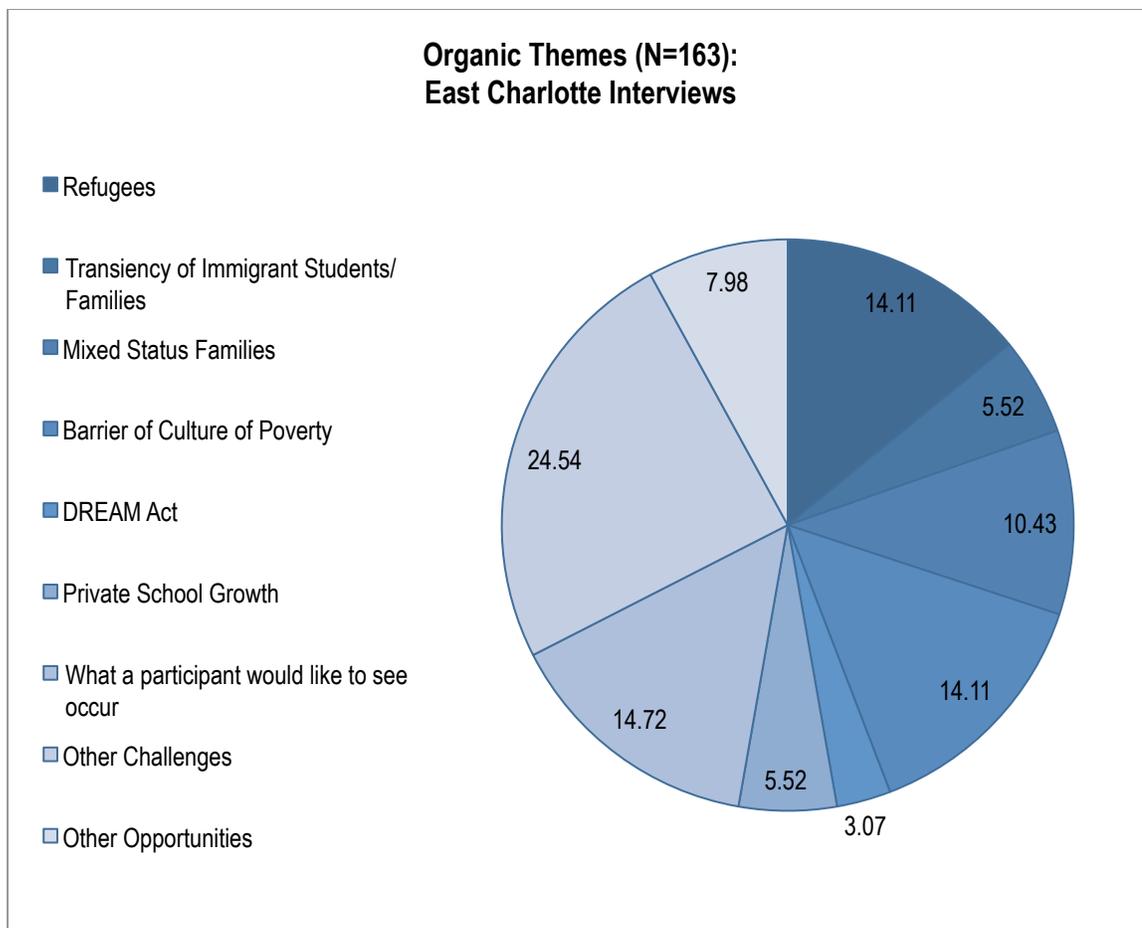


FIGURE 7.2. Organic themes, East Charlotte interviews.

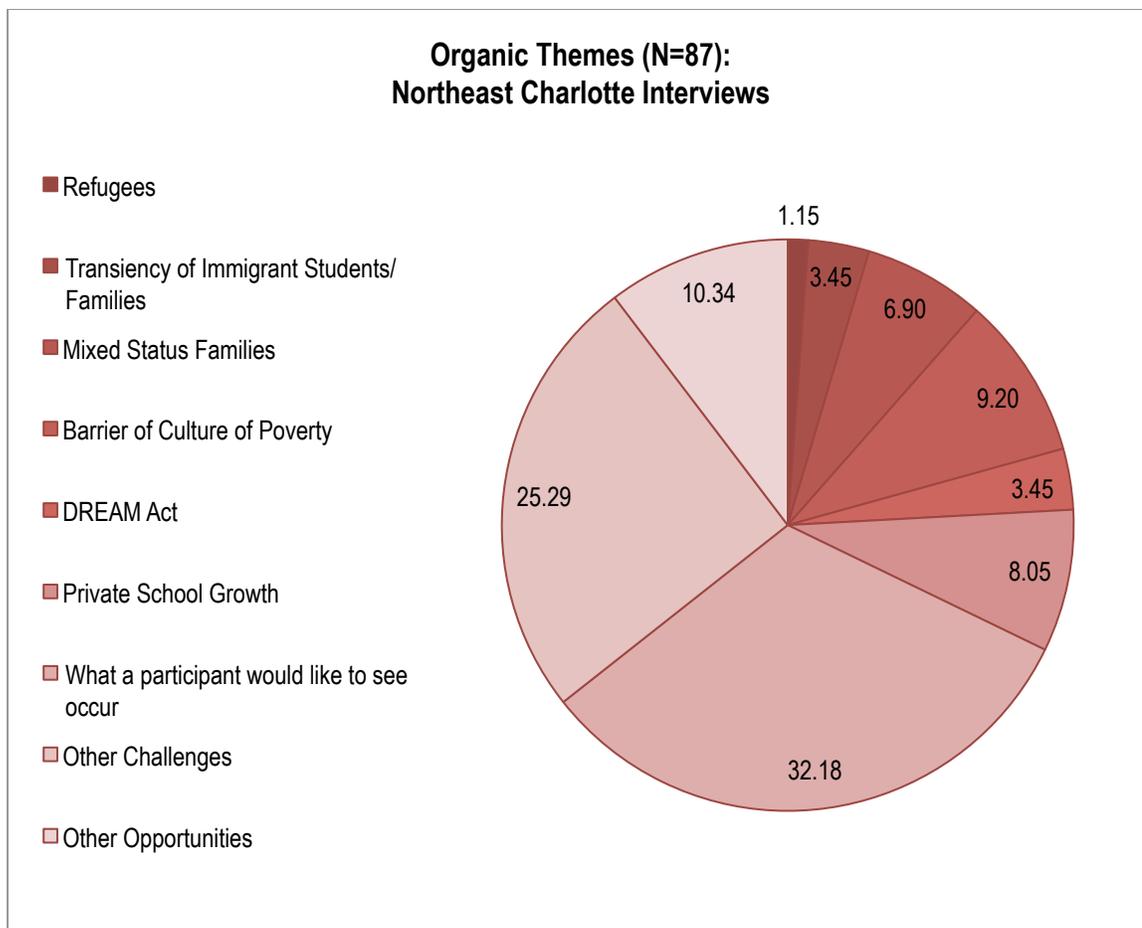


FIGURE 7.3. Organic themes, Northeast Charlotte interviews.

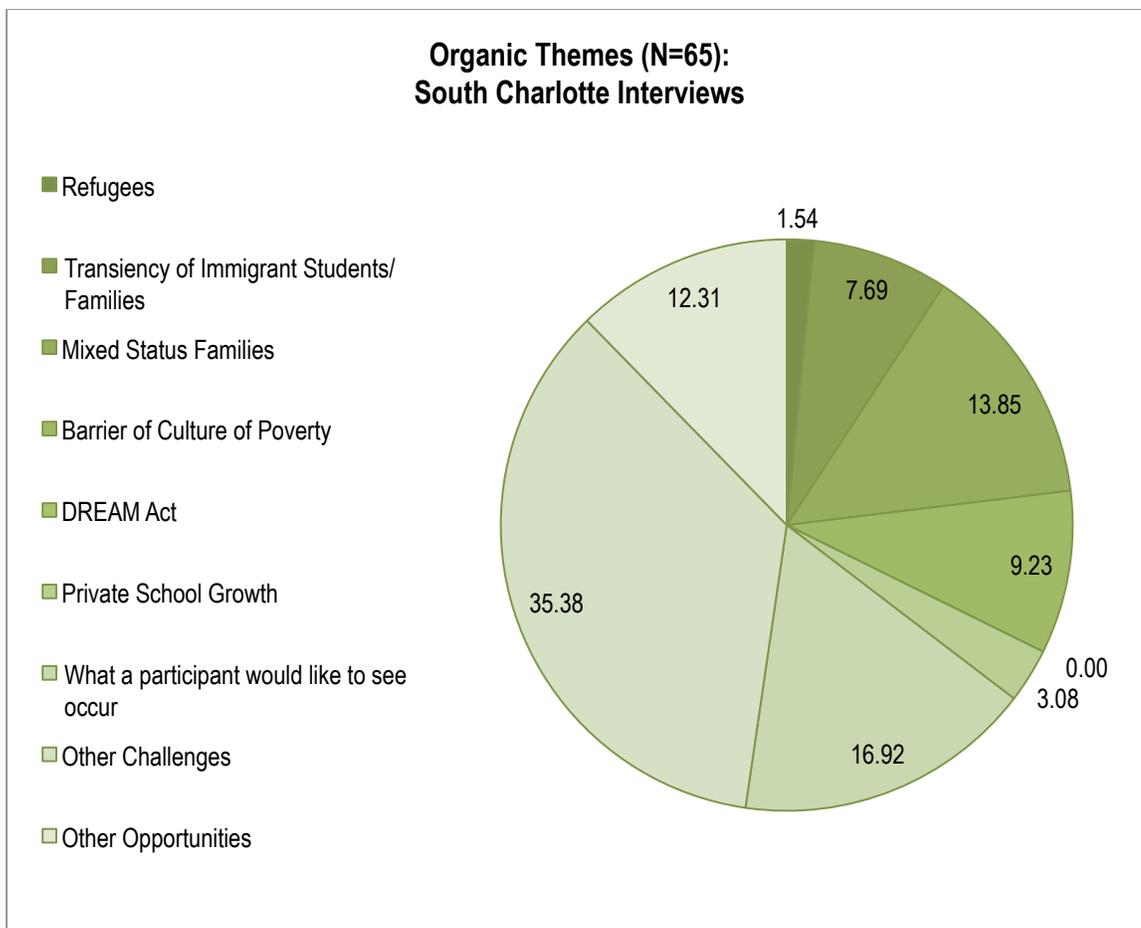


FIGURE 7.4. Organic themes, South Charlotte interviews.

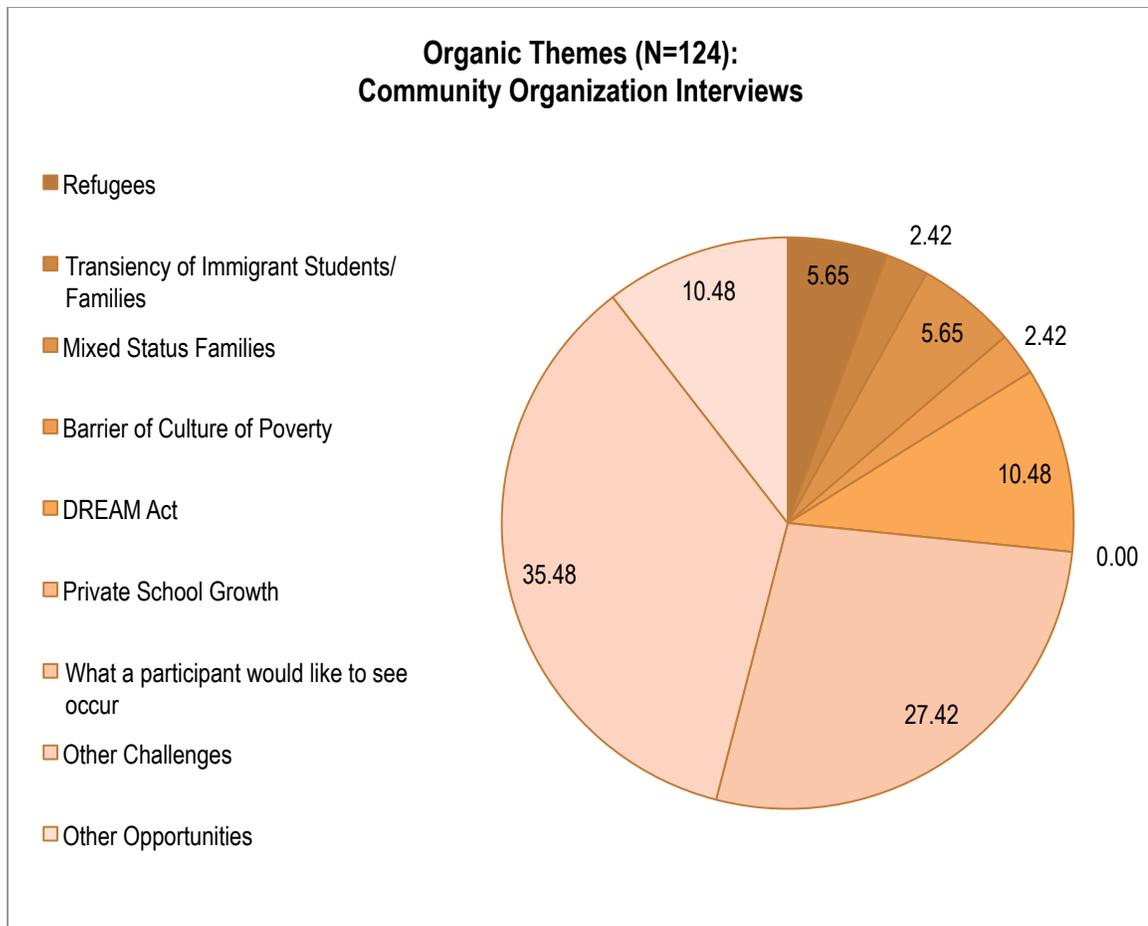


FIGURE 7.5. Organic themes, community organization interviews.

7.2 Refugees

Vignette: Julia teaches second grade at an elementary school in east Charlotte. One day in November, a staff member brings a new student to her classroom. The student's name is Chit. He and his family are newly arrived refugees from Burma. Chit has had no experience with English, and therefore cannot read, write, or speak the language. Julia, who has had other refugee students in her classes previously, primarily from Burma and Nepal, was wondering when this day might arrive. "How will I integrate this child into my class?" she thinks. "What might this child already know? What was his educational experience like in Burma? How will I impart new knowledge to this student who does not know English? How will I administer a mandatory test to him?" – Based on comments from several teacher interview participants in East Charlotte.

The topic of refugees as part of the immigrant population, particularly at the East Charlotte school, emerged as part of a number of interview conversations. Teachers at the

East Charlotte school indicate that the surrounding East Charlotte neighborhood is a refugee resettlement site. However, several teachers mentioned that it seems that recently arrived refugee students may show up in their classroom at any time. One may then wonder, is there a disconnect between refugee resettlement and public education? Both are ultimately part of government agencies. Refugee resettlement is coordinated by the Office of Refugee Resettlement in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services with assistance from other government, non-government, and social service non-profit organizations. Public education is coordinated by various organizations: U.S. Department of Education, state level departments of education, and local public school districts.

Refugees from various countries are often resettled to specific neighborhoods in specific cities within the United States. Those neighborhoods are zoned for specific schools. One question that arises from this process is: How much coordination and communication occurs between those involved with refugee resettlement and those involved with public education?

Individual teachers at a specific school located within a refugee resettlement community in Charlotte, North Carolina, indicate that there is much confusion as to best practices for incorporating refugee students into their classrooms. Although many resources are available for students coming from Spanish-language backgrounds, due to that population's large size in the area, there are few timely resources available for refugees from countries with less widely spoken languages (i.e., Burma, Nepal, Cambodia, and various African countries). Furthermore, teachers cite frequent instances of cultural misunderstanding on the part of refugee students and teachers. Students misunderstand the culture of education in the United States and the teacher's meaning.

Teachers misunderstand or are unaware of the culture of education in the refugee's homeland.

Questions that arise include: What resources related to education are provided by refugee resettlement organizations to the refugees they are resettling? Is any information pertaining to cultural literacy about the culture of education in the United States provided to refugees?

The following comments are examples of interview participant statements related to refugees and public education. One East Charlotte interview participant stated the following:

- “So you can see that the Latino and more, there's actually been an increase now also in our Asian. Particularly refugees. Hmong refugees from Vietnam area...and you know the families that are coming from other countries tend to congregate in the same area either because they're placed in that area by their refugee organization, which makes it easier for the organization to get to them, you know. Or because somebody else's relative has moved over there and there's a, you know, a space for them” (Interview #003, East).

A community interview participant made the following comment in reference to refugee resettlement in the area and public education:

- “Yeah, they're [Catholic Social Services] the State Department's largest contact for refugee resettlement in Charlotte...They provide support for, and I lost contact with them. I used to be at the International House. And I used to be very involved with the international community. Kind of was in touch with a lot of those individuals. But now, I know they're still doing that because it is a, they're specialized in that...Catholic Social Services. Refugee Resettlement. They provide through the State Department, I think, they provide assistance in that. And they're the best resource as far as refugee resettlement...We're bringing a group from Iraq, a group of students...but there are different types of refugees. It's like within the Asian population you have, it's the highest achieving group in almost every school district in the United States by ethnic background. But if you break that down you will notice that the highest achievers are usually Chinese descendants, Japanese, individuals who come from areas that are more developed. And then you break that down and you look at the kids that are struggling in those communities. And they're struggling in the same way as any African American or Latino child that comes from marginalized populations. You will see Hmong,

Laotian, some Vietnamese kids, marginalized communities, poor communities that have not had this access, even though they are part of the Asian community, are not, and you count them as a group, it's a number that's more important than the others. It's the group that has the highest achieving, but when you break them down... The stereotype is completely broken. They're struggling in math. They're struggling in language arts. The same as any indigenous person that hasn't had that opportunity with education in their own countries" (Interview #008, Community).

Another interview participant in East Charlotte commented on how it is difficult to assess a refugee student's educational background and the educational environment from which he or she came from within their homeland:

- "Trying to get information about what they have done, when you have a child who is having difficulty. Did they attend school where they were? And how do you get that information? Were they there on a regular basis? I mean, for some of these kids they're from a war torn area. So it's not just, you know, yes it's immigration but it's also refugees who are coming... I had children from Burma. I had children from Nepal. I know at our school, I didn't have this kind of child from here, but I know we had some children from Ethiopia. Somalia" (Interview #016, East).

Yet another East Charlotte interview participant remarked on how that particular school positively responded to and aided the growing immigrant and refugee population in the surrounding community:

- "we had a very large Burmese population. They're Burmese refugee population. And our teachers really embraced that population. They went out into the community and provided transportation for them. Really embraced them. Brought in translators. They basically have a lot of different dialects in that region. So they brought in three different translators to welcome those parents because they felt kind of lost. They didn't know the school environment. And so we invited them in into the school. They came in. Those three translators translated for them, told them all about the school. Those parents started coming to ESL classes, started coming to, I think, GED classes. Then some teachers even volunteered to go pick them up in vans and different transportation to bring them to those GED and ESL classes. Those parents really became part of the school community... And there were Hispanic and Burmese parents. But, the Burmese parents struck me because, you know, I hadn't been as close to that culture before. And they're actually religious refugees from their country. They're Christian refugees from their country" (Interview #017, East).

In terms of social service organizations assisting immigrant and refugee populations, an interview participant in East Charlotte made the following comment:

- “Catholic Social Services [Catholic Charities], and another program called HIAS, H I A S, and I forget what it stands for [Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society], as far as H I A S, they tend to house a lot of the refugees in this area here. Here, mostly on the east side I would say. The apartment complex across the street, Four Seasons, is one of them I know...Is typically where they’re, where they’re placing the individuals. And, I’m trying to think of any other apartment complexes. Typically that’s the one that I’m aware of that where a lot of them are residing. And, what will happen is, I know I’m jumping around here, like these two organizations, they will assist them with the three months, I think it’s about three months or four months rent...And then pretty much working during that time, from my understanding, they’re also helping them find jobs, and getting connected with ESL programs...For us here, we have, we have a couple individuals from Liberia, very, very small amount from Liberia. The biggest population I would say is more Burmese, which used to be what, Myanmar, Burma. Cambodia...Let’s see some other ones, Burmese, Cambodia, and then different African countries. Like I said, Liberia...Nepal. Yes, and Indonesia, that’s the other one...but those are the typical. Now I know there are some others schools, Merry Oaks is another big one with refugees. If you ever, if you want to learn more. Merry Oaks Elementary is another one there. And they’re on the eastside as well. Central. I know there’s some housing on Central. That’s where they’re housing them as well. I’ll have them flip flop sometimes between because of affordable housing, they’ll flop between the different apartment complexes, I’ve noticed...And then they’ll go to different schools...I think, especially with a lot of the refugees, may not be able to have the proper translators. I know, because, you know, we’re finally learning what resources to use through CMS to be able to have that. But just the language in itself, you know” (Interview #019, East).

In addition to comments about a growing diverse population of refugee students and families in the area, a number of interview participants also commented about the transiency of immigrant students and families, and the challenges to education that such population transiency poses. This organic theme of transiency is discussed in the following section.

7.3 Transiency of Immigrant Students and Families

Interview participants also described the inherent transiency of immigrant students and their families. Oftentimes, a student from an immigrant family will arrive and/or depart within the academic school year. The arrival or departure may be attributed to a variety of factors such as traveling back and forth between the U.S. and their home country for events, or moving in and out of different school zones within Charlotte. From the teachers' perspective, the problem this transiency presents is consistency in a child's education experience, as one teacher in East Charlotte notes:

- “I’ve asked them where most of the time they know when they’re leaving. “Where are you going?” “Oh I’m moving across town.” “We’re moving back to Honduras.” Usually when they say “we’re moving back to Honduras” or Mexico, I’ll see them again. The Middle Eastern students, quite a few of them will go away for a year and then come back. I’ll be like... “Hey, I haven’t seen you in a while... Yeah, they’ve gone back to Pakistan. Mainly Pakistan is where we have some of those students. The African students tend to stay for not too long. And I don’t know, I mean real short periods. It’s rare for... It’s rare for me to have them more than two years. We don’t have a lot of African students. And maybe, I was reading articles about how the African and the Asian students are brought over more by churches... You know the Latino and Hispanic students are brought by family, but the ones from Myanmar, they don’t have family here. The ones from Cote d’Ivoire don’t have family here. They’re brought over by churches. So the churches when they bring them over here they do set them up in apartments but I think their goal is to set them in a home. And so once they have that home they leave... Yeah and my neighbor where I live that was their situation. They were able to get a home with church help. They have two little ones. And they’re from Cote d’Ivoire” (Interview #001, East).

A participant in Northeast Charlotte also made a similar comment:

- “Many of our students are very transient. Meaning, you know, they’ll come in and they’ll stay for a couple of months and then they’ll have to move out... Most of the time moving to other parts of Charlotte. Occasionally to other parts of the state. I have one student last year who had to go back to Mexico... But, yeah, typically just moving to a different part of Charlotte. And we get a lot of students coming in. And when they come in it’s typically from other parts of Charlotte. I would say as a majority. But, you know, we... This year we had, let’s see we had twenty students move in, I would say fifteen came from other, and that’s just in the fifth grade, umm fifteen came from other, other CMS schools. And then we

actually had two who came from, one came from Mexico, one came from the Congo...And then I think we had one from Texas, one from Florida, New York, I think...I had one student like that last year, and I don't think I had any like that before. And they were just out of school. It wasn't an immigrant student though, so. But they were just out of school. They're withdrawn with the intention of going to another school and when they came back to enroll they said you know "where you been? What you been learning?" (Interview #002, Northeast).

A community participant remarked on the uncertainty involved in teaching students from a transient population:

- "As a teacher, you really never know if your students will one hundred percent come back to school the next day. They, if their parents get deported, then they typically will go with them, if both parents get, you know. So we had a few students that we were missing for like a week, a week and a half, and we were trying to ask the other students, what's going on, do you know, have you heard from them? And we thought for sure that they had been deported when it turns out they weren't. They were on vacation or something...But again, that's a communication issue. Right. This is a summer program. These kids weren't getting grades for this. It was okay. But think about if that happens during the school year and the teacher doesn't know where the kid went and you don't know when they're coming back and they missed all this content. And they get held back. And it's a big cycle" (Interview #015a, Community).

Another teacher from East Charlotte further reinforces the recognition of the existence of a transient population of students:

- "There's a lot of transience or mobility within classrooms...And well I have a child in my classroom now. Both parents are Indian...She's gonna be gone for a wedding in India. So she's leaving on the sixteenth of November. And she won't be back until after we come back from winter break...She'll miss a huge amount of time...She just misses it...And, hopefully, she catches up" (Interview #016, East).

A teacher in South Charlotte also commented about the transiency of immigrant students:

- "Umm, we have, we had one family that would go in the winter time and then come back in the spring. They were migrant, what were they?...Migrant farmers or workers. Where they come here for a couple of months and then go back to, I believe it was Mexico but I'm not sure. And then they come back...And you'll see these students that are transient in their folder, like, it's school after school after school after school after school" (Interview #035, South).

In addition to challenges posed by immigrant students, a number of participants across the spectrum of interviews remarked on the existence of many mixed status families, as the following section describes.

7.4 Mixed Status Families

Vignette: Roberto and Silvia are brother and sister. They were born in Charlotte and are U.S. Citizens. Their parents migrated to Charlotte years ago for the abundant service sector work they had heard about due to the city's rapid growth, and they are undocumented. Roberto and Silvia, in fifth and third grade, arrived home from their Charlotte elementary school one day to find their mother in a state of extreme panic. Her husband had been arrested during a raid at his worksite that day. He will likely be deported. In the meantime, Roberto and Silvia's mother, who is eight months pregnant with their third child, will now have to support her growing family on her own without the aid of her husband's income. The added stress to her as well as to Roberto and Silvia is severe. "Will we ever be reunited with my husband? Will he get to hold our new baby? How am I going to support my children?" she reflects. Meanwhile, Roberto and Silvia's performance at school suffers because of their constant worry and stress about their home situation. "What if our mother is also picked up by immigration agents? What if we go home after school to find that she is gone?" they worry. "Where will we go and what will we do?" – based on comments from several teacher interview participants about real situations such as this that they experienced, and comments by a parent/family advocate in East Charlotte (interview #26).

Interview participants discussed the growing, but often forgotten issue of mixed-status families. Mixed-status families are families composed of both immigrants and native-born citizens. For example, the mother and father may be undocumented immigrants while their children may have been born in the United States and are U.S. Citizens. Or, older siblings may be immigrants while younger siblings may be native-born U.S. Citizens. This presents many problems relating to social services and family unity. With undocumented immigrant parents, for example, at constant risk of being apprehended and deported, U.S. Citizen children are at risk of being separated from their parents. Although there have been recent recommendations by the current presidential

administration regarding *prosecutorial discretion* for such cases – allowing taxpayer resources to be focused on actual serious criminal cases – the danger of family separation still persists. Consider the following comments and anecdotes from several interview participants. First, the comment by an East Charlotte interview participant presented at the beginning of this *organic* themes section summarizes this situation:

- “Also, something that I hate, that I really hate is when I see kids that were born here because their parents are undocumented, the parents get deported, and then family gets divided... We have the kids here with uncle, or friend, or relative. And then we have more and more of that. It’s something sad. I’m totally against that... And we have to get more sensitive about the immigrant because if you remember years ago, Charlotte, when Charlotte started to expand and got the big Charlotte that we have today, all those houses, all those places were built by immigrants” (Interview #026, East).

An interview participant in Northeast Charlotte made the following comment:

- “I was thinking when I was talking about my student who had to leave to go back to Mexico last year, just a little anecdotal story. Umm, last year I had students who were talking to me and they were telling me how they were afraid to go to Wal-Mart with their parents because they heard that immigration was checking IDs at the door, and that they were, their families were all afraid to go to Wal-Mart because they were afraid that they would have to go back to Mexico, that their parents would get kicked out of the country... to go back to Mexico... I would say the vast majority of my students are citizens because they were born here and their parents are not citizens... So, it is something that the students are aware of. They aren’t, you know, oblivious to immigration issues and stigmas attached to them. They’re very much aware. Even the young kids... So how are they supposed to learn when they’re worried about their parent going grocery shopping in the middle of the day and then getting sent back?... And seeing the same student who I told you about who was sent back to Mexico. Her father was arrested for a DUI and held. And during that time she was saying how she was going to visit him at prison. And I don’t know if he was held in prison or if it was just like a, a holding place before they’re deported. So, he was deported, but her and her mother were not deported. They just chose to go back because the father went back. So, in that case it was just that” (Interview #002, Northeast).

Another Northeast Charlotte participant stated the following regarding mixed-status families and availability of social services for native-born family members:

- “We have kids in families that are shut out of services. I had a family two years ago who the student, the two youngest children were able to access medical care because they were born here. So they had Medicaid and one of them actually had a severe heart condition, no I’m sorry high blood pressure and a couple of other conditions related to that, severe headaches and all this other stuff. And so she’s able to go to the doctor. The two older boys didn’t. And so they had extreme headaches and they had heart palpitations. And it became almost impossible to try to find some help” (Interview #006, Northeast).

For a parent to see that only some of his or her children have access to needed services, but others do not, is obviously heartrending.

A community organization member interview participant related the following anecdote about a U.S. citizen student from a mixed-status family:

- “There are a couple of young people...his is a perfect story. Because, so he is this tall, handsome, gentle, giant of a guy. He’s, where does he go to school? I want to say _____. I could be wrong. He’s thirteenth in his class. His entire family was deported...He lives with his uncle. He never knew. He’s a U.S. Citizen. He’s the only U.S. Citizen in his family. He’s been living basically on his own, you know, with his aunt and uncle. He has almost no support...He didn’t, like, just a story, we were talking the other day. He was reading like that. [squinting]. And I was like, ‘do you need glasses?’ And he was like, ‘Oh, yeah, my glasses broke.’ Well, he’s eligible for Medicare. He’s a U.S. Citizen. And he didn’t know. No one signed him up. No one told him that...I mean, and he’s, he’s like a, his weighted GPA is like a 4.6 or something crazy. He’s the most humble, modest guy you’ll ever meet. I’m like, ‘you’re thirteenth in your class.’ He’s like, ‘Yeah, but there are like kids ahead of me.’ I’m like, ‘Yeah, twelve.’ Hahaha [laughing]. ‘I mean, you’re amazing!’ He’s in the top five percent of his class...And the odds he has had to overcome are extraordinary. And, he’s here almost every day. And he’s just a charming guy. And he’s so thoughtful. This is the kind of story that needs to be told. The story of this. If he wasn’t part of this program, he would, I mean, he’d be okay, but he doesn’t know. He didn’t know he was eligible for Medicaid so he could get glasses. He didn’t know that he, all the scholarships he could apply for. No one’s encouraging him to do that. There hasn’t been a guidance counselor saying, ‘Oh, where are you going to school? What’s going on?’...I mean, he’s a U.S. Citizen, and he doesn’t know what his resources are. So, we can even take the whole documentation nonsense out of this and say, ‘This is what is happening in the immigrant experience.’...This is what happens. And if the _____ of the world are being failed. Think about the other kids” (Interview #013, Community).

An east Charlotte interview participant, who had previously worked at the South Charlotte school, remarked about the challenges mixed-status families face:

- “And I’ve seen often cases at places like _____. Especially at _____, I saw cases where moms and dads were taken and kids ended up with aunts and uncles and they were lost little babies without parents and, you know, through no fault of their own. And parents that were, you know, often scared, it was a gamble everyday to get up and go to work because if they got stopped...they wouldn’t be there in the afternoon” (Interview #017, East).

Another community organization interview participant related the following example:

- “There is one particular member of our youth group who is an American citizen. He’s seventeen. And he’s a senior in high school. He comes here and volunteers here a lot. He spends a lot of time here. His, he has five brothers and sisters. And they’re all American citizens. All the kids are American citizens. However, the parents aren’t. And the father, I’m not sure exactly how long ago, but the father got removed. You know they caught him somehow, and they sent him back to Guanajuato, in Mexico. So the mother was like, ‘Well I can’t be here by myself with six kids, so I’m going back to Guanajuato with him.’ So she takes all the kids except him back to Mexico. But, they won’t go back to Mexico because they’re not from Mexico. They were born here in the United States. So now you have five American citizens living in Mexico because their parents can’t come back. So, that’s just one example of the complexity of mixed status families. And, umm, when people who don’t realize, or address the immigration issue, or address the issue of, you know, mixed status families, they don’t realize that, the complexity there is beyond anything that you can understand, or that you can kind of, say it’s black or white. It’s so gray” (Interview #030, Community).

One teacher in South Charlotte related the following sad story about a death of a child in an immigrant family:

- “We had a time when we had some kids, the parents wouldn’t let ‘em go to the bus stop because immigration was waitin’ at the bus stop for ‘em...Or waitin’ for the parents to open the door. You know... Well, the student that their little four year old sister was killed this year, you know they sent the body to Guatemala and they had to send her by herself because if they went back they couldn’t come back here. So here you’re sending your baby alone. But, I mean there was family there to receive the body, but, ...Your daughter alone...” (Interview #035, South).

Another teacher in South Charlotte mentioned the following example:

- “Well we’ve had families where, we had one, the two brothers were home alone I believe for a few days because dad was deported and they sent mom to jail

waiting to be deported. And another family within the school took the kids in. But there was no education. I think you had the older brother. There was no education for a while because the children were worried about where they were gonna live. And I think last year they finally got to go home with their parents” (Interview #036, South).

As the above examples and anecdotes concerning mixed-status families clearly indicate, this is a widespread issue. These examples further reinforce the need for comprehensive immigration reform. As public education systems and other community organizations recognize their important role in positively shaping broader community receptivity, a broader climate of positive receptivity towards immigration will help pave a smoother path towards rational comprehensive immigration reform.

In addition to the above organic themes, interview participants also noted the broader barriers posed by an overall culture of poverty in their particular schools and surrounding neighborhoods, as the following sections describes. This barrier not only affects immigrant students and families, but most students within particular schools.

7.5 Barriers Imposed by an Overall Culture of Poverty

Vignette: Carol is an art teacher at an elementary school in east Charlotte. She has worked at this school for years and has witnessed the profound demographic changes that have taken place in her school in recent years. As her school is classified as Title I, the majority of students attending the school are from families living in poverty. Carol notices that poverty seems to be an underlying issue affecting all students, not just immigrant students or students from immigrant families. The lack of resources is a difficult barrier to surmount for many students and families. Carol often takes it upon herself to go above and beyond her daily teaching by visiting the homes of students and meeting their families. This allows her to approach her students with a clearer perspective of where they are coming from and what sort of additional needs the students might have. Additionally, Carol often goes out of her way to purchase necessary school-related items for her students that they might not otherwise be able to afford. Despite teachers being underpaid, Carol does these things with her own money, time, and resources. – Based on comments from several teacher interview participants.

Participants discussed an underlying culture of poverty as a potential barrier affecting other aspects of immigrant integration into schools and communities. The barrier of a culture of poverty hearkens to the broader historical context described in previous chapters. The historical legacy of black-white relations in a place such as Charlotte still linger even as Charlotte becomes a new immigrant gateway. New immigrant settlement is but another layer on top of the historical issues of race that may or may not still exist in a particular place. One question which arises from a discussion of poverty barriers, which affect both the immigrant and native-born populations in many places, including the neighborhoods surrounding the three case study schools, is: To what extent are the challenges that these specific schools face today residual from decades past? In other words, what old challenges are merely complicated by new processes of immigrant settlement in a particular place? Were challenges already present in these schools and surrounding neighborhoods prior to a sudden rise in the foreign-born population? If so, to what extent do the historical legacies of race (i.e. the historical black and white race issues) and place impact the current challenges and opportunities brought about by an increasing immigrant population?

The barrier of a culture of poverty compounds the other barriers in place – language, culture, for example. One teacher in East Charlotte made the following statement concerning a barrier of poverty:

- “These children are requiring a lot of needs. And I’d hate, I don’t want to really put it that it’s the immigrant children. It’s kind of like when they say well ‘black vs. white.’ It’s not. It’s poverty vs. non-poverty. And they’re coming in here in a state of poverty. So we have to address the poverty at the same time that we address the English skills. Because like, okay, is it more important that this child learns how to add double digit numbers? Or is it important that we know that he’s going to have shoes tomorrow? And we’re going to opt for the shoes. And we’re getting tested ourselves and graded on the double digits... You’ll learn to add.

That will come. But it's cold tomorrow and you need some shoes" (Interview #001, East).

A teacher in Northeast Charlotte commented about her own school and other peoples' reaction when they hear about the particular neighborhood within which she works:

- "I think that the immediate reaction about _____ [school location neighborhood] is, 'Oh, _____!' And it's not because of the immigrant population at all. It's because of the low economy, high poverty location, history with gangs and violence" (Interview #002, Northeast).

Another East Charlotte participant commented:

- "I see a lot of poverty...But food is an issue. And furniture is an issue. And cleanliness is an issue...basic necessities are an issue for them. So of course, what we consider important is not going to be as important to them if they're not being fed" (Interview #003, East).

Yet another teacher in East Charlotte commented about how the barrier of poverty experienced by students at home comes with them into the classroom:

- "But then we have to understand that, because these parents are working...They can't, you know, they're manual laborers, they're working hourly wages, so we have to take into consideration, they can't get off from work all the time and come up here...And, we have kids, we have students who come in on Monday that have barely eaten on the weekends" (Interview #014, East).

A community member commented upon the compounding of several barriers, including poverty:

- "And you lose the role models. You know, you lose the sort of cultural role models. Not to mention that you're, you know, you compound that with poverty. And so you end up with, like a high poverty black school, a high poverty Latino/immigrant, you know, immigrant refugee school" (Interview #033, Community).

As the above comments indicate, poverty is obviously a significant barrier for students and families to surmount.

In addition to the above organic themes, several interview participants also mentioned the DREAM Act, discussed in the subsequent section.

7.6 The DREAM Act

Several participants mentioned the DREAM Act as something they hope will be passed into law soon. The Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act was first introduced in the U.S. Senate in 2001. The act, which has been reintroduced unsuccessfully several times, would allow undocumented immigrant minors who have lived much of their lives in the United States (i.e. were brought to the U.S. as young children), and who meet certain other standards such as good moral character, will graduate from U.S. high schools, and agree to pursue higher education (a 2-year or 4-year degree at an institution of higher learning) or serve in the military, to obtain legal temporary residency for a period of time. During that time, they would be able to apply for permanent residency, which would ultimately put them on a path to U.S. citizenship.

Teachers and community organizers who participated in this study and mentioned the DREAM Act during the interview conversation, overwhelmingly support the concepts of the DREAM Act. Within the current status quo, undocumented students, regardless of their work ethic, character, and academic or other achievements, have little opportunity for advancement beyond high school. This dearth of opportunity creates a sense of hopelessness, leading to an above average high school dropout rate for undocumented students who might otherwise go on to succeed academically and contribute professionally to society. Many who work with immigrant students were pleased that the Department of Homeland Security and the current presidential administration announced, in June 2012, *Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals* (DACA) – amid the context of prosecutorial discretion – for immigrants who would otherwise be eligible for the DREAM Act if and when it passes. This decision paves the

way for students to better plan for their future academic success without the constant fear of being apprehended or deported. This decision also allows for taxpayer resources to be better spent focusing on apprehending and detaining actual dangerous criminals rather than children and families who have committed no criminal acts.

Public secondary schools are already required to educate all children per the 1982 Supreme Court decision in *Plyler v. Doe*. The DREAM Act would allow those opportunities afforded to children already in the United States to be extended to higher education. This would also decrease the number of young men and women currently forced into an underclass status and marginalized existence. One teacher in East Charlotte commented:

- “And some of the folks who are just so up in arms – ‘Well they need to go back home!’ No. That’s not, they want to be viable citizens here. Like when I read in the paper the other day how the exchange of citizenship for going to college or military service [reference to DREAM Act]. How would anyone have a problem with that? But people do... ‘Oh, heaven forbid they want an education’” (Interview #001, East).

A community organization interview participant made the following comment:

- “And I guess, finally, I will say that the fact that even if students want to pay and that is beneficial to the system overall because you have more money and you have more resources for everybody, and the denial of education I can’t understand that because that’s an American value that is, you know I think it was Thomas Jefferson that said that, or maybe Benjamin Franklin, one of those two said that, I think when they created, and I have to go back and research that a little bit, but when the public education idea concept became a right for our citizens, I think very early on that they decided that that is the basis for a democracy, was the public education system...And, but it’s bigger than that. I can’t believe we’re denying education to people. And, even if they don’t stay here, even if they go back to their own communities, how beneficial would it be to have a doctor that comes from a, someone that comes from an indigenous community that is neglected in northern Mexico, and becomes a doctor in the United States, and then goes back and opens up a hospital in that community? Economically the impact is incredible, the connections to the U.S., the resources. So sometimes I think our own fears are making us make decisions that are counterproductive to our own economy and our own self-interest” (Interview #008, Community).

Another community organization interview participant commented:

- “So I mean, yeah. That, this youth organizing work, we’re saying, push for the DREAM Act. You know, push for comprehensive immigration reform. And what happens over and over and over again is you get so close, and then it fails. And all these people who’ve been mobilizing, and organizing, and making phone calls and contacting your Congresspeople, and writing letters, and doing every form of social activism we can think of. It fails. And they’re all heartbroken. And it’s not a sustainable way for community change. And it really isn’t true power building either. You know. It’s good because people have been trained to become activists and they understand how they can have influence. And, you know, encourage people to vote, become registered voters, etcetera. But, at the end of the day, we lost. And that’s heartbreaking” (Interview #013, Community).

Passage of the DREAM Act would allow schools to further encourage all their students to become productive members of society and contribute back to the broader community.

This in turn will help foster a more positive climate of community receptivity.

7.7 What Participants Would Like to See Occur

Occasionally during an interview, a participant would discuss what he or she would like to see happen in their school and in the school district or community as a whole as it relates to immigration and public education. The following comments serve as examples of what participants would like to see occur. One participant noted the need for further translator and interpreter resources:

- “I think we need one [translator/interpreter] for each grade level because we have so many that when you do pair at teacher conferences, we have to do IEPs, you know they have to be referred to the intervention thing. Those two people can’t be at different places at one time” (Interview #002, Northeast).

Another participant commented on the broader national and state level conversations concerning immigration and education:

- “on a national level I would love to see amnesty provided to those persons who have been here for an extended period of time and are willing to pay their taxes...And, and some sort of incentive for becoming a taxpayer, for becoming a citizen. A lot of my families want that. Because they, you know, we have kids in

families that are shut out of services. I had a family two years ago who the student, the two youngest children were able to access medical care because they were born here. So they had Medicaid and one of them actually had a severe heart condition, no I'm sorry high blood pressure and a couple of other conditions related to that, severe headaches and all this other stuff. And so she's able to go to the doctor. The two older boys didn't. And so they had extreme headaches and they had heart palpitations. And it became almost impossible to try to find some help... On a state level, I wish the Safe [Secure] Communities thing would kind of go away. At least in the respect that the focus would be again on people that are dangerous to the community as opposed to those that committed petty crimes or committed a petty offense like a brake light being out" (Interview #006, Northeast).

Furthermore, another participant noted the need to better cultivate future community leaders:

- "we need to cultivate leaders. We need to start them off young and build up leadership in our kids. Because so many of their parents aren't leaders. You know. They can't, they're doing as much as they can with what they have. But there are people in this community that can really mentor and nurture leadership in these kids. That, you know, time restrictions and the constraint of being one of the only Latino leaders in the city doesn't allow them to do... Yeah, and so I think it's necessary to really develop that leadership skills in our kids because this next generation is going to be the generation that determines how successful this experiment is" (Interview #006, Northeast).

One community organization interview participant described what she would like to see occur related to schools being at the center of the community, as well as a need for a cultural shift:

- "I think that the idea of, probably two things that need to happen. You know, one is that the idea of the school being the center of the community is a very culturally appropriate idea. It's a way that people can really buy in. Oh, I, and people need to feel invited. They need to feel invited. And they need, there needs to be a sense of, a sense of joy. I mean I don't know how to say it, it sounds so silly, but the idea that we're proud of our school, we're proud of our parents, we're proud of our students, you are welcome here. That every single, that there is from the principal, to the bus drivers and the janitorial staff, everybody in between, there is a belief that our students and families are valued and should be treated with dignity and respect no matter where they are from, no matter what language they speak. And it's a tough thing to get through. But you need a real cultural shift. You need there to be a sense that our school doesn't exist without the families we serve. It just doesn't... It just doesn't. And so, it is our responsibility to engage

them as human beings first and foremost. And it's a tough thing to do, especially in a school that deals with a lot of issues around poverty. But I think a cultural shift needs to happen in every school...And, you think of ways to invite people" (Interview #013, Community).

Another community interview participant noted the desire to place a greater emphasis on teaching languages:

- "I think by the school system, I think we need to really place a great emphasis in not stopping to teach other languages. I think that there needs to be greater number of hours of instruction devoted to learning languages in general. Also, probably, trying to figure out a way to create those immersion schools or immersion programs that are so effective in my opinion to continue putting more resources there" (Interview #024, Community).

A teacher in Northeast Charlotte noted that all these budget restraints are ultimately hurting the students, as is the overabundance of testing:

- "I don't think nothing needs to be cut when it comes to the children's sake. And these children need all the help they can get. And not just saying the Latinos or the children that come in from Africa. I'm talking about the Caucasians and African Americans too. EC, I mean everybody. They need to, and all this testing that's coming in. As far as I'm concerned they need to do less testing, higher more people, so we can have classrooms with smaller sizes. And when you get more individualized instruction, to me that's when grades start going up" (Interview #029, Northeast).

A participant in East Charlotte mentioned the importance of building and strengthening community partnerships:

- "I think it's all about building partnerships really because there's people, there's resources out in the community that are willing to help. It's all about reaching out and trying and making an extra effort to do that. I think families are becoming, the families who have arrived recently have less knowledge about the insurance situation. But the longer they stay here and the more they, they have children in this country, they're more knowledgeable about it and they're able to use those resources" (Interview #032, East).

In addition to what people would like to see occur, interview participants also noted other challenges and opportunities that did not emerge as part of the *a priori* themes presented earlier in the chapter.

7.8 Other Challenges

In addition to challenges and opportunities included as *a priori* themes, which were expected as part of the interview protocol, a number of challenges and opportunities emerged implicitly as *organic* themes that were not explicitly expected at the outset. Participants frequently made mention of these challenges and opportunities. Parent involvement and participation, and budget constraints, were both challenges mentioned by multiple participants. Oftentimes, these challenges are compounded by underlying language and cultural barriers. The following quotes are examples of other challenges.

7.8.1 Parent Involvement and Participation

One teacher in Northeast Charlotte mentioned the challenge of strengthening parental involvement within the school:

- “I think parent involvement is a lot of times, many times a big challenge because, you know, we need parents, we need to partner with parents to give the child the best education. But a lot of times there’s no, there’s the language barrier as the number one obstacle. Frequently parents are intimidated to come in schools, meet with the teacher, and say ‘my student is having this problem.’ And a lot of times parents don’t know. By the time they get to fifth grade, there’s fifth grade math that parents don’t know, and not because they’re immigrants but because, you know, a lot of times, you know, non-immigrant parents...very high poverty. And, when we’re looking, _____ [school neighborhood location] is pretty much half black, half Hispanic. So when we’re looking at those two sub-groups, the Hispanic parent participation is significantly higher than African American population. But it’s still not near where we want it to be...and I don’t have a number off the top of my head...speaking anecdotally, if I call a Hispanic parent and say ‘will you come in for a meeting, we have this problem, it’s time for a parent-teacher conference.’ They’ll be in here in a second. But they never seek me out and set up conferences...And when we offer parent nights, we have a large number of Hispanic parents that show up and participate, and want to participate. I think it just comes down to those, you know, the language barrier, the intimidation factor, the unsure of, you know, what to do...Or how to approach the school...And you know, and you wonder if that’s preventing parents from coming into schools too. And participating actively in their student’s education...there’s that fear there” (Interview #002, Northeast).

A teacher in East Charlotte conveyed a similar perspective:

- “we’re a high poverty school so we don’t get a lot of parent participation. There’s been more in the past couple of years because finally we have a PTA, it’s a PTO, that these particular women and men have a vested interest. And they are trying to, you know, they’ve done quite a few things over the past year. But still, for the size of our school, this has always been another one of my picky little issues. That, you know, for the past five years I’ve said, ‘When are we going to have a PTA that works?’ And actually last year, and part of the year before that, we actually got it together. So, and that was with support of the administration...well I think that if they’ve been here any length, if they’ve been here long enough, and are going to, and have the mindset that they’re going to be staying in the area, then I think you get more of an interest. And I think the language, if they speak more than limited English, they’ll participate more” (Interview #003, East).

Furthermore, a teacher in South Charlotte made the following comment:

- “I guess the big struggle with, with us is that our parents can’t help. I mean many of our parents can’t help our students. And so if there was something that could be thrown into the mix. Some sort of a tutoring program that the kids could attend after school to get that little extra help that they need. You know, just help with homework or help with understanding concepts. I think that’s something that we’re failing at right now is there needs to be something more that we’re giving them because they can’t oftentimes get it at home...I think a lot of it is their lack of ability to help. But I think, secondly, we’re talking about people who, I mean some of these people are working a couple of jobs, some people are working twelve hours a day. Some of these kids don’t see their parents very often” (Interview #021, South).

A teacher participant in East Charlotte made the following comment:

- “Also, another challenge that I see is parents participation. Sometimes parents they don’t have the time. Sometimes parents they got two jobs, especially immigrants. Sometimes they don’t see how important it is for them to become involved with their children learning. Sometimes they think that the teachers do everything. But they have to understand that it’s a joint effort of the school, the teachers, the administrators, and also the parents. And for me the parents play a crucial role in their children’s education” (Interview #026, East).

Obviously, parental involvement is an important component to a child’s overall educational experience.

7.8.2 Budget

In addition to parental involvement, interview participants also made mention of budget constraints as yet another challenge. One community participant commented:

- “It is that resources are limited...So what is it, you know, are cutting potentially resources that can help support this. And it would make life easier for families, but also for teachers...And provide teachers and resources to help them” (Interview #018, Community).

Another community participant mentioned the following:

- “You know, we don’t, you know we’re short on resources like everybody else. We’re short on staff. And each one of us does something, you know, does extra around here all the time. But that’s, I mean, you know, but that’s what we’re here for. And that’s what we’ll continue to do whether we get the extra money or not” (Interview #030, Community).

In addition to other challenges, interview participants also described other opportunities arising from a growing immigrant population.

7.9 Other Opportunities

As with other challenges, there were also other opportunities interview participants mentioned. One community participant described the importance of learning another language from a young age to cultivate bilingual and multilingual cross-cultural understanding. Many recognize this as an important skill in a global society.

- “Cognitively if you learn a language in a culture before a certain age, you can learn it with the accent and all the cultural innuendos. And that shows to me that multilingual and multicultural is compatible with high achievement and with a more complete education” (Interview #008, Community).

A teacher in East Charlotte remarked on the opportunities available to students and staff:

- “The opportunities our children have. I think our staff is better trained because of the massive amount of children with different backgrounds that we deal with. And so we have a lot more training in that way to help them out. I think that we have better funding than some of the other schools as far as providing extras for our kids. We have a very active staff in looking for grants and things like that. That’s how our library got re-done. We have staff members who actively search opportunities to help in any way we can” (Interview #012, East).

A community participant described how education is a key component to solving compounded societal issues:

- “I do believe the education overall is probably the key to many of our compounded issues that deal with our state of economics, state of even peace or war state worldwide. It deals with our public relations, our diplomatic connections with the rest of the world” (Interview #024, Community).

The above thought again reinforces the idea that public educational institutions have an important role to play in positively influencing broader receptivity.

A teacher in South Charlotte described the benefits to native-born students newly exposed to a variety of cultures and backgrounds:

- “our children who are not from a culturally diverse background, umm, have an opportunity to see a microcosm of the world right here. And, umm, a lot of the kids who are not Spanish speakers are picking up Spanish including the teachers as well” (Interview #025, South).

Having presented and described the *organic* theme data, I transition to an analysis of *organic* themes.

7.10 *Organic* Themes Analysis

Collectively, the *organic* themes describe a convoluted receptivity process. The *organic* themes also reveal further details about the process through which receptivity is being constructed. In particular, the construction of receptivity is messy, convoluted, open to inputs, and unique in new immigrant gateways in ways that traditional gateways may not be dealing with. The messy and convoluted process of receptivity’s construction is further complicated by the multiscalar influencing factors from the various political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions.

Multiscalar components complicate the construction of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. Many of the *organic* theme components reveal the complex nature of

national-level federal government policy playing out at the local level. Refugee resettlement is a process controlled at the federal level through different federal agencies. Yet, the process itself plays out at the local level with direct influence on and necessitated response by local-level individuals and institutions. Refugee resettlement affects many political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of communities as newcomers traverse processes of settlement, adjustment, and integration.

Transiency of immigrant students and families, along with refugee resettlement, is in part a product of the complex components of transnational migration at the local level. The East Charlotte case study school undoubtedly experiences the most transience because of its location in a refugee resettlement area. The Northeast Charlotte case experiences transiency because of that area's status as the most recent and most transient of the three Charlotte immigrant settlement clusters. While transiency is an issue in both areas, it plays out differently in each context.

Mixed-status families are a consequence of federal, national-level immigration policies that directly affect families and the local communities in which they live. Millions of families in the United States consist of a mixture of U.S. citizens, legal permanent residents, and undocumented immigrants. The constant worry and stress on these families about their continuing family unity is certainly not helpful to community cohesion. While this complicates the receptivity process, places of warm receptivity, in the absence of federal level comprehensive immigration system reform, are clearly places of more family involvement with schools.

The DREAM Act, which education and immigrant advocates hope will either be passed on its own or as part of broader comprehensive immigration reform, would be an

example of national level positive receptivity that would play out for individuals and families at the local school and community level. Such legislation would allow millions of students better opportunities in the future, and subsequent opportunities to more efficiently contribute to their communities.

An underlying cultural poverty barrier surfaces among participant conversations, particularly in East and Northeast Charlotte. That participants referenced the concept of a culture of poverty indicates that immigration processes and related multiscale, multidimensional receptivity processes, are overlain on top of a longer history of poverty and race relations. The historical context is important to keep in mind as communities continue to navigate their more recent experiences of receiving new immigrant populations. Those in Charlotte need only look to the community's own historical processes of public school desegregation to reveal Charlotte's historical position as a vanguard to positive change.

Additional challenges and opportunities participants discussed are further examples of the complicated and convoluted process of constructing receptivity in a place. Participants specifically reiterated the challenge of parental involvement and budget constraints for their schools. Some participants drew connections between a lack of parental involvement with the culture of poverty barrier. This was particularly the case among participants in the Northeast Charlotte case study school. Participants also hearkened to the challenge of budget and resource constraints. Yet, participants were quick to say they felt their schools were doing well with the resources they have given continual budget constraints.

In addition to challenges, participants mentioned further opportunities. In particular, participant comments reinforced the idea that public educational institutions have an important role to play in positively influencing broader receptivity. The items that participants' stated they would like to see are further examples of how teachers are participating in the construction of receptivity in their classrooms and schools. These are also examples of how receptivity may continue to be constructed moving forward. Furthermore, there is an argument to be made about geography not only varying from one city to another at the inter-urban level, but among places within the same city as well at the intra-urban scale. Participants in the different case study areas described their experiences with the various topics to varying extents and impacts. These variations among the case study sites suggest that receptivity is playing out differently in distinct areas within the same city at the intra-urban level.

That teachers themselves recognize the role they may play in influencing receptivity is an important point. Teachers are in a position to seize this opportunity and contribute to the construction of receptivity in their classrooms, their schools, and their school district. This construction of receptivity, beginning at the classroom level, can influence the multiscalar construction of receptivity for the overall city from the cultural dimension. The cultural dimension, along with the political, economic, and social dimensions collectively shape overall receptivity for a place. The qualitative interviews in which participants describe actions they take in their own classrooms are poignant examples of the construction of receptivity. These actions feed into the broader collective actions of the school system as a whole, which plays a role in constructing receptivity in Charlotte.

7.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a thorough overview of the *organic* theme results stemming from the qualitative interviews designed to answer the second research question. These results, in addition to the *a priori* theme results, offer a depth and breadth of information to contribute to the broader discussion of immigrant settlement geography, public education change, and community receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. Much evidence exists reflecting the important role educational institutions and organizations can play in positively shaping and influencing short-term and long-term broader community receptivity. From the themes discussed in this chapter, it is clear that educational institutions are both mirrors and molders of receptivity, are dynamic and fluid examples of and influencers of receptivity, and can influence multidimensional receptivity.

In the next chapter, I offer a comprehensive discussion as a *theoretical lift* of the research results linked with the broader theoretical, structural, and historical frameworks of receptivity and new immigrant gateways. Concluding remarks follow the discussion.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION AND THEORETICAL LIFT

In the previous two chapters, I described results and analysis stemming from the qualitative interview data of *a priori* and *organic* themes. The analysis and discussion interspersed throughout those two chapters, organized by theme, and at the end of each chapter, contributed to answering the second research question. From the qualitative interview data, we learn that generally public schools indeed strive to be places of warm receptivity. As the historical and legal precedents forming the arc of education policy bending towards receptivity suggest, public schools are among the most receptive places in a community. Not only are they required to be by law, but they are one of the few places where all segments of a community interact on a regular basis. Receptivity is important to these daily interactions between students, teachers, administrators, and staff. They affect receptivity for a particular school, for the school district as a whole, and for the broader community.

In this chapter, my goal is to use all of the data and information gleaned thus far from the results presented in the previous chapters and illustrate how this case study helps us think especially about the third research question: How does school response support hypothesis that receptivity operates distinctively in a new immigrant gateway?

As stated at the outset, ideas of community receptivity towards immigration are based on research at either the national level or within cities with longer histories of immigrant settlement and adjustment. Due to the recency of the new immigrant gateways

phenomenon, there has been little discussion about receptivity in new immigrant gateways and the relationships with immigrant settlement, adjustment and integration, public service provision, and community agency.

A multitude of factors are at work shaping the evolution and progress of cities and urban life in general. This is no less the case in the dynamic and shifting nature of community receptivity over time. Nor is this any less the case in the evolution and change occurring within new immigrant gateways. That a host of factors and variables are at work indicates there is an opportunity to positively and proactively shape receptivity in communities. Certain community organizations and institutions – such as public education – are uniquely poised to offer proactive reinforcement to promoting positive receptivity in a broader community. This will help the city chart a course towards a higher level of social capital, which in turn will lead to a destination of greater regional resiliency.

A discussion of the third research question ties together information garnered from the first two questions. The question and related discussion also sheds light upon how the changes wrought by immigrant settlement within schools lead to responses by schools and ultimately play a role in the shifting of a city's receptivity. At the same time, the city's overall receptivity has an influence on the dynamics of continued immigrant settlement geography, immigrant integration and adjustment, and the extent to which schools may be able to positively and proactively respond to such changes.

8.1 Situated Knowledge, Receptivity, Immigrant Adjustment and Integration, and Public Education in a New Immigrant Gateway

Situated knowledge is an important point of understanding when linking together the concepts of receptivity, immigration, and public education. It is particularly poignant

when examining these interrelated concepts in a new immigrant gateway. In the case of Charlotte as a new immigrant gateway, receptivity is the stage upon which processes of immigrant settlement, integration, adjustment, and responses by public services and community organizations play out. The extent of immigrant settlement transitions and changes within community components such as the public school system may also in turn impact the evolving nature of the city's receptivity. In this section, I offer a discussion linking together each of the components this study set out to explore and how in tandem these are sculptors of receptivity, but are also shaped by receptivity, in a new immigrant gateway at the crossroads of dynamic change.

At this point it is useful to revisit the receptivity diagram referenced previously in Chapter 2 (Figure 8.1).

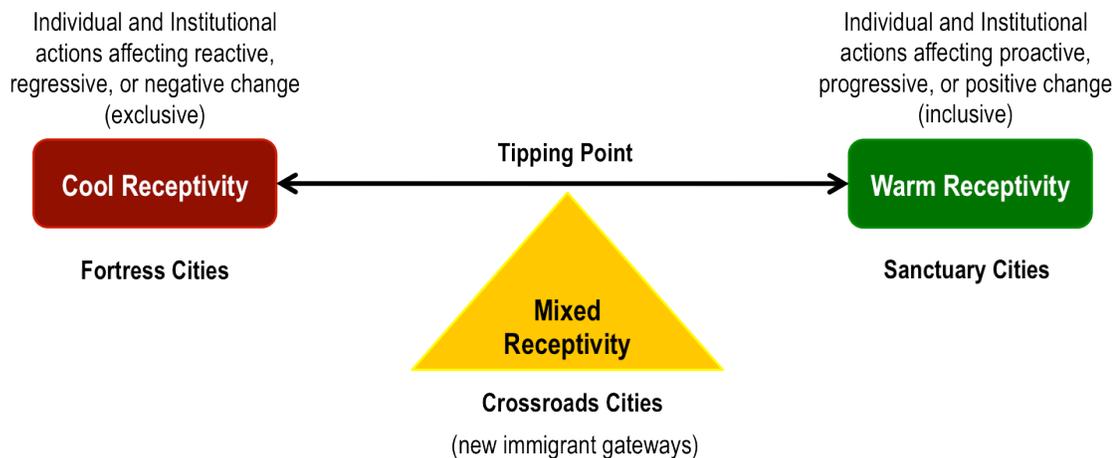


FIGURE 8.1. Receptivity diagram developed from a discussion among Paul McDaniel, Heather Smith, and Susan Harden. 29 November 2010.

From this diagram we can construct a further way of thinking about how the myriad forces composing receptivity influence a city's trajectory, while at the same time influencing overall receptivity. Figure 8.2 portrays receptivity and the positionality of

new immigrant gateways as crossroads cities. A multitude of dynamic forces – positive, negative, proactive, and reactive – are constantly at work pulling a city in many directions. These dynamic forces influence the trajectory of a city at the crossroads. Cities with strong components of social and human capital, warmer receptivity, as well as strong regional resilience, will likely be found in the top right quadrant of the diagram. Cities with weak social and human capital, cooler receptivity, as well as weak regional resilience, will likely be found in the bottom left quadrant of the diagram.

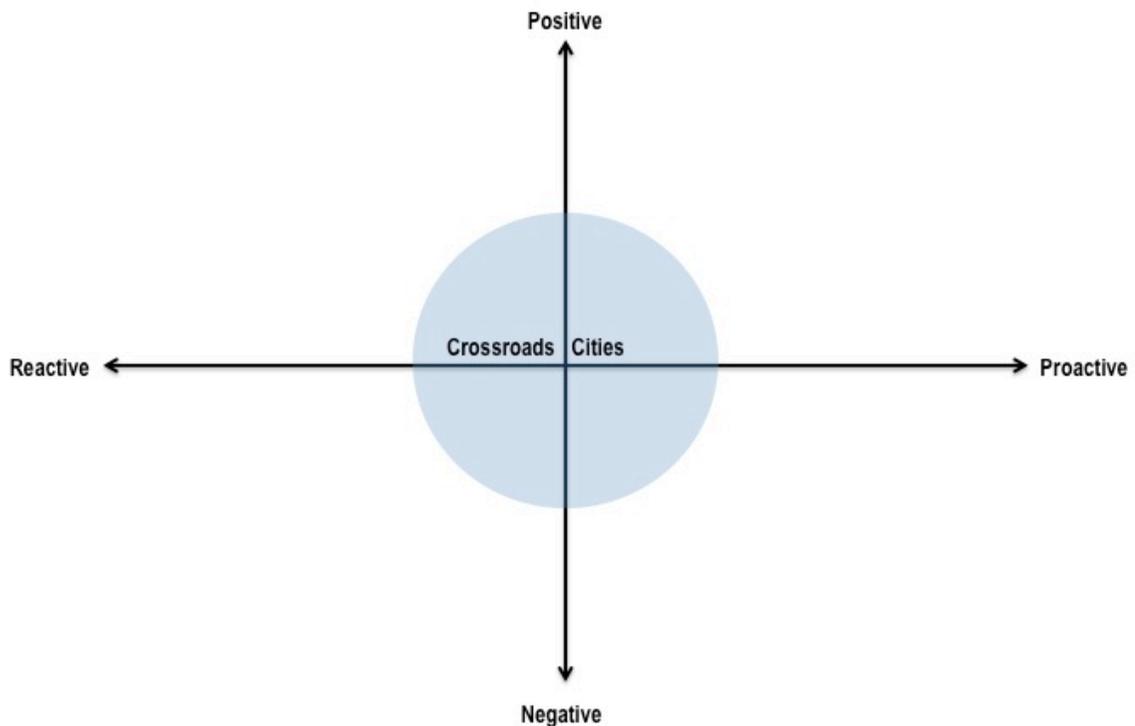


FIGURE 8.2. Context of receptivity.

The quantitative and qualitative research results presented suggest that, although transitioning immigrant settlement geography presents many changes and impacts for a variety of components of a city – including, in this case, the city’s public education system – the responses by such entities (i.e. the schools’ responses to changes presented

by immigration and immigrant settlement), either proactive or reactive, work in ways both short- and long-term to shape the broader context of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway.

Teachers and community organizers interviewed for this research describe their perspectives of both reactive and proactive actions on the part of the public school system and individual schools as a response to transitioning immigrant settlement geography and as an attempt to preempt future expected changes in the schools. Each participant certainly has his or her own situated knowledge as it relates to the broader topic, but together they all paint a portrait of the concept of public education playing a pivotal role in responding to and shaping broader community receptivity. As the district, individual schools, administrators, and teachers realize that their actions – both reactive and proactive – can, in concert with other forces, shape receptivity and in turn help chart the course of the city's future trajectory, the system will be poised to plan and implement further proactive steps helping guide the system and the city towards more positive receptivity. As has already been noted, places of positive receptivity are also likely to be places of stronger social capital and robust regional resilience.

My theoretical contribution to the literature is the idea that receptivity works differently across geography at both the inter-urban and intra-urban scales. Specifically, a distinctive form of receptivity occurs in new immigrant destinations with shorter histories of experiencing a rapid growth of a foreign born population. The short history and rapid growth of immigration in a place leads in part to a distinctive form of receptivity that occurs differently than that found in traditional immigrant gateways with longer histories of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration. The triangulated quantitative,

qualitative, and contextual research results contribute to the central argument that receptivity is:

1. Likely distinctive in new immigrant gateways, and different than that found in traditional immigrant gateways and destinations;
2. Fluid, fickle, and malleable;
3. Critically influenced beyond the political and economic realms by public schools and other similar education, social, and cultural institutions.

Receptivity, therefore, is constructed in a new immigrant gateway by the various dimensions – political, economic, social, and cultural. While the influence of the various dimensions is seen in both established and emerging gateways, it is more critical in new immigrant gateways. Those on the front lines of change in new gateways – such as teachers in public schools – have the opportunity to serve as the vanguard for positive receptivity.

Educational institutions, such as public schools, have the challenge and the opportunity to contribute to the construction of receptivity in their communities. Furthermore, while receptivity occurs differently in new immigrant gateways at the inter-urban level, receptivity may also occur distinctively at the intra-urban level across different communities within the same metropolitan area. The varying experiences of the three immigrant clusters in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County and the three case study schools each in one of the three clusters suggest that receptivity is playing out differently in each of those areas – a function of each area's length of history receiving immigrant settlement. At the same time, however, each area contributes to the broader city's receptivity. With that in mind, teachers and administrators in a school are agents of

change constructing the structure of receptivity for their school and surrounding community. Collectively, these pockets of receptivity across a metropolitan area influence the broader city's receptivity.

With the above points serving as one example, this research supports the argument that in a city like Charlotte there are multiple immigrant geographies unfolding at one time. Interviewees describe differences in the immigrant and teacher experience among various schools. This research informs the argument that receptivity is multi-scalar, multidimensional, and can be different at distinct scales that both support and collide with one another (i.e. school versus central administration; administration versus state board of education; state board of education versus U.S. Department of Education). The scales of perspective for one component of receptivity – such as education and cultural institutions – can also support and collide with the other dimensions at multiple scales: political, economic, and social. Furthermore, receptivity also relates to the extent of immigrant adjustment and integration, as the next section describes.

8.2 Receptivity, Immigrant Adjustment, and Integration

Recalling the discussion in Chapter 2 about the similarities, differences, and relationships among immigration and incorporation, inclusion, adjustment, and integration, we think of immigrant adjustment as a product of the interplay among receptivity, incorporation, and inclusion, leading to integration. As incorporation and inclusion affect the extent to which immigrants adjust to life in their new destination, so too does receptivity affect the trajectory towards adjustment and ultimately integration. Adjustment may be conceptualized as a continuum along which immigrants and receiving communities may find themselves at various points over time. As first

mentioned in Chapter 2, the continuum of adjustment may be visualized as shown in Figure 8.3.

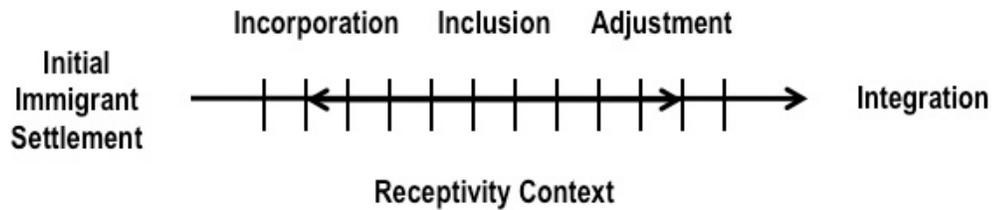


FIGURE 8.3. Continuum of adjustment.

The continuum of adjustment depicts an initial point of immigrant settlement wherein there is a significant increase in the number of newcomers moving to a place. The immigrant population goes through a process of incorporation, inclusion, and adjustment. The place’s receptivity affects this process. Depending upon the nature of receptivity in the place, the immigrant population’s trajectory toward integration may be helped or hindered. Ultimately, however, the continuum of adjustment is part of a larger continuum leading to integration. As a reminder, integration in this sense – with its relationship with receptivity – refers to the “dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and cohesive communities” (GCIR 2012). Furthermore, “Emphasis on the two-way process of change by both immigrants and members of a receiving society contrasts with the alternative use of the term ‘integration’ to signify a one-way process of adaptation by immigrants to fit in with a dominant culture” (GCIR 2012).

The multiscalar and multidimensional components of receptivity can influence a place’s trajectory along the continuum of adjustment leading to integration. Yet integration itself is thought of as a process susceptible to influences from and occurring at multiple dimensions and scales. Recall that Niessen (2012) describes the multiscalar

process of immigrant integration as a “multi-faceted, long-term, and rather open-ended process” that “requires a confluence of global and local, general and specific policy interventions” (Niessen 2012). He also describes the multidimensionality of integration. Similar to the various dimensions of receptivity, “public policies, as well as policies of civil society and private sector organizations, can create favorable, less favorable, or unfavorable integration conditions” (Niessen 2012). Moving forward, the next section describes how receptivity is shaped and changed in a new immigrant gateway.

8.3 Receptivity in New Immigrant Gateways

Receptivity may be described from various perspectives at multiple scales. An entire country, such as the United States, has a national receptivity that waxes and wanes over time from inputs by the various influencing dimensions, media, and political discourse. However, as with most issues, receptivity varies across place and space when examined at a finer level of geography. Some places may be thought of as exhibiting a generally positive receptivity (i.e. “sanctuary cities”). Other places may exhibit a generally negative receptivity (i.e. “fortress cities”). New immigrant gateways and destinations, with a much shorter history of immigration and increasing diversity, must struggle with the interplay of the various dimensions and dynamics affecting receptivity. They also must negotiate a nascent receptivity within which their place will come to be known. The dominant receptivity that develops within a new immigrant gateway will in turn further shape the dimensions and dynamics within that place. This burgeoning milieu in part affects the place’s further trajectory as a new immigrant gateway. Furthermore, while immigration and education policy is often set at national and state levels, these policies play out at local levels in cities and communities within cities. New immigrant

gateways and the communities within them are the stage upon which multiscalar and multidimensional factors constructing receptivity perform. While receptivity unfolds in unique ways in new immigrant gateways, receptivity is also fluid and fickle over time, ever susceptible to the broader political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions and discourses. Receptivity's fluidity and fickleness is seen in both established and emerging immigrant gateways. But in the case of new immigrant gateways and destinations, receptivity is even more fluid, more fickle, and more susceptible to input from the different dimensions of change.

8.4 Receptivity: Fluid, Fickle, and Malleable

Receptivity is fluid, fickle, and malleable over time. It is continuously susceptible to inputs by the various dimensions that affect it, as well as from the broader discourses of the media and political realms. Receptivity is fluid and fickle in at least two ways. First, it is susceptible to and influencer of change brought about by the various broader dimensions of society and the multitude of components comprising each of those dimensions. Second, receptivity's importance to a particular place's broader context and societal discourse waxes and wanes over time and from one place to another. The context of receptivity may play a huge role in a place at a particular time, but may not be as important in characterizing a place at another time.

As cities themselves are places of dramatic dynamism, receptivity plays a role in the vitality and vigor of a place. Receptivity influences the shifts in a place, but may also be influenced by many other factors contributing to urban dynamism. New immigrant gateway cities are undergoing rapid and significant population, cultural, political, economic, and societal shifts. With the brisk pace of change occurring, receptivity is also

susceptible to wide vacillations between warm and cool receptivity. A new immigrant gateway over a short span of time may appear early on to be generally receptive to newcomers. Shortly thereafter, the same place may begin to manifest more examples of cool receptivity. Further, as the various dimensions play out influencing receptivity and urban life, the location may end up decidedly receptive to newcomers with strong regional resilience and social capital. Or, a place may become emphatically unwelcome to newcomers, weakening the city's economy, culture, and ability for resilience. New immigrant gateway destinations are at a metaphorical crossroads. They may progress towards an overall climate of warm receptivity. Or, they may regress into an atmosphere of receptive coldness.

8.5 Receptivity: Cultural Dimensions and Education

New immigrant gateways, by being at a conceptual crossroads, exhibit a distinctive form of receptivity. Places with a long history of receiving immigrants and newcomers, although not immune to the national and regional vacillations of factors influencing receptivity, are much more likely to have a clearer context of receptivity. New immigrant gateways, with much shorter histories of receiving newcomers, will have a more ambiguous atmosphere of receptivity. New immigrant destinations are more susceptible to the multiscalar dimensional impacts influencing a place's receptivity.

Social, cultural, and educational groups, institutions, and organizations in a community influence receptivity. For example, social organizations, community and advocacy organizations, and cultural and educational institutions such as museums and public schools, each act in ways that influence receptivity in a place. Receptivity may also influence to a greater or lesser extent the nature of these aspects of community. A

museum that, as part of its mission of community engagement, chooses to implement and carry out exhibits and outreach programs that educate the broader community about demographic, social, and cultural changes occurring within the particular locale, is acting in a way that may influence broader community receptivity. Public schools that experience a growth of immigrant students or students from immigrant families, with diverse language and cultural backgrounds, must decide upon actions that respond to such a shift in the student population. Schools that take proactive and inclusive steps that adhere to the mission of educating all students are acting in ways that influence positive receptivity. A school's community that reacts to a growing immigrant student population by being fearful of demographic change is manifesting and influencing negative receptivity.

As mentioned before, all children are permitted to attend public school in the United States. Places of public education therefore contain a very visible manifestation of significant population and neighborhood demographic shifts. Public schools are one of the community institutions most affected by a population shift. In much the same way as receptivity, public education is an institution directly impacted by political, economic, and cultural factors at the local, state, and national level. Community members and voters have a say in policies implemented by public schools and how public funds are spent on education. Public education, therefore, serves as a salient case study in which to explore the dynamism of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. As public schools are among the most receptive places in a community, the way in which public schools respond to an increasingly diverse student population – with many different languages and cultures

represented – is a microcosm of the way in which the broader community ultimately wishes to receive immigrants and newcomers.

Also of importance to this discussion is the parallel link between positive receptivity and stronger social capital (Putnam 2000). While not the same concept, positive receptivity is often found amid places of strong social capital. Adequate access to quality education for all children – including immigrant students and children of immigrant parents – is crucial in building a community of strong social capital. A community of high receptivity is an important component of an overall resilient climate in a particular place. This is one indication of the importance of a need for warmer levels of receptivity in communities, not only receptivity of an immigrant population, but receptivity towards the community's public school system itself. If the broader community has an overall negative perception of the public school system, then right from the start there is an underlying hindrance and negativity towards everything the school system, and all involved, attempt to carry out.

In terms of the public school system, public education is one of the deepest commitments a community can make with its citizens (Putnam 2000). Public schools are often the institution where many of the factors contributing to community receptivity and social capital converge. Surely, an individual entrusting the community to educate his or her child in a safe environment to become fully realized requires significant trust. Furthermore, many of the citizenship life lessons for children happen in schools. The public school system in Charlotte, as is likely the case in many other places, has been over the years both a unifying and dividing force in the community. This link with the past hearkens to previous discussions of the historical legacies of black-white race

relations regarding public school segregation, desegregation, and integration, as described by the arc of education policy which bends towards receptivity, and the barrier of a culture of poverty. With the new layer of a rapidly growing and highly diverse immigrant population stirred into the public school system mix, Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools has been and continues to be faced with significant decisions with respect to its response. Although the choices the system wishes to make and the outcomes it desires may not always be feasible due to resource and budget constraints, the system nevertheless has a choice in long-term goals that it can choose to adhere to and broadcast to the public education community and to the broader Charlotte community as a whole. What children learn in school, academically and socially, has both short-term and long-term impacts. The short-term impacts include how they view themselves and their community. The long-term impacts include to what extent the student feels that he or she may actively play a role in the course of community events and progress. These long-term impacts are linked to a new immigrant gateway community's construction of a place composed of abundant warm receptivity within an environment of strong social capital and regional resilience.

In the same way receptivity operates differently in new immigrant gateways compared with traditional gateways, I argue that receptivity behaves differently in distinct areas of the city. As receptivity acts differently across the inter-urban scale throughout the country (refer back to the “geographies of receptivity” discussion from the literature review citing Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010 and 2012, Jensen 2006, De Jong and Tran 2001, and Espenshade and Hempstead 1996), so too does it occur differently within a particular metropolitan area at the intra-urban scale. There is a general distinction

between receptivity in traditional immigrant gateway metropolitan areas – with longer histories of immigrant integration and receptivity – and new immigrant gateways with much less experience with immigrant reception and integration. At the same time, within a particular metropolitan area, receptivity may be constructed and behave differently across the intra-urban metropolitan landscape. One community within the metro area may have a longer history of immigrant settlement and adjustment and consequently more experience with receptivity. Another community within the same metro area may have seen only a recent growth of a foreign born population. Due to a lack of a history of immigrant settlement in that particular community, the area would have much less experience with receptivity. In new immigrant gateways, of course, it is the suburbs that will ultimately have the experience of immigrant reception whereas that experience will be lacking in center city areas. This is because in new immigrant gateways, the middle-ring suburbs are often the significant places of immigrant settlement. And this is a fundamental difference between traditional gateways and new immigrant gateways.

The three case study schools represent the three distinct areas of immigrant concentration within Charlotte/Mecklenburg County. Each of these three areas have experienced different histories of immigration and are experiencing different levels of current immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration (Smith and Furuseth 2004; 2006). These differences are seen in the quantitative data for Mecklenburg County and for Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. Differences are also seen in the qualitative data from the three case study schools. While the South area is the oldest area of current immigrant settlement in Charlotte, the East Charlotte area began to develop as an immigrant

community after the South Charlotte community. Northeast Charlotte is the most recent area for immigrant settlement in Charlotte.

Among the data from the three case study schools, we see participant comments related to the extent of experience receiving immigrants in the three communities. Participants in the South and East schools, although mentioning challenges, often discuss successful responses and opportunities resulting from immigrant settlement in their communities. Participants from the Northeast school spend more time discussing challenges resulting from both immigrant settlement and a culture of poverty than do the other schools. The Northeast school has a much shorter history of receiving immigrant families than do the other two case study areas in Charlotte. My dataset, however, is not large enough to substantiate this claim, but it is suspected. Further research will help shed light on the hypothesis that, while receptivity is generally occurring differently at the inter-urban level – in a new immigrant gateway as a whole compared with traditional gateways – receptivity is also occurring differently at the intra-urban level across communities within the same metropolitan region. At this point, I discuss each of the three Charlotte/Mecklenburg County immigrant settlement areas in more detail as they relate to the results from the quantitative analysis of demographic data and the qualitative analysis of interview data from the three case study schools.

8.5.1 South Charlotte

The South Charlotte immigrant settlement area is the oldest area of immigrant settlement within the current context of international migration to Charlotte. Immigrants and immigrant families are more integrated in South Charlotte. A wider range of immigrant socio-economic backgrounds are also found in this area. Within the context of

current immigration to Charlotte, which began to see a rapid rise beginning in 1990 and continuing to the present, South Charlotte schools have a longer history of experiencing immigration-related demographic change than the other two immigrant settlement areas in Mecklenburg County. Aside from the foreign born population, South Charlotte is mostly white. Because of its longer history of immigrant settlement, the South Charlotte area experiences a more established receptivity than the East, or the Northeast area in particular, as indicated in participant comments.

8.5.2 East Charlotte

The East Charlotte immigrant settlement area began to emerge after the South Charlotte cluster. Today, the East Charlotte community is the largest and most diverse of the three immigrant settlement clusters in Mecklenburg County. Many immigrant families and immigrant parents with U.S. citizen (native-born) children live throughout this community. Diverse demographic changes are apparent over the past decade and a half in many schools in this area. The demographics of East Charlotte began shifting not long after South Charlotte, as seen in the quantitative data for both census tracts and block groups as well as for public schools in the area. The foreign-born population in East Charlotte is the most diverse with individuals and families from many Latin American, Asian, and African countries. In addition to East Charlotte being a destination of choice for many immigrants, the community is also a refugee resettlement area. Refugees from many different countries of origin further contribute to the diversity of East Charlotte and the schools within the area. In addition to the foreign born population, East Charlotte also contains a diverse black and white population. While East Charlotte is one of the most diverse areas of the city, it is continuing to evolve, grow, and change. As

the area's changes continue, so too does the potential level of receptivity. East Charlotte, as one of the most diverse areas in the county, is poised for greater receptivity as an array of diversity intermingles.

8.5.3 Northeast Charlotte

The Northeast Charlotte immigrant settlement area is the most recent to emerge of the three immigrant clusters in Mecklenburg County. As Smith and Furuseth (2004; 2006; 2008) state, the population is highly transient and composed of fewer families. Nevertheless, as the school data show, immigrant students and children of immigrant parents, while part of a larger transient population, are a growing group in schools within this community. Furthermore, Northeast Charlotte is the poorest of the three immigrant settlement clusters in Mecklenburg County. Aside from the foreign born population, Northeast Charlotte is comprised of a predominantly black population. The newness of an immigrant phenomenon in Northeast Charlotte on top of a broader culture and landscape of poverty, creates a more tentative receptivity susceptible to wide degrees of change.

8.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a discussion linking research results with broader theoretical implications. Specifically, information gleaned from quantitative analysis and qualitative interviews yields points of consideration tied to the broader theoretical construct of receptivity and structural context of new immigrant gateways. Ultimately, one contribution of this research is a consideration of receptivity towards transitioning immigrant settlement geography in new immigrant gateways and how local organizations and institutions can influence the new immigrant gateway at a crossroads. Specifically, the chapter laid out the central argument that receptivity is: (1) likely distinctive in new

immigrant gateways, and contextually different than traditional immigrant gateways; (2) fluid, fickle, and malleable; and (3) critically influenced, beyond the political and economic realms, by public schools and other similar educational, cultural, and social institutions. In the final chapter, I offer concluding remarks specifically related to research significance, intellectual merit, practical applications and broader societal impacts, and avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

This chapter summarizes the significance and broader conceptual and practical impacts of this project, and suggests future avenues for research. In summary, receptivity is comprised of many components in a place. It broadly contextualizes a place's collective experience related to immigrants and newcomers and in turn affects newcomers' experience of adjustment and integration within a place. Specifically, this research views receptivity as place-based and shaped by multiple components, institutions, and structures related to a community's political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. Of those, this research includes the perspective that social, cultural, and educational institutions form an integral part of the broader mirrors, molders, and shapers of a place's receptivity. In particular, a case study of public education forms a component of this research.

In the context of a new immigrant gateway – a metropolitan area experiencing recent and rapid growth of an immigrant population with little prior experience of immigrant growth – the very nature of a rapid increase of immigrants and newcomers to the particular place affects the political, economic, social, cultural, and educational components that shape receptivity in the new immigrant gateway. Because all children are rightly permitted to attend public school in the United States, places of public education contain a very visible manifestation of significant population and neighborhood demographic shifts and are one of the community institutions most affected by a

population shift. Public education, therefore, serves as a salient case study in which to explore the dynamism of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway.

In contrast to traditional immigrant gateways, new immigrant gateways must navigate the complexities of nascent policy and receptivity contexts for immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration. Although scholars have paid considerable attention to identifying and examining new immigrant gateways in general at the inter-urban, national, and international scales, less focus has been on how the processes of immigrant settlement and adjustment in new immigrant gateways are identified and analyzed at the intra-urban, community, and neighborhood levels, and the relationships with public service provision, social capital building, and the numerous stakeholders involved.

Charlotte, North Carolina, is the largest metropolitan area in the Carolinas, an example of a post-industrial urban economy in the U.S. South, and a new immigrant gateway. Over the past two decades, Charlotte's rapid growth has led the area to become the second largest financial center in the United States after New York City. With this growth came increasingly rapid rates of both domestic and foreign born migration to Charlotte. The growth of the foreign born population in particular, many of whom hailed from Latin American points of origin, among other areas, led scholars to designate Charlotte a "pre-emerging" immigrant gateway (Singer 2004) and "Hispanic hypergrowth" metro area (Suro and Singer 2002). Charlotte is also referred to as a "globalizing" city (Graves and Smith 2010). As the immigrant population became more entrenched, families began to grow with the arrival of immigrant children moving with their parents or joining parents already present in the area, as well as U.S. citizen children

born to immigrant parents. The effect of a growing population of children of immigrant parents is subsequently felt by Charlotte's public school system, one of the largest urban school systems in the nation, particularly in schools located in or near areas of high immigrant settlement concentration. Due in part to a rapid increase of immigrant families in Charlotte, as well as increased enrollment in private educational facilities by certain segments of the population, the public education system finds itself witnessing dramatic demographic shifts of its student base. This shift is seen most clearly in specific elementary schools located within middle-ring suburbs containing areas of relative foreign born residential settlement and concentration. For example, several middle-ring elementary schools in 1990 contained virtually no Hispanic students, whereas in 2009 some of those same schools' student populations are composed of greater than fifty percent Hispanic, many of whom are limited English proficient. The school system administration, individual schools, and individual teachers, have subsequently found it necessary to navigate and respond to the challenges and opportunities of a rapidly growing multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and often quite vulnerable, student population. Limited English proficient students and children of immigrants – particularly undocumented immigrants – are among the most vulnerable and underserved population groups, often with a much greater potential to be “left behind”. With that in mind, a sense of urgency is added to this research as rapid structural, economic, political, and cultural changes at many levels and scales continue to occur. The public school system is, therefore, an important environment in which to examine evidence of a new form of receptivity in a new immigrant gateway.

While broad trends of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration at inter-urban and regional or national scales of analysis may be viewed as a product due in part to larger processes of global restructuring and globalization, this research addresses the intra-urban processes of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration and related public service provision, within a framework of receptivity, and social changes stemming from the shifting dynamics and patterns of immigration. Using quantitative data at the census tract and block group levels, this research examines the empirical evidence of the intra-urban geography of immigrant settlement and concentration in a new immigrant gateway. Using qualitative data, this study investigates the impact of recent immigration to Charlotte on the public school system and the school system's response amid , and contributions to, shifting community receptivity, as well as the extent to which the various stakeholders in the process experience and negotiate these changes. Ultimately, this research sheds light on how receptivity is playing out differently amid new forms of immigrant settlement, adjustment, and integration in new immigrant gateways. This research further addresses processes of immigrant settlement and integration at the community level. Furthermore, it describes the local factors affecting and influencing immigrant settlement and integration in a new immigrant gateway within the framework of public service provision and dynamic community receptivity, offering another thread of understanding to the tapestry of new urban geographies.

This research ultimately supports the argument that in a city like Charlotte there are multiple immigrant geographies unfolding at one time on top of the historical legacies of black and white racial issues. Interviewees describe differences in the immigrant and teacher experience among various schools. Additionally, this research informs the

argument that receptivity is multi-scalar, multidimensional, and can vary at different scales that both support and collide with one another (i.e. school versus central administration; administration versus state board of education; state board of education versus U.S. Department of Education).

Beyond the argument that the nature and dynamics of receptivity in new immigrant gateways is likely different than in other places, this research informs our understanding of receptivity in several ways. First, this research suggests that a place's public education realm is an important component in viewing a place's receptivity. As schools are often among the most receptive places in a community, and are one of the few places in which all segments of the community interact, they form an important subject of study. Second, this research reinforces our understanding that receptivity is a complex concept affected by many factors at many levels. A host of dynamic, diverse dimensions influence receptivity at multiple scales. National, regional, and local discourses in political, economic, social, cultural, and media spheres sway receptivity at various levels of geography. Third, this research reminds us that receptivity is fluid and fickle, susceptible to and influencing changes over time. Just as influencers of receptivity are evident at multiple scales, receptivity's fluidity and fickleness are also multi-scalar in nature. Fourth, this research suggests that receptivity is an important component in our contextual understanding of new forms of urban social geography. Without the contextual understanding brought by the various components of receptivity, there is a gap in the knowledge about new urban geographies. This research, in addition to arguing that the challenges and opportunities of receptivity are likely different in new immigrant

gateways, contributes to our broader thinking about receptivity and its relationship with urban, social, and ethnic geographies.

9.1 Research Significance

This research examines linkages between recent transitioning immigrant settlement geography, public education change, and shifting community receptivity within the context of a new immigrant gateway and offers scholarly contributions to the literature in a number of ways. First, while receptivity occurs differently in new immigrant gateways at the inter-urban level, compared with traditional immigrant gateways, receptivity may also occur distinctively at the intra-urban level across different communities within the same metropolitan area. The varying experiences of the three immigrant clusters in Charlotte/Mecklenburg County and the three case study schools each in one of the three clusters suggest the receptivity is playing out differently in each of those areas. At the same time, however, each area contributes to the broader city's receptivity. With that in mind, teachers and administrators in a school are agents of change constructing the structure of receptivity for their school and surrounding community. Collectively, these pockets of receptivity across a metropolitan area influence the broader city's receptivity.

Second, a central issue relating to Singer's (2004) immigrant gateways typology is that, although Singer has created static immigrant gateway categories, the length of time a city is a pre-emerging gateway is dynamic as the factors contributing to its status change over time. This research encourages thought about how a community responds to transitioning immigrant settlement geography linked with the changing and dynamic nature of a city's immigrant gateway status in terms of the city becoming an actual

emerging gateway or no longer serving as a gateway at all. In turn, the community's response – and the effect that may have on the perceptions and receptivity of newcomers to a place – potentially affects how long a place remains a pre-emerging gateway, becomes an emerging gateway, or ceases to be an immigrant gateway altogether. In this case, the schools themselves are one marker of receptivity as they respond to taxpayers' demands. Therefore, the context of the schools and a place's receptivity are mutually reinforcing – two lenses through which to view the same issue.

Third, this research encourages thought about how community receptivity responds to transitioning immigrant settlement geography linked with the changing and dynamic nature of a city's immigrant gateway status in terms of the city becoming an actual emerging gateway or no longer serving as a gateway at all. In this case, the schools themselves are one marker of receptivity as they respond to taxpayers' demands and other political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions.

Fourth, the dynamism of a new immigrant gateway – its fluidity, fickleness, and malleability – affects that gateway's place within a context of receptivity, with some places becoming either more or less receptive to such dynamic changes over time. In effect, these intersected changes at the neighborhood, school district and individual school scales relate to and impact our understanding of emerging immigrant gateways and new urban geographies – particularly around public service provision and receptivity toward immigrants. As receptivity fluctuates over time across geographic space and place it is mutually informed by the dynamic nature of new immigrant gateways. This research ultimately engages the hypothesis that there is a cyclical process of transitioning immigrant settlement geography, changing dynamics within the local educational

community as a public good, and shifting perceptions and receptivity by the broader community in general, all three of which influence and respond to each other and to a broader region's dynamic status as a particular type of new immigrant gateway.

Furthering research of this nature in a variety of new immigrant gateway locations with different case study foci may lead to reconsiderations of new "urban" geographies.

Fifth, this study illustrates ways in which a public service institution – public education – can serve as an influencing factor of broader community receptivity in a new immigrant gateway. Whereas our thinking about receptivity is typically based on a national perspective or on traditional immigrant gateways, new immigrant gateways are at a crossroads as to which direction they may proceed within their receptivity context – positive or negative. Community organizations have an opportunity to help positively and proactively influence the direction of new immigrant gateways. Educational institutions are mirrors and molders of receptivity, are dynamic and fluid examples of and influencers of receptivity, and can influence multidimensional receptivity. As stated, teachers can serve as actors constructing the structure of receptivity within their classrooms, schools, and broader communities.

Finally, in addition to the discussion of new immigrant settlement, public service provision, community receptivity and new immigrant gateways, this research also contributes to the dialogue about the "warmth of receptivity" and positive, proactive response in an area and its relationship to the extent of "regional resilience" (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010). Pastor and Mollenkopf (2010) state that

"we would hope that those regional leaders who are intent on helping their regions weather the country's inevitable economic and demographic changes do the hard work of weaving immigrants into their regional narratives and their regional futures. The recognition that immigrants and their children can be assets

to be utilized and not problems to be solved can help to calm the political waters – and such calming may happen best when it is not a faraway pronouncement in Washington about our history as a ‘nation of immigrants,’ but rather a locally-rooted perception that metropolitan resilience depends not on struggling with strangers, but on a new receptivity that can revitalize the regional future” (Pastor and Mollenkopf 2010).

With this in mind, new immigrant gateways and new immigrant destinations, and the public education institutions within them, are presented with the challenge and the opportunity to be at the forefront of leading positive change in their communities in the context of increased immigration, public service provision, and community perception and receptivity. Therefore, in addition to theoretical contributions by this research, there are also practical applications and broader impacts.

9.2 Broader Conceptual, Practical, and Societal Impacts

In addition to theoretical contributions, this research also has several broader societal impacts and implications: advancing understanding while promoting teaching, training, and learning; broadening the participation of underrepresented groups; enhancing the infrastructure for research and education; and benefitting society through practical applications and societal significance.

9.2.1 Advancing Understanding While Promoting Teaching, Training, and Learning

This research advances geographic theory and understanding of a particular phenomenon occurring within new immigrant gateways and destinations. The results encourage further collaborative research by geographers and educators. Geographers who study immigrant and ethnic settlement and adjustment will find avenues to carry this research forward as it relates to the ever-changing dynamics in new immigrant gateways and new forms of urban geography. Scholars of education and teaching will be interested to explore aspects of effective teaching strategies to incorporate immigrant and limited

English proficient students in ways that are positively receptive. Educators will also be interested to study further strategies within this context for training teachers to more efficiently address these issues, and for further learning and understanding to continue advancing public education as a welcome place of warm receptivity.

9.2.2 Broadening the Participation of Underrepresented Groups

One of the ultimate goals of this research is to alleviate barriers and foster enhanced access to education for immigrant and limited English proficient students. As mentioned throughout this research, access to education is an important cornerstone for building stronger receptivity, social capital, and encouraging resilient communities. Future research will lead to further consideration of effective strategies for immigrant students and families' participation and inclusion in public education. Further studies and applied research should also include underrepresented groups – immigrant parents, immigrant students, and children of immigrant parents – as active contributors, rather than passive participants, in the research process itself. For community members to feel empowered that they themselves are helping to guide the research and eventual outcomes is an important facet of community-based applied research.

9.2.3 Enhancing the Infrastructure for Research and Education

This project utilizes a methodology bridging the disciplines of geography and education and connects geographic researchers with educational practitioners. Results of this and similar research in the future serves to strengthen ties between researchers and educators and foster future interdisciplinary collaboration opportunities for both theoretical and applied research. As stated above, future research should also include not only collaborations between researchers and educators, but also community members

from underrepresented groups (in this case, immigrant families, immigrant parents, immigrant students, and U.S.-born children of immigrant parents).

9.2.4 Benefitting Society Through Practical Applications and Societal Significance

Research results help provide pertinent information for policy formulation by federal, state, and local government agencies, private institutions, and non-profit organizations and networks, regarding immigrant access to and integration within public education. In terms of practical impacts, new immigrant gateway metropolitan areas have the opportunity to implement strategies to encourage positive development within the educational community so that barriers to education are reduced, all students have the prospect for educational achievement, and the broader community realizes a positive perception of the public school system and receptivity toward newcomers. Newly *emerging* and *pre-emerging* immigrant gateways such as Charlotte have the opportunity to act as the vanguard in this process. Charlotte, for example, is beginning the process of implementing transformative intervention strategies aimed at reducing barriers to healthcare access for the Latino immigrant community and promoting primary and preventive care (Dulin, et. al. 2010a; Dulin, et. al. 2010b; Tapp and Dulin 2010)⁷. A similar mindset and accompanying strategies within the educational community and other avenues of public service provision in new immigrant gateways will yield positive and practical benefits to all involved – immigrants as well as the broader native-born population. Such a trend will lead organizations and communities to think of ways in which to encourage social capital building and social justice goals and outcomes.

⁷ Mecklenburg Area Partnership for Primary-care Research (MAPPR) is a collaborative effort between physicians (at the Department of Family Medicine at Carolinas Medical Center), social scientists (at the Department of Geography and Earth Sciences at UNC-Charlotte), and community members to study barriers to accessing healthcare for the rapidly growing Latino population in Charlotte. See: <http://mapprnet.com/> and <http://www.carolinasmedicalcenter.org/body.cfm?id=1219>.

Ultimately, this course of research will lead cities and school systems to think about the following question: What can be done across places and across scales to reduce barriers to access, equity, inclusion, opportunity, and trust, and to improve education for all?

Three additional policy recommendations stemming from research results provide further opportunities for new immigrant gateway cities. First, as receptivity may be occurring differently at the intra-urban scale within the same metropolitan area, opportunities exist for communities within the same city to learn from one another as they navigate nascent immigrant settlement and receptivity. Second, schools within the same school system, yet with different immigrant settlement and receptivity experiences, have the opportunity to learn from one another and encourage the construction of receptivity across the school district. Finally, teachers and administrators at individual schools, realizing that they are agents constructing the structure of receptivity, have the opportunity to work together to construct receptivity for the broader community and city.

9.3 Challenges and Opportunities for Future Research

The ideas put forth in this study chart new paths towards further research opportunities related to both theoretical contribution to the geography literature as well as practical applications with benefit to broader society. Other scholars of ethnic and immigrant settlement, new immigrant gateways, receptivity, education, or public service provision will undoubtedly find opportunity to carry the work of this research to other new immigrant gateways and destinations. Is Charlotte's case exemplary of a city at a crossroads within the context of receptivity? If so, will researchers arrive at similar results and conclusions in other new immigrant gateways? If not, then why might

Charlotte's case be unique among the many new immigrant gateways emerging over the past two decades of increased international migration to the United States?

Beyond the realm of public education in new immigrant gateways, what is the experience of and contributions by other public services, public goods, and community organizations and institutions relating to an impact upon broader community receptivity? How is transitioning immigrant settlement geography in new immigrant gateways impacting other services, how are those services responding, and what are the implications for receptivity? How are the different new immigrant gateways and crossroads cities faring in terms of their unique contexts of receptivity, social capital, and regional resilience? These questions, among others, are but a sample of the many paths that scholars may choose to forge into the future. If researchers choose any of these paths, they should keep in mind broader societal significance of the research, think of ways in which to construct their research leading to positive impacts to society, and consider approaches ultimately serving to identify and alleviate barriers to access, equity, inclusion, opportunity, and trust in communities. Such a course will help strengthen and encourage warmer receptivity, stronger social capital, and regional resilience in communities.

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APPENDIX A: LEGAL PRECEDENT CONCERNING PUBLIC EDUCATION

In this section, I briefly discuss immigrant education in the United States and outline the various landmark legal precedents set by the Supreme Court or other Federal courts concerning public education as a public good for all children, students and society. These cases are relevant to the overall context of this research in that they all played a pivotal role in defining what the collective U.S. society believes public education should be and should include. What is occurring in Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools today is in part related to these decisions.

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)

Plessy v. Ferguson was a landmark 7 to 1 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of various state laws requiring racial segregation through the doctrine of “separate but equal.” The Court ruled that “separate but equal” is constitutional under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Although aimed at private business facilities, this ruling quickly permeated through society in many states, ultimately affecting public institutions, educational facilities and school funding. The ruling also led to the codification of laws known as the “Jim Crow” system and a further disenfranchisement of certain segments of the population. The lone dissenter in the ruling, Justice John Harlan, clearly ahead of his time in his views on civil rights and social justice, stated the following within his poignant dissent:

“...in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes

no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race. In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott case*... The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments... The sure guarantee of the peace and security of each race is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, National and State, of every right that inheres in civil freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States without regard to race... The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race... is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds” (*Plessy v. Ferguson* 1896).

Indeed, this precedent was overturned by the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. The Court’s ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) is but one cog in the much larger wheel of Supreme Court history. The ruling is an example, when viewed in within a much longer historical arc, of how the Court responds to the broader societal contexts of the time. It is also an example of how, over time, the Court can reverse its own decisions and pave the way for subsequent further progress (i.e. the Court’s ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954).

Mendez v. Westminster School District (1946)

Mendez v. Westminster School District (1946), half a century after *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the doctrine of “separate but equal,” is one of the first examples of individuals on the ground in local places taking a stand against the concept of “separate but equal.” All too often, facilities for different races and classes may have been separate,

but they were overwhelmingly unequal. In the *Mendez* case challenging racial segregation in Orange County, California, the United States District Court for the Southern District of California ruled that it is unconstitutional to separate Mexican American students into separate “Mexican Schools.” The ruling was subsequently upheld in 1947 by the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. In the ruling, District Judge McCormick stated:

“A paramount requisite in the American system of public education is social equality. It must be open to all children by unified school association regardless of lineage. . . . The evidence clearly shows that Spanish-speaking children are retarded in learning English by lack of exposure to its use because of segregation, and that commingling of the entire student body instills and develops a common cultural attitude among the school children which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals. It is also established by the record that the methods of segregation prevalent in the defendant school districts foster antagonisms in the children and suggest inferiority among them where none exists” (*Mendez v. Westminster School District* 1946).

This ruling was followed by then California Governor Earl Warren, who went on to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, signing into law a repeal of all other segregation-related statutes within California law. What *Mendez* shows us is that people began to realize and more adamantly speak out against the inherent inequality existent in the philosophy of “separate but equal” and its negative effect on public education in the United States. Viewed in broader context, *Mendez* fits within a decades-long series of landmark court rulings leading the way towards further equality in public education, including inclusive education for all children – citizens and immigrants. In this light, *Mendez* was the first of many cases that ultimately paved the way for the Supreme Court’s seminal landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954.

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)

Brown v. Board of Education (1954) was a pivotal, landmark unanimous ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court stating that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” and unconstitutional under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This ruling overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). In his argument before the Supreme Court, Thurgood Marshall stated “We are convinced that the answer is that any segregation, which is for the purpose of setting up either class or caste legislation, is in and of itself a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.” Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the unanimous opinion of the court, in which he stated:

“Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms... We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does... To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone... The effect of this separation on their educational opportunities was well stated by a finding in the Kansas case by a court which nevertheless felt compelled to rule against the Negro plaintiffs: ‘Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school

system'... We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment" (*Brown v. Board of Education* 1954).

Although met with considerable resistance by segregation hard-liners during subsequent years, particularly in southern states (i.e. the "Southern Manifesto" of 1956, signed by 101 politicians from various southern states opposing racial integration in public places; Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus using the national guard to block entry to Little Rock Central High School in 1957; and Alabama Governor George Wallace personally blocking the entry to a doorway at the University of Alabama and issuing his infamous cry of "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever" in 1963, wherein President Eisenhower called out the national guard to confront Wallace), the ruling in *Brown* ultimately had far-reaching and forward-thinking effect for public education in the United States. Subsequent court rulings at various judicial levels, including Supreme Court cases for decades to follow, repeatedly cited *Brown*. The importance of the *Brown* ruling for strengthening equality for public education in the United States cannot be overstated. Efforts at school system desegregation, people and groups working towards greater equality, civil rights, and social justice, and those working for immigrant education rights tread upon the path paved by *Brown*. The following several case examples highlight how *Brown* was influential in furthering efforts for school desegregation, despite the regressive forces working against desegregation. Following these several case examples, the example of *Plyer v. Doe* highlights the Supreme Court's ruling that public K-12 secondary education is to be inclusive of all students in the United

States – citizens, legal residents, and undocumented immigrants. An inclusive public educational environment is not only beneficial to individual students, but to our broader society as a whole.

Green v. County School Board of New Kent County (1968)

The case of *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968) represents a follow up to several previous cases in the 1960s (i.e. *McNeese v. Board of Education*; *Goss v. Board of Education*) in which the Supreme Court ruled in favor of integration and began to show its impatience with slow efforts to desegregate. Obviously, history shows that people and societies in general are averse to rapid change. Forces are constantly at work to slow the course of progress in human history. That so many people and groups were working against integration and desegregation, despite societal wishes and court rulings, is a prime example of negative receptivity to change. In the *Green* case, the Supreme Court ruled that school system “freedom of choice” plans did not adequately comply with measures of desegregation. The ruling further stated that the school board must formulate new plans that show concrete steps of moving realistically toward converting to a truly desegregated school system.

United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education (1969)

The Supreme Court, in the case of *United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education* (1969), upheld the ruling of the U.S. District Court in Montgomery, Alabama, ordering the Montgomery County Board of Education to facilitate racial desegregation of faculty and staff within the county school system. In the Court’s opinion, Justice Black

states “the record shows that neither Montgomery County nor any other area in Alabama voluntarily took any effective steps to integrate the public schools for about 10 years after our *Brown I* [*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954] opinion. In fact the record makes clear that the state government and its school officials attempted in every way possible to continue the dual system of racially segregated schools in defiance of our repeated unanimous holdings that such a system violated the United States Constitution” (U.S. v. Montgomery Bd. of Educ. 1969). The Court’s opinion further implied that for at least a decade after the 1954 *Brown* decision most schools in Alabama maintained the appearance of continuing to function, with regards to racial integration, as if the *Brown* decisions by the Supreme Court never occurred (U.S. v. Montgomery Bd. of Educ. 1969). Although some progress began to be seen after 1964, this particular case examines the evidence of a lack of integration among faculty and staff within the school system. This case illustrates the difficulties that progress and inclusive change faces moving forward. The process of ensuring equal education access for all children, including immigrant children and children of immigrants (documented or undocumented), faces similar hurdles. These barriers exist despite the Court’s 1982 ruling in *Plyler v. Doe*. We see similar obstructions erected by regressive forces against broader immigrant education initiatives such as the DREAM Act.

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1971)

In the case of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), a case integral to the history of the case study of Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools in this research, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that busing is an effective method to integrate a

public school system (Charlotte, North Carolina in this particular case) and to promote racial balance among schools. This decision eventually led to the use of busing as a means of desegregation in many school districts throughout the South and in other areas. That the outcome of this particular case played out in Charlotte, the case study in this research, is an important consideration in the examination of present day trends within the city's public school system. During Charlotte's rapid economic and physical growth of the late 1980s and into the early twenty-first century, many forward-thinking leaders would cite the desegregation and busing for integration as important components of the city's community cooperation for growth and ascent. However, as we see in the *Capacchione* case of 1999, discussed later in this section, not everyone was happy with this arrangement.

Plyler v. Doe (1982)

In 1982, the Supreme Court issues a ruling integral to progress for inclusive, equal public education and for immigrant education in the United States. The 1982 Supreme Court ruling in *Plyler v. Doe* struck down a 1975 state of Texas law denying state funding to educate undocumented children of undocumented immigrants. The Court's ruling centered on their decision that not allowing undocumented school-age children to attend school and receive an education is a violation of the Equal Protection clause of the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment. Specifically, the Court's opinion in *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) states

“the State has no assurance that any child, citizen or not, will employ the education provided by the State within the confines of the State's borders. In any event, the record is clear that many of the undocumented children disabled by this classification will remain in this country indefinitely, and that some will become

lawful residents or citizens of the United States. It is difficult to understand precisely what the State hopes to achieve by promoting the creation and perpetuation of a subclass of illiterates within our boundaries, surely adding to the problems and costs of unemployment, welfare, and crime. It is thus clear that whatever savings might be achieved by denying these children an education, they are wholly insubstantial in light of the costs involved to these children, the State, and the Nation...If the State is to deny a discrete group of innocent children the free public education that it offers to other children residing within its borders, that denial must be justified by a showing that it furthers some substantial state interest. No such showing was made here” (*Plyler v. Doe* 1982).

In the ruling, Justice Marshall states “I continue to believe that an individual's interest in education is fundamental, and that this view is amply supported by the unique status accorded public education by our society, and by the close relationship between education and some of our most basic constitutional values... It continues to be my view that a class-based denial of public education is utterly incompatible with the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.” (*Plyler v. Doe* 1982). Justice Blackmun states

“In my view, when the State provides an education to some and denies it to others, it immediately and inevitably creates class distinctions of a type fundamentally inconsistent with those purposes, mentioned above, of the Equal Protection Clause. Children denied an education are placed at a permanent and insurmountable competitive disadvantage, for an uneducated child is denied even the opportunity to achieve. And when those children are members of an identifiable group, that group – through the State's action – will have been converted into a discrete underclass. Other benefits provided by the State, such as housing and public assistance, are of course important; to an individual in immediate need, they may be more desirable than the right to be educated. But classifications involving the complete denial of education are in a sense unique, for they strike at the heart of equal protection values by involving the State in the creation of permanent class distinctions” (*Plyler v. Doe* 1982).

Furthermore, concerning the important role of education in our society in general, Justice Brennan states that

“education provides the basic tools by which individuals might lead economically productive lives to the benefit of us all. In sum, education has a fundamental role in maintaining the fabric of our society. We cannot ignore the significant social

costs borne by our Nation when select groups are denied the means to absorb the values and skills upon which our social order rests...In addition to the pivotal role of education in sustaining our political and cultural heritage, denial of education to some isolated group of children poses an affront to one of the goals of the Equal Protection Clause: the abolition of governmental barriers presenting unreasonable obstacles to advancement on the basis of individual merit. Paradoxically, by depriving the children of any disfavored group of an education, we foreclose the means by which that group might raise the level of esteem in which it is held by the majority. But more directly, 'education prepares individuals to be self-reliant and self-sufficient participants in society.' Illiteracy is an enduring disability. The inability to read and write will handicap the individual deprived of a basic education each and every day of his life. The inestimable toll of that deprivation on the social, economic, intellectual, and psychological well-being of the individual, and the obstacle it poses to individual achievement, make it most difficult to reconcile the cost or the principle of a status-based denial of basic education with the framework of equality embodied in the Equal Protection Clause. What we said 28 years ago in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U. S. 483 (1954), still holds true: 'Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms'" (*Plyler v. Doe* 1982).

The Court's ruling in this case has since only been applied to K-12 educational settings.

Other cases and potential legislation concern undocumented students and higher education in the U.S.

As the *Brown* case was important to public education equality in general, *Plyler* is just as important for inclusive immigrant education in the U.S. public education system. Even as various states in the first decade of the twenty-first century, hand ongoing during the time of writing for this research, attempt to craft legislation designed to make life as difficult as possible for immigrants, those working for social justice should keep the

sentiment in *Plyler v. Doe* close at hand. Several recent state-level immigration bills contain many provisions. Alabama's HB56, for example, contained a section instructing public school systems to collect information about the immigrant documentation status of students and their families. While HB56 technically did not forbid undocumented children to attend school, the wording in HB56 was intended to serve as one plank in a broader attempt at making life as difficult as possible for immigrants in the hopes that they would self-deport. Indeed, after the bill went into effect, school systems in Alabama reported a drop in Hispanic student attendance.

Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (1999)

In this case, Capacchione sued Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools because his daughter could not attend a particular school due to the policy of that time. The decision, overturning *Swann*, led to the declaration that the school system had reached unitary status and busing would cease. This decision, ultimately a return to neighborhood schools, is widely viewed as pivotal in initiating the de facto class-based resegregation of Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools. This case, like the *Swann* case, is an important point of consideration in the evolution of public education in Charlotte. Those working for educational social justice in Charlotte typically view the *Capacchione* case as a setback, yet to be overcome, for Charlotte's public schools and for inclusive and equal public education in the area.

Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1 (2007)

In this case, the Supreme Court ruled in a 5 to 4 opinion that students may not be assigned to specific schools solely for the purposes of racial integration. Furthermore, the Court declined to recognize racial balancing in schools through integration measures as an inherent state interest. Chief Justice Roberts states, in the Court's plurality opinion, that "the way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to stop discriminating on the basis of race." In his concurrence, Justice Kennedy wrote "a compelling interest exists in avoiding racial isolation, an interest that a school district, in its discretion and expertise, may choose to pursue. Likewise, a district may consider it a compelling interest to achieve a diverse student population. Race may be one component of that diversity, but other demographic factors, plus special talents and needs, should also be considered."

As the Court's ruling was only 5 to 4, there were several dissenters to the opinion of the Court. The two major themes of the dissent include: (1) Justice Stevens charging that the Court had moved significantly away from the thinking of the Warren Court that, decades earlier, had unanimously ruled in favor of desegregation in *Brown* (1954); and (2) Justice Breyer stating that diversity within schools is a compelling state interest and that this ruling was a "radical" step leading to the removal of a critical tool used by school districts for decades to promote racial integration, promote diversity within schools, and to prevent resegregation.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW MATERIALS

Interview Participant Recruitment Letter

Dear CMS Employee (or Community Member):

You are invited to participate in a research study entitled *Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography, Public School Change and Response, and Community Receptivity in Charlotte, North Carolina*. This is a doctoral dissertation study designed to examine the relationships between transitioning immigrant settlement geography and public education. The key focus revolves around how a large public education system is responding to local area immigrant changes and how the broader community's attitudes of receptivity toward immigrants inform the context of these changes. This study is being conducted by Paul McDaniel, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography and Earth Sciences at UNC Charlotte.

As a participant, you will be asked to participate in an interview. During the interview, you will be asked to respond to a variety of questions, both open- and closed-ended, related to the topic of this study (briefly described above). You will also be asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire survey. The interview will be audio recorded for later transcription and qualitative data content analysis. Data will be de-identified, anonymous, confidential, and will only be presented in aggregate form for research dissemination, presentation and publication. Your participation in this project will take approximately one hour and there will only be one interview. If you decide to participate, you will be one of at least 30 participants in this study.

The benefits of participation in this study are an opportunity to help further the understanding of immigration's impact on the public education system in Charlotte, on the education system's response to increasing immigration, and the broader community's response to such changes and receptivity toward immigration. Participation also allows you a unique opportunity to reflect on your own experience interacting with processes of immigration and the public school system within the broader context of Charlotte as a new immigrant destination. There are no known risks to participation in this study.

If you would like to participate in this study, or if you have further questions, please contact Paul McDaniel (pmcdani2@uncc.edu) by replying to this email or by telephone (205-586-3206). You may also contact my dissertation advisor if you have further questions: Dr. Heather Smith (Associate Professor of Geography at UNC Charlotte) by email (heatsmit@uncc.edu) or by telephone (704-687-5989). This research is approved by the UNC Charlotte Research Compliance Office (704-687-3309) and the Center for Research and Evaluation at the Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools Office of Accountability (980-343-6242).

Thank you for your time and I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Paul N. McDaniel
Doctoral Candidate and Research Assistant

Interview Participant Informed Consent

Informed Consent for

Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography, Public School Change and Response, and Community Receptivity in Charlotte, North Carolina

You are invited to participate in a research study entitled *Transitioning Immigrant Settlement Geography, Public School Change and Response, and Community Receptivity in Charlotte, North Carolina*. This is a doctoral dissertation study designed to examine the relationships between transitioning immigrant settlement geography and public education. The key focus revolves around how a large public education system is responding to local area immigrant changes and how the broader community's attitudes of receptivity toward immigrants inform the context of these changes within a new immigrant gateway destination.

This study is being conducted by Paul McDaniel, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography and Earth Sciences at UNC-Charlotte, and Dr. Heather Smith, associate professor in the Department of Geography and Earth Sciences at UNC-Charlotte.

As a participant, you will be asked to participate in an interview. During the interview, you will be asked to respond to a variety of questions, both open- and closed-ended, related to the topic of this study (briefly described above). The interview will be audio recorded for later transcription and qualitative data content analysis. Your participation in this project will take approximately one hour and there will only be one interview. If you decide to participate, you will be one of at least 30 participants in this study.

There are no known risks to participation in this study. However, there may be risks which are currently unforeseeable. The benefits of participation in this study are an opportunity to help further the understanding of immigration's impact on the public education system in Charlotte, on the education system's response to increasing immigration, and the broader community's response to such changes and receptivity toward immigration. Participation also allows participants a unique opportunity to reflect on their own experience interacting with processes of immigration and the public school system in Charlotte as a new immigrant destination. The alternative to participation in this study is to not participate.

You are a volunteer. The decision to participate in this study is completely up to you. If you decide to be in the study, you may stop at any time. You will not be treated any differently if you decide not to participate or if you stop once you have started.

Any information about your participation, including your identity, is confidential. The following steps will be taken to ensure this confidentiality: All consent forms, interview data, notes, written responses, audio recordings, and transcripts will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office in the Department of Geography and Earth Sciences at UNC-Charlotte. Only the principle investigators will have access to these materials and will be the only persons to view these materials. The data collected by the Investigator will not contain any identifying information or any link back to you or your participation in this study. The following steps will be taken to ensure this anonymity: Data derived from content analysis of interview transcripts will be disaggregated from individual interview participants to ensure anonymity. Any mention of statements made by participants will not be linked back to specific participants.

UNC Charlotte wants to make sure that you are treated in a fair and respectful manner. Contact the University's Research Compliance Office (704.687.3309) if you have any questions about how you are treated as a study participant. If you have any questions about the project, please contact Paul McDaniel (704.687.5983; pmcdani2@uncc.edu) or Dr. Heather Smith (704.687.5989; heatsmit@uncc.edu).

I have read the information in this consent form. I have had the chance to ask questions about this study, and those questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I am at least 18 years of age and I agree to participate in this research project. I understand that I will receive a copy of this form after it has been signed by me and the Principal Investigator.

Participant Name (PLEASE PRINT)
DATE

Participant Signature

Investigator Signature

DATE

Qualitative Interview Guide

Interview Number: _____

Today's Date: _____

Interview Guide: About Immigration and Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools (questions in parentheses following primary questions are for further exploration if time permits)

1. How has recent immigration to Charlotte impacted public school composition? (In what ways specifically? Examples? Specific points of impact at the school system level? In your individual school?).
2. What challenges and opportunities are presented to Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) and to specific individual schools because of higher rates of immigration to Charlotte and a diversifying student body?
3. How has Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools responded to higher rates of immigration to Charlotte? (In what ways specifically? Examples? Specific responses? What challenges does a large public school system such as CMS face when confronted with a rapidly changing demographic profile of its student base and how does it/should it/is it respond(ing) to such changes?).
4. How has your specific school responded to higher rates of immigration to Charlotte? (In what ways specifically? Examples? Specific responses?).
5. How are these responses to immigrant changes playing out in the broader Mecklenburg County climate and context of receptivity toward immigrants and newcomers? (To what extent does the context of receptivity influence actions by public schools in Charlotte?).
6. How do these responses impact broader community perception of Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools and how do they impact broader community receptivity toward immigrants?
7. Scholars have suggested that Charlotte is a new immigrant gateway and destination with new forms of immigrant settlement. How does this idea and its ramifications relate to education provision as a public good? (To community perception of public schools? To community receptivity toward immigrants?).
8. In what ways does an increasingly diverse student population impact education provision for Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools? For your particular school? (And how does an increasingly diverse student body impact community perceptions of CMS and community receptivity toward immigrants?).

Contextual Survey Questionnaire (to be completed as part of interview)

1. How long have you been involved with Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools (CMS)?
 - Under 2 years
 - 2 to 5 years
 - 6 to 10 years
 - 11 to 20 years
 - Greater than 20 years

2. How long have you been involved with your current CMS school or department?
 - Under 2 years
 - 2 to 5 years
 - 6 to 10 years
 - 11 to 20 years
 - Greater than 20 years

3. Current position at your CMS school or department: _____

4. Have you been involved with other specific schools or departments within CMS?
 - Yes No

5. If you answered “yes” to the previous question, what other specific school(s) or departments within CMS have you been involved with and what was your position there? _____

6. Have you been involved with other schools or school districts outside of CMS?
 - Yes No

7. If you answered “yes” to question 6, what other specific school(s) or school districts outside of CMS have you been involved with and what was your position there? _____

8. If you answered “yes” to question 6, how long were you involved with other schools or school districts outside of CMS?
 - Under 2 years
 - 2 to 5 years
 - 6 to 10 years
 - 11 to 20 years
 - Greater than 20 years

9. If you answered “yes” to question 6, were any of the other schools or school districts located in places that are also experiencing recent and rapid growth of their immigrant populations?

Yes No

10. Total length of time in Charlotte:

- Under 2 years Greater than 20 years
 2 to 5 years Native Charlottean
 6 to 10 years
 11 to 20 years

11. Languages spoken other than
English? _____

Thank you for your participation!

VITA

Paul Noel McDaniel was born on January 7, 1982, in Alabaster, Alabama. He grew up in the Birmingham suburb of Hoover, Alabama, graduating from Hoover High School in 2000. Paul earned a Bachelor of Science in Geography from Samford University (Birmingham, Alabama) in 2004, a Master of Science in Geography from the University of Tennessee (Knoxville, Tennessee) in 2006, a Master of Arts in Higher Education Leadership from the University of Alabama at Birmingham in 2007, and a Doctor of Philosophy in Geography and Urban Regional Analysis from the University of North Carolina at Charlotte in 2013. While completing the above degrees, Paul also participated in various educational travel and study abroad opportunities in the western U.S. and western Canada; London, United Kingdom and Paris, France; Thailand, Burma, and India; and an independent study in Spanish at Universidad Internacional in Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico.

While completing the doctorate at UNC Charlotte, Paul worked as a research assistant on a variety of immigration- and community-related projects. In particular, he worked with several community-based research projects in partnership with the Mecklenburg Area Partnership for Primary-care Research, Department of Family Medicine at Carolinas Medical Center, Levine Museum of the New South, Charlotte Mecklenburg Schools, Crossroads Charlotte, Latin American Coalition, and Community Building Initiative. He has worked on reports and presentations about immigrant entrepreneurship, immigrant settlement and integration in new immigrant gateways and destinations, immigrant access to education and healthcare, and community receptivity. Additionally, Paul served as an instructor in the Department of Geography and Earth

Sciences at UNC Charlotte, teaching Freshman Seminar, Introduction to Urban Studies, and Global Connections/World Regional Geography. At UNC Charlotte, Paul also served as President of Gamma Theta Upsilon International Geographic Honor Society and as Secretary of UNC Charlotte's Graduate and Professional Student Government. Also while at UNC Charlotte, Paul was a recipient of the Department of Geography and Earth Science's outstanding graduate student award for departmental citizenship, the BRIDGES Geography Fellowship, and the outstanding dissertation proposal award from the Ethnic Geography Specialty Group of the Association of American Geographers.

In 2012, Paul relocated from Charlotte to Washington, DC to work as project researcher in the Center for Citizenship and Immigrant Communities at Catholic Legal Immigration Network (CLINIC). In early 2013, Paul accepted a research fellowship position with the Immigration Policy Center at the American Immigration Council in Washington, DC.